121STE JAARGANG - 2020 | 3 – SPECIAL ISSUE

volks-kunde

TIJDSCHRIFT OVER DE CULTUUR VAN HET DAGELIJKS LEVEN

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Transforming Not Saving

Intangible Cultural Heritage
Museums
and/or the World

ISSN 0042-8523

Uitgegeven met steun van de
Vlaamse overheid,
de Universitaire Stichting van België,
het Vera Himlerfonds en Musea
en Erfgoed Antwerpen vzw

Adressen

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Jaarabonnement

Voor België: € 24,00 – buiten België € 30,00
Voor nummers buiten abonnement: info@volkskunde.be

Het tijdschrift *Volkskunde* werd opgericht in 1888 door August Gittée en Pol De Mont. Alfons De Cock werd redacteur in 1894. Hij overleed in 1921. Van 1914 tot 1920 hield Volkskunde op te verschijnen. Daarna berustte de leiding bij Victor de Meyere, vanaf 1936 bijgestaan door Jan de Vries. Na het overlijden van De Meyere (1938) hebben J. de Vries, M. De Meyer, P.J. Meertens en K.C. Peeters het tijdschrift voortgezet samen met de professoren J. Gessler (Leuven) en P. de Keyser (Gent). De nieuwe reeks begon met de 43e jaargang (1940-41). De redactie bestond in 1966 (67e jaargang) uit C.C. van de Graft, H. Jamar, P. Lindemans, P.J. Meertens, M. De Meyer, K.C. Peeters, W. Roukens en H. Stalpaert; vanaf de 73e jaargang (1972) aangevuld door J. Theuwissen en J.J. Voskuil. Na het overlijden van K.C. Peeters (1975) werd, vanaf de 77e jaargang (1976), de redactie geleid door J. Theuwissen en S. Top en dit tot 2008. Tot en met 2011 was S. Top eindredacteur en redactiesecretaris. Vanaf 2012 is alleen nog sprake van de redactie, die samengesteld is zoals hierboven vermeld.

MARC JACOBS, JORIJN NEYRINCK
AND EVDOKIA TSAKIRIDIS

Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums

A Crossing of Several Projects and Trajectories

This special issue of the journal *Volkskunde* is a scholarly product of a collaboration between actors in the IMP project and the UNESCO chair on critical heritage studies and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

IMP refers to the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project*. This is an initiative of Werkplaats immaterieel erfgoed (Workshop intangible heritage) in Belgium, KIEN (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland) / the Dutch Centre for Intangible Heritage) in the Netherlands, SIMBDEA (Società Italiana per la Museografia e I beni Demoetnoantropologici) in Italy, the Verband der Museen der Schweiz (Switzerland) and the CFPCI (Maison des Cultures du Monde-Centre Français du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel) in France. They successfully applied for funding by the Creative Europe program of the European Union, and among others received co-financing from the Flemish government.

The project was also supported and followed closely by two major museum networks, ICOM (International Council of Museums) and NEMO (Network of European Museum Organisations). We do wish to emphasize and salute the fact that these organisations, together with UNESCO, were actively involved. In the contribution by Hanna Schreiber to this volume, documents, statements and publications of NEMO are examined dating from before the start of the IMP project: safeguarding intangible cultural heritage was not top of mind nor of the agenda. Consulting the NEMO website in 2020 and acknowledging the active participation of NEMO representatives, does raise hopes, intangible heritage and the IMP project is henceforth part of the network's frame of reference. As you will also discover in this volume, ICOM was actively discussing the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in the years before and after the adoption of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. We hope the IMP trajectory and this and other publications will be part of a rise of attention and interest in the museum world.

From the start of the project there was also the support of the ICH NGO FORUM, active among others in UNESCO. It is the international platform of NGOs accredited to the UNESCO 2003 Convention. Four out of five of the core partners are themselves UNESCO accredited NGOs.

The European project ran from 2017 to 2020. The team organized five international conferences and five expert meetings in the partner countries and a final conference in Brussels. The themes of the five sessions were (always in connection to safeguarding intangible heritage and museums): diversity (Rotterdam, 2017), participation (Palermo, 2018), urbanized society (Berne, 2018), innovation (Aubusson, 2019) and cultural policies (Mechelen, 2019). On top of these two-day sessions, there was a concluding international symposium *Museums and intangible heritage: towards a third space in the heritage sector* in Brussels on February 26th, 2020. The project sponsored five co-creations between museums and practitioners of intangible cultural heritage. It provided a podium for museums and intangible cultural heritage networks from Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy and Belgium. It mobilized academic scholars and other heritage experts.

All these efforts resulted in a dedicated website (www.ICHandmuseums.eu), a toolkit and a series of published texts, of which the book is the most substantial: *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a third space in the heritage sector. A companion to discover transformative heritage practices for the 21st century*.[1] This publication, edited by Tamara Nikolić Đerić, Jorijn Neyrinck, Eveline Seghers and Evdokia Tsakiridis and available for free, can also be considered as a companion to this special issue of *Volkskunde* titled *Transforming, Not Saving: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and/or the World*.

During the five two-day sessions and the international symposium in 2017, 2018, 2019 and 2020 many scholars (and others) presented papers, lectures and interventions. There are reports available on the IMP website and in some cases also video and sound recordings. But it should be clear that not all contributions were published. Connected to the project, there was also a Think Tank active, that contributed in several ways, with talks, conclusions and discussions.

During the IMP Think Thank meetings and between the members of the Steering Group, the idea emerged to also ensure an extra scholarly output, next to the toolkit and the other foreseen publications. In 2020 an extensive article about the project was published, both in English and in Korean, in the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*.[2] In it, the authors discuss the results and focus in particular on the 'third space' approach, not only to be interpreted as an intersection where museum practices and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage intertwine, but also with broader theoretical ramifications by Homi K. Bhabha and others. This theoretical framework is also part of the IMP companion. In this volume we will add several other concepts and perspectives that can be part of the theoretical toolkit. Several articles included

1 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020. This book, several practical tools and many other documents can be downloaded for free on www.ICHandmuseums.eu/en/imp-toolkit.

2 J. Neyrinck, E. Seghers and E. Tsakiridis, 'At the interface between living heritage and museum practice: dialogical encounters and the making of a "third space" in safeguarding heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 15, 2020, p. 61-85.

in this issue of *Volkskunde* were presented, in an earlier version, during the final international IMP symposium or during the different preceding sessions. Other articles were specifically written for this special issue, e.g. to complete the series of case-studies presented already in the IMP *Companion*. As emphasized before, this issue of *Volkskunde*, together with the article in the 2020 series of the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage Studies* and the publication *Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector*, has the aim to put the theme of museums and safeguarding intangible heritage on the agenda of museology, anthropology, folklore studies, critical heritage studies and other transdisciplines. It was launched at the occasion of the Fifth Biennial Conference of the Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) in London in August 2020, that was transformed into a virtual conference, due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

The other partner (and co-sponsor) in this publication project in *Volkskunde* is the UNESCO Chair on Critical Heritage Studies and the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, in the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. The work, projects and plans of this UNESCO chair were extensively presented and discussed in a previous issue of this journal.[3] The chairholder was a member of the IMP Think Tank, contributed to several expert meetings and conferences and also to the *Companion*.[4] One of the specific goals in the project of the UNESCO chair is to advocate for the use of the Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage (Faro 2005), the importance of article 15 of the UNESCO 2003 Convention and the involvement of communities, groups and individuals (CGIs), the potential of the ethical instruments of the 2003 UNESCO Convention and the impact of this convention in glocal and global heritage policy and the role safeguarding intangible cultural heritage plays in this.[5] There is a whole network of UNESCO

3 M. Jacobs e.a., 'Internationale netwerking, duurzame ontwikkeling en evoluerende kaders. Het programma van de UNESCO-leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 120:2, 2019, p. 179-191.

