



CHIEF (Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future)

Grant Agreement no: 770464

WP: 6 Qualitative Research in Heritage Sites

Deliverable: 6.1 Mapping Reports of Cultural Heritage

Authors	Croatia: Marko Mustapić, Benjamin Perasović, Dino Vukušić		
	Georgia: Tamar Khoshtaria, Meagan Neal, Rati Shubladze, Kristina Vacharadze		
	Germany: Christiane Stahl, Cornelia Sylla, Elina Marmer, Louis Henri Seukwa		
	India: Shailendra Kharat, Suhas Palshikar, Rajeshwari Deshpande, Priya Gohad		
	Latvia: Irēna Saleniece, Anita Stašulāne		
	Slovakia: Attila Kovács, Dušan Deák		
	Spain/Catalonia: Marta Rovira, Mariona Ferrer-Fons		
	Turkey: Saim Buğra Kurban, Yıldırım Şentürk, Ayça Oral		
	UK: Anton Popov, Eleni Stamou		
Editors	Dušan Deák, Anita Stašulāne		
Version	1.1		
Date	18th June 2019		
Work Package	6		
Deliverable	6.1		
Dissemination level	Public		
WP Leaders	Dušan Deák, Anita Stašulāne		
Deliverable Date	30 th April 2019		
Document history			
Version	Date	Comments	Modified by
1.0	18/06/2019		KM
1.1	18/06/2019	Amendment to authors names	KM

This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under Grant Agreement No 770464.

Contents

Overview	5
About CHIEF	5
Introduction	6
Tasks	6
Method	6
Findings – linking the policies and the offer	7
Concluding Remarks	10
References	11
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Croatia)	12
1. Executive Summary	12
2. Method	12
3. Findings	15
4. Discussion	24
5. Conclusion	27
6. References	29
7. Appendices	33
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Georgia)	39
1. Executive Summary	39
2. Method	40
3. Findings	43
4. Discussion	55
5. Conclusion	58
6. References	60
7. Appendices	62
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Germany)	63
1. Executive Summary	63
2. Method	64
3. Findings	67
4. Discussion	76
5. Conclusion	81
6. References	83
7. Appendices	85

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (India)	86
1. Executive Summary	86
2. Method	87
3. Findings	90
4. Discussion	99
5. Conclusion	102
6. References	105
7. Appendices	109
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Latvia)	110
1. Executive Summary	110
2. Method	111
3. Findings	114
4. Discussion	121
5. Conclusion	125
6. References	129
7. Appendices	132
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Slovakia)	134
1. Executive Summary	134
2. Method	135
3. Findings	139
4. Discussion	148
5. Conclusion	151
6. References	154
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Spain/Catalonia)	158
1. Executive Summary	158
2. Method	159
3. Findings	162
4. Discussion	172
5. Conclusion	177
6. References	179
7. Appendices	180
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Turkey)	187
1. Executive Summary	187
2. Method	188

3. Findings	193
4. Discussion	204
5. Conclusion	206
6. References	208
7. Appendices	210
Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (UK)	218
1. Executive Summary	218
2. Method	219
3. Findings and discussion	222
4. Conclusion	244
5. References	247
6. Appendix	250

Overview

About CHIEF

The CHIEF (Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future) project aims to build an effective dialogue between different stakeholders in order to facilitate a future of Europe based on inclusive notions of cultural heritage and identity. The project focuses on the production and transition of cultural knowledge in both formal educational settings initiated from above, and a variety of informal human interactions. CHIEF will contribute both to understanding and enhancing cultural literacy for young people, and to more effective use of European cultural heritage as a site of production, translation and exchange of heterogeneous cultural knowledge. It will also recognise existing innovative practices and develop a new organisational model to enhance the cultural and inter-cultural competence of young Europeans.

CHIEF is funded by the European Commission's Horizon 2020 Programme. It brings together eleven partner institutions:

- Aston University, United Kingdom,
- Daugavpils Universitate, Latvia
- Institut Drustvenih Znanosti Ivo Pilar, Croatia
- Caucasus Research Resource Centers, Georgia
- Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Turkey
- Universidad Pompeu Fabra, Spain
- Culture Coventry, United Kingdom
- Univerzita Komenskeho V Bratislave, Slovakia
- The Savitribai Phule Pune University, India
- Hochschule Fuer Angewandte Wissenschaften, Germany
- University of Gloucestershire, United Kingdom

Introduction

Dušan Deák, Anita Stašulāne

Over the past century, much research has been devoted to investigation on how cultural heritage has been used in the construction of nation-states and national identities. Currently an increasing focus has been placed on the complex global history of transnational and entangled heritage practices (Swenson 2013, Graham et al, 2000). Today researchers are describing cultural heritage as a discursive creation referring to its reflective and constitutive character, i.e. heritage is ‘constructed within, not above or outside representation’ (Hall 2005). The misrepresentations and arbitrary appropriations of cultural heritage, in turn, feed the societal tensions and the cultural heritage has become a tool of politics that articulates in the current contests of what it is that represents Europe as a cultural macro-region built on the mutual cultural and historical relationships of diverse people.

Understanding the legacy of people’s cultural pasts forms one of the important layers through which the CHIEF project, in the WP6, explores educational environments of young people and their cultural literacy. The Deliverable 6.1 *Mapping Reports of Cultural Heritage* explores the existing discourses and institutional practices that constitute the representation and use of cultural heritage in each geographical location of the CHIEF consortium.

The goals of the D.6.1 relate to the following tasks.

Tasks

- T6.2 Mapping and investigating the heritage ‘offer’ in each CHIEF country by textual analysis of publicity and other materials.
- T6.3 Mapping the opportunities for ‘alternative’ spaces and versions of the nation/heritage by analysing public discourse as present in media and published materials).
- T6.4 Conducting five expert interviews with heritage practitioners (e.g. curators, outreach officers, educational officers, etc.) in each project country.

Method

The research activities of the CHIEF’s team approached the given tasks and questions by applying the following methods;

- a) *Selection* of the heritage sites on the basis of broad distinction between the mainstream heritage site and alternative heritage site.

- b) *Content analysis* of the obtained materials and their narratives of cultural heritage (from legal norms regulating the cultural heritage agenda through a variety of printed and online propagation materials up to academic treatment of the cultural heritage agenda in the particular country) to explore what forms and informs the heritage offer at the chosen heritage sites and how the latter targets particularly the young people.
- c) *Ethnographic exploration* of the site via preliminary observations, but mainly through interviews (47 in total) with the heritage experts affiliated to chosen sites, or the particular country's specialists in the cultural heritage agenda.

Findings¹ – linking the policies and the offer

The reports demonstrate the mutual dynamics of different means and approaches to cultural heritage by the state and the civil society sector, which tend to complement rather than contradict each other. Young people, in this case, are the target group of these two main agents that address them from above. When applied to particular sites such dynamics to certain extent problematize the earlier envisaged clear-cut division of cultural heritage sites to mainstream and alternative. It also allows observation of how the particular concerns with the past via the concept of cultural heritage may be differently interpreted. For instance, the public endorsing of civil war memory in Spain may be at the same time a mainstream memory agenda highlighting the democratic changes promulgated by the state in the History Museum of Barcelona, as well as a concern of civil sector activists who approach the civil war via problems brought to Barcelona by the migration of people affected by the war. Another example of blurring the mainstream and alternative could be the competition over limited financial resources available in the UK's public funds for the culture sector that leads the civic competitors who take up alternative ways of cultural heritage education to proactive adoption of the nationwide strategies. However, there were also cases where the mainstream/alternative binary (e.g. in Croatia, Latvia, Germany, Georgia) was pronounced more strongly.

The activities of state and civil sector institutions and organisations, apart from having the common agenda of addressing the past via the concept of cultural heritage, also display a certain hierarchy of means and strategies that affect the existing heritage discourses and institutional practices. The state appears in most cases to possess the greatest means for the promotion of cultural heritage, which necessarily has an educational aspect. It legally defines the cultural heritage (usually in its tangible and intangible forms) and sets the legal conditions for its preservation and public use. It

¹ All findings presented here were informed by the content analysis of the above mentioned materials or come from the conducted interviews.

is also an active agent in promulgating its own narratives of what purpose the cultural heritage serves, as well as in promoting programmes that directly involve young people (such as in the programmes ‘Latvian School Bag’ in Latvia, or ‘Ask me’ in Turkey).

While doing this, the state allows the civic agents to be active in putting the cultural heritage agenda to practice, which may also involve resentments against the state cultural heritage policy. This policy is particularly visible in adopting the UNESCO model² of classification and propagation of the cultural heritage, which has been documented across all CHIEF’s countries and is visible especially on their tourist boards. On the one hand it internationalizes the heritage of a particular country and offers networking for practitioners, but on the other hand, it implicitly introduces hierarchical schematics by dividing the cultural heritage to that more and less valued/propagated/taught. One of the examples of this process is also attaching the European label to local sites while constructing their prestige (observable perhaps more in new EU countries, or Georgia). Hierarchization that petrifies the cultural heritage agenda in the ‘sightseeing’ and in reproduction of the linear narratives, as well as, nominal classification of the cultural heritage, in turn, translate to economic aspects of the heritage agenda and reinforce a nation-state heritage narrative. Such a model treats the cultural heritage mainly in the national contexts, at times helped by the geographical conditions (like in the UK), and hence imprisons it in the cultural boundaries imagined to inhabit the area of the nation-states whose economies bridge the cultural heritage and tourism agendas. In turn, tourism sites spiced with UNESCO badges, or declared by the state to be of similar importance by having national prestige on the one hand bring masses and stimulus to economy whereas on the other they empty the heritage space of its everyday life and local concerns (cf. Croatian report on Diocletian’s Palace in Split, or Indian report on Buddhist Karla caves; Brumann-Berliner 2016).

Furthermore, the national importance allows the state to promote specifically chosen policies and the civil sector to subscribe to such policy derived strategies like the current Turkey’s endorsement of its Ottoman past in Istanbul’s historical centre, promotion of regional and ethnicized selves of heritage in Slovakia, Latvia, and the ‘Maratha upper caste’ India, or bringing to the fore the particular memory policy of Spain’s civil war and German blame for World War II. These may unwittingly lead to right-wing misuse of patriotism, but mainly neglect minorities’ concerns with the collective blame (e.g. in Germany’s former concentration camp), downplay the historically coded cultural diversity by making it a feature of the current society (e.g. in Britain’s touristic presentation of the current cuisine variety), promote linguistic chauvinism (e.g. in Slovakia at the

² <https://whc.unesco.org/en/globalstrategy/>

expense of ethnically mixed regions) or employ the idea of Europeanness in order to justify economic measures taken for transformation from socialist to market economy or the politically endorsed cultural alliance (e.g. in the case of Croatia's Diocletian's palace, or in the case of Georgian National Gallery and its experts). Apart from downplaying the regional and local variety such policies and narrative strategies, coupled with the economic gains may affect young people's orientation in the cultural heritage agenda, orient them to consumerism of elitist discourse and indirectly lead to absences in their knowledge. Some of the reports (particularly the Turkish, Spanish, Croatian, and Indian) in this respect pointed out that these strategies often do not consider the young people's interests which results in their neglecting and ridiculing the narratively overrated cultural heritage sites.

The problems mentioned above provide intervention opportunities for the civic sector. Here global recognition (somewhat similar to UNESCO branding, but different in terms of the marketing narrative) may serve as a selling point for young people (e.g. Mark Rothko Art Centre in Latvia or Dražen Petrović Museum in Zagreb). The difference being marked by stimulating the creativity of young people at the former site, highlighting the successful young man story at the latter site and both sites promoting the global recognition through emphasis on the potential of culturally inclusive efforts that not only break through ethnically, or historically closed boundaries, but create conditions for exclusiveness in global terms. Another case of civic society engagement manifested in the reports is the alternatives offered by postcolonial and democracy activists in Germany and Turkey respectively, who engage in revaluation of the past in the former case (pointing to absence of public discourse on German colonial heritage, its resistance and promoting the commemoration cultures of People of Colour) and restoring the past in the latter (evoking the legacy of Turkish secularism in Maçka Park via popular activities of young people such as festivals, yoga, and musical performances). In another fashion of active engagement with different audiences Slovakia's local castle museum envisages multilingual history/memory marketing strategies reflecting the ethnical multiplicity of its location (Slovaks, Magyars, Roma) while defying the modern nation-state boundaries and even reappraising the solely militaristic interpretations of historical Ottoman presence in the area.

However, the civic sector's engagement with the past through cultural heritage may also enable the propagation of the conservative agenda built on both collectivistic, imagined community narratives, as well as, the cult of glorified figures. This can be illustrated by the complex Indian case of a local Buddhist heritage proclaimed to be government protected heritage,³ which also

³ This, itself, is a colonial heritage and a remnant of India's negotiations with the European modernity.

shelters a temple to Mother Goddess. The local religious activists on the one hand pursue their own interpretation of what the site represents (i.e. the Goddess) and neglect the heritage and conservation efforts of the state, while on the other hand their activities display a conservative Hindu majoritarian agenda, which denies the notion of shared past. The Stalin museum in Gori, which came to existence as a result of a civic engagement with the past makes revisionist claims to both Soviet and Georgian past and at the same time symbolizes the vicissitudes of its historical sharing. The latter, however, the ethnicised and glorified persona of Stalin clearly overshadows. In addition, in both cases the element of active civic engagement of the young people is rather minimal.

Concluding Remarks

The reports demonstrated various layers of cultural heritage policies and civic society endeavours employing the cultural heritage agenda – those acknowledging the global cultural heritage agenda (UNESCO); those positing the cultural heritage in a broader cultural space (Europe, Ottoman Empire, idea of one Hindu India); those with particular concerns to negotiate the past (civil war of Spain, colonial past of Germany and India, Germans' role in the World War, Stalin's and Soviet legacy in Georgia); those publicly endorsing the regional-self (Slovakia, Latvia, Catalonia and Georgia); or for that matter also the transformation from a socialist economy in Croatia); as well as those that reappraise the rigidity of nation-state boundaries, ethnicization of the past, and majoritarian trends by attempts to involve young people in the formation of the cultural heritage agenda and providing them with not just possibilities to gain knowledge about the past, but also with the inspiration for shaping their futures and envisaging the goals that are more inclusive with respect to people.

Finally, the idea of Europe, seen through the lenses of the reports that mapped the discourses and institutional practices seems to be both endorsed (as overarching cultural space of prestigious importance) and contested (by ethnic nationalism and practices concerned with the conservation of the local prestige), but also, and in several cases, neglected or absent. People's engagement with the past via the cultural heritage agenda apparently does not follow a single course of the modern nation-state concerns of establishing a national narrative by giving a voice to the local relics and legacies. The localities always seem able to negotiate and modify that voice, which clearly speaks for different pasts than those marked by the petrified collective identities.

References

Brumann, C. and Berliner, D. (2018) Introduction. In Brumann, C. and Berliner, D. eds, *World Heritage on the Ground Ethnographic Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 1-34.

Graham, Brian, Ashworth G. J., Tunbridge J. E., (2000) *A Geography of Heritage. Power, Culture and Economy*. Arnold: London.

Hall, Stuart (2005) “Whose heritage? Un-settling ‘the Heritage’, re-imagining the post-nation.” In *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of ‘Race’*, edited by Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, 23–35. London: Routledge.

Swenson, Astrid. (2013) *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England 1789–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Croatia)

Marko Mustapić, Benjamin Perasović, Dino Vukušić

1. Executive Summary

The aim of this report is to present two selected heritage sites in Croatia; Diocletian's palace in Split and the Dražen Petrović Museum in Zagreb. We decided to study these particular heritage sites because both of them, each in their own way, present a unique, specific dimension within the context of cultural heritage in Croatia. Diocletian's palace and the core of the city of Split presents the heritage element, but it also provides the basis for everyday life of many inhabitants. On the other hand, The Dražen Petrović Museum is good example of bottom-up activities where extra-institutional social actors (primarily the family of Dražen Petrović and other enthusiasts) succeeded in establishing an important heritage site. Both sites attract large numbers of people, and present manifestations of various kinds of commemorative practices and narratives. Young people participate in those practices frequently. We conducted six interviews, three per site. Respondents are involved in the life of the site, or connected to the site, by professional or private links. Key findings regarding Diocletian's palace points to the process of commodification of space and the rise of tourism in the city of Split. The consequence of that process is the gradual disappearance of several everyday life behavioural patterns in the centre of the city. It also implies migration of inhabitants from the centre, leaving the historic space alone, without its previous everyday use by the local residents. The other site, the Dražen Petrović Museum became the most important place commemorating basketball player Dražen Petrović - the greatest Croatian athlete of the 20th century, whilst also providing space for inter-cultural dialogue and meeting of people from across the world. Bottom-up activism in this case, based on social memory regarding Dražen Petrović, has produced various cultural practices, including educational content for young people.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

Monuments, museums, and commemorative historical events or figures always bear a powerful social and political message directed at the present and the future. Memory is anchored in a specific

space, gesture, image, object, or ritual. Memory spaces,⁴ especially museums and heritage sites, are of key value in this. Heritage sites and museums are, as a rule, part of the urban fabric. They are exposed to the use and interpretation of citizens and visitors to cities.⁵ People in urban spaces act to satisfy various individual and collective needs. Castells (2000) discusses urban space as a manifestation of the society that lives within it. Thus, spatial elements and elements in the space of a particular urban setting are a reflection of the society that created that space. It can equally be said that the direction of action is inverse, and so we can conclude that the existence of particular things in space determine the development of particular societies. Considering its various significance in the context of social memory, urban space is often also politically instrumentalised. The more frequent and drastic the political changes, the more apparent this phenomenon becomes. Aside from political actors, individuals and groups also make use of the past through the construction of memory to symbolically delineate themselves from the 'other' and build their own identity. Thus, different receptions of social memory bear powerful potential for social and political conflict. Specifically, in the former Yugoslav countries, the relationship of modern society towards modern political changes has been accentuated for decades, e.g. towards the memory and cult of personality built during socialism about the historical role of Josip Broz Tito (Belaj 2006; Mathiesen Hjemdahl 2006). Political divisions in new nation-states, especially between the states created after the fall of Yugoslavia, are significantly founded on opposing collective interpretations of historical events tied to World War II and the war in the 1990s. They are often used in daily mass communication with clear political goals. This type of communication is a boon to various radical political actors, through the use of narratives and symbols tied to local fascist collaborators during WWII and commemorating events and figures tied to them (Marjanović 2007; Pavlaković 2008, 2011, 2014; Markovina 2014). Observing forms of political behaviour among youth in Croatia, Ilišin et al. (2013) notes that, in addition to a distance from politics (especially institutionalised politics), youth are more prone to extra-institutional political action than older generations. It is interesting to note that youth in Croatia have a weak interest and modest knowledge of such historical and political controversies (Mustapić 2015; Franc et al. 2018). Also, some youth in Croatia have an ambivalent relationship towards heritage sites related to the socialist period, or rather towards the original function of socialist monuments, which has taken on an entirely new significance in recent years (Mustapić and Perasović, 2018). In other words – while the polemics of adult society reflect the importance of historical events, these events simply do not exist on the maps of a significant portion of the younger generation (Mustapić 2015). Considering these facts about youth and the culture of memory in the Croatian social context, for this work

⁴ For research approach to memory emphasises the exceptional importance of 'memory spaces' (*'lieux de mémoire'*) see Nora (2007)

⁵ See Meusburger (2011)

package, we have decided to research two heritage sites that have been divested of their usual explicit or implicit political significance. We have also taken account of their geographical location and the historical period to which they are tied. In Split, we chose Diocletian's Palace, one of the best-preserved monuments of ancient Roman architecture in the world. In Zagreb, we chose the Dražen Petrović Museum, which is tied to very recent modern history.

2.2 Data gathering

Both heritage sites were chosen, among other reasons, because they are tourist attractions with a large number of visitors. In addition to activities tied to the spaces of the Palace and the museum, another reason for their selection is due to the various forms of commemorative practice and narrative in which youth participate. Youth and children (mostly from Zagreb) occasionally visit Dražen Petrović Museum on school trips, while Diocletian's Palace is a required site that pupils visit with their teachers in one of the first years of elementary school. We observed these occurrences ourselves while visiting and observing activities at both locations between January and March of 2019.

2.3 Expert interviews

In addition to observation, we undertook three interviews each with experts from Zagreb and Split in March of 2019. The goal of the interviews was to gain insight into the justification of our selection of locations in Croatia. In Zagreb, we conducted an in-depth interview with the one of the leading figures among the museum staff Expert (1)_WP6_HR, one of the leading figures of the Smogovci supporter group Expert (2)_WP6_HR who supports Cibona basketball club and participates in various commemorative activities dedicated to Dražen Petrović, and a journalist Expert (3)_WP6_HR from a daily sports newspaper who writes about basketball daily as a part of his career, and who has published numerous articles about Dražen Petrović. In Split, we interviewed a sociologist and university professor Expert (4)_WP6_HR who has been involved as a researcher and activist in urban planning and social processes at Diocletian's Palace, an architect and urban planner Expert (5)_WP6_HR, and an art historian Expert (6)_WP6_HR who, like generations of her family before her, lives in Diocletian's Palace. The interviews were carried out at the interviewees' workplaces or in a café, depending on the subjects' choice and the fact that the questions were not of a personal nature.

2.4. Analysis

Interviews lasted between 50 and 90 minutes; they were recorded and then transcribed in Croatian. Interview transcripts were analysed using Nvivo 12 software; the data analysed were used to write this report, along with collected and analysed documentation, strategies, and the official websites of the museum and palace.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

According to the 2011 census, Croatia has a population of 4.28 million. When Croatia declared independence in 1991 and was internationally recognised in 1992, it became the sixth state the Palace's oldest residents had lived in throughout the 20th century. The continuity of development of modern civil society in Croatia is that of discontinuities in modernisation. This phrase summarises all the radical social and political conflicts and changes typical of the modernisation of Croatian society. This continued period of social instability is additionally burdened with the plurality of collective and personal memories of the social past. Analysing problems in political culture in the transition process of Croatian society, Šiber (1992) emphasises that the collapse of the socialist ideological system, upon which the identity, loyalty, and hierarchy of power in socialist Yugoslavia were founded, left an empty symbolic space and engendered the need for a new axis for collective belonging. In Croatia, the former official socialist (multinational) narrative of 'brotherhood and unity' was replaced with a (national) narrative of the 'millennial dream of the independent Croatian state'. Since the establishment of the new Croatian state in 1991, regardless of various theoretical approaches to its definition, one of the key anchors of the national identity in political and social narrative has been related to the idea and feeling of belonging to Western European culture. One of the key researchers and intellectuals in the 1990s in Croatia in this field, Kale (1999) emphasises that Croats belong to the European cultural circle, a concept often synonymised with 'Western European civilisation'. This is a key marker of the discourse of the majority of actors in public space and mass communication in the 1990s. In addition to this, we must mention the narrative of Croatian national sacrifice and the traumas of war in the creation of the independent state (1991-1995), especially accentuated through the continued commemoration of the battle for the city of Vukovar. Constructing memories and commemorating the victims of Vukovar in 1991 has become a central commemorative place for the new Croatian state and its identity (Šakić 1997; Žanić et al. 2016). The rootedness of the Croatian national identity in the identity determinants of European culture is unquestionable to the vast majority of Croatian

researchers, journalists, and politicians. This context makes the relationship between the modern Croatian state and its heritage understandable, especially the relationship towards material heritage, foremost as a witness of Croatia's belonging to Western European culture. Cultural literacy implies knowledge of how the state, religion, ethnic groups, traditional beliefs, symbols, and traditions influence the creation, storage, protection, archiving, and treatment of information, as well as the spread of information and knowledge through the use of technology. It is thus exceptionally important to take the cultural policy of countries into account, especially in post-socialist states such as Croatia.

Cultural policy is defined as a field of state intervention and support to cultural activities (Lewis and Miller 2003), or as the sum of the activities of state bodies in the field of culture (Schuster 2003). Lewis and Miller (2003) observe cultural policy as a form of hegemony, which dominant social groups force upon dominated social groups. From this perspective, the field cultural policy presents is ripe for ideological manipulation (Mulcahy 2006). Aside from this, cultural policy is an area with significant budget implications – cultural events and activities direct profit towards particular segments of the local economy, especially to the image and appeal of cities in the tourist industry. Culture in Croatia is frequently the location of ideological conflict; expert assessments state that cultural policy in Croatia is marked by a lack of long-term planning (Primorac et al. 2017). This field of cultural policy is additionally subject to politicisation and short-term political and economic goals, especially as concerns cultural sites exposed to a large number of visitors, as is the case with Diocletian's Palace in Split. The less strict the institutional framework is towards the economic exploitation of such sites or urban spaces, the more apparent the negative consequences of tourism are to the local community and population.

According to the Cultural Heritage Protection Act (Cro. "*Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara*"), cultural heritage in Croatia is defined as movable and immovable objects of artistic, historical, palaeontological, archaeological, anthropological, or scientific significance, archaeological sites and archaeological zones, landscapes and their parts that bear witness to man's presence in space that have artistic, historical, and anthropological value. Furthermore, the act defines non-material forms and phenomena related to human spiritual creativity in the past as cultural heritage, as well as documentation and bibliographic heritage. Buildings and spaces in which cultural heritage and documentation about them are permanently exhibited or stored are also included in the corpus of cultural heritage. Croatia's Ministry of Culture defines cultural heritage very similarly to the previous legal definition, with the addition of a division of heritage into ancient, historical, cultural, artistic, and authentic heritage. The number of cultural goods in the Croatian Register of Cultural Heritage is never fixed, thanks to the variable character of cultural

heritage. As of 1 January 2011, the total number of permanent and preventatively protected movable and immovable cultural goods was 8,217. The list of cultural heritage of national significance contained a total of 42 cultural goods: 33 immovable (30 individual, 2 cultural-historical units, and 1 archaeological site) and 9 individual movable cultural goods.

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

Since 1972, when the Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage was adopted, 1,092 goods have been added to the List of Protected World Cultural and Natural Heritage (845 cultural, 209 natural, and 38 mixed). This list includes ten localities in Croatia, the first of which to be added to the list in 1979 were the historical complex of Split and Diocletian's Palace, the old centre of Dubrovnik, and Plitvice Lakes National Park. The UNESCO list also contains the following localities in Croatia: the Euphrasian Basilica in the historic centre of Poreč (1997); the old centre of Trogir (1997); St. Jacob's Cathedral in Šibenik (2000); the Stari Grad Plain on the island of Hvar (2008); Stećci – Mediaeval grave markers (2016); 16th and 17th century Venetian defensive systems in Zadar and Šibenik (2017); ⁶1,289 hectares of beech forest located in Northern Velebit National Park, as well as 2,031 hectares of forest in Paklenica National Park. As indicated within the legal framework regulating the status and definition of cultural heritage, buildings and spaces in which cultural goods are located and documentation about them comprise a separate category. Not including numerous galleries, libraries, or private collections, there are a total of 294 museums in Croatia, which can be divided into national, regional, local, and international museums. The total number of employees in museums is 1,676, not including trainees in particular museums.

Tourism is one of the most important branches of the Croatian economy. The sector has grown constantly since 2002. Tourism accounted for around 15% of Croatia's GDP in 2008, a number that had risen to 19% by 2018. The variety, number, value, significance, and wide geographical distribution of cultural heritage represents great potential in the development of cultural tourism. However, it also results in various negative consequences from the exceptionally high number of visitors to particular heritage sites. The development of a Ministry of Tourism strategy tied to the development of cultural tourism in 2003 supports the existence of the idea of a systematic strategy to orient Croatian tourism towards cultural tourism. An official Croatian government document tied to the tourism development strategy in Croatia up to 2020 presents cultural tourism as one of the dominant products Croatia uses to access international tourist flows. It is important to note that

⁶ See UNESCO's 1989 definition of cultural heritage

the strategy recognises the individual potential of heritage tourism within the category of cultural tourism (Tourism Development Strategy in the Republic of Croatia by 2020). In this context, two processes must be considered a consequence of globalization – ecological and cultural entropy and the homogenization of culture. Stublić and Samovjska (2018) believe that the commodification of heritage has both positive and negative social aspects. Due to the sensitivity and fragility of cultural heritage, it must be presented and exploited in an ethically appropriate manner, taking into account the sensitivity of the significance of heritage to the everyday life of the local community. Protection of both heritage and the local communities tied to heritage sites is thus of the utmost importance to effective national cultural policy.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

Diocletian's Palace is the ancient palace of Roman emperor Diocletian in Split, Croatia. Diocletian ruled from 284-305 CE. The Palace, which was built around 300 CE and in which he lived until his death (316 CE), was built in a bay southwest of Salona, which was then the centre of the Roman province of Dalmatia. The form of the Palace is reminiscent of a castrum, a Roman military camp, and it was surrounded with fortified walls due to its distance from Salona. The external walls are nearly square, measuring 180x216m, with towers at the corners in accordance with the traditions of Roman military architecture. After the collapse of the Roman Empire and the destruction of Salona during Avar and the Slav conquests in the area, the remaining population concentrated in and around the palace. In the following centuries, Split formed around the Palace, with the Palace as its centre. The residents of the city adapted the spaces within the palace to suit themselves, slowly demolishing or building particular features; the most apparent changes in this respect are changes to the function of sacral buildings. The ruins of the palace are today part of the historic centre of Split, which has been listed on the UNESCO List of World Heritage Sites in Europe since 1979. As a result of the extensive growth of tourism, the number of residents in the palace has dropped significantly in proportion to the growth in the number of tourists. Thus, the number of young people who live in the Palace, as well as those groups of youth in Split who used the spaces within the Palace in various ways, is becoming smaller and smaller.

The Dražen Petrović Museum is dedicated to the most popular 20th-century Croatian athlete, Dražen Petrović (1964-1993). During his career, prior to his tragic death at the age of 29, he was also the most popular Yugoslav athlete of the 1980s. He won numerous team and individual awards, and he can also be considered a pioneer in the appearance of European players in the NBA in the late 1980s, as well as the most successful European in this era of basketball. The museum was founded first and foremost thanks to the exceptional efforts and support of his family, as well

as the support of the sporting public, especially basketball supporters. The museum began operating in 2006. The permanent exhibition of the museum chronologically follows Dražen's life and his sporting history from his birthplace of Šibenik, through Zagreb, Madrid, and the United States, to his successes with the Yugoslav and Croatian national teams. The museum additionally features everyday objects, sports equipment, and objects attesting to Dražen's public and private life; the permanent exhibition also contains a ten-minute film about the sports great (shown during group visits). The museum is located next to the basketball arena at which KK Cibona plays; the arena is named after him, as is the square in front of the arena and the museum, which features a monument to him. The museum has a large number of visitors each year. It is especially important to note that a great deal of these visitors are youth and children, not only from the former Yugoslavia, but from Europe and the United States as well.

The symbolism of Diocletian's Palace, nearly two millennia old, is a highly complex issue as related to national cultural heritage and identity. All narratives, from political to historical and tourist narratives, undoubtedly consider the Palace the starting point of the city of Split. Aside from bearing witness to the ancient roots of the modern city of Split, the Palace is also one of the most significant historical monuments in Croatia. The process of Christianisation present on the Adriatic coast in ancient times began to encompass the Slavic tribes and leaders who arrived here in the 7th century, who later founded the Mediaeval Croatian state. There are numerous sacral buildings in the Palace from this time period, the most important and the largest of which is the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, the local residents call the church by the name of Split's patron saint, St. Domnius (Sveti Dujam). It is located in the Palace's central Peristyle. It first served as the mausoleum of Emperor Diocletian ('persecutor of Christians'); in the mid-7th century, it became a Christian cathedral featuring altars with relics to St. Domnius, who was martyred in nearby Salona, in prominent locations. In the interview, the Expert (5)_WP6_HR notes: "*By the most conservative estimate, Salona had around fifty thousand residents at the peak of its power. Split only reached this number in the 1920s or 1930s.*" He suggests that the Palace and the settlements along its walls constituted a small city until expansion as a result of migration processes and urbanisation during the 20th century. He also considers Diocletian's Palace a key marker in the identity of modern Split, alongside Marjan Forest Park, the seaside promenade, and FC Hajduk. He holds that the local public overestimates the significance of the Palace to European cultural heritage, while it is simultaneously presented positively and taken advantage of in tourism despite negative consequences to the local community. The Expert (4)_WP6_HR considers mass tourism the Palace's biggest problem, especially the thousands of tourists who come on day tours to the Palace by cruise ship: "*I was the principle investigator on research for the British Council in 2005. We noted young people who wanted an experience, they weren't interested in the buildings, the Temple of Jupiter, the Peristyle and so on, but in the*

atmosphere, the people, the urban environment. ... And that all vanished in less than ten years. Now we have consumer clientele. These are entirely different people now, different young people are coming. Especially since the Ultra music festival has been held in Split every July." The sociologist claims that the Palace has been devastated since 2013, which corresponds with Croatia's accession to the EU. The architect claims that the cultural offerings, museums, and cultural institutions are entirely unsuited to the environment and the needs of this kind of clientele. The sociologist and the architect see local government and its response to the wave of capital and entrepreneurs as a key problem. This endangers cultural heritage, and the everyday lives of citizens even more so. For example, the Expert (6)_WP6_HR, who was born and raised in the Palace, notes that its residents are no longer able to use public space to socialise or have a traditional barbecue (Cro. 'gradele'), things that they were able to do for centuries. City police have banned them from doing so in recent years, while simultaneously tolerating general disorder and various arbitrary behaviour from entrepreneurs. The Expert (4)_WP6_HR was an actor involved in opposition to these processes in academic circles for years; he organised an NGO and social actions due to the state of the palace, however he considers this battle to have been lost ("*The absolute perspective is very dark. A very dark perspective. Look, it's not completely lost, but it's heading towards its end...*"). He believes the Ministry of Culture bears the brunt of the blame for the current state: "*...It'll sound like I'm anti-EU, but I'm not, I'm strongly pro-EU. But I do oppose the mechanisms neo-liberal capitalism brings. They reconstructed the laws, and first they repealed the law, they changed the structure of the heritage system, heritage protection, etc."* He emphasises that the entire space of the Palace has been rigidly commodified and placed in the service of tourism, leaving heritage protection laws as nothing more than ink on paper. The Expert (6)_WP6_HR is still attempting to fight alongside her friends, however she notes that the number of residents in the palace has fallen from 1,500 to barely 100 in the past two decades. This has especially affected young people, who are almost entirely absent with the exception of a few points in the palace. One of the reasons for this is also the fact that food and beverage outlets in the palace are too expensive for youth in Split: "*But young people come now on Saturdays and Sundays – it's empty during the week – Friday, Saturday are so-so, Sundays some come around noon, Friday and Saturday and when it's sunny on the promenade – they come exclusively for the restaurants, there's nothing else here, there's no other content. And it's pure hustling in that sense – what I began talking about – because you knew what kind of music there was in different places: one place played rock, the other jazz, the third something else, something fun. But now, when you have this hustling for tourists, one customer comes in and says 'play some turbo-folk on YouTube', then they leave and another comes in and says 'put on some glam rock', no problem."* The marketing strategy regarding the Palace is primarily part of the marketing agenda of the tourist board on local and national level. All textual and audio-visual programmes are part of an elite and 'up to bottom' strategy of mass

communication. Therefore, local NGO's are in a conflict with the establishment and elite because their perception of the role of the Palace in tourism and the everyday life of the local community is completely different.

The Dražen Petrović Museum and Memorial Centre was founded thanks foremost to years of effort and dedication from the Petrović family, especially his mother Biserka. The experts we interviewed indicated the opinion that the museum never would have been founded without these efforts, as did Mrs. Petrović during an informal conversation. Expert (1)_WP6_HR: "*Pretty much everything that happened was her initiative, maybe just a small portion can be accredited to Zagreb's massive bureaucracy. ... It was her enormous effort and dedication, literally to the extent that – to express myself colourfully – she broke down the doors of the institutions to get the museum working.*" This kind of project, with the involvement of Dražen's mother and the support of the basketball community, would not have been possible if Dražen had not become a sports star at a very young age – one that would not fade even after his death. Hrستیć and Mustapić (2015) note that Petrović is a sports star who is written about in Croatia even in school history textbooks.⁷ The interviewed Expert (3)_WP6_HR notes: "*Dražen was a youth idol in the 1980s. Of course, all the kids from Zagreb were tied to Cibona, which was European champion. ... What I'm trying to say is that basketball was the most important sport to that whole generation in the 80s in Zagreb, because it was something, maybe even socialist heritage, that said this small, poor country would fight on some global level with some of the best, and it was also very important that basketball was the number one sport in Yugoslavia. Cibona, which was European champion twice, and Jugoplastika from Split that was European champion three times, so you had the best basketball products in Europe right here in Croatia. Dražen was the best of all of them, and of course people identified with him. It seems to me that he's still the only athlete – this happened after they won European championships in Budapest in 1986 – that a crowd of people literally carried him home when the team bus came back to Zagreb. I don't remember any other athlete being carried around like that in the history of Zagreb. Dražen was an absolute pop star.*" This myth lives on even among the youngest, but primarily among those who follow basketball, despite the fact that it has lost some of its former significance. This has certainly been contributed to by numerous monographs, documentaries, periodicals, brochures, and media pieces. In Zagreb and Šibenik, there are numerous street murals and graffiti next to his monuments. In Zagreb, this is foremost a result of the activities of the Smogovci ultras group, who are passionate supporters of KK Cibona; this is especially apparent on All Saints' Day, when Dražen's grave is the most visited at Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb. In this context, the museum should be taken as the central meeting point and transmitter of collective memory of Dražen's life and his sporting career. The museum is also

⁷ For the role of the most successful Croatian athletes of the 1990s see Hrستیć and Mustapić (2015)

unique on the European level, as such institutions are rarely dedicated to just one person. Sports museums are most often focused on various forms of sports collectives and organisations and one or more sports. Aside from this, the museum is almost entirely oriented towards modern history instead of the distant past. The museum is appealing to youth, as its presentations use video recordings that have been adapted to younger generations, especially school-age children. Children often visit with their parents, who were Dražen's peers. The Expert (1)_WP6_HR notes: *"There's this educational, learning component in the fact that young people visit who hadn't been born yet when Dražen was playing, who have only heard about him, or who have seen a documentary or two about Dražen and something interested them, and then they actually come to learn more, to see more. They're often brought by their teachers, who remain fascinated with Dražen. These are often physical education teachers, as well as principals and other school staff. People often tell me it's the only museum in Zagreb where they can leave their kids in the museum while they go out for a coffee, that they don't have to worry, because the museum is very interesting to the kids, where they can see three Olympic medals in one place; international, European gold, what the man accomplished in twenty eight years... People think the museum is small, they come and see ten cases, but those are ten cases one man filled in twenty-eight years, and there are still three storage rooms full of things we don't have room to exhibit. I think it also leaves a strong impression on them."* Expert (3)_WP6_HR makes a similar point: *"I think that's part of Dražen Petrović's heritage that is especially important. I'm thinking of his work ethic, his dedication to training and meeting his sporting goals, regardless of obstacles or rivalry. I think he's the ideal example of how you can succeed through hard work."* The museum is often visited by youth who come to Zagreb and Croatia with their basketball clubs for various tournaments, or who are just passing through. It is somewhat of a tradition for numerous basketball clubs to visit from various countries, especially from the former Yugoslav states, but from across Europe as well, and especially Spain because of the role Dražen played at Real Madrid. The museum has thus become a place of prominent intercultural dialogue, as evidenced by the books of visitor impressions. Visitors from Serbia are especially prominent. Despite the events of the war, Dražen was one of a few rare athletes who remained an integrative point that surpassed the new national, political, and sporting rivalries and/or hostilities. Museum visitors from the former Yugoslav states still consider him "their own". The Expert (3)_WP6_HR explains this phenomenon as follows: *"Dražen is a myth. You know, something like James Dean. Some kind of superstar that disappeared suddenly. We all know where we were when we heard that Dražen had died, had been killed, we all know how we felt then, and each one of us from the generation that experienced him had some kind of personal impression of him...He died at the peak of his strength, so your generation later, young kids heard from their parents or older people, they read a lot about it and realised it was something different, and he simply remained in all our memories as – it's unlikely a star like him will be born again."*

You know, football was always the number one sport, and Luka Modrić is the best footballer in the world today. But I doubt Modrić's heritage at the end of his career will be anywhere near Dražen's."

3.4 Local Heritage offer

Split is the largest city on the Croatian coast; in 2011, it had 178,000 residents, while the capital city of Zagreb had 790,000. The city of Split (co-)finances 11 cultural institutions out of its city budget. These 11 cultural institutions include 3 theatres, 4 museums, 1 art gallery, the city library system, a multimedia cultural centre, and Marjan forest park. In the 1990s, Split experienced war and the collapse of its industry. In the 2000s, it suffered de-industrialisation and the loss of a large number of jobs. The rapid development of tourism as a key economic branch in Split saved the city from economic and social collapse. However, tourism is quickly changing the urban fabric of Split, from the price of real estate and the way it is used in the city centre to various pressures on the everyday life of the local community. The authenticity of the local community has undoubtedly been brought into question. Diocletian's Palace is an open-type building that is a part of the city centre. It is open to the public, except for certain buildings, which charge an entrance fee. Numerous travel agencies and tourist guides also organise professionally guided tours through the palace. The palace, which is under the care of the city culture department, also features numerous souvenir shops where guests can purchase various forms of souvenirs from the palace and Split. The significance of the palace to Split's tourist offerings is crucial to the perception of the city as a desirable tourist destination (Puh, 2014).

It is difficult to confirm the exact number of museums in Zagreb, as various sources use different typologies for what is considered a museum or not. Additionally, there is also a distinction between museums run by the city government and privately-owned museums. According to official data from the Museum Documentation Centre, Zagreb has 34 museums with permanent exhibitions. There are a few specialised museums as well, such as the Croatian School Museum or the Croatian Railway Museum. This category also includes two museums dedicated to sport – the Croatian Sports Museum and the Dražen Petrović Museum and Memorial Centre. In 2006, the Dražen Petrović Museum and Memorial Centre fell under the jurisdiction and financing of the city culture department. There is a symbolic entry fee to the museum. Numerous monographs, DVDs, t-shirts, clothing items, and souvenirs are also offered for sale. The museum is not a key tourist attraction in Zagreb, however its content and location in the city centre certainly contribute to Zagreb's appeal as a tourist destination.

4. Discussion

Within the framework of this report, it was of key importance to explain the specificities of the social and cultural context in Croatia, and then to describe which locations were chosen for the research. We begin from Castells' (2000) theory on urban space as a manifestation of a specific society. Considering its various significance in the context of social memory, urban space is often also politically instrumentalised. This is a problem that has been present in Croatia for nearly three decades, and is especially expressed through political narratives and decisions related to commemorations of events from World War II (Mustapić and Balabanić 2018). This has been one of the most persistent, longest-lasting themes in political communication in Croatia, both in the main and marginal political parties, since the establishment of democracy and the first multi-party elections in 1990. As a series of works have been published on this phenomenon in Croatia, some of the authors of which were mentioned in the previous part, our intent in this report is to avoid heritage sites that are contaminated with this kind of political interpretation. We thus endeavoured to choose heritage sites that can bear the potential for social conflict, but not one that has been previously subjected to political divisions 'from above'. This seems especially important to us regarding research on youth we have conducted in Croatia, especially within the framework of the FP7 MYPLACE project, which affirmed, in addition to increasing 'apolitical politicism' (Franc et al. 2018), the existence of a complete lack of interest in historical themes and discussions, not only due to their political instrumentalisation but as a step away from the narrative imposed by older generations.

Cultural literacy is closely tied to the cultural policy of a particular country. Cultural policy, in addition to norming, also bears significant financial implications for heritage sites and institutions, both on the local and national levels. As public funds are at stake, decisions as to how they are spent are taken by the local and national political elites who are in power. Heritage sites are thus subject to politicisation, and are sometimes a space in which social and political conflicts unfold. The Ministry of Culture is the institution with the most influence over regulating both political and social conflicts in this area in Croatia. Some of the most valuable examples of cultural heritage in Croatia have been under UNESCO protection since the late 1970s. However, in the past two decades, this very fact has led to the branding of locations as 'unmissable' or exclusive tourist destinations (Dubrovnik, Split, Hvar, Trogir, Poreč, etc.). In recent times, excessive tourist use of these goods has both placed their further usage into question and led to problems in the everyday functioning of local communities in these locations. The popularisation of particular cities in Croatia in the context of international tourist flows often raises the issue of protecting material

cultural heritage in urban tourist destinations (old town centres, buildings of special cultural and historical significance, etc.), as well as making it necessary to ponder the social implications of this process. Excessive tourist use of city centres has caused a kind of "emigration" from these spaces. The question thus arises as to how to preserve the symbolic and identity determinants of particular cities that are also undoubtedly cultural heritage. The relationship between cultural heritage and tourism in Croatia has yet to be sorted; activities in this field are apparent with a view to the existence of strategies and other official documents that emphasise the importance of cultural heritage, but also create guidelines for both its protection and use.

There is no doubt that cultural heritage in Croatia is interpreted, both institutionally and academically, primarily as proof of Croatia's belonging to Western European culture, from ancient cultural heritage to modern heritage. A referendum was held in 2012 on Croatia's accession to the EU. There were significant divisions in society, from low voter turn-out (44%) to the fact that a third of all votes were against EU accession. However, there is a societal consensus regarding Croatia's cultural belonging to Europe; moreover, a portion of the public insists on this in the cultural construction of 'otherness' as compared to the 'Balkans', as a synonym of the part of the former Yugoslavia located to the east of Croatia. Obad (2008) affirms that the dominant interpretation in Croatia was that Croatia's accession to the EU amounted to a tacit agreement to "return to Europe"; key political actors who participated in the EU accession negotiations saw Croatia as a part of "Central Europe", calling upon "Habsburg heritage", while viewing the remainder of the former Yugoslavia as a periphery that "lags behind European centres in civilisational development" (Obad 2009). This top-down context should also be used to observe confirmed identity determinants that point to an ethno-centric perception of national identity among the general populace (Franc et al. 2009) and amongst youth in Croatia (Baranović 2002; Blanuša and Šiber 2007).

The two chosen heritage sites, considering both their subject matter and the historical periods they relate to, are so different as to reflect a kind of cultural counterpoint. Diocletian's Palace in Split has been institutionalised from the top down, is under UNESCO protection, and is an important part of the local tourist industry. On the other hand, the Dražen Petrović Museum and Memorial Centre in Zagreb has been institutionalised from the bottom up after more than a decade of efforts by his family, with the support of those who respect the figure and work of Croatia's most popular 20th-century athlete. The chosen museum is a relatively small institution, at the outskirts of the interest of key actors in local and national cultural policy, as well as large tourist agencies. It is important to note that both heritage sites are devoid of political instrumentalisation and open to a wide range of social groups, cooperating with various European and international actors.

The experts selected for both locations see numerous positive and negative aspects to the social and economic consequences of the current manner in which heritage sites function and are used. They are significantly more critical in the case of Diocletian's Palace, as this is a space in which life in the city centre has been unfolding uninterrupted since the construction of the palace more than 1,700 years ago. In recent decades, there has been a significant emigration of population from the Palace, which now has only roughly 100 year-round residents. Experts consider the consequences of extensive tourist use of space and heritage to be negative, and the lack of reaction from the responsible institutions is considered part of the typical clientelism and corruption in Croatia. Aside from destroying the local community's way of life, the long-term preservation of the material heritage itself is brought into question before the arbitrary behaviour of various investors, who use limited resources and infrastructure. They are also exceptionally critical of the insistence on interpreting the heritage of the palace exclusively as an ancient structure. They believe that this site can be significantly better presented to tourists from all over the world, as well as to youth in Split, especially in the context of intercultural dialogue. The museum in Zagreb is directed towards lovers of sport, especially basketball. Visitors are from different generations and from all over Europe, although the majority are from the former Yugoslav states. Experts consider Dražen to have supranational significance; in the post-war period, he was an integrative point that overcame the divided, traumatic memories of the collapse of the former Yugoslavia. The museum is currently limited by its modest space, however it must be noted that the generations of Dražen's peers are getting older, and that the museum will have to direct its focus increasingly towards youth. In both cases, therefore, the need for a focus on youth has been identified, especially children and work with schools and teachers in a modern, interactive way.

Sociologist Ivan Rogić (1992) inquiries into how to revitalise old town centres in Croatia, especially those containing valuable cultural heritage sites, conclude that the existing relationship towards cultural heritage is poor and inadequate, and is the consequence of negativity tied to the process of societal modernisation and the technical determinism of the socialist period. He also notes the decline in the quality of life experienced by citizens exposed to extensive tourist renting in cities such as Dubrovnik, as well as the decline of heritage sites in island towns exposed to isolation and emigration. Many studies have since been written from various social science and humanities perspectives. As noted earlier in the text, a few strategies to protect, evaluate, and reflect on how to use cultural heritage have been made in the past few years. Parallel to documents of the Croatian government and its ministries (Ministry of Culture and Ministry of Tourism), the tendency towards considerations of cultural heritage are also shown by some more recent research in the field. For example, in 2018, a study entitled *Life in the historic centre of Dubrovnik: a*

sociological and demographic study (Klempić Bogadi, Vukić, Čaldarović 2018) was published, presenting continuity in research in the field mentioned earlier as the subject of sociologist Ivan Rogić's research (1992). It must be noted that a few works have been published in recent years whose authors mostly hail from the field of architecture, although some of these publications are of an interdisciplinary nature. For example, Kostešić, Vukić, and Vukić (2019) deal with the issue of revitalising cultural heritage, while Jukić and Vukić (2015) discuss the issue of the city of Zadar in the context of its cultural heritage and city centre as related to modern urban development and tourism. We believe the prior research is different from what is presented by the methodological approach of our research within the CHIEF project. We must also emphasise that the research itself is focused on youth, as well as on the fact that the meaning and interpretation of cultural heritage is placed in the European context, and is thus connected to the cultural literacy of youth.

5. Conclusion

In the economic sense, Diocletian's Palace is an exceptionally important part of the local tourism industry. It is thus the frequent subject of public controversy (forums, political sphere, media, etc.); disputes also often take place within the space itself. The ambivalent nature of its significance is interpreted through the realisation of significant income and employment from tourist activities on the one hand, and through the fact that these processes lead to the "emptying" of the space within the Palace and the creation of an urban locality practically devoid of everyday life on the other. The few remaining residents have been forced to adapt to the new ways the public space is used, which have greatly replaced the previous ways the Palace was used by its residents as part of their everyday routines. Aside from the remaining residents, the Palace is becoming less appealing as a space to spend free time for youth from the greater city area. Throughout past decades, youth from Split have viewed the Palace as a place to meet, gather, and spend time. Today, these are only rare exceptions concerning small groups of youth from the city's alternative music scene. We may conclude that young people have been driven from the Palace nearly entirely, thus bringing the role of this protected heritage site as a space of intercultural dialogue involving youth into question. As noted earlier, the problem of the emigration of the Palace's permanent residents also points to a change in the role of the Palace in the context of the city of Split. The Palace as a heritage site can thus be considered to be undergoing a particular transformation that has yet to display its long-term consequences, which are the abandonment of the Palace by its permanent residents and its questionable functional role in the everyday life of the city of Split. When discussing the functional role of the Palace, it must be noted that we discuss the fact that the Palace's everyday use by Split's permanent residents is being replaced by tourism and shorter stays within the space of the Palace.

The Dražen Petrović Museum and Memorial Centre is a brilliant example of the affirmation of sport in the field of museology. It is also a rare example of a museum in Croatia that is strongly oriented towards youth, both through cooperation with a particular number of teachers from Croatia and abroad and with a large number of basketball clubs, mostly from the former Yugoslav states. The work of the Dražen Petrović Museum is an excellent example of intercultural dialogue. This is evidenced by its visitors from all over the world. The message the museum sends is filled with the glorification of values that can find their place within the concept of intercultural dialogue. Young people who visit the museum have the opportunity to see collections of medals, trophies, and other awards left behind after the death of Dražen Petrović. However, the museum's exhibits also introduce young people to particular moments in Dražen's life that may be exceptionally motivating to them. Dražen Petrović is a historical figure whose heritage opens space for intercultural dialogue through sport, as well as through the fact that he was a "pop" icon across the entirety of the former Yugoslavia until its collapse. Visits to the museum today support the fact that, despite the collapse of Yugoslavia through the process of war, places such as this can be seen as a kind of meeting point for various ethnic groups from the former Yugoslavia, as well as a pledge for their further intercultural dialogue; which is especially important in the context of youth. Outside of the museum space itself, there are a number of young people whose activities point to the significance of commemorating Dražen Petrović and the need for a museum like this to exist. It is important to emphasise that some youth, like the ultras groups that support KK Cibona, organise and implement their own various forms of commemorative practice and memory construction. Examples of this can be found through a spectrum of youth action, from the drawing of graffiti with Dražen's face near the museum and hall, to chanting his name at KK Cibona matches and visiting his grave at Zagreb's cemetery.

6. References

Assmann, J. (2006) Kultura pamćenja i historija. In: Brkljačić, M. and Prlenda, S. eds., *Kultura sjećanja*, pp. 45–78. Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga.

Baranović, B. (2002) Mladi u Hrvatskoj–između nacionalnog identiteta i Europske integracije, In: Ilišin, V. and Radin, F. eds., *Mladi uoči trećeg milenija*, pp. 125-154. Zagreb: IDIZ.

Belaj, M. (2006) Tito poslije Tita. Kip Josipa Broza kao žarište obrednog ponašanja, In: Škrbić Alempijević, N. and Mathiesen Hjemdahl, K. eds., *O Titu kao mitu: proslava Dana mladosti u Kumrovcu*, pp. 201-219. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Srednja Europa.

Blanuša, N. and Šiber, I. (2007) Mladi i Europa: strahovi i nade. ‘*Anali Hrvatskog politološkog društva*’, 4 (1): 119-141.

Castells, M. (2000) *Uspon umreženog društva- Informacijsko doba: ekonomija, društvo i kultura*. Zagreb: Golden marketing.

Franc, R.; Ivičić, I. and Šakić, V. (2009) ‘Oblici domoljublja i izraženost hrvatskog nacionalnog identitet’, *Društvena istraživanja*, 18 (3): 393-415.

Franc, R.; Perasović, B. and Mustapić, M. (2018) Youth, History and a Crisis of Democracy? Perspectives from Croatia, In: Pilkington, H.; Pollock, G. and Franc, R. eds., *Understanding Youth Participation Across Europe From Survey to Ethnography*, pp. 227-263. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hrstić, I. and Mustapić, M. (2015) ‘Sport and politics in Croatia - Athletes as National Icons in History Textbook’, *Altre modernità*, 14 (11): 148-165.

Ilišin, V.; Bouillet, D.; Gvozdanović, A. and Potočnik, D. (2013) *Mladi u vremenu krize. Prvo istraživanje IDIZ-a i Zaklade Friedrich Ebert o mladima*. Zagreb: IDIZ i Friedrich Ebert Stiftung – Zagreb.

Jukić, T. and Vukić, F. (2015) ‘Razvojna perspektiva Zadra; Povijesna središta, suvremeni grad i održivi turizam’, *Prostor*, 23 (2): 314-323.

Kale, E. (1999) *Hrvatski kulturni i politički identitet*. Osijek: Pan liber.

Klempić Bogadi, S.; Vukić, J. and Čaldarović, O. (2018) *Život u povijesnoj jezgri Dubrovnika: sociološko-demografska studija*. Dubrovnik: Zavod za obnovu Dubrovnika.

Kostešić, I.; Vukić, J. and Vukić, F. (2019) A Comprehensive Approach to Urban Heritage Regeneration, In: Obad Šćitaroci, M.; Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci, B. and Mrđa, A. eds., *Cultural Urban Heritage*, pp. 65-76. Cham: Springer.

Lewis, J. and Miller, T. eds., (2003) *Critical cultural policy studies: a reader*. Malden, USA: Blackwell Pub.

Marjanović, B. (2007) 'Promjena vlasti, promjena ulica', *Diskrepancija*, 8 (12) 105-127.

Markovina, D. (2012) 'Kultura sjećanja u Splitu: Fenomen dvadesetog stoljeća', *Kulturna baština*, 38: 65-88.

Mathiesen Hjemdahl, K. (2006) Slijedeći neke od Titovih putevšestvija. In: Škrbić Alempijević, N. and Mathiesen Hjemdahl, K. eds., *O Titu kao mitu: proslava Dana mladosti u Kumrovcu*, pp. 40-74. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, Srednja Europa.

Meusburger, P. (2011) Knowledge, Cultural Memory, and Politics, In: Meusburger, P.; Heffernan, M. and Wunder, E. eds., *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View*, pp. 51 - 69. Heidelberg: Springer.

Ministarstvo turizma (2003) *Strategija razvoja kulturnog turizma: Od turizma i kulture do kulturnog turizma*. Zagreb: Institut za turizam.

Mulcahy, K. V. (2006) 'Cultural Policy: Definitions and Theoretical Approaches'. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 35 (4): 319–330.

Mustapić, M. (2015) Interes za povijest i kultura sjećanja mladih u Zagrebu: "hmm...povijest...pa zanima me, ali ...me i ne zanima...", In: Ilišin, V.; Gvozdanović, A. and Potočnik, D. eds., *Demokratski potencijal mladih u Hrvatskoj*, pp. 99-123. Zagreb: IDIZ, CDP Miko Tripalo.