4 M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41; M. Jacobs, 'As well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith', in: Nikolić Đerić, *Museums*, p. 47-49.

5 See for those topics M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just "the Community"', in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary.* Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; M. Jacobs, 'La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et l'éthique', in: F. Lempereur (ed.), *Patrimoine culturel immatériel.* Liège, 2017, p. 247-259; M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87; M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 249-256; M. Jacobs, 'Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 100-118.

chairs emerging the last few years, that are connected to the culture sector or even to safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and the UNESCO 2003 Convention in particular.[6]

There are many possibilities for the further strengthening of the 'weak ties' in the UNESCO network, like for instance NGOs, museums, UNESCO chairs and other research clusters, CGIs and other stakeholders. One of the hopes for initiatives like this publication and, indeed, the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* and the vast network of collaborators and enthusiasts behind it, is that there will be stimulating opportunities for actually activating this and other 'third spaces' in the heritage sector, both in and outside Europe. In 2019 the Council of Europe gave several interesting recommendations in its Resolution 2269 *Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe*. They call for governments and other actors to, for instance, create chances and levers, e.g. for museums: "5.2.4. provide incentives and funding for multi-stakeholder co-operation projects and effective platforms for sharing expertise and experience; in this context, provide training and incentives for local ICH stakeholders and ICH mediators to enhance co-operation".[7] Why this is a good idea, how to do it and what could be the outcome can be discovered, among other insights and challenges in this special issue on *Transforming, Not Saving: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and/or the World*.[8]

6 *The UNESCO chairs & UNTWIN Network Programme,* https://en.unesco.org/system/files/unesco_chair_brochure_en.pdf (30/07/2020).

7 See Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, *Resolution 2269 (2019) Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe*. s.l., 2019. Available online via: https://pace.coe.int/pdf/2429d5ae5be465ca6cbfe27846103fc7545be5b43326667a8259ffe25682ae848428feba12/resolution%202269.pdf (26/07/2020); see also M. Jacobs, 'Words matter… The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 121:3, 2020,

8 Marc Jacobs, Jorijn Neyrinck and Evdokia Tsakiridis – guest editors of this special issue of *Volkskunde* – would like to express their thanks to Eveline Seghers who co-edited this volume.

Figure 1. IMP – a space for dialogue and networking (IMP BE, 2019). Photo: Sophie Nuytten
Foto 1. IMP – Ruimte voor dialoog en netwerken (IMP BE, 2019). Foto: Sophie Nuytten

Figure 2. Developing a toolkit on safeguarding intangible heritage and museums (IMP CH, 2018). Photo: Joel Schweizer
Foto 2. Ontwikkelen van een gereedschapskist over het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed en musea (IMP CH, 2018). Foto: Joel Schweizer

Figure 3. The Concluding Symposium of IMP gathered students, policy makers, practitioners of intangible heritage and museum experts (Brussels, 2020). Photo: Sophie Nuytten
Foto 3. Het slotsymposium van IMP brengt studenten, beleidsmakers, beoefenaars van immaterieel erfgoed en museum professionals bij mekaar (Brussel, 2020). Foto: Sophie Nuytten

Figure 4. Book cover: *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.*

Foto 4. Boekomslag: *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*

Figure 5. The IMP Steering Group and Think Tank present the Companion during the Concluding Symposium of IMP (Brussels, 2020). Photo: Sophie Nuytten

Foto 5. De Denktank en Stuurgroep van IMP presenteren de 'compagnon' tijdens het slotsymposium van IMP (Brussel, 2020). Foto: Sophie Nuytten

JORIJN NEYRINCK, EVDOKIA TSAKIRIDIS
EN MARC JACOBS

Het borgen van immaterieel cultureel efgoed en musea

Een kruispunt van verschillende projecten en trajecten

Deze speciale aflevering van *Volkskunde* is een wetenschappelijke uitloper en resultaat van de samenwerking tussen verschillende actoren van het IMP project en de *UNESCO Leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed* van de Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

IMP staat voor het *I*mmaterieel Cultureel Erfgoed en *M*usea *P*roject (*Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project*). Het project is een initiatief van Werkplaats immaterieel erfgoed in België, KIEN (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed Nederland) in Nederland, SIMBDEA (een netwerk voor museografie en voor de omgang met wat vandaag immaterieel erfgoed wordt genoemd maar hier omschreven wordt als 'demo-etno-antropologische goed(er)en'; Società Italiana per la Museografia e I Beni Demoetnoantropologici) in Italië, het Verbond van Musea (Verband der Museen der Schweiz) in Zwitserland, en het Centrum voor Immaterieel Cultureel Erfgoed in het Huis van Culturen in de wereld (Maison des Cultures du Monde-Centre Français du Patrimoine Culturel Immatériel) in Frankrijk. Samen dienden ze met succes een subsidieaanvraag in voor financiering bij het Creative Europe programma van de Europese Unie. Ze ontvingen ook cofinanciering van de Vlaamse overheid voor de realisatie ervan.

Het project werd ook ondersteund en nauwgezet opgevolgd door twee grote museumnetwerken, ICOM (International Council of Museums) en NEMO (Network of European Museum Organisations). We willen benadrukken én toejuichen dat deze organisaties, net als UNESCO, actief betrokken waren. In de bijdrage van Hanna Schreiber in dit themanummer, worden documenten, verklaringen en publicaties van NEMO onderzocht die dateren van voor de aanvang van IMP: toen leek het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed nog niet echt hoog op de mentale radar of de agenda te staan. Het consulteren van de website van NEMO in 2020 en de actieve participatie van vertegenwoordigers van NEMO in IMP doen verhopen dat het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed voortaan wel meer tot het referentiekader van het netwerk behoren. Zoals we zullen ontdekken in deze bundel, was ICOM actief betrokken bij de discussie over het immaterieel cultureel erfgoed-paradigma in de jaren voor en na het aannemen van de UNESCO Conventie voor het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed van 2003. We hopen dat het traject rond IMP, en ook deze en

andere publicaties de aandacht en belangstelling in de museumwereld terug zal aanzwengelen.

Van bij de aanvang van het project was er ook steun van het ICH NGO FORUM, dat onder andere actief is binnen UNESCO. Het is het internationaal netwerk en platform van niet-gouvernementele organisaties die geaccrediteerd zijn volgens de procedure beschreven in de Conventie van 2003 en de bijhorende Operationele Richtlijnen. Vier van de vijf net voorgestelde kernpartners zijn zelf door UNESCO geaccrediteerde NGO's.

Het Europese project liep van 2017 tot 2020. Het team organiseerde vijf internationale conferenties en vijf expertbijeenkomsten in de verschillende landen die meededen en dan ook nog een slotconferentie in Brussel. De thema's van de vijf bijeenkomsten, steeds in verband met musea en het borgen van immaterieel erfgoed uiteraard, waren: diversiteit (Rotterdam, 2017), participatie (Palermo, 2018), verstedelijkte samenleving (Bern, 2018), innovatie (Aubusson, 2019) en cultuurbeleid (Mechelen, 2019). Bovenop deze reeks tweedaagse sessies, was er op 26 februari 2020 te Brussel ook nog een afsluitend internationaal symposium *Museums and intangible heritage: towards a third space in the heritage sector*. IMP sponsorde verder vijf co-creatieprojecten van musea en 'beoefenaars' ('practitioners') van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed. Het bood een podium voor museale en immaterieel erfgoednetwerken in België, Frankrijk, Nederland, Zwitserland en Italië. IMP mobiliseerde verder zowel onderzoekers verbonden aan universiteiten als vele andere erfgoedexperten.

Al deze inspanningen resulteerden in een speciale webstek (www.ICHandmuseums.eu), een 'gereedschapskist' met voor de praktijk bruikbare tips en instrumenten en een serie van gepubliceerde teksten, waarbij vooral een stevig onderbouwde bundel moet vermeld worden: *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*.[1] Deze publicatie verscheen onder de redactionele begeleiding van Tamara Nikolić Đerić, Jorijn Neyrinck, Eveline Seghers en Evdokia Tsakiridis. Ze is gratis beschikbaar. Dat boek kan ook beschouwd worden als een 'compagnon' voor en met dit speciale nummer van *Volkskunde*, dat de volgende slagzin meekreeg: *Transformeren, niet redden/bewaren: immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, musea en/of de wereld*.

Gedurende de vijf tweedaagse sessies en het internationale slotsymposium in 2017, 2018, 2019 en 2020, presenteerden vele onderzoekers (en anderen) papers, lezingen en andere interventies. Er zijn rapporten beschikbaar op de IMP webstek, in sommige gevallen in de vorm van video- of geluidsopnames. Maar het mag duidelijk zijn dat nog lang niet alle bijdragen gepubliceerd werden. Verbonden aan het project, was er ook een Denktank actief, die op verschillende manieren bijdragen levert, met gesprekken en lezingen, voorlopige conclusies en discussies.

1 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020. Dit boek, alsook de Nederlandstalige samenvatting ervan, kan samen met handige instrumenten en vele andere documenten gratis opgehaald worden via www.ICHandmuseums.eu/en/imp-toolkit.

In de bijeenkomsten van de leden van de Denktank en de Stuurgroep van IMP, rijpte het idee om nog een extra neerslag te voorzien, extra onderzoeksoutput, bovenop de toolkit en de andere voorziene publicaties. In 2020 werd een uitgebreid artikel over het project gepubliceerd in het *International Journal of Intangible Heritage*, wat een output in het Engels en het Koreaans oplevert.[2] Daarin bespreken de auteurs de resultaten van het project, met bijzondere nadruk op de 'third space'-benadering. Dit moet niet alleen begrepen worden als een tussenzone of overlappende deelverzameling, een snijpunt, een 'intersectie', waar museumpraktijken en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in elkaar vervlechten, maar ook als een constructie met theoretische uitlopers geïnspireerd door Homi K. Bhabha en anderen. Dit theoretische referentiekader is ook sterk aanwezig in de IMP 'compagnon'-publicatie. In dit speciale nummer zullen we nog verschillende andere concepten en perspectieven aanreiken die deel kunnen uitmaken van de theoretische gereedschapskist.

Verschillende artikels van deze *Volkskunde*-aflevering werden in een eerdere versie gepresenteerd, tijdens het afsluitende IMP symposium of gedurende de voorgaande sessies. Andere artikels waren specifiek geschreven voor dit speciale nummer, onder andere om de reeks casestudies aan te vullen die al in de IMP compagnon zijn gepubliceerd. Zoals we al eerder benadrukten, is het de bedoeling met dit nummer van *Volkskunde*, het artikel in het *International Journal of Intangible Heritage Studies* en de publicatie *Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector*, het thema van 'musea en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed' op de agenda te zetten van museologie, antropologie, volkskunde, kritische erfgoedstudies en andere transdisciplines. Het nummer werd gelanceerd naar aanleiding van de vijfde tweejaarlijkse globale conferentie van de Association of Critical Heritage Studies (ACHS) in Londen in augustus 2020, die uiteindelijk, omwille van de COVID-19 pandemie online heeft plaatsgevonden.

De andere partner (en co-sponsor) in dit publicatieproject in *Volkskunde* is de UNESCO Leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in de Faculteit Letteren en Wijsbegeerte van de Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Het werk, de projecten en de plannen van de UNESCO leerstoel werden in een vroeger nummer van dit tijdschrift al uitvoerig gepresenteerd en besproken.[3] De houder van de leerstoel was lid van de Denktank van IMP en leverde een bijdrage in diverse expertsessies,

2 J. Neyrinck, E. Seghers en E. Tsakiridis, 'At the interface between living heritage and museum practice: dialogical encounters and the making of a "third space" in safeguarding heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 15, 2020, p. 61-85.

3 M. Jacobs e.a., 'Internationale netwerking, duurzame ontwikkeling en evoluerende kaders. Het programma van de UNESCO-leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 120:2, 2019, p. 179-191.

conferenties en de IMP 'compagnon'-publicatie.[4] Een van de specifieke doelen in het project van de UNESCO leerstoel is te pleiten voor het gebruiken van de kader-conventie van Faro (Council of Europe's Framework Convention on the value of cultural heritage, Faro 2005), voor het belang van artikel 15 van de Conventie van 2003 en het betrekken van gemeenschappen, groepen en individuen (afgekort CGIs, van het Engelse "communities, groups and individuals"), voor het potentieel van de ethische instrumenten van de Conventie van 2003 en voor het onder ogen zien van de impact van de 2003 Conventie in glokaal en globaal erfgoedbeleid en de rol die het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed daarin speelt.[5] Er is de voorbije jaren ook een netwerk van UNESCO-leerstoelen ontstaan, die verbonden zijn met de cultuursector en met het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed in het algemeen en de UNESCO 2003 Conventie in het bijzonder.[6]

Er zijn vele mogelijkheden voor het versterken van de 'zwakke verbanden' (in het Engels verwijst de sterkte van *weak ties* naar een beroemd essay van Mark Grannovetter die duidelijk maakte hoe belangrijk die verbanden en zijpaden eigenlijk zijn) in het UNESCO-netwerk, zoals bijvoorbeeld de niet-gouvernementele organisaties, musea, UNESCO-leerstoelen en onderzoeksclusters, CGIs en andere stakeholders. Een van de verwachtingen van publicaties zoals deze die u aan het lezen bent, of, jazeker het *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* en het bestaan van een uitgebreid netwerk van medewerkers en andere enthousiastelingen die daar achter zitten, is dat er stimulerende kansen en opportuniteiten ontstaan voor het effectief activeren van dergelijke contactzones – *third spaces* – in de erfgoedsector, zowel binnen als buiten Europa. In 2019 gaf de Raad van Europa al een reeks interessante aanbevelingen in de Resolutie 2269 *Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe*. Daarin werden overheden en andere actoren opgeroepen om kansen en hefbomen te creëren; bijvoorbeeld voor musea: "5.2.4. aanmoediging en financiering voorzien voor projecten van samenwerking tussen meerdere stakeholders en voor effectieve platformen voor het delen van expertise en

4 M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, Museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41; M. Jacobs, 'As well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith', in: Nikolić Đerić, *Museums*, p. 47-49.