Mustapić, M. and Balabanić, I. (2018) "Mjesto sjećanja" ili izborna kampanja? Analiza sadržaja hrvatskih medija prije parlamentarnih izbora 2015'. *Društvena istraživanja*, 27 (3): 431-451

Mustapić, M. and Perasović, B. (2018) Sites of Memory and Social Change in Croatia: A Case Study of The Seagull's Wings Monument, In: Mirošević, L., Zaro, G., Katić, M. and Birt, D. eds., *Landscape in Southeastern Europe*, pp. 147-163. Zurich: Lit Verlag

Nora, P. (2007) 'Između sjećanja i povijesti'. *Diskrepancija*. 8 (12): 135-165.

Obad, O. (2008) 'The European Union from the Postcolonial Perspective: Can the Periphery ever Approach the Center?', *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, 20 (1): 22-35.

Obad, O. (2009) 'Imperij kao uzvraćanje udarca: Predodžbe o kulturi i identitetu u hrvatskih pregovarača s EU', *Narodna umjetnost*, 46 (2): 111-127.

Olick, J. K. (2007) *The Politics of Regret: On Collective Memory and Historical Responsibility*. London: Routledge.

Pavlaković, V. (2008) Opet Za dom spremni: desetotravanjske komemoracije u Hrvatskoj nakon 1990. godine. In: Bosto, S.; Cipek, T. and Milosavljević, O. eds., *Kultura sjećanja: 1941. Povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*, pp. 113–129. Zagreb: Disput.

Pavlaković, V. (2011) Sukob, komemoracije i promjene značenja: Meštrovićev paviljon kao prijeporno mjesto sjećanja. In: Cipek, T. (ed.), *Kultura sjećanja: 1991. Povijesni lomovi i svladavanje prošlosti*, pp. 215–238. Zagreb: Disput.

Pavlaković, V. (2014) Fulfilling the thousand-year-old dream: Strategies of symbolic nation-building in Croatia. In: Kolstø, P. (ed.), *Strategies of symbolic nationbuilding in South Eastern Europe*, pp. 19–50. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing.

Primorac, J.; Obuljen Koržinek, N. and Uzelac, A. (2017) 'Access to culture in Croatian cultural policy: moving towards explicit policies', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 23 (5): 562–580.

Puh, B. (2014). 'Čimbenici percipiranog imidža turističke destinacije', *Ekonomika misao i praksa*, (2), 483-506.

Rogić, I. (1992) *Periferijski puls u srcu od grada: zamke revitalizacije*. Zagreb: Sociološko društvo Hrvatske.

Schuster, J. M. (ed.) (2003) *Mapping State Cultural Policy: The State of Washington*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Stublić, H. and Samovojska, R. (2018) 'Uvod u problematiku komodifikacije teške baštine', *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, 30: 279–294.

Sundhaussen, H. (2006) Konstrukcija, destrukcija i nova konstrukcija „sjećanja“ i mitova, In: Brkljačić, M. and Prlenda, S. eds., *Kultura pamćenja i historija*, 239-284. Zagreb: Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga.

Šakić, V. (1997) *Načelo Vukovar: Bilješke za imaginarnu povijest vukovarske Hrvatske*. Zagreb: Otvoreno sveučilište.

Šiber, I. (1992) 'Politička kultura i tranzicija', *Politička misao*, 29 (3): 93-110.

Vlada Republike Hrvatske (2013) *Strategija razvoja turizma Republike Hrvatske do 2020*. Zagreb: Narodne novine.

Žanić, M.; Kufrin, K. and Živić, D. (2016) 'Kultura i sjećanje na rat: Vukovarska bitka i njezini društveni odjeci', *Migracijske i etničke teme*, 32 (2): 245-270.

7. Appendices

<https://visitsplit.com/en/446/attractions>

<http://www.drazenpetrovic.net/muzej/>

Plate 1. The Diocletian Palace - Illustration of Original Architecture



Plate 2. The Cathedral of Saint Domnius, known locally as the Sveti Dujam



Plate 3. Peristil - The central square of the Palace



Plate 4. The Nights of Diocletian – Event organized by the Split Tourist Board



Plate 5. Typical Flyer of Private Tourist Agency

Discover Split!

the what to see, where to go, what to do newspaper for tourists

FREE COPY!

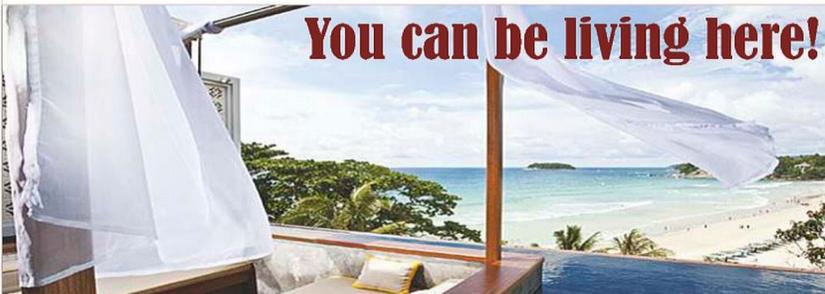
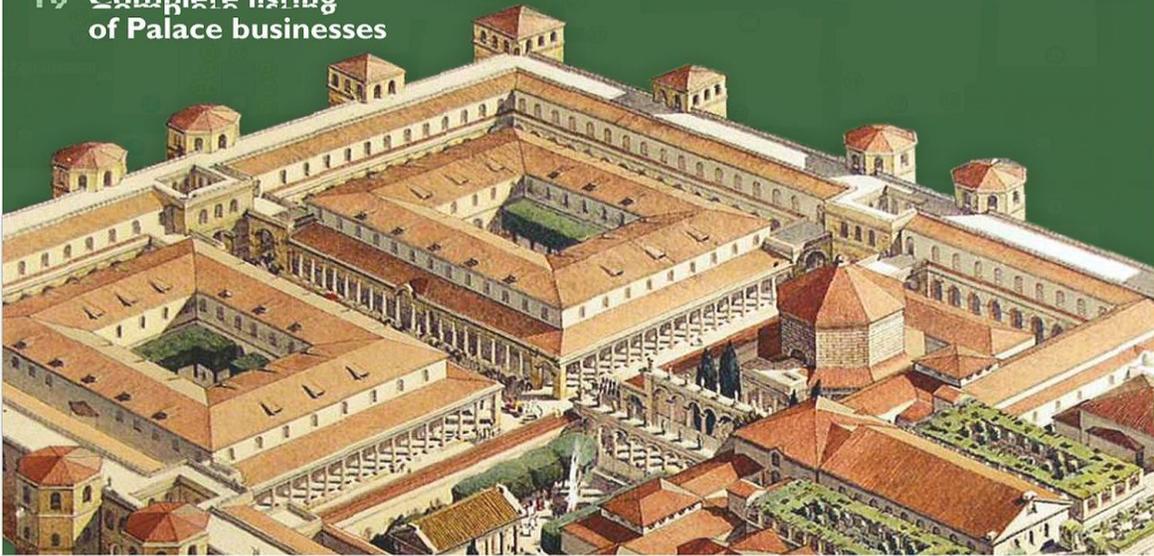
- 2** Diocletian's Palace Map
special pull-out section
- 4** What to see and do
- 5** City Center one
- 7** Split shopping
- 8** Split Calendar of Events
- 9** Wining and dining
- 12** Great day trips
- 13** Split's best
- 14** Feeling good
- 16** Complete listing of Palace businesses

exclusive, inside

DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE WALKING MAP™

the only map with a complete list of every street and shop!

to access
the Palace/Old Town Mobile Directory™
connect to **Zzzzapp Wi-Fi!**



You can be living here!



Tel/Fax: +385 21 380 165
+385 91 444 16 77
www.dreamingcroatia.com

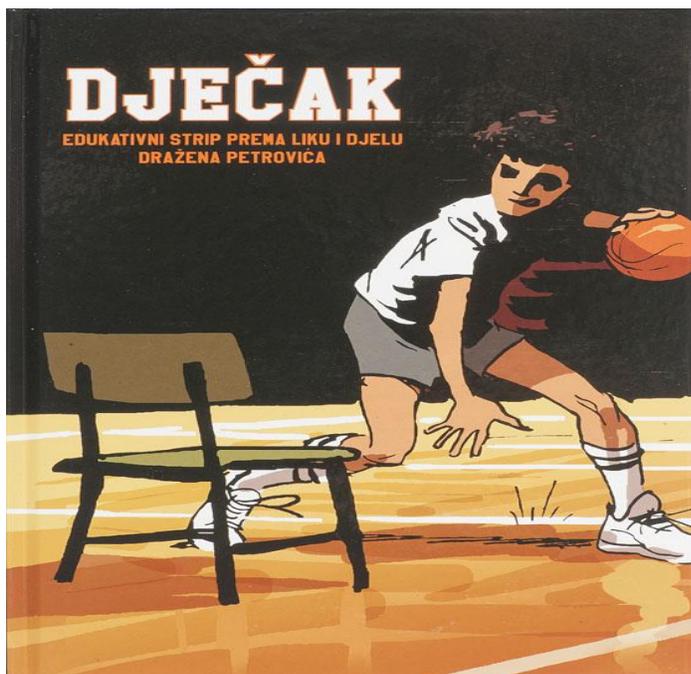
Plate 6. The Dražen Petrović Square and Monument



Plate 7. The Dražen Petrović Memorial Center



Plate 8. The Dražen Petrović Comic Book



9. The Dražen Petrović Monography

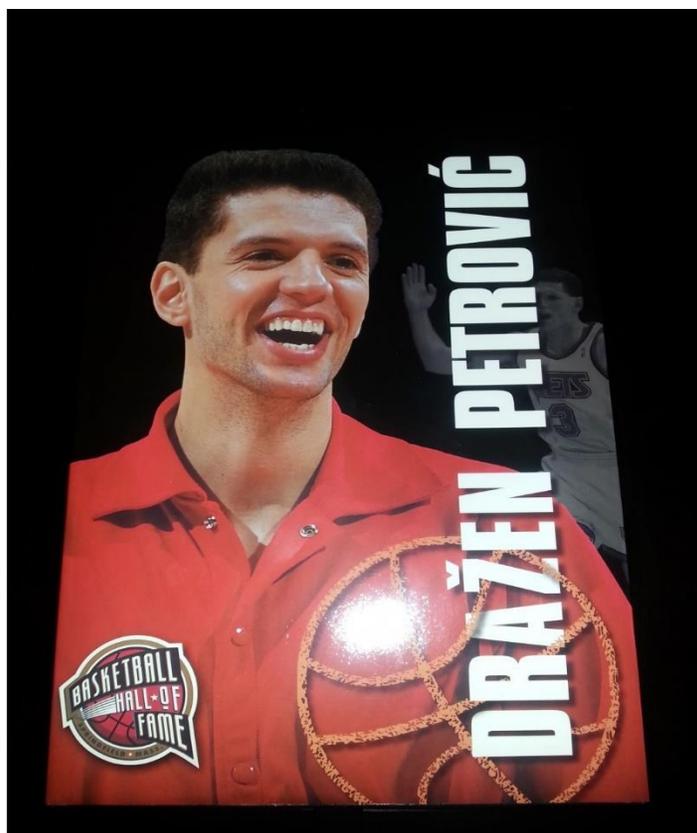


Plate 10. The Dražen Petrović Graffiti in Zagreb



Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Georgia)

Tamar Khoshtaria, Meagan Neal, Rati Shubladze, Kristina Vacharadze

1. Executive Summary

The aim of this deliverable is to map and describe how heritage sites present their offerings and play a role in young people's cultural education in Georgia. Heritage sites can be important settings for young people to learn about cultural heritage and about their country's history. In Georgia, two heritage sites were selected for ethnographic study: (1) The National Gallery, which is part of the Georgian National Museum complex, offers permanent exhibitions of Georgian painters as well as temporary international exhibitions of mostly European artists, located on the central avenue of Tbilisi; and (2) the Stalin Museum, presenting history, belongings, and documents of the famous political figure of the 20th century, located in Gori, a small town near Tbilisi. Both museums, though very dissimilar, are major tourist attractions, often visited by school classes.

The ethnographic research in the two museums included site visits, participant observation, face-to-face semi-structured interviews (three in the National Gallery and two in the Stalin Museum) with the employees/cultural heritage professionals of the museums, and data gathering from the museums' web and Facebook pages, as well as the museum's guidebooks. The researchers also took photos and took notes while visiting the sites.

In addition to the data received from the ethnographic research, this deliverable also presents data on how Georgian culture is presented through the Georgian National Tourism Administration's (GNTA) website and how it promotes Georgian culture and heritage. The findings also present the location, brief history, and description of the museums. The face-to-face interviews revealed a number of interesting topics including events and challenges of the museums, as well as young people's interest and engagement in cultural life. Finally, educational aspects of the museums are also presented in the findings.

The data gathered during the ethnographic study revealed that the two museums are quite different not only in terms of the content of their exhibitions, but also in terms of funding, infrastructural conditions, the employees' attitudes towards a number of topics, and the extent to which they keep up with the country's new policies on culture and cultural education, which not only require the museums to be modern, attractive and interesting to the public, but also imply introducing more intense cultural education in schools and museums. For this purpose, the National Gallery took several steps -including introducing modern technologies - to try to interest more young people and involve them in museum life, although this is still in progress.

In addition, even though both museums often hold temporary exhibitions in addition to their permanent ones, the National Gallery has international connections and has projects that are funded by international organisations, enabling them to bring European artists to Georgia, while the Stalin Museum mainly hosts local artists' exhibitions. On the other hand, both museums organise lectures, talks, and public debates. Finally, the main audience of both museums is tourists and organised school trips.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

In Georgia, two museums were selected:

1. The National Gallery in Tbilisi,⁸ a mainstream heritage site, which is part of the Georgian National Museum, the largest museum complex in the country. The National Gallery has permanent exhibitions, as well as temporary exhibitions often brought from other museums and galleries in Georgia or abroad. The permanent exhibition presents the works of distinguished 20th century Georgian artists (e.g. painters Niko Pirosmanishvili, David Kakabadze, Lado Gudiashvili and sculptor Iakob Nikoladze). The Gallery is often visited by Georgians and school classes as well as tourists.
2. The second, alternative, heritage site is the Stalin Museum⁹ in Gori. The museum complex has three main sites: a) the memorial house, where Stalin was born; b) the exhibition building with unique displays (memorial belongings, presents, canvases, photos, and film documents) and c) Stalin's personal train coach. Even though Stalin is a negative historical figure, interest in his life and way of living is high.

Both museums were selected based on the following criteria:

- They are major tourist attractions that are popular and have many visitors (including school classes);
- The museums are highly dissimilar and present different perspectives on Georgia's history and cultural heritage;
- The location of the heritage sites is the same as the school locations of WP2 and WP3. This will enable the connection between work packages.

⁸ http://museum.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=54

⁹ <https://stalinmuseum.ge/>

2.2 Data gathering

Data on the two museums were collected using various methods in the second half of February and the beginning of March. CRRC-Georgia researchers gathered information by visiting and observing the museums, taking notes and photos, conducting five semi-structured in-depth interviews with experts/heritage practitioners of the two museums and gathering data from the museums' websites, Facebook pages, and guidebooks. The audio recorded interviews were not yet transcribed. However, for the purpose of analysis, each interview was summarised in English. Each summary consists of expert opinions' sum-ups on each question or topic discussed during the interviews and supporting quotes. The summaries vary from 1000 to 4000 words depending on the length of the interviews and the information the informants provided. The collected data was grouped by categories required for the analysis.

2.3. Expert interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with the employees of the museums who had the most information about the topics to be discussed during the interviews (i.e., the concepts of culture and cultural heritage, the country's cultural policy, the institutional background of the museum, what it has to offer the public, engagement of young people and the role of the museum, collaboration with schools, and problems and challenges). They were selected based on their experience, knowledge, and willingness to participate. First, we talked to the heads of the museums, who contacted us with the relevant employees of the museums.

Our respondents were:

Expert(1)_WP6_GEO: Highly positioned person of the National Gallery, Female, Tbilisi, Georgia

Expert(2)_WP6_GEO: Specialist in the educational department of the National Gallery, Female, Tbilisi, Georgia

Expert(3)_WP6_GEO: Programmes manager in the educational department of the National Gallery, Female, Tbilisi, Georgia

Expert(4)_WP6_GEO: Tour guide in Stalin Museum, Female, Gori, Georgia

Expert(5)_WP6_GEO: Reserves/funds/exhibitions' guard of the Stalin Museum, Female, Gori, Georgia

Generally, the interviews with the representatives of the National Gallery lasted longer as they had more to say about culture, cultural heritage, the museum's history, and ongoing exhibitions and

projects. The interviews in Tbilisi with the representatives of the National museum lasted for 35, 55 and 58 minutes, while the interviews in Gori lasted 22 and 20 minutes. The representatives of the National Gallery seemed to have more expertise in the field of culture and art, while the representatives of the Stalin Museum had a background in English and Georgian language philology.

The interviews were conducted in the museum buildings in March 2019. The interviewers received all the necessary information about the CHIEF project, after which they signed the consent forms and the interviews were audio recorded.

2.4 Analysis

All gathered data including expert interviews' summaries, fieldwork notes and information obtained from websites, Facebook pages and guidebooks was grouped and analysed on paper, without using any data analysis software. The data obtained from both museums was grouped separately by topics according to the aim and objectives of the study. During the analysis, the gathered and grouped data was compared between the two heritage sites. It applied a combination of content and, policy and evaluation analysis. As discussed in Ritchie et al (2013) the first approach focuses on both content and context of observed social reality and documents, linking them to other relevant "outside variables" - in our context the background of museums and museums' staff: their education, geographic area, prior experience, social capital etc. At the same time, policy and evaluation analysis implies the evaluation of existing cultural programmes and policies and looks at their impact on the notion of cultural heritage and cultural identity among museum staff, visitors and society. This method is widely used for applied policy research (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

The report findings and conclusions are based both on the recorded and observed data. Both descriptive as well as interpretative methods were applied to grasp motivations, goals, views and culture of studied sites and people. In this process, critical common sense and theoretical understanding techniques was used (Kvale, 1996) to draw conclusions from gathered information. During the analysis relevant data was chosen from qualitative interviews, fieldwork observations and other gathered data. This kind of data reduction is one of the central tasks at the first stage of qualitative data analysis as qualitative data usually is messy and unorganised (Miles, 1979). In addition, collective analytical categorization (i.e. organising data by relevant categories) and thematic summaries of observations were applied.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

Preservation and representation of culture and cultural heritage is an important goal of the Georgian government.¹⁰ Foreigners who visit Georgia become more familiar with Georgian culture, while also providing a source of cash flow to the country's economy. For this reason, the culture and cultural heritage that shape the country's international image are considered key factors for the country's strong socio-economic development. In 2008, culture began to be seen as something that can assist economic growth. According to a report by the former Ministry of Culture and Monuments' Protection,¹¹ in 2016, tourism was around 7 percent, while cultural activities comprised 2.8 percent.¹² Besides its importance at the economic level, culture can be an instrument of countries' soft power to strengthen a country's place in the international arena and to raise awareness about the country. The Culture Strategy 2025¹³ of the Georgian government states that culture is a key part of societal development and that it should be integrated into every level of education. According to other policy documents (e.g. *Cultural Policy Concept for the Transitional Period, 2013*), cultural heritage is recognised as a human creation that has historical value. This can include tangible or intangible cultural monuments and memorials carrying aesthetic, scientific, technological, social, and/or other values of historical significance. Georgian policy documents state that cultural heritage should be protected, comprehensively studied, and popularised. (This agenda is currently being advanced via plans to improve the museum system of preserving tangible and intangible cultural heritage). The documents highlight the role of government in creating an environment in which cultural heritage and diversity are maintained and in which cultural life and activities, as well as creative ideas and businesses, are encouraged and promoted.

The Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia is the main coordinating body of cultural policy in the country. The strategic direction of the ministry is driven by 86 different agencies that are responsible for implementing cultural policy in the country.

According to the Culture Strategy 2025, the Ministry plans to improve and support museums. More specifically, the ministry aims to improve museums' infrastructure, implement activities to renew exhibitions, do diagnostic analysis of museum collections, and restore exhibits. In addition, the

¹⁰ This is presented in a number of policy documents, e.g., "Culture Strategy 2025" and "The Present Situation of Georgian Culture and the Concept of its Development" issued by the government.

¹¹ Now the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia

¹² <http://mcs.gov.ge/Annual-report.aspx?lang=ka-GE>

¹³ <http://cultureandsports.gov.ge/getfile/55e94af7-46ff-43c6-8e5c-d7393abfeb2e/.aspx>

Ministry is planning new initiatives to promote museums, such as museum nights, open door days, and museums in school.

The government supports “the protection and enrichment of Georgian museums’ collections in order to safeguard cultural heritage and to prevent the outflow of cultural heritage from the State” (Culture Strategy 2025, 2016, p.31). The strategy states that the state also encourages museums to use new technologies and innovative approaches, to develop software applications, and to collaborate with other museums, cultural institutions, universities, and the business sector to exchange ideas and approaches. The government wants to implement different educational and research programmes where museums will be part of education and learning. The government also wants to “support local and international collaboration in order to share professional knowledge and museum practices and develop training programmes for museum workers (audience building, foreign language, fundraising and building networks, communicating with people with disabilities, strategic design, marketing, etc.)” (Culture Strategy 2025, 2016, p.30).

There are two main laws/regulations related to culture and cultural heritage in Georgia: the Law of Georgia on Culture and the Law of Georgia on Cultural Heritage. The Law of Georgia on Culture defines the “field of culture” as including “historical and cultural areas and objects, buildings and edifices, movable and immovable cultural monuments, folklore, art, souvenirs, handicraft art and handwork, professional art and literature, arts education and the related pedagogy, scientific research and methods, technologies, promotion and popularization of cultural and creative activities, entertaining and educational programmes and show business” (Law of Georgia on culture, Article 5g). Moreover, Georgian culture is framed as “centuries-old, rich traditions of the Georgian national culture” and grouped with the “experience of the civilised nations of the world.” Emphasis is made on “harmony” and “the universal recognition of national and common values”, while simultaneously emphasizing “cultural individuality”, “unrestricted self-expression”, and “free participation.” The law states that every citizen has an obligation to “preserve and protect” the cultural heritage while also having human rights and freedoms in the field of culture. Moreover, the law puts an emphasis on international relations and participating in international cultural activities.

The Law of Georgia on Cultural Heritage distinguishes between tangible and intangible forms of cultural heritage. Tangible heritage covers any immobile or mobile, architectural, art, urban, agricultural, archaeological, anthropological, ethnographic, monumental, or technique-related objects that are created by humans that have aesthetic, historical, or memorial value. This includes landscapes, parks, documentaries, architectural objects, and historic settlements. Intangible cultural heritage encompasses traditions and expressions, language, performing art, customs, knowledge, and skills related to traditional art, artefacts, and cultural spaces that the society, certain groups of people, or, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage.

According to the law, the state's role is to protect and promote cultural heritage. The basis for granting a property cultural heritage status is its historical and/or cultural value, based on antiquity, uniqueness, or "authenticity."

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

Along with the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia, the Georgian National Tourism Administration (GNTA)¹⁴ is the entity responsible for promoting Georgian culture and heritage sites internally and abroad. Although the primary stated goals of the GNTA—being part of the Ministry of Economy and Sustainable Development of Georgia—are promoting high-export income growth and job creation in the country through tourism development, the GNTA is still an important player in the field of promoting Georgian culture. The most popular destinations for foreign and local tourists are historical and cultural heritage sites. Evidence about Georgia's heritage sites and what they offer to visitors is mostly constructed through this agency. In order to spread information about Georgia's tourist offerings, the GNTA has an online "Tourism Portal"¹⁵ where they provide information about Georgia's regions, destinations in each region, available activities, and publicity about Georgia. This is the only state tourist board. In the "Destinations" section of the website, each region of Georgia has a short description accompanied by a photograph, most of which are either beautiful landscapes or historical buildings. For more frequently visited regions, there are also links to individual destination pages, including museums, historical sites, cathedrals, popular treks, and ski resorts.

The GNTA Tourism Portal functions as a way to spread information about and "inspiration" for travellers on the wide range of destinations in Georgia. The "activities" section of the website includes sections to speak to many different types of travellers, including those seeking more "extreme" adventures, those looking to explore Georgian food and wine, and families traveling together. The website also includes a section highlighting articles that have been written about Georgia, which largely focus on key areas of tourist interest such as food, landscapes, and culture. Most of these articles are from foreign sources. The website also has an events calendar, which primarily features cultural events such as concerts, theatre performances, and films in Tbilisi.

Overall, the GNTA places a great deal of emphasis on Georgia's "uniqueness" as a destination, using rhetoric that seems to solidify Georgia's ties to Europe while also exoticizing it for the more adventurous travellers. Specific aspects highlighted include the length of Georgia's history, its physical location at a crossroads between Europe and Asia, the beauty and wildness of its landscapes, and its culture of hospitality. While the descriptive text for destinations ties Georgia

¹⁴ <https://gnta.ge/>

¹⁵ https://georgia.travel/en_US

clearly to European culture and history, it also frequently presents Georgia as an exotic alternative to more mainstream European destinations. This is particularly true of Georgia's mountain regions, which are portrayed as "extreme" and even "savage." Meanwhile, the capital of Tbilisi is presented as a mix of "ancient" and "vibrant," highlighting its mix of history - dating back to the 5th century A.D.—and newer developments of trendy cafes and nightlife.

Descriptions of the regions and sites tend to emphasize the history of each location. However, references to the Soviet period of history are rare, while references to older periods of history are very common. References to globally renowned legends like that of Jason and the Golden Fleece and Prometheus are also prominently featured. Georgia's religious culture is also highlighted: an emphasis is placed on its early adoption of Christianity and in its many religious sites, but framed as a place where different religions have always existed side by side. Descriptions of museums emphasize the length and depth of Georgian history, but also Georgia's global connections, framing Georgia as interconnected with the rest of the world and yet preserving its own unique heritage. In more general descriptions about Georgia, such as that in the "Facts about Georgia" page on the GNTA Tourism Portal, its history is portrayed as a struggle for independence from a long series of invaders and a success story of maintaining its own proud culture.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

Location

The selected sites are among the most visited and popular sites among both Georgian citizens and foreign visitors. The first one, the National Gallery - a mainstream heritage site - is located in the capital of Georgia. According to the National Statistics Office of Georgia, Tbilisi is the most popular destination for tourists visiting the country: almost half of tourists spend time here. The well-designed infrastructure of the city makes it possible for tourists to visit a diverse range of cultural and tourist sights.

In contrast to Tbilisi, Gori - where another heritage site, the Stalin Museum, is situated - is less diverse in terms of cultural activities and institutions. Gori, a small town in the central part of Georgia, primarily attracts international and domestic visitors with the Stalin museum. The fact that Gori is situated only 68 kilometres from Tbilisi is beneficial for the Museum in terms of attracting visitors from Tbilisi. The museum is not part of the Georgian National Museum complex and operates independently as a legal entity of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sport of Georgia. The Stalin museum is a unique cultural institution in Georgia, as its existence has been part of Georgian public discourse. Gori is the hometown of former Soviet leader Joseph Stalin, who is a controversial figure in modern Georgia. However, Stalin is important for Gori's local identity and culture. The strong sentiments toward his personality were shown in 2010, when

a significant portion of locals objected to the removal of Stalin's statue from the town centre. Currently, the Stalin Museum has more status and importance locally than nationally in Georgia. However, as Stalin is one of the most famous Georgians that many foreign visitors know, the museum still attracts foreigners.

Brief history and description of the museums

The National Gallery

Initially, the gallery building was constructed based on a decree from the Russian tsar in 1888. It was originally allocated as a Russian military and historic museum and intended to show the power of the Russian Empire. The building was built quickly and the military museum was filled with paintings depicting scenes of battles that Russia won in the Caucasus. The museum also presented portraits of the Russian military elite and weapons from different battles (Expert(2)_WP6_GEO). The museum officially opened in 1907. However, during the First World War, its artefacts were evacuated (to Stavropol) and the museum stopped working as a military museum. The Georgian National Gallery was established in 1920 and the Georgian painter Dimitri Shevardnadze contributed significantly to its development. According to the museum's website, "The first exhibition was the fruit of Dimitri Shevardnadze's hard work collecting as many fine art works as were available in Georgia at the time. The exhibition included 18th and 19th century Georgian portraits (from the so-called "Georgian School"), Russian, Western European, Iranian and contemporary Georgian paintings."¹⁶ In 1988, the museum-exhibition union "National Gallery of Artwork" was established by the board management of Artists' House. The exposition of the new "Modern Art Museum" was placed in the National Gallery building, which was reconstructed. The Gallery opened in 1989. However, because of the civil war and political instability of the 90's, the Modern Art Museum stopped functioning. In 2007, the National Gallery, together with other museums, joined the Georgian National Museum complex. The main gallery building was once again renovated. According to one of the respondents, "nowadays the National Gallery of Georgia is a place that can host any exhibition from all over the world, starting with archaeology and finishing with paintings. The Gallery has very good conditions for maintaining artefacts. The Gallery is adapted to people with special needs and it has an educational centre, a café, and a shop. In addition, a new, modern exhibition space was added to the gallery. Now there are eight exhibition halls in the gallery" (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO).

¹⁶ http://museum.ge/index.php?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=54

J. Stalin State Museum

Joseph Stalin (Dzugashvili) was born in 1879 in Gori, Georgia in a district known as “Rusubani” (Russian district). Stalin’s parents (both Georgian) rented a room and a basement of a small house. Stalin’s father was a shoemaker and he worked in the basement. After renovation, this house became the memorial museum in 1937. Two years later, a protective pavilion around the small house and a library museum were built (Guidebook). According to one of the respondents, construction of the current main building started in 1950 and opened in 1957 after Stalin’s death (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO). The museum complex now consists of the main building, the memorial house, and the carriage. The main building has several halls with interesting material about Stalin. It should be noted that the building of the museum itself is perceived to be national heritage (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO). According to the guidebook:

The museum exposition is presented in seven halls on the second storey of a large building and there is an administration section, a scientific library, a souvenir shop on the first storey, and also two rooms with small expositions devoted to the people who were victims of unlawful repression during the thirties and to the events of the August war of 2008 (p.6). Finally, according to one of the respondents, there are about 52 employees in the museum most of whom are young people (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO). However, it should be noted that while visiting the site and talking to the staff members, there seemed to be more staff members who are middle-aged rather than young.

Conditions, Funding, and Events of the Museums

While the National Gallery is newly renovated and the museum’s infrastructure is pretty modern, the Stalin Museum has remained in the Soviet style, with red carpet in the foyer, old walls and corridors that have not been renovated, and exhibit halls that have no heating. Even though both museums are funded by the state and are under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, Science, Culture, and Sport of Georgia, it is obvious that the National Gallery has better infrastructure than the Stalin Museum.

The National Gallery of Georgia, together with the Mestia Museum, Signaghi Museum, and Janashia Museum, were completely renovated and nowadays are modern museums with historic authenticity. The Janashia museum and the National Gallery underwent renovation from 2008-2010. (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO)

One of the respondents also pointed out that even though the National Gallery is a public institution and is financed by the state, it often receives grants from international donor organisations (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO).

It should be noted that besides permanent exhibitions, both museums initiate and carry out additional exhibitions, presentations, and events. For example, in March 2019, with the cooperation of the Italian embassy, the National Gallery is hosting an exhibition of the Italian artist Giorgi de Chirico. Through this project, the gallery is bringing a part of Italian culture into Georgia (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO). The representatives of the Stalin Museum also noted that besides the main exhibition, they also have an exhibition of modern painters. They always try to have interesting exhibitions and not to concentrate only on Stalin. One of the respondents also noted that the museum has a website where they always share information about new exhibitions (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO). However, it should be noted that the museum's website is currently not working due to financial issues that the museum is facing.

In addition, according to the respondents, both museums organise lectures, talks, and public debates. For example, the National Gallery organises public lectures that are free to attend, and within the lecture, a tour around the museum is included (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO).

As for ties with Europe, the National Gallery seems to have more ties and joint projects with European countries. According to the cultural heritage professionals of the National Gallery, the gallery has been hosting international exhibitions very actively during last two years, including Georgian-Italian projects.

To me this [the National Gallery] is one of the most successful state institutions, with very high standards. We have carried out very effective projects not only in the country but abroad: these include the exhibition of the Wine Museum in Bordeaux, the exhibition of the National Museum during the Frankfurt book fair, and the Pirosmiani exhibition in the Albertina Museum. (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO)

In contrast, while talking about ties between European and Georgian national heritage, the representatives of the Stalin Museum did not have much to say. One of the respondents talked about European tourists coming to the museum. The respondent pointed out that sometimes, the museum is not included in tour programmes but tourists often ask to include the Stalin Museum in their programme, because they want to learn more about Stalin (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO).

Target audience

The representatives of the National Gallery said that the socio-demographic profile of museum visitors is quite diverse, but limited to specific groups. The biggest share of visitors are school pupils, who come to the museums during organised school trips. The second segment is students. They usually come to the museum using discount cards, but in contrast to school pupils, their museum visits are not organised by groups or any other formal or non-formal institution or

organisation. Foreigners and tourists are the third largest segment of museum consumers. Elderly and retired people also often visit the museums. As for the rest of the society, they are not frequent guests: only members of selected circles like art professionals and cultural elites visit museums often. Regarding the geographic distribution of visitors among Georgia, residents of Tbilisi can easily access the museums due to their proximity to each other and the advantageous location of transportation hubs. People from other parts of Georgia also visit the museums; however, their engagement is less visible (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO). According to another respondent, there are more foreign visitors than locals, mainly visiting in May and June (Expert(2)_WP6_GEO). However, compared to the number of locals visiting museums several years ago, locals' tendency to visit museums is growing. Now more and more local and young people are interested in museums (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO).

The National Museum has several groups of potential visitors. The audience is broken down by their primary interest. Youth are interested in Georgian medieval history; however, those exhibitions could not be the only place they go. The management of the National Museum understands that temporary exhibitions tailored to the needs of customers and of youth in particular could be more successful than permanent exhibitions, but this requires a huge amount of money that is missing in the budget. The notion of private donation is not widespread or common in Georgia, and the only source of additional cash flow is international donor organisations. For the past several years, the National Museum has had exhibitions of Botticelli and Caravaggio to spark interest among the wider public. Those exhibitions were successful and attracted many young people, but limited financial resources constrain Georgian museums from performing like their foreign counterparts. However, there is some competitive advantage of Georgian museums: "Do you know why we are in a better situation than other museums abroad? We do not have the same rivalry with other types of leisure time activities and industries. Here, in Georgia there are not many [cheap] alternatives" (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO).

Another cultural heritage professional from the National Gallery thinks that the museum is doing its best to attract visitors. According to her, the best thing that the gallery can do to increase the number of visitors is having interesting exhibitions: "What can be done more than bringing paintings of Michelangelo and Botticelli?" (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO).

Still, one of the major constraints to attracting more visitors is the ticket price of the National Gallery. Even 7 Georgian Lari (approx. 2.3 Euros) for an admission fee is a significant amount of money for the majority of the museums' audience: pupils, students, and elderly people. In addition, this is not acceptable for other segments of society, namely people who are not engaged in any kind of educational or cultural institutions and who have the least chance to visit the museum:

This [attracting people not involved in formal educational institutions] is a serious issue. I think to make museums more popular and accessible, like the Smithsonian

in Washington, our museums should be free of charge to visit. 7 Lari is a huge amount of money for someone to visit the museum. They don't have that money. It is too expensive. If you are not a student or retired [i.e. having discounts] you would not come to the museum. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

In contrast to the cultural heritage professionals of the National Gallery, the representatives of the Stalin Museum had more superficial answers, as they did not speak in-depth about their perceptions of culture and about the museums, generally. According to them, the Stalin Museum is very popular among tourists and foreigners and has visitors from all over the world. As for the local people, they often cannot afford to visit the museum. According to one of the respondents, when the Stalin Museum has new exhibitions, they always send out messages and put the information on their website in order to attract more people. The museum administration tries to make exhibitions more interesting for visitors. For example, there was demand from visitors to have a place in the museum for repressed people which the museum then provided. It has been functioning for several years (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO).

3.4 Local Heritage offer

Educational aspect of the sites

Cultural heritage professionals agree that museums in general should have a bigger role in schools' and other educational institutions' activities. Nowadays, both museums mostly cooperate with schools within the framework of organised school trips of school pupils to the museums.

It is worth mentioning that one of the respondents worked on a project related to the introduction of the U.S. experience of connected school curriculums and museum collections. The idea behind her project was to tie school textbooks together with the original artefacts and museums' exhibition elements and to connect different subjects taught at school with each other, like the links between art and chemistry, art and math, etc.

For example, each topic that school pupils are covering in their school year can be connected to the museum collection.... this is important, as we [museums] possess the primary sources of many educational materials, and it is important for children to look at artefacts in real life and not only photos. Such an approach is crucial for the development of skills that are important in modern life. It's shown by the constructivist theory of education... such types of proactive approaches to learning. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

However, the projects were not implemented by the Ministry of Education due to various bureaucratic issues. The second important thing is the digitalization of museum collections. Not all artefacts are digitalized, partially because of a lack of financial resources and partially because some museum professionals fear that digitalization and open access of artefacts could decrease the number of potential visitors.

Furthermore, to increase the influence of museums in the educational system, the National Gallery tries to implement relatively low-cost programmes with the help of volunteers. In most cases, those volunteers come from schools, universities, or other educational institutions that benefit from the collaboration of museums and the educational system. In addition, the museum tries to create free leaflets and programmes for families or individual tours to increase visitors' knowledge and awareness. Often "games" related to searching for and identifying selected materials are very successful at interesting children in engaging in museum activities. The "learning by playing" approach is one of the best practices to integrate museums into the educational system. The National Museum tries to teach other institutions and museums about how to implement these activities, in order to make such an approach universal in all Georgian museums and educational institutions. Such training covers all of Georgia, including areas with ethnic minorities, in order to facilitate intercultural dialogue. The museum also helps schools to enrich their libraries.

When comparing the two museums, it is obvious that the National Gallery has more activities and programmes to attract young people and to play a role in young people's cultural education. Another example of this is that the National Gallery holds courses/educational classes where young people get to know the artists and works that are presented in the Gallery and can also draw and listen to interesting life passages of the artists. The classes are once a week (on Saturdays) for two hours and last for 8 months overall. Out of the two hours, the first hour is dedicated to theoretical knowledge and the second hour is more interactive, where young people can either draw or participate in other activities (Expert(2)_WP6_GEO).

Interest of Youth in Culture

The cultural heritage professionals have diverse opinions regarding young people's interest and engagement in culture and cultural activities. While some of the respondents mentioned that youth are not very interested in Georgian culture and there is only a certain group of young people interested (e.g., Expert(2)_WP6_GEO), others think that interest among youth is high. According to one of the respondents, the majority of young people are interested in general aspects of Georgian culture:

Being a lecturer in a Georgian institution, I have been in touch with young people with different tastes and interests and they have strong interest in Georgian

culture... they feel proud of it and want to get familiar with it, to share it with other people. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

The representative of the Stalin Museum pointed out that young people are interested in cultural heritage to some extent, but more should be done in this regard. Families, schools, and universities should do their best in order to make them interested and promote cultural heritage in the young generation (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO).

Youths' visits to the museums are mostly organised by schools. The National Museum and the Stalin Museum both have a lot of school students visiting the sites. These visits are mostly organised by the schools. The number of young people going to the Stalin Museum individually or in groups outside of school or educational entities is quite low. Young people who go to the museum are interested in Stalin's personal life, the wagon that the museum has in the yard, and the small house where he was born (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO).

One of the cultural heritage professionals explains the low level of engagement in cultural life with the fact that youth are very busy now. According to her, active, young people in various fields unrelated to art (e.g., law, business, economy), who have a full life and a lot going on in school, university, and at work at the same time, do not have the free time to live and enjoy life. They are too busy to visit museums and have contact with art (Expert(2)_WP6_GEO).

The interest in culture is even lower when it comes to European culture. According to the respondents, young people are less interested and involved in it compared to Georgian culture. However, a growing number of Georgian youth are studying abroad in Europe and are getting familiar with European culture and way of life: "Many young people study in Europe... and after they return to Georgia, they share their experience with their friends" (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO). According to this respondent, there are three types of public discourse regarding Georgian culture and its relationships with other cultures among young people:

The first one likes everything European and wants all of Georgia to be made in such a manner, i.e. "European"; the second, the smallest part, is reactionary and retrograde, people who think that everything European is bad.... Moreover, the third, so-called moderate group of youth (the most populous), is equally interested in Georgian and European culture. For them, the most important thing is interest in something. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

How to get young people interested in the museums' exhibitions

In order to promote culture and interest youth, the cultural heritage professionals suggested facilitating ongoing projects and making them more accessible to the wider public:

Here it is easier to launch or start a new project than to successfully operate that project later. When it becomes routine, the project fails... it needs to be more dynamic to interest young people. Also, research and surveys should be done to understand how ongoing exhibitions and events are meeting their interests... this is very important. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

The general goal of the management of the National Museum is to have closer ties with the public and to facilitate citizens' engagement in museum life. The Museum has many potential directions that can be developed, but because of its limited resources, it decided to choose an orientation toward the visitor, rather being oriented on collections or solo exhibitions:

Nowadays, modern, western museums' experience shows that in the 21st century, museum priorities changed and a U-turn occurred in relation to the public: they transformed from collection-oriented institutions to visitor-oriented ones; the visitor became the main target... That's why across the whole world, new glass constructions or buildings were added to the old blocks of museums... for example, our gallery is a vivid example of this... to break the stereotype that museums are closed, hermetic, and immobile and unchanging places. (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO)

In contrast, the Stalin Museum is a clear representation/reflection of the Soviet Union, keeping its old architecture, building, and style. However, the museum, similar to the National Gallery, has a clear policy to attract the public and young people. According to the respondents, the representatives of the museum are visiting various schools, giving presentations about the exhibitions, and inviting them to the museum (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO).

In addition, the National Museum has implemented several practical steps to involve more youth in museum life:

Youth had an important role in developing and implementing museum policies... We wanted museums to be not just for school kids, but also for youth in general. The first such activity was associated with forming volunteer groups within museums, as in contrast to western museums, we did not have such groups; there was not such a practice... those volunteers worked with us as aides in social projects... (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO)

Speaking about the integration of new technologies in the museum, the cultural heritage professionals feel that they are not presented adequately in the everyday work of the museums, either on the operational level or integrated with ongoing expositions. However, again this is connected to the limited financial resources available for museums in Georgia. The National

Museum tries to follow current trends in museum technology, like the introduction of audio guides, but there are many things to do in that field.

4. Discussion

According to the Georgian government's policies, culture and cultural heritage shape the country's image and contribute to its socio-economic development. Therefore, the museums need to be modern, attractive, and interesting to the public. From the two selected heritage sites, the National Gallery fits better the requirements of the policies and norms. According to the *Culture Strategy 2025* document (2016), the government planned to improve and support museums. This includes developing infrastructure, renewing exhibitions, restoring collections, and introducing new technologies and innovative approaches. The government's goal was and still is to implement various educational programmes, in which museums become part of the education and learning process. In addition, the government supports local and international collaboration in order to share professional knowledge and museum practices and to develop training programmes for museum workers (Culture Strategy 2025, 2016).

Today, a sufficient part of these goals have been implemented by the National Gallery: It is fully renovated, adapted to people with special needs, hosts international exhibitions from all over the world, has an educational centre, hosts lectures and talks of different artists and scientists, and plans innovations to implement in the future. It combines the government's twofold aspiration of preserving cultural heritage and at the same time developing cultural modernity and promoting innovations in the field of culture.

On the contrary, the Stalin Museum, does not meet the modern requirements. However, it still serves as a major tourist attraction as it presents the artefacts of one of the most famous political figures of the 20th century. Therefore, improving the museum's infrastructure (e.g., heating the building) and advertising the site more efficiently could attract more visitors and help its revenue grow. It could also have an educational purpose and serve as a "lessons learnt" topic in Georgian schools.

While observing the sites and interviewing the employees of the museums, an interesting observation was how representatives of both museums perceive culture and cultural heritage. While the cultural heritage professionals of the National Gallery talked intensively about the concepts of culture, cultural heritage, and art, the representatives of the Stalin Museum seemed to have less to say in this regard. This can be explained by the fact that the National Gallery exhibits artworks and the employees are more engaged in cultural life than the Stalin Museum's employees. In addition, the respondents' backgrounds were different. While the National Gallery's representatives studied art and art education, the Stalin Museum's representatives have

backgrounds in English studies and philology. According to a cultural heritage professional of the National Gallery:

Culture is a very wide sphere... For Georgia, culture is particularly important, because our country has a culture of 3000 years. Cultural heritage is the message that we have received from the past and have to pass on to future generations. Everybody should be defending and maintaining the cultural heritage of the country... There is nothing more important than maintaining cultural heritage. This is what keeps us alive and important.

This makes human beings different from birds and animals. (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO)

The representatives of the Stalin Museum did not talk very much about culture and cultural heritage, but had similar definitions. They also talked about maintaining cultural heritage through passing it on to future generations: “The first thing that comes to my mind when I think about cultural heritage is Georgian traditions... Maintenance of the cultural heritage is extremely important, because future generations should know what traditions their ancestors had and how they lived” (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO). This importance of culture and cultural heritage and its link to Georgians’ identity is in many ways reflected in the policy documents (e.g., *The Present Situation of Georgian Culture and the Concept of its Development*) as well as in academic literature. For example, Surmanidze talks about the tight link between identity and culture while defining culture as a human environment - the spiritual and the material world created by humans. According to the author, culture is a strong determinant of behavior and an important source of knowledge and subjective interpretation (Surmanidze, 2001). On the other hand, Tevzadze defines identity “as a complex of perceptions about ourselves, our past, culture and future and anything - person/event/artefact - falling beyond the reach/coverage of this area is unconditionally considered something alien” (2009).

In contrast to the definitions of the concepts of culture and cultural heritage, the representatives of the two museums had different ideas and attitudes towards European culture. The state’s declared desire to be part of Europe, to join the EU and to adopt its policies (*For Strong, Democratic and Unified Georgia*¹⁷ and *Unified Strategy for Education and Science for the Years 2017-2021*¹⁸) is reflected in the responses of the representatives of the National Gallery. According to them, Georgia is part of Europe and Georgian culture has many elements of European culture:

We are and we have been part of European culture from the time of Kolkhida. During some periods of our history, we were kept far from European culture. We also should not forget our geographic location. Georgia is in the middle of Europe and Asia and

¹⁷ http://gov.ge/files/41_50258_481988_Strong,Democratic,UnitedGeorgia1.pdf

¹⁸ http://mes.gov.ge/uploads/MESStrategy_2017-2021.pdf

may have features of both, but as a whole Georgian culture was always part of European culture. (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO)

And although there is a big difference in political culture, according to the same respondent, Georgia is going into the right direction. Georgia became a democratic state not long ago, and is a developing country. According to the respondent, Georgia has more work to do to develop democratic institutions and more should be done to make policy documents more relevant for the country. This cannot be done at once, but everybody should work hard to develop the culture and the country (Expert(1)_WP6_GEO). The second respondent also pointed out that Georgia is part of Europe, but at the same time it is at the crossroads, which can be seen in our art. Georgia has elements of Europe and Asia as well and that is what the nation should maintain (Expert(2)_WP6_GEO). In addition, the respondents from the National Gallery pointed out that despite the differences between Georgian and European culture, there are many similarities: While the cultural notions and forms of communication are very diverse, among the young segments of the population, there are more similarities with regards to values and cultural preferences than among older people (Expert(3)_WP6_GEO).

According to Kakachia and Minesashvili the declared pro-western orientation comes from ideas and identity rather than from materialist and systemic factors alone. The authors argue that “Georgia's foreign policy orientation has a strong basis in the widespread ideological perception amongst the local political elite that Georgia ‘belongs’ in the West.” (Kakachia and Minesashvili, 2015). Georgia’s declared choice to be part of Europe and European identity (Jones, 2003), first of all is a choice made by the Georgian government and it is supported by the political elite. Even though a large part of the population supports the pro-western orientation, not all of Georgians share this aspiration. According to a survey conducted by CRRC-Georgia in 2017, 58% of the population agreed with the statement of the former chairman of the Georgian parliament, Zurab Zhvania, who declared on his country’s accession to the Council of Europe in February 1999 ‘I am Georgian, therefore I am European.’¹⁹ The staff members of the National Gallery clearly share this opinion.

Contrary to the findings at the National Gallery, this spirit of Europeanness is hardly present among the employees of the Stalin Museum. According to its representatives, European culture has its own traditions and past, and for Georgians, Georgian culture is and should be more important. Furthermore, the employees of the Stalin Museum found it hard to talk about European culture. According to one of them, although perhaps there are similarities between Georgian and European culture and cultural heritage, the respondent believes that there are more differences than similarities (Expert(4)_WP6_GEO).

¹⁹ <https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/eu2017ge/EUROPEAN/>

This attitude is not surprising, given the fact that Stalin is regarded with pride among many Georgians and this is especially true in Gori. According to Giga Zedania, “this pride is intimately linked to a specific form of Georgian nationalism, which in the academic literature is referred to as ethnic nationalism as opposed to its civic counterpart. Ethnic nationalism is normally characterized as illiberal, ascriptive, exclusive and particularistic. It is because of this ethnic nationalism, argue many, that Stalin – who was by no means a Georgian patriot – can still be regarded as an important figure for Georgian identity, which is understood to be based on ethnicity and not on citizenship.” (Zedania, 2011) This kind of ethnic nationalism if not directly contradicting the EU aspiration, however, it is clearly a barrier to the path towards EU integration. And even though pride towards Stalin was not affirmed by the museum’s employees during the interviews or during the observations, the respondents seemed to be more excited to talk about Stalin’s life path than about European culture, about which they did not have much to say.

As for the museums’ roles in cultural education, it seems like the National Gallery is, again, in line with the government’s policies. As the policies imply developing cultural education and supporting art education by increasing the number and quality of culture and arts lessons in schools of general education (*Unified Strategy for Education and Science for the Years 2017-2021* and *Culture Strategy 2025*), museums could play a major role in this direction. As stated above, the National Gallery is working in this direction, keeping close ties with schools and also launching teaching programmes for young people. While attending the classes, teaching programmes and discussions of the National Gallery or just by visiting the museum, young people learn about their cultural heritage, since they get familiar with famous Georgian artists, their life and works. In addition, the visitors also receive knowledge about European culture, as the museum often holds temporary exhibitions of famous European (in most cases Italian) artists. In contrast, the visitors of the Stalin Museum learn about Georgia’s soviet past and receive detailed information regarding Stalin’s life from his birth until his very last days.

5. Conclusion

This report aimed to show what two specific heritage sites (the National Gallery and the Stalin Museum) in Georgia present to the public and what role they play in young people’s (14-25) cultural literacy education. For this purpose, CRRC-Georgia conducted ethnographic studies in the selected two museums, including site visits, participant observation, and five face-to-face semi-structured interviews with heritage professionals of the museums. In addition, CRRC-Georgia’s researchers gathered data from the museums’ as well as other webpages, Facebook, and the museum’s guidebooks. The researchers also took photos and notes while visiting the sites.

The two museums were selected based on the following criteria: popularity, dissimilarity to each other, and location. While both museums are major tourist attractions that have many visitors throughout the year (especially during the warm seasons, when the number of tourists is higher), they are quite diverse not only in terms of location and content of permanent and temporary exhibitions, but also in terms of attitude towards the west and most importantly in terms of educational programmes. Even though, according to the representatives of the museums, both museums actively cooperate with schools and organise lectures, talks and public debates that are free to attend, the National Gallery seems to have more initiatives, activities, and programmes to attract young people and to get them involved in cultural activities. The National Gallery has weekly courses and educational classes during which young people hear about Georgian artists, see their works and then draw the paintings of famous artists and participate in debates. In addition, they have volunteers from schools and universities who help with the museum's programmes that are oriented on "learning by playing" programmes that aim to integrate museums into the educational system. All of this increases young people's involvement in cultural life and increases the level of cultural literacy education.

Taking all of this into account, the findings also revealed that compared to the Stalin Museum, the National Gallery's policies and actions are more in line with the country's policies on culture and cultural education. These not only require the museums to be modern, attractive, and interesting to the public, but also expect that the role of the museums in young people's cultural education increases throughout the coming years.

6. References

CRRC-Georgia (2017). *Agree/disagree with the statement: 'I am Georgian, and therefore I am European'*. [image] Available at:

<https://caucasusbarometer.org/en/eu2017ge/EUROPEAN/> [Accessed 24 Apr. 2019].

Government of Georgia (2015). *For Strong, Democratic and Unified Georgia*. [online] Available at: http://gov.ge/files/41_50258_498188_Strong,Democratic,UnitedGeorgia1.pdf [Accessed 18 Mar. 2019].

Government of Georgia (2017). *Unified Strategy for Education and Science for the Years 2017-2021*. [online] Available at: http://mes.gov.ge/uploads/MESSStrategy_2017-2021.pdf [Accessed 18 Mar. 2019].

Jones, S. (2003). The role of cultural paradigms in Georgian foreign policy. *Journal of Communist Studies and Transition Politics*, 19(3), pp.83-110.

Kakachia, K. and Minesashvili, S. (2015). Identity politics: Exploring Georgian foreign policy behavior. *Journal of Eurasian Studies*, 6(2), pp.171-180.

Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

Law of Georgia on Culture, Article 5(g), Constitution of Georgia. [online] Available at: <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/download/31402/7/en/pdf> [Accessed 12 Mar. 2019].

Law of Georgia on Cultural Heritage, Constitution of Georgia. [online] Available at: <https://matsne.gov.ge/en/document/download/21076/8/en/pdf> [Accessed 12 Mar. 2019].

Miles, M. (1979). Qualitative Data as an Attractive Nuisance: The Problem of Analysis. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 24(4), pp.590-601.

Ministry of Culture and Monument Protection of Georgia (2016). *Culture Strategy 2025*. [online] Available at: <http://cultureandsports.gov.ge/getfile/55e94af7-46ff-43c6-8e5c-d7393abfeb2e/.aspx> [Accessed 15 Mar. 2019].

Ministry of Culture and Monument Protection of Georgia (2017). *Creative Georgia - for sustainable development*. [online] Available at: <http://mcs.gov.ge/Annual-report.aspx?lang=ka-GE> [Accessed 19 Mar. 2019].

Mosakhlishvili, L., Pentenava, L., Gunia-Kuznetsova, N., Dvalishvili, M., Tevzadze, M., Kilasonia, S. and Bokuchava, T. (2013). *Cultural Policy Concept for the Transitional Period (2014-2016)*. [online] Government of Georgia. Available at: <http://cultureandsports.gov.ge/getfile/3fce789a-db86-420d-892c-6c270eeb19ec/.aspx> [Accessed 20 Mar. 2019].

Piralishvili, Z., Gogoberidze, L., Kokochashvili, M., Gotsadze, T., Peikrishvili, K., Glurjidze, S., Piralishvili, L., Elizbarashvili, E. and Chichinadze, G. (2012). *The Present Situation of Georgian Culture and the Concept of its Development*. [online] Government of Georgia. Available at: <http://cultureandsports.gov.ge/getfile/4ab061bf-c9df-4601-bb69-b0f9a30e305e/.aspx> [Accessed 12 Apr. 2019].

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. ed., (2013). *Qualitative Research Practices: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. 2nd ed. SAGE.

Ritchie, J. and Spencer, L. (1994). Qualitative Data Analysis for Applied Policy Research. In: A. Bryman and R. Burgess, ed., *Analysing Qualitative Data*. London: Routledge, pp.173-194.

Surmanidze, L. (2001). *Individualist and Collectivist Societies: Theoretical models, empirical research*. Tbilisi: Neker. (in Georgian)

Tevzadze, G. (2009). The Birth of the Georgian Nation. Identity and Ideology. Political and Societal Identities. Nationality and Religiosity. *Identity Studies in the Caucasus and the Black Sea Region*, 1(1), pp 5-21.

Zedania, G. (2011). *Societal Values in Georgia: Twenty Years Later. 20 Years after the Collapse of Communism: Expectations, achievements and disillusion of 1989*.

[ebook] Iliani eprints. Available at:

http://eprints.iliauni.edu.ge/130/1/Zedania_20%20years%20after.pdf [Accessed 20 Apr. 2019].

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites (including weblinks)

The National Gallery

Official web-page: http://museum.ge/?lang_id=ENG&sec_id=54

Facebook page of the National Gallery: <https://www.facebook.com/pages/GNM-Dimitri-Shevardnadze-National-Gallery/385024101619153>

Facebook page of Georgian National Museum (complex):
<https://www.facebook.com/GNMuseum/>

Stalin Museum

Official web-page: <http://stalinmuseum.ge/>

Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/stalinismuseumi/>

Guide book of the Stalin Museum (printed)

Georgian National Tourism Administration’s (GNTA)

<https://gnta.ge/>

http://georgia.travel/en_US/experience/culture

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Germany)

Christiane Stahl, Cornelia Sylla, Elina Marmer, Louis Henri Seukwa

1. Executive Summary

This report provides a general overview on how cultural heritage is officially conceived by German authorities reflecting the German state agenda and its accompanying discourses. In order to provide information on the variety and geographical distribution of heritage sites in Germany, an internet search applying the term “*kulturelles Erbe*” (German for cultural heritage) was conducted on the official websites of German national and local authorities which are mainly engaged in culture.