5 Zie in dit verband M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just "the Community"', in: J. Blake en L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; M. Jacobs, 'La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et l'éthique', in: F. Lempereur (ed.), *Patrimoine culturel immatériel*. Luik, 2017, p. 247-259; M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87; M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck en A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 249-256; M. Jacobs, 'Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 100-118.

6 *The UNESCO chairs & UNITWIN Network Programme*, https://en.unesco.org/system/files/unesco_chair_brochure_en.pdf (30/07/2020).

ervaring; in deze context, bijvoorbeeld voor het mogelijk maken van training en impulsen voor lokale immaterieel cultureel erfgoed-stakeholders en bemiddelaars om samenwerking te versterken."[7] Waarom dat een goed idee is, hoe dat zou kunnen gedaan worden en wat daarvan de resultaten zouden kunnen zijn, kan men, samen met andere inzichten en uitdagingen, ontdekken in dit speciale nummer rond *Transformeren, niet redden/bewaren: immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, musea en/of de wereld*.[8]

7 Zie Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, *Resolution 2269 (2019) Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe*. s.l., 2019. Online beschikbaar via: https://pace.coe.int/pdf/2429d5ae5be465ca6cbfe27846103fc7545be5b43326667a8259ffe25682ae848428feba12/resolution%202269.pdf (26/07/2020); M. Jacobs, 'Words matter… The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 121:3, 2020.

8 Marc Jacobs, Jorijn Neyrinck and Evdokia Tsakiridis – gastredacteurs van deze special issue van *Volkskunde* – danken graag Eveline Seghers voor haar redactioneel werk.

EVDOKIA TSAKIRIDIS, MARC JACOBS
AND JORIJN NEYRINCK

Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums

A Special Issue

Can museums be actors in processes of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH)? Can museums play several roles, ranging from identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement, transmission, particularly through formal and non-formal education, as well as the revitalization, of such intangible heritage? (How) Can museums in these processes be stimulating active partners for communities, groups and individuals (CGIs)? And the other way round? Can museum interventions be part of supporting processes of transmission from generation to generation – constantly recreating the ICH in response to the environment, in interaction with nature and their history, hence transforming and not freezing, saving or fixing – and still allow CGIs to cultivate a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity?

Could museum professionals be(come) white angels, thanks to and even in intangible cultural heritage?

And is it possible for buildings that are designated and protected as world heritage to be shrunk, year after year, and be transformed into moveable parts of intangible cultural heritage? Can the result – a mix of monuments, landscapes of imagination, moveable and intangible heritage – subsequently become part of (the collection of) a museum? Could this collection be digitized, e.g. via 3D scanning and printing, and again be musealized? Is it do-able for the making process of the ICH itself to be visualized with several devices and turned into alternative ways for transmitting embodied skills, in or outside a museum?

Would the Intergovernmental Committee of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, in a meeting on an island in the Indian Ocean, positively sanction and applaud all such 'transgressive' actions by putting 'it' on the Representative List of the Intangible Heritage of Humanity?

The answer is yes.

Figure 1. Anna Szałapak performing on the Main Market Square in Kraków (photo: Józef Korzeniowski, Museum of Kraków)

Figure 2. Museum expert and cultural broker Anna Szałapak presenting a version of her PhD, published by the Museum of Kraków, about the intangible cultural heritage, *szopka krakowska* (photo: Andrzej Janikowski)

Figure 3. *Szopka krakowska* made by the Dumański family in 2017 (photo: Andrzej Janikowski, Museum of Kraków)
Do you spot the inclusion of a new singing angle (with microphone) on this composition of miniaturized buildings (some included on the world heritage list) in Kraków? It is a tribute to Anna Szałapak, who passed away that year, before she could celebrate the inscription of the *szopka krakowska* on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

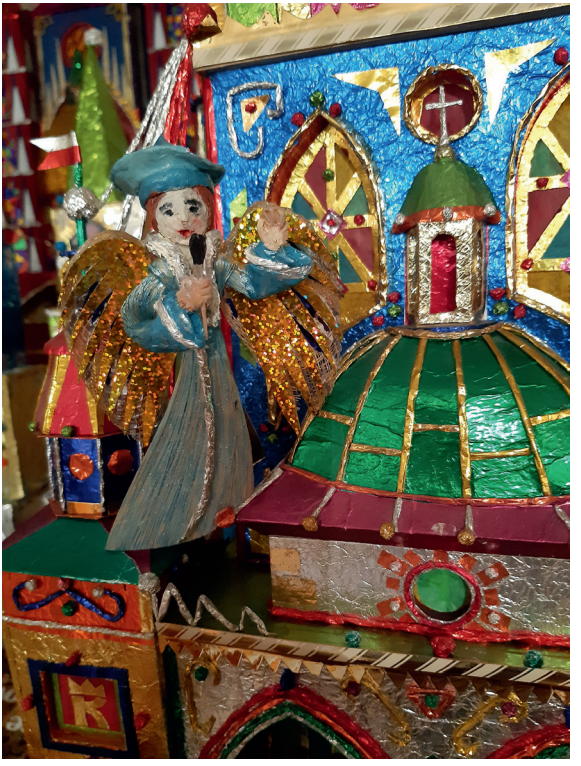

Figure 4. Detail of Anna Szałapak in the *szopka krakowska* made by the Dumański family in 2017 (photo: Andrzej Szoka, Museum of Kraków)

Figure 5. You can spot, elevated on the left below, the figurine of the museum collaborator Anna Szałapak added to the *szokpa* of Anna and Rozalia Malik, 2017 (photo: Jurek Łobaza, Museum of Kraków)
This *szopka*, features the crib, world heritage buildings and a series of characters, including Anna (who is now part of the intangible heritage and of an exhibited object).

A white angel, CGIs, museums, collections, documenting and (in the future) digitizing, cultural brokerage, living heritage and UNESCO World Heritage: *bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble?* That they can be creatively combined is one of the many lessons to be learned when enjoying the contribution by **Andrzej Iwo Szoka** together with several other articles in this special issue of *Volkskunde* on safeguarding intangible heritage and museums. Szoka focusses on the Christmas tradition of *szopka krakowska* before and after the UNESCO phase in the 21st century.