Furthermore, two specific examples of local heritage sites in a major German city are presented in detail. Since remembrance and commemoration culture plays an important role in the German discourse, as discussed in the Policy Review (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla, 2018), the first site is a well-known Holocaust memorial site (Site 1), promoted and funded by the German state and the city’s municipality. The second site is a civil society group engaged in the city’s postcolonial heritage (Site 2). Its volunteers work independently to raise awareness of Germany’s colonial legacy and thus to promote a broader understanding of German remembrance and commemoration culture.

To show the complex official approaches towards German remembrance culture and to present diverse perspectives on cultural heritage six semi-structured in-depth expert interviews were conducted in February and March 2019. In addition to the expert interviews published brochures and the official websites of both heritage sites were analysed. The report provides a summary of various views and experiences as well as important information on structures, tasks, networks, developments, challenges and strategies stated by different actors engaged in and around both of the selected sites. It presents strategies and channels that are being used to promote each heritage site and ways to address different target groups.

Performing a comparative content analysis using the findings of the policy and institutionalized discourse, published material and the expert interviews, the report shows differences and continuities in regard to two different aspects of German remembrance and commemoration culture.

The report concludes with bridging the general information on national heritage sites as well as the local heritage sites with the additional information regarding the engagement of young people. It also provides a brief outlook on various experiences, best practice examples and existing challenges concerning cultural heritage mainly focusing on the project’s target group.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

As presented in the national policy review, German commemoration culture is one of the three mainstream concepts of German culture (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla 2018). Since German commemoration culture mainly focuses on the NS era, it seems natural to select one of the major and nationwide well-known Holocaust memorial sites as an example for a German mainstream heritage site (Site 1). In contrast to state funded Site 1, Site 2– a civil society group dealing with post-colonial remembrance– sets an example for an alternative site, which displays Germany’s long repressed and denied colonial history. Site 1, a former concentration camp, which now includes a historical museum as well as an exhibition and an international meeting and study centre, provides a good overview of various aspects of state engagement. Unlike the mainstream example, Site 2, a free association of highly committed people with different professional backgrounds, represents a form of commemoration culture, which is (still) very much underrepresented in official policies. Site 2 aims at promoting visibility of perspectives and commemoration cultures of People of Colour²⁰ and representing the history of anti-colonial resistance as well as a dignifying commemoration of the victims of colonialism and racism.

As the official website of the municipal authority for culture and media (local BKM) reveals Site 1 also plays a major role in representing local cultural heritage compared to other museums or cultural sites. While Site 1 even has its own department within one of the municipal authorities with numerous employees, Site 2, operates independently from the municipality. In this context it is important to mention the criteria of offers and channels of promotion at each site. Due to a reduced amount of capital and human resources, Site 2’s state-independent engagement leads to a limited number and variety of offers and a lack of professional public relations. This becomes especially evident when looking at Site 1, which keeps its audience updated via its website and email newsletter as well as Twitter, Instagram and Facebook, whereas Site 2 only makes use of its website.

²⁰ Black, People of Color, white: These three concepts are not related to biological characteristics such as pigmentation nor are they real existing properties. Rather, they describe historical and socio-political categories created by racism. These constructed groups differ in terms of their access to resources, power and other privileges. The adjective „Black“ is spelled in capital, as it is a self-given name and an emancipatory and political concept. Similarly, People of Color (PoC), not to be confused with the racist term “colored”, is a self-chosen name of a group that experiences racism and is a political term of resistance. „White“ indicates the group privileged by racism.

In terms of target group orientation, since the NS era covers several subjects and grades of German school curricula, Site1 offers in addition to its general guided tours a variety of teaching methods and several opportunities for activities, e.g. *Projektstage* (project days), “*Schüler führen Schüler*” (students guide students), “*Zeitzeugengespräche*” (discussions with survivors) aiming at addressing pupils of different socio-economic family backgrounds of local schools and groups of young people in general.²¹ Site 2’s offers include speeches, seminars, workshops, educational trips, regular walking city tours²², exhibitions, art actions, and performances, i.e. it does not address young people in particular but focuses on people of different ages and backgrounds with a special interest in the topic.

Accessibility was another relevant criteria for the sites selection. Even though the main site of Site 1 lies on the very outskirts of the city, it is easily and spontaneously accessible since the entrance is free of charge and it is open from Mondays till Sundays to individuals and groups. As information is provided in 15 different languages it is clearly recognizable which range of visitors it intends to address in addition to the locals. In contrast to other heritage sites, which are restricted to one specific place, members of Site 2 visit, engage in and make use of different places related to the colonial history all over the city. Yet, participation is restricted to certain dates and events and participation fees need to be paid. The choice of languages is much more limited.

The selection of the two contrasting sites and associated consequences of state engagement are appropriate examples to display how differently commemoration culture in Germany has (not) been practiced or promoted by official institutions.

2.2 Data gathering

Textual data was collected by doing research in February 2019 applying the German term “*kulturelles Erbe*” (cultural heritage) on five official websites of German authorities which are engaged in culture such as the German UNESCO, The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (*KMK*), the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and Media (*BKM*), the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (*BMBF*), a local authority for Culture and Media (local *BKM*).

In addition to six expert interviews (5h30m, see 2.3) and notes taken at Site 1, ten of its published brochures, its official website as well as its email-newsletters, Facebook profile and Twitter-tweets were used; Site’s 2 official website and three related brochures contributed to our study. Additional data was gained through research on nine websites concerning the study’s local heritage sites.

²¹ Site 1 website

²² Site 2 website

2.3 Expert interviews

All experts received information on the CHIEF project and signed consent forms. Each of the six semi-structured in-depth expert interview was recorded with an audio device and notes were taken additionally. None of the expert interviews was transcribed. Unlike the experts of Site 1 it was difficult to convince members of Site 2 to participate in the interviews. In this context it is important to mention that three experts gave the interviews in the frame of their paid jobs whereas two experts of Site 2 were not being paid for giving the interview. In addition, they referred to their negative experience with the handling of previously conducted interviews. There was only one male interview-respondent. The age of the interview-respondents ranged between 30 and 60 and the majority of the experts have an academic background. All interviews were conducted in German. While the majority of the experts spoke German as their first language, two experts were non-native speakers but spoke German fluently. Two experts positioned themselves as People of Color, three experts did not position themselves and were perceived as belonging to the white German majority group.

Site 1:

The first expert interview, Expert 1, with a representative of one of Germany`s Authority for Media and Culture took place on 25th of February 2019 in the premises of the authority and lasted about 60 minutes. Since Expert 1 is according to her job description the contact person for Site 1 and responsible for commemoration culture at the abovementioned authority, she seemed predestined as an expert interview respondent to represent the official approach.

The criteria for the selection of Expert 2, who is a long-term experienced professional in educational work at the memorial site and an employee of the local Authority of Media and Culture, is her expertise on issues, experiences and challenges concerning the target group – young people - as well as accompanying practitioners (e.g. teachers, pastors...). In addition to the conceptualization of various educational offers our respondent is also an expert at guiding groups through the site. The interview was conducted in the premises of Site 1 on 26th of February and lasted about 90 minutes.

Expert 3, in contrast, is a member of one of the German associations of survivors of the concentration camp, which represents the interests of survivors and is closely connected to Site 1. Since these survivors and their family members represent a precious tie between the memorial site itself, its way of commemoration and the groups of young people they meet and talk with, her expertise seemed very valuable. This expert interview was conducted on 2nd of March in the premises of the city`s University of Applied Sciences and lasted 84 minutes.

Site 2:

The interview with Expert 1 in the authority was conducted with a second representative, Expert 4, of the same authority at the same time. As a spokesman for museums and colonial heritage, his approach and experiences from the official point of view seemed to be very beneficial regarding Site 2.

Expert 5, is an active and long-term experienced member of Site 2 and has a good overview of its developments, structure, offer and challenges. The interview was conducted on 26th of February 2019 in one of the city's cafés and lasted about 40 minutes.

The criteria for the selection of Expert 6, a former member of the study group, is her expertise and experience as well as her academic engagement concerning the topic. The interview took place on 9th of March in her office and lasted about 45 minutes. Expert 6 agreed on giving an interview only under the condition that it was limited to 40 minutes.

2.4 Analysis

To provide a broad overview on continuities and discontinuities of the policy and institutionalized discourse as well as various voices and information on selected local and national heritage sites, a comparative thematic content analysis was performed. The data of the policy and institutionalized discourse on cultural heritage was analysed by comparing the definitions, contexts and localizations of cultural heritage according to different official German authority websites and in reference to the national policy review (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla 2018). Germany's heritage sites and their offers are on the one hand displayed by the German UNESCO and on the other hand represented through Germany's most popular and frequently visited sites according to the official website of the German tourist board. The websites and published material of both selected local sites were compared for their content, style of language and design and layout. Analysis of the expert interviews was carried out by comparing their statements regarding similarities and deviations, but also in reference to their positions in the context of commemoration and remembrance culture, as well as in relation to the above-mentioned data.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

The German UNESCO Commission²³ is a prominent result of the internet research on policy and institutionalized discourses applying the category “cultural heritage” (the German term “*kulturelles Erbe*”). National institutions, such as The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (*KMK*) which is responsible for collecting and forwarding the German UNESCO candidates as well as local institutions like authorities for Culture and Media (*BKM*) make use of the term “cultural heritage” according to the UNESCO and usually refer to the abovementioned UNESCO website²⁴. What German governmental institutions also commonly agree on is the need to preserve and promote German cultural heritage.

According to the Federal Government Commissioner for Culture and Media (*BKM*)²⁵ cultural heritage is manifested through an accumulation of historically produced “high-culture” works and ideologies, and is often associated with the work of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation and its “high culture” facilities (Seukwa, Marmer and Sylla, 2018). Prussian Cultural Heritage²⁶ Foundation is also funding the recently built Humboldt Forum located in the former Berlin Palace, which is celebrated as a new highlight of preserving cultural heritage by displaying exhibits of the Ethnological Museum and Museum for Asian Art.²⁷ The comparison of the most recent brochure issued by the *BKM* by the end of 2018²⁸ with that of 2016, was analysed in our Policy Review (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla 2018) and reveals a shift in the discourse on colonialism and its legacy towards acknowledging Germany’s colonial past. This shift of discourse can also be recognized in the newly adapted promotion of the Humboldt Forum project by the Federal Government, where the “reappraisal of the colonial history” is declared “to be a common task for the German society”²⁹. The Protestant Reformation is also repeatedly referred to in the context of cultural heritage. Another significant aspect of cultural heritage as defined by the *BKM* is the protection and promotion of “German cultural heritage” in Eastern and Central Europe, former German territories lost after WW2 (*ibid.*)³⁰.

²³ <https://www.unesco.de/>

²⁴ *ibid.*

²⁵ *BKM* (2018) *Im Bund mit der Kultur. Kultur- und Medienpolitik der Bundesregierung*, p. 7, 9, 23.

<https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975292/735324/1f0c56735fecb2745648f4e4a0327e4e/im-bund-mit-der-kultur-26-08-2016-download-bkm-data.pdf?download=1>

²⁶ established in 1957 by German Federal law with the mission to acquire and preserve the cultural heritage of the former State of Prussia

²⁷ <https://www.humboldtforum.com/en/pages/humboldt-forum>

²⁸ *BKM* (2018)

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 82f.

³⁰ “Germany’s historic eastern territories and areas of German settlement in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in northeast, east and southeast Europe” (<http://www.kulturforum.info/en/>)

Remembrance and commemoration play an important role in the official cultural heritage discourse (ibid. p.90f), whereby Germany assumes “historical responsibility” for “reappraisal [of history] and reconciliation” by commemorating the victims of the NS-regime. Since the 1960s, the historical responsibility for the “never again Auschwitz” – through awareness raising and prevention of nationalistic tendencies – has been strongly emphasised in Western Germany, resulting in a concept called “Education after Auschwitz” (Adorno, 1966/2005). This was however not the case in the DDR, where education on NS war crimes was different from the West-German Holocaust education: it did not focus on the Shoah and anti-Semitism, neither on collective responsibility and reparations. Post war DDR generations learned little to nothing about the Holocaust. Since the German reunification in 1990, the official idea of commemoration was gradually altered, and now includes the reappraisal of DDR history and the crimes of the SED dictatorship similarly to the Nazi crimes (ibid.).

On the website of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research (BMBF),³¹ Germany is considered to be a country with a rich cultural heritage, yet the ministry remains quite vague in the description of its particular contents. Instead of a definition of the term “cultural heritage” the website lists some examples of sites whose unique collections should be brought to public awareness with the support of Federal Ministry of Research³², such as museums, collections, archives and libraries. The BMBF supports this kind of research by a long-term institutional promotion of the eight Leibniz research museums as well as targeted project funding. The ministry also reaches out to strengthen universities whose unique collections are mostly unknown and in a precarious condition. These examples and foci may lead to the impression that cultural heritage can exclusively be found in locations which are attributed to “high culture” and mainly frequented by formally highly educated groups.

Another main focus of the ministry is supporting “eHeritage” which describes the procedure of digitalization of historical texts all over Germany. Since 2016 the ministry aims to support the digitalization of objects and artefacts in particular to ensure accessibility to research from any location. An additional objective is to build bridges from object-based research in museums to an extracurricular place of learning. As a result from 2013 to 2017 the ministry supported extracurricular offers of cultural literacy for educationally disadvantaged children and young people at German museums within the framework “Culture strengthens. Alliances for education”. This kind of funding shows that the ministry sees the need for action for certain target groups.

³¹ <https://www.bmbf.de/de/kulturelles-erbe-und-forschungsmuseen-746.html>

³² <https://www.bmbf.de/de/kulturelles-erbe-und-forschungsmuseen-746.html>

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

The official presentation by the BKM (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla, 2018) proudly presents Germany as *Kulturnation* (cultured nation) when referring to German UNESCO heritage sites. It foremost promotes the five high culture facilities of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, described as “one of the world’s most prominent cultural institutions”³³, which consist of national museums, libraries and archives. A prominent role is further given to the Foundation “Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation” established to commemorate “German expellees” under the Federal Expellees Act³⁴. German Federal Government and local cultural authorities maintain and co-fund NS-commemoration sites as well as numerous SED-regime commemoration sites along the German-German boarder (ibid).

An overview of German examples of the most well-known institutional body concerning heritage sites – the UNESCO – provides a good impression of what German institutions conceive as a heritage site. Currently UNESCO Germany lists 44 tangible natural and cultural world heritage sites. Most of them belong to the categories “culture and intellectual history” (10) and “churches and monasteries” (10), followed by “nature, gardens and landscapes” (7) and “old town ensembles” (6). Each category “palaces and castles” and “architecture and design” consists of four sites. Three more sites are listed in the last category “industrial heritage”.

In addition to those tangible sites there are four more intangible sites listed as UNESCO world heritage: “blue print” (category: traditional crafts techniques), “falconry” (knowledge and customs concerning nature and the universe), “idea and practices of the organisation of common interests within cooperatives” (societal customs, rituals and festivals) “organ builders and organ music” (traditional crafts techniques).³⁵

Even though the tangible world heritage sites are spread all over Germany, the majority of them are located in big or medium-sized cities (Fig.1).

³³ <https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/ueber-uns-stiftung-preussischer-kulturbesitz-sp.html>

³⁴ The Federal Expellees Act (German: *Bundesvertriebenengesetz*, BVFG; *Gesetz über die Angelegenheiten der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge*; lit.: Law on the affairs of the expellees and refugees) is “a federal law passed by the Federal Republic of Germany on 19 May 1953 to regulate the legal situation of ethnic German refugees and expellees who fled or were expelled after World War II from the former Eastern territories and other areas of Central and Eastern Europe. The law was amended on 3 September 1971”, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Federal_Expellee_Law

³⁵ <https://www.unesco.de/kultur-und-natur/welterbe/welterbe-deutschland>



Figure 1. UNESCO heritage sites. Source:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/World_Heritage_Sites_in_Germany_map_EN.png

On the official German tourist board website³⁶ the German association for tourism (*Deutsche Zentrale für Tourismus e.V.*) promotes Germany as a popular travel destination. The website offers a variety of buttons for a choice of target groups and categories such as “cities and culture”, “specials” etc. Each category provides subcategories such as museums, palaces, etc. Like several websites of German institutions, it also has a special button for the UNESCO world heritage sites. In terms of sites being considered worth seeing, the content of button “TOP 100³⁷” may contribute to our research concerning a broader audience (Tab. 1). Even though these sites are not explicitly labelled as heritage sites it seems important to show how these most popular places shape and keep Germany’s image alive. In addition to the categories applied by the UNESCO there is the category “theme parks and zoos”.

Category	Number of sites
Architecture and design	25
Nature, gardens and landscape	23
Old town ensembles	13
Churches and monasteries	12
Palaces and castles	12
Theme parks and zoos	10
Culture and intellectual history	5

Tab. 1 Germany’s most famous TOP 100 sites in 2017 (according to 32.000 visitors from 60 countries)³⁸

The high number of category “theme parks and zoos” might point out the necessity of a broader understanding of cultural (heritage) sites (Tab. 1). In contrary to the UNESCO list the category with the fewest entries is “culture and intellectual history”.

Only 24 sites of the so-called Germany’s most popular sites are at the same time listed by the UNESCO. It is remarkable which sites are being labelled as worth visiting depending on the consumer. Even sites like museums, which commonly tend to be described as heritage sites, might surprise when taking their theme into consideration such as the *Miniaturwunderland Museum* (exhibiting miniature German and foreign cities and landscapes) which ranks in first place.

While remembrance culture and thus memorial sites play an important role in the German institutionalized discourse, these are not equally promoted by the official German tourist board. Neither a (NS) memorial site is listed in the TOP 100 nor is a special focus/button provided for this topic. Perhaps such a focus could collide with the German website’s slogan “Germany - simply

³⁶ <http://www.germany.travel/de/index.html>

³⁷ 32.000 foreign travellers from 60 countries voted for the German TOP 100 sites in 2017

³⁸ <https://www.germany.travel/de/staedte-kultur/top-100/germany-travel-attractions.html>

friendly”. Site 1, for example, can be found only in the English version of the tourist board website, under the category “Jewish traveller” (category not even existing in the German version). This finding can be interpreted as twofold: first, a Jewish traveller is assumed to be foreign; second, Germany’s commemoration culture is only presented to the victims of the NS regime. A search for the term “colonial” on the tourist board website returns zero results. In accordance with policy documents, Protestant Reformation is also considered to represent German heritage as one of the “specials” button is dedicated to Martin Luther.

It can be summarised that even though remembrance and commemoration are officially conceived as important parts of German culture, negative aspects of German cultural heritage such as sites of war and crime do not seem to be promoted nor conceived as particularly German by foreign tourists.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

Site 1:

Between 1938 and 1945 the memorial Site 1 used to be the biggest concentration camp in the region. 100.000 people from all over Europe were imprisoned in the main camp and its 85 satellite camps and at least 42.900 people lost their lives. There are three more branches spread over the city. Another recently inaugurated memorial site connected to Site 1 and located in a newly established quarter close to the city’s downtown, which used to be a train station from where in 1940-45 over 8000 German Jews, Sinti and Roma were being deported to Ghettos and death camps in East and Central Europe. While the memorial site on the outside terrain is already accessible for the public, the associated documentation centre is still under construction. Researchers of the study centre of Site 1 are responsible for the development of its future exhibition concept.

While the British used the camp as an internment camp for three years after its evacuation, the municipality established two prisons on its grounds after 1948. It was only in 1960s when the first monument was erected, which was extended by an exhibition building in 1980s. After a long political debate, the two prisons were finally closed in 2000s and the site reached its current shape as a historic museum as well as a centre for exhibitions, discussions, encounters and historical studies. This complex and protracted process of the development of Site 1 reveals that in contrast to the German official focus on NS remembrance culture, the municipality gave priority to other topics of interest.

The main site of the memorial is located in a semi-rural area. Even though the memorial site is generally open and accessible for everybody regardless of age, social class, background knowledge and (most) disabilities, it is mainly visited by groups of students and apprentices. Specific information brochures for groups of students and groups of apprentices and young professionals

are being offered at the site and on its website. Tours can be booked in several languages: several European languages as well as Hebrew, Farsi, High Arabic and German sign language (DGS). There are also audio guides available in German, English, French, Spanish, Danish and Dutch. In addition to the audio guides, the site offers 4 different audio guide-tour-brochures. There are also brochures/flyers available in 13 foreign languages.

Concerning the structure of Site 1 it is important to note that all of its 42 employees are employed by the municipality. The memorial site is divided into five departments: directorate (3 employees), education and study centre (9), facility management (26), documentation (3), exhibitions (1). The museum is funded by the municipality as well as by the German federal government. The memorial site comprises a research centre, an archive, a library, a café, an information centre (shop included) and the Centre for Historical Studies.

Site 2:

Site 2 was founded in 2002 in the course of a series of conferences in commemoration of the genocide of the Nama and Herero people by German colonial troops in 1904-08. This was the first series of conferences regarding postcolonial studies in the region. The association is a collective currently consisting of 7 members with various professional backgrounds such as journalism, art, urban planning, business administration; they work for the association voluntarily. It conceives itself as self-critical and non-hierarchical. In consistence with the postcolonial approach of their work, people engaged at the site are concerned with the issues of structural racism overall, but also with its impact on the group. The interviewed experts explicitly stated, that the group was founded by white members only, which is currently changing but the process is a painful one. It was decided, that only non-white new members shall be accepted in the group, currently consisting of one Black person, two PoC and four white persons.

Site 2 finances itself first of all through its offers (e.g. city walk revenues, paid training leaves), and secondly through its members' equity. Given the association's goal to push forward the process of decolonization of the urban space, its institutions and people's common way of thinking, there is no particular target group being addressed. It understands the whole city as a postcolonial site. On the one hand it intends to contribute to the policy discourse by giving press interviews or participating in two groups newly initiated by the city – the advisory council and a round table. On the other hand it aims to raise awareness of local citizens in regard to the city's colonial past and its continuities by organising or attending various public events, e.g. by inviting citizens to search for colonial traces within their district in the frame of a local festival, demonstrating against names of colonizers on street signs or performing art in front of colonial statues.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

Site 1 uses several channels to address and promote its offers. Several offered events such as guided tours including discussions, lectures, panel discussions and film screenings are published in a quarterly released brochure or can be received via email-newsletter. Those regular events are completed by alternative tour offers such as harbour tours, canoe tours, boat trips, bike trips and literary walks outside of its compound. In addition to its regularly updated professional website, Site 1 also uses social media channels (Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) to access young people in particular. It provides a smartphone-app that can be downloaded free of charge and offers four different tours which guide visitors throughout the vast area without joining a group. There is a wide range of brochures and flyers concerning the site and its offers: a map of the site, an overview of its history and information on its main exhibition. There are also four different flyers which can be used as a guide through the site while listening to the audio guides.

Three extra flyers addressing young people and their accompanying persons demonstrate the site's main target group. One describes the different educational offers, whereas another one provides information for school classes; a third flyer consists of information for youth groups, professional groups, vocational schools and multipliers. Site 1's intention is not to place emphasis on the shocking figures and extreme atrocities of the NS time; instead, the design and content of the published material focuses the prisoners' daily hard life. All published material is visually and textually kept in a simple and unpretentious way, even its few pictures are restricted to restrained, muted colours. Only the front sides of the brochures show pictures which portray smaller anonymous groups of young people visiting different spots and show glimpses of the site. The content of these brochures puts the focus on the various educational offers as well as their costs. Site 1's offers may vary from a 2-hour discussion to projects and seminars or workshops which take several days. The site represents itself as an open space which aims to sensitize for committed injustices and intends to refer to the present day ways of intolerance, racism and anti-Semitism. Most of the offers can be negotiated and adapted to each individual visitors group. Even though the site stresses its diverse offers concerning research-oriented learning for students, neither the design nor the use of language in the published brochures gives the impression that they are meant to appeal to young people, addressing the accompanying adults instead.

A quite different example of material addressing young people around Site 1 is published documentation by the local Authority of Culture and Media concerning a youth project regarding the development of the documentation centre connected to the newly inaugurated associated memorial site in the city's downtown. This documentation focuses on the visual presentation of its development process. Several pictures throughout the brochure show young members of the project actively participating in the whole process, interacting with different stakeholders and

presenting several individual ideas and results in a very modern design (DVD included). However, Expert 1 regrets, that neither the way of personal addressing – picked up by the project title “How do you want to remember?” – nor young people’s active involvement in such an intense long-term project succeeded in facilitating a broader interest and engagement in the topic.

Due to the restricted number of members and the lack of human and financial resources, Site 2 only publishes its program annually. Examining its program shows that Site 2 is very much connected to different communities and network partners who are engaged in the same topic. They also relate to the above-mentioned alternative events offered by Site 1. Both sites have been working and publishing together on colonial and racist thinking and acting during the NS. The association launches its own website where the program for 2019 can be downloaded and website updates are made on an irregular basis. Site 2 is not represented in any of the social media channels. To promote its objectives and offers, members of Site 2 mainly make use of its events such as walking tours as well as via press releases and interviews to reach a broader public. Although Site 2 does not put much emphasis on public relations, two experts state to be satisfied with the well-established local system of word of mouth. Site 2 does not promote materials or offers particularly addressing young people, yet it is possible to ask for special offers. According to Expert 5 it seems to be difficult to differentiate between the professional work of Site 2 members and their voluntary work within the site. She refers to two examples such as the conceptualization of an exhibition in a museum as well as developing workshops with pupils in local schools.

4. Discussion

4.1 Concepts of nation, culture and idea of Europe

The analysis of the institutionalized discourse and the expert interviews revealed that ideas, usages and locations of cultural heritage vary significantly, yet it is mostly vaguely described as things, sites, traditions and ideas which are perceived in a positive way and important and worth being protected. Even though according to the BKM the NS commemoration culture is perceived as being part of German cultural heritage, memorial sites in general are not being promoted on the official German tourist board. Negatively connoted associations concerning cultural heritage are only briefly touched upon as Expert 1 perception of cultural heritage shows: She only briefly mentions “trade and war” as a part of German cultural heritage and particularizes her view of cultural heritage as the awareness of freedom, music, usage of language (literature), secularization and Martin Luther as a reformer. The glorification of Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation is also reflected in the official discourse alongside with the Prussian cultural heritage while a

critical engagement with Reformation or Prussian legacy – in terms of autocracy, obedience, militarism, colonialism, racism, nationalism, anti-Semitism, misogyny, ableism etc. – is completely missing (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla, 2018). In the context of European cultural heritage, the awareness and importance of a shared history is mentioned by three experts. Expert 3 specifies it as a common history which “we do not want to experience once again”. Experts from both sites raise the issue of integration and the German discourse on the “leading culture” (*Leitkulturfrage*, see also Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla, 2018). Expert 5 stresses the importance of mainstream society integrating itself into the broader German society as well. In the context of anti-Semitism, Expert 2 talks about expectations towards new immigrants to share Germany’s “historic responsibility” – also manifested by the BKM and other national cultural policy documents, (ibid.). She insists however, on the importance of enabling access to newcomers who are interested in learning more about this part of the German legacy (e.g. by removing lingual barriers etc.; more on this topic in Messerschmidt, 2016; Fava, 2015).

4.2 Discourses on commemoration and remembrance

The official discourse on colonial heritage is clearly shifting, which was demonstrated by the findings on the presentation of the Humboldt Forum heritage site. In the brochure issued by the BKM in 2016, neither the colonial legacy of this ‘ethnological exhibition’ (Zimmerer, 2015) nor postcolonial critique prominently raised in Germany by African communities, Black communities and communities of Color³⁹ (Eggers et al., 2005; Castro Varela and Dhawan, 2015; Steyerl, 2012; Kien Nghi Ha et al., 2016) was even remotely touched upon; the term “colonialism” was totally absent (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla, 2018). The current 2018 issue, however, turns up with 11 mentions of the term⁴⁰. In 2016, the Humboldt Forum project was promoted by the Federal Government “as a place where ‘non-European cultures will present themselves’ to satisfy the ‘curiosity for the foreign, the other’” (Seukwa, Marmer, Sylla 2018). The new brochure claims that it was the Humboldt Forum which has initiated the “important debate on appropriate handling of cultural goods that came to our museums in the context of Germany’s colonial past”⁴¹. It is interesting to observe how the decolonial discourse is being appropriated by the Forum. Also, for the first time in an official German document, provenience research has been extended from the

³⁹ e.g. <https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/dekoloniale-perspektiven-zu-berlins-humboldt-forum/>

⁴⁰ BKM (2018) Im Bund mit der Kultur. Kultur- und Medienpolitik der Bundesregierung, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/973862/424206/02ba8605906154af7772b49f30eb2df9/2016-09-01-neue-kulturbroschuere-data.pdf?download=1>

⁴¹ BKM (2018) Im Bund mit der Kultur. Kultur- und Medienpolitik der Bundesregierung, p. 22, <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/973862/424206/02ba8605906154af7772b49f30eb2df9/2016-09-01-neue-kulturbroschuere-data.pdf?download=1>

art stolen during the NS Regime, to include in future “funding for provenience research about cultural goods from colonial contexts”⁴². Furthermore, the Federal Government declares the “reappraisal of the colonial history to be a common task for the German society”⁴³. However there are currently two distinct approaches to remembrance and commemoration culture in Germany – the commemoration of the NS era and Germany’s colonial heritage.

Taking the interviews into consideration, it is first of all striking to discover that Expert 1’s job description “remembrance and commemoration culture” is restricted to the NS era only and should not be related to colonialism, but stand for itself. It was only in 2013 when the city released a report that claimed a new beginning of remembrance culture concerning colonial heritage.⁴⁴ In 2014, the city’s municipality finally decided to reappraise its colonial heritage and to create an additional area of responsibility in one of its authorities. Expert 4 was thus additionally entrusted with the reappraisal of colonial heritage.

The narrow usage of language referring to remembrance culture applies equally for the term “*Gedenkstätte*” (site of remembrance), which is almost exclusively used for sites in the scope of the NS era. The website which displays all sites of remembrance within the city shows that all of them are related to the NS period of 1933-1945⁴⁵ only. The same applies to the nationwide usage of the term “*Gedenkstätte*” as another website reveals⁴⁶. It might be important to rethink or widen the usage of certain terms when it comes to remembrance culture.

In contrast to NS commemoration and remembrance culture, the process of approaching colonial commemoration and remembrance culture has only recently started. While it is common to involve several affected communities and partners in conceptualizing new NS memorial sites within the city, Expert 4 describes the current situation of the city’s colonial past as “an early phase of identifying interests, needs and appropriate formats” and concedes it challenging to involve different groups and communities in an advisory board and a round table.

Communities affected by colonialism, however, address the problem of hierarchic societal structures as well as privileges. In this context, Expert 5 and Expert 6 draw the picture of old white men, who have been talking or demanding and should start learning to listen to others.

It is thus noteworthy to remark that three experts mention the influence of their family’s background as a starting point in their professional or voluntary engagement in the context of remembrance culture as well as showing interest in civil engagement. They draw a direct connection between the NS and the rise of the right ideology in the present time. In this context

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 78

⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 82

⁴⁴ Website of the city’s Authority of Culture and Media

⁴⁵ Website of the city’s memorial sites

⁴⁶ <https://www.gedenkstaetten-uebersicht.de/europa/cl/deutschland/>

Expert 3 cites her father who used to be a prisoner of Site 1 and used to point out that nothing is as bad as it used to be. The influence of one's family background as well as the ability of bridging the lessons learned from the past to the present might also be of interest considering alternative approaches and the development of formats for young people concerning their engagement and motivation.

In terms of approaches to the topic, Site 2 is not only concerned with remembering the past but rather with the postcolonial continuities and how they shape the city as well as the discourses, minds and lives. Postcolonial approach focuses on structural racism and power relations as well as internalized patterns which can lead to discriminatory actions even within the so called "safe spaces" – commemoration sites. Postcolonial approaches to commemoration in a post-national socialist society, as suggested by Messerschmidt (2008) could be applied by Site 1 and contribute to widening the "never again" discourse and engaging (young) people who do not have familial relations with either the perpetrators nor the victims.

4.3 National/Regional/Local types of heritage site

Site 1:

In comparison to Germany's 45.600 churches (2019)⁴⁷ and 6.800 museums (in 2017)⁴⁸ the number of 140 Holocaust memorial sites seems to be vanishingly small. The number of visitors annually increases at each Holocaust memorial site. In this context, Expert 1 proudly mentions that the memorial site has achieved the new record of 100.000 visitors a year. However according to Expert 2, a continuing massive influx of tourists leads concurrently to a lack of educational work. She refers to Auschwitz with 1,5 million visitors a year where educational work is no longer possible. "Peoples' fascination with the evil" may explain the increasing numbers according to Expert 2. Even though Site 1 is financed and promoted by the city's municipality, it was still a long and difficult way to its transformation into a memorial site. According to Expert 5, surprisingly even today it does not seem easy to establish or protect important places of NS history especially with less victims still being alive.

Site 2:

Even though the city's municipality aims to decolonize the city e.g. by supporting renaming streets, concerns are expressed regarding the single-sided concept of the new harbor museum Expert 6. Unlike NS, whose extensive consequences have been discussed in detail and remembered in

⁴⁷ <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/36948/umfrage/anzahl-der-moscheen-und-kirchen-in-deutschland/>

⁴⁸ <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/2821/umfrage/entwicklung-der-anzahl-von-museen-in-deutschland/>

various places, themes of the city's colonial past such as traces of enslavement are mostly neglected. Until now colonial heritage discourse focuses mainly on positive aspects of trade and ships. According to Expert 6 there are several colonial traces in/on new buildings throughout the city, yet many people do not seem to be aware of this part of urban history. In comparison with other types of heritage sites Site 2 makes use of one's nearby surroundings.

4.4 Cultural literacy of young people

According to Expert 1 it seems to be quite challenging to raise or retain young peoples' interest. Finding an answer to the question "How does this affect me?" and referring to present-day examples might be a first step to raise their motivation. The aspect of voluntary participation as well as interactive formats and methods were emphasized by several experts. While at Site 2, Expert 5 uses the method of entrusting some of the participants with different tasks during the walking tours, Expert 2 and Expert 3 mention work camps on Site 1 or the conceptualization of a memorial site with university students. Making use of peer-groups was mentioned as a successful method to raise young people's interest. Expert 2 refers to the example of the Site 1's format pupils guide pupils. Expert 3 mentions peer groups in the context of approaching young people who do not have an NS family background.

Experts of Site 2 mention good practice examples such as initiating a shift of perspectives by involving commemoration and remembrance culture of foreign countries (Expert 5).

Since pupils' knowledge of NS and colonial heritage seems to be very limited, experts at both sites agree that a better education of teachers might be supportive. Limited knowledge may also result in wrong expectations ("juicy" details) and disappointments (no crematoriums on Site 1).

Site 1 could help young people to start rethinking their behavior or expressions (e.g. insulting other participants by calling them "victim") and take the opportunity to draw attention to the consequences of their behavior and address the person who insulted directly. According to Expert 2, Site 1 follows strict rules in regard to right symbols or clothing displaying the German flag, which have to be removed before entering the site. Participants who do not comply with these rules are denied access to the site. Interviews with the survivors area was mentioned as the only successful and sustainable way of making students become quiet and active listeners who even dare to ask personal questions (Expert 2). Even though many biographies and stories of survivors have been recorded and digitalized, the question remains to what extent those records may contribute to raising young people's interest after the last survivors have passed away. According to Expert 6, causing irritation and doing translation work also seems to be a successful method to raise motivation. She approaches young people at Site 2 by making use of different semantic games such as to conceptualize a walking tour under the title of "Columbus - the pirate".

5. Conclusion

Germany officially prides itself as a *Kulturnation* with a cultural heritage understood to be rich and unique, often described in superlative terms. Policy documents and websites emphasize “high culture” as one major aspect of cultural heritage, such as the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation and its institutions promoting “high culture” art, architecture, literature, music etc. This elitarian approach to cultural heritage is contrasted with “mass culture” sites such as theme parks etc. by the official German tourist board, revealing tensions between these two concepts.

Martin Luther and the Reformation are celebrated as cultural heritage by both, indicating the uncritically Christian and mono-religious definition of cultural heritage.

A different concept of culture lies behind the definition of German cultural heritage outside its geographical borders, maintained and promoted by Foundation “Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation”. Here, culture and heritage are rather understood as traditions, ways of life etc., of “German people” no longer living there or nowadays framed as “ethnic minorities” in the various European countries.

UNESCO German world heritage also features prominently in the official documents and websites, combining some of these concepts in their tangible and intangible categories.

Remembrance and commemoration culture is an important (West) German concept. Initially meant to take responsibility for the Holocaust, it is now officially promoted as taking responsibility “for two dictatorships in one century” (BKM, 2014⁴⁹) whereby crimes of the SED regime have been simply added to those of the NS.

Despite the importance of the “education after Auschwitz” emphasized since the 1970s, it was not until 2005 that the Holocaust memorial, which was selected as Site 1 for our study, had been officially established. It is now supported by and represented in the municipality and offers a broad range of information and activities especially targeting young people. As in other Holocaust memorials, the number of visitors is steadily rising but interviewed experts agree that this fact does not correlate with genuine public engagement in the topic. Critical voices claim that the German culture of commemoration exclusively addresses collective guilt of those with ancestors as

⁴⁹ <https://www.bundesregierung.de/breg-de/aktuelles/kultur-ist-mehr-als-alles-andere-ein-wert-an-sich-782452>

perpetrators, thereby excluding migrants and minority groups. At the same time, they are expected to share German commemoration culture in order to be able to integrate.

NS-memorial sites are marginalised by the official tourist website as they would probably contradict with its image of Germany as “simply happy”. The main target group for this kind of German cultural heritage is assumed to be the foreign “Jewish traveller”.

The tourist board does not mention the term “colonial” at all. Cultural policy documents however, very recently began to pick up the discourse of the decades long civil society struggle for recognition of and responsibility for the German colonial past, committed crimes and postcolonial impact on contemporary German society. This is significant as it for the first time breaks the official silence and the absolute denial of colonial crimes.

The Site 2 of this study applies the postcolonial approach to raise awareness amongst local citizens with regards to the city’s colonial past and postcolonial present and to contribute to the policy discourse. The civil society group also addresses structural racism as the main product of colonialism. Interviewed experts touch upon issues of power, white male privilege, participation and exclusion that keep their engagement on the margin.

If the city’s municipality intends to follow its objective to reappraise its colonial past it should rethink its concepts concerning remembrance culture. Even though the process of reappraisal has just started, full and equal participation of affected communities and groups in this process needs to be genuinely aspired by the municipality and all stakeholders.

It was also interesting to note that family background contributed to political/civil engagement of our experts and that the majority of them refer to the current political situation and the importance to learn lessons from the past. The perception of remembrance culture ranges from a description as a work of translation, initiating a change of perspectives to working on a shared history by involving affected communities.

In terms of increasing cultural literacy of young people, experts mention that emphasizing on how remembrance culture affects them today increases young people’s motivation. In this respect, the postcolonial approach to German remembrance culture as suggested by Messerschmidt (2008) seems promising but is neither widely known nor applied in practice. The cooperation of the two sites can be seen as a step in this direction.

6. References

- Adorno, T.W. (2005) Education After Auschwitz, in: *Critical Models: Interventions and Catchwords*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 191–204.
- BKM (2018) Im Bund mit der Kultur. Kultur- und Medienpolitik der Bundesregierung, p. 7, 9, 23.
- Castro Varela, M. do M., Dhawan, N. (2015) *Postkoloniale Theorie: eine kritische Einführung*, 2., komplett überarbeitete Auflage. ed, Cultural studies / herausgegeben von Rainer Winter Intro. transcript, Bielefeld.
- Eggers, M.M., Kilomba, G., Piesche, P., Arndt, S. (Eds.) (2005) *Mythen, Masken und Subjekte: kritische Weisheitsforschung in Deutschland*, 1. Aufl. ed. Unrast, Münster.
- Fava, R. (2015.) *Die Neuausrichtung der Erziehung nach Auschwitz in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: eine rassismuskritische Diskursanalyse*. Metropol, Berlin.
- Kien Nghi Ha, Lauré al-Samarai, N., Mysorekar, S. (Eds.) (2016) *re/visionen: postkoloniale Perspektiven von People of Color auf Rassismus, Kulturpolitik und Widerstand in Deutschland*, 2. unveränderte Auflage. ed. UNRAST-Verlag, Münster.
- Messerschmidt, A. (2008) Postkoloniale Erinnerungsprozesse in der postnationalsozialistischen Gesellschaft. *Peripherie* 28, 42–60.
- Messerschmidt, A. (2016) Geschichtsbewusstsein ohne Identitäts- besetzungen – kritische Gedenkstätten- pädagogik in der Migrationsgesellschaft, in: *Holocaust Und Historisches Lernen*. pp. 16–22.
- Seukwa, L.H., Marmer E. and Sylla C. (2018) National Cultural/Educational Policy Review (Germany) HAW, in G. Fooks, E. Stamou and K. McNie (eds) *National Cultural/Educational Policy Review: Deliverable report, Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future*. European Commission, pp. 74-104, available online at <http://chiefproject.eu/delivrables/national-cultural-educational-policy-review/>
- Steyerl, H. (Ed.) (2012) *Spricht die Subalterne deutsch? Migration und postkoloniale Kritik*, 2. Aufl. ed. Unrast-Verl, Münster.
- Zimmerer, J. (2015) Kulturgut aus der Kolonialzeit – ein schwieriges Erbe? *Museumskunde* 80.

Internet:

- <https://www.unesco.de/kultur-und-natur/welterbe/welterbe-deutschland>
- <https://www.bundesregierung.de/resource/blob/975292/735324/1f0c56735fecb2745648f4a0327e4e/im-bund-mit-der-kultur-26-08-2016-download-bkm-data.pdf?download=1>
- <https://www.humboldtforum.com/en/pages/humboldt-forum>
- <https://www.bmbf.de/de/kulturelles-erbe-und-forschungsmuseen-746.html>
- <https://www.bmbf.de/de/kulturelles-erbe-und-forschungsmuseen-746.html>
- http://www.dnk.de/archiv_suche/n2413?node_id=2399&from_node=2413&beitrag_id=1609
- <https://www.unesco.de/kultur-und-natur/welterbe/welterbe-deutschland>
- <http://www.germany.travel/de/index.html>
- <https://www.preussischer-kulturbesitz.de/ueber-uns-stiftung-preussischer-kulturbesitz-spk.html>
- <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/36948/umfrage/anzahl-der-moscheen-und-kirchen-in-deutschland/>
- <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/2821/umfrage/entwicklung-der-anzahl-von-museen-in-deutschland/>
- <https://www.gedenkstaetten-uebersicht.de/europa/cl/deutschland/>

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the 'heritage offer' materials used at both sites (including web links) could not be provided due to the required anonymisation of the sites

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (India)

Shailendra Kharat, Suhas Palshikar, Rajeshwari Deshpande, Priya Gohad

1. Executive Summary

This report documents and discusses the public expressions and institutional practices that articulate ideas of culture through Indian heritage. In order to do this, we have documented and analysed representations of culture and heritage as expressed through laws and policies, activities of tourist boards and civil society organisations, and through observing the practices at research sites. In addition, experts' views on these themes were also recorded. Using this material, concepts of nation, culture; cultural literacy amongst young people, and representation of Europe in contemporary India's cultural discourse are discussed and analysed here.

The report deals with these issues at two levels. First, the institutional mechanisms of heritage conservation are discussed, and second, the content of narratives of heritage and culture are taken into consideration. In the Indian context, the institutional mechanism governing heritage conservation is primarily state-centred. This gives a significant role to the administrative machinery in not only facilitating access for citizens and foreigners to 'culture' and heritage sites, but also empowers the state to define ideas of culture, heritage, and thus control the policy agenda for culture.

At the level of content, the tourist boards seek to construct an idea of a united Indian nation through heritage narratives. As compared to the state, the civil society narratives on heritage are more detailed and professional. However, both of them seem to be projecting the dominant Hindu religion and upper caste narrative and thereby marginalizing the minority religions and lower castes.

The key discussion points that emerge from the report are the following: one, the Indian state's performance in fulfilling its responsibilities toward heritage practices is lacklustre; two, it depends more on individuals at the helm rather than on an institutional framework; three, popular understanding of official narratives of culture and heritage often tend to imagine a hierarchy between the national and the regional; and four, in the fields of culture and heritage, India's interface with Europe is filled with tension because of the attempt to get rid of 'colonial' influence and at the same time readiness to embrace modernity.

As a result, a broad conclusion of this report is that of a multi-layered tension. One layer consists of the tension over the pulls of forging a national culture and the pulls of contending regional cultural identities. The other is the tension arising from the gap between the broader civilizational ethos that informs plural traditions of culture, music, art, literature, etc. and the predominance of a more sectarian Hindu-Hindi perspective upheld by the upper castes.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

While selecting the two sites, some common criteria were applied such as location, the sites proximity to the schools selected in WP2, participation of young people (14-25 years) in the site-related activities. In addition, the site specific criteria were also taken into consideration. These being popular tourist sites (site 1 & 2), having a strong connection with Europe (Site 1), undertaking various cultural and educational activities (Site 1), being a site of social contestations (Site 2), and being associated directly with the government (Site 2).

Both sites seek to depict different aspects of the nation state agenda. Site 1 does this through museumizing the everyday items used by the 17th and 18th century elite. Site 2 is a government protected historical monument that shows what the Indian state wants to 'protect' as heritage. In the case of site 2, one part of the site is a religious shrine that not only foregrounds the religious majoritarian politics in India but also shows contestations between the state-protected site and the religious shrine.

We sought to document the heritage narrative at the all India level as well as at the level of Maharashtra, which is one of the states of India. This state was chosen as the site for fieldwork because it would not have been feasible to treat India as a single unit. Maharashtra offers a good comparison to Europe being a state using predominantly one language but at the same time, as a constituent part of India, being open to all other linguistic and religious communities.

2.2 Data gathering

To begin with, field sites were selected based on the criteria specified in the research design. For report writing, textual and ethnographic data was gathered through various sources. The textual data was obtained in the form of policy documents, articles in Research Journals, academic literature, books, newspapers etc. We also accessed the websites of government departments

engaged in culture and heritage, tourist boards and civil society organisations working on heritage. Data gathering was conducted with a view to obtaining insights into issues of heritage, culture, and identities. The broader issues of connection with Europe, and questions of contestation were also taken into account in searching and gathering the data. In the case of the site-specific data, the textual data, in the form of site catalogues and magazines, was also gathered. The two sites selected for the study were visited and ethnographic observations were conducted.

2.3. Expert interviews

We selected heritage experts who have varied engagements with heritage. One of the important criterion of this selection was that they have been associated with the two field sites. We also made sure that the experts we chose had played a direct role in heritage practice, for example as an administrator, academic or government servant. Other criteria included their engagement in popularizing heritage amongst young people and being associated with performing a religious function at a field site.

1. Expert (1)_WP6_IND – plays a leading administrative role in a heritage institution. He has been associated with the institution in different capacities for a very long time. The reason behind this choice was to understand the administrative approach and response to the policy discourse from the institution's side; to understand the site specific offer and the problems while implementing it.
Duration – 1hr 40mins

2. Expert (2)_WP6_IND --Assistant Professor in ancient Indian history, Culture & Archaeology at a renowned institution. His research specialization is in Buddhist art and architecture. His expertise in this field is related to one of the selected sites. His involvement with young people and research expertise were the main criteria for selection.
Duration – 1hr 12mins

3. Expert (3)_WP6_IND – School teacher in Pune. Conducts heritage walk, activities related to culture and heritage for students. Founder of a history group aimed at popularizing history among children. He is also actively involved in framing the state board curriculum and is a member of the subject committee for History for the Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook.
Duration - 2 hrs 23 mins

4. Expert (4)_WP6_IND– He is a priest of a temple located in one of the selected sites. The site being a popular religious place, we hoped to document the role of popular religious practice in heritage practice.

Duration- 1hr 20 mins

5. Expert (5)_WP6_IND–He is an employee of a government institution that has a strong heritage agenda. His inclusion was with a view to getting an insight into the government agenda as well as perspectives of a bureaucrat who is involved in heritage practice.

Duration – 43 mins

- Form of the interview undertaken: Personal interview was conducted face to face. The location and time was confirmed as per the convenience of the practitioner.
- Method of record – The questionnaire was prepared on the basis of suggested blocks for the interview. The interview was conducted in a closed space. The recording of the interview was in the form of writing down the notes by the interviewer as well as by the use of audio tools for recording. The audio was converted into transcripts for analysis and report writing.

2.4 Analysis

We went through various data available on government policies, tourist board information, civil society narratives and site specific information on culture and heritage. We also read the transcripts of the experts' interviews carefully. Besides, we took into consideration theoretical literature on heritage in general and heritage in India. All data is sought to be interpreted within the perspective of the state, nation and culture in order to ensure uniformity with studies being conducted elsewhere under CHIEF. The literature that we referred to showed us that social contestations and conciliations are significant subject matter of any heritage practice. We sought to understand and interpret the meanings and nature of collected information in the context of the theoretical literature; the diverse and contentious nature of nation and culture in India; and various efforts undertaken to forge a common Indian identity.

Specifically, we asked questions at several places while reading this data as to whose culture and heritage is being represented in the name of 'Indian culture' and what is the nature of representation of the various communities and cultures in this depiction of the 'Indian culture'. We also tried to understand the nature of youth and the relationship between India and Europe that these narratives

articulate. Based on these efforts, we then tried to develop our arguments on various ‘top-down’ narratives on heritage and culture in India (see below).

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

The policy and legal discourse on culture and heritage in India has multiple aspects. Broadly it is rooted in the colonial and post-colonial state as far as its mechanisms are concerned. This discourse has varied dimensions. One of these is power - the state gets to define heritage. Thus, a law passed by the colonial government bestowed the central government with the power to declare any monument as being ancient and as heritage⁵⁰. The colonial phase saw the formation of State institutions like the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). This framework continues even in post-colonial times. This legal framework presupposes that decisions regarding what needs to be preserved are taken by the state on behalf of the public but without necessarily depending on actual demands coming from citizens or civil society.

The objective of these laws and policies is to conserve various heritages. Thus, many constitutional and legal provisions aim to protect the heritage sites from being ‘defaced’⁵¹. Using these powers the state seems to be seeking to preserve not only buildings and other geographical sites but intangible heritage as well. Thus, the National Mission for Manuscripts, a scheme of the Ministry of Culture aims to unearth, identify, document and preserve India’s huge collection of manuscripts. Another objective of these policies seems to be making the rich and diverse cultural heritage of India accessible to foreign and Indian tourists. In order to do this, a scheme by the Ministry of Tourism⁵² envisions participation of public and private companies and individuals. This scheme intends to provide ‘world class’ infrastructural facilities such as toilets, signage, cafeterias, ticketing, surveillance and others.

Even traditional practices are identified as heritage that India can offer. Yoga is a case in point. Glowing mention of Yoga in the annual reports of the Ministry of Culture (2017-18) must be seen as the Indian state’s efforts to advertise Yoga as India’s unique contribution to the West in particular and the world in general. In addition, it also signifies the state’s efforts at appropriating

⁵⁰Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904

⁵¹Article 49 of the Constitution, The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act, 1951; Ancient Monuments and Archeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958; the Antiquities and Art Treasure Act, 1972 are some of the examples.

⁵²Adopt a Heritage: Apni Dharohar, Apni Pehchaan, Project for Development of Tourist Friendly Destinations.

and defining Yoga as a unique Indian heritage. This instance indicates two things. One, it indicates the expansion of the scope of 'heritage' to intangibles and to practices; two, it indicates efforts to define what India can offer to the rest of the world.

At the level of the state of Maharashtra, the state government announced its own cultural policy in 2010⁵³. The policy suggests conservation and development of the state's culture in terms of the language - including standard language and different dialects; literature, Indology and institutional support for various cultural activities. Also, the policy seems to be keenly conscious that the state is a part of the Indian nation and states this more than once. The policy was drafted not by government officers but by practitioners of culture and academics active in the fields of literature and social sciences. Nevertheless, the policy looks upon the government to strengthen Maharashtra's culture and also to sustain various civil society initiatives.

Thus, the active role of state institutions in initiating and detailing cultural policy leads to a dual set of problems. One, it leads to bureaucratisation and second it reproduces the dominant interests into cultural realms. As one of the recent reports submitted by a committee constituted by the Ministry of Culture (Government of India)⁵⁴ has underlined, a high level of bureaucratisation has been plaguing various government institutions of art and culture. This committee has recommended more active participation of artists and creative people in order to reform these institutions. Another problem with this narrative is the perpetuation of social (particularly caste) hierarchies. For instance, the National Mission for Manuscripts, referred to earlier, seeks to employ the Guru-Shishya⁵⁵ tradition. It aims to work under the *Gurukula and Guru Shishya* model. Such a model can become a trap in assigning the role of *Gurus* (mentors) to persons from traditionally higher social echelons and also ignores the unequal relation that may be obtained in a *Gurukul* model.

The limitations that these narratives put on conservation and preservation of India's heritage are in terms their statist nature and limited vision of heritage. Thus, these narratives seek to depend too much on the state for defining, conserving and preserving heritage. Participation of civil society actors is hardly sought which might make state's initiatives bereft of any social

⁵³<https://www.loksatta.com/maharashtra-news/the-implementation-of-cultural-policy-stuck-due-to-inactive-government-207888/>

⁵⁴Report of High Powered Committee on the Akademis and Other Institutions under the Ministry of Culture, 2014, see CHIEF WP 1.2, National Cultural/Educational Policy Review (India), p. 112, 114.

⁵⁵ This is one of ancient tradition in Hindu religion. According to it, the student (*shishya*) would go to stay with the teacher (Guru) who would pass on the knowledge of religious scriptures to the former through oral tradition.

participation. On the other hand, if the sphere of civil society is dominated by certain social groups (such as the upper caste in the Indian context), it is equally problematic to assign full autonomy to civil society in regard to culture and heritage. Our assessment of the policy discourse thus directs attention to the dilemma of choosing between a state-centred approach and one relying on civil society. The central point here is that a state-centred approach tends to be not only less participatory but also mechanical and devoid of attention to complex social realities.

For example, one of the government policies is about connecting larger infrastructure of urban life with heritage⁵⁶. Even though the policy seeks to broaden the concept of heritage by relating the same with local communities, the policy is silent on the limits imposed on this by contemporary challenges experienced by urban life in India including issues of transportation, criminality, slums and the overall unplanned nature of most of the cities. These challenges make it difficult for local communities to meaningfully own heritage and thus be connected to the practice of culture and heritage. In the absence of that ownership, government policies tend to become hollow or unviable.

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

3.2.1 Presentation of culture by the Government of India: In an extremely diverse society like India, presenting a 'national' cultural narrative is a challenge. This would involve constructing a national culture belonging to all the countrymen and be inclusive of various socio-cultural communities while doing so.

A survey of the websites and policies of tourist boards that we studied sharply highlights the difficulties in this task. Perhaps in order to avoid this unenviable objective, various tourist policies of the Government of India and Government of Maharashtra keep underlining economic development as one of their major aims⁵⁷. Another problem area is the use of the Hindi language. Documents produced by the Ministry of Tourism, Government of India⁵⁸ illustrate encouragement being given to the Hindi language. This side-lines the regional languages and also ignores the fact that primacy of Hindi at the national level is resented in many South Indian states.

⁵⁶HRIDAY: Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana, 2015. <https://www.hridayindia.in/>

⁵⁷Tourism Policy of Maharashtra, 2006; http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/maharashtra_1.pdf, Tourism Policy of Maharashtra, 2016; <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/docs/default-source/tourism-policy-2016/mtdc-tourism-policy-2016.pdf?sfvrsn=2>, and National Tourism Policy, 2002, <http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/policy/National%20Tourism%20Policy%202002.pdf>

⁵⁸Ministry of Tourism's Annual Reports, 2016-17, http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/annualreports/MoT%20Annual%20Report%202016-17_English.pdf, 2017-18, <http://www.tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/annualreports/Annual%20Report2017-18.pdf>.

But such actions draw attention to the efforts to construct a national narrative of glory through which culture and heritage are offered to citizens and foreigners alike. As already mentioned, Yoga is presented as a major attraction because of its healing qualities. But they also bring forth a contradiction. Incredible India is an initiative of the Government of India to attract foreign tourists to India. On its website, a description of Ayurveda spas and treatment find special mention⁵⁹. This website describes Ayurveda as a ‘Vedic Science’. It also says that modern lifestyle has created many ‘health hazards’ which Ayurveda is likely to cure through its ‘process of purification and rejuvenation’. This betrays a clear tension between an attraction for ‘science’ and at the same time abhorrence for modernity of which the former is an integral part. Another section on ‘Tribal Tours’ ossifies tribal communities in the country when it says that these tours ‘are the showcase to age-old tradition that still exist in the purest form’⁶⁰.