How then precisely can a museum worker become a white angel via safeguarding intangible heritage? Let us reveal the secret: it refers to a significant anecdote[1] and the cultural biography of Anna Szałapak. For the broader public in Poland, Szałapak was renowned as a singer and performer in a literary cabaret, on the radio and on television. But her day job was being a professional museum worker. She was responsible for historical and ethnographical research in the Historical Museum of Kraków. She worked as a curator of exhibitions and as a co-organizer of the yearly Cracovian Crib Competition. In a later phase of her life, she obtained a PhD in ethnography. As a topic she chose to study the history and practice of the traditions of building elaborate Christmas cribs in monumental, though miniature, settings. A selection of the results is stored in the depot of the museum every year, to be preserved forever. Szałapak defended her thesis in 2012 in the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, a study published in Polish by the Museum.

Her work (and that of many colleagues) was a building block for the next phase in the history and cultural biography of *szopka krakowska*: the plan to embed the December ritual in the paradigm of the 2003 UNESCO Safeguarding ICH Convention and its implementation in policy and regulations on an international, national (Polish) and municipal level. This also implied a demonstration of sharing the methodologies, experiences and lessons of what a museum can do in relation to safeguarding intangible heritage. Unfortunately, she did not live to experience the emotions and impact of the recognition of the *szopka* tradition by the UNESCO Convention, at the Intergovernmental Committee meeting on an island in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius, in November 2018. Anna Małgorzata Szałapak (born in 1952 in Kraków) passed away on 14 October 2017.

But the CGIs in the city decided that this museum worker would immediately live on as part of a living tradition. In Kraków in December 2017, several builders of the special nativity scenes added a new figurine, a white angel, to the flock of figures around the crib of the Child Jesus, against the background of miniature monuments and other elements of the world heritage cityscape of Kraków. It was a way to show respect, kudos, mourning and regrets for the head of the Traditions department of a major museum in the Polish city.

This is a cautionary tale in many ways, illustrating (the relativity of) boundaries, evolutions, emotions and the liminal power in repertoires that are now qualified as intangible heritage. Intangible cultural heritage, safeguarding and museums are not only question of institutions, policy levels, performances

1 J. Gallop, *Anecdotal Theory*. Durham, 2002.

and texts, but also a matter of persons and the multistranded networks they are active in. And an example of how living human beings can move, combine, connect and transform (and be affected and empowered) in the process.

With the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (IMP) and in this volume, we try to build and cross bridges between the living heritage field and the museum sector and museology, identifying intersections and occasions where the twain can ever meet. In the end, it should not be forgotten that both are just analytical distinctions, a question of projections and constructions, and that heritage *as such* does not exist, or is not based on intrinsic qualities or wrong dichotomies like intangible and tangible values.[2] The classifications are the result of actors recognizing a phenomenon, a thing (which is a slow process anyway) or a performance as 'part of their cultural heritage'.

Transform: why case studies?

In this special issue on intangible cultural heritage and museums, we intentionally embrace a series of case studies. In her beautiful book on heritage and other concepts in Norway in the last three centuries, Anne Eriksen mobilized the work of Jacques Revel and Jean-Claude Passeron to explain the difference between an example and a case (study). *An example* is an illustration of a theory, a category or some other overarching idea. "Even if the example itself is specific, local and concrete, what makes it relevant and illuminating will always be its reference to some generality or ambition of such. Examples can be used to explain, persuade or instruct, and their unique energy comes from the way they make the general specific and let the specific reflect the general."[3]

On the other hand, there is *a case*. It "represents a challenge to generalizations, existing theories, dominant categories or habits of thought. It will often originate from a conflict between established rules and the expected outcome of their application. This conflict will produce considerable ambiguities and ambivalences, and the case thus represents a situation which is 'provisoire, mais intolérable.'"[4] In this lies also its productivity. The case is "an enigma to solve, a question to interpret. (…) It is just because the case represents a challenge to existing theories and dominant norms that its existence – and interpretation – supplies a unique possibility to develop theory and explore norms. This dialectic relationship between the normal (or normative) and the 'case' is fundamental and is also what makes the case an important epistemic tool. The case supplies a site for reflection, interpretation and the development of new insights. (…). When the enigma has been solved, insights gained and new theories or ideas developed, the case will be reinserted in history and contribute to improved understanding, not merely of its own particularity."[5]

2 L. Smith and G. Campbell, 'The tautology of "Intangible values" and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage', *Heritage & Society* 10:1, 2017, p. 26-44.

3 A. Eriksen, *From Antiquities to Heritage: Transformations of Cultural Memory*. New York, 2014, p. 10.

4 J.C. Passeron and J. Revel (eds.), *Penser par cas.* Paris, 2005, p. 16.

5 Eriksen, *From Antiquities*, p. 10-11.

You can find an example of the difference between the two in the contribution titled *On Levels, (Politics of) Scale, Cases and Networking* by **Marc Jacobs** in this volume. The official Bulgarian report from 2012 as a Member State to the UNESCO 2003 Convention, the Velev contribution or even the good practice nomination (file) of the Bulgarian community cultural centres are *examples* of the effects of the scalar system in the UNESCO 2003 Convention, of interpretations of folklore in some states in Eastern Europe and of classic scalar heritage policy with museums and traditional culture. The story of the trajectory of Nadezhda Savova-Grigorova and her projects are used as a case to explore these issues in the study of the paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and the relation to museum studies.

A series of cases and essays shed light on and create entrances for interpretation, and for the growth of insights into the core questions (mentioned in the introduction of this article) addressed in this collaborative effort around museums and intangible cultural heritage.

In the introduction we already briefly explained the fascinating and instructive case on the Christmas tradition of *szopka krakowska* shared with us by **Andrzej Iwo Szoka.**

Sophie Elpers discusses four cases of museums in the Netherlands shaping, each in a different way, diverse multidirectional relationships between the past, present and future, supported by their engagement with intangible cultural heritage.

Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari, **Pietro Clemente** and **Tommaso Lussu**, **Alessandra Broccolini** and **Claudio Gnessi** present two experiences with a small museum and an ecomuseum in Italy, detecting therein as a crucial challenge the building/acquiring of legitimacy for such civil society initiatives. In these processes the dialogue between cultural bearers and brokers and the scientific community appears as a key-factor in the process of heritage-making.[6] The authors touch upon the dimensions of human, intellectual and affective relations between the social scientists and the CGIs becoming a powerful factor of sustainable heritage-making processes, through a co-creative approach to ICH safeguarding.

Sergio Servellón and **Leen Van de Weghe** present the case of an art museum in Belgium trying to reinvent and reposition itself when confronted with a whole series of internal and external impulses, including impulses from the paradigm of the UNESCO 2003 Convention.

In yet another (type of) approach and contribution to the topic, **Sarah Kenderdine** illustrates and discusses what the future of using ICT can bring. Using a number of her own experiments, she pleads for considering new strategies for embodiment and transmission in museums, as ways to work towards the future of safeguarding intangible heritage.

Filomena Sousa elaborates on cases from Portugal, reflecting about the words that are used in relation to safeguarding intangible cultural

6 M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 249-256.

heritage. While a practice of participatory inventorying and stakeholder involvement is experienced as good and careful practice, more can be done. Today, the sensitivity revolving around the 'correct' choice of words is very present. Which words are used and what does this reveal? Using 'bottom-up' practices and wording as a good alternative to 'top-down' procedures seems the right thing to do. Should the choice of words be taken for granted? Top and bottom metaphors can raise questions about how communities, groups and individuals are treated and thought about in practice. Similar questions pop up when following one of those CGIs on their trajectory to the UNESCO Headquarters at the occasion of the performative moment of an international inscription of an item on a list. How are these CGIs perceived, treated and 'used'? A lesson is that we should continue to question words, situations and power structures, and not take them for granted. We should continue to be reflexive and critical and, if possible, explore how our words and concepts can create (even by questioning them) room for further manoeuvres and continue working towards the real intent of the objectives once formulated in our shared arsenal of texts with view to safeguarding heritage/our world.

Politics of scale and the European dimension

IMP was a path-breaking project in Europe, bringing together experiences on the topic of ICH and museums through networking actors in five countries with diverging museological context and heritage policies. The project was supported, among others, by EU funding.

ICH in Europe is one of the topics **Hanna Schreiber** is working on. In Poland, she is both active in the academic and in the policy world. She was also directly and actively involved as a heritage broker to knead, polish and guide the nomination file of *szopka*, and hence of making it possible for the Evaluation Body and the Intergovernmental Committee to recognize it as an exemplary dossier. She has explored several questions related to Europe, ranging from an analysis of the number of inscriptions stemming from European countries (and separately from the EU member states) in the Representative List of ICH. In those nomination files she devoted attention to the roles ascribed to museums in nomination files. Do projects revolving around safeguarding ICH have a place in European funding schemes and calls?

In his article on the politics of scale, **Marc Jacobs** explicitly points out that the recently launched instrument of the Overall Results Framework – the global monitoring framework for follow-up on the UNESCO 2003 Convention's impact and evolution – which will be rolled-out in six-yearly cycles via the UN structured geopolitical scales of six 'Electoral Groups'[7] (three decades later yet still 'Iron Curtain' based). This will probably need to be complemented with other studies and themes, in order to overcome the Electoral Group framework or 'bias', so that more transcontinental and transversal networks and issues may be identified and to grasp the wider picture of what is really happening

7 *What is an electoral group?*, https://en.unesco.org/executiveboard/inbrief#member (10/08/2020).

in the slipstream of the UNESCO 2003 Convention and around safeguarding ICH in the world.

To the World

Starting in (five countries in) Europe, the aim of the initiators from the onset was to reflect on how the contents and results of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* could also be useful more widely. How could the fruits of having had the chance to run a networked learning trajectory possibly resonate more broadly? To this aim, NEMO – the Network of European Museum Organizations – as well as ICOM – the International Council of Museums – and the ICH NGO Forum of UNESCO accredited NGOs, active in Europe and/or worldwide, were involved in the IMP process from the start. A global network with both geographic and thematic axes was compiled and the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* was rolling out.

Evidently, the intent and the potential of such global outlook is being mirrored in the contents and approaches within this publication.

The contribution of **Cécile Duvelle** in this special issue firstly captures both the core ideas and sensitivities of the initial generation of experts making and interpreting the UNESCO 2003 Convention. As a former Secretary of that convention (from 2008 to 2015), and reflecting on the intentions and instruments associated therewith, Duvelle sets out her lines of thought around (safeguarding) ICH and its relationship to the museum.

Another protagonist on the global heritage policy, practice and theory scenes goes even further back in time, recollecting and reconnecting four decades of personal experience and commitment in the worlds of museums and ICOM, UNESCO and heritage practices in at least three continents. **Amareswar Galla** offers deep, reflexive and observing participant's memories and perspectives on debates in and about museums, heritage and international organisations. He also urges to include networks and realities in India more in the global heritage debates (and vice versa). Galla explicitly addresses challenges and opportunities offered by the shocks of the Covid-19 pandemic. And he draws attention on what is at stake in the recent ICOM museum definition discussions, confronting the potential of the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm and the liminal spaces of the museum worlds.

Janet Blake then takes museums and ICH as the subject of interrogation from the viewpoint of international law. In her article, she locates the role of museums in the context of human rights and the Convention itself. Putting the aspirations of the 2003 UNESCO Convention into practice can prove challenging in particular with regard to the notion of participation promoted by the Convention. Museums then have the potential to play a very specific role in ensuring that this aspect of the 2003 Convention is put into practice. A more recent policy instrument of UNESCO that has a significant bearing on this matter is the Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity and their Role in Society (2015). Its potential impact on how museums contribute towards participatory forms of ICH safeguarding is also examined.

In his contribution, *Words Matter*, **Marc Jacobs** dives further into UNESCO's, ICOM's and European policy texts. He highlights these international reference texts as a whole set of tools: an arsenal of so-called "boundary objects."[8] In his article, Jacobs also evokes the recent discussions on the museum definition within ICOM. On the one hand the emphasis put on societal and planetary challenges, on participation and multivocality are interesting.[9] On the other hand one of the newest heritage policy babies – safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, as incorporated in the 2007 edition of the ICOM museum definition – might be thrown out with the bathwater. With the outcomes of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum Project* and with the contributions in this special issue, we hope we can contribute to signaling that would be a bad idea.

In a subsequent contribution **Marc Jacobs** argues *Why Museology and Museums Should – more than ever – be Part of the Heritage Paradigm*. He questions the idea proposed by the French museologist Serge Chaumier, that it would be time for museums to leave the heritage paradigm. On the contrary, according to Jacobs it is high time to join forces to defend and cultivate a number of positive evolutions that have been going on among different actors – including museums, CGIs and others – in the heritage field(s).

Tamara Nikolić Đerić touches upon the heritage sector experiencing constant change and on its quest for relevance in today's societies. The field is facing challenges in adopting interdisciplinary, holistic and participatory approaches in preserving and safeguarding heritage. Wishing to contribute to the reinforcement of future-oriented heritage practices, Nikolić Đerić addresses some key issues and thresholds she identified. She further explores the ICOM *Code of Ethics for Museums* and the UNESCO 2003 Convention's Operational Directives as starting point to disclose the intersections and thus meeting points of the museum and intangible cultural heritage sectors on a theoretical and practical level, framing it within the 'third space'[10] concept.

Florence Pizzorni Itié eloquently, and sometime poetically, shares phrased theoretical contemplations about museums and intangible heritage. She explores the subject of ICH and the museum as a political space, and as a space open for cultural diversity. Using the imagery of the 'palaver tree', Pizzorni Itié imagines the museum in its new forms of heritage institution: the museum becoming a space for co-creation, exchange, for sharing and expressing thoughts around the future, based on interconnecting minds and bodies. According to Pizzorni Itié, the cultures expressing themselves in such museum context develop a "directory of possibilities for social mobilization."

8 G. Bowker e.a. (eds.), *Boundary Objects and Beyond. Working With Leigh Star*. Cambridge MA and London, 2015.

9 See the advocacy by Jette Sandahl: *The challenge of revising the museum definition,* https://icom.museum/en/news/the-challenge-of-revising-the-museum-definition (10/08/2020) and the special issue edited by J. Sandahl, 'The Museum Definition as the Backbone of ICOM', *Museum International* 71: 1 & 2, 2019.

10 Referring to: J. Rutherford, 'Interview with Homi Bhabha: The Third Space', in: J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference.* London, 1990, p. 211.