3.2.2. Maharashtra’s offer: Maharashtra State Tourism Development Corporation (MTDC) is a tourist board of the government of Maharashtra. Its website gives useful information about various types of tourist attractions, including religious and natural, the tourist resorts run by the board, the festivals, cuisines, costumes, history and geography of the state.

This website seeks to construct the state of Maharashtra as a united social unit. However at various places, tensions in Maharashtrian society are laid bare. On the one hand it says that the state is ‘A land whose sheer size and diversity will stun you’, and elaborates upon the religious demography of the state. But on the other hand, it keeps religious minorities either woefully underrepresented or absent when it comes to describing the festivals, cuisines and pilgrim sites in the state⁶¹. This suggests religious majoritarianism in the cultural sphere. Another axis making this tension visible is the marginalisation of the traditionally lower castes. Thus the ‘Costumes of Maharashtra’ are classified according to the caste of the people. Here, the non-Maratha and non-Brahmin castes find very little space. And only Brahmins are said to be wearing the ‘modern’ costumes, all other communities are temporally frozen in the pre-twentieth century as far as their costumes are concerned⁶².

⁵⁹ <http://www.incredibleindia-tourism.org/india-ayurveda-spa/>

⁶⁰ <http://www.incredibleindia-tourism.org/tour-planner/tribal-tours.html>

⁶¹ See <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/maharashtra/festivals>,
<https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/maharashtra/cuisines>,
<https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/treasures/temples>

⁶² <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/maharashtra/costumes>

The section on the ‘History of Maharashtra’ seems to be assuming that the social and political entity of the state was present at least since the 4th century BCE. This may be seen as an effort of the state to ‘construct’ a common history for the political unit that came into being only in 1960. Another attempt in this direction is the importance bestowed on forts as having ‘played a vital role in the history of the state’, being ‘interwoven in folklore, along with the valour of Shivaji’⁶³. Daniel Jasper (2006) has pointed out how the symbol of Shivaji has become ‘an embodiment of Maharashtrian spirit’ in the process of celebration of the Shivaji festival. While such efforts are only natural in a society where claims to history are deeply connected to claims to present day political resources, our instances alert to the skew that may enter in the process.

While describing Site 1, the MTDC website highlights the presence of the Mastani Mahal as a story of romance between a Peshwa ruler and Mastani but avoids mentioning the religious dimension of that love story. Site 2 is appreciated for the Buddhist ‘architectural, sculptural and inscriptional’ significance; and the temple is presented just as a structure that came up near Karla caves later. The harmonious relationship between the two sites is implied, notwithstanding a potent conflict between the constituencies of the two sites.

Another important feature of the tourist narrative of the Maharashtra government is that the ‘Heritage walk’ is presented as an urban phenomenon and ‘Rural Tourism’ is prescribed for rural areas. While the former is supposed to be constructing ‘an imagination of past while tourists are interacting with the people and the places from the present’⁶⁴, the latter is supposed to ‘generate additional income’ for the farmers and ‘Provide rural experience to urban residents’⁶⁵. This suggests a clear division of labour whereby the city dwellers are supposed to be consuming the ‘heritage’ and the rural people are supposed to be involved in economic activities.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

- Site 1:

This site is one of the museums in the city of Pune. Although it was formally established in 1962, the exhibits were gradually collected by its founder since the 1920s. However, in 1975 it was handed over to the Department of Archaeology, for developing it as a Regional Museum with better display and maintenance of its exhibits. Later the collections were donated to the

⁶³ Shivaji was a seventeenth century warrior king from a part of Marathi speaking areas. His symbol has become quite popular in mobilizing various sections of the society in modern Maharashtra.

⁶⁴<https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/treasures/heritage-walks>

⁶⁵<http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/mtdc-tourism-policy-2016.pdf>

Government of Maharashtra. An autonomous body called the 'Board of Management' was set up, headed by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Maharashtra followed by the Executive Committee, then the museum administration and then the staff of the museum. The State Government of Maharashtra provides funds to the museum in the form of a maintenance grant. In addition, entry fee collections, a museum shop, and donations provide additional funds.

As one of the largest one-man collections, the museum is fascinating for its varied artefacts, ranging from beautifully embroidered textiles, to sculptures and antique copper vessels, to the swords belonging to the 18th and 19th centuries. The museum now holds over 20,000 objects, of which 2,500 are on display.

Since the museum displays objects of everyday life, the target audience includes all sections of society. Schools, college students, foreign and Indian tourists in Pune mainly visit the museum. Students of history, fine art, and architecture visit the museum mainly for their academic purposes. Despite being one of the most anticipated and prominent tourist to-dos in Pune, lack of funds has hampered conservation efforts and upgradation. The museum is lacking in terms of its publicity and marketing of the site, which prevents a larger footfall. Despite moving from a private to a public heritage site, financial constraints have created an intellectual gap since the museum is unable to hire skilled experts.

The museum is located in an enclosed three storied building. The site is located in close proximity to other prominent heritage sites which proves advantageous to the site from a tourism point of view. The spatial arrangement is seen as per the theme. The gallery of musical instruments has a special sound arrangement to give a musical feel to the space. There is a special section called '*vanitakaksha*' specially designed for the display of various objects used by women in their day to day life. The main highlight of the museum is the collection objects of day to day use representing the social history of Maharashtra. This seems to be contrary to another commonplace understanding of a museum being a showcase of extra ordinary antiquities e.g. The Chhatrapati Shivaji Museum, Mumbai or the Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad. The museum organises temporary exhibitions on various themes to attract visitors. As per the authorities of the museum it is more challenging to attract the locals to the museum. A sightseeing bus service run by the local municipal authority includes this museum as part of its itinerary ensuring that visitors drop in and view the artefacts from the museum. During the interview with an expert related to the site, we were told that during the 1960s the museum was located outside the old city limits; now the centre of the city itself has moved, creating problems of traffic and congestion. These factors discourage or restrict the public from visiting the museum.

- Site 2:

The site is one of the ancient caves located in the rural area of Maharashtra. They were developed between the 2nd century BCE and the 2nd century CE; and from the 5th century CE to the 10th century CE. Many traders and Satavahana rulers (2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE) made grants for the construction of these caves. The caves house a Buddhist monastery which was once home to two 15-meter grand pillars outside the *chaitya* (shrine). Now, only one of these remains and the remaining space is occupied by a temple dedicated to a Hindu deity. It is difficult to put the temple in a particular timeframe due to various interpretations related to its origin, in the form of legends, inscriptional evidence, folklore, heritage experts and information available on the website.

The caves are a protected monument under the Archaeological Survey of India. The highest person in authority is the Superintendent of Archaeology. The next in hierarchy is the Deputy Superintendent, followed by the Circle Officer and the Sub-Circle Officer. The site is funded by the Ministry of Culture of the Government of India. Maharashtra State Government also contributes funds to the Central Government for maintenance. In the case of the temple, the management has been in the hands of the state Government. It has appointed a committee consisting of a Tehsildar (government officer), a Judge, and a Charity Commissioner to look after the temple administration. Funds are raised by the donations received from the devotees and a monthly honorarium of 6 pounds was awarded by the British to the priest of the temple, which the government of India has continued to date.

In the case of the caves, young people visit the site for its religious offerings, as well as understanding the art and architecture of the monument. Being a family deity, the majority of the visitors to the temple belong to the *Koli* community. Other than that, the Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu, Agri, Kayastha and many such communities worship the goddess as their family deity and hence visit the temple. Since the two sites are located on the same campus, the visitors to the caves and temples are most often the same. The caves are built in open space, including the *Chaityagriha* (prayer hall) and the *viharas* (dwelling places for the Buddhist monks). The temple is an enclosed stone structure with all characteristics – a *Sabhāmandapa* (assembly hall), *Antarāḷa* (small antechamber) and the *Garbhagriha* (Sanctum). There is also a *Nagārkhāna* (tower where percussion instruments are played), which today serves the purpose of a resting place for people.

At the local level, there seems to be a huge gap in awareness about the rules laid down by the government and their application. The locals extract fees on the site for parking, and entry etc., both for the cave and the temple. The cave complex comprises of a ticket counter which is ideally

supposed to be a selling counter of ASI books and publications, but these seem to be missing from this particular site. There is no printed material or any online / offline collaterals provided by the site as a medium of providing information to the visitors. However, there is a board hidden behind the bushes in Hindi, Marathi and English providing brief information about the caves. Visitors to the caves are mainly devotees who visit the temple in large numbers, but at the same time we see visitors coming specifically in groups to visit the caves. The site is also popular among trekkers, mainly during the monsoon season for its natural beauty. Recently environmental organisations along with local communities planted more than a thousand saplings on the hills of the site location and plan additional activities for environmental protection. A number of rituals are performed here, including that of animal sacrifice. There are a number of shops selling offerings, photographs of the goddess and sweets for the goddess on the way up to the temple.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

Offers about both research sites are available in multiple forms. The website of the museum⁶⁶ contains written material and photos. The write-ups are about the founder of the museum and his efforts in acquiring the artefacts. It also contains a synoptic enumeration about the proposed 'Museum City' that is planned in one of the suburbs of Pune city due to paucity of space in the present place and for expanding the scope of the museum to include large spaces for research, library etc. The other sections in this website contain photos of various exhibits such as garments, paintings; and various sections in the museum such as a textile gallery, lamps gallery etc.

The information about the museum's offers is also found on websites of different civil society organisations. One such website, Sahapedia, provides information about the museum in a series of articles⁶⁷. One of these articles describes the nature of the exhibits- most of which are from 17th and 18th century- to be found in the museum. These include objects involved in an 'average traditional routine of a lady', including perfumes, costumes, ornaments put in a special section devoted to artefacts used by women. Also the specimens of various garments, such as *paithanis* from Maharashtra, *kashida* embroidery from Karnataka⁶⁸ that are exhibited, are described. It also discusses sections on weapons, collection of lamps, images of various Hindu deities, doors, arches, wooden chests, and wooden carts for children, betel leaf, paintings, kitchen and musical instruments that are kept in the museum. The articles also contain pictures of various exhibits.

⁶⁶ <http://rajakelkarmuseum.org/about.html>

⁶⁷ <https://www.sahapedia.org/raja-dinkar-kelkar-museum-wonderful-world-of-everyday-art>

⁶⁸ One of the south Indian states

The museum has an interesting souvenir store with a plethora of offerings, ranging from postcards to books and perfumes. There are three different types of postcards: some having paintings of various heritage places from Pune city, others have photographs of sculptures from the museum, and another set has photographs of weapons exhibited in the museum. A number of books published by the museum, on topics like “Tambool (betel leaves) Tradition”, “Arms &Armours” etc. are also available for sale.

The website of the temple provides multifaceted information in multiple forms⁶⁹. It depicts various folk stories about the origins and emergence of the temple; the daily routine of worship of the deity; and details about the annual fare of the temple. It also contains the testimony by the chairperson of the temple trust that elaborates upon the various efforts of the trust to provide various amenities such as stay/accommodation, food, toilets, and parking facilities for the worshippers. The homepage of the website is filled with dark colour in the background and various images in the foreground. Those images include the deity and the chairperson of the temple trust. This website provides all the information in Marathi as opposed to the MTDC website that has all the information in English, indicating that these websites seek to cater to different audiences. In the case of the caves, various marketing websites depict photos of it. Wikipedia gives detailed information that is centred, along with the photos of the site, on the history and architecture of the caves. Also, the Maharashtra tourism website discusses the historical, inscriptional and architectural aspects of the caves, along with displaying pictures of the same⁷⁰.

There are different civil society organisations that work on heritage and culture. One of them is INTACH which seeks to work in exploration and conservation of heritage in India⁷¹. Sahapedia⁷² is an open encyclopaedic resource on the arts, cultures and histories of India. It offers digital content in multimedia format - articles, photo essays and video, interviews and oral histories, maps and timelines, authored by scholars and curated by experts. In addition, there are a number of organisations such as Pathil, Heritage Insights, and The Western Routes which undertake heritage walks, tours and site seminars for locals as well as foreign tourists. Many other organisations, especially in Maharashtra, are also involved in the maintenance and upkeep of the forts which are one of the important aspects of heritage. Many of them also complain about the government’s apathy in this respect.

⁶⁹<http://www.aaiekvira.org/>

⁷⁰ <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/treasures/cave/karla-bhaje-bedse-caves>

⁷¹<http://www.intach.org/about-mission.php>

⁷²<https://www.sahapedia.org/>

4. Discussion

4.1 State initiative and state control: As already pointed out, state institutions in India not only define but also regulate heritage sites and tend to have influence on how culture and heritage are understood in the public domain. However, state institutions do not have a set pattern of relating to heritage sites and their administration. Expert 1 and Expert 2 both pointed out that besides inefficiency; there is also a personalistic approach to institutional practices. Expert 1 also relayed an instance where personal intervention by higher level political office holders such as the Chief Minister and Prime Minister occasionally ensured funding for Site 1.

4.2 Contested dimensions of Site 2: While commercialization of sites is an unavoidable fall out of both necessity and expansion of tourism as industry, heritage practitioners keep complaining about the way trading activities overwhelm the sites. Thus an expert (Expert 5) looks at the shops established in the vicinity of the caves as ‘encroachments’ that have happened due to problems of ‘rural unemployment’. And the priest of the temple site complained that a ‘protected monument’ in the vicinity of the temple has stopped them from carrying out any construction for development of the temple (Expert 4). Also, on the one hand expert oriented, scientific edifice is there for protecting and maintaining the government recognised site (Expert 5) while on the other, deities of the temple are being seen as ‘sentimental’ who ‘tend to disturb the sanctity of the monument’ (Expert 2). And lastly according to experts, chronologically the caves predate the temple (Expert 2). While for the temple authorities, who cite various documentary and scriptural sources, the temple was established much before the caves⁷³. This fuzziness about temporal precedence and cultural sanctity are bound to take place in societal contexts that are made of diverse cultural practices, perceptions and ideological projects. In the elite discourse, they tend to appear as legal-ideological claims while in public practices, there are either tensions or the neglect of one in favour of the other.

4.3. Europe and ‘Indian’ Culture: The influences of colonialism on heritage practices in India are complicated in nature. Bandopadhyay, Morais and Chick (2008) have shown that the tourist literature in India attempts to vilify the colonial influence on the country. However, our fieldwork shows that heritage practitioners in India emphasise that even though India has a long and rich history of its own, the country needs to learn a lot from Europe as to how to preserve and conserve heritage (Expert 1). This manifests a tension regarding European influence in India. On the one

⁷³<http://www.aaiekvira.org/content.php?mid=1&sid=8>

hand, colonialism, through which Europe influenced India, is considered as an affront on the self-respect of Indians. However, the European impact seems to be an indispensable part of Indian society and culture through practices such as heritage conservation. This is seen when one of the experts (Expert 2) contended that the knowledge about heritage gained through formal, modern education is the ‘right information’ and the one given by the locals is the ‘wrong information’⁷⁴.

4.4 Cultural Literacy of Young People:

These contestations notwithstanding, experts tended to be unanimous in their assessment that the young had very limited interaction with heritage; that their cultural literacy was quite limited and engagement with culture and heritage among the young was low. The experts suggested that the youth must be made aware of cultural heritage. Some recommended interventions through school syllabi while others desired a general movement visiting the museums (*museum chalo*: let’s go to museums). Also, some criticised the tendency amongst youth to desecrate cultural heritage. There seems to be not merely an ‘elite-mass’ gap in the case of interface with culture, but also a gap between the young and the not-so-young on what constitutes cultural practice. In particular, the expectation that the young need to be visiting museums and/or heritage sites such as the caves appears to be at odds with the actual cultural practices of the young.

4.5: The search for ‘Indian’ culture-Questions of diversity, nation and region: Bandopadhyay, Morais and Chick (2008) have written about the articulation of India’s identity and culture as seen in the material produced for heritage tourism by the government and private players. They have found that even though the Indian government tried to project a pluralist cultural image, the private players seek to show a Hindu dominated national culture. The survey of government policies on heritage and tourism that we conducted shows a contradictory trend. As we have shown earlier, formal projections of culture are not merely influenced by the Hindu religion, but also by

⁷⁴ How questions of western culture can be complicated is witnessed by a controversy over the graduation ‘gown’ that was traditionally used in the University based at Pune, the Savitribai Phule Pune University. While suggestions that this ‘colonial’ relic needed to be discarded have been made for long, when the University actually decided to change the dress code for graduation ceremony and recommended a traditional headgear known as Puneri Pagdi (hat typical of Pun city), there were complaints about this recommended headgear being Brahmanical—identified with the Brahmin caste. It was then demanded that the headgear that used to be worn by the nineteenth century radical thinker and reformer, Jotirao Phule, should be adopted as the formal headgear for the graduation ceremony. The university sought to escape the controversy by saying that any headgear and for that matter any ‘Indian’ dress would be acceptable for the ceremony. This episode only shows how replacement of the western is not an easy cultural project and contestations arise out of indigenous inequalities. See: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/controversy-mars-pune-varsity-convocation/article25974654.ece>

sensibilities of upper castes and the Hindi language. However, at the same time, Indian state practice attempts to officially promote diverse identities through its policies on language and inter-faith relations.

Daniel Jasper (2014), writing on heritage practice by the state and non-state actors in Maharashtra has argued that both create a narrative that projects Shivaji as a deity. This, according to Jasper performs two functions. One, it feeds into the already established socio-cultural narrative in Maharashtra that considers Shivaji as the epitome of Marathi regional identity. And second, it encourages a tendency to view politics as basically a religious activity. In our survey of civil society narratives on heritage, we found this working out in a complex manner. Thus, in Maharashtra, a number of civil society groups look after the maintenance and upkeep of forts. This should be seen in the background of general disillusionment against the state and central government's lack of enthusiasm in looking after these historical sites. But there are other cultural aspects to it as well. As one of these groups reported on its website, they regularly perform fort worships (durg-puja) on forts⁷⁵. The videos and photos showing those religious rites clearly indicate a propensity to convert the idea of heritage into a Hindu heritage. This group also performs flag hoisting on whichever forts they conduct the maintenance activities. The flag that they hoist are of orange-saffron- colour (bhagwa). Even though the orange flag is open to regionalist interpretations, considered along with the activities of Durg puja it definitely points towards a Hindu religio-cultural practice. Thus, these groups seem to be performing a dual role. On the one hand they are devoted to the physical upkeep of many important heritage sites in the state. But on the other, they also seem to be furthering a sectarian agenda that is not only religious in nature but also feeds into the larger majoritarian politics going on in the state and nation for some time now.

Nearly all of the experts maintained that in India, meanings of national, regional and local heritage are different in nature. One of the experts told us that the state level heritage is closer for the people compared to the national level heritage (Expert 2). Even though the regional and national heritage gets constructed through complicated historical processes, bestowing primacy to one at the cost of the other is always fraught with problems, especially in culturally heterogeneous places like India. While all compromises on contested issues of culture are bound to be clumsy, multi-layered cultural identities in India may complicate this situation further. For instance, a regional culture may get sidelined against a dominant national cultural in one context. But the former may still be amenable to the construction of another dominant culture such as the religious majoritarian one. In this connection, an expert juxtaposed Maratha and Mughal history and equated scaling down

⁷⁵<http://shivajitrail.org/>

the latter and increasing the proportion of the former in the history textbooks as a step in the direction of having ‘Maharashtra centric history’(Expert 3).

5. Conclusion

5.1 The challenge for civil society: Stuart Hall (1999) has argued that heritage practice is an exercise that involves creation of tradition in order to construct a nation. He further states that power relationships in this project mean domination of some groups over others and in the course of time the marginalised groups assert their rights against oppression. The situation about heritage practice in India follows this trajectory but is even more complex. The society that was beset with several contending identities and cultures was also able to build common grounds on a political basis by employing culture and heritage as threads that linked different social sections to the political project of democratic nationalism. That is where nationalism, colonialism and modernity- three distinct projects- get intertwined in the recent history of Indian society. This intertwining was possible because of the lived practices of intermingling among different communities despite hierarchies and inequalities.

Nevertheless, the transition to a post-colonial status has not necessarily resolved many of the contradictions India faced; in fact those have become even more complex. Civil society organisations working in culture and heritage operate in this backdrop. This poses a stiff challenge for the heritage practitioners and civil society groups engaged in the fields of culture and heritage.

The civil society narratives on heritage are broader in scope as compared to the state based articulations. Thus INTACH seeks to include into its vision of heritage various issues of everyday lives such as the encroachment on rivers in the urban areas. The state’s conception of heritage is largely limited to conserving the relics of the past. The perspective of civil society organisations too, does not necessarily incorporate all the nuances of heritage sites. It tends to reproduce the pre-existing social stereotypes about these sites and also underscore the state narrative.

5.2. Interface with Europe: We found that the nature of the European influence on heritage in India is quite complex. On the one hand the Indian state and society abhor European influence because of the colonial past. But on the other, India is firmly ensconced under European influence due to acceptance of the modernist project, even though one can show many spaces where this modernity has been interpreted and reinterpreted by Indians to suit the country’s own historical, socio-cultural milieu- the use of cinema, and cricket are some of the instances. However, European influence may not always be negotiated amicably and may lead to contradictions. This is visible when

knowledge about heritage gained through modern education is considered authentic and local knowledge is called misinformation. At another level, we have also come across a tension between the state recognised and mass supported heritage. This echoes a contradiction between the statist ‘conservation regime’ and ‘religious worship’, amongst others, that Christoph Brumann and David Berliner (2018) underline.

5.3. Looking Forward: While one of the findings that we encountered was the lack of adequate interest by young people in what is officially recognised as heritage, one needs to be aware of the disconnect between official discourse on heritage and the sensibilities of the citizens in general and the youth in particular. The cultural literacy of young people also seems to be fraught with social diversity and division. Thus, a clear division emerges as far as the youth’s engagement with our field sites is concerned. The youth visiting the temple is viewed as indulging in deviant behaviour and those visiting the museum seem to be involved in academic pursuit. This underlines social division amongst the young constituencies of these sites. Sinha-Kirkhoff (2011) has argued that the state imagines itself in the role of the adult and bestows the role of the kid on to the youth while framing a policy for youth. This relationship gets replicated when experts deplore lack of heritage consciousness amongst young people and urge for intervention through syllabi to get the young interested in heritage.

But more generally, the issue is to imagine new presentations of culture and exploring possibilities of an evolving narrative of ‘Indian’ culture. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1995) has argued that heritage seeks to produce something new in the present by utilizing the past. This can be clearly seen in the employment of Shivaji’s image in the creation and development of the/a Marathi regional-linguistic identity. Daniel Jasper (2014) has maintained that this process has led to deification of Shivaji which in turn feeds into turning the political space into a religious one in India.

Roger Simon and Susan Ashley (2010) have argued that heritage can be creatively employed in order to create community feeling especially in the contexts of social tensions. They argue that methods such as creative use of communication, ‘memory work’ may be used to forge new bonds of community where tension exists. This also requires a broadening of heritage from merely conservation to all those things that go into the making and unmaking of social bonds. Can the Indian state and society accept this challenge of creating bonds of community through various heritage practices? Actually, the record of the post-independence Indian state shows us that it has made efforts to make compromises and conciliations between many contesting heritages and cultures. Also, Indian society does have syncretic traditions whereby everyday interactions

between different communities and their cultural practices take place. The present moment, however, seems grim in this connection as various identities are getting rigid and conflicts between them are becoming more prominent.

Interestingly, when politics and the terrain of culture and heritage appear to be failing in either producing a plural cultural identity or addressing systems of social dominance that define high and low cultures, entertainment and sport tend to manifest capabilities of retrieving the plural potential of the society. Despite the clichéd duality between the Indian and the western, cricket, a sport borrowed from the colonial masters allows many Indians to experience being ‘Indian’ (Appadurai, 1995, CHIEF WP 1.3, National Cultural Policy Review (India)-WP 1). Not only the actual sport but its cinematic presentation like the one in the Hindi movie ‘Lagaan’ (2001) sought to subvert many hierarchies that characterise Indian society. In fact, the ‘western’ form of entertainment, the movies has been so Indianised by the film industry that it reminds one of another powerful subversion. Thus, “Feature films are the great popular passion of India, cutting across the social divides... of caste, class, region, religion, gender and language” (Guha, 2008, p. 720).

The advent of such new and non-traditional ‘heritage sites’ makes one alert to the possibility of continuing conversations between culture and heritage practiced through the lens of societal domination and heritage making that a society undertakes despite such systems of domination. The sites studied here and the insights shared by the experts draw attention to the entrenchment of dominance while at the same time, they also direct attention to the need to make –construct—new sites of culture and heritage with which the young will relate and also which provide possibilities of countering dominance.

6. References

- Anand, M. (1978) *Treasures of Everyday Art: Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum*. Bombay: Marg Publications.
- Bandyopadhyay, R., Morais, D. and Chick, G. (2008) Religion and Identity in India's Heritage Tourism, *'Annals of Tourism Research'*, 35(3): 790–808.
- Brass, P. (1994) *The Politics of India since Independence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brumann, C. and Berliner, D. (2018) Introduction. In Brumann, C. and Berliner, D. eds, *World Heritage on the Ground Ethnographic Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books, pp. 1-34.
- Burgess, J. and Pandit, B. (1881) *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*. Bombay: Archaeological Survey of Western India, Government Central Press.
- Guha, R. (2008) *India after Gandhi*, London: Picador.
- Hall, S. (1999) Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'The Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation. *'Third Text'*, 13 (49): 3-13.
- Jasper, D. (2006) Celebrating a Region through Historical Commemoration. In: Feldhaus, A. and Vora, R. eds., *Region, Culture and Politics in India*. Delhi: Manohar.
- Jasper, D. (2014). Of Relics and Living Traditions: Creating Heritage in Maharashtra. In: Deák, D. and Jasper, D. eds., *Rethinking Western India*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Kirshenblatt - Gimblett, B. (1995) 'Theorizing Heritage', *Ethnomusicology*, 39 (3): 367-380.
- Luther, A.C. (2010) *Indian Heritage the process to INTACH's Charter*. Paper written for the Master Program in Conservation and Restoration from the Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA).
- Rodenberg, J. and Hulst, R. (2012) *Governance of heritage. Discourses and power in heritage policy networks*. Gothenburg: Association of Critical Heritage Studies.

Satghare, H. and Sawant, M. (2018) SWOT Analysis of Marketing Strategies Applied by MTDC for promotion of Maharashtra Tourism. *'Atna Journal of Tourism Studies'*, 13 (2): 79-95.

Shinde, K. (2016) Disruption, resilience, and vernacular heritage in an Indian city: Pune after the 1961 floods. *Urban Studies*, 54 (2): pp.1-17.

Simon, R.I, Ashley, L.T (2010) 'Heritage and practices of public formation', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16 (4-5): 247-254.

Tare, K. (2018) Maharashtra to promote Buddhist spiritual tourism. *India Today*. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.indiatoday.in/india/story/maharashtra-offers-land-bank-to-promote-buddhist-spiritual-tourism-1324968-2018-08-28>

Web links:

Aaiekvira.org. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.aaiekvira.org/content.php?mid=1&sid=8>

HRIDAY: Heritage City Development and Augmentation Yojana, (2015). [online] <https://www.hridayindia.in/>

Incredibleindia-tourism.org. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.incredibleindia-tourism.org/india-ayurveda-spa/>

Incredibleindia-tourism.org. [Online]. Available at: <http://www.incredibleindia-tourism.org/tour-planner/tribal-tours.html>

Indianculturalforum.in (2018) [Online]. Available at: <https://indianculturalforum.in/2018/10/24/whats-in-a-name-far-more-than-the-opposition-is-able-to-understand/>

Intangibleheritage.intach.org. [Online]. Available at: <http://intangibleheritage.intach.org/projects/cultural-mapping/>

Maharashtratourism.gov.in .MTDC Official website of Maharashtra Tourism. [Online]. Available at: <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/>

Maharashtra.gov.in.(2016). [Online]. Available at: <https://www.maharashtra.gov.in/Site/Upload/Government%20Resolutions/Marathi/201704181501500523.pdf>

Sahapedia.org . [Online]. Available at: <https://www.sahapedia.org/raja-dinkar-kelkar-museum-wonderful-world-of-everyday-art>

Shivajitrail.org. [Online]. Available at: <http://shivajitrail.org/>

Thehindu.com.(2019) (Online). Available at: <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/controversy-mars-pune-varsity-convocation/article25974654.ece>

Tourism.gov.in. (2002).National Policy [Online]. Available at: <http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/policy/National%20Tourism%20Policy%202002.pdf>

Tourism.gov.in. (2006). [Online]. Available at:
http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/maharashtra_0.pdf

Tourism.gov.in. Annual reports 2016-17 [Online]. Available at:
http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/annualreports/MoT%20Annual%20Report%202016-17_English.pdf

Tourism.gov.in. Annual reports 2017-18 [Online]. Available at:
<http://tourism.gov.in/sites/default/files/annualreports/Annual%20Report2017-18.pdf>

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites (including weblinks)

Site 1:

1. Catalogues – English, Hindi, Marathi
2. Souvenir items - post cards, magnets, coffee mugs depicting the museum collection.
3. Commemorative volume of DinkarKelkar
4. <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/treasures/museum/raja-dinkar-kelkar-museum>
5. <http://rajakelkarmuseum.org/about.html>

Site 2:

1. <http://www.aaiekvira.org/>
2. <https://www.maharashtratourism.gov.in/treasures/cave/karla-bhaje-bedse-caves>

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Latvia)

Irēna Saleniece, Anita Stašulāne

1. Executive Summary

On the basis of contrasting criteria, the National History Museum of Latvia and the Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre were selected for mapping cultural heritage sites. With the aim to compare how cultural heritage is represented and offered to young people in the mainstream heritage site and in the alternative heritage site, the following activities were carried out: observation, the selection of experts and conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews with experts. Interviewing made it possible to clarify experts' subjective experience and shape an inter-subjective narrative on the concept of cultural heritage, the national cultural policy and problems related to its implementation in particular heritage sites. Publicity materials, website homepages and social networking sites, interview data and field notes were analysed by applying the narrative inquiry approach, and thematic clusters were established. They helped to create the typology of common elements, have a discussion and arrive at generalised conclusions with regard to: (1) the implementation of cultural heritage policy in heritage sites; (2) understanding of the concepts "culture", "national cultural heritage", "regional cultural heritage", "European cultural heritage"; (3) the contribution of cultural heritage sites to the enhancement of young people's cultural literacy. In relation to the methods producing cultural knowledge and ensuring its sustenance and receptivity, it can be concluded that the selected heritage sites play an important role in shaping young people's cultural competences, particularly because they are involved in the implementation of the project "Latvian School Bag" as part of Latvia's Centenary Programme (2017-2021). Each year, the project provides an opportunity for two hundred and forty thousand school-age children and youth (1st to 12th grades, including vocational programmes) to experience various activities related to historical heritage, professional art and culture within the educational system, while access to them is guaranteed by the state. The "Latvian School Bag" makes it possible for pupils to visit cultural and art events, local history and natural sites by covering costs of admission tickets, participation fees and transport services. Costs of guest performances and professional creative projects, shows, performances, workshops and other activities organised in educational institutions are also covered. The "Latvian School Bag" is designed as a complex and interdisciplinary programme bringing together resources (the total budget amounts to 13 million euro) to strengthen the younger generation's national identity, its sense of citizenship and belonging to the state,

develop the competences of cultural awareness and expression, raise the quality of education, as well as reduce social inequalities. (*National initiative*, 2019).

2. Method

2.1 Sites Selection

In Latvia, two heritage sites were selected: the National History Museum of Latvia (further- NHML) in Riga and the Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre (further- DMRAC) in Daugavpils. This choice was made on the basis of several contrasting criteria.

- **Geographical location:** one heritage site was selected in the central part of the country, in the capital city of Riga, the other one – in the border city of Daugavpils located in south-eastern Latvia.
- **Infrastructure and the economic situation:** Riga is a city of air, sea and rail connections, its infrastructure is well-developed and the unemployment rate of the economically active population stood at 3.9% at the end of 2018; the infrastructure of Daugavpils is less developed and the city's unemployment rate is higher – 9.3%.
- **Ethnic composition:** in Daugavpils, there are 49.0% Russians, 19.9% Latvians, 13.5% Poles, 7.6% Belarusians, 1.9% Ukrainians, 0.9% Lithuanians, 0.4% Roma and 6.8% other nationalities, including the nationality not selected and indicated, while in Riga there are 47.0% Latvians, 36.8% Russians, 3.7% Belarusians, 3.4% Ukrainians, 1.8% Poles, 0.8% Lithuanians, 0.1% Roma and 6.4% other nationalities, including the nationality not selected and indicated (Centrālais Statistikas birojs, 2018).
- **Type of heritage site:** the NHML is a history museum, whereas the Mark Rothko Art Centre operates as an art centre, although it is located in a building of the Daugavpils (Dünaburg) Fortress complex, a cultural monument of national significance.
- **Management:** the NHML is a national museum funded by the state, whereas the Mark Rothko Art Centre is a municipal museum financed by the Municipality of Daugavpils.
- **Nature of activity:** the NHML has to be considered a mainstream heritage site where educational youth work takes place with account being taken of school educational programmes, whereas the DMRAC has to be considered an alternative heritage site offering young people an insight into a wide range of cultural phenomena, including modern art forms. The NHML of Latvia is an object-centred heritage site, while the DMRAC focuses on interactivity with the target audience.

2.2 Data gathering

In order to carry out the first tasks of the research in heritage sites, a fieldwork strategy was developed. It envisaged commencing work on February 1, 2019 and finishing it on March 30, 2019, but the most intensive period of the fieldwork was from February 13 to March 10, 2019 when interview data were obtained. The fieldwork was carried out by two researchers, and interviews were conducted in Latvian.

Four data sets were employed in the study on the selected heritage sites: (1) publicity materials, (2) website homepages and social networking sites (Facebook), (3) interview data, and 4) field notes. The key criteria when selecting the respondents were a long-standing work experience gained in the respective heritage site (experience of the interviewed experts: 8-15 years) and the significance of the functions of their positions (the leading staff of the heritage sites and the field of education were selected). Interview data consist of five audio recordings, transcripts of five semi-structured in-depth expert interviews, answers to questions provided by one expert in writing, and the interviewer's notes.

The interviews were guided by the thematic plan developed by researchers. Questions in this plan were grouped according to the key themes, however, taking into consideration individual peculiarities of the experts, the researchers used a distinct approach when working with each interviewee.

Before an interview, experts were informed that their participation in the research was entirely voluntary, and that they could always step away from participation in the research, even after it had started, without giving a reason and with no negative consequences. The experts read the information sheet of the CHIEF project and signed the consent form, thereby agreeing that the interview would be recorded. The signed consent form is kept separately from the data obtained, thus fully ensuring protection of interviewees' personal data.

Preparation of the recorded data for analysis required transcribing of audio recordings which were carried out according to the fieldwork manual developed within the framework of the CHIEF project. The total volume of transcripts is 253149 characters (38824 words). Two experts asked to send them interview transcripts. One interviewer made no corrections to his / her interview text, but the other one made the names of exhibitions mentioned during the interview more precise.

2.3. Expert interviews

During the observation in both heritage sites, the most experienced experts in the field of cultural management and museum pedagogy were selected:

- (1) a leading professional with long-term experience of working in the Museum in the field of museum pedagogy;
- (2) a museum pedagogue with considerable experience of working with children and young people;**
- (3) a leading expert with long-term experience of working in the Museum;
- (4) a representative of administrative staff of the heritage site with considerable work experience;**
- (5) a leading specialist of the heritage site with substantial work experience.**

For a more detailed discussion on the cooperation with schools, the engagement of young people, and the role of historical site's impact on their cultural literacy, an interview with a representative of the Education Board of Daugavpils was conducted (**with long term experience of working for the Board**).

The gender ratio of interviewed experts is 2 males and 4 females. All selected experts have a higher education degree, and all of them are fluent in several languages (Latvian, Russian, English, one expert also studied Finnish, Estonian and Italian).

One interview was conducted at the Education Board of Daugavpils. Four semi-structured in-depth expert interviews were conducted at the heritage sites with the staff of both museums: three interviews were conducted at the NHML in Riga and one interview at the DMRAC in Daugavpils. Because of their temporary absence, one expert presented their answers in writing.

2.4 Analysis

Before commencing data analysis, interview transcripts were anonymised, strictly following the fieldwork manual developed within the CHIEF project and which excludes the possibility of identifying a respondent according to his personal data and biographical elements. The process of evaluation of the data (publicity materials issued by the heritage sites, their home web pages, expert interview data, and field notes) began with the use of analytical and logical reasoning to examine each component of the data provided. Data from the expert interviews was gathered together, reviewed, and then analysed by the narrative inquiry approach (Cf. Clandinin 2013), offering the possibility to understand experts' subjective experience and create an inter-subjective narrative. The creation of thematic clusters made it possible to identify their common elements and to develop the typology of common elements. This helped to describe the results and arrive at generalised conclusions.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on the heritage

The protection of cultural heritage in the Republic of Latvia (further - LV) is ensured by a number of laws, resolutions and orders of the Cabinet of Ministers, regulations of the Ministry of culture and the National heritage board, as well as international conventions. The most important of them are the Law “On Protection of Cultural Monuments” (*Par kultūras pieminekļu*, 1992) and “Intangible Cultural Heritage Law” (*Nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma*, 2016), as well as UNESCO “Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage” (1972) which was adopted and approved in LV (*Par Konvenciju*, 1997).

It should be noted that continuity of the Republic of Latvia is manifested not only in the restoration of the most important law and political institutions of the inter-war period, but also in the desire to return to the ethnic equality and religious tolerance characteristic of this period. According to the law “On Latvian national and ethnic groups free development and rights to cultural autonomy” (*Par Latvijas...*, 1991) which was adopted in 1991 and is still in force to guarantee ethnic groups the right to cultural autonomy and cultural self-government in LV.

The laws and normative acts provide the cultural heritage definition and also deal with cultural heritage preservation, protection and use issues. In 2000 the Cabinet of Ministers developed the national programme "Culture" where cultural heritage definition (26 §) is referred to both material and intangible heritage aspects: “Cultural heritage is the testimony of human spiritual activity in material or intangible form. Cultural heritage includes artists, architects, musicians, writers and scientists work, as well as anonymous artists' works that express humanity's spirit and the value system that gives life meaning.” (*Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabineta*, 2000)

The most significant part of the cultural and historical heritage are *cultural monuments*: cultural and historical landscapes and individual territories (ancient burial sites, cemeteries, parks, places of historical events and the activities of famous persons), as well as individual graves, groups of buildings and individual buildings, works of art, facilities and articles with historical, scientific, artistic or other cultural value and the preservation of which for future generations is in conformity with the interests of the State and people of Latvia, as well as international interests (*Par kultūras pieminekļu*, 1992).

Latvia acceded (2005) to the UNESCO Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. Under this Convention, customs, games and forms of verbal expression, knowledge and skills, as well as the associated instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage have been recognised as intangible heritage. In formulating the *intangible cultural heritage*, Latvian cultural policy makers

follow the above Convention. This is clearly illustrated by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Law adopted in 2016 which defines the *intangible cultural heritage* as part of the cultural heritage of Latvia, which represents the cultural traditions of Latvia and consists of the knowledge, skills, values and behaviour models passed down from generation to generation, defined by the surrounding environment and developed by interaction with history, nature and creativity, including oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge concerning nature and the universe, traditional craftsmanship, as well as instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith (*Nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma*, 2016).

In Latvia, the concept *cultural heritage* is understood as a heritage of all ethnic groups living in Latvia. It is generally believed that cultural heritage plays an increasingly important role in the formation of national identity: it creates the sense of belonging to an individual ethnic group and the whole nation. In the face of global challenges, cultural heritage is treated as the most important factor in shaping the image of Latvia's state. Unlike the preservation of tangible heritage, the protection of intangible heritage does not have a long history in Latvia. The law of 2016 is the most valuable contribution in recognising the importance of intangible cultural heritage. The Ministry of Culture, which coordinates the state culture policy, social integration policy and media policy, endeavours to ensure the increase of knowledge about the importance of intangible cultural heritage. The Latvian National Cultural Centre, whose mission is “to build a creative, self-confident, tolerant and culturally responsible nation⁷⁶” (*Latvijas Nacionālais*, 2012), is subordinated to the above Ministry. The Centre implements the education policy of cultural and creative industry, coordinates the preservation and development of Latvia's intangible cultural heritage, promotes the diversity and continuity of the folk art process, as well as contributes to active public participation in the creation of cultural values (The National Cultural Centre, 2017).

⁷⁶ The Constitution (*Satversme*) of the Republic of Latvia (1922) states that the sovereign power is vested in the people of Latvia – all its citizens without making a distinction on the basis of ethnic origin. Following the restoration of Latvia's independence (1991), citizens of all ethnicities are fully equal in both politics (Ikstens, 2014) and other areas, intensive intercultural communication is taking place and the number of mixed families is large. The same situation was present during the period of the first independence of LV (1918-1940). The formation of non-ethnic (civic) national identity is gradually taking shape (Ehala, 2014). The *Saeima*, countering the effects of Russification and deportations (1941, 1949) carried out by the Soviet occupation regime, supplemented the Constitution by the provision providing that it is the task of the state to guarantee “the existence and development of the Latvian nation, its language and culture throughout the centuries” (*Latvijas Republikas Satversme*). Thus, the Constitution states that the belonging to the State of Latvia is impossible without integration into the Latvian cultural areal (Ījabs, 2014).

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

The tourism sector policy in Latvia is developed and implemented by the Ministry of Economics and its subordinate institutions: (1) the Tourism Development Agency, which seeks to enter international markets, find new cooperation partners and promote new tourism products; (2) the Tourism Committee of the National Economic Council, which assesses the tourism policy and makes proposals concerning this policy. Pursuant to the Tourism Law (*Tūrisma likums*, 1998), municipalities establish and finance tourism information centres (TICs) whose tasks do not include the creation of general/official narrative about the history, nation and cultural heritage of Latvia. TICs offer practical information (cartographic materials, calendars of activities, information on accommodation, transport, catering, etc.) and fragmentary educational information.

The TICs of Riga and Daugavpils have drawn up a list of the 10 most significant sites, including the two heritage sites selected for the study. The NHML is described as “the largest repository of Latvian cultural and historical values, with more than a million units of stock – unique collections of archaeological, ethnographic, numismatic, historical and art objects” (*Live Rīga*). Meanwhile, the Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre has been described as “a multi-functional contemporary art complex, a culture and education centre located in the Arsenal building of the Daugavpils Fortress. The Centre is the only place in Eastern Europe providing an opportunity for everyone to view original works by Mark Rothko, the world-renowned artist and founder of abstract expressionism” (*Visit Daugavpils*).

The DMRAC is in a better position to attract visitors, including young people: an outdoor advertising stand is located close to the city border, as well as the name ROTHKO which is written in large red letters on the wall of the Dinaburg Fortress. By contrast, the NHML, located in temporary premises, may make itself known just by its name next to the entrance and asking the adjacent press selling centre’s permission to display the Museum’s poster in its window (Expert4_WP6_LV). Both heritage sites make active use of “economically more advantageous” (Expert3_WP6_LV) and “modern ways of publicity” (Expert1_WP6_LV), i.e. the internet and social networks. The websites of both heritage sites are structured in a well-considered manner and contain detailed information in three languages (Latvian, Russian and English). In the printed materials (guides, booklets, exhibition catalogues, etc.), both heritage sites use visual images of showpieces stored in the museum’s repository or displayed in the exhibition. Since NHML has a larger repository, its publications are visually richer and are addressed to two target audiences: adults (*Latvijas Nacionālā muzeja ceļvedis*, 2008; *Āraišu*, 2008 etc.) and children (*Iepazīsties*, 2015). The offer by the heritage sites compared to that of TICs is broader, it reflects the vision and social mission of the institutions (for more details, see Discussion).

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

The National History Museum of Latvia, founded in 1869 as the Museum of the Science Committee of the Riga Latvian Society (NHML. *National History Museum*), is the largest repository of material culture of Latvia. The repository is built up in accordance with history periodisation, it represents the entire territory of Latvia and embraces the heritage of various ethnic groups. The mission of the NHML is to collect, preserve, explore and promote cultural heritage, having archaeological, ethnographic, numismatic, historical or artistic significance, from ancient times until today (NHML. *About us*). The exhibition “Latvia’s Century” currently on view in the NHML is the most important one. Attention is given to all ethnic communities of Latvia, starting with the proclamation act of the Republic of Latvia, in which representatives of different ethnic groups participated. The central question of the exhibition is: what is Latvia. Content-wise, the exhibition shows all stages of the history of the Latvian statehood, offering visitors an exciting way to have an insight into the past and present values of Latvia’s society. The exhibition is created for a diverse audience, different age groups and visitors with different background knowledge of history (NHML. *The exhibition.*).

The alternative heritage site is the **Mark Rothko Art Centre** located in Latgale region, which was administratively separated from other regions until Latvia gained independence (1918). Latgale still shows some distinctive features: a multi-ethnic (Latvians, Russians, Poles, Belarusians, Jews, etc.) and multi-religious (Catholics, Lutherans, Russian Orthodox believers, Old Believers, Judaists, etc.) environment, the interaction of different cultures and mutual tolerance. In 2007 the Committee of Education and Cultural Affairs of the Daugavpils City Council approved the establishment of the DMRAC in the Artillery Arsenal building (1833) of the Daugavpils (Dünaburg) Fortress. Keeping the original historical project of the building and environment was among the priorities during the process of renovation (DMRAC. *History of Arsenal*). The Rothko family supported the project by providing several Rothko’s original works for long-term loan (DMRAC. *Exhibitions*). In 2013 the DMRAC opened its doors to visitors. According to the official statement, now it is a multi-functional contemporary art and culture centre located in the Dünaburg Fortress. The Art Centre offers Mark Rothko’s original paintings, exhibitions dedicated to Mark Rothko’s artwork and biography, and well-known Latvian and foreign artists’ exhibitions created in different artistic media – painting, photography, graphics, textile and ceramic art, etc., as well as historical and cultural expositions (DMRAC. *About Center*).

At both heritage sites, services and expositions are offered to people representing different age groups and social situations, and access for people with special needs is provided. However, the exposition content attracts visitors with specific interests: the NHML is visited by people who are

more interested in history and citizenship aspects, whereas the DMRAC is popular among those interested in modern art.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

The selected heritage sites play an important role in shaping young people's cultural competences, since they are involved in the implementation of the national initiative "Latvian School Bag" (*National initiative*).

The National History Museum of Latvia offers its permanent collection in the form of a limited exposition since the Museum is located in temporary premises.⁷⁷ It presents two permanent thematic exhibitions "The Sacral Art" and "Money in Latvia", as well as an exhibition "**Latvia's Century**". The permanent collection and exhibition "**Latvia's Century**" differ significantly in two aspects.

The paradigm of the permanent collection is highly didactic as it is aligned with the education standard and school curricula. Since groups of pupils are regular visitors of the NHML, the terminology and chronology used in school textbooks have been retained in the permanent collection: "The story told by the basic exposition is more like a classical history textbook story, i.e. one period of Latvia's history replaces the other one, and the main features of each period related to the structure of society, etc. are highlighted" (Expert6_WP6_LV).

In contrast, the challenges addressed in the context of relationships between individuals, society and state are emphasized in the exhibition "Latvia's Century". According to an expert, "the great narrative of history, the great concepts (war, totalitarianism, etc.) have been mentioned, but they as if have been pushed into the background, looking more for an individual's personal feelings during each period" (Expert6_WP6_LV). In the view of the exhibition curators, a nation consists of people. Therefore, the exhibition provides information on how people of different ethnicity (Latvians, Baltic Germans, Jews, Poles, Russians) felt and how their destinies were affected at a specific point in history. With this objective, each section of the exhibition⁷⁸ contains four or five different life stories: "They are contemporaries with diverse social origin, activity, etc. It is the

⁷⁷ The permanent premises of the NHML are located in the Riga Castle. Following the fire, which broke out in the Castle (2013) during its reconstruction, the Museum has found its home in the former premises of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the University of Latvia. The currently available "basic exposition" is in fact a temporary exposition which will be changed as soon as the Museum returns to its permanent home in the Riga Castle.

⁷⁸ The exhibition "Latvia's Century" consists of 11 sections: Introduction: Land. People. Nation. 2. Road to the Latvian state. World War I (1914–1918). 3. Defending Latvia's Statehood. War of Independence (1918–1920). 4. Latvia in the Making. Democratic Republic (1920–1934). 5. Latvian Latvia. Kārlis Ulmanis' Authoritarian Regime (1934–1940). 6. The Suppressed State. World War II (1940–1945). 7. Attempted Destruction of Latvia. Stalinism (1945–1953). 8. Latvia as a Personal Space. Under the Soviet System (1953–1986). 9. Desire for Statehood. Restoration of Latvian Independence (1986–1991). 10. Challenges of Democracy. Creating Modern Latvia (1991–2004). 11. Contemporary Latvia.

perspective of an individual we have tried to bring in. We have also tried to bring in family experience, to stir up people's memories and encourage them to recognize the exhibited items, i.e. things, knick-knacks, memorabilia, souvenirs or, in general, the heritage of objects left by each epoch" (Expert6_WP6_LV). It was observed that the offered life stories left a deep impression on visitors who gained personally meaningful emotional experiences. The Museum, using storytelling as primary interpretative strategy of the exhibition "**Latvia's Century**", positioned the objects of cultural heritage in a specific social, political and temporary context.

The exhibition "**Latvia's Century**" is driven by stories, topics and ideas rather than by objects. However, the displayed objects⁷⁹ convey meaning rather than just illustrating stories, topics and ideas since the exhibition is personalised through people's biographical stories. The exhibition thus dovetails with the slogan of Latvia's centenary "I am Latvia" as it highlights the historical experience and identification of the visitor's family with Latvia, in other words, the concept of the exhibition is based on the issue of national identity.

The exhibition dedicated to the country's centenary acquaints visitors with the process of the formation of the State of Latvia and national identity. The introductory section "Land. People. Nation" is the most significant one. It contains the first four life stories promoting understanding of political structures that were in existence in the territory of Latvia and understanding of geopolitical interests of Baltic Germans, Russians, Poles and also Latvians. The above section also offers digital projections that highlight the formation process of the socio-political and cultural space we now call Latvia. Choose one of the four topics (ethnic groups, religions, political map and language of administration) and press the respective button to follow the cartographic picture providing information about the ethnic groups that inhabited the territory of Latvia, the political power, the language used and religion throughout different centuries. Observation of guides of the Museum, and in particular the way they start their story, led to the conclusion that they emphasize the paradox, i.e. the digital maps show border outlines of today's State of Latvia at the time when it did not yet exist. The guides, asked about the factors underpinning the origin of the outlines, point to ethnicity, religion and language, stressing that the border outlines of Latvia have not changed significantly since the Livonian period (13-16 centuries).

The offer of the **Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre** for young people is not aligned with school learning content since its activity focuses on Mark Rothko's creative art and the history of Daugavpils. The name of Mark Rothko (1903-1970), *pioneer of abstract expressionism of Jewish origin, was unknown in Latvia during the Soviet period as the Communist ideology recognised only art representing socialist realism or critical realism, denying and ignoring all the other styles of art. Meanwhile, the history of Daugavpils was presented selectively in the public discourse,*

⁷⁹ Approximately 1500 unique objects, photographs, audio recordings, films and video stories are behind the driving force of the exhibition.

mentioning only the pages of history which could be used for the purposes of Soviet propaganda. Following Latvia's independence, the country needed both to educate society in the field of contemporary art and to fill the "white spots" of local history. Both aspects were successfully integrated by finding home for the DMRAC in the Fortress of Dinaburg, the 19th century historic building. The Centre makes a strong contribution to public education as school curricula pay insufficient attention to both modern art and local history. An expert emphasized that "the situation with regard to art theory is rather disappointing [...] if we look at the secondary school curriculum, we can see that the subject of culturology has actually disappeared. The subject of history does not allocate time for it either. Probably, in principle, pressure should be exerted on 'homeroom lessons' [word-for-word translation from Latvian: 'lessons of upbringing'], extracurricular work. If a teacher is creative, he/she will find a way out. If not, there's no formal requirement [to teach art]." (Expert1_WP6_LV).

The DMRAC offers young people to get acquainted with both the history of Daugavpils and the art world: "Specific programmes/workshops for children and youth tailored for each age group make it possible to convey a message about what they can see in the exhibitions more efficiently" (Expert5_WP6_LV). Critical about the fact that the exhibitions in the DMRAC are visited mainly by special interested people, an education expert nevertheless also sees positive aspects: "I'm glad that more and more schools understand that pupils should be taken to the Centre at a younger age, in my opinion, from kindergarten age. And now we have the "[Latvian] School Bag" project providing free tickets for schools" (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert shared her experience: "If we only create an object and say – look, how nice it is – it doesn't work. I have noticed that when I tell pupils only about the Art Centre or only about Rothko, I don't convince them. It takes just one move to access Google, find Rothko and show them how many websites have been created about him and how many people are interested in him. How much is written about him on Wikipedia, this convinces them [...] it is important for them to understand whether this means something worldwide. Whether people know about this, whether this is recognisable" (Expert1_WP6_LV). Sustained interest in Mark Rothko at global level contributes to interest of local young people in the DMRAC.

When briefly describing the DMRAC's forms of work with young people, creative workshops for pupils' groups (13–17 years) and the offer for teachers of history, art and the history of culture to conduct lessons in the exhibition hall, video room and library should be highlighted. According to the age of the audience, the guide provides interesting facts about the building and the Centre. A special programme has been developed for each activity enabling "young people to enter the cultural space and perceive this different environment through an art form as part of culture, thus engaging in a dialogue with authors and becoming part of culture" (Expert5_WP6_LV).

It was observed that the guide familiarised young people aged 13–17 years with Mark Rothko's life and the stages of his creative work. Young people can visit Rothko's silence room, the video room, view reproductions of Rothko's works and the digital display, as well as originals of his works. After having familiarised themselves with the history of Daugavpils, young people have an opportunity to take pictures on a chosen background of the old town in the digital display room and send the pictures to their e-mail addresses. Outside the DMRAC – on the fortress wall – the guide tells young people a story about the fortress and offers them to visit the Culture and Information Centre of the Fortress.

When organising creative workshops, the DMRAC offers groups of young people an opportunity to get acquainted with graphic art and try their hand at graphics. During the graphics workshop, they have an opportunity to try out the monotype technique, i.e. to obtain just one impression from the plate. The class is conducted by a graphic artist, but the necessary materials are provided by the DMRAC. Participants of the workshop may take the self-made product with them. According to experts, it is the interactive forms of activities that young people particularly enjoy, i.e. workshops, performances, and expositions in which modern technologies are used (Expert5_WP6_LV).

4. Discussion

4.1. The implementation of the cultural heritage policy in heritage sites

The operation of the heritage sites selected for the study is anchored in the museum sector strategy or the cultural policy framework which treats cultural heritage as the basis for collective and individual memory and identity on a local, regional and national scale. Both selected heritage sites exercise the functions of memory preservation and identity strengthening in different ways. The NHML as “the largest repository of Latvia's history” (Expert2_WP6_LV) has specialised in preserving and exposing the cultural heritage. Experts highlighted the size of the Museum's stock comprising “over a million items” (Expert2_WP6_LV), and its uniqueness (Expert4_WP6_LV). By contrast, the DMRAC specialises in “abstract, modern and contemporary art and its visual manifestations in different art media” (Expert5_WP6_LV). Experts pointed out that it is not the political order that determines their activities but rather “increased public interest before certain jubilees or anniversaries” (Expert4_WP6_LV), and that “there have been no Maecenases associated with any of the political forces” (Expert3_WP6_LV).

4.2. Understanding of the concepts “culture”, “national cultural heritage”, “regional cultural heritage”, “European cultural heritage”

In their day-to-day work, experts make a practical contribution to the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, and they did not expand on theoretical judgements about individual concepts. However, all interviews highlighted several common findings:

1) culture is a comprehensive and hard-to-define concept:

“The cultural heritage is everything surrounding us right now” (Expert2_WP6_LV). “Probably, no programme has started with the explanation of the word “culture”” (Expert4_WP6_LV). “[..] culture is based on an individual. A person, who creates a specific environment, leaves both evidence of his physical activity and intangible values. And the things created by an individual and his attitude towards various cultural elements should not be excluded from the environment of his activity” (Expert3_WP6_LV). “I’m not going to quote any of the thousands of definitions [of culture], but I think that culture is something unique, something diverse, something authentic, something you can’t find anywhere else” (Expert1_WP6_LV).

2) a nation is not an ethnic but political category, i.e. the Latvian political nation includes various ethnic groups whose cultural heritage is part of the common Latvian national heritage:

“...to get to the nation, we begin by telling about the process of the formation of the Latvian people, the 16-18th centuries, and then about the formation of the nation, about the sense of community with a view to its history, culture, traditions, values that unite the nation [..] the totality of this territory and the nation as a whole” (Expert4_WP6_LV). “Our cultural heritage is very broad since so many ethnicities have come together here, and each of them has had its own specific cultural heritage which has shaped us as a unique nation having a unique cultural heritage” (Expert2_WP6_LV). “[..] each ethnicity differs in something unique, something authentic created over the centuries, shaping our image on an international scale” (Expert1_WP6_LV). However, a remark was also made that not all people living in Latvia feel that they belong to the Latvian nation: “Daugavpils is a special city [..] if a child sitting opposite me in the classroom speaks poor Latvian and his ethnicity isn’t Latvian, it might be complicated for such a child to perceive things like the identity of the nation. He does not feel himself related to it, it is difficult for him to understand that he belongs to Latvia, that he is Latvia” (Expert1_WP6_LV).