Jorijn Neyrinck and **Marc Jacobs**, finally, share their reflection on the journey travelled through changing landscapes in heritage and society, in their contribution bearing the title of this special issue: *Transforming, Not Saving: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums, and/or the World*. Will the – former and future – 'epistemic communities' who are embodying, impacting and activating the heritage paradigms from preach to practice, enable and embrace transformation?

The way forward ...

... is to read these contributions and to check out the toolkit[11] that is the result of the IMP project, in order to take a step further in safeguarding ICH. In 2017, the famous Belgian *muséologue* André Gob wrote: "À bien des égards, les concepts de musée et de patrimoine immatériel sont antinomiques, tant le musée paraît fond*é sur l'objet matériel* et sur la collection. Cette assimilation rapide du musée à sa collection est tout à fait abusive et néglige la diversité des missions de l'institution."[12] He goes on to quote the 2007 ICOM definition of a museum and refers to the rapid inclusion of the new policy concept, launched by UNESCO in 2003. He emphasizes the early adoption by ICOM; their 2004 General Conference in Seoul was even titled *Museums and intangible Heritage*. But after this the ICOM engagement faded away, painfully illustrated by the retraction in December 2015 of the accreditation as a relevant NGO for the UNESCO 2003 Convention. When they (successfully) reapplied in April 2017 and eventually got their accreditation in 2018, they explicitly referred to the IMP project to prove they had resumed embracing and engaging with safeguarding intangible heritage. The IMP project, of which NEMO, ICOM and many museums, next to the ICH NGO Forum and other stakeholders from the cultural heritage sector were part of, has delivered the deliverables promised. It even generated extra output, not yet foreseen in the project application dating back to 2016, among others this scholarly volume of *Volkskunde*.

We hope it will be the incentive for a second wave of attention and commitment of the museum sector, as part of the heritage sector and hence society and the planet, to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage.

11 *Toolkit*, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/imp-toolkit (11/08/2020).

12 A. Gob and J.-L. Postula, 'Patrimoine culturel immatériel et musée. Acquérir, conserver, étudier, exposer et transmettre', in: F. Lempereur (ed.), *Patrimoine culturel immatériel*. Liège, 2017, p. 135-145.

MARC JACOBS

Words Matter...

The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks

> "Indeed, these gift exchanges spurred a surprising amount of local participation in rebuilding and then animating the space, and, in fact, revealed a process of collective action – what local NGOs labeled 'civil society building' using the pre-packaged project language from grant applications – yet it really was a re-enactment of a practice – what UNESCO would label as 're-creation of intangible cultural heritage' – of what people used to do together before socialism (...): coming together, without the government initiating or financing the initiative as well as without the present-day NGO grants and EU project funding – (...) the aesthetics of the project imaginary – but collecting money and donating labor, gifts, food, and time to the co-creation of a collective home for creativity."[1]

This long quote comes from Nadezhda Savova-Grigorova's PhD thesis (2013) in which she describes a specific phase of launching a 'third space' project (a hybrid assemblage of a bakery, a community cultural center, an international network hub and a place for safeguarding intangible heritage, later even 'a museum') in a house, inherited from her grandmother in Bulgaria, that she wanted to transform from ("purely") "private" to (more) "public" (by getting it officially labeled as a *chitalishta*)." As a PhD student in anthropology and social entrepreneurship at Princeton University, global traveler and after a phase of working and participant observation in the Section of Intangible Heritage at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris during the first decade of the 21st century, she understood what buzzwords can do and how they could be used. In particular if they feature in "strong, powerful texts"[2] like EU calls for projects or UNESCO's Recommendations and Conventions. So she started exploring, combining and tweaking words, articles, expressions and concepts,

1 N. Savova-Grigorova, *Braed and Home: Global Cultural Politics in the Tangible Places of Intangible Heritage. (Bulgaria, Cuba, Brazil)*. Princeton, 2013, p. 236.

2 See for this concept, based on Latourian actor-network theory, M. Jacobs, 'Zonder twijfel dat waarschijnlijk... Ambachtelijke geschiedenissen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden aan het einde van het 'Oude Regime', in: C. Lis & H. Soly (eds.), *Werelden van verschil. Ambachtsgilden in de Lage Landen*. Brussel, 1997, p. 243-292.

from all kinds of networks, organizations and governments, including, as Savova pointed out "UNESCO's guidelines on framing 'intangible heritage' and 'preserving biological and cultural diversity' in distinct Conventions that hardly enter in contact or communication despite their overlapping interest in 'culture' and 'diversity'. I examined the potential loopholes in the regulations and the laws and the options for using the symbolic capital of UNESCO's categories and recognition to argue for exceptions,(…) negotiations over acceptable categories and legitimizing labels."[3]

It formed the basis for creating global networks of initiatives, projects and similar houses and 'bakeries', even franchised.[4] But also a translation into a 'Bakers-without-Borders' toolkit that can travel and inspire. And, eventually grandmother's house became a small 'museum' documenting the initiative: the Bread for Social Change Museum in Gabrovo, Bulgaria.[5]

I (Marc Jacobs) was involved in working in the emerging cultural heritage sector in Flanders in the first two decades of the 21st century. I not only witnessed and studied, but also actively stimulated and facilitated the clustering of different institutions and networks via concepts like movable, intangible and digital heritage. It was and is a trajectory towards a goal that was elegantly captured by European policy makers in 2014 in the following formula:

> "cultural heritage consists of the resources inherited from the past in all forms and aspects – tangible, intangible and digital (born digital and digitized), including monuments, sites, landscapes, skills, practices, knowledge and expressions of human creativity, as well as collections conserved and managed by public and private bodies such as museums, libraries and archives. It originates from the interaction between people and places through time and it is constantly evolving. These resources are of great value to society from a cultural, environmental, social and economic point of view and thus their sustainable management constitutes a strategic choice for the 21st century."[6]

In this volume on 'museums and intangible cultural heritage' in particular the subsentence "as well as collections conserved and managed by public and private bodies such as museums, libraries and archives" is our point of entry, and discussion. Not only because of the intersections created by the similarity and overlap with that other important subsentence in the definition

3 Savova-Grigorova, *Bread*, p. 236.

4 https://www.international3c.org/ (International Council for Cultural Centers); http://www.breadhousesnetwork.org (26/05/2020).

5 https://www.breadmuseum.bg/welcome/.

6 *Conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe*. Education, Youth, Culture and Sport Council meeting Brussels, 20 May 2014, article 2: https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/142705.pdf (20/05/2020).

of intangible cultural heritage, in article 2 of UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage: "(…) as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith."[7] But also because it refers to the notion of collections on the one hand, and institutions that conserve and manage on the other hand.