3) the national cultural heritage of Latvia is part of the European and world cultural heritage; although this part is small in the overall context, the European and world cultural heritage would be incomplete without it:

“[Latvian culture represents] a small piece of the jigsaw in this large picture of the world cultural heritage” (Expert2_WP6_LV). An expert, when telling the story of the creation of the DMRAC, noted that “the original idea was to combine two values: Rothko as a world-renowned artist and

the fortress as a cultural and historical object not only in the city, region and country, but even as part of European cultural heritage” (Expert3_WP6_LV).

An expert having long-standing experience in working with young people sought to describe how the concepts nation, culture, and *the idea of Europe* are explained to young people: “I am, of course, European-oriented [he/she considers that Latvia’s membership in the European Union is the only correct choice], yes, and that’s why I think young people need to understand this, be aware that they live in Europe” (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert takes an active part in Erasmus+ projects, involving also pupils: “We have a project “What is your identity”. We talk about identity of individual peoples, present each other, and young people become aware of their identity” (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert is sure that young people are more open to the ideas of single Europe since they have an opportunity to see Europe with their own eyes: “Until he physically doesn’t cross a country’s border, it’s very abstract for him. Maybe he doesn’t feel it to the extent necessary when going to Lithuania, but maybe he feels it when crossing the Lithuanian–Polish border. Or maybe when he really flies to a distant place, as part of projects. I think there should be a balance. Definitely, between the national and European dimensions” (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert and a 24-pupil group have visited the European Parliament in Strasbourg several times within the EuroSchool competition; the expert has also organised excursions to other places and has observed that such trips have a positive effect on pupils: “There’s no doubt that [such trips] bring about positive changes. Of course, there’s always someone who stays indifferent, but in most of the cases, 80%, I can assure you, young people finally understand many things. [...] during his stay abroad where English is the working language, he uses English. Another thing is that he sees his peers who have definitely learned in a different way” (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert was confused by the fact that Europeans – the Spanish and Portuguese “don’t know anything about the Baltic countries. [...] If they associate us with the Soviet Union, this automatically means Russia for them” (Expert1_WP6_LV). The expert pointed out that there is an opportunity to oppose unfavourable trends and not to lose oneself in Europe and the world – and this opportunity is to nurture one’s own culture: “Culture also means an ability to defy globalisation. [...] we must understand that our cultural tunnel needs to be preserved as it is today. We must preserve our traditions despite the fact that the pace of globalisation is very fast (Expert1_WP6_LV).

Experts explained in detail the national and regional aspects of cultural heritage. A NHML expert emphasized that the Museum's stock contains evidence of the cultural heritage of all Latvian regions (Expert4_WP6_LV). In working with visitors, especially young people, experts follow a step-by-step approach: “The key is to understand who I am, and then to explore where I come from. The first is the national [dimension] – I understand that I am a resident of Latvia, and then I study the region where I come from. Then I look at this piece of jigsaw puzzle in the context of Europe, in the context of the world: I am a small piece of puzzle in this great picture of the world cultural

heritage” (Expert2_WP6_LV). The global reference is based on the fact that, following a strict selection procedure, some NHML stock units are included in the UNESCO “Memory of the World” national register of documentary heritage (documenting traditional skills and lifestyles on the photographs of the Monuments Board 1924-1931) and in the international register (“The Baltic Way – human chain by the three countries in joint efforts for freedom”).

The DMRAC is positioned as a “cultural pearl in the region of Eastern Europe which shows our nation's place in the European space and tells through [art] projects here about current events in the world, Latvia and our region – Latgale” (Expert5_WP6_LV). The regional aspect is very important in the activities of the DMRAC: “It is also important to distinguish our regional cultural heritage – cultural identity, I would rather put it that way, because despite Latvia being a relatively small country, each of Latvia's regions has a cultural identity. And now it is being increasingly spoken about with the aim of preserving this regional cultural identity given the era of change we are facing today and to pass it on to future generations” (Expert3_WP6_LV). However, according to the expert, this regionality should not be exaggerated, because “we live in one country, we have a single culture, united values that need to be preserved for future generations. [...] everything is IN INTERACTION because we cannot exist in closed, confined space” (Expert3_WP6_LV). The international aspect of the DMRAC is not an abstraction, as there is active international cooperation, and there has been good collaboration with the Latvian Embassy in Belarus and Poland. The DMRAC also benefit from the support of other countries' ambassadors in Latvia (Sweden, USA, Turkey) (Expert3_WP6_LV).

4.3. Contribution to the enhancement of cultural literacy

Due to differences in specialisation, there is also a difference in the public view concerning the operation of both heritage sites. As far as the NHML is concerned, there has been no objection to the need for its existence, although discussions have been raised in the public domain on aspects of stock assembling and exposition/exhibition narrative, on finding a way to promote the Museum's stock in a better way. However, experts pointed out that the LNHM is not “the most prestigious museum, as opposed to the [Latvian National] Museum of Art.” It means a lot in the snobbish circles of wealthy young people. (..) but who on earth investigates history?” (EXPERT2_WP6_LV).

In Daugavpils, organisational and artistically creative activities in the field of contemporary art, and attention to the creative work of Mark Rothko are not understood by a large proportion of the local population. Experts pointed to the dislike and prejudice expressed in the comments on the internet, mentioning various arguments:

- in the “post-crisis situation”, the city should channel funds for social purposes instead of maintaining the Centre;
- abstract art is unprofessional “smears” whose value has been overstated by the ploys of Western and, in particular, USA financial circles and painting dealers;
- xenophobic statements that the works of a USA Jewish artist should not be exhibited in the fortress of “Russians”;
- pseudo-moral arguments that promotion of a self-murderer's art has an adverse effect on the population of Daugavpils, strengthening depressive moods, and that it is blasphemous.

An expert explained that the Centre's employees perceive negative attitudes as a challenge, performs an important cultural and educational function and has significant success as it has already become a “must have” in the context of Latvia: every educated person wants to make sure that he/she has already visited the Rothko Centre, and the feedback has been only positive. Thus, the Centre helps to gradually overcome the persistent negative attitude, which prevailed during the Soviet period, towards modern art.

5. Conclusion

It is the *Saeima* (Parliament) of the Republic of Latvia, the highest legislative institution that defines the cultural policy of Latvia, while the Cabinet of Ministers is responsible for its implementation. Coordination and management of a specific activity in the field of culture is delegated to the Ministry of Culture which is entrusted with the task of building a creative, self-confident, tolerant and culturally responsible nation. It is generally believed that cultural heritage plays an increasingly important role in the formation of national identity. In the face of global challenges, cultural heritage is treated as the most important factor in shaping the image of the State of Latvia. The Ministry of Culture also coordinates the cultural educational function. The above function is currently being exercised through a national initiative the “Latvian School Bag” actively used by both the mainstream heritage site (NHML) and the alternative heritage site (DMRAC).

Data collected during the study lead to the conclusion that both heritage sites exercise several identical and diverse functions:

IDENTICAL FUNCTIONS	NHML	Storing the quantitatively largest and most comprehensive cultural and historical heritage holdings in Latvia according to the highest standards, displaying and promoting the Museum's items.
	DMRAC	Displaying Mark Rothko's original works according to the most stringent rules for storing works of art and in line with security requirements, storage of the Centre's collections of modern art objects, their display and promotion.
	NHML	Supplementing the stock with more recent evidence in the form of tangible and intangible heritage, with particular emphasis on recording and preserving the "fading" evidence.
	DMRAC	Supplementing the collection of modern art objects with works created during workshops and symposiums of painters, ceramists, textile artists, photographers and other artists organised by the Centre.
	NHML	Enhancing scientific research of the history of Latvia by offering historians to use the materials kept in the Museum's stocks for research purposes.
	DMRAC	Enhancing modern art research, including that of Mark Rothko's creative heritage, by allowing art scientists to use the Centre's collections for research purposes.
DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS	NHML	Strengthening of the national identity of Latvia's population via the sense of belonging to one's kin/place by revealing to visitors that Latvia's history is different, versatile and that everyone participates in shaping it.
	DMRAC	Introducing the local population and that of the entire country of Latvia to modern art which is recognised and appreciated in the West, but, for the time being, it is perceived in a contradictory manner in the post-Soviet space.
	NHML	The Museum follows school curricula by involving the younger generation in the acquisition of history and cultural heritage.
	DMRAC	Using creativity as the basis for exploration of history and the history of art, the Centre invites pupils to engage in creative activities.

The data obtained from expert interviews made it possible to analyse and systematise understanding of the concepts "culture", "nation" "national cultural heritage", "regional cultural heritage", "European cultural heritage" inherent in the heritage sites:

1) in the experts' opinion, the most complex task is to define the concept "culture" – a comprehensive and at the same time very individual notion. In general, culture was associated, first, with an individual's activity and its results which constitute the cultural heritage in the form of both tangible and intangible values; second, uniqueness, distinctiveness and authenticity were mentioned as indicators describing culture;

2) the experts, who expressed their views on the matter, believe that a nation is the totality of the entire country's population; moreover, as a political rather than ethnic category. The opinion expressed by experts accords with the idea of a political nation referred to as "the people of Latvia" (rather than the Latvian people) in the Constitution of LV. Experts believe that the people of Latvia, i.e. the nation, is characterised by a shared view on history, culture, traditions and values. The political nation of Latvia consists of various ethnic groups and, respectively, the cultural heritage of these ethnic groups constitutes part of the common national cultural heritage of Latvia;

4) the regions of Latvia, with their own cultural identities, form the basis of the Latvian national cultural heritage, but ever since the unified state was established, common aspects became more important than regional disparities. However, experts unanimously recognised that the regional cultural heritage is a rich asset of the whole of Latvia and it has to be preserved;

5) the interviewed experts are convinced that the Latvian national cultural heritage is an integral part of the European and world cultural heritage.

When assessing the contribution of cultural heritage sites to the enhancement of young people's cultural literacy, it should be borne in mind that the contrasting heritage sites, including their diametrically opposed orientation with regard to the offered education content, were selected on purpose. The NHML is curriculum-oriented and offers specific classes organised in the Museum to help pupils to prepare for the exams. Meanwhile, the offer by the DMRMC is not directly linked with the mandatory school curriculum, it provides an insight into a wide range of cultural phenomena. The NHML is an object-centred heritage site, while the DMRAC focuses on interactivity with the target audience. Since groups of pupils are regular visitors of the NHML, the terminology and chronology used in school textbooks have been retained in the permanent exposition. Thus, it offers guidelines relevant for the school curricula. In contrast, the exhibition "Latvia's Century" offers complex content that encourages young people to think about the interaction between the state, society and an individual. Moreover, this material is presented by focusing on people's life stories, a form not typical for the Museum. The exhibition thus dovetails with the slogan of Latvia's centenary "I am Latvia" as it highlights the historical experience and identification of the visitor's family with Latvia, in other words, the concept of the exhibition is based on the issue of national identity.

The offer of the DMRAC for young people is not aligned with school learning content since its activity focuses on Mark Rothko's creative art and the history of Daugavpils. *The Centre makes a*

strong contribution to public education as school curricula pay insufficient attention to both modern art and local history. A special programme has been developed for each activity enabling young people to enter the cultural space and perceive this different environment through an art form as part of culture, thus engaging in a dialogue with authors and becoming part of culture.

Regardless of the different approaches to educational activity, experts of both institutions have noticed that young people prefer activities involving the use of modern technologies. They are fascinated by interactivity in all its manifestations, by non-traditional solutions, creativity and opportunities for self-expression. Young people are willing to look for the necessary data by using computer technologies and the opportunities offered by the global information network. It has been observed that their assessment is subject to global opinions presented on the web, that it is important for them to understand whether this means something worldwide, whether this is recognisable. The sustained interest in Mark Rothko at global level contributes to interest of young people in the Daugavpils Rothko Centre.

Thus, the choice provided by the strategy of the study, i.e. to focus on the mainstream and alternative heritage sites simultaneously for the purpose of exploring the offer for young people's cultural education, has proved its worth since the comparison shows the common and different aspects, advantages and problems/drawbacks in the operation of both institutions. In the case of Latvia, an unexpected, even paradoxical aspect emerged: both the subjective opinion of experts and objective indicators suggest that the alternative heritage site is preferred to the mainstream one. Subsequent studies could raise awareness of the situation by revealing young people's attitudes towards heritage sites, as well as clarifying the factors that determine their attitudes.

6. References

Centrālais Statistikas birojs, (2018). *Latvijas iedzīvotāju nacionālais sastāvs*. [online] Available at: https://www.csb.gov.lv/sites/default/files/data/Skoleniem/iedzivotaju_etniskais_sastavs.pdf [10.03.19]

Clandinin, Jean D. *Engaging in narrative inquiry*. London, New York: Routledge, 2013.

DMRAC. *Exhibitions*. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/en/exhibitions> [10.03.19]

DMRAC. *History of Arsenal*. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/en/history-of-arsenal> [10.03.19]

DMRMC. Daugavpils Marka Rotko mākslas centrs. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/> [10.03.19]

Ehala, Martins. Etniskās un nacionālās identitātes Baltijas valstīs. In: *Daudzveidīgās un mainīgās Latvijas identitātes* [Multiple and Changing Latvian Identities]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads, 2014. Pp. 33-52.

Ikstens, Jānis. Etniskā identitāte un politiskā rīcībspēja. In: *Daudzveidīgās un mainīgās Latvijas identitātes* [Multiple and Changing Latvian Identities]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads, 2014. Pp. 95-109.

Ījabs, Ivars. Starp etnisko un pilsonisko: dazi apsvērumi par nacionālas identitātes problēmu. In: *Daudzveidīgās un mainīgās Latvijas identitātes* [Multiple and Changing Latvian Identities]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads, 2014. Pp. 23-32.

Jansone, Aija. *Latviešu tradicionālais tautastērps un tā valkāšanas tradīcijas*. Rīga: LNKCC, 2015. *Latvijas Nacionālais kultūras centrs*. (2012) [online] Available at: <http://www.lnkc.gov.lv/par/> [10.03.19]

Latvijas Republikas Ministru kabineta sēdes protokola Nr.7 izraksts. (2000) [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=1351> [10.03.19]

Latvijas Republikas Satversme [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=57980> [10.04.2019]

Live Rīga. *Top Museums*. [online] Available at: <https://www.liveriga.com/lv/> [10.03.19]

LNVM. *Āraišu arheoloģiskais muzejparks*. Rīga: LNVM, 2008.

LNVM. *Iepazīsties ar Latvijas Nacionālo vēstures muzeju: Ceļvedis Latvijas vēsturē no vissenākajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām*. Rīga: LNVM, 2015.

LNVM. *Latvijas Nacionālā muzeja ceļvedis*. Rīga: LNVM, 2008.

LNVM. *Latvijas Nacionālais Vēstures muzejs*. [online] Available at: <http://lnvm.lv/> [10.03.19]
National initiative „Latvian School Bag”. [online] Available at: <https://lv100.lv/en/news/national-initiative-latvian-school-bag/> [10.03.19]

Nemateriālā kultūras mantojuma likums. (2016) [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/285526-nemateriala-kulturas-mantojuma-likums> [10.03.19]

NHML. *About us*. [online] Available at: http://lnvm.lv/en/?page_id=18 [10.03.19]

NHML. *National History Museum of Latvia*. [online] Available at: http://lnvm.lv/en/?page_id=21 [10.03.19]

NHML. *The exhibition Latvia's century – museums for Latvia's 100th anniversary*. [online] Available at: <http://lnvm.lv/en/?p=2058> [10.03.19]

Par Konvenciju par pasaules kultūras un dabas mantojuma aizsardzību. (1997) [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/42381-par-konvenciju-par-pasaules-kulturas-un-dabas-mantojuma-aizsardzibu> [10.03.19]

Par kultūras pieminekļu aizsardzību. (1992) [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=72551> [10.03.19]

Par Latvijas nacionālo un etnisko grupu brīvu attīstību un tiesībām uz kultūras autonomiju. [1991] [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=65772> [10.03.19]

The National Cultural Centre, (2017). *Management and Cooperation Structure of Cultural Processes in Latvia*. [online] Available at: http://www.lnkc.gov.lv/Uploads/2017/11/21/1511257197_3132.pdf [10.03.19]

Rungule, Ritma & Ilze Koroļeva. Latvijas jauniešu daudzveidīgās identitātes. In: *Daudzveidīgās un mainīgās Latvijas identitātes* [Multiple and Changing Latvian Identities]. Rīga: LU Akadēmiskais apgads, 2014. Pp. 251-269.

Tūrisma likums. (1998) [online] Available at: <https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=50026> [10.03.19]

Visit Daugavpils. [online] Available at: <http://www.visitdaugavpils.lv/en/turisma-objekta-tips/museums-and-exhibitions/> [10.03.19]

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites

Burbicka, Astrīda; Ķikuts, Toms, Zeibārte, Irina. *Iepazīsties ar Latvijas Nacionālo vēstures muzeju! : ceļvedis Latvijas vēsturē no vissenākajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2015.

DMRAC. *Exhibitions*. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/en/exhibitions> [10.03.19]

DMRAC. *History of Arsenal*. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/en/history-of-arsenal> [10.03.19]

DMRMC. Daugavpils Marka Rotko mākslas centrs. [online] Available at: <https://www.rothkocenter.com/> [10.03.19]

Gundare, Ieva. *Latvijas gadsimts: muzeji valsts simtgadei*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

Jansone, Aija. *Latviešu tradicionālais tautastērps un tā valkāšanas tradīcijas*. Rīga: LNKC, 2015.

Live Rīga. *Top Museums*. [online] Available at: <https://www.liveriga.com/lv/> [10.03.19]

LNVM. *Āraišu arheoloģiskais muzejparks*. Rīga: LNVM, 2008.

LNVM. *Iepazīsties ar Latvijas Nacionālo vēstures muzeju: Ceļvedis Latvijas vēsturē no vissenākajiem laikiem līdz mūsdienām*. Rīga: LNVM, 2015.

LNVM. *Latvijas Nacionālā muzeja ceļvedis*. Rīga: LNVM, 2008.

LNVM. *Latvijas Nacionālais Vēstures muzejs*. [online] Available at: <http://lnvm.lv/> [10.03.19]

Miheloviča, Olga (ed.). *Atmiņu nesējs: Gaida Graudiņa Latvijai dāvinātā kolekcija*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

Miheloviča, Olga (ed.). *Dauderu namam - 120: Sarkandaugavas saimnieciskais, sociālais un kultūrvēsturiskais konteksts*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

Muižnieks, Vitolds (ed.). *Bēru tradīcijas Latvijā pēc arheoloģiski pētīto 14.-18. gadsimta apbedīšanas vietu materiāla*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2015.

Muižnieks, Vitolds (ed.). *Ceļā uz latviešu tautu*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

NHML. *About us*. [online] Available at: http://lnvm.lv/en/?page_id=18 [10.03.19]

NHML. *National History Museum of Latvia*. [online] Available at: http://lnvm.lv/en/?page_id=21 [10.03.19]

NHML. The exhibition Latvia's century – museums for Latvia's 100th anniversary. [online] Available at: <http://lnvm.lv/en/?p=2058> [10.03.19]

Pumpuriņš, Tālis (ed.). *Latvijas valsts dibinātāji*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

Rubena, Linda (ed.). *Dienvidkurzemes adītās jakas*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais kultūras centrs, 2018.

Stinkule, Sanita. *Indivīds. Vēsture. Nācija. Latviešu etnogrāfiskajai izstādei – 120*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2017.

Tomsona, Artūrs. *Zobeni Latvijas teritorijā no 7. līdz 16. gadsimtam*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2018.

Vaska, Baiba. *Rotas un ornamenti Latvijā no 13. gs. līdz 18. gs. vidum*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2017.

Visit Daugavpils. [online] Available at: <http://www.visitdaugavpils.lv/en/turisma-objekta-tips/museums-and-exhibitions/> [10.03.19]

Zeibārte, Irina (ed.). *Latvijas Nacionālā vēstures muzeja zinātniskie lasījumi*. Rīga: Latvijas Nacionālais vēstures muzejs, 2017.

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Slovakia)

Attila Kovács, Dušan Deák

1. Executive Summary

In order to conduct the research for WP6, two sites were selected within a single, ethnically and religiously mixed region of Slovakia. Lying near to the Slovak-Hungarian border they are representative of different types of cultural heritage institution (a regional museum and a castle museum) and organisation (run by the state/ministry or town/municipal council) with different cultural policies (ranging from traditional exhibitions to cultural festivals). The main aim of the report is to characterise and compare the two heritage sites in terms of educational potential.

Three methods were used for the data gathering: (1) reading and analysis of texts on the concept of cultural heritage and of the heritage site materials produced by state institutions; (2) semi-structured interviews with experts at the local and national level; (3) ethnographic observation and documentation of the local context of the heritage sites.

Two different sites were selected for the fieldwork. Both are located in southern Central Slovakia near the Slovak-Hungarian state border and the internal Slovak-Hungarian language border. The first is a government-run regional museum in a medium-sized district capital and the second site is a castle museum financed by the municipal council of a small provincial town. The two sites are representative of the different strategies and policies used to promote heritage.

The findings reveal that the concept of cultural heritage has a double meaning when used in the context of cultural heritage policies, relating to both the civic and ethnic conceptions of nation. The two meanings are simultaneously conveyed and implemented by state-regulated and local cultural and educational institutions, thereby creating discursive uncertainty and ambiguity for heritage practitioners, who are left with either/or options. Therefore local cultural institutions, such as museums and other heritage sites, either follow the current state and government policies implemented by the ministries of culture and education in part only, or they favour their own agendas based on local interpretations of cultural heritage, often through local patriotism or other values inherent in town-council policies, or those of local or global NGO's involved in the cultural and commercial activities of these institutions.

The two institutions selected follow the normative mainstream narrative rooted in a conception of national history that stresses both the Slovak and Hungarian readings of historical events and balances it in a local and patriotic way. The institutional narrative of the regional museum follows the tendencies and narrative reflected in the cultural policy of the Ministry of Culture and other government institutions. The narrative observed at the castle museum attributes a key role to the local history and traditions. The Ottoman heritage, the local multi-ethnic but predominantly Roman-Catholic identity and other aspects of the town's identity are some of the dominant aspects.

At both sites the two local languages (Slovak and Hungarian) are used, sometimes alongside other languages (English and/or other ones), but addressing the local Roma communities is a challenge, both linguistically but also for cultural, social and economic reasons.

Apart from highlighting the basic findings, the report discusses two major areas. The first is the impact that conceptions of nation, ethnicity and nationalism have on the understanding of cultural heritage. We observed a sophisticated and delicate matrix of relations between identities, languages, ethnicities, nationalisms and so on. The second major area is the different levels (national, European, regional, local, etc.) of heritage in the region as articulated by experts from the sites

According to the majority of the experts, the most important sites for youth education are the local heritage sites. They are inclusively representative of all the ethnic and other groups living in the region. By contrast, national heritage sites may have an exclusive position, but can also become a source of conflict due to their somewhat unwitting promulgation of nationalist ideas.

Both sites provide young people with a different kind of educational environment. In the case of the regional museum it is more formal in character (lectures or school organised events). While the castle activities are more informal (festivals, castle games, open-air concerts, etc.).

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

In selecting the sites, we considered the diversity variables – ethnicity, religion, demographic differences and differences in how heritage promotion was constructed. The two fieldwork sites

were selected within a single ethnically⁸⁰ and religiously⁸¹ mixed region of Slovakia near the Slovak-Hungarian border as being representative of different types of cultural heritage (a regional museum and a castle museum) and organisation (run by state/ministry and town/municipal council), with different promotional policies (from traditional exhibitions to cultural festivals). The first heritage site is located in a medium-sized district capital (25 thousand inhabitants). It is a regional museum run and financed by the state/ministry. The second is a castle museum in a small town (10 thousand inhabitants) run by the town/municipal council.

A key reason for selecting the state-run regional museum was the fact that a nation-state agenda dominates over all alternatives (local, ethnic or religious minority etc.). Conversely, in the castle museum run by the local town council, the local agenda overwrites the nation-state narrative. A typical example is the language used on websites, tourist information panels, publications and exhibition descriptions. On its website and tourist information panels, the state-run museum uses the state language (Slovak) only, while some of the exhibition descriptions are bilingual or trilingual (Slovak-Hungarian, Slovak-English or Slovak-Hungarian-English). It also publishes leaflets, books and a journal; again these are mainly in Slovak, but occasionally in other languages as well.⁸² By contrast, the castle museum run by the local town council provides information in both Slovak and Hungarian and has bilingual or trilingual (Slovak-Hungarian or Slovak-Hungarian-English) versions. Both institutions use a variety of languages, but the regional museum's use of languages is rather unsystematic and Slovak dominates. Conversely, the castle museum communicates with its audiences in several languages both systematically and deliberately.

The state-run museum's advertising campaigns – via posters, tourist information panels and social media – seem to focus on ethnic Slovaks as the target group in Slovakia, whereas the castle museum promotes its materials and messages in Slovakia and also across the border; more than half its visitors come from abroad, mainly from Hungary.

⁸⁰ Ethnically the region is inhabited by Slovaks, Hungarians and Roma. Most Roma speak Hungarian or Slovak as their first language, but there is a minority who speak a Roma dialect as their first language. According to the 2011 census (SODB 2011) the ethnical structure of the region is: 40,318 Slovaks, 30,516 Hungarians, 5,270 Roma, 488 others and 8,297 non-declared. However, of the population declaring Roma as their first language, 2,117 claim Slovak ethnicity and 4,180 Hungarian ethnicity. In the area of the first research site the ethnic structure is as follows: 13,301 Slovaks, 7,298 Hungarians, 247 Roma, 167 others and 3,597 non-declared. In the second site the ethnic groups are 3,031 Slovaks, 5,792 Hungarians, 396 Roma, 55 others and 1,543 non-declared.
<http://census2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html>

⁸¹ Roman Catholicism is the majority religion, but Calvinist and Evangelical churches have a significant presence as do some other Christian groups. Ibid.

⁸² Hungarian, Romani, English, German, Polish.

Another difference between the mainstream and the alternative site can be seen in the type of events held to promote their message. At the mainstream site exhibitions, talks and academic publications are favoured, while at the alternative site the focus is on organising festivals and other open-air events; hence, at the mainstream site communication tends to take place through static communication channels whereas at the alternative site attempts are made to engage directly with the audience.

2.2 Data gathering

Three methods were used in the data gathering: (1) reading and analysing texts relating to cultural heritage as well as the heritage sites, produced and adapted by the state institutions and the heritage sites. Firstly we gathered relevant information from the websites and printed materials as well as from the tourist information panels produced by the heritage sites. The state institutions (e.g. ministries) often just adopt and translate international (EU, UNICEF, etc.) norms and regulations for the Slovak national level and the local heritage sites then convey these down to the regional or local level; (2) semi-structured interviews with local and national experts. The informants were selected so they were representative of different levels of seniority and competence and of the professional field. It was crucial that we had an informant with expertise in cultural heritage management who was also involved with the educational aspects of promotion; and (3) observation and documentation of the local context relating to the heritage site and its environment (town and the immediate surroundings). Five interviews were conducted and digitally recorded, each lasting approximately one hour. The informants had no negative views on taking part in the survey and were generally motivated and sympathetic to the project. The types of data gathering used enabled us to obtain a more comprehensive view of how the discourse and observed practices characterise the selected locations.

2.3. Expert interviews

In order to ensure we had a range of informants four local experts and one national expert were chosen: two current and one former senior officer from the heritage site, one junior expert specialising in promoting the heritage site and organising educational activities, and finally one senior state official employed at one of the ministries dealing with cultural heritage and minority education issues. All the informants held university degrees of different levels from Slovak or Hungarian universities. The interviews were recorded in both Slovak and Hungarian. The language was chosen by the informants.

- The first expert (Expert (1)_WP6_SVK) was a senior officer and researcher at a state-run regional museum. She held a university degree in ethnology and specialised in folk art and cultural heritage.
- The second expert (Expert (2)_WP6_SVK) was a junior researcher at the same institution. She also graduated in ethnology. Part of her work involved promoting the regional museum and organising educational activities at the institution.
- The third expert (Expert (3)_WP6_SVK) was a senior officer at the castle museum located in a small town and run by the town/municipal council. She had a university degree in classical archaeology and part of her work involved supervising archaeological excavations at the site.
- The fourth expert (Expert (4)_WP6_SVK) was a former senior officer who had been employed at the castle museum. He had a university degree and a doctorate in ethnology.
- The fifth expert (Expert (5)_WP6_SVK) was a senior state official employed at the Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Sport, who dealt with cultural heritage and minority education issues. Before becoming a state official she had worked as a teacher and school head in southern Central Slovakia.

The interviews were recorded at the informant's place of work (in an office or other room), except for the last one, which was conducted at the home of Expert (5)_WP6_SVK. The average length of the recordings was around 60 minutes but the informal discussions with the informants, on which the field notes are based, lasted for two-to-three hours.

2.4 Analysis

For the data analysis we performed a content analysis on the texts and images constituting a textual and visual representation of the museums' work, provided by the informants and institutions. Within this analytical framework we defined the terms "cultural heritage" and "cultural promotion" using Article One of the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of UNESCO⁸³ and the operational guidelines⁸⁴. The definition of "cultural identity" is from Stuart Hall's classical study (Hall 1992).

⁸³ UNESCO (1972) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage Adopted by the General Conference at its seventeenth session, Paris, 16 November 1972. See:

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>

⁸⁴ See: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/guidelines/>

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

The first indication of the problems later revealed by the research at the cultural heritage sites can be found in the Constitution of the Slovak Republic. According to the Preamble cultural heritage refers to the heritage of ethnic Slovaks, and their cultural and historical narratives etc. The Preamble reads: “We, the Slovak Nation, bearing in mind the political and cultural heritage of our predecessors and the experience gained through centuries of struggle for our national existence and statehood (...)”.⁸⁵ In Slovak, as in some other Central and Eastern European languages, the equivalent of the term “nation”/“national” primarily refers to ethnic affiliation and only secondarily to citizenship or belonging to a political entity. Since the Constitution then refers, after the quoted part, to ‘national minorities and ethnic groups’,⁸⁶ it suggests that ‘Slovak Nation’ in the quoted part means ethnic Slovaks.

Furthermore and contrary to the previous statement, the Preamble introduces a civic element into its definition of Slovaks (Thus we, the citizens of the Slovak Republic, have, herewith and through our representatives, adopted this Constitution ...) ⁸⁷. Consequently, cultural heritage can be understood to refer to Slovakia’s unique wealth, including the ethnic minorities and groups as well as individuals living or who have lived on Slovak territory. In this respect section six of “The right to protection of the environment and of cultural heritage” states in paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 44: “*Everyone* (italics added) shall have a duty to protect and improve the environment and to foster cultural heritage. No one shall imperil or damage the environment, natural resources and cultural heritage beyond the limits laid down by a (*sic*) law.”⁸⁸

The basic principles declared in the Constitution are further specified in “The Declaration of the Slovak National Council on the Cultural Heritage Protection”.⁸⁹ Article 1 gives a more detailed and pluralist definition of cultural heritage than does the Constitution. It states: “Cultural heritage

⁸⁵ The official English version of *The Constitution of the Slovak Republic*: <https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/46422.pdf>

⁸⁶ “Together with members of national minorities and ethnic groups living on the territory of the Slovak Republic, (...)”

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Slovak Republic Act No 91/2001, Article 39; 20th March 2001. The official English version is available at <https://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/the-declaration-of-the-slovak-national-council-on-the-cultural-heritage-protection>. For the purposes of this report and to enhance understanding the citation has been edited to correct the syntactical and semantical errors.

is the unique wealth of the state and its citizens, evidence of the evolution of society, philosophy, religion, science, technology and art, and a record of the educational and cultural level of the Slovak nation, national minorities, national minority groups, ethnic groups and individuals who live or have lived on Slovak territory. The various parts and elements of cultural heritage have equal standing and form an integral part of the cultural heritage of Europe and humankind as a whole.” According to article 6 of the same document: “The Government will create conditions for curricular and extra-curricular education and to strengthen relationships to cultural heritage, especially among the younger generation.” All subsequent definitions of cultural heritage are based on this declaration.

The main state institution with responsibility for cultural heritage is the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. “The Ministry’s responsibilities were set out when it was established and include activities relating to cultural education, art and cultural heritage, but also environmental protection, non-periodical publications, copyright law and production and commerce relating to culture. It is now also the central government body for the state language, preservation of monuments, cultural heritage and libraries, art, copyright and copyright laws and folk art, supporting cultural innovations for ethnic minorities, promotion of Slovak culture and arts abroad, relations with the churches and religious societies, media and the audio-visual sector.”⁹⁰ The Institute for Cultural Policy “is responsible for analysing the impact of forthcoming laws and strategies relating to culture; evaluating the effectiveness of Ministry expenditures; and formulating recommendations for future policy.”⁹¹ Other important state bodies with responsibility for the conservation of cultural heritage and monuments⁹² are The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic⁹³, the National Institute for Education and The Methodology and Pedagogy Centre. Slovakia is also a

⁹⁰ See: <http://www.culture.gov.sk/ministry-of-culture-1cd.html>. The extracts from this document have been edited to make the meaning clearer to readers. For a detailed analysis about the role of the ministry see Deliverable: 1.2 National Cultural/Educational Policy Review (Slovakia), http://chiefproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/CHIEF-WP1_D1.2_National-Cultural-Educational-Policy-Reviews_v1.1_KM.pdf

⁹¹ <http://www.culture.gov.sk/ministerstvo/institut-kulturnej-politiky--324.html>

⁹² The legal basis is found in Act No. 49/2002 Coll., on the protection of monuments and historic sites or the Implementing Decree of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic No. 253/2010 Coll., implementing Act No. 49/2002 Coll., on the protection of monuments and historic sites, as amended by implementing decree of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic No. 321/2014 Coll. See: <https://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/legislation> and <http://www.culture.gov.sk/vdoc/218/pravne-predpisy-sr-v-oblasti-ochrany-pamiatok-228.html>

⁹³ See: <https://www.pamiatky.sk/en>

signatory to many European⁹⁴ and international documents relating to cultural heritage and the implementation of European and international norms in the field.⁹⁵

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

Slovakia is a country with a large number of cultural monuments and historical sights. They date from all eras and because of their value are part of world heritage. Only some of Slovakia's cultural heritage monuments fall under the Act on the Protection of Cultural Heritage. This applies to items on the Central List of National Cultural Monuments⁹⁶, and therefore deemed to have a historical value worth preserving. Since 2002 all the items on the list are regarded as national cultural monuments and are on the registers of movable and immovable monuments. Immovable national cultural monuments may be multiple monument buildings depending on the nature of the monument and/or the area as a whole, while movable items can consist of several artefacts, such as paintings, statues etc. There is no fixed total number of national monuments. Changes in the number may arise as a result of erosion, the revocation of a monument's protected status, or the destruction of a monument.

The Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic lists the country's heritage sites. It shows that in Slovakia there are 408 archaeological monuments, 8,587 architectural and urbanist monuments, 1,401 historical monuments, 2,066 folk architecture monuments, 1,607 fine arts monuments, 537 industrial monuments and 389 historical parks, which is a significant number for a small country.⁹⁷ Some are UNESCO World Heritage sites.⁹⁸ The Slovak Republic also has four items on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity: the fujara (pronounced fooyara) – both the musical instrument and the music; music from Terchová; bagpipe culture; and puppetry in Slovakia and the Czech Republic.

⁹⁴ For example: the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro Convention, 2005, see: <https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=383975>

⁹⁵ For example, Slovakia participates in the work of organisations and networks like UNESCO, HERIN or CARARE and organises Days of European Cultural Heritage in Slovakia.

⁹⁶ <https://www.pamiatky.sk/sk/page/evidencia-narodnych-kulturnych-pamiatok-na-slovensku>

⁹⁷ For the list see: <https://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/cultural-monuments-typologic-classification>; more in Pinčíková 2008.

⁹⁸ The cultural UNESCO-WH sites in Slovakia are: Bardejov Town Conservation Reserve (2000), Historic Town of Banská Štiavnica and the Technical Monuments in its Vicinity (1993), Levoča, Spiš Castle and the Associated Cultural Monuments (1993,2009), Vlkolínec (1993), Wooden Churches of the Slovak part of the Carpathian Mountain Area (2008). See: <http://www.unesco.sk/en/world-heritage-in-Slovakia>

Both the Ministry of Culture and The Monuments Board provide access to and information on the heritage sites via many internet-based databases and interactive platforms, and importantly they collaborate with national training centres, which comprise “Secondary schools, Universities and Institutes, and Other types of education and courses”.⁹⁹ Working with heritage sites and non-government organisations in the field of education is therefore an important part of the responsibilities of both the Ministry of Culture and the Cultural Heritage Department.¹⁰⁰ Surprisingly the Ministry of Education is not involved.¹⁰¹

Another aspect of access to cultural heritage is evident in the interactive platform set up by the General Directorate of Tourism in collaboration with The Slovak Convention, both part of the Ministry of Transport and Construction. It operates mainly through the Slovak Tourist Board’s website.¹⁰² It promotes Slovakia’s cultural heritage to foreign visitors under various categories (particularly attractions; history; gastronomy; UNESCO; castles, chateaux and manor houses; open-air museums and folk architecture); however, one can argue it is hard to see how this forms part of the educational environment for young Slovaks. Nonetheless, it does reveal how cultural heritage is seen by those involved in the government propagation of Slovakia. The global UNESCO model is used, in this case, for marketing purposes. Cultural heritage, like the nation and its culture, thereby becomes an item to be displayed, rather than understood. In addition to the interactive platforms the state publishes a great number of books and leaflets on cultural heritage, mainly in Slovak. However, the private sector is also active, with Dajama publishing a series of 40 volumes on cultural heritage in English.¹⁰³ More directly, the cultural heritage sites are generally promoted by state-funded tourist signs and billboards erected along main roads and motorways.

The local tourist information (displayed on panels) concerning the two selected heritage indicates a more moderate approach to marketing and a greater concern for local affairs. Basic information (visual and textual) is provided on opening hours, means of contact (phone numbers and websites, etc.) the main exhibitions and other events at the site. Events such as seasonal exhibitions, festivals, talks and so on are usually promoted on special posters. At the mainstream site (the museum) the panels are located both on and off site, and information is provided on their website and via social

⁹⁹ <http://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/herein> (Edited to make the meaning clearer)

¹⁰⁰ See: <http://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/herein>

¹⁰¹ The Ministry of Education is not even mentioned in the previously quoted HEREIN document and this was confirmed by Expert (5)_WP6_SVK.

¹⁰² <http://slovakia.travel/en>

¹⁰³ See: <http://dajamabooks.dgstaging.sk/kategoria-produktu/knihy/cudzojazycne-tituly/knihy-cultural-heritage-od-slovakia/> Note that some of the Dajama publications were supported by the Ministry of Culture.

media, all in Slovak. The alternative site (the castle) has bilingual information panels (Slovak-Hungarian) made available through a network comprising the town library, municipal council, town museum, tourist information centre and selected schools.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

Both the castle museum and regional museum use concepts of nation and culture, but the concepts are distinct in a number of ways. At the mainstream site the focus is on the “regional” (Gemer and Malohont), including the culture and history of all ethnic and religious groups, but the concepts of nation and culture are determined by Slovakia’s current state borders (cf. Gupta and Fergusson 1992). Therefore cooperation with the parts of the historical region of Gemer and Malohont now located in Hungary is presented as “international cooperation” on the information panels. In contrast, at the alternative site the information panels present the cross-border cooperation between Slovak Novohrad and Hungarian Nógrád – historically one region – as “internal” cooperation. Thus framed what is deemed national is not limited by state borders and culture is “local” or “Central European”, with very infrequent references to “ethnic national”, usually defined by the state.

These different strategies reflect the history of the region. When Czechoslovakia was created in 1918 (and then Slovakia in 1993) the historical regions of Gemer (Hung. Gömör), Malohont (Hung. Kishont) and Novohrad (Hung. Nógrád) that had been part of the Hungarian Kingdom for more than a thousand years were cut in two by the new state border. The region had also played a key role during the earlier Ottoman presence (1526–1699), being the frontier region between the Hungarian part of the Austrian Kingdom and the northern Ottoman possessions in Europe as well as a battlefield. In the narrative at the “mainstream site” (the state-run museum) the Hungarian and the Ottoman presence is only a minor part and highlights the differences between Hungarians (in this case ethnic Magyars) and ethnic Slovaks, and the military encounter between the Turkish Muslim state and the Austrian (Hungarian) Christian state. In contrast, the narrative presented at the “alternative site” (the castle museum) emphasises that the past is a commonly shared heritage and forms part of the local history.

3.3.1 The regional museum

The regional museum is one of the oldest museums in Slovakia and dates back to the late 19th century. It is located in a district capital, a medium-sized town of 24,000 inhabitants (Bitušíková 1993). It is situated in a historical building on one of the two main squares in the town. The museum

is run by the state, financed mainly by the Ministry of Culture. It is a typical state-run institution and is highly dependent on central funding and public procurement.

The museum's primary concern is to provide a record of the nature and society of Southern Slovakia. It specialises in documenting the material and spiritual culture of the Roma in the region. The research and development performed at the museum is divided into complex thematic units (natural history, local and general history, zoology, mineralogy, ethnography etc.) with a focus on the regional context. The research is carried out by museum experts, as is the procurement of acquisitions, documentation, publishing, talks and preparation of exhibitions.

The regional museum has a broad target audience, including students and several other age groups. The region of southern Central Slovakia where the ethnographic fieldwork took place is one of the weakest parts of the country economically. This means that for a significant part of the local population visiting a museum or heritage site that charges entrance fees is a luxury. Anybody is entitled to free entrance during the night of the museums event.

The museum talks, ranging from 45 to 60 minutes, are designed for primary and secondary schools as well as for interest groups. The theme and scope can be adjusted by agreement. The museum also holds workshops relating to current exhibitions. Most of these educational activities are in Slovak, although there are exceptions where Hungarian is used. The regional museum does not use the open spaces to organise cultural events.

3.3.2 The castle museum

The castle records date back to the 13th century. It was rebuilt in the first half of the 15th century, and expanded and fortified in the 16th century. The Ottomans conquered it in the mid-16th century and it subsequently became the centre of the Ottoman *Sanjak* (administrative district) until captured and burned down by Imre Thököly's troops. It then passed into the possession of the Austrians (1593) and the town became one of the main counter-reformation centres in the region.

The idea of establishing the castle museum was discussed in the mid-20th century, but only came into being at the beginning of the 21st century. Following major renovations to the interior of the main bastion and adaptation so it could be used as a museum, the castle museum was finally established. From the outset it has been funded by the municipal/town council. Significant funding came from national and EU grants. The basic operating costs are covered by the municipal council, and special events and festivals are funded out of grants.

The castle and town history exhibitions are located in the main bastion. The exhibits include valuable medieval finds and artefacts from the Slovak National Museum, like the original castle keys and Ottoman exhibits. The target audience of the castle museum is again a very broad one. There are different entrance fees for different age groups¹⁰⁴ with significant discounts available for the under 26s and a special price for school groups. Annual passes can also be purchased. A special fee is payable for guided tours or special educational tours. Free entrance is available to all during the night of the museums event.

The castle museum is partly indoors and partly open-air. Because of this it is closed during the wintertime.¹⁰⁵ The historical exhibition is located within the bastion and the main programmes organised by the castle museum, such as the annual castle games and other festivals, are open-air events.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

The region is rich in cultural heritage sites. Both museums use all available communication platforms to promote their messages. These include posters, leaflets, books, journals and the internet, including Facebook, Instagram and other social media platforms. State and local TV and radio and newspapers and other printed media published by towns and districts are also used, as is the town's tannoy system. Road signs indicating heritage sites can also be found in the towns where the ethnographic fieldwork was conducted. According to Expert (3) WP6_SVK his institution promotes special cultural events, such as summer open-air festivals, using dedicated billboards paid for by the museum and situated at main road junctions across the region and the Slovak-Hungarian border. Basic information regarding the location of the sites can be found on tourist maps and materials about the heritage sites are available at the regional and local tourist offices. Cultural heritage materials are promoted in local libraries and schools, etc., as part of coordination between local cultural institutions. Both the heritage sites have information panels next to their main entrances that provide basic information about the site, exhibitions, talks and other cultural programmes, alongside photos and other visual materials. The only difference between the two is that the ones organised by the state-run regional museum are in Slovak, whereas the castle museum adopts a bilingual (Slovak-Hungarian) approach.

¹⁰⁴ For visitors under 6 and over 70 years entrance is free; those aged 7–26 and 62–69 pay half the fee.

¹⁰⁵ It is open from 15 March to 15 November. The opening date corresponds to one of the main Hungarian national holidays: the start of the unsuccessful ethnic Hungarian rebellion and war for independence against Austrian rule in 1848–1849. This may be a coincidence, but is most likely a well-thought-out marketing strategy.

Before the castle museum and associated institution were founded some ten years ago, the main language of communication in the cultural life of this small Slovak town with its majority ethnic Hungarian population was Hungarian. Later, exhibitions and other activities began to be promoted in both Hungarian and Slovak. This new approach was introduced by museum staff of a predominantly Hungarian ethnical background. The castle museum website has three language versions (Slovak, Hungarian and English) and the institution's activities are not limited to within the state border of Slovakia, but are actively promoted in both Slovakia and just across the border in Hungary.

However, according to the expert interviewed from the regional museum the language policy isn't based on Slovak nationalist or anti-Hungarian or anti-Roma sentiment. Many of the experts and staff at the museum are ethnic Hungarians and even some ethnic Slovak employees are bilingual. The experts from the regional museum said the reason the languages of the local ethnic minorities were not used regularly was financial (such as the cost of having to translate the museum materials and the absence of support to do this from state institutions such as the Ministry of culture). The museum has publications available in Hungarian or Romani, but the Hungarian versions are aimed at "foreign visitors", as if the local Hungarian communities were also foreign.

The Romani publications deserve particular attention since the use of Romani in the public sphere is truly valuable, being rather rare in Slovakia. On the one hand, by publishing a book on Roma culture, providing visitors with leaflets on areas of Roma culture (such as music), and promoting special Roma-related exhibitions is undoubtedly an attempt at including Roma prominently in their portfolio. On the other hand we can question how this is achieved because what is portrayed as the promotion of Roma culture for Roma in their own language in fact seems to be an Orientalist effort, or as Said would say exerts intellectual authority over the Roma (cf. Said 2003, p. 20) rather than being an inclusive and comprehensive portrayal of the region's cultural heritage for the Roma.

Both institutions follow the normative mainstream narrative based on the national history concept that stresses both a Slovak and Hungarian reading of historical events, balanced by local patriotism. A good example is the way the historical exhibitions and other cultural events interpret the Ottoman past. Slovaks and Hungarians living in Southern Slovakia have different memories of the Ottomans. For Hungarians, the Ottoman period is an important part of "their history" narratively influenced by the notion of Turanism – that the Hungarians and Turks are "relatives and brothers". It co-defines the identity of Hungarians in Slovakia as a minority and as part of the Hungarian

nation.¹⁰⁶ This narrative is evident in the school curriculum (mainly history and Hungarian literature and language) in the Hungarian-language elementary schools and gymnasia in Slovakia. As the landmarks and heritage sites connected to the Ottoman era are located in the villages and towns with a strong Hungarian presence, the Ottoman past forms a major part of the local and national narrative and is reflected in cultural events, memorials, etc. Apart from the more usual displays of the battles between the Turkish and Christian armies, the castle museum organises many activities related to the Ottoman heritage: “Turkish evenings”, castle games involving “Janissary troops” and other festivals targeting young people locally and regionally. Such events are the most popular items on the site’s offline and online platforms. The castle museum also displays archaeological finds relating to the Ottoman period.¹⁰⁷

The castle museum is located on a hill, a natural landmark that can be seen from any point in the town. This visual dominance is reinforced by special effects introduced by the former director of the museum. They consist of a short piece of music played on a *tárogató* (a traditional Hungarian folk instrument), which is broadcast from the castle loudspeakers twice a day, at noon and before closing time. It is an important symbol for the Hungarian members of the local audience but was broadly misunderstood by the local Slovak community which identified them not as Hungarian but Turkish.¹⁰⁸

Both institutions work with local NGOs and civic initiatives, including those whose focus is primarily young people. For the regional museum this collaboration is predominantly educational and based on the informal relationship the museum has with local elementary schools and gymnasia. The castle museum has wider access to local NGOs and in addition to their educational activities some of the civic initiatives (some are Slovak and some are Hungarian; the local historical fencing associations are most involved) set up predominantly by young people, help with the annual castle games and organise the cleaning up of the site or special historical tours of the castle.

Both sites have a serious problem engaging the local Roma population in their activities. The main issue is that although the museums organise activities relating to the Roma cultural heritage, the audience is primarily non-Roma. The main problem is – as mentioned earlier – the poor economic situation in the region. Young Roma mainly visit the heritage sites as part of school trips and when

¹⁰⁶ For further details, see <http://chiefproject.eu/blog/the-reception-of-the-ottomans-and-the-idea-of-europe-in-southern-slovakia/>

¹⁰⁷ For example, a fragment of a prayer stone used by the Bektashi dervish order discovered in 2018.

¹⁰⁸ According to Expert (4)_WP6_SVK one of the ethnic Slovak members of the town council asked him to stop this “Turkish bullshit” (Slov. “turecká kokotina”, pejorative).

access is free (night of the museums etc.). This issue is of key importance to the castle museum, because it is situated in a town where a third of the population is Roma and the castle is adjacent to a Roma neighbourhood. Recently a Roma community site was created by a local Roma businessman just next to the castle museum, so consequently the different ethnic communities share a single cultural heritage.

4. Discussion

The first issue to discuss is how the concepts of the nation, ethnicity and nationalism affect the understanding of heritage. After the hard-line nationalism of the 1990s, the Slovak legislature redefined the term cultural heritage at the beginning of the 21st century. On the one hand the policies and norms applied to cultural heritage by state institutions such as ministries (Culture, Education etc.) or The Monuments Board arise partly out of the need to implement European Union and international norms and practices into the Slovak legislative system. On the other hand, the specific local understanding of the issue plays a crucial role. Although the documents on cultural heritage emphasise the country's "cultural and historical richness and diversity", they introduce the ethnic Slovak narrative. Most of the informants, mainly those from an ethnic Hungarian background, but also some of ethnic Slovak origin, were critical of the ethnic nationalism. According to Expert (1)_WP6_SVK "ethnic diversity is one of the main values of the region" and as Expert (4)_WP6_SVK emphasised "the local cultural heritage is more important than the national one (...) regardless of Slovak, Hungarian or other national affiliation."

It is in this context that some historical figures from the distant past – to whom modern day definitions of ethnicity and language-based identities cannot necessarily be applied – became symbols of the "glorious national history" of both ethnic Slovaks and ethnic Hungarians. The term culture was also refashioned and strongly linked to "national issues". It is not easy producing a post-nationalist definition of "national culture" in this strange "competition" determined by nationalisms that create a gulf between Hungarian, Slovak and Roma people (Kántor 2004). According to Expert (5)_WP6_SVK "in this environment the idea of Europe and European cultural heritage has often been identified as contradictory to the specifically national ones (Hungarian, Slovak or Roma)". All Central European countries have high, but uncertain and hard to define, expectations as to what Europe means, and their initial enthusiasm has turned to disillusionment and Euroscepticism. However, they have all incorporated the European norms on cultural heritage into their legislation. For all the experts, European cultural heritage and identity are represented by architectural monuments (castles, churches, etc.) literary and artistic works and ideas (tolerance, solidarity, etc.).

The Slovak academic literature¹⁰⁹ offers several definitions of cultural heritage from different perspectives. Most authors agree that cultural heritage develops and changes because of the social context. It is influenced by constantly changing power relationships and emerging identities. It is an interpretation of the things we consider important to remember; memory is therefore an important category in cultural heritage, at the individual and social levels. Cultural heritage is accumulated through the process of identifying cultural heritage, and finding and identifying elements of culture. Initially, cultural heritage was perceived to consist of material objects, such as artistic monuments, archaeological sites and historical monuments. It has gradually come to include other areas, including folk culture.

In *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska* (Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture in Slovakia) cultural heritage is defined as “a legacy of past generations to future generations” (Botík - Slavkovský 1995). In anthropology cultural heritage is a “system of values, a configuration of cultural elements, norms, patterns and ideas that form a specific type of heritage passed on to subsequent generations in permanent collective ownership and as the generally accepted outcomes of the material and spiritual activities.” (Kačírek 2016). Ladislav Mlynka defines cultural heritage as “a specific type of heritage that ensures the cultural continuity of a particular human activity. On the one hand, it has a cumulative character, on the other, it is characterised as the parallel selection of cultural elements and values and the permanent search for new contexts. A legacy thereby becomes a cultural heritage by the act of its acceptance” (Mlynka 2011, p. 40).

The second issue to discuss is how the experts understood the different levels (national, European, regional, local, etc.) of heritage. While they all agreed with the way cultural heritage is divided into tangible and intangible heritage, their opinions differed when they were asked to distinguish between global, European, national, regional and local cultural heritage. Expert (1)_WP6_SVK thought there was a single, fully interconnected global cultural heritage shared by all humankind, and that European cultural heritage is basically just a local version of that. She also stressed that it was important that local heritage sites were shared by all the people living in the area regardless of their ethnic or religious background. She thought the local cultural heritage of the region she lived in was represented by multilingualism, folk crafts – mainly pottery – and some architectural sites, mainly churches and synagogues. Expert (2)_WP6_SVK considered global, European, national, regional and local cultural heritage to reflect the same idea but at different levels. They are represented by sites of particular importance that are regional or local, but are important to

¹⁰⁹ For an extensive bibliography of Slovak publications on cultural heritage, see https://fhv.uniza.sk/mkd_revue/03_2015/03_2015_augustinova.pdf

answering the question of who we are. In the local context she stressed the importance of promoting cultural heritage to young people. Expert (4)_WP6_SVK defined cultural heritage as the legacy of the physical artefacts and intangible attributes of a group or society inherited from past generations. In the local context he spoke about the symbolical importance of the castle for the town and the people. When asked what was important for the town, he replied using a local proverb, saying that the locals usually used three words to convey this: “mud, castle, and factory” (in Hung. “sár, vár, gyár”).¹¹⁰ This informant also stressed the role of Roman Catholicism as a factor in cultural heritage bringing ethnically diverse people together in the same church. Expert (5)_WP6_SVK saw cultural heritage mainly as an educational tool and a frequently divisive issue. She thought it consisted primarily of architectural (mainly castles) and artistic objects (paintings), literary works (poetry) but also conceptions and ideas (tolerance). She thought the key issue was to promote cultural heritage sites in a way that makes sense to the ethnic minorities in Slovakia, especially the Hungarian and Roma communities.

Basically there are two diametrically different understandings of the cultural heritage sites in the region. The first is territory-based, in the sense that all the objects, practices and traditions located within Slovakia form part of the national heritage. That legacy can be interpreted in two ways: firstly, as understanding the “national” as a civic affiliation, the common heritage of all citizens regardless of ethnic, religious or other affiliation, and secondly as the “ethnification” of heritage sites to fit the ethnic narrative of a particular group. The second is historically based, in the sense the heritage object, practice, tradition currently located or practiced on a particular ethnic territory (or state) also features in the history of another ethnic territory (state). Thus conceived, heritage is characterised by two differently construed narratives. One sees heritage in terms of ethnic belonging. The other sees it in terms of historical belonging, whatever the ethnical context of its trajectory through time. Defining regional and local heritage is much less controversial because both draw their significance directly from the location and localised transmission. In this case the historical hybridity across ethnical belongings plays much less of a role than its localness, or regionality for that matter (cf. Bhabha 1994). According to Expert (5)_WP6_SVK the ethnical contest over so-called ‘national heritage sites’ generated via certain narratives and counter-narratives and based on exclusive ownership by one or other ethnic group in the region “creates only social tension”. However, regional and especially local heritage sites “shared by all local residents” can be ideal for teaching young people about cultural heritage. The majority of our informants (Expert (2)_WP6_SVK, Expert (3)_WP6_SVK, Expert (5)_WP6_SVK) emphasised

¹¹⁰ The factory is the enamel factory which was the main employer in the region and played a key role in the town’s development from the 19th century until recently. Mud is a reference to the traditional pottery characteristic of the region.

that the local young people never leave their region (or barely travel beyond its borders) and think many of the ‘national heritage sites’, including the capital Bratislava are “not real places (...) no more real than Paris or New York” or “are just abstractions”. Expert (5)_WP6_SVK pointed out that when she was teaching about the regional structure of Slovakia, she asked “What is the capital of the country?” and one of the students gave the name of the district capital in response. The local heritage sites that the young people are very familiar with are real places that “they grew up with” and that “can be seen and touched” (Expert (3)_WP6_SVK) at any time. Although this example may indicate a lack of education, it also shows that young people have an attachment to the local cultural horizons of their own experiences.

A crucial question is how we can improve the cultural literacy of young people through interaction with heritage sites. All the experts interviewed thought young people’s cultural literacy should play a central role in the process of identity creation and the formation of bonds of belonging. Expert (5)_WP6_SVK, an expert in ethnic minority education, emphasised that national and global cultural heritage sites can be hard to tackle in the classroom and that we should start with local and regional sites. Learning can begin at a very basic level in kindergarten and continue so young people can form a bond with the sites. The same expert emphasised “that the process should include field trips, games and game-like interactive classes at the heritage site”. According to Expert (3)_WP6_SVK the process could include many “practical ways of looking after” the site (cleaning, maintaining signs and tourist paths etc.). In general, the main goal should be to ensure heritage sites form part of young people’s cultural space.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this report was to explore the existing discourses and institutional practices that constitute the representation and use of cultural heritage in Slovakia, then look at these in relation to the specific region being researched, and suggest how these discourses and institutional practices affect young people’s education on the past. The method applied was the textual analysis of legal documents combined with ethnographic field research using semi-structured interviews and some field observation.

For the field research, two sites were selected within a single ethnically and religiously mixed region of Slovakia near the Slovak-Hungarian border as being representative of different types of cultural heritage (a regional museum and a castle museum) and organisation (run by the state/ministry and the town/municipal council), with different promotional policies (from traditional exhibitions to cultural festivals). The informants were selected so they represented

different levels of seniority, competence and field of professional interest. It was crucial to have an informant with expertise in cultural heritage and with links to the educational aspects of promotion.

Overall the civic and ethnic interpretation of the concept of the nation constitutes a significant factor in the Slovak discourse on cultural heritage, and in the relevant legal norms and practices for popularising cultural heritage. The legal norms appear to be inconsistent in their definitions of whose heritage they relate to and whether it should be defined on an ethnic or civic basis (cf. Hall 1999). This leads to different interpretations, and perhaps, constraints in the public handling of the past. Another important factor is the global discourse on understanding cultural heritage and practical public usage as represented by UNESCO.

Language use within the regional heritage institutions reveals problems relating to whether heritage is represented in ethnic or civic terms. Although the population is ethnically mixed and there is historical documentation of interethnic strife, the state-run museum has opted to use Slovak¹¹¹ above all in promoting heritage. Conversely, the local museum has attempted to reflect interethnic relations in its use of both the local languages – Slovak and Hungarian – and thereby addresses local Roma audiences as well, and moreover encourages them to participate in cultural heritage events. In a sense, by specialising in Roma culture, the regional museum makes it – and for that matter recognises it as – an important part of regional heritage. Nonetheless, there appears to be greater distance between it and the Roma audiences than is the case with the more inclusive and predominantly bilingual castle museum. The binary civic/ethnic view also seems to be behind the different historical interpretations, or indeed different approaches, to the past (ethnically coded versus historically sensitive), and the different approaches to regional history. While the state-run museum documents the natural and social history of Southern Slovakia and specialises in the Romani culture of the region, the castle museum has introduced more dynamic cultural activities such as Turkish evenings. These enable it to address the historical Turkish presence in Southern Slovakia in a specific way – one that is quite different to approaches focusing only on military clashes.

Hence in the process of making cultural heritage accessible and in the way it interprets the past for the public, the state-run museum seems less creative and flexible in its core exhibitions and the

¹¹¹ The legal definition of the “state language” provoked and still provokes many controversies in Slovakia. The most problematic aspect was the State Language Law (1995) (see: <http://www.culture.gov.sk/vdoc/462/an-act-of-parliament-on-the-state-language-of-the-slovak-republic--1ab.html>), subsequently amended in 1999 to improve minority language use and then again in 2009, which its critics felt “criminalised” the public use of languages other than Slovak.

culture it offers, which is based on the mainstream national/state narrative of history that has not changed for decades. On the other hand, the local institution, which is much more involved in local affairs and promotes an inclusive regional and even cross-border style of cooperation, seems to have a more progressive understanding of the potential that cultural heritage has to offer.

This static versus dynamic characteristic seems to apply in the way young people are targeted. Both sites have different types of educational programmes for young people. The regional museum focuses on formal talks and educational panels for schools at different levels. These form part of the educational activities organised by the schools and provide little opportunity for interaction or individual participation. The regional museum concentrates on the elementary school level, but as Expert (1)_WP6_SVK and Expert (2)_WP6_SVK confirmed it “rarely attracts young people over 18 (...) except some university students” interested in ethnology or museology.

The castle museum has more informal programmes for young people (festivals, castle games, open-air concerts, etc.) and these are more accessible not only to students and schools, but also young people in the local community. In addition to the informal activities, they organise talks and more formal educational activities. The castle museum also has season tickets for students and teachers, which can be a means of strengthening the relationship between the young people and the heritage site/institution.

6. References

Legal documents:

Act No. 49/2002 Coll., on the protection of monuments and historic sites
Implementing Decree of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic No. 253/2010 Coll.

Act No. 49/2002 Coll., on the protection of monuments and historic sites, as amended by
implementing decree of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic No. 321/2014 Coll.

The Constitution of the Slovak Republic
<https://www.prezident.sk/upload-files/46422.pdf>

Slovak Republic Code No 91/2001, Article 39, 20th March 2001
<https://www.pamiatky.sk/en/page/the-declaration-of-the-slovak-national-council-on-the-cultural-heritage-protection>

Other publications:

Bhabha, H. (1994) *Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.

Bitušíková, A. (2003) 'Čo je mesto? Mesto v predstavách jeho obyvateľov' (What is a city? The city as imagined by its inhabitants'). *Český lid*, 90: 217-224.

Botík, J. - Slavkovský, P. (1995) *Encyklopédia ľudovej kultúry Slovenska 1* (Encyclopaedia of Folk Culture of Slovakia 1), Bratislava: Veda.

Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro Convention, 2005. [online]
<https://www.nrsr.sk/web/Dynamic/DocumentPreview.aspx?DocID=383975>

Deák, D, Karásek, M. Bagalová, M. and Lehocký, Ľ.(2019), *Deliverable: 1.2 National Cultural/Educational Policy Review (Slovakia)*, [online] http://chiefproject.eu/wp-content/uploads/CHIEF-WP1_D1.2_National-Cultural-Educational-Policy-Reviews_v1.1_KM.pdf

Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992). 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity, and the Politics of Difference', *Cultural Anthropology*, 7 (1): 6-23.

Hall, S. (1992) 'The question of cultural identity' In Hall, S. - Held, D. - McGrew, T. eds. *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: Open University Press, 273-325.

Hall, S. (1999) Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'The Heritage', Re-imagining the Post-nation. 'Third Text', 13 (49): 3-13.

Kačírek, Ľ. (2016) *Kultúrne dedičstvo Slovenska* (Cultural heritage of Slovakia). Bratislava: Muzeológia a kultúrne dedičstvo.

Kántor, Z. (2004) *Nacionalizmuselméletek* (Theories of Nationalism). Budapest: Rejtjel.

Mlynka, L. (2011). 'Muzeológia v kontexte vied o kultúrnom dedičstve' (Museology in the context of cultural heritage studies). In: *Vliv muzeologie na rozvoj muzeí v ČR a SR: 20 let muzeologie na Slezské univerzitě v Opavě*, Opava: Slezská Univerzita.

Pinčíková, Ľ. (2008) *World Heritage in Slovakia*. Bratislava: Monuments Board of the Slovak Republic.

Said, Edward (2003) *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Books.

Web links

<http://census2011.statistics.sk/tabulky.html>

<http://chiefproject.eu>

<http://slovakia.travel/en>

<http://www.culturalheritage.sk>

<http://www.culture.gov.sk>

<http://www.dajamabooks.sk>

<http://www.unesco.sk/en/world-heritage-in-Slovakia>

<https://whc.unesco.org/>

<https://www.pamiatky.sk>

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of ‘heritage’ materials used at both sites (including weblinks)

A. printed

Partner:				
No	Title	Year	Source	Type
1.	Archeologický pamätník v Kyjaticiach	n.d	the museum shop	illustrated guide to an archaeological site
2.	Gemerské múzeum Rimavska Sobota	1999	the museum shop	illustrated museum guide
3.	A Gömöri-kishonti múzeum története	2008	the museum shop	a museum history leaflet in Hungarian
4.	Geschichte des Museums Gemer-Klein Hont	2008	the museum shop	a museum history leaflet, in German
5.	Gemersko-malohontsko muzeo u leskeri buti andre romani kultura	2008	the museum shop	a museum leaflet about the Roma culture, in Romani
6.	Naj Gemersko-Malohontského múzea	2008	the museum shop	a leaflet on the museum’s highlights
7.	Fragmenty egyptskej histórie zo zbierok Gemersko-Malohontského múzea	2008	the museum shop	museum leaflet about the Egyptian artefacts in the museum
8.	Rómski muzikanti v Gemeri a Malohonte	2008	the museum shop	museum leaflet on an exhibition about Roma musicians in the region
9.	Zborník Gemersko-malohontského múzea v Rimavskej Sobote. GEMER-MALOHONT	2005 to 2018	the museum shop	the museum’s scientific periodical
10.	Bodorová, O. – Pulišová, E.: Rómska kultúra v	2010	the museum shop	book about the Roma culture in the region

	Gemeri-Malohonte. Venované			
11.	A megkövült élet emlékei Fülek környékén	2011	the museum shop	museum leaflet on a palaeontological exhibition, in Hungarian
12.	A füleki vár évszázadai	2008	the museum shop	museum leaflet on the main history exhibition, in Hungarian
13.	Fülek 1938-45	2014	the museum shop	museum leaflet on a WWII exhibition, in Hungarian
14.	Krása v ohni zrodená	2017	the museum shop	museum leaflet on the history of glassmaking
15.	Magyar kézművesség a Felvidéken	2018	the museum shop	museum leaflet regarding an exhibition about Hungarian crafts in Upper Hungary, in Hungarian
16.	A gésa és a szamuráj	2017	the museum shop	museum leaflet about a Japanese culture exhibition, in Hungarian
17.	Szirácsik, É.: A Koháry és a Coburg család emlékezete Barstól Gömörig / Pamiatky rodov Koháryovcov a Coburgovcov od Tekova po Gemer	2018	the museum shop	monography about the history of two local noble families bilingual (Hungarian-Slovak)

B. online

Partner:				
No	Title	Year	Source	Type
1.	BIBLIOGRAFIA PUBLIKAČNEJ ČINNOSTI Gemersko-malohontského múzea	1993 to 2016	https://www.gmmuzeum.sk/kniznica.htm	collected bibliography of the museum's publications

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Spain/Catalonia)

Marta Rovira, Mariona Ferrer-Fons

1. Executive Summary

This report describes the research that has been carried out for the analysis of two sites of cultural heritage in Catalonia (Spain) so as to understand how they work in order to promote the cultural socialisation of young people. More specifically, the History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA)—in particular, Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira anti-aircraft battery—in Barcelona, and Can Jonch Centre for the Culture of Peace in Granollers, are the sites that have been analysed.

Methodologically, the research follows a qualitative approach combining different techniques: interviews with experts, ethnographic observation, and content analysis of the documentation collected in relation to the two sites (those documents that are available to the public) and dealing with the country's legislation and policies on cultural heritage. We carried out fieldwork in the two sites of Barcelona and Granollers and collected first-hand information and data regarding the educational activities that they carry out there and the involvement of young people. Six semi-structured interviews by experts were carried out in order to understand, firstly, the general framework of public policies related to cultural heritage and secondly, the orientation of the two selected sites and the orientation of cultural sites in general in Catalonia.

The empirical evidence collected shows, on the one hand, the importance of educational programs in both sites. Their educational work with children, teenagers and young people is used as a means through which they learn about the cultural heritage, often beyond the school curricula. The educational programmes are mainly addressed to formal education settings, in particular schools. This learning process is achieved thanks to the collaboration between the sites and schools in activities and itineraries that offer a dynamic approach to different aspects of culture and history. On the other hand, we have observed that great value is placed on the recent past in Catalonia, especially with regard to the Civil War and post-war periods, in both sites as well as in many cultural places. Some of these places have been the result of a process of recovering memory spaces and monuments in collaboration with civil society.

The narratives related to the recent past that take place in the sites merge and connect with universal values (such as peace, memory, solidarity and cooperation). There is no explicit

reference to European culture in these narratives, but rather a local reference that at the same time is combined with a universal or global vision. In this sense, there exists a lot of collaboration with cultural institutions of different countries at the European level. There is also no explicit national discourse found either in the narrative of the sites or in the interviews. There appears to be a focus on cultural diversity which, in fact, is something already assumed by the Catalan society in view of the immigration background of many people. This does not necessarily imply a critical point of view towards identities and the colonial past, with some exceptions.

Youth culture, or popular culture, is present in cultural heritage sites only as based on certain specific activities. Rather, the intensive use of internet technologies and social networks is what enables youth participation, for example, through photography and Instagram. However, experts acknowledge that more work has to be done in order to involve young people, in particular those who do not come from formal education visits or programmes. This implies that the formal education framework provides the most important path to cultural sites and cultural heritage for teenagers and young people. This reveals that there is limited access to cultural heritage if we focus on the school period, with the involvement of young people ceasing altogether after formal education.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

The criteria for the selection of the sites are based on the relevance that the two local sites have had in the configuration of the network of cultural centres in Catalonia, their approach to working with civil society, and their educational programmes involving many activities of collaboration with schools, as well as their potential role in the building of a European cultural narrative.

As regards the local factor, we selected a site in Barcelona due to the importance of Catalonia's capital as a point of reference in the cultural landscape. The **History Museum of Barcelona (MUHBA)**¹¹² is a cultural site with great relevance in the city's life and history, and is visited by schools from all over Catalonia. In this museum, a comprehensive overview of the history of the city from 2,000 years ago onwards is offered through an important network of local spaces and activities. In recent decades, the museum recovered some sites in the city as spaces for memory, especially with regard to the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) and the post-war period. Specifically,

¹¹² See: <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/>

we will focus on two spaces of the MUHBA in Barcelona: on the one hand, the air-raid shelter of Poble Sec city quarter (known as Shelter 307); and on the other hand, the anti-aircraft batteries of the Turó de la Rovira, a place where the histories of the Civil War and of immigration merge. Both sites are used extensively as educational resources by primary and secondary education schools.

Also, we selected a site that is both a good example and representative of many cultural centres from medium-sized cities in Catalonia. **Can Jonch - Centre for the Culture of Peace**¹¹³ is a cultural centre in the city of Granollers (60,000 inhabitants), located 40 km from Barcelona. In this space, work for the promotion of local memory is related in particular to the Civil War and to the bombing of Granollers during the war on May 31st (1938), which resulted in 224 people being killed. They also develop many activities related to peace culture education. In connection with this site, we found a particularly interesting activity being carried out by young people from the schools of the city: the walking tour. One day every year there is a thematic walking tour organised by Can Jonch, secondary schools of the city, and the educational section of the city council. The walking tour takes place every spring and 14-year-old students take part in it. Last year, the theme was the remembrance of the bombing during the Civil War and historical memory spaces of the city.

Both places are cultural centres that have an impact on history and memory as a cultural heritage in permanent interaction with local actors and educational centres. In fact, historical memory has been put to work to address a very important issue in the cultural field of Catalonia. During the Spanish transition period, this had become political taboo, in order to achieve the consensus needed for the establishment of democracy. Memories of the Franco regime and of the Civil War were silenced, and no repair policies were begun until the end of the 20th century. The approach of many public cultural institutions has been to change the understanding of history and assume a new perspective for studying the past and the heritage. As we understand it, this process of recovering historical memory is connected with a potential European discourse on the memory of the recent past and the impact of the war in European societies. That is why updating the memory of the recent past plays such an important role in the panorama of local public facilities, made through the recovery of the historical heritage (both material and immaterial). It influences the educational curriculum through school activities and visits. Both MUHBA and Can Jonch are good examples of this, each with its own peculiarities.

¹¹³ See: <http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch>

2.2 Data gathering

- Six experts were interviewed in five interviews (Expert 1 and Expert 2 were interviewed together, as they expressly asked for it to be done this way for reasons of availability). In all the interviews, information about the CHIEF project was stated and consent forms were signed. We conduct semi-structured interviews following an outline that contained several topics.
- Observation: the selected sites had been visited before the interviews. In the case of the MUHBA, we visited the Turó de la Rovira's anti-aircraft battery and the exhibitions there, as well as Shelter 307 (in a formal visit with a guide). In the case of Can Jonch, we visited the building accompanied by the person in charge of this institution.
- Pictures and fieldwork notes: during the visit of the sites we took pictures and collected both information and impressions in written notes. Later, we complemented this information with the interviews. A selection of pictures is shown in Appendix 3.
- Materials collected: in both cases we collected materials published by the sites: informative guides, activity agendas, flyers, etc.

2.3. Expert interviews

The experts were selected based on the following criteria: 1) they were experts in some part of the period on which the study focuses and in cultural heritage; 2) they were involved in institutional sites (museums and memory sites); 3) they were involved in collaboration with schools and had good experience in educational activities; 4) they worked from different historiographical perspectives and work experiences; (5) in four cases, the experts worked in the sites being analysed.

Characteristics of the interviews:

Name	Profile of the expert	Duration of the interview
Expert 1_and Expert 2	Leading the programmes and communication areas of a public museum. Responsible for the educational activities of a public museum	0:58'
Experts 3	Responsible for visits forming part of the educational activities in a public museum and other cultural sites	0:35'
Expert 4	Responsible for a local cultural centre	1:17'
Expert 5	Responsible for the education programme at a memorial	0:58'
Expert 6	Leading a public museum	1:33'

2.4 Analysis

Based on the guiding questions of WP6, the following different sources of information provided the data for the analyses of the sites:

The data collected in the interviews, publications, documentation, websites and during the observation of the sites has been organised according to the questions that were formulated: 1) background and career path; 2) defining what constitutes national heritage and its relation to European and regional heritage; 3) institutional background of the particular heritage site; 4) thematic scope(s) and goals of the site in relation to the public; 5) engagement with young people (and other age groups/ local communities) and their socialisation in cultural heritage (national, regional/local, European), and the role of their institution in this process; 6) educational aspects of their work with young people; 7) difficult aspects of cultural heritage that they are dealing with in their work.

All the information has been analysed inductively in accordance with the framework of content analysis.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

The responsibility for cultural heritage in Spain resides with each corresponding autonomic regional government. In the case of Catalonia, this means having its own policy on cultural heritage

¹¹⁴. In order to exercise its competences, the Catalan government created a Heritage Agency in 2014. The mission of this recently created institution is to manage the Cultural Heritage of Catalonia with criteria of integrity, sustainability, and efficiency. The Agency is responsible for 38 monuments and 6 public equipments: Archaeological Museum of Catalonia, Archaeological National Museum of Tarragona, National Museum of Science and Technology of Catalonia, Museum of History of Catalonia, Museum of Art of Girona, and the Movable Cultural Heritage Restoration Centre.

The Inventories of the general, architectural and archaeological heritages began in 1982 in Catalonia, once those powers that were recognised in the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia (1979) and by the subsequent creation of the Architectural Heritage Services were transferred to the Catalan government. 29,798 buildings and 12,667 archaeological sites constituted the whole of the Catalan heritage at that moment, as included in the Inventory of the Catalan Cultural Heritage¹¹⁵.

The national framework is integrated into the institutional discourse on Catalonia's cultural heritage, especially in the legislation, as a justification for the importance of this cultural heritage. The Law on Catalan Cultural Heritage¹¹⁶ forms the legal framework for this policy. In the first paragraph of the law, the cultural heritage is described as the "fundamental testimony of the identity of a nation throughout history". This "irreplaceable heritage" must be "transmitted to the future generations". Thus, public policies have the duty to disseminate knowledge about this cultural heritage. On the other hand, on the text and discourse available publicly at the Cultural Heritage Agency's website, this national reference is not explicit. The aim of the cultural heritage policy, in this discourse, is to "preserve, research, and publicise our cultural heritage and guarantee its conservation with one main aim: that today's society may enjoy it and that it comes across in the best possible state for the future generations".

The Government of Catalonia manages 38 cultural heritage monuments, as well as a handful of museums (Museu d'Història de Catalunya, National Museum of Science and Technology, the monument complex of Sant Pere de Rodes). Beyond that, many of the most important museums

¹¹⁴ See Statute of Catalonia (2006): "Article 127. Culture. The Generalitat [Catalan government] has exclusive power over cultural matters. 2. The Generalitat has executive power over archives, libraries, museums and cultural heritage centres owned by the State and located in Catalonia and whose management the State does not reserve for itself. This power includes in any case the regulation of their functioning, organisation and staffing system." https://web.gencat.cat/en/generalitat/estatut/estatut2006/titol_4/

¹¹⁵ For an inventory of the Catalan cultural heritage:

http://cultura.gencat.cat/ca/departament/estructura_i_adreces/organismes/dgpc/temes/Informacio_i_Documentacio/Inventari-del-Patrimoni-Cultural-Catala/

¹¹⁶ See: http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&documentId=92717

heritage from the Greeks and the Romans. Thus the cultural heritage is connected to the history of Catalonia, and to its cultural expressions and characteristics.

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

At this moment, cultural heritage is being presented as one of the core values of the country, given the importance of cultural tourism in both Catalonia and Spain. We find a special offer of monuments, cultural performances, and movable values on the Cultural Heritage website (<http://patrimoni.gencat.cat/en>), where a ranking is given of the top 25 sites promoted as the best places/things to discover in Catalonia. The discourse of the official website is an invitation to visit those places or to get to know things such as the “Mediterranean diet”, the work of Gaudí, the *Patum*, or the Cardona Castle.

This policy of promoting the cultural heritage of Catalonia is also carried out through the new social networks, such as Instagram (@patrimonigencat). The promotion of routes by using mobile apps and online ticket services to visit places is another practice. Following a similar strategy, the tourist board of Catalonia has set up a Facebook profile: Catalonia Experience. This touristic promotion combines cultural heritage and landscape, taking advantage of the fact that Catalonia has some very touristic locations, including the Costa Brava or the city of Barcelona.

However, some historical museums (Museum of History of Catalonia, MUHBA, etc.) and cultural museums or sites (such as the Dalí museum, Sagrada Família, Empúries’ archaeological ruins, or Memorial Democràtic) have common targets with regard to schools/educational programmes and tourism. In this context, local sites can offer a good overview that combines public policies of cultural heritage, the involvement of civil society, and some touristic promotion of their respective locations. The main discourse does not refer explicitly to the national heritage, but rather to the “cultural heritage”. The *national* condition of this heritage is taken for granted in public venues, as it is assumed to form part of the public definition of Catalonia. The explicit references given within the cultural heritage framework are to the country considered as the global framework.

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

MUHBA

We collected the data on the two sites by means of ethnographic observation and interviews. In the case of the MUHBA, in the words of the interviewed team, this is “a unique museum with sites

and exhibitions that are spread out across the city” (Experts 1 and 2). The location where the museum has its starting point and its headquarters is at the heart of the city, in the city centre’s old quarter where the Roman ruins can be found. A conglomerate of heritage sites, exhibitions, and memory places are spread out in different quarters all over the city of Barcelona. Accordingly, the thematic scope of the museum consists of a wide range of elements from different historical periods, from the Romans until recent days. The museum has a staff of 32 professionals with different backgrounds.

The interviewees were an archaeologist specialising in cultural management, and an art historian with experience in heritage preservation. Their professional profiles show that the museum is interested in research and conservation works regarding heritage. Actually, the MUHBA is doing constant research and work to discover or preserve and update the cultural heritage of the city. And it is precisely the history of the 20th century that is being explored in an extensive way today, with the recovery of heritage linked to the Civil War, or the internal migration movements that, in many cases, gave rise to the poorest neighbourhoods in the city – all this is explained in one of the exhibits at the Turó de la Rovira. There is a great interest in preserving the architecture of working-class houses in some neighbourhoods. This generates interactions between the recovery of the heritage through the participation of neighbours associations and associations in favour of memory. Besides, “we make a distinction between history and memory” (Experts 1 and 2). They consider that history is also interpretative, whereas memory, memories and experiences are more subjective. They said that they focus more on history than on memory. As a cultural heritage, one of the main ideas to be transmitted is a characteristic feature of Barcelona, a city that is made up by the constant arrival of people from outside. The city's heritage includes understanding how the city has been organised. From the MUHBA’s point of view, “heritage helps people to take roots in the city” (Experts 1 and 2).

The public of the MUHBA is 80% made up of tourists, but the museum provides “more than 40 activities and itineraries for the local public. While the local public participates in the temporary activities (conferences, seminars, courses, itineraries, etc.), the tourists tend to visit mostly the permanent exhibitions of ancient cultural heritage (the Roman ruins and Medieval sites in the city, such as the Cathedral or the Parc Güell)” (Experts 1 and 2). Unfortunately, they do not provide data on the socio-demographics of the visitors (age, gender, social class...). However, the interviewees estimated that many of the visitors are middle-aged or senior. There is a lack of young visitors, aside from the young people who come as a result of educational activities organised by schools.

The museum has a specific educational program for schools. The aim of the MUHBA's school activities programme is "to provide students with the necessary information to enable them to read, interpret, and build up their own knowledge of Barcelona and its heritage, so that they attain a better understanding of Barcelona and achieve more proximity to the city" (Experts 1 and 2). Each academic year they organise a specific programme for educational activities. This academic year (2018-19) the educational programme has been titled "Questioning Barcelona" (a summary guide is available in printed and online versions). Among the activities that involve visiting important spaces, there are several that are in connection with Shelter 307 or the Turó de la Rovira. In the case of Shelter 307, on the one hand, the main question is: what were the strategies developed by the public and citizen powers to protect the inhabitants from the first great bombings in history? On the other hand, in the case of the Turó de la Rovira, the main question guiding the educational activity is: what did the wars and the lack of housing signify for the city?

Apart from the 2018-2019 academic program, they offer other educational programs that have been at work during recent last years:

- "Patrimonia'm" ("Patrimony me!"). A project of monument sponsorship in collaboration with schools that has been running since 2005. A classroom picks a monument/site and they have to study it from all points of view. The choice of the historical site/monument usually depends on the curriculum and the proximity of the school to the monument. Teachers are trained, by providing follow-up and accompaniment as they prepare the didactic units during the execution of the project. Students can go to the museum headquarters, ask for information, etc. At the end of the year all the schools join together and show each other their work. This is usually done around May 18, which is International Museum Day.
- "Ciceró BCN". Learning and Service Project. Aimed at students of 3rd- and 4th-year ESO (compulsory secondary education). Based on a certain heritage element in their neighbourhood, students have to decide and think about the best way of granting value to this heritage. For example, by means of visiting guides, an exhibition, drafting a booklet, etc.
- Credits for the synthesis project. Aimed at students of compulsory secondary education (ESO). This idea is known as "Travel to Barcelona", and it follows itineraries in two different but bordering neighbourhoods. Students are given suggestions for routes along with guidelines for observation, and then they have to draw their own conclusions.

- Follow-up tutorial of research projects. Aimed at students of post-compulsory secondary education (Batxillerat). Access to materials, data, historical sources, and teaching resources is given to students and teachers for working on a specific topic related to the MUHBA.

- Summer Camp "Let's Read The City". Participants are children/teenagers between 8 and 12 years of age.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that there are other thematic visits addressed to people in general (young people can attend these too) outside of the educational programme and related to Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira. Their titles are the following: "The Civil War in Barcelona: Revolution and Bombing", "The Barcelona of the War and the Post-war Period. Perspectives from the Turó de la Rovira" and "The Defence of the Modern City". More information about the content is given in Appendix 2.

In terms of publications, the MUHBA produces a lot of material, both printed and online. However, the most used by citizens and visitors is the collection of urban history guides published in several languages. Table 1 of Appendix 1 describes summarily the three urban history guides dealing with the Shelter 307 and Turó de la Rovira sites.

Can Jonch: Centre for the culture of peace focused on educational activities

Can Jonch is a cultural centre that is organically dependent on the city council of Granollers, and was originally created by it. It is located in an urban area, at the downtown part of a city with 40,000 inhabitants, close to other public facilities and commercial streets. The aim of the centre is to provide tools for taking part in the “transformation of the world” with a “commitment to peace through education, and promoting coexistence and dialogue” as is explained on its website.

The place is devoted to the culture of peace, social mediation, historical memory, and civil society. Thus, the thematic scope of the site is quite diverse, and the most important element is the memory of the bomb raids during the Civil War against the city. After Barcelona, Granollers was the city with more victims of bombardment in 1938, when 224 people were killed. For this reason, and as a symbol of the site, a tile has been adopted and can be found in some of the streets of Granollers to mark historical points. Other symbolic referents we find there include a tree from Hiroshima (*Ginkgo biloba*), and another tree from Guernica planted in Can Jonch's garden. One of the walls of this garden is decorated with graffiti made by young artists of the city.

There are three members of staff at the centre. The person in charge (interviewed) has a degree in social education and experience of working on social programmes with socially disadvantaged people (women and young people). This means that in the ten years of working at the centre that person “has had to be trained in matters of memory and the other subjects that the centre works with” (Expert 4). The activities of the centre are carried out by two people: the interviewed person in charge (who does not have a recognised rank of director or coordinator), a technician responsible for cooperation activities, and a receptionist recently incorporated into the centre. An external firm deals with the afternoon activities.

The centre organises a wide variety of activities. Some of them take place inside the building, such as lectures, round tables, conferences, exhibitions, and meetings. However, the most important activities happen outside at different locations: in ‘the forest of peace’, the shelters, or the walking itineraries for memory places. In Granollers' centre, there are plaques that indicate the specific spots where bombs fell during 1938 and 1939. Also, a set of *stolpersteins* identifies the house where the people who were deported to the concentration camps used to live.

Can Jonch has quite diverse targets, given the wide range of activities that it provides. However, the most regular and popular activities every year are those in which the educational community takes part, especially secondary education students:

- “Citizen Walk”. The students of ESO/3 (14 years old) participate each year in the so-called "Citizen Walk", which consists in a walking itinerary around the memory spaces of the city. Every year, the bombing of the city on May 31st of 1938 is commemorated. The commemoration, however, is always linked to a current topic that students are studying at school (this year it will be gender equality and the memory of the women who used to work in the old textile factories of the city). A total of 450 students take part in this activity. One school is in charge of leading the walking tour each year.

- “Granollers. A City Open to Peace”. Each year a public figure related to the culture of peace (local or international) makes a speech on human rights at the city’s theatre in front of 400 students. Students of secondary Art Studies perform an artistic intervention.

- “Open visit to the shelters”. Each May 31st, free visits are organised to the two shelters of the city. All visitors have to form part of a group and there is a guide in charge of providing an explanation of the sites.

- “Commemoration of the 31st of May”. Different activities are organised in primary and secondary schools, as well as in special education centres, open education centres, etc.

Other thematic visits addressed to all people are mentioned in Appendix 2.

Thus, Can Jonch has as its main target reaching the town’s teenagers through the schools. In addition, Can Jonch gives NGOs and cultural associations (theatre, dance, music, history, etc.) access to rooms where they can organise their activities. In connection with this, there are instances of activities developed by youth associations - but this is not their main target.

Can Jonch has its own space in the city council’s website. Likewise, it publishes guides for activities and explanatory booklets about some of the most relevant activities. They also try to reach young people through social networks: Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. In YouTube, they upload videos of activities with young people.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

The interviews with the experts have allowed us to ascertain that the educational offer forms part of the public cultural institutions, in the form of specific educational programmes. In fact, not surprisingly, some of the people responsible for these cultural centres have experience working in the field of education, as is the case of Experts 3, 5 and 6. Apart from this link to education, the different cultural heritage centres in Catalonia have ties with associations or citizens in general. But the youth are not being targeted specifically by these cultural heritage institutions. The spaces of cultural heritage related to the young are basically provided through the educational centres, and therefore as a complement to the school curricula.

As people in charge of public cultural institutions, the experts interviewed are very clear about the need for the offer to be connected to civil society. There is a concern about making citizens form part of the cultural story at the same time as they are the recipients. As Expert 6 said, "The difference between a museum and a university is that in a museum you do not need to have academic credentials or pass an exam in order to enter. It is a space of knowledge with free access. That is all the more reason why they should be social museums, where citizens can share knowledge in complex ways."

We have also been able to ascertain that one thing the interviewed experts have in common is this social orientation with regard to cultural heritage. In some cases, this social vocation is realised

through the recovery of the recent cultural heritage or the dignity of memory places with which the citizens identify. In other cases, this social view of culture takes place within the museum or cultural site.

It can be said that this social perspective is more relevant than the national perspective for the experts. When the question of the relationship between culture and identity is raised, they agree in that they all define this relationship within the framework of a diverse society in terms of culture and identity. Thus, "a complex national reality is represented. Because it represents a complex urban society. What is represented here is not only Catalan Catalonia, but a complex Catalonia"(Expert 6). The national patrimony must therefore contain the same cultural diversity that is present in Catalan society. This is also true for memory, as stated by Expert 5: "I may have a national memory, but I think it is necessary to have many memories. Having only one memory is wrong".

The context in which these cultural spaces are situated, whether in a local area (Granollers, Barcelona) or at the Catalan national level (Ethnological Museum of Barcelona, Democratic Memorial), is understood as a territory that has a population with diverse origins and diverse points of view, in both ideological and generational terms. This heterogeneity causes the territorial and narrative limits of the cultural history to become diffuse. The history and memory of immigration (especially in regard to the ethnological heritage), as well as a global culture that is transmitted through universal values—peace, diversity, preservation of heritage, etc. —are involved too. An interesting fact that we were able to extract from the interviews is that there is a concern about connecting with the public, about working on an identification with the cultural heritage that forms part of the offer of public institutions. The memory of the recent past is very relevant in the Catalan context: the Spanish Civil War and the Franco regime are two pillars on which memory is built up in an insistent way and in connection with the experiences of the people. In this sense, a narrative that is not only European but also, at the same time, local and universal, is embracing concepts such as war, peace, resistance, repression, victims.

In all the experts, we find references to a link between local culture and global culture, but not specifically to European culture. In fact, in one of the interviews the idea of an identity in Europe is directly challenged as being something that is created and promoted "from above", that is, from the institutions, in an artificial way. "European identity is being made artificially, out of political, economic, religious, and ideological criteria." (Expert 6).

The Catalan cultural spaces and institutions are deeply involved in the European networks and platforms of their field. The framework of the European Union is not considered to imply any obligations or norms that might impose limits on them. They consider instead that they are much more influenced or limited by the local institutions, who accuse them of an excessive bureaucracy that hinders their work. Although they may receive political pressure in one way or another, the interviews let us see that they work with great freedom when programming cultural and educational activities.

We can therefore say that bureaucracy is one of the difficulties encountered by cultural managers, as we have been able to extract from the interviews, along with local regulations. The lack of resources due to the economic crisis, but also the lack of resources for culture, is another great difficulty. This, for instance, is mentioned by experts 1 and 2, who work at the MUHBA (they have been witnessing a reduction of the staff after the economic crisis in 2009 up until today).

As regards the external communications at these sites, the internet has become a common means of communication for the cultural institutions across the whole country. However, we can observe that the publication of guidebooks, brochures, booklets, papers and activities programmes continues to be important. The more resources an institution has, the more the printed format is used. However, what we are seeing is not an orientation of the cultural institutions towards tourism, but towards the local public, towards an understanding that this local public is diverse and can comprise an international component as well. There is no focus on mass tourism.

4. Discussion

Institutional policies of cultural heritage

As we have seen in the analysis, heritage policies in Spain are developed by each autonomous government. In the case of Catalonia, the whole region is recognised as a "nationality"¹¹⁸ within the framework of the Spanish Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy. As a "nationality", its competencies include the regulation of its own cultural matters.

¹¹⁸ According to the current Spanish Constitution (1978), "the Spanish nation is the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards, which is composed of nationalities and regions" to which the constitution recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government. The term nationalities, or historical nationalities, though never defined officially, indicates territories whose inhabitants have a strong historically constituted identity, or, more specifically, certain autonomous communities whose Statutes of autonomy—their basic institutional legislation—recognizes their historical and cultural identity.

The economic crisis affected the resources assigned for culture very deeply, which in turn had an impact on the sites of cultural heritage, as has been highlighted in the interviews. Some projects were abandoned, others had their staffing resources considerably reduced, as in the case of the MUHBA and the Democratic Memorial. And this also has affected those educational projects that have young people as their main target group.

Tourism and heritage: an unappreciated binomial

The scarce importance that is given to tourism in the interviews is worth noting. Expert 6 argues: “A museum should not only target tourism, focus only on selling many tickets. The role of a museum is to serve the people in its surroundings, to do scientific research, to generate knowledge. It must have some relationship with the university.” This is somehow surprising considering that every year Catalonia receives around 20 million visits of tourists, and the city of Barcelona alone receives 8 million. In fact, both the Government of Catalonia and the City Council of Barcelona have tourist offices and tourist information portals that are taking into account the cultural heritage as a vector of tourist attraction.

In the light of what the experts said in the interviews, one can appreciate the contradiction arising from the interests of the people in charge of the cultural sites, in contrast with the economic impact of tourism in those same sites. Having said that, there is an important social debate taking place nowadays around mass tourism and how, in some places like Barcelona city, it has had such contradictory effects. There is a strong debate going on about gentrification and the high cost of living in Barcelona due to the impact of tourism.

The interviews show a concern about working with communities and neighbours associations, or with schools, as well as in some sites that are not the most visited by tourists.

National and European framework

In the Catalan institutional framework, there is a clear concept of cultural heritage as a national heritage. This conceptualisation may sometimes lead to conflict with the Spanish national concept of culture as seen from the Spanish institutions, whose position is ambiguous with respect to the national nature of Catalan culture. In fact, during the administrations of the right-wing Popular Party, this has been manifested as a conflictive issue between a Spanish vision of what is national, on the one hand, and a claim for national recognition from Catalonia, on the other.

In spite of this, among the stakeholders and practitioners that we interviewed, we see an interest in transcending the idea of national culture. We see this in that they include groups that have been born outside Catalonia, and also in that they frame the narrative discourse around issues that are universal.

In the case of the MUHBA, there is an interest in showing the cultural diversity of Barcelona, especially in contemporary times. Barcelona is a city that was created by the arrival of people from outside. For the people in charge of the site, knowledge of the city's cultural heritage is conceived as a tool for newcomers to create roots ("This is BCN (Barcelona). Welcome to the city"). At the same time, the city is thought of in a metropolitan sense, rather than in national terms. Thus, it is seen as connected to other cities lying on a vast urban expanse, as expressed in exhibitions such as "Connected Bcn, global BCN". On the other hand, they make references to the cultural contributions of other places around the world that the city has incorporated, for example in "Arrival of jazz in BCN".

In the case of Can Jonch, the discourse is very clearly in favour of a global conception related to the promotion of the culture of peace. They participate in different Catalan and Spanish networks so as to coordinate with other sites, but their narrative is very local-global oriented: "the consequences of the war in Granollers and elsewhere in the world. Everything is connected, everything is global" (Expert 4).

Both in the documentation of the sites, as well as in the observations made and in the interviews with experts, we have observed that there is no explicitly European discourse on cultural heritage in the Catalan and Spanish cases. However, the cultural sites are connected to European networks of cultural heritage, museums, and some thematic networks. This means that they collaborate with other cultural institutions of European Union countries, as usual, as well as in European research projects and specialised journals. Institutionally, however, neither European legislation nor European policies define the specific framework of the work carried out by the experts interviewed. Furthermore, they consider local policies as the most influential in their daily work, either in terms of management of resources or because of political pressures, and especially due to the bureaucracy, which compels them to spend so much time dealing with management issues.

Thus, as we have been able to observe, their narrative on the cultural heritage transcends the local scope. Another feature of the two sites chosen is the relevance given to local memory in relation to the Spanish Civil War, which enables this connecting of a local fact with the modern history of the world (for instance, with World War II), yet without specific reference to the European context.

Cultural heritage and cultural diversity

From the point of view of the interviewed experts, Catalan culture is considered to be a “complex” culture in the sites’ narrative—in other words, diverse. We can see this understanding in the fact that the Ethnological Museum of Barcelona exhibits together objects that have different cultural backgrounds, in the understanding that, in fact, all of them are part of the same culture (human culture).

In the case of the Democratic Memorial, although the focus is on the recent past in Catalonia, the territorial scope is transcended whenever the content requires it. If an exhibition deals with people whose origins are outside Catalonia, institutions from outside are invited to collaborate (for example, when they exhibited a series of photographs related to pedagogues, since these were from Navarra, the Government of Navarra attended the presentation). But the links beyond Catalonia are mainly international, such as the yearly celebration of the International Day that commemorates the victims of the Holocaust on January 27.

In spite of these initiatives, we can observe that there is still a potential for expanding the programmes and activities and offering a broader focus that reflects the cultural diversity of the Catalan society, given that 15% of the population is already born abroad. Although international migrations are a very recent phenomenon (they started in 2000 and reached a peak percentage of arrivals in 2008), cultural policies are playing a role in the recognition of diversity. As indicated by the studies on youth identities (Feixa and Sánchez 2015), it is important to take into account how the cultural practices of young people are being marked by the cultural diversity brought about by migrations, cyber culture, and social movements (for instance, the feminist movement in the latter years). In fact, as pointed out by Feixa and Nilan (2009) or Pujolar, Martínez, and González (2010), current youth identities are characterized by their being hybrid culturally.

On the other hand, we are seeing an interest in recollecting the migratory past of Catalans from all over Spain by means of some relevant initiatives, such as those by the Museum of Immigration History of Catalonia, located in Sant Adrià del Besòs, a municipality close to Barcelona. We can also observe this process in an exhibit in which the space of the Turó de la Rovira was interpreted as an informal housing neighbourhood populated by migrants from the 1940s-1960s and made up of many shacks. This part of the memory and of the recent past reinforces the idea of Catalan national identity as an identity that comprises different cultural backgrounds. The immigrants who came from other parts of Spain in the sixties were called “the other Catalans,” in a reference with

which it was intended to represent the conformation of a complex but inclusive Catalan identity¹¹⁹. In some cases, the focus is on local identities, however. It must be mentioned that in the exhibit about informal housing and shacks in the Turó de la Rovira there is not so much explicit reference to the Catalan identity, but rather much more to the local identities of the city.

On the other hand, 2016 saw the organisation of one of the first exhibitions on Catalonia's colonial past, in reference to the occupation of Guinea during the 19th and 20th centuries: "Ikunde. Barcelona, colonial capital" was the first exhibition to show the properties and activities that the municipality of Barcelona held in Guinea as a colony. Ikunde was the name of the location that was assigned to Barcelona's City Council as a place in Guinea to hunt animals and export them to zoos in Europe and beyond.¹²⁰

In the 21st century some museums and cultural sites have exhibited this colonial past by making reference to the slave traffic undertaken by certain businessmen belonging to the Catalan elite during the colonial era. In fact, in 2018 several entities of the city of Barcelona called for the removal from the Rambles of the statue of the Marquis de Comillas, an ancient slave trader in the African colonies. The city council of Barcelona decided to respond to this request and to withdraw the statue.

Young people and cultural heritage: a pending challenge

In the research carried out so far, we find that cultural heritage (we may almost say the official cultural heritage) is transmitted to young people through educational programmes. Thus, the alliance between school and public cultural institutions plays a central role in the participation of young people in activities related to cultural heritage in Catalonia. This collaboration is a pattern that extends to the entire Catalan educational system. Therefore, we can say that every young person, in their school life, have visited some cultural institutions. The interaction with these heritage sites thus plays a fundamental role in improving the cultural literacy of young people, because it allows the cultural transmission to extend beyond the educational curriculum. These institutions are a non-formal education resource that complements a systematically organised formal education.

¹¹⁹ Candel, F. (1964). *Els altres catalans*. Edicions 62. It was that year's best seller during the Saint George festivity, when the streets of Catalan cities are occupied by booksellers.

¹²⁰ Ikunde is also the place of origin of Snowflake, who became an icon of the city for so many years, as well as a naive and sweetened simulation of the true implications that colonialism had for the people of Guinea and for its natural environment.

However, when these students leave secondary education or go on to vocational education, there is no guarantee that they will continue to take part in activities related to cultural heritage. This is the pending challenge for cultural heritage institutions: to develop activities specifically for young people outside formal education settings. In both of our selected sites, we were able to observe a few activities involving youth participation, but these are exceptional. Quite a separate case is that of the anti-aircraft battery in the Turó de la Rovira. Its 360° view over the city of Barcelona has turned it into a tourist attraction and an image with a strong appeal for those who do advertisements and music video clips. That is why it has become a point of attraction for many local and visiting young people, as they find in it a free and open space for meeting, taking *selfies*, having a beer, or simply chatting. But for young people this is a space for leisure, rather than being cultural.

As the interviewees point out, participation of young people in the cultural heritage is a pending challenge. An example of an initiative that can be taken in order to attract young people toward the cultural heritage is the Council of Europe's International Heritage Photographic Experience (IHPE) competition, which is also organised in Catalonia for young people. This is an initiative for young European participants to become aware that they are working on a common project of cultural heritage. A yearly call is opened for all countries and regions in Europe to join. The photos are published on Instagram and Twitter.

Another initiative that promotes cultural heritage among the young is the *CarnetJove* (Young Card), a card that can be requested by young people from 12 to 30 years of age, offering discounts on more than 8,000 cultural, social and commercial proposals. On the cultural section, it includes films, museums, theatre, and publications. As Ariño and Llopis point out (2016), when social class is a factor conditioning the cultural practices of young people, public institutions become a fundamental counterpart to this tendency, by creating opportunities for equal access to culture among young people.

5. Conclusion

In this report we have reviewed how cultural heritage policies reach young people. We need to distinguish very clearly between the governmental cultural heritage policies of the governments of Spain and Catalonia (and also of the City Council of Barcelona), and those that correspond to the specific activities carried out by the cultural sites. Government policies have to do with a general planning of the preservation of heritage, with the intention of creating a set of "national" cultural heritage points, and of ensuring their tourist promotion.

Furthermore, the report has targeted cultural heritage sites that reveal how specific strategies, connecting cultural heritage with the community and the schools, are developed. Interviews with experts, as well as observations in the two sites chosen, have given us a lot of information about the activities that are carried out in this space of proximity, and about the relationship between culture and education. From this area of proximity, we have also been able to observe how diversity is incorporated into the conception of national culture (especially in the MUHBA and the Museum of Ethnology of Barcelona). As regards the narrative, there is no explicit reference to Europe, despite the involvement of cultural heritage institutions in the corresponding European networks. Nor is there any clear explicit national discourse with regard to the Catalan case, apart from the text of the Law of Cultural Heritage that we consulted.

We also noticed how the memory of the recent past is important within the framework of the Catalan cultural heritage. That is why the two sites were chosen to link the heritage to the Civil War and to the Franco regime, as well as to subsequent internal migratory movements. It should be remembered that this is a heritage that was recovered a few years ago, after a change came about in relation to social awareness about the past, in a desire to overcome the silences that were imposed both during the Franco dictatorship and during the transition towards democracy with respect to the Civil War and its consequences. The pressure of citizens and civil society has been very important for the recovery of sites such as Shelter 307 and the Turó de la Rovira anti-aircraft battery in Barcelona, or the shelters and the commemorative walk around the bombing site in Granollers. Local demand has also been active in demanding, and above all in dignifying, the ancient shedding space in the city of Barcelona, a place where thousands of people lived during the Franco regime until the 1980s and early 1990s.

Without a doubt, remembering the recent past through the heritage allows for an educational work that would otherwise be very difficult without this heritage. It allows for the curricular content to be complemented with direct experiences on the part of the students. The problem is that this remains practically the sole involvement of young people with knowledge of the cultural heritage.

Although the internet is a medium widely used by sites and for the promotion of their activities, print publications continue to be the preferred means of communication. We have been able to observe how social networks are being incorporated into the promotion of cultural heritage, especially through photography and the Instagram application. This is obviously one way of approaching youth culture. But, as the consulted experts point out, specific work with young people is still a pending challenge.

6. References

Aguilar, P. (1996) *Memoria y olvido de la guerra civil española*. Madrid: Alianza editorial.

Aguilar, P. (2008) *Políticas de la memoria y memorias de la política. El caso español en perspectiva comparada*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.

Ariño, A. and Llopis, R. (2016) *La participació cultural de la joventut catalana 2001-2015*. Barcelona: Consell de la Cultura i de les Arts.

Candel, F. (1964) *Els altres catalans*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

Feixa, C. and Sánchez, J. (2015) ‘De las culturas juveniles a los estilos de vida: etnografías y metaetnografías en España, 1985-2015’, *Revista de Estudios de Juventud* 110: 105-129.

Feixa, C. and Pam, N (2009) ‘Una joventut global? Identitats híbrides, mons plurals’, *Educació social* 43: 73-87.

Molinero, C. and Ysàs, P. (2008) *La anatomía del franquismo. De la supervivencia a la agonía (1945-1977)*. Barcelona: Crítica.

Pujolar, J., González, I. and Martínez, R. (2010) ‘Les mudes lingüístiques dels joves catalans’, *Llengua i ús: revista tècnica de política lingüística* 48: 65-75.

Rovira, M. (2014) *La transició franquista*. Barcelona: Pòrtic.

Silva, E., Warde, A. and Wright, D. (2009) ‘Using mixed methods for analysing culture: The Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion Project’, *Cultural Sociology* 3 (2): 299–316.

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites (including web links)

MUHBA:

Website: <http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/>

Web link to the educational activities:

<http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/taxonomy/term/432>

Table 1. MUHBA Urban history guides related with Turó de la Rovira and Shelter 307 sites (with the web links)

Title	Main content
<i>Barraques/BCN (number 7). Urban history guide</i>	<p>Depicts the shantytowns in the city of Barcelona during the 20th century, basically in four areas of the city: Turó de La Rovira (El Carmel neighbourhood), Somorrostro, Montjuïc, and other places distributed over the city. The shanties of Turó de la Rovira are presented as a good example of an informal city. During the 40s, hundreds of migrant people from other parts of Spain took advantage of the structure of the anti-aircraft batteries to build informal housing. In the 60s, there were 3,000 inhabitants living there and in the neighbourhood. During many years the barracks had no access roads nor services of any kind. The neighbourhood’s struggle is also presented as an improvement from its situation in the 70’s. Photographic content and map of the city.</p> <p>http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/barraquesbcn</p>
<i>Defensa/BCN 1936-39 (number 8). Urban history guide</i>	<p>Historical and photographic account of the indiscriminate bombings suffered by the city during the Spanish Civil War from Franco and Italian aviation. It describes how bombings were becoming a modern war weapon to destroy factories, seaports and railways, communication channels, etc. It also explains the concepts of passive defence (measures for the detection, prevention, and rescue of citizens during the bombings, such as the creation of shelters or actions to protect themselves) and active defence (military devices, such as observation centres or lighting used to detect airplanes, and anti-aircraft defence). A map of the city with the bombed areas is presented, showing its passive and active defence points. Shelter 307 and the anti-aircraft battery of the Turó de la Rovira are essential elements on the map. Photographic content.</p> <p>http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/publicacions/defensa-1936-39bcn-0</p>

<i>Balconada de Barcelona (number 18). Urban history guide</i>	Depicts different balconies and perspectives of the city, taking advantage of the geographical features from the mountain to the sea. It includes 33 buildings, hills, or spaces along a route that runs across the Civil War anti-aircraft battery of the Turó de la Rovira. Photographic content and city map. http://ajuntament.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/publications/balconada-bcn
--	--

Can Jonch:Website: <http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch>

Table 2. Can Jonch urban guides related to historical memory (along with their web links)

Title	Main content
<i>Air-raid shelters in Granollers</i>	his flyer in Catalan, Spanish and English deals with the building of the four shelters in the city during the Civil War. How the people had to live under the booms, and how the municipality decided to build the shelters, and the situation of the shelters in the present day. http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Refugis%20antiaeris.pdf
<i>Places of remembrance. Granollers bombed.</i>	This flyer in Catalan, Spanish and English deals with the impact of the war on the city along the “route of remembrance”, a clearly indicated urban route around the site of the 1938 bombing. One can follow it using the informative placards and the tiles inscribed with the date of the raid (31/05/38). The guide has a map and some photographs taken in 1938 after the bombing raid, and also presents the commemoration. http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2013/07/Itinerari%20bombardeig.pdf
<i>Memory spaces</i>	This flyer in Catalan talks about the civil war in Granollers and the memory places related to this episode of history. http://www.granollers.cat/sites/default/files/importades_d6/pagina/2012/07/M%20GRANOLLERS.pdf
<i>Granollers bombing</i>	Information displayed on the website about the city of Granollers, the bomb attack of May 31 st 1938, life under the bombs, the heritage memorial, and the long, silent process of memory recovered. http://www.granollers.cat/can-jonch/granollers-bombardeig-31-maig-1938
<i>Granollerins deportats als camps de concentració nazis (People of Granollers deported to the nazi camps)</i>	This is a little publication with an overview of the life of the 7 people of Granollers who were deported during World War II to the Nazi camps. The book explains how this memory of the deported people was recovered, and the dangers of <i>desmemoire</i> . The guide locates the places where the deported people used to live.

Appendix 2. Brief content of MUHBA and Can Jonch thematic main visits or activities addressed to the general public at the selected sites

MUHBA (Shelter 307 and Turó de la Rovira)

- "The civil war in Barcelona: Revolution and bombing." An itinerary that goes from the centre of Barcelona to Shelter 307, which situates the context of the Second Republic, the coup d'état, confrontations, actions of the military and civil authorities, and citizen participation.

- "Passive and active defence of the city. Shelter 307 and the batteries of the Turó de la Rovira.". These are considered decisive heritage spaces to understand the active and passive defence plans in Barcelona during the Civil War and the response from the population, and how the Republican army dealt with the air bombardment that frightened the city.

- "The Barcelona of the War and Post-war period. Perspectives from the Turó de la Rovira.". At a height of 262 meters above sea level and with a wide panoramic view of the city, the Turó de la Rovira is a privileged vantage point. It was a strategic location for the defence of Barcelona during the Civil War, and afterwards for the construction of informal housing during the 1940s-60s.

- "The defence of the modern city", in which the Turó de la Rovira is seen as an advanced natural viewpoint of Collserola, chosen in 1937 to project one of the most important anti-aircraft defences in the city.

Can Jonch

- "Cities defending human rights". 13 Catalan municipalities participate in this activity in a coordinated way. The objective is that city councils and entities will altogether bring 8 human rights activists from all over the world to explain their cause in different municipalities of Catalonia. Those activists take part in activities with high school students of the city during two weeks.

- "The Forest of Peace". The Forest of Peace is a green space on the right bank of the river. It was planted in 2008, coinciding with the 70th anniversary of the bombing of Granollers. It is made of 224 trees, as many as the victims of the 1938 bombing. On each tree are placed thoughts about peace made by individuals, organizations, groups, etc. Coinciding with the anniversary of the bombing, every year there is a popular walk to the Forest of Peace.

Appendix 3. A selection of pictures taken during the fieldwork in both sites

MUHBA- Shelter 307



Before the entrance to the shelter, the guide explains the context of the Civil War and the building of the shelters.



The visit guided by the responsible guide inside the shelter.

Can Jonch



Forest of Peace in the garden of Can Jonch



Stolpersteine of Granollers

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (Turkey)

Saim Buğra Kurban, Yıldırım Şentürk, Ayça Oral

1. Executive Summary

In this report, the main topics are mapping the cultural heritage offer in Turkey and presenting current debates on heritage. For this reason, firstly we worked on how the Ministry of Culture and Tourism defines and presents cultural heritage in its official sources and promotional activities. In order to understand this issue and current topics, we have interviewed four experts with experience and studies on cultural heritage in different fields of expertise.

Another objective of this report is to conduct a comprehensive review of the official publications, reports and websites for mapping cultural heritage in Turkey. Among these official sources; those who specialize in cultural assets (cultural heritage by archiving inventory data, in the ministry sources of presence of cultural heritage and promotional portals/guides etc.), and official websites of the ministry also offers descriptions and presentations, UNESCO Turkey website, Protection Board's reports and there are official sources dedicated to our selected heritage sites.

Our purpose in reviewing the official sources representing cultural heritage was to explore the official definitions of the cultural heritage of the state and determine what was offered at the same time. Some of these official sources were aimed to promote the country internationally. In this context, we see both, as a useful source of information for mapping cultural heritage and what is being proposed, and for investigating the official discourse. In addition, official publications and reports of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism were presented to show existing discourses and institutional aims and practices.

The comprehensive information about two different cultural heritage sites, mainstream, and alternative, from Turkey were presented. Thus, exemplifications for existing discourses and official practices, and in addition to these, alternative practices and youth engagement with those spaces were discussed in relation to findings and preliminary fieldwork.

The main path for data gathering follows interviewing experts, and preliminary fieldwork notes, chosen ministerial materials, official websites and travel guides and news. The main findings in this study can be organised as three main points. One point is that the national cultural policy and

cultural heritage perspectives were affected by the political situation directly. The second one is the complex and entangled structure types of state institutions which are responsible for cultural policies, heritage offer and sites. The third point is that the heritage offer is connected with tourism and international relations when the state decides to promote it in an international arena as a cultural policy. On the other side, the state offer for locals is more focused on Turkishness and Islam with considering them as part of Ottoman heritage as a common ground. In addition to all these, the state offer is undesirable for youth. They desire more flexible and dynamic spaces. For that reason, the youth try to create more interactive ways rather than the official offer.

2. Method

2.1 Sites selection

During the single-party period (1923 – 1945), modernization and building the nation-state were significant objectives for the young Republic. This era was part of the modernization and nation-state building process after founding the Turkish Republic. In 1936, the famous French architect and urban planner Henri Prost was invited by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for redesigning modern İstanbul. Prost applied his plan between 1936 – 1951 in İstanbul. He planned two big parks, one of which is the Archaeological Park and the other one is Maçka Democracy Park. (Bilsel, 2011) Today, the first one is located in the selected mainstream site near Hagia Sophia and the second one is the selected alternative site in this study. The Archaeological park and general plan for the Historic Site of İstanbul was designed to present the heritage of the city. The Maçka Park was planned to create a modern recreational and cultural space with an open-air theatre and stadium for the citizens of the young republic.

According to that historical background, the first one is selected for the mainstream heritage site. Furthermore, the local administration's influence and the central government's policies can be traced in the Historic Areas of İstanbul. So, it is fruitful to understand the national policies and people's engagement with cultural heritage.

This important city center, which is called Historic Areas of Istanbul today, has a protected area that was included in the UNESCO's Heritage List in 1985.¹²¹ There are many historical buildings in this site. The center at issue is that Sultanahmet Square was called the Hippodrome of

¹²¹ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/356>

Constantinople and known as the largest ancient hippodrome.¹²² Hagia Sophia and Blue Mosque are situated at both sides of this square. (Topkapı Palace, Archaeological Park, Basilica Cistern, and Grand Bazaar are at a very short distance and there are also many historical mosques, tombs, and Turkish Baths in the area.) In that context, this place can be considered as tangible cultural heritage.

This site was selected considering the multi-layered history (Roman, Byzantium, Ottoman periods), popularity on both national and international levels, on-going debates on the status of the Hagia Sophia, importance for pious Muslims in the holy month of Ramadan, and presence of the nation-state agenda.

The selected site as an alternative one is a Public Park with cultural institutions such as an open festival area (KüçükÇiftlik), open-theatre and sport complex. The park was selected after some preliminary fieldwork in different places in İstanbul. According to the preliminary fieldwork, Maçka Democracy Park is a special place for youth.

First of all, young people use this common space as not only a park but also a space to reduce the pressure of conservative ideals of the government. People from diverse backgrounds use this park for walking, running, training and yoga. Furthermore, some young bands put on concerts here, some people gather for specific events such as dancing at the park. The Maçka Democracy Park can be considered as a space which provides opportunities for representations, expressions and practices, especially for the youth in Turkey. Moreover, it can be claimed that the park is some kind of liberated area for secular and highly educated young people, women, and LGBTQ+ community in Turkey.

On the other hand, it can be hard to understand the heritage meaning of a park at first glance. However, in the last decade, environmental common spaces, parks and urban politics have received special attention in Turkey. Moreover, some common spaces have crucial and diverse meanings and memories especially after the Gezi Park protests in 2013. In that context, the Maçka Democracy Park is a proper common space as a cultural heritage which is created and understood by the youth today.

To sum up, the mainstream one is selected with considering its tangible type as a historic town center. The alternative one is more related with practices and expressions of people, especially

¹²² <https://www.britannica.com/technology/hippodrome-architecture>

youth. On the other side, both sites are proper to compare with respect to their historical meaning in the modernization plan of İstanbul and nation-state building processes in Turkey.

2.2 Data gathering

Interviewing with experts, and preliminary fieldwork notes were the ways of data gathering in this study. Other sources for data gathering were chosen ministerial materials, official websites and travel guides and news. The semi-structured in-depth interviews with experts were conducted in places which were chosen by them during working hours. Before starting interviews, we provided information sheets and consent forms to be signed. One of the interviewees did not accept audio recording but the other three experts accepted. After completing interviews, 301 minutes of audio recording (more than 20000 words), and 4800 words for notes during interviews were captured. All of the data from the expert interviews was coded manually. Moreover, every expert pointed out some specific official sources and events to explain the current state of cultural heritage in Turkey. Those sources were also checked separately.

In addition to these, preliminary fieldwork has been carried out for both heritage sites, and field-notes were taken both during information-gathering and after fieldwork. For the mainstream one, one day and one night were spent to visit for observation. Furthermore, for the alternative one, three days were spent to understand and examine the suitability of the site. Since the official sources and archives are extremely limited or non-existent for the alternative cultural heritage site, this site was observed day and night. Brief interviews were also conducted with the five people who attended the Maçka Democracy Park at different times (morning, midday, afternoon and midnight). In this way, the convenience of this site for our future ethnographic fieldwork has been tested anew.

One of the other ways of data gathering was reviewing official sources of ministry and heritage sites. Our mainstream heritage site is Turkey's most well-known tourist site and it is the one place that is definitely visited by tourists. It is also the first place that has been inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List.¹²³ The official (travel guide-like) websites of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have been reviewed with regard to the cultural heritage sites that we will work on and so as to establish a map of Turkey's cultural heritage.

¹²³ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>

During this examination process, we also scanned online news between 2009-2019 by using keywords in Turkish such as “Hagia Sophia”, “Sultanahmet Square”, “Blue Mosque”, “Basilica Cistern”, and “İstanbul Archaeology Museums.” There were 42600, 8160, 1760, 818 and 1150 results respectively. After this process, the appropriate contents were compared with the other information and data that were gathered and thereby the current situation was attempted to be understood. A similar procedure was followed for the keywords “Maçka Park” and “Maçka Democracy Park” as well. There were 901 and 215 results respectively.

As written sources, the catalogues of the books that were published by the Ministry were reviewed.¹²⁴ While reviewing the official published materials, two significant reports from 2013 were chosen to understand the national cultural policy in Turkey. Those reports created by the Council of Europe at the 4th. Meeting of Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP) in 2013.¹²⁵

2.3. Expert interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with four different places and organisations’ representatives. Those interviewees come from different backgrounds and institutional identities. Expert(1)_WP6_TR is a project coordinator of a non-governmental organization which was founded to improve awareness of the cultural heritage in the country. This NGO focuses on improving cultural awareness. In addition to that, the foundation has had a special project for youth since 2002, to improve the engagement level of youth with the cultural heritage of the country. The expert was chosen with respect to their experience on a specific project about the cultural heritage and engagement of the youth. In addition to that, the project of the NGO focuses directly to the selected mainstream site for our study. Also, he is an anthropologist and conducts workshops with young people about intangible cultural heritage as part of the project of the NGO.

Expert(2)_WP6_TR was an academic from the field of history of art. He is an associate professor of history of art and has specific articles and academic works about the cultural heritage of the country especially focused on Ottoman heritage and cities and architecture. He was chosen because understanding the academic perspective about the cultural heritage of the country and İstanbul can be very useful in understanding engagement of the youth with those sites and formal presentation and understanding of those sites by the state. In addition to that, he is one of the board members of the Preservation Commission for the Cultural Assets of İstanbul which an official body of the

¹²⁴ <http://www.kygm.gov.tr/TR-251/kultur-sanat-edebiyat-yayinlari.html>

¹²⁵ Reports can be found here: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cdcpp-committee/4th-meeting>

Ministry of Culture and Tourism. This commission is responsible for the historically important places of İstanbul, including our mainstream site, the Historic Areas of İstanbul.

Expert(3)_WP6_TR is an architect (focused on preservation of cultural assets and heritage), academic and former member of the board of directors in the National Commission of UNESCO. She is a well-known and experienced specialist on the preservation of tangible cultural heritage and assets. In addition to that, her knowledge and experiences on both local applications and global perspectives and UNESCO's effect on understanding the cultural heritage in Turkey are very valuable for the aim of this study.

Expert(4)_WP6_TR is an archaeologist, academic and also the director of an archaeological research centre which was founded to study Roman, Byzantium and Greek heritage. In addition to that, he is also a knowledgeable expert on regulations and local governments and heritage sites. He worked with local governments and commissions for several years while undertaking archaeological research and excavations. Furthermore, the relationship between the archaeological sites and tourism is one of the notable topics of the interview. On the other side, we can get valuable information about official regulations and norms of museums and sites in Turkey.

All the participants are selected based on their knowledge and experience. In addition to that, their diverse backgrounds are also considered as important factors for this selection. All of the interviews were in Turkish. In addition to that, three interviews were recorded by professional digital voice recorders. Only Expert(3)_WP6_TR rejected voice recording by any device. Therefore, all answers and comments were taken as notes immediately.

The data that was acquired through the interviews conducted with experts, the tape recordings of the interviews, and the interview notes were manually coded and categories were formed accordingly. The views of the experts were compiled in accordance with other sources that were chosen for mainstream and alternative cultural sites. In addition to that, the expert opinions of these experts regarding the cultural heritage of this country were coded and compared with the other data that was gathered so as to test their coherence.

2.4 Analysis

The expert interviews were fruitful to understand the official perspective (and its historical background) about cultural heritage. Apart from that, the information about institutional structure was gathered as another source while analysing the views of the experts. The third starting point

was the cultural heritage of the country and youth engagement. For mapping the cultural heritage offer of the state for people, youth was a significant pivot at the analysis stage.

The preferred method for analysis in this study has been reviewing official content. To this end, the publications of the Ministry, the websites, and official travel guide sites have been used. The information that was acquired from these sources was compared with each other. In addition to these, the research regarding the news was used for cross-checking along with the content analysis. We tried to reveal a pattern by using the data that was gathered at the end.

3. Findings

3.1 Policy and institutionalised discourse on heritage

In the Turkish context, culture and cultural heritage are both directly related topics with politics (Eldem, 2015). Generally, the roots of Turkish culture are considered with the Ottoman Empire and its heritage. According to Eldem, the concept of cultural heritage was slowly coming to the fore as archaeology began to emerge for the first time during the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The 19th century is a period during which large transformations and political quests emerged. It was a period of reforms and changes in a wide range of fields in the Ottoman Empire (Zürcher, 1997). İstanbul was the most important city and the core of the Empire which extended its territory to a vast land. Since İstanbul was the capital city, it had been hosting people with various different cultures, ideas and expectations.¹²⁶

The ministry of Culture serves not only on culture but also on tourism and thus, it is named the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In other words, culture and cultural heritage are also considered in terms of economy and tourism. It is seen that tourism in Turkey has evolved in the 1980s and emerged as an important source of income. In 1980s, international tourist numbers had been increased rapidly (Duman and Kozak, 2010). 1980s and 2010s are the periods that several cultural sites from Turkey were included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The first cultural heritage of the list is the historical part of Istanbul.¹²⁷ Istanbul, being 2010 European Capital of Culture, has attracted attention both in the country's agenda and around the world. İstanbul's position as a

¹²⁶ Therefore, İstanbul is mostly considered as such definitions; "Uygarlıkların Beşiği (Cradle of Civilisations), Kültür Hazinesi (Treasury of Culture), Kültür Mirası (Cultural Inheritance), Kültürel Çeşitlilik (Cultural Diversity), Kültür Kenti (City of Culture), Dünya Kenti (World City) and multiculturalism. (Öncü, 2007) These definitions or notions were used and followed by different political structures as well. They were also used for Anatolian geography and kept them on the agenda.

¹²⁷ <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/356>

European Capital of Culture was a significant issue in Turkish politics because Turkey is not a member of the EU. The government had a chance to promote the common roots of cultural heritage and shared history with European culture via the events and organisations for the European Capital of Culture position of İstanbul (Bıçakçı, 2012).

During the 2010s, the plans and objectives of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism have focused on a comprehensive political plan on culture as well as the increase in income from tourism, and political planning, which perceives tourism as a crucial part of cultural heritage, has become dominant. 2023, a central date in the future planning of many governmental bodies, the 100th anniversary of the establishment of the republic has an important place in the strategic planning of culture. There are two factors to be mentioned at this point. Within the scope of the 3rd National Culture Council organised in 2017, the main targets of cultural planning are the preservation of national culture and its transfer to future generations (MoCT, 2017). The first factor to be mentioned is about this plan.

The national culture is perceived in a way that it needs to be protected against external attacks and it does not include pluralism. On the other hand, when the subject is tourism activities, the main emphasis is on the geography of Anatolia, which is an area bearing traces of many cultures and which has a multicultural heritage (MoCT2023 Tourism Strategy of Turkey Report, 2007). Therefore, it can be claimed that, cultural heritage is considered with the idea of nation in the local context and state policies. However, if the main audience is the international community, the offer and promoted institutions are more inclusivist.

The main points for conclusion can be summarised in five steps. The first one is about the historical background, the cultural heritage ideas and ideals in Anatolia. The idea of cultural heritage first emerged during the late 19th Century. Furthermore, national cultural policy and cultural heritage perspectives were affected by the political situation of the era. The second one is the complex and entangled structure types of state institutions which are responsible for cultural policies, heritage offers and sites. The situation is a multi-headed structure of applications on cultural heritage in different institutions, and sometimes those governmental bodies are trying to apply different rules without being aware of one another. According to one of the experts, some institutions have their own assets. This actually causes differences in practices in both preservation projects and regulations. For example, there were conflicts and overlapping while trying to record the cultural inventory of the country in recent years in Turkey. In some periods in these studies, different institutions have made a list of the same areas. They had no communication and collaboration with each other sometimes (Expert 4_WP6_TR). The same interviewer told us that the main

responsibilities of those different bodies and their areas of influence were not clear and sometimes the bureaucratic processes were prolonged for this reason.

The third point is that the heritage offer is connected with tourism and international relations when the state decides to promote it in an international arena as a cultural policy.

Cultural heritage areas are frequently mentioned together with tourism (Expert 1_WP6_TR and Expert 4_WP6_TR). This in fact suggests that these areas are perceived as sources of income preferred by foreign tourists. On the other hand, another expert we interviewed stated that the situation is not too bad in practice. In order to apply certain local protection, restoration and archeological excavation work, persuading local authorities and the community is essential. (Expert 4_WP6_TR) In such cases, local administrators and people in the region can be convinced by the tourism income that can possibly be obtained from these areas. At least it is seen as a useful method for the protection of those regions. After the practices such as unveiling, protection and restoration, the next step should be the establishment of institutional structures such as museums in these regions.

Finally, tourism is a way to establish relationships with the international community and institutions. For that reason, different kinds of contents and perspectives were preferred by the state. It can be claimed that the state offer for locals is more focused on Turkishness and Islam, considering the Ottoman heritage as a common ground.

For example, one interviewee said that; “in the restoration works, the current government spend much more budget on the legacy which is seen as Ottoman heritage and the restoration projects were designed accordingly” (Expert 2_WP6_TR). Another expert added: “There is also a different perception of Ottoman Heritage in minds. In fact, this is a false perception. Restorations that are incompatible with the Ottoman architecture are made. In fact, the inheritance is being tried to be re-established through the perception of today.” (Expert 3_WP6_TR). In addition, a situation indicated by another expert is worth remembering. “The first modern-like museum of the Empire is the İstanbul Archaeological Museums [which] was first established with a storage logic connected to the Imperial Palace. Afterwards, it was decided to move to another area since the place was not enough anymore. In that context, most of the cultural assets were transported to a historic mansion. When some movable assets do not pass through the gate of this very old mansion, they break the door of the mansion and they can carry the legacy of the Empire in this way.” (Expert 2_WP6_TR)

However, governments and state institutions are mainly focused on the commonalities with World's heritage, civilization and history while they aim to engage with the International communities. In that context, the fourth point is that the local offer is more related with exclusivist perspectives and the international offer is crucially different from the local offer.

The last point can be summarised that the youth prefer more dynamic and interactive spaces. Thus, more flexible spaces have the potential to provide a communal engagement and a place for self-expression in a public space, Maçka Democracy Park.

3.2 Country heritage sites and their offer

According to the official heritage map of UNESCO, 18 sites are located in Turkey from the UNESCO World Heritage List.¹²⁸ When organising promotional and advertising campaigns of Turkey, cultural heritage is associated with tourism as in the example in the Home Turkey website.¹²⁹ In another ministry source (a digital advertising portal in Turkish), cultural heritage is directly linked to the UNESCO World Heritage List.¹³⁰ (Also Expert 2_WP6_TR and Expert 3_WP6_TR underlined that situation.)

There is brief information about heritage sites and museums. 316 museums¹³¹ and 18 UNESCO World Heritage sites¹³² are presented with brief descriptions. The site of the Home Turkey project, prepared to introduce the country to foreigners, has a different content and design. On the introduction website Turkey is presented with 6 main contents: summers, cuisines, inspirations, civilizations, continents and turquoise¹³³. According to the “about” page, the main purpose of this project is promoting Turkey as “Home of Hospitality” and “Home of Civilizations”. In addition to this, Göbeklitepe and Historical Areas of Istanbul are presented on this website which aims to introduce Turkey to foreigners. It can also be said that the “Archeological Site of Troy” is given special interest on this website. 2018 was officially announced as “Troy Year” by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and 2019 was declared “Göbeklitepe Year”. However, the promotion of these fields is not introduced to the citizens of the country but rather to the international community

¹²⁸ <https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>

¹²⁹ <https://hometurkey.com/en/attractions/unesco-world-heritage-sites-in-turkey>

¹³⁰ <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/Dunya-Miras-Listesinde-Turkiye>

¹³¹ <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/turkiye/genel/muzeler>

¹³² <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/dunyamirasindaturkiye-1>

¹³³ <https://hometurkey.com/en>

(President Erdoğan even shared a short video about it, and the video was originally made in English, with Turkish subtitles¹³⁴).

Heritage is seen in two ways: political interest and possible audiences of the offer. One of them is that the heritage is offered as “ancient civilizations of Anatolia”, “transition to the settled life”, cradle and mosaic of cultures” and that it is seen as a source of income for tourism. For example, 2018 was officially proclaimed by the ministry as the Year of Troy in honor of the fact that the ancient city of Troy was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1998.¹³⁵ Even a conservative government accepts, owns and promotes a heritage site that has a very important place for a culture that rivals the culture it wants to exalt (Expert 2_WP6_TR and Expert 3_WP6_TR). It can be said that the reason behind this is to generate more income from tourism. In addition, if we look at the figures shared by UN World Tourism Organization for 2017, 63.39% of the tourists are from Europe.¹³⁶

Secondly, the official understanding of cultural heritage has also been directed at conservative political values of the concepts glorified in Turkey. The heritage of both Ottomanism and Islam has been in the foreground in recent years, especially in domestic discussions and publicity. The concepts of “recreate” (John, L, 2018) proposed in the 3rd National Culture Council and “the geography of hearts”¹³⁷ should be remembered here (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2017, p.4). “The geography of the hearts” is stated from the “Balkans to Caucasia, from Kazan to Sana in the report.

On the one hand, while the discourse and policies are being developed along with the cultural heritage of the country as a source of money and as an effective factor for tourism, on the other hand there is a sense of Ottomanist and Islamist heritage that is brought by conservative politics (Expert 3_WP6_TR). In this respect, some activities related to cultural heritage are used in advertising campaigns, especially during election periods. Islamic-Ottoman social complexes, madrasas and mosques, and their restorations, have been given great importance in the media in recent years especially during political elections.

Sultanahmet Square the mainstream cultural heritage site, which we have chosen for our fieldwork, is an important example. The historical area of Istanbul is the first heritage from Turkey to be

¹³⁴ https://twitter.com/RT_Erdogan/status/1104047402762285056

¹³⁵ <http://www.canakkale.gov.tr/canakkale-2018-troya-yiliyla-dunyaya-aciliyor>

¹³⁷ This term indicates the Ottoman Empire’s borders and spheres of influence. The word “heart” is preferred to soften the main purpose and to remind the official discourse for Ottoman’s justice and tolerance.

added to the UNESCO Cultural Heritage List. At the same time, it is a place which has been on the agenda of conservative politics in recent years. Both the Hagia Sophia issue and the significance of Blue Mosque and Sultanahmet Square during Ramadan are given importance. The radical Islamists in Turkey claim that Hagia Sophia should be used as a mosque whereas the official status of Hagia Sophia is a museum. It is possible to see thousands of people on the square at nighttime during Ramadan gathering around a preacher and also participating in many events.¹³⁸ In that context, it can be claimed that, this site is presented as heritage for the international community. On the other hand, this place is used by politicians and religious public figures during the holy month, to claim and highlight the importance for Islam and pious muslims.

Our alternative site is a Macka Democracy Park. The issue of the park is important in two senses for the recent Turkey. One of them is the Gezi Protests,¹³⁹ a park at the center of the reaction of the young and well-educated groups who were not satisfied with the political practices in recent years (Konda, 2014). This park was not only the venue of the protests, but also a space for demonstrators who had occupied the park, a living space, scene, memory space and alternative culture. After these protests, in 2018, the theme of the parks has come up again. The AKP government has put forward the scheme for parks it would call “National Gardens” as an electoral pledge.¹⁴⁰ (Expert 3_WP6_TR) In this period, Maçka Park, a large park adjacent to the densely populated neighborhoods, which is the closest park to Gezi Park, is noteworthy. The evidence that this park is not just a park but also a political place with its own alternative culture, and living space.

¹³⁸ Hagia Sophia and Blue Mosque are located in Sultanahmet Square. Ongoing political conflict about the formal status of Hagia Sophia (museum since 1935, mosque between 1453-1935, built as church at 4th. Century) can be a good start to understand the perspectives of the youth about cultural heritage. In addition to that, there are lots of Byzantium and Ottoman heritage sites in the square, the hearth of the historic part of İstanbul. In that context, current daily events in holy Ramadan month in this place is an interesting point for the research.

¹³⁹ Gezi Protests was started at the last days of May 2018 and continued and spread other cities. The protests were started by young and grown by middle classes, workers, environmentalists, women movements presence. (Göle, 2013) The days of protests in June was interesting not only its importance for democracy but also invented practices by protesters in public spaces such as establishing sharing economy, public library and art performances which were held in public spaces in daily life. After those protests, the new type of gatherings was started in Turkey at parks as public forums. One of the most significant forums is Maçka Park Forum since these days.

¹⁴⁰ <https://www.ibb.istanbul/en/News/Detail/1219>

3.3 Note on the selected heritage sites

The mainstream one is the old city of Istanbul, Sultanahmet Square in Fatih county. Hagia Sophia, Blue Mosque, Topkapı Palace, Basilica Cistern, and many more heritage sites are located in and around Sultanahmet Square. The square is one of the most famous squares both at national and international levels. The square is an attractive place not only for tourists but also for locals, so it becomes a special place for cross-cultural encounters. In addition to that, the square is also a crucial place for Islamists in Turkey. There is an ongoing debate about the status of Hagia Sophia which has been a museum formally since 1935, mosque between 1453-1935, built as a church at 4th century in Byzantium era.¹⁴¹

The mainstream cultural heritage site that we chose for this research is Historic Areas of Istanbul. This site is actually an old town. Having been the center of Istanbul for over 2000 years, this site has been the place for many historical, political, economic, religious, and social transformations and legacies. This site was a settlement area prior to the Roman Empire, and it became a huge centre during the Roman and Byzantine periods.

This area is densely populated. According to TurkStat data, Istanbul is by far the most densely populated city in Turkey.¹⁴² This area is funded by the national government. The organisational work that the museums and archaeological sites within this area require is carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and its personnel. However, local government is also responsible for issues such as the cleaning and order of this area. The local municipality of Fatih also carries out a project named *Ask me* in this region.

The other selected site is a public park on the European side of İstanbul. The Maçka Democracy Park is located among Şişli, Beşiktaş and Beyoğlu municipalities in İstanbul. It is encircled by some of the most advanced, sophisticated and relatively opponent neighbourhoods. Moreover, the park is almost next to the famous Gezi Park as well.

The thematic scope of the mainstream one is focused on archaeology and history. The target audience is not specific and limited (Expert 1_WP6_TR and Expert 2_WP6_TR). The large part

¹⁴¹ It can be traced in the news' search results. There were 42600 news pieces between 2009-2019. In addition to that, searching for some other words such as "mosque" in those results, there were 9030 news articles, and 20800 results for "Islam". However, there were few results for "cultural heritage" and "heritage"; 300 and 2890 respectively. It shows that "Hagia Sophia" is considered more its' official status instead of its' importance as a tangible cultural heritage.

¹⁴² <http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=30709>

of the target audience consists of foreign tourists. However, the number of local tourists is also considerable. According to the data that we collected from the interviews conducted with the experts, the history of this area is not very well known among young people and even the adults do not visit the museums and places in this area very much (Expert 1_WP6_TR). According to what the expert art historian said, this area underwent severe destruction especially through the migration wave during 1960s (Expert 2_WP6_TR). Even though the area is densely populated, people generally use this area so as to carry out their day-to-day business and to go to work; additionally, this area is known to be used specifically for evening meetings that involve religious talks, praying rituals, and fast-breaking meals during Ramadan by pious Muslims.

Maçka Park (also called Maçka Democracy Park after 1993), has a significant place in the history of the Turkish Republic. The current location of the park was known to be a green area during the Ottoman period as well. The history of this park dates back to the work of Henri Prost, a famous French architect and urban planner who had a great influence on Istanbul and who took on the duty of planning this area upon the invitation of the government between 1936-1951 (Bilsel, 2011). Among the three large parks that Prost designed for Istanbul, the first one is the Archaeological Park that is located within the square that we chose as our mainstream cultural heritage site. Another park that Prost proposed was the park that is currently known as Maçka Democracy Park (Bilsel, 2011). Even though it is a much smaller park today, we can understand from Prost's master plan that this park was considered to be of great significance for Istanbul's planning.

Local government is in charge of the park. It could be said that its scope mainly consists of music, art, and sports activities. People use the park for these types of activities and there are also important institutions around the park for these activities including Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall (owned by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality- -IMM, it is used for classical music concerts; Cemal Reşit Rey was a famous composer), Cemiz Topuzlu Open-air Theatre (owned by IMM) and Küçükçiftlik Park (located in the park, privately owned, multi-purpose event space; it is generally used for music concerts of international rock bands and pop groups, and also for youth and music festivals). Apart from these, there is also a Vodafone Park Sports Complex right next to Maçka Democracy Park. Even though this park is an open-air space, there are many enclosed institutions nearby.

This place can be mentioned as one of the rare places that hosts the alternatives to cultural policies supported by the government in 2010. At the same time, this place is interesting as a cultural

heritage site with its non-static structure. It is an area suitable for investigation for the tangible, intangible, natural and digital forms of cultural heritage.¹⁴³

This park was also used actively by the protestors both during and after the Gezi Park Protests. It also served as an important venue for the environmental demonstrations following the Gezi Protests. The public forums and the meetings of certain dissident politicians within this park are events that frequently take place there. In addition to these, as one of the experts has underlined, the issue of parks is currently a political issue in Turkey. The issue of “Public Gardens”¹⁴⁴ and their planning are notable in that respect (Expert 3_WP6_TR).

As already mentioned above, in some common spaces, there are public forums in Turkey following Gezi Protests. There are three different types of gatherings and practices which indicate its importance and meaning for people. One of them is public forums and representational gatherings. The second type is related with event gatherings. In Maçka Park there is an event space which is named KüçükÇiftlik Park. This is a popular and commonly used place for internationally famous music groups’ concerts and youth festivals. In addition to that, there are two other places; Cemil Topuzlu Open-Theatre and Vodafone Park Stadium of Beşiktaş Football Club. The Maçka Democracy Park turns out to be a meeting point for youth before and after the events and at the same time these events evolve the main functions of the park. The third one is gatherings for various daily open activities such as mostly free yoga workshops, running (this has special meaning in the park because some running events are organised as a political demonstration), drinking and relaxing, and making music.

3.4 Local Heritage offer

For the mainstream heritage site, we looked at the institutions in and around Sultanahmet Square. The most prominent ones are Hagia Sophia and Blue Mosque without any doubt. Apart from these two prominent institutions there are Topkapı Palace, İstanbul Archeological Museums Complex and the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. In order to give a brief scope of these institutions, The Cultural Portal¹⁴⁵ project (in Turkish), the target audience of which is local tourists and Home Turkey¹⁴⁶ project, the target audience of which is foreign tourists, are two sources needed to be reviewed.

¹⁴³ https://europa.eu/cultural-heritage/about_en

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.dailysabah.com/istanbul/2018/11/17/istanbul-becomes-greener-as-5-large-city-parks-open>

¹⁴⁵ <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/>

¹⁴⁶ <https://hometurkey.com/en>

The Cultural Portal, one of the official sites of the Ministry, has headlines on museums, language and literature, as well as cultural heritage. One of the two points of interest here is the presentation of a section with the title “Young Art” for young people and the other is the UNESCO title. Under the UNESCO title, there is a section called Historical Areas of Istanbul which presents limited content. There are announcements about posters and visual arts competitions organised by the Ministry which are open to participation by young people¹⁴⁷.

Furthermore, there is a special project of the Fatih Municipality for youth in that site. This project is named “Ask Me” and had been continued since 2009. The project is about presenting the cultural heritage to tourists. Moreover, there are a few employees who receive payments for the project and most of the guides are volunteers and high school or university students, aged between 14-28. The municipality accepts applications before the summer and then chooses some of the high school and university students for some language courses and some special courses about the heritage of the country and communication with other people. Those courses and the selection of volunteer guides are operated by the municipality. There are specialists who are employed by the Fatih Municipality, and the Department of the culture and social affairs oversees the project generally.

The *Ask me* project gives extra importance to a special museum which is called The Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. The museum was opened (as the last museum of the Ottoman Empire) in 1914, however it was moved to Sultanahmet Square in 1983. This is the reason it is known as being relatively new in Sultanahmet¹⁴⁸ Moreover, school visits are organised frequently for students in İstanbul. The main reason for organising these special school trips is to promote Turkishness and İslamic identity.

This mainstream site and the related project of the municipality are fruitful to understand cultural heritage and youth engagement. Some of the volunteers of the “Ask Me” project are probably students attending schools which we have also selected for a survey. In addition to that, this site is home to both Ottoman and Byzantium heritage. It can be seen under the title of UNESCO is prepared specifically for Historical Areas of Istanbul¹⁴⁹. In this area, Istanbul is described as “The Only City on Two Continents in the World” and is presented as “The Love of Continents” and “A Holy City”. It is also recalled that Istanbul was the capital for the East Roman Empire and Ottoman Empire. Hagia Sophia is given an important place and defined as one of the oldest monumental

¹⁴⁷ <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/gencsanat>

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.tiem.gov.tr/museum/>

¹⁴⁹ <https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/portal/istanbuluntarihialanlari-1>

sanctuaries of the world serving the common culture of humanity. In general, Ottoman, Roman and Byzantine heritage are chosen and represented.

At this point, it is worth mentioning briefly about Hagia Sophia's official website and current discussions regarding its status. According to the statement on the homepage of this official site: "It was used as a church for 916 years but, following the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmed, the Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque. Afterwards, it was used as a mosque for 482 years. Under the order of Atatürk and the decision of the Council of Ministers, Hagia Sophia was converted into a museum in 1935". In addition to this statement, the history of Hagia Sophia is represented as Ottoman and Byzantium heritage¹⁵⁰. The fact that the city was affected by the 4th Crusade in 1204 and was occupied is mentioned as a negative situation even though the city was not under Ottoman rule back in that date. It means implicitly that Hagia Sophia is embraced as a shared heritage because Crusades are a very common discourse in Turkish politics especially for conservatives and nationalists. Therefore, the Crusades were a common enemy with the Ottoman and Byzantium on this heritage.

The restorations and additions made by Mimar Sinan to Hagia Sophia were added to the text carefully and it is mentioned that the building minarets was built by Mimar Sinan in order to protect the general structure against earthquakes and abrasion. However, those minarets were built to convert the building to a mosque.

Discussions around Hagia Sophia's status is a consistent topic, especially in the politically tense period that has occurred in Turkey in recent years. The last of these discussions was before the 31st of March Local Elections. During a meeting, Erdogan, who requested that Hagia Sophia should be reopened as a mosque, warned the crowd against this demand: "It has a political dimension. Let's not be deceived. It's a ruse."¹⁵¹

¹⁵⁰ <https://ayasofyamuzesi.gov.tr/en/history>

¹⁵¹ In his statement he said: "You're not going to fill nearby Sultan Ahmet mosque and then say let's fill the Hagia Sophia now. We know how to take the step and we know the political language of it.". Access: <https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/we-know-what-to-do-erdogan-on-demands-to-open-hagia-sophia-for-prayers-25011> After this statement another one was made and it was said that Hagia Sophia will be converted into a mosque. Access: <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-turkey-election-museum/turkeys-erdogan-says-he-plans-to-change-hagia-sophias-title-from-museum-to-mosque-idUSKCN1RA1ZB> In addition to this, a description of Hagia Sophia's perception on an archaeological news site of the Director of the Museum is remarkable: "One day we thought that the acoustic must be good in a place full of marbles and made an experiment with a German group. You say "Allah" and it goes for 10.5 seconds". Erişim: [https://www.arkeolojikhaber.com/haber-hayrullah-cengiz-ayasofya-her-depremden-etkileniyor-13146/](https://www.arkeolojikh Haber.com/haber-hayrullah-cengiz-ayasofya-her-depremden-etkileniyor-13146/)

There is no official demonstration, guide or website on Maçka Democracy Park chosen as an alternative heritage site. The official website about this park only presents technical information¹⁵². A brief history of this area is found on a famous architecture website¹⁵³. This was a warning against the possible interference to the park by Istanbul's Metropolitan Municipality. It can be said that there are certain interventions (such as plans to reduce the available space of the park) to the park from time to time, but a harsh social opposition has hampered these interventions so far.

We have obtained the basic knowledge of this field by using the preliminary fieldwork and observing the use of this space at different times. Especially after the Gezi Park Protest, the park has become a political place. Before that, the park had a modernist planning, concept and purpose when it was first built with Henri Prost's plan (Bolca, 2017); with the concert hall, sports complex and open-air theater located around it, the area has become an important centre for young people in Turkey¹⁵⁴.

4. Discussion

In terms of heritage policies, it is seen that the process began in the 19th century in Turkey. The cultural heritage of the Ottoman Empire, which was home to both important tangible and intangible heritage and important antique and archaeological sites for many years. As a result of this, thanks to important personalities such as Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) who had been educated in the West, progress on heritage was made as a result of individual initiatives. The first institutions (such as the Istanbul Archeology Museums) were only established in the 19th century and their museum inventories were small. In addition, the subject of inheritance was always directly influenced by political processes and decisions of political actors (Expert 2_WP6_TR).

In this respect, both the law-based practices and the institutionalization gained momentum in the 1980s. In those years the free market economy became a basic norm in Turkey. It can also be said that tourism started to develop in Turkey in the same period. In both domestic and international terms, tourism rose in 80s with private enterprises (Expert 4_WP6_TR). During these years, with the effect of this tourism concept, antique areas, archaeological sites and tourism applications commenced.

¹⁵² <http://www.avrupaparkbahceler.com/parkklarimiz.php?ilce=%C5%9Ei%C5%9Fli&park=Ma%C3%A7ka%20Demokrasi%20Park%C4%B1&no=37>

¹⁵³ <http://www.arkitera.com/gorus/626/demokrasi-pari--istanbul-ve-biz-bunlara-mustahak-miyiz>

¹⁵⁴ <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts-culture/2017/08/16/the-democratic-naturalism-of-istanbuls-macka-park>

It can be said that the heritage areas with the capacity to generate income from tourism, are protected and promoted as long as they don't cause any political problems (Expert 4_WP6_TR). Although the situation has been better in the 2000s, it should be said that current policies and norms are insufficient to protect, develop and promote the cultural heritage. At this point, two major headings can be generalised. Firstly, policies should be made more comprehensive and practically responsive to protect tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The application that should be accompanied by this is to ensure that local administrators, public officials and citizens are informed about cultural heritage and given more access. Consciousness and participation should be increased in order to ensure that both managers and political actors and citizens do not regard their heritage areas as a tool for tourism revenues. Secondly, young people's access to information and access to cultural heritage should be increased in both formal educational institutions and informal settings (Expert 1_WP6_TR). As part of the formal education, both theoretical and practical applications should be promoted in schools on the cultural concept in general.

One issue two experts both stated was the fact that, in the last two years as a result of the institutional transformations in the country, it is not clear which institution is responsible for which area and to what extent. For example, although current political administration is currently more centralized in Turkey, there are certain different institutions on cultural assets and cultural heritage and there is an authority conflict among these institutions. (Expert 3_WP6_TR and Expert 4_WP6_TR) These institutions include the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Municipalities, Presidency of National Palaces Administration and Directorate General of Foundations. This authority conflict and protection policies and norms periodically affected by politics should be standardized. As long as this standardization is not provided, cultural assets are damaged in a short term and it causes irreversible situations. (Expert 3_WP6_TR) In addition, some cultural heritage assets are deliberately neglected because they are influenced by periodical political tendencies. For example, the assets of the last period of the Ottoman Empire belonging to non-Muslims are generally left to extinction. (Expert 4_WP6_TR) However, many projects are being carried out to protect the cultural assets of the Islamic-Ottoman culture. The reasons behind this can be seen in the concepts of nation and culture.

In the courses at schools, while the perception of "the nation" is mainly articulated with "Turkishness" thereby recalling the origin which goes back to Asia, "the national culture" is presented by combining Turkish culture with the Islamic one. It can be claimed that Islam is generally represented by emphasizing more on arts and culture in both official sources such as school textbooks or travel guides and institutions. For example, in Sultanahmet Square, there is a

relatively new museum - the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. Especially, when the international audience is targeted, Islam is promoted with arts and its culture generally such as *sufi* whirling *dervish*, Islamic calligraphy, and reed flute music.

In terms of locally available heritage, political trends are effective. For example, national martyrs and historical battlefields come to the forefront when schools plan trips for students. Even in a place like Istanbul, one of the common grounds of schools from different economic groups is the limitation of activities and education on heritage sites aimed for young people. For example, if a teacher or school administration plans to visit specific heritage sites, the administration has to get permission from the local branch of the Ministry of Education. The official permission process is easy for the related sites if the sites present the history of nation-state and Islam. Therefore, most students only have directed options to visit specific heritage sites. One of the experts interviewed, who is a project coordinator of an NGO aiming to increase awareness and participation in culture, provided an update on this topic. (Expert 1_WP6_TR) One common finding that has emerged from their work in different districts within Istanbul is that young people do not have sufficient information about the cultural heritage areas in Istanbul and that the number of visitors at museums is very low.

5. Conclusion

The cultural heritage offer is heavily influenced by the political climate in Turkey. It is formed by the prevailing discourses and policies in different periods of the state. For example, in the early Republican period, there was a climate that found its roots in the Hittites. (Atakuman, 2010, p. 116)¹⁵⁵ However, when we come to 2000s, an increasing Ottoman influence emerged. This is one of the points that was highlighted by all of the experts we interviewed.

The second category can be summarised in three different points. The first of them is the perception of cultural assets and heritage together with tourism and income. We can see this especially when we look at the official promotional sites of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The second point is that the presentation of cultural heritage and its content are changing according to the target audience. The quality and multiplicity of content is relatively low for the local audience compared to the global one. In addition, while the presented content is highly universal in the global

¹⁵⁵ This is a special topic in modern Turkish history. In the early period of the Republic, Hittites were considered the ancestors of Turks. (Erimtan, 2008) This idea is important, because this is the fundamental perspective to understand Anatolia with Turks even before the Byzantium.

presentation, the local presentation is somewhat more limited and has a restricted understanding with respect to national history and traditions.

In the third case; the main point is limited participation of young people on cultural heritage. This was one of the main ideas that the experts shared. In the school curricula, there were few points about Istanbul. The information and the participation of young people in their environment were lacking. It was stated by the expert who worked actively on this issue that the income level of the middle- and upper-income groups was not very different (Expert 1_WP6_TR).

6. References

Atakuman, Ç. (2010). Value of heritage in Turkey: History and politics of Turkey's world heritage nominations. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 23(1), 107-31.

Bıçakçı, A. B. (2012). Branding the city through culture: Istanbul, European Capital of Culture 2010. *Journal of Human Sciences*, 9(1), 993-1006.

Bilsel, C. (2011). "Les Transformations d'Istanbul": Henri Prost's planning of Istanbul (1936-1951). *A/ Z ITU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, 8(1), 100-116.

Bolca, P. (2017). *Henri Prost in Istanbul: urban transformation process of Taksim-Maçka valley (le parc n° 2) and its historic urban landscape (HUL)* (Doctoral dissertation, Politecnico di Torino).

Duman, T., & KOZAK, M. (2010). The Turkish tourism product: Differentiation and competitiveness. *Anatolia*, 21(1), 89-106.

Eldem, E. (2015). Cultural heritage in Turkey: An eminently political matter. In *Essays on heritage, tourism and society, Proceedings of the International Heritage Conference 2013 at Tangier, Morocco*, (pp. 67-92), Paderborn, Germany, Ferdinand Schöningh. https://www.academia.edu/35400934/Cultural_Heritage_in_Turkey_An_Eminently_Political_Matter

Erimtan, C. (2008). Hittites, Ottomans and Turks: Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey and the Kemalist Construction of Turkish Nationhood in Anatolia. *Anatolian Studies*, 58, 141-171.

Göle, N. (2013). Gezi--Anatomy of a Public Square Movement. *Insight Turkey*, 15(3).

John L. E. (2018), "ihya" Oxford Dictionary of Islam, Oxford Islamic Studies, accessed October 4, 2018, <http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e983>.

Konda. (2014). Gezi Report: Public Perception of the 'Gezi Protests'. Who Were the People at Gezi Park? http://konda.com.tr/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/KONDA_Gezi_Report.pdf

Öncü, A. (2007). The politics of Istanbul's Ottoman heritage in the era of globalism, (pp. 233-264). http://research.sabanciuniv.edu/9395/1/Ayse_Oncu.pdf

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2007). Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023 [Online] http://www.kultur.gov.tr/Eklenti/43537,turkeytourismstrategy2023pdf.pdf?0&_tag1=796689BB12A540BE0672E65E48D10C07D6DAE291

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2017). ‘3. Milli Kültür Şurası’ The Ministry of Culture and Education [online] <http://kultursurasi.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/50571,raporsurasonucpdf.pdf?0>

Zürcher, E. J. (1997). Turkey: A Modern History 3 rd ed. London, IB Tauris, 2006.

The Council of Europe Report (2013). The 4th. Meeting of Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP) [Online] <https://www.coe.int/en/web/cdcpp-committee/4th-meeting>

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2007). Tourism Strategy of Turkey – 2023 [Online] http://www.kultur.gov.tr/Eklenti/43537,turkeytourismstrategy2023pdf.pdf?0&_tag1=796689BB12A540BE0672E65E48D10C07D6DAE291

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism (2017). ‘3. Milli Kültür Şurası’ The Ministry of Culture and Education [online] <http://kultursurasi.kulturturizm.gov.tr/Eklenti/50571,raporsurasonucpdf.pdf?0>

7. Appendices

Appendix 1: List of the ‘heritage offer’ materials used at both sites (including weblinks)

<https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/tr>

<http://www.kultur.gov.tr/?dil=2>

<https://hometurkey.com/en>

<https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/>

<https://en.unesco.org/countries/turkey>

<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/356>

<https://hometurkey.com/en/attractions/unesco-world-heritage-sites-in-turkey>

<http://www.troya2018.com/en/>

<https://www.dailysabah.com/istanbul/2018/11/17/istanbul-becomes-greener-as-5-large-city-parks-open>

<https://www.kulturportali.gov.tr/>

<https://hometurkey.com/en>

<https://ayasofyamuzesi.gov.tr/en/history>

<http://www.arkitera.com/gorus/626/demokrasi-parki--istanbul-ve-biz-bunlara-mustahak-miyiz>

<https://www.dailysabah.com/arts-culture/2017/08/16/the-democratic-naturalism-of-istanbuls-macka-park>

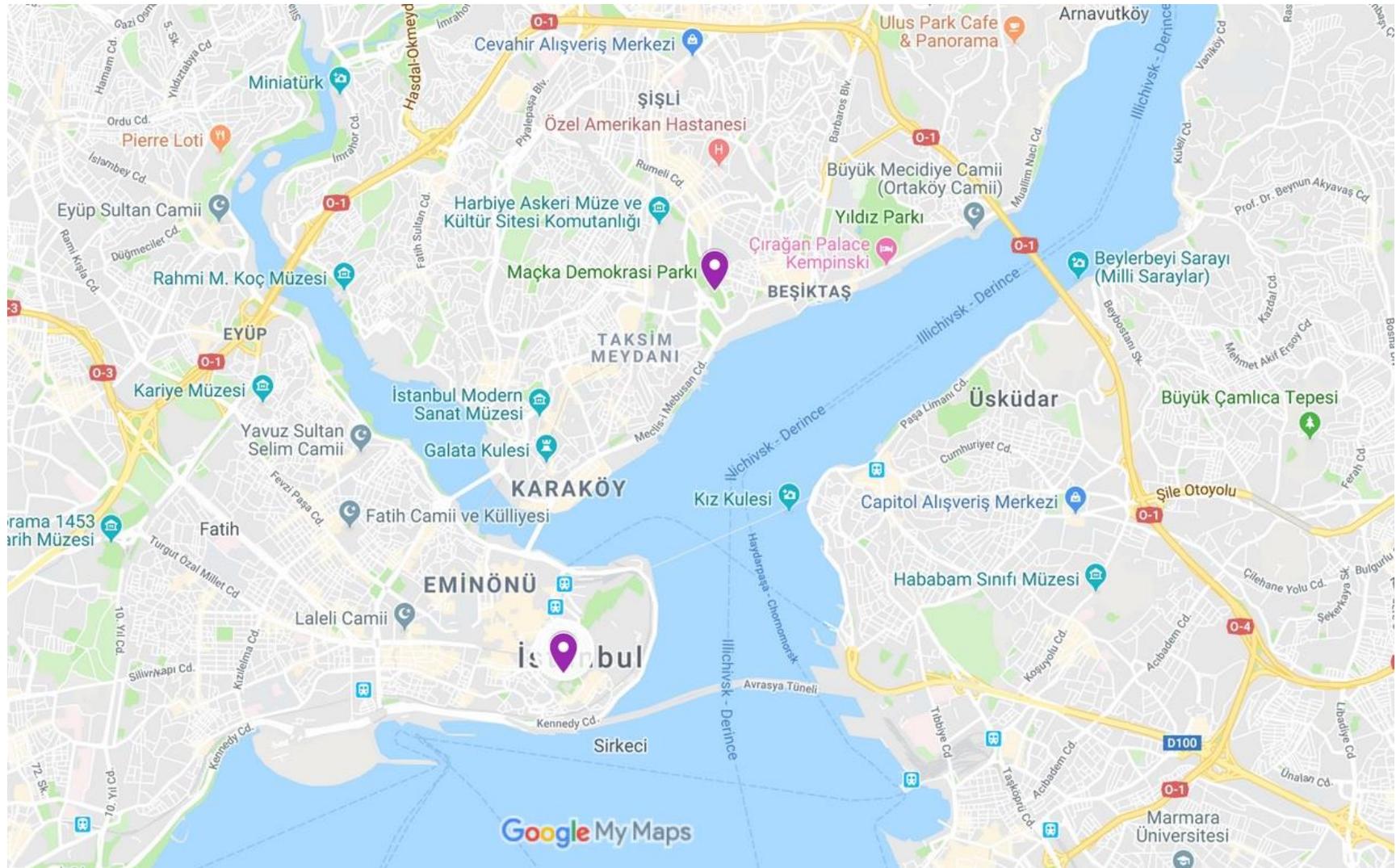


Figure 1. The purple pins show the mainstream and alternative sites. Accessible via <https://drive.google.com/open?id=1mYBdzIZ88RLIFGOnKLt-5RqR7iQu0BJH&usp=sharing>



Figure 2. Reconstruction of Byzantium Era by Antoine Helbert (Via: <http://www.antoine-helbert.com/fr/portfolio/annexe-work/byzance-architecture.html>)



Figure 3. Reconstruction of Hagia Sophia and the Hippodrome by Antoine Helbert (<http://www.antoine-helbert.com/fr/portfolio/annexe-work/byzance-architecture.html>)



Figure 4. Hagia Sophia via Home Turkey



Figure 5. Blue Mosque via Home Turkey



Figure 6. The special evening meal (*iftar*) in Ramadan 2018 at Sultanahmet Square (the Hippodrome) Via famous news channel Ntv <https://www.ntv.com.tr/video/turkiye/sultanahmette-30-bin-kisilik-iftar-sofrasi,sL5xE9nsb0KmKiKLO2GYYQ>



Figure 7. Maçka Democracy Park is very popular among youth in İstanbul. Via <https://www.istanbulburda.com/yasam/macka-demokrasi-parki-nda-neler-oluyor-h4890.html>



Figure 8. In Maçka Democracy Park, daily yoga sessions are popular. Most of these yoga groups use digital social networks to organize events. Via <http://www.zeroistanbul.com/haberler/macka-parkinda-yoga>



Figure 9. Maçka Democracy Park is also a special place for feminist movement in Turkey. This photo is from a special gathering event in 2017. Via <http://sendika63.org/2017/08/macka-parkinda-forum-ne-giyecegimize-biz-karar-veririz-438822/>



Figure 10. KüçükÇiftlik Park which is located in Maçka Democracy Park, a famous venue for concerts and various festivals such as music, food, arts. Via <https://www.gezmelerdeyim.com/kucukciftlik-park-nerede-nasil-gidilir/>



Figure 11. At night, there are lots of crowded music events. Via <https://tiyatrolar.com.tr/sahne/istanbul/kucukciftlik-park>

Mapping Report of Cultural Heritage (UK)

Anton Popov, Eleni Stamou

1. Executive Summary

This deliverable report presents the finding of the first phase of the CHIEF research at the heritage sites as non-formal educational settings. The purpose of this report is to map the heritage offer at the national, regional and institutional levels, in order to set a background for the second phase of our study that will investigate young people's engagement with and participation in cultural heritage. The heritage offer is mapped by exploring the existing discourses and institutional practices that constitute representation and use of cultural heritage in Britain in general and Coventry and Warwickshire in particular. The report draws on textual analyses of policy documents and materials published by heritage institutions and a regional tourist board. We also conducted five expert interviews with heritage practitioners and five months of participant observation in two heritage sites in Coventry: the city museum and a youth theatre company.

The overall goal of this enquiry is to demonstrate how cultural heritage is conceptualized nationally and locally as 'an ideologically loaded politicised discourse' (Franquesa, 2013, p, 348). This suggests a theoretical approach to cultural heritage as a process or practice rather than as an object. Heritage is a 'discursive practice' of collective memory and, therefore, essential for the construction of cultural identity (Rowlands, 2002, p. 108). As Franquesa (2013, p. 348) maintains, competing groups turned heritage into the 'political field' employing a narrow notion of heritage-as-object that abstracts its processual nature. The objectified and emplaced heritage, in turn, became part of hegemonic discourses which grounds national identity in common history and culture (Stolcke, 1995).

The analysis of the heritage offer at national as well as local/regional levels highlights the tension between the nation-centred and 'inclusive' heritage discourses in the UK. The inclusivity and diversity of national heritage is recognised and promoted at the national level (by the government as well as independent heritage charities). However, in practice the 'inclusive heritage' approach is still based on the objectified and emplaced vision of English/British culture. These 'hegemonic discourses' (Franquesa, 2013) set the 'monumental time' of English heritage that demarcates the exclusion lines for the national community.

The government polices emphasise the importance of the culture and heritage sector as non-formal educational hubs. However, this policy is undermined by changes in the national curriculum that downplay the importance of subjects concerning art and

culture and by a reduction of funding to the cultural sector. This complicates collaboration between schools and heritage institutions resulting in additional obstacles for young people's cultural participation.

The ambiguity of the 'inclusive heritage' discourse extends to the regional and institutional levels. In Coventry, the UK's 2021 City of Culture campaign puts forward an image of the city as a culturally vibrant and diverse place. In pursuit of the urban regeneration agenda, however, this perception of cultural diversity moves away from the city's industrial heritage and the legacies of deindustrialisation which is still a 'living memory' for deprived communities across Coventry. Nevertheless, local institutions employ a 'shared heritage' approach to critically engage with the nation-centred understanding of culture and history, emphasising migration as key feature of Coventry's identity as a 'city of sanctuary'. Within the context of Brexit, such a positive interpretation of migration sends a pro-European political message, which is at odds with the majority of the Coventry population having voted 'leave' at the EU-membership referendum in 2016.

2. Method

2.1 Selection

In the UK, the research is located in the city of Coventry that is part of the metropolitan area of the West Midlands which, together with the neighbouring county of Warwickshire, constitutes the location of the CHIEF research activities. Coventry is a large city with a population of 360,100 people.¹⁵⁶ The majority (66.6%) of the city's population is White British (including English, Scottish and Welsh). The ethnic and linguistic diversity of the city is higher than the West Midlands and national average. The second largest ethnic group is Asian/Asian British (16.3%), followed by White Other (7.2%). According to the 2011 census, Polish was the third most spoken language in Coventry after English and Panjabi.¹⁵⁷ The index of multiple deprivation (IMD) is relatively high, and Coventry was placed as the 38th most deprived city in the country in 2015 (Coventry City Council, 2015).

The two research sites have been selected to reflect a) mainstream national discourses and policies within which cultural heritage is constructed both institutionally and in terms of the heritage content; b) alternative forms of engaging with cultural

¹⁵⁶ https://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/195/facts_about_coventry/2435/population_and_demographics

¹⁵⁷

https://www.coventry.gov.uk/downloads/file/18906/census_2011_coventry_residents_by_main_language_spoken

representations of the processes and phenomena formative for understanding the political and social transformations in the past and present. The Herbert Art Gallery and Museum (thereafter The Herbert) represents a ‘mainstream’ approach to national heritage; whereas, the Youth Physical Theatre¹⁵⁸ (thereafter The Theatre) is considered an ‘alternative’ heritage site. The boundaries between ‘mainstream’ and ‘alternative’ approaches to heritage, however, are rather blurred (this will be discussed further in the findings’ section of the report), not least because an ‘alternative’ physical theatre proactively seeks engagement with the national policies that frame cultural education similar to the more mainstream museum. Both sites also share a thematic focus on the politics of community history and culture in their work with youth.

2.2 Data gathering

The mapping of the heritage offer in Coventry and Warwickshire as a focal location of the CHIEF project in the UK has been implemented by adopting a multi-method approach to the research. More specifically, the empirical data about the national and regional heritage offer have been gathered through review and textual analysis of UK government policy documents published by the government’s Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport; information about activities, past and current projects of two main intuitions in the heritage sector (Historic England/English Heritage and The National Trust); and materials promoting local/regional culture and heritage on the webpages of the Coventry and Warwickshire Tourist Board.

The heritage and cultural offer has been analysed by looking at the webpages of organisations and companies listed by the tourist board within the following categories: a) theatre and performance (20 pages); b) heritage and history (31 pages); c) museums and galleries (25 pages); and c) food and drink (58 pages). The offer of two selected heritage sites was mapped by reviewing the online and hard copy publications and other materials, including community engagement projects, educational and outreach programmes, and promotional materials. For example, The Herbert offers 8 learning programmes targeting primary and secondary schools; and 4 outreach and community engagement projects. In addition to these, the review covers information about the museums’ collection (6 webpages) and its institutional structure (2 pages). In the case

¹⁵⁸ The names of all experts and other research participants in this report has been changed to protect their identity. We try to apply anonymization to the sites and locations of our research wherever it is possible and practice, the name of such relatively small institution as our ‘alternative’ site has been changed; this is not possible, however, in the case of such city’s landmark as the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum. Nevertheless, the names of practitioners taking part in expert interviews in both sites are replaced with pseudonyms.

of The Theatre, the review has covered online presentation of previous productions (14 in total), blog posts and information about events and training course (over 10 pages).¹⁵⁹

In addition to the textual materials, the report draws on ethnographic data produced in the course of participant observation that was carried out between January to May 2019 both in The Herbert (visits of the museum galleries, attending a thematic workshop ‘Grandma’s stories’ organised by the museum’s media team) and The Theatre (attending weekly training sessions for young performers). Finally, we conducted interviews with five expert heritage practitioners.

2.3. Expert interviews

Two researchers conducted semi-structured interviews of between 30-60 minutes with five experts.¹⁶⁰ The participant selection criteria included experts being qualified to comment on the national and regional heritage offer, having experience of outreach and educational activities with local communities and young people in particular. Thus, in The Herbert, Expert 1 was a member of the museum’s management team, while Expert 2 was responsible for training and educational activities. In The Theatre, Expert 3 and Expert 4 were executive and artistic directors of The Theatre and Expert 5 worked as a performer and coach with the theatre’s youth group. All experts were asked about the institutional background of their heritage sites, their approach to presentation of national, regional and European cultural heritage, their educational programmes and engagement with the local community and young people in particular. They were also prompted to reflect on the difficult or problematic aspects of cultural and educational policies as well as identify politics they encounter in their work.

2.4 Analysis

The mapping of the heritage offer in England, and Coventry more specifically, has been implemented within a Grounded theory paradigm as being ‘inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents’ through systematic data collection and analysis of data relating to the subject (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.23). The aim of this methodology is ‘to produce theories out of data rather than from some *ad hoc* prior conceptualisation’ (Plummer, 2001, p.164). Through the research process we used Grounded theory’s analytical strategy of constant comparison of data emerging from different sources (e.g. heritage institutions’, tourist board’s and heritage sites’ published and online materials, policy and curriculum documents, expert interviews, fieldwork

¹⁵⁹ <https://www.theherbert.org>

¹⁶⁰ Interviews with The Herbert experts were conducted by Eleni Stamou; Experts from The Theatre site were interviewed by Anton Popov.

diaries) and by means of various methods (e.g. ethnography, qualitative interviewing, textual analysis). The data was analysed using a thematic coding technique (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, p.61) to produce empirically underpinned interpretations of how history and culture are constructed within the national cultural policy discourse and manifested as a heritage offer to local communities and young people.

3. Findings and discussion

3.1. The English heritage institutional framework

In the UK, cultural policies including those that regulate and manage the country's cultural heritage are overseen by the government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport (thereafter DCMS). The Department sponsors a charitable trust Historic England. Historic England was established as 'English Heritage', an executive non-departmental public body, on 1 April 1984 by the National Heritage Act (adopted in 1983). In 2015, Historic England sprang off English Heritage as a charitable organisation and the sole member of the newly established English Heritage Trust. English Heritage and Historic England are closely linked and interdependent: English Heritage manages over 400 public historic sites and monuments included in the National Heritage Collection (had its beginning in 1882) under a licence from Historic England (DCMS, 2019). While Historic England and English Heritage are institutions that are directly linked to government, The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty (hereafter The National Trust) is the largest independent charity and membership organisation for environments and heritage conservation in England, Wales and North Ireland.¹⁶¹ The National Trust was established in 1896 gaining its statutory powers with The National Trust Act in 1907. Currently it owns over 500 heritage properties.¹⁶² For the purpose of this report the national heritage offer will be discussed using the example of these two main national heritage institutions, although a number of heritage sites in the UK (and England in particular) are managed through private trusts or smaller charity organisations.

Arguably, the approach to representation of history and culture as part of the national identity taken by Historic England/English Heritage and The National Trust provides a good insight into the mainstream discourse within which national heritage is constructed in Britain. Therefore, our analysis will start with outlining that discourse by looking at the information presented on the websites of these organisations. By situating the discussion of this discourse alongside the UK cultural educational policies and national curriculum, the report will demonstrate the British government's

¹⁶¹ Scotland has its own independent The National Trust for Scotland.

¹⁶² www.nationaltrust.org.uk

perspective on the role of national heritage in the development of young people's cultural education. The analysis then will move to the institutional and local levels by exploring how this discursive construction of national heritage is reflected in representations of Coventry's history and culture.

3.2. National heritage: an imperial legacy, diversity and inclusion

The analysis of representation of cultural heritage in Historic England/English Heritage and The National Trust is driven by the noticeable tension between the dominant interpretation of British history in terms of territorialised and emplaced 'national culture' and declared principles of 'inclusive heritage' reflecting the country's diversity. Thus, DCMS emphasises the aim of Historic England to 'protect, champion and save the places that define who we are and where we have come from as a nation' (DCMS, 2019), while The National Trust promotes 'people's landscapes' as 'the places that have shaped the nation'.¹⁶³

This is underpinned by the notion of British, and more specifically English, culture as being rooted in the island's history, geography and landscape. Such an understanding of British culture is manifested in the forms of the heritage offer that prioritises the emplaced and enacted historical discourses about the national past. The key historical periods include the Celtic past, the Roman period, Anglo-Saxon and Medieval epochs, the Tudor (English Reformation) and the Victorian periods, the British involvement in two world wars in the twentieth century and the social, cultural and economic transformations of post-WWII Britain.¹⁶⁴ These periods form what Michael Herzfeld (1991, p.10) defines the 'monumental time' of English national heritage that is fossilised within the official (mainstream) interpretation of the past and opposed to the 'social time' of everyday experience and 'living memory' (Nora, 1989). Therefore, despite recent attempts to engage with a social history that gives a perspective of ordinary people (see below), the historical insights at the heritage sites are often provided through influential historical figures (i.e. monarchs, politicians,

¹⁶³ See the website of The National Trust, <https://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/features/peoples-landscapes-explore-the-places-that-have-shaped-the-nation>

¹⁶⁴ For example, the presentation of history of disability on the website of Historic England is structured chronologically in the following way 'Disability in the medieval period 1050-1485', the Tudor and Stuart period (Reformation and the Civil War, 1485-1660), the Enlightenment period (1660-1832); the Victorian period; the earlier 20th century and two world wars (1914-1945), post-war Britain (since 1945). There is also a link to the emplaced heritage such as 'Brooke House' – an aristocrat's mansion converted into a private madhouse in the mid-18th century (<https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/disability-history/>). Similarly the trust's website traces the history of the country's LGBTQ community covering examples of 'Trans and Gender-Crossing' as cases of transgender and homosexual activities in Roman Britain, during the Middle Ages, the Regency period and Napoleonic wars, and the Victorian era (<https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/lgbtq-heritage-project/>).

military leaders, writers and artists, or wealthy aristocrats and industrialists). Here there is a striking parallel with the UK cultural educational policy which highlights the significance of ‘national icons’ (e.g. Queen Victoria, Emily Davison, Florence Nightingale, Shakespeare among others) for young people’s learning about national history and culture (Tonkiss, 2018).

Simultaneously with this nation-centred discourse, the heritage institutions have recently started developing a more inclusive approach to the national past. For example, the National Trust has its aim ‘to preserve and protect historic places and spaces – for ever, for everyone’,¹⁶⁵ indicating inclusivity as its governing principle. Indeed, the National Trust’s properties are often presented through the stories of previously marginalised groups or individuals. For instance, there is a significant emphasis on stories of women (i.e. Suffragettes, women’s involvement in World War I); children (e.g. ‘Places where children played’, ‘Rights of the child exhibition’); Black history (e.g. emplaced legacy of the British slave trade); working class people (e.g. life of servants in countryside houses, conditions and life in workhouses). The social change is presented there through its impact on the landscape and national heritage. The National Trust website’s thematic page ‘People’s Landscapes: Explore the places that have shaped the nation’ is a good example of this. In 2019, this part of the charity’s website has been dedicated to the bicentenary of the Peterloo Massacre that took place in Manchester in 1819 and became a key moment for beginning the workers’ rights movement in Britain.

‘Inclusive heritage’ is a key theme of research projects funded by Historic England that aim to ‘explore how important aspects of our past, such as the transatlantic slave trade and its abolition, attitudes towards disability, and the changing role of women, are reflected in the buildings of our towns and cities’.¹⁶⁶ One of these projects, ‘Another England’, celebrates the diversity of English heritage and history in ethnic and more specifically ‘racial’ terms. The focus there is on ‘Black and Asian people’ and ‘people of colour’ as former subjects of the British Empire. In fact, the project is an attempt to reflect on legacies of the colonial past in current multicultural society as its direct result. Arguably, such an approach, albeit relatively new, is rooted in the ‘traditional British concept of subjecthood based on birth on British soil’ that until 1962 allowed immigration from the colonies to Britain (Stolcke, 1995, p.10).¹⁶⁷ Within the overall British-centred context of national heritage discourse, the noticeable absence in ‘Another England’ of other ethnic and migrant groups, such as other Europeans (including Eastern European), East Asians (more specifically Chinese), Latin Americans

¹⁶⁵ www.nationaltrust.org.uk/people-in-history/

¹⁶⁶ <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/>

¹⁶⁷ In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act introduced first immigration controls specifically targeting migrants from former British colonies (Stolcke, 1995, p.10).

and new African diasporas (especially those who have moved to the country since the 1980s) highlight the limitations of inclusivity of such an approach. The project has the starting point for its historical span in 1918 as the end of WWI that is one of the key moments of the British ‘monumental time’ which frames the national history narrative. This observation supports the findings of the CHIEF national curriculum review in the UK, which demonstrates that although the country’s colonial past is accounted for in the history curriculum, it is framed as a strictly past phenomenon without any connection to more recent migrations (Stamou et al, 2019).

The prioritizing of tangible national heritage as buildings, monuments and landscape also influences how the history of British involvement in the triangular trade and slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries are presented by both The National Trust and English Heritage/Historic England. For example, Historic England looks at different ‘Sites of Memory’ with links to either the lives of African slaves (and former slaves) in England during this period or the connection between ‘Slave Traders and Plantation Wealth’, with a particular emphasis on British country houses (e.g. the Kenwood House).¹⁶⁸ The theme of slavery and its legacy (including emergence of the British Caribbean diaspora) thus dominates ‘Black British history’ in the mainstream heritage discourse, but not always in the school curriculum (Stamou et al, 2019).¹⁶⁹ This heritage discourse and museumification practices literally give place to Black people in British history. However, one of the unintended consequences of such an ‘elevation’ of the ‘slavery heritage’ is the invisibility of other Africans whose histories are not directly linked to the emplaced and objectified legacies of triangular trade. As some observers have noted, an elevation of certain groups as recognised producers, owners or carriers of specific heritage items acts to disadvantage other such groups (Brumann, 2014, p. 175).

3.3. The Herbert and The Theater: mainstream vs. alternative heritage?

The presence of both nation-centred and inclusive notions of heritage in the national cultural heritage discourse makes problematic a straightforward demarcation of mainstream and alternative approaches to cultural heritage along the nation state – minority line. Our two research sites also challenge such differentiation.

The Herbert

The Herbert museum was founded as a ‘museum of the people of Coventry’ with a mission to serve the city’s population. As a member of the museum’s education team

¹⁶⁸ <https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/the-slave-trade-and-abolition/>

¹⁶⁹ Although Black History Month is celebrated in the UK every October, it is not compulsory for state-funded schools to reflect this in their curricula or syllabus.

expresses it, the Herbert is the place that ‘remembers, protects and defines Coventry’ (Expert 2, The Herbert).

Until 2008 the museum administratively was part of Coventry City Council, which determined to a great extent its character as a public institution. Since 2013, The Herbert, together with the Transport Museum and the Lunt Roman Fort in Baginton, has been managed by the Culture Coventry charitable trust founded by the City Council.

It has a rather traditional approach to cultural heritage that is interpreted in terms of art and history. Its art galleries display a collection of ‘old masters’ (from the 16th – 19th centuries) and modern (mainly 20th century) art. The museum practitioners use the term ‘magazine approach’ to define their principle of representing the city’s history:

Herbert Museum is a sort of magazine approach to history and culture. So, there are art galleries and there are history galleries, and galleries which mix the two. So, we have a local history gallery, obviously, all about the history of Coventry, which includes mostly social history objects but also some art (Expert 2, The Herbert).

The permanent historical expositions in The Herbert consist of three galleries: The Godiva Gallery represents how the legendary character of Lady Godiva has been developed through modern history. The Peace and Reconciliation Gallery is dedicated to memories of the Blitz in Coventry during WWII but also reflects on more recent conflicts and their humanitarian consequences across the world. The City’s History Gallery is an example of a ‘thematic approach to local social history’ (Popov, 2012). The exposition structured around three main historic periods constituting the local ‘monumental time’: starting with the Middle Ages when the city was founded and became a regional and religious centre, moving on to the Victorian period when the industrial revolution brought to the city the fame of an industrial centre, and concluding with the 20th century. The presentation of recent history includes WWII (the tragedy of the Coventry Blitz), rebuilding of the city and everyday life and popular culture artefacts from the 1950s -1990s. The late 20th century expositions has three themes: 1) multiculturalism and diversity (a big display representing different migrant communities living in the city but mostly focused on South Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities); 2) protest movements of the 1970s-80s (miners’ strike, anti-racist movement, etc.); and 3) changes in women’s lives (represented through experiences of women from different ethnic communities) (ibid, p. 12).

The Herbert positions itself as a museum of the people of Coventry, dedicated to the city’s social history and everyday life of ordinary people making it distinctive from other heritage institutions there:

I think people need to remember. I mean The Transport Museum is there specifically about The Transport industry whereas The Herbert is more general, more about remembering Coventry (Expert 2, The Herbert).

The social history of Coventry is shown there mainly through examples of the lives of working class people, ethnic minorities and migrant communities, whose cultural heritage is presented through ordinary everyday objects. This is best exemplified by the ‘Sacred Things’ exhibition by Liz Hingley that the museum hosted in 2017:

Liz was working the refugee centre around what it was to come to Coventry, and they talked about things that they always carry with them which would be a SIM card. They always have a SIM card with them. Which I thought was really interesting because I’ve never thought that, you know, when you’re migrating, because that’s all your contacts, that’s your world... And then the thing that connected them all when they arrived in Coventry, it was the key to their first home. Because then it becomes their refuge and their safe space, and everybody needs their own space. So, she created this lovely exhibition with cases of medieval keys because they’re the keys to Coventry and sim cards and portraits. We have their stories as well. And it was really, really nice... So, that kind of work, it’s not necessarily a history project, but it is creating a sense of heritage and its shared heritage because everybody knows what it feels like to get the key to their first home, to feel safe, to have that refuge. And everybody carries a SIM card. And it’s not necessarily something you associate with migration either (Expert 1, The Herbert).

The concept of ‘shared heritage’ in the above interview excerpt is different from Historic England’s ‘inclusive heritage’ in its emphasis of similarity between the city’s migrant and receiving communities rather than differences of groups included in the nation. Such a focus on the similar experiences embodied in everyday objects is an effective way of reducing the ‘cultural fundamentalism’ as an inherent present feature of objectified and emplaced cultural heritage (Stockle, 1995, p. 8).

Being generic in its coverage of the city’s culture and history, The Herbert is effectively a cultural education hub for Coventry’s schools and youth services hosting pupils’ visits and running an outreach programme targeting vulnerable and disadvantaged young people. As part of the Culture Coventry Trust, The Herbert has become an Arts Council England-funded National Portfolio Organisation one of the goals of which is to provide every young person and child with ‘the opportunity to experience the richness of the arts, museums and libraries’. The museum has an elaborated programme of workshops and school visits chattered for the primary school

children. The history educational programme introduces students to experiences of everyday life during key periods for the Coventry ‘monumental time’ (e.g. ‘The Life and Time of Anglo-Saxons and the Legend of Lady Godiva’, ‘The Life and Time of Victorians’, ‘Coventry at War’). The city’s history timeline is introduced through stories of the key local figures (Lady Godiva, George Eliot, The Specials) that are regional equivalents of ‘national icons’. The art programme of workshops invites students to learn about different art forms and techniques (e.g. sketching, pattern and prints, sculpture, performance art) by engaging with the museum’s artefacts and stories presented in its galleries. During visits, young people are not only introduced to masterpieces by famous artists on display in the museum, they also have an opportunity to practice sketching techniques, create their own sculptures using clay and produce patterns and prints. However, these educational outreach programmes have been negatively affected by recent changes in the national curriculum and the reduction in government funding of the cultural sector (for more details see section 3.4 in the discussion of findings). The experts note that potentially this might create a barrier for young people, particularly teenagers’, engagement in local heritage and culture (Expert 2, The Herbert).

The Herbert’s outreach programmes are targeting an older cohort of young people (i.e. secondary school students and young adults) via their projects, many of which cover issues of history or diversity of world heritage (e.g. ‘Crafts of the Panjab’, ‘Creative Bridges’). With the budget cuts these projects usually require securing external funding which has become more challenging in the current fiscal climate. As a result, the number of projects targeting ‘hard-to-reach’ young people (i.e. socio-economically deprived communities, ethnic minorities, migrants) has decreased dramatically.

The Theatre

The Theatre was established as a company limited by guarantee in 2000 and became an independent charity organisation in 2018. As the executive director of The Theatre explained, the charity status better reflects the social-focus and mission of the company:

I think being a charity feels like it fits the nature of the work better, because I think everything that we're doing is focused on making change in some way, whether it's social change, whether it's changing young people's ambition or their personal development or their wellbeing. And to be able to write our aims as charitable aims just feels better. We're not a money-making organisation, we never have been. We've always operated as not for profit (Expert 3, The Theatre).

Since 2003, The Theatre provides dance and performance training to children and young people aged 4 to 21; about 100 young performers attend three groups organised according to the age of participants.¹⁷⁰ The productions involving young people are performed every year in June in the city's central locations including the Belgrade Theatre. The organisation also provides placement opportunities for students of Coventry University and supports young performance artists to develop their careers in the performing arts sector.

The Theatre is not a heritage site in the conventional sense, although it is located in the building of Coventry's oldest car manufacturing firm that is a remnant of the city's glorious industrial heritage. Through its projects and productions, The Theatre explores topics of cultural heritage and social history working in collaboration with other cultural institutions in the city and broader region, including The Herbert, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, and Coventry Cathedral. The Theatre have also performed at local heritage sites including those managed by English Heritage (e.g. Kenilworth Castle).

Since 2015, The Theatre has been involved in the street theatre scene staging street performances on topics that are relevant to issues facing modern society, including topics such as air pollution and climate change, social media, mental health, migration and violent conflicts. At the same time, they try to avoid themes that are stereotypically seen as youth related, such as 'knife crime', for example (Expert 3 The Theatre).

Although The Theatre is not a heritage organisation in a strict sense, their projects often explore contemporary social issues by contextualising them within national historical and cultural narratives. For example, WWI heritage and its anniversary commemoration set a background for projects about the war trauma and consequences of nationalism. The production of the street performance inspired by the Shakespearean 'Romeo and Juliet' delves into topics of conflict and cultural differences. The Snow Queen fairy tale is a starting point for a performance that looks at difficulties in building relationships and connecting to one another in a modern city. The Theatre also regularly takes part in the Coventry's annual Godiva festival and performs its productions on the streets of the city as well as touring the country.

Being a relatively small independent charity, the organisation, has nevertheless played an active role in the Coventry's bid for the UK 2021 City of Culture. During the time of our ethnographic fieldwork (January – June 2019), The Theatre has been working on a project 'Seen but never heard' that will be performed as part of the City of Culture programme in June 2019 (see a more detailed discussion of this in section

¹⁷⁰ This report also draws on participant observations of weekly training sessions of the oldest group of young performers (age 13-19 at the time of research).

3.7). This project is designed as ‘an impactful social action’ enabling young people to engage with issues of human rights and migration, but also addressing Coventry’s heritage as a city of ‘peace and reconciliation’.

Thus, although well-connected and renowned within the city’s cultural heritage sector establishment, The Theatre’s practitioners see their work as an alternative to the ‘mainstream’ perception of art as a ‘highbrow’ culture insisting on its social relevance and accessibility.

Well it's, you know... There is an element of, I make art, and if I make art that doesn't make any sense... it's the emperor's new clothes. So I make art that nobody can make any sense of. And if you don't make sense of it then you're not an artist or you're not cultural. So everyone nods and thinks that's great. And I, I don't think there's any place for that really, especially in today's culture and society... I think, generally, culture has, in the UK, quite a bad reputation. And I think a lot of people think the culture isn't for them. And then that comes back to our work, that all of our work is accessible. And by not having that many words, by using our bodies, a universal language, we try to make our work as accessible as possible. I think, culture has to be accessible, it has to be relevant, it has to say something, because as artists, we have a talent and we have the ability to speak to masses of people. And if you're not saying anything important, why are you saying it at all? I think that historically, people have, have put culture as this 'it's not for me, it's not right' but actually, culture filters into everything. Whether it's the clothes that we wear, the books that we read, the TV programmes, all of those sorts of things. Culture is everywhere (Expert 4, The Theatre).

As it will be shown later in the report (see section 3.7), despite the claims of universality of body language employed by the ‘physical theatre’, this genre is deeply rooted in the Western (European) tradition of performance that perhaps limits its accessibility, or ability to participate in, for people with a different cultural background. Arguably, The Theatre’s approach to performing art best speaks to people who socialised to embody liberal values and cultural capital of a white middle class.

Alongside its physical performance sessions for children and young people, The Theatre offers residential workshops to schools in Coventry and Warwickshire bringing culture, art and performance to different aspects of the school curriculum. The effect that the 2014 curriculum reform and austerity policies have had on the culture sector in general and our two heritage sites in particular will be discussed in the next section of the report.

3.4. The role of heritage in cultural education

Our curriculum review shows that there is a strong national focus in British cultural education (Stamou et al, 2019). This is in agreement with the overall nation-centred approach to the UK cultural literacy education policies (see Tonkiss, 2018). Museums, galleries, monuments and heritage sites are defined in the UK cultural education policy documents among key hubs by visiting which young people ‘celebrate our nation’s rich heritage’ forging their cultural literacy outside the classroom (DCMS, 2018, p. 8). The national history curriculum, in fact, envisaged the engagement with local heritage sites as an important educational tool in student’s learning about national history (DfE, 2014, p. 5).

At the same time, the new national curriculum introduced in 2014 has a prominent focus on three subjects – English, Maths and Sciences - and relative neglect towards the rest of the subjects (Stamou et al, 2019) including those where cultural education policy envisages students’ engagement with national heritage and cultural institutions (e.g. History, Art, Drama). Some researchers define this tendency as the ‘perpetuation of the damaging Victorian legacy of a two-tier curriculum’ (Alexander, 2012, p. 369). The heritage practitioners found these changes contradictory:

You have policy, where on one hand, cultural policy says, “That cultural organisation should play a role in delivering cultural education to children and young people of all ages.” That’s our cultural policy. And then you have the education policy that says, “No, cultural isn’t important in the school curriculum” (Expert 1, The Herbert).

These changes in curriculum have occurred at a time of substantial reduction in public funding of cultural literacy education as part of austerity policies introduced by successive UK governments following the 2008 financial crisis and recession. Thus, DCMS’s budget was cut by 25% in 2010 and by a further 20% in 2015 (Tonkiss, 2018, p. 292). Since the funding of cultural education programmes within school settings is the main way of operationalising the government’s policy (ibid, p. 301), the cut in public funding and deprioritising culture-focused subjects in the new curriculum have had a double-edged sword effect on both the heritage sector’s offer and cultural literacy education demand in schools. Our experts among heritage practitioners are particularly vocal about the negative impact this has had on their collaboration with local schools which are usually seen as a main access route to young people:

For me, because we’re a learning institute and a lot of our work is done with schools around cultural heritage, the move to take away cultural learning and

not making it as a mandatory option for schools has deeply impacted the way that we can engage with schools and we saw a huge decline in the number of schools that will access our facilities. And we absolutely cannot get into secondary schools because they're so focused on Science, Maths, English and Technology. And they have to prove and demonstrate all their activity in that area... So, that policy has seriously damaged our ability to work with children and young people. Which is a shame because you can't then transform them into adults that you have as audiences. So, it's really difficult. It is going to get better, I feel. But that has absolutely put a hole in our ability to operate and we've started to look at how we stem our activities, to how we create more opportunities for school to say, "A visit to The Herbert is..." or a visit to a Transport Museum is about learning Science, Technology, English and Maths within a context of real life. But that really removes the story of Coventry and makes it sort of think that it wasn't meant to be... (Expert 1, The Herbert).

We cannot escape the changes that are happening in education. We can't escape how the curriculum has changed, how marginalised the arts has become within education. Um, it makes it more difficult for us to negotiate projects in schools where schools don't have the time in their curriculum to release young people to have those experiences anymore... That was when the government had a programme called Creative Partnerships in place.¹⁷¹ And that partnership, that funding ceased, and I think from that point on the curriculum starting to evolve to a point where the arts became very undermined (Expert 3, The Theatre).

Thus, the culture sector and heritage institutions are challenged by the current fiscal climate in the UK and are facing increased pressure to respond to the government's cultural literacy education policies in an attempt to secure the limited resources available from public funds that has an inevitable impact on the form and content of their engagement with audiences. At the local level, for example, the 'real story of Coventry' which was framed very much within the paradigm of social history and 'inclusive heritage' (as will be demonstrated later in the report) remained untold in the case of The Herbert. Both our heritage sites, a mainstream museum and an alternative theatre, experience difficulties in accessing schools and attracting a young audience as a direct result of changes in public funding of cultural education and in the role of art

¹⁷¹ The Creative Partnerships was a UK government's programme of creative learning funded and overseen by DCMS and the Art Council England from 2002 to 2011. The funding of the programme was cut after the election of the coalition government in 2010 (<https://www.creativitycultureeducation.org/programme/creative-partnerships/>).

and culture in the new curriculum. This effectively creates an obstacle in young people's access to cultural heritage in general. They are also less likely to learn an 'inclusive' version of the local heritage, even though this approach to the past is upheld by the institutions they attend on their subsidised school visits.¹⁷² Therefore, even though the government sets an aspiration for a more accessible and inclusive notion of national heritage, the changes in the curriculum and funding cuts reduce effectiveness of operationalisation of this policy if not undermine this progressive vision entirely.

3.5. A regional heritage offer: from the Coventry Boy to the Knife Angel

The ambiguous relationship between the nation-centred and inclusive notions of heritage extends to the regional and local heritage offer as exemplified by the Coventry tourist board and UK City of Culture Trust websites. The Coventry tourist board website's promotion of 'Heritage and History' brings forward listed historical buildings both in the city and in the nearby parts of Warwickshire.¹⁷³ The historical value of this emplaced heritage is highlighted by references to periods in British 'monumental time', for example, the Lunt Roman Fort (Roman Britain), the Cook Street Gate and Holly Trinity Church in Coventry and Warwick Castle (the Middle Ages), Kenilworth Castle (the Tudor and Stuart periods), Charlecote Mill and St. John Museum in Warwick (the Victorian era), Coventry Cathedral (WWII). The tourist board also promotes historic sites associated with the 'national icons', drawing on the fact that several famous English poets and writers were born or lived in Warwickshire.

The county is renowned nationally as William Shakespeare's home region since he was born in the town of Stratford-upon-Avon where several houses linked to him and his family are open to the public as museums (under the care of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust). The Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC) is located in the town in The Swan Theatre. The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust also features on Historic England's map of Another England where the West Midland region is represented with only four photos, three of which showing 'people of colour' either as an actors with the RSC, or as visitors to the Shakespeare sites.¹⁷⁴ The region's 'inclusive heritage' is acknowledged with reference to the most celebrated British 'national icon'.

¹⁷² Importantly, the majority of the English Heritage and National Trust sites do not have free admission for non-members making them less accessible to less economically affluent groups. This potentially further undermines these institutions' attempt to make presentation of the national past more inclusive, confirming Brumann's (2014, p. 175) observation that commercialised heritage 'excludes all those who cannot pay for it'.

¹⁷³ <http://www.visitcoventry.co.uk/historyandheritage>

¹⁷⁴ In the light of the above discussion of a relative high visibility of the Afro-Caribbean culture within the British national heritage discourse it is symptomatic that the fourth photograph representing West Midlands region on the Another England's map is an image of a sound system event on Birmingham in 1988 (<https://historicengland.org.uk/research/inclusive-heritage/another-england/>).

Other English literature figures mentioned by the tourist board include George Eliot (the Nuneaton Museum and Art Gallery) and Jane Austen (Stoneleigh Abby). The legendary figure of the Anglo-Saxon Baroness, Lady Godiva, has become a historic patron of Coventry with the annual Godiva festival every July being a performing art and music event in the city.

'Inclusive heritage' does not exist as a separate category on the Coventry and Warwickshire tourist board's website. Surprisingly ethnic and cultural diversity features prominently under the 'Food and drinks' section of Coventry's tourist board. This section has an 'international cousin' subsection that lists ethnic restaurants within three regional clusters: Americas, Asia and Europe.¹⁷⁵ This regional clustering, however, only partially represents the ethnic composition of the city and region's population. The European cluster is heavily dominated by international chains of Italian and French restaurants occasionally giving place to the Greek and even Catalan cousin. The Asian cluster includes a 'Pan-Asian' cousin (that is predominantly Indian traditional and modern restaurants), Far East cousin (Chinese, Japanese and Korean restaurants), Thai cousin, but also one Iranian establishment. The Americas subsection covers a range of traditions including American-Italian, Mexican, 'South American', Hawaiian, 'New York style food' and the Caribbean cousin. Although the tourist board in its promotion of 'international cousin' represents the current state of the market, arguably the noticeable absence of African and Eastern European restaurants (which do exist in the city) in this list, despite a significant proportion of the city's population coming from those regions, reflects the limits of such market-driven representation of 'cultural diversity'. For example, the restaurants serving Middle Eastern and North African food rather than forming a cluster of their own have been absorbed into European (the Moroccan restaurant), Asian (the Palestinian restaurant) and even American (Lebanese and Moroccan restaurants) subsections. Significantly, the 'Food and Drink' section is likely to make explicit references to history of the building (as emplaced heritage) and location in description of establishments serving mainstream (not ethnically marked) cousins.

The discourse of 'inclusive heritage' is more profoundly articulated within the city's and region's museums, several of which emphasise their approach to the past as an exploration of community or social history.¹⁷⁶ This is especially noticeable at the sites celebrating Coventry's industrial heritage as a cradle automotive (The Transport Museum), watchmaking (the Watch Museum) and textile (The Weaver House) industries. The Herbert's history gallery in particular is dedicated to 'people of

¹⁷⁵ <http://visitcoventry.co.uk/internationalcuisine>

¹⁷⁶ <http://www.visitcoventry.co.uk/museumsandgalleries>

Coventry at work and play' (Popov, 2012). The significance of the local social history, however, is recognised here as part of the national heritage narrative:

We've always looked at heritage as local heritage that has global impact. So, nothing happens in a bubble. So, for instance, our heritage in Coventry is around car manufacturing. Which is a national heritage because Britain was one of the biggest exporters of car transportation in the 50s before the industry kind of dried up. So, in terms of national heritage, we tell that national story (Expert 1, The Herbert).

The city's industrial history is closely linked to Coventry role during WWII as an arms and ammunition manufacturing centre that became a target for the German air raids in 1940-42 resulting in death of over 1,200 people (mostly civilians) and massive destruction of the cityscape (also known as the Coventry Blitz). Being rebuilt after WWII, Coventry received its title of the 'Phoenix City' and saw a 'golden age' of its car manufacturing in the 1960s (ibid). The optimism of the two post-war decades had been captured in the statue of the Coventry Boy erected in a square near the new Coventry Cathedral symbolising upward social mobility of the city's working class population.



The Coventry Boy statue by Philip Bentham, 1966. Photograph by Anton Popov, April 2019.

The statue's plaque reads, *'Coventry Boy, this boy has no name but represents all boys of all time who are proud to belong here reaching out as always from rough spun to close weave for family and for city'.*

During the 1970s-80s, Coventry was severely hit by de-industrialisation and restructuring of the local economy as well as the recession of 1979-1981. Between 1974 and 1982, fifteen largest firms in the city shed a total of around 55000 jobs resulting in a 46 per cent drop in employment among the local population, one of the highest rates

of redundancies nationally that led to a fall in population by 6.5 per cent (Thomas and Donnelly, 2000, p. 166). The city has never fully recovered from that economic and socio-demographic blow that triggered the process that Watt (2006) calls ‘urban decline’ leading to socio-economic deprivation, ‘urban ruination and decay’ (Mah, 2010).¹⁷⁷ Arguably, this difficult period in the city’s recent past is still a ‘living memory’ for an increasingly marginalised working-class population of Coventry contributing to the sense of the ‘depressing present’ among young people who see no future for themselves there (Popov, 2012, p. 10).

In Coventry, the 1970s-80s are also associated with The Specials, the famous Ska band originating from the city, which was central to the 2-Tone scene of that period. As a true 2-Tone band, The Specials were driven by both white and black music heritage and British working class culture. Therefore, cultural diversity, inclusion and the hybrid nature of the music subcultures, is a central theme of the Coventry 2-Tone Village that hosts the Music Museum (an independent charity organisation) and a Caribbean restaurant.¹⁷⁸ The Specials’ perhaps most famous 1980 song ‘Ghost town’ (which is sometimes seen as a song about Coventry) raises the issue of growing violence in the fragmented society of increasingly deindustrialised British cities. For many in the city, this song represents an intangible heritage that captures the troubled identity of the place, as pointed out in the interview with Expert 4 (The Theatre):

It's a very angry city. But it's a very honest city, and I think it's a brilliant place to live and work. I think people are honest in Coventry, far more honest than you'd get anywhere else... But because of that honesty, people aren't allowed to get above their station. They're not allowed to... there are very few superstars from Coventry. There are very few popstars from Coventry... Yeah, but even a lot of their [The Specials] music was about self-deprecation. It was about, you know, this is really bad, and I hate, this is us, this city it's a ghost town. All of those sorts of things. It was kind of holding back.

The recent sharp increase in gang related knife crime in Coventry (as well as in the West Midlands in general) is seen by some of our experts as being rooted in the city’s economic deprivation and endemic lack of funding for youth services:

¹⁷⁷ Arguably urban decline that began with the 1970s recession and subsequent de-industrialisation has become endemic in Coventry is manifest today in high levels of social deprivation. According to the 2015 English Indices of Deprivation, the proportion of the city’s population living in the most socially deprived ‘neighbourhoods’ (Lower Super Output Areas, or LSOAs) places Coventry 55th out of 362 Local Authority Districts where 1 is the most socially deprived. The city is ranked especially highly (i.e. most deprived) in income deprivation domain (Coventry City Council, 2015, p. 10).

¹⁷⁸ http://www.visitcoventry.co.uk/directory_record/209/2-tone_village_coventry

The reason why there's knife crime and gang violence is because there's nothing for the young people to be doing. Yes, you've got your social clubs and yes, you've got this and you've got that, but again it's all about the funding and sometimes it's about money. But I know there's a lot of youth groups which do it voluntarily but again it might be hard for some people to get into that (Expert 5, The Theatre).

Reflecting the population's concerns with the gang violence, Coventry hosted a touring sculpture of the 'Knife Angel' for two months in March-April 2019, that was created by the British Ironwork Centre. The location of the statue is particularly significant. It was erected in front of Coventry Cathedral which in itself is a memorial to the Coventry Blitz conveying the message of 'peace and reconciliation'. In contrast to a victorious Archangel Michael depicted on the wall of the cathedral, the Knife Angel sculpture radiates the deep sense of sadness and sorrow mourning lost lives. The angel's body and wings are made from knives confiscated by police on streets, as if they are absorbing those fatal stabs. As the Bishop of Coventry, Rt Rev Dr Christopher Cocksworth, notes the sculpture is 'a stark reminder of a form of violent crime infecting our city and threatening lives with great danger, especially our young people' (BBC, 2019). The sculpture is even more striking in contrast with the optimistic vision of the city's future embodied by The Coventry Boy statue, which it is facing across the street.



The Knife Angel sculpture by Alfie Bradley, 2017, on display in front of Coventry Cathedral. Photo by Anton Popov, April 2019.

3.6. The 2021 UK City of Culture: the city's reputation and culture-led regeneration

The 'difficult past' associated with the tragedy of the Coventry Blitz and socio-economic impact of de-industrialisation of the 1970s-80s leading to the city's decline into the 'depressing present' sets a background against which in December 2017 Coventry won its bid for the 2021 UK City of Culture. The Coventry City of Culture Trust, an independent charity established to deliver the City of Culture programme, while acknowledging the city's industrial heritage, as a cradle of British car manufacturing, and its post-WWII history, puts forward the image of Coventry as a culturally vibrant and diverse place:

*We are a young, diverse, modern city which is re-imagining the role culture can play in bringing people together... Coventry has been moving people by cycle, car and peace for centuries and now we will move people through Culture.*¹⁷⁹

This perception of cultural inclusivity, however, deliberately moves away from the 'difficult past' associated with deindustrialisation and socio-economic deprivation. The trust's website emphasising the economic benefits that the UK City of Culture title and programme will bring to the city, puts it very bluntly that 'it's about changing the reputation of a city':

*The young people that are in our schools right now will grow up in a city with more job prospects, a thriving programme of events to enjoy, more places to eat, shop and visit with a bustling city centre. It's a lot more than a year of cultural celebration (although trust us, that year will be unforgettable!), it's about changing the reputation of a city.*¹⁸⁰

The researchers have noted that bidding for the City of Culture title is often presented as an opportunity to 'connect communities' and to make the city more culturally inclusive. However, in reality it is not always feasible to engage with all communities during the bidding process that indeed leads to exclusion of some groups and communities (Wilson and O'Brien, 2012, p. 15). Thus, the bid in question celebrates diversity without acknowledging difficult socio-economic conditions that affect the life of many in these diverse communities, arguably, undermining the very promise of cultural inclusivity which won Coventry its title of UK City of Culture.

¹⁷⁹ <https://coventry2021.co.uk/>

¹⁸⁰ <https://coventry2021.co.uk/why-coventry/>

This promise of the otherwise rather vague and not yet elaborated programme sets, nevertheless, expectations among some heritage and culture sector practitioners that the City of Culture title will bring additional resources that will make it possible to re-invent the city's identity and raise its profile both nationally and internationally. Thus, our experts comment:

I think it's a fantastic showcase and platform for culture. For a city that really has struggled with its cultural identity. A city that's really struggled for a very long time, for about 30 or 40 years it's struggled. If not, since the Second World War, it's struggled (Expert 4, The Theatre).

City and Culture Trust are running the celebrations in 2021, and we don't know what their programme is yet. We're not entirely sure where we're going to fit in with that. Other than that, we'll be doing lots. We always do lots and it's just nice that there will be more opportunity to work... It probably is going to mean exciting partnerships with bigger organisations, possibly more globally as well which will be nice. But it all comes back to money (Expert 2, The Herbert).

Unlike the Herbert which as a relatively big institution with established links to local authorities and schools, The Theatre, a much smaller independent charity, experienced more pressure in the current fiscal climate of reduced budgets for the culture sector and cultural education. Therefore, our experts from the 'alternative' site express more enthusiasm about the UK City of Culture as an opportunity to get additional funding to enable their work with young people and ease access to schools:

Well, obviously I hope The Theatre have a massive say in City of Culture because hopefully with the City of Culture there will be opportunities for nights out to events and, again, that's something which The Theatre are well known for – for their outdoor touring work – so hopefully The Theatre can get involved in that. Obviously, again, there will be opportunities for the curriculum so to go into schools and to develop the arts and hopefully there will be funding for that and the City of Culture. And I think just the idea of celebrating the city which we live in. So, there might be events going on where they might need performance work and vice versa so, again, hopefully touch wood there will be opportunities like that. (Expert 5, The Theatre).

The Herbert experts' rather reserved comments about the City of Culture programme are partly explained by the fact that they have already considered representation of the city's culture and diversity as one of their key objectives. The current lack of content

and actual focus on culture makes the experts question the aims of the programme and leadership of The Coventry City of Culture Trust that they see as an external, if not a rival organisation, to the Culture Coventry Trust which positions itself as a main champion of cultural heritage in the city:

For us, at the moment, it's still a bit of an unknown because although our name is similar, we are a different organisation (Expert 2, The Herbert).

[What] I find really interesting is that when that came about and we became a UK City of Culture, you suddenly realise that that leadership level isn't there. So, things like, you have local enterprise partnerships (LEPs), and you have the combined authority board, growth board and you have place making boards that sit across the region of West Midlands. Culture isn't represented anywhere in those. So, people are making decisions about regeneration and culture isn't involved in that conversation. You're having people who are having conversations about the future of digital technology in people's lives and culture is not part of that (Expert 1, The Herbert).

The scepticism expressed by the heritage practitioners about benefits to the city's culture and heritage sector from the urban regeneration activities brought with the City of Culture programme is not unprecedented. The researchers studying the impact of the European Capital of Culture regeneration programme in Liverpool (in 2008) and Glasgow (in 1990) demonstrate how similarly loose policy templates advocating 'politically appealing rapprochements between antithetical concepts: art/culture; social justice/economic development and city centre boosterism/ community development' (Connolly, 2013, p. 164) resulted in delivering neither promised cultural inclusivity nor addressing structural inequalities underpinning cultural exclusion (see also Boland, 2010; Garcia, 2005; Mooney, 2004; Wilson and O'Brien, 2012). Furthermore, the experience of Liverpool hosting the Capital of Culture programme shows that the more positive image of the city is created by promoting sophisticated and more mainstream forms of art and culture. This representation is 'heavily disinfected towards some of the, admittedly less celebratory, cultural lifestyles experienced by a sizeable proportion of local people' (Boland, 2010, p. 638).

3.7. The City of Sanctuary: 'shared heritage' in the context of Brexit

The City of Culture Trust has launched the campaign 'Humans of Coventry' in December 2018. The campaign is dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. As part of this initiative 30 city's artists are invited to

create art works which should help initiate discussion of human rights in relation to issues facing Coventry's people (Rodger, 2019). The issue of cultural diversity is at the centre of this campaign. For example, the City of Culture Trust involved the Coventry-based collective of photographers, Photo Archive Miners,¹⁸¹ who 'produce a portfolio of photographic portraits of a diverse mix of people from across the city with short biographies and their outlook on everyday human rights' (ibid.).

This connection of human rights with history of migration to Coventry that has shaped its cultural diversity draws upon the 'city of sanctuary' discourse that is arguably at the core of how 'inclusivity' is interpreted and represented by the city's culture and heritage institutions. The City of Sanctuary is a charity organisation founded in 2005 that coordinates a network of groups in villages, towns and cities promoting 'the vision that our nations will be welcoming places of safety for all and proud to offer sanctuary to people fleeing violence and persecution'.¹⁸² Coventry's branch of The City of Sanctuary is supported by 78 local organisations including a number of heritage institutions with The Herbert Art Gallery and Museum among others. In Coventry, the city of sanctuary discourse is a natural extension of the city being an internationally recognised symbol of 'peace and reconciliation' underpinned by the tragic memories of the Blitz and WWII (Popov, 2012, p. 34).¹⁸³

Both themes of 'peace and reconciliation' and history of migration are central for the Herbert permanent expositions. This has become particularly important in the context of the so-called migration crisis of 2015 (especially in terms of accepting Syrian refugees in the UK) and the EU-membership referendum of 2016 (which raised the question of controlled migration from the EU).

I was really proud that our city, you know, welcomed more refugees from Syria than other cities.¹⁸⁴ It's that big tradition of being a welcoming place for different communities so... and there are different agencies and charities [that] are very active in that area. We work with them to offer different sessions. For example, one thing, there is a refugee charity that often brings groups of people over to our family sessions in the holidays, so we might say, oh, they are coming over and just reserve them a table, you know, something as simple as that, so they can come.

¹⁸¹ Photo Archive Miners often turn to the theme of history of migrations that shaped city's culturally diverse communities. They most recent such projects include 'The tale of two streets' (2019), 'Masterji' (2016), 'Imagine Hillfields' (2015) (<https://photomining.org/portfolio>).

¹⁸² <https://cityofsanctuary.org/about/>

¹⁸³ In January-February 2012, the Herbert organised the exhibition 'The City of Sanctuary' which was part of the annual Holocaust commemoration programme. On that occasion, the museum displayed works of artists from the communities which experienced war and violence (Popov, 2012, p. 34).

¹⁸⁴ From 2014 to 2020, the Coventry City Council has committed to resettle 125 refugees annually. By the March 2019, the city resettled 586 refugees from Syria and other Middle East and North Africa countries that makes it's the largest recipient of Syrian refugees in the UK outside London (https://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/41/community_and_living/548/newly_arrived_communities/2).

So, we try to link in with all of that... Coventry's always been a place of change and migration so people come here the place grows, and changes. The culture has become a big melting pot really. We are a city, so I guess we are a European city but I don't necessarily think about it that way (Expert 2, The Herbert).

So, through globalisation, we have a shared heritage in all those areas rightly or wrongly, if you want to talk about colonials and de-colonials and all of those kind of issues, but we're part of that narrative. So, as we go into the future and we're creating that heritage now, those conversations that will be taken into the future, we're part of those conversations and we always will. And it always comes back locally, so, when you talk about being European, that will mean something, locally, to people. Being a global citizen will mean something. Particularly, in Coventry. Because Coventry's an extremely diverse community. So, we're a city of refuge. So, whenever refugees come into the country, they are deposited in Coventry (Expert 1, The Herbert).

Referring to a 'shared heritage', the Herbert practitioners provide a critical commentary on the British-centred understanding of cultural heritage which limits inclusivity to groups lined to imperial and colonial legacies. Such an approach effectively excludes some minority groups and migrants who cannot claim (or have been denied) connections to historical England – they remain strangers, foreigners, refugees and immigrants (Stolcke, 1995). It is not accidental, therefore, that Europe and European identity are mentioned in connection to refugee and migrants issues in these interviews as part of a globalisation process. The Herbert experts try to address such implicit 'othering' of migrants within national heritage discourse by emphasising that Coventry is 'a city of refuge', juxtaposing the global and the local, where migrants correspond the sense of 'global citizenship' to the locality. 'The city of sanctuary' discourse, thus, enables a positive interpretation of migration which within the Brexit context also implies a pro-European political stance. This position is challenging in the city where the majority of the population (55.6%) voted 'leave' at the EU referendum.¹⁸⁵ The analysis of The Theatre's work with young people in their current project 'Seen but never heard' seems to support this observation.

The 'Seen but never heard' project is part of the Humans of Coventry initiative and has been developed in partnership with the Coventry Refugee and Migrant Centre (which is also a City of Sanctuary partner organisation). The show will be performed in the city centre during the Refugee Week in late June 2019. The project raises issues

¹⁸⁵ https://www.coventry.gov.uk/info/8/elections_and_voting/867/referendums/4

of human rights in conjunction with the conditions of refugees and asylum seekers in an attempt to combat anti-migrant attitudes in the wake of Brexit.

I think because when the whole Brexit thing started, it's made us feel, or made me feel, very powerless and very angry. And I think perhaps at some point the things that affect you personally start to be something you, you kind of, it influences your work, and at a time where I feel people are beginning to be persecuted again and we're seeing hate crime rise again in the city... I feel like I have a duty to do something... It's not even, I don't even think it's about Europe. I think so many people have used it as an excuse to bring back barbaric and just horribly prejudiced attitudes that I would have hoped did not exist in our societies anymore. And that's frustrated me and upset me the most, and hearing language coming through in the streets that we would hope would never be heard again. And it's just a very uncomfortable environment. And I think, I do think that working with young people and helping them to see the full story and the truth of something makes some change (Expert 3, The Theatre).

The earlier sessions in preparation for this project built a background cultural context for young performers by making explicit references to the migrant heritage (i.e. Irish, Welsh, Polish, Indian) of some members of the troop and the foreign origin of such English national symbols as the St. George flag¹⁸⁶ (Fieldwork diary, 17.01.2019). With the help of the Refugee and Migrant Centre, The Theatre has also attempted to reach out to the city's refugee population by subsidising training for young refugees. This attempt has only limited success: a single Syrian refugee girl attended only one session with the senior group. The Theatre's artistic approach being rooted in (Western) European performative tradition perhaps is rather different from bodily interactions within the Middle Eastern dance and performance culture. Building on 'the fusion of a French mime theatre, dance and drama', The Theatre requires from its performers very close physical and bodily contact (Expert 4, The Theatre). Through training, young performers gain skills that help to control their body and execute complex movements in coordination with their partners and the entire group. Even more significantly, they gain confidence in themselves by gradually building up trusting relationship with each other that are necessary for such physical interactions.

Thus, on the one hand, The Theatre has missed its target of reaching out to a refugee audience due to the restrictions of the Western performative heritage and artistic tradition it embraces. On the other hand, the project has been very successful in

¹⁸⁶ St. George's hagiography locates his birthplace in Cappadocia on the territory of the modern Turkey.

engaging with local middle-class young people, who constitute the main body of its performing troop, into more elaborated discussion of socially and politically significant topics of violence, human rights, migration and xenophobia.

We're using human rights as a way to start conversations... When we feel their skill is at a certain level or if we get new people joining, we'll look much more towards the issues. But we're using human rights, the Declaration of Human Rights as a way to start thinking about and talking about why immigration and refugees might exist, because actually, the whole reason that these people are having to migrate is because their human rights are being denied. And I think it feels like a safer conversation to have about what are our human rights, how do we experience human rights and actually, what does it look like when those rights taken away? Than tackling real life stories. It feels like that's a much safer conversation to have, that will explore the subject matter in the same way (Expert 3, The Theatre).

In their comments, young members of The Theatre, indeed praise the project for the opportunity to gain a better understanding of human rights and opportunity to express their opinion on political issues such as Brexit in a safe environment with their peer group (Fieldwork diary, 28.02.2019). Effectively in the course of work on the project, its meaning has become re-interpreted by both the practitioners and young performers as giving voice to powerless that is extended from refugees to include the local youth as a generation whose views on the future of Britain (not least during the EU referendum) have not been heard.

4. Conclusion

The report maps main discourses and institutional practices within which the meanings of cultural heritage are produced and operationalised at three levels: national (the UK), regional (Coventry and Warwickshire) and institutional (two heritage sites – The Herbert and The Theatre). Our findings demonstrate an implicit tension between nation-centred and 'inclusive' approaches in the heritage offer at the national level. While inclusivity and diversity of national heritage is recognised and promoted by government policies and the main national heritage institutions (such as the National Trust and English Heritage/Historic England), 'inclusive heritage' discourse still reproduce the objectified and emplaced vision of English/British culture. Thus Historic England frames 'inclusive heritage temporarily and spatially within the legacy of the British Empire, its colonial domination and implication in slavery. In such a way the Black and Asian minorities' heritage becomes territorialised and accepted as part of

British history and geography. However, such inclusivity still retains traces of the past ‘orientalism’ (Said, 1995) othering the former colonial subjects who feature in the national heritage narrative as ‘another England’ where they continue to be defined in racialized terms such as ‘people of colour’, ‘black people’, etc. Arguably such emphasis of cultural (if not racial) differences entrenches ‘cultural fundamentalism’ of neo-nationalism that defines migration and identity policies in many European countries including Britain (Stolcke, 1995). By being absorbed in a ‘hegemonic discourse’ (Franquesa, 2013) the ‘inclusive heritage’ has become part of the ‘monumental time’ of English heritage, detached from the ‘social time’ of present day minorities and migrants in Britain, demarcating the exclusion lines for the British national community.

This ambiguity of the ‘inclusive heritage’ discourse extends to the regional level. The analysis of the Coventry tourist board materials shows limitations of market-driven representation of the region’s ‘cultural diversity’ which is rather selective in the promotion of commercialised ‘cultural traditions’, as our analysis of the boards’ ‘international cousin’ section demonstrates. Coventry’s multicultural heritage is recognised and celebrated within the discourse of ‘peace and reconciliation’ that connects the city’s industrial heritage, its traumatic memories of WWII and the social history of migration that has shaped its socio-demographic profile. Thus, our findings highlight the tension between the UK 2021 City of Culture campaign’s urban regeneration agenda and the city’s industrial heritage and the legacies of deindustrialisation which is still a ‘living memory’ for deprived communities across Coventry. This potentially, as some researchers of the culture-led regeneration argue, may have resulted in neither delivering promised cultural inclusivity nor addressing structural inequalities underpinning cultural exclusion (Boland, 2010).

Moving to the institutional level, our findings demonstrate how practitioners in The Herbert and The Theatre employ the ‘peace and reconciliation’ and ‘city of sanctuary’ narratives to critically engage with nation-centred understanding of culture and history. The Herbert, for example, put forward the notion of ‘shared heritage’ that stress similarities rather than differences in experiences of the city’s diverse communities. Both institutions in their presentation of local heritage praise the role of migration in shaping Coventry’s cultural identity as a ‘global city’. Within the context of Brexit, with the majority of the Coventry population voting ‘leave’ at the EU referendum, the ‘the city of sanctuary’ and the ‘shared heritage’ provide an effective moral ground for pro-European and pro-migration social commentary and political position of The Theatre.

The above mentioned integration (however ambiguous it is) of inclusivity and diversity into the national cultural heritage discourse makes it problematic to define the ‘alternative’ approach to cultural heritage as more inclusive assuming that the ‘mainstream’ vision of culture and history is always nation-centred. Our research

demonstrates that in Coventry these boundaries are rather blurred. Both institutions, the city museum and youth theatre company are attentive to the local community and social history as a resource for a more inclusive interpretation of culture and heritage. At the same time, the presumably ‘alternative’ physical theatre similarly to the ‘mainstream’ Herbert museum proactively engages with the national cultural education agenda as a non-formal educational hub for young people and children.

Finally, our findings show that the government’s policies emphasising the importance of the culture and heritage sector for cultural literacy education is undermined by changes in the national curriculum that downplay the importance of subjects concerning art and culture. Furthermore, the current fiscal climate is characterised by austerity policies, one of the consequences of which has been the reduction of the DCMS budget for the cultural sector. All together, the contradictory cultural education policy and funding cuts make collaboration between schools and heritage institutions more difficult resulting in additional obstacles for young people’s cultural participation.

5. References

- Alexander, R. (2012) 'Neither National Nor a Curriculum', *Forum*, 54(3).
- BBC (2019) 'Knife Angel sculpture installed at Coventry Cathedral', *BBC News: Coventry and Warwickshire*, 14 March 2019, available online at <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-coventry-warwickshire-47569093>.
- Boland, P. (2010) "'Capital of Culture – you must be having a laugh!'" Challenging the official rhetoric of Liverpool as the 2008 European cultural capital', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 11 (7): 627-45.
- Brumann, C. (2014) 'Heritage agnosticism: a third path for the study of cultural heritage', *Social Anthropology*, 22 (2): 173-188.
- Coventry City Council (2015) *The English Indices of Deprivation 2015: Summary for Coventry*, October 2015.
- DCMS (2019) *Tailored Review of Historic England*, Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, available online at <https://www.gov.uk/government/consultations/tailored-review-of-historic-england>.
- DCMS (2018) *Culture Is Digital*, Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/culture-is-digital>.
- DfE (2014) *History GCSE subject content*, Department for Education, April 2014.
- Franquesa, J. (2013) 'On Keeping and Selling: The Political Economy of Heritage making in Contemporary Spain', *Current Anthropology*, 54 (3): 346-69.
- Herzfeld, M. (1991) *A Place in History: Social and Monumental Time in a Cretan Town*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Garcia, B. (2005) 'Deconstructing the City of Culture: The Long-term Cultural Legacies of Glasgow 1990', *Urban Studies*, 42 (5/6): 841-68.
- Mah, A. (2010) 'Memory, Uncertainty and Industrial Ruination: Walker Riverside, Newcastle upon Tyne', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 34 (2): 398-413.

Mooney, G. (2004) 'Cultural Politics as Urban Transformation? Critical Reflections on Glasgow European City of Culture 1990', *Local Economy*, 19 (4): 327-40.

Nora, P. (1989) 'Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de mémoire*', *Representations*, 26: 7-24.

Plummer, K. (2000) *Documents of Life 2. An Invitation to a Critical Humanism*, London: Sage.

Popov, A. (2013) *MYPLACE Deliverable 2.1: Country based reports on historical discourse production as manifested in sites of memory (United Kingdom)*, available online at <http://www.fp7-myplace.eu/documents/>.

Rodger, J. (2019) 'Humans of Cov campaign: What is it and how it hopes to change minds?', *The Coventry Telegraph*, 28 April 2019, available only at <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/coventry-news/coventry-news-humans-of-cov-16175264>.

Rowlands, M. (2002) 'Heritage and Cultural Property', in V. Buchli (ed.), *The Material Culture Reader*, Oxford: Berg, pp. 105-14.

Said, E. (1995) *Orientalism*, London: Penguin Books.

Stamou, E., Popov, A. and Soytemel, E. (2019) 'National curriculum review (UK)', in E. Marmer and T. Zurabishvili (eds), *National/Federal Curriculum Review: Deliverable Report, Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future*. European Commission, pp. 241-280, available online at <http://chiefproject.eu/deliverables/national-curriculum-review-reports/>

Stolcke, V. (1995) 'Talking Culture: New Boundaries, New Rhetorics of Exclusion in Europe', *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 1-24.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, London: Sage.

Thomas, D. and Donnelly, T. (2000) *The Coventry Motor Industry: Birth to Renaissance*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Tonkiss, K. (2018) 'National Cultural/Educational Policy Review (UK)', in G. Fooks, E. Stamou and K. McNie (eds), *National Cultural/Educational Policy Review: Deliverable Report*, Cultural Heritage and Identities of Europe's Future. European Commission, pp. 285-326, available online at <http://chiefproject.eu/delivrables/national-cultural-educational-policy-review/>

Watt, P. (2006) 'Respectability, Roughness and "Race": Neighbourhood Place Images and the Making of Working-Class Social Distinctions in London', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30: 776-97.

Wilson, K. and O'Brien, D. (2012) *It's not a winning... Reconsidering the Cultural City: A report of the Cultural City Research Network 2011-12*, Institute of Cultural Capital, June 2012.

6. Appendix

Online sources

Coventry Tourist Board: <http://www.visitcoventry.co.uk>

Historic England: <https://historicengland.org.uk>

English Heritage: <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk>

Coventry city Council: <https://www.coventry.gov.uk>

Coventry UK 2021 City of Culture Trust: <https://coventry2021.co.uk>

Culture Coventry Trust: <http://www.culturecoventry.com>

The Herbert Art Gallery and Museum: <https://www.theherbert.org>

The National Trust: www.nationaltrust.org.uk

The City of Sanctuary: <https://cityofsanctuary.org>