The notion of collections seems to refer more to the kind of elements that Diana Taylor called "the Archive" in contrast to "the Repertoire", embodied skills, knowledge and memories that correspond to what the concept of intangible heritage is referring to. Because it still is one of the key insights to understand the challenges today and tomorrow, it is useful to repeat what Taylor distinguished in 2003:

> "The rift (…) between the archive of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral repertoire of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual).
>
> 'Archival' memory exists as documents, maps, literary texts, letters, archaeological remains, bones, videos, films, CDs, all those items supposedly resistant to change. Archive, from the Greek, etymologically refers to 'a public building', 'a place where records are kept.' From arkhe, it also means a beginning, the first place, the government (…) the archival, from the beginning, sustains power (…) archival memory succeeds in separating the source of 'knowledge' from the knower-in time and/or space-leads (…). What changes over time is the value, relevance, or meaning of the archive, how the items it contains get interpreted, even embodied."[8]
>
> "The repertoire, on the other hand, enacts embodied memory: performances, gestures, orality, movement, dance, singing-in short, all those acts usually thought of as ephemeral, nonreproducible knowledge. Repertoire, etymologically 'a treasury, an inventory' also allows for individual agency (…). The repertoire requires presence: people participate in the production and reproduction of knowledge by 'being there', being a part of the transmission. As opposed to the supposedly stable objects in the archive, the actions that are the repertoire do not remain the same."[9]

The use of the word "the Archive" can be confusing because it is much broader than just the 'type' of memory institutions called 'archives', as it is used in the definition (2014) of cultural heritage quoted above. The subsentence mentioned public and private bodies, referring to legal and governance characteristics of

7 See M. Jacobs, 'As well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith', in: T. Đerić a.o. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020, p. 47-49.

8 D. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham & London, 2003, p. 19.

9 Taylor, *Archive*, p. 20.

these institutions. So… archives, libraries and museums. But do notice those remaining words: "such as." This implies that there are other possibilities than those types. This could be galleries or *chitalishtas* … or something 'hybrid' perhaps.

In the emerging heritage sector in Flanders, in particular at the occasion of making new heritage decrees in 2004, 2008, 2012 and 2017, you cannot only notice the gradual introduction of the notion of 'intangible cultural heritage', resulting in the last version in 2017, even in a slot for an institutional actor (at present, since 2018, filled in by the organization Werkplaats immaterieel erfgoed). Also 'participation' was recognized as a specific function in the last version of the heritage decree. As I will mention further on in this contribution, different versions of the notion of 'heritage community' also evolved in the subsequent texts. Ever since 2005 I have also been pleading to introduce the concept of a 'hybrid institution' that combines components of what are called 'museums', 'archives', 'libraries'. Formats more adapted and ready to cope with the diversity of heritage, people and glocal challenges. Without success, until now. But I give this example as a constant reminder that things can change, just like concepts, definitions and formulas.

The Blue Boundary Arsenal…

In the 21st century, appropriate vocabulary is very high on the agenda in specific sections of the heritage field. This was certainly the case in the field in which the journal *Volkskunde* where this contribution is published is a player, i.e. in European ethnology or folklore studies, but also in policy making in the field of traditions, popular culture and folklore. The paradigm of 'safeguarding intangible cultural heritage' according to or empowered by the 2003 Convention can be (among other interpretations and translations) seen as the outcome (for the time being) of a translation process, in the sense Michel Callon and other protagonists in the actor-network theory movement used it.[10] Susan Leigh Star and James Griesemer synthesized it as follows: "entrepreneurs gradually enlist participants (or in Latour's word, 'allies') from a range of locations, reinterpret their concerns to fit their own programmatic goals, and then establish themselves as gatekeepers (in Law's terms, as 'obligatory points of passage')."[11] One of the gatekeeping activities was trying to monitor the bandwidth of vocabulary (and how to identify and describe relevant actors and activities). A whole series of words and concepts, associated with old school folklore or Volkskunde (in particular concepts appropriated by the Nazi regime in the

10 M. Callon, 'Some elements of a sociology of translation: domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay', in: J. Law (ed.), *Power, action and belief: a new sociology of knowledge?* London, 1986, p. 196-223.

11 S. L. Star & J. Griesemer, 'Institutional Ecology, 'Translations,' and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley's Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907 – 1939', *Social Studies of Science* 19, 1989, p. 387-420, p. 389.

1930s and 1940s for instance or by communist countries before 1989) were rejected and declared taboo, just like notions that could be linked to practices of colonization. And also, but for other reasons, the vocabulary that seemed appropriate for the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of 1972, like "outstanding universal value", or "authenticity." This excess baggage should be left behind when walking through the entrance of the realm of the 2003 Convention. A Ctrl-Alt-Delete operation as far as the suitable vocabulary was concerned.

It was an operation that can be described as an iteration of stages in the classic model of translation sociology that lead to the creation and consolidation in the 2003 Convention and the subsequent texts for implementation. These are brought together in the so-called Basic Texts, nicknamed the 'Blue Book'. In the emergence, 'coordination struggles' and the development of the aforementioned paradigm, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage text itself is crucial: an 'Obligatory Passage Point'. Next to institutional arrangements, obligations and opportunities for Member States Parties, the UNESCO Secretariat and many other actors, the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage presents a limited population of words, phrasing and mantras (like communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals, abbreviated as CGIs).[12]

Fortunately, most of the definitions are relatively vague, unprecise and open for interpretation, hence useful. Partly thanks to the efforts of the first 'epistemic generation' who negotiated, cultivated and 'protected'/'safeguarded' the 2003 Convention text, the Obligatory Passage Point could be expanded and kept more or less consistent, at least in the first two decades, in the Basic Texts. In a handy book with a blue cover, you find the slowly expanding but still controlled appropriate vocabulary in tools like the subsequent sets of the Operational Directives (2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, …), the Twelve Ethical Principles, and the Overall Results Framework. This is not limited to the Blue Book, but it is also used in the forms that are used for submitting nominations for the international lists and register proposed in articles 16, 17 and 18 of the 2003 Convention. The 'translation sociology' model, with the Blue Book as obligatory passage point, is still useful for trying to understand how the '2003 Convention paradigm' evolves.

In a path-breaking article, Susan Leigh Star, and her co-author James Griesemer, proposed an alternative to the model of Callon and co. They wished to understand how intersectional work functions. They questioned the need for consensus, even obtained by soft 'Machiavellistic' nudging, and stated that it is not necessary for cooperation nor for the successful conduct of

12 But taking into account the power of article 15 in the paradigm of the 2003 Convention. See M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just 'the Community", in: J. Blake & L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary.* Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Đerić a.o. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41.

work. They introduced the concept of "boundary objects": "objects which are both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites... The objects may be abstract or concrete. They have different meanings in different social worlds, but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds."[13] Since the first publication in 1989, the "boundary objects" metaphor has been used in many fields, developing into a key concept in actor-network theory, in documentation sciences and many other disciplines. In the last decade, after Star passed away, it leads a second life.[14] It is now often used in combination with other "boundary concepts" and metaphors, like "boundary spanners", "boundary zones", etc.[15]

Star and Griesemer used a case study of the development, management and operations of a museum to present their model. They investigated how sponsor Annie Montague Alexander (1867-1950) and director Joseph Grinnell (1877-1939) launched the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology (on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley) by using several techniques and tools at the intersection of the professional, amateur, lay, and academic worlds.

They distinguished four different kinds of boundary objects in their museum study: repositories, ideal types, coincident boundaries, and standardized forms. In order to illustrate the power of the concept, it is instructive to understand how for instance the "coincendent borders" of a region('s name) can function. The challenge for the museum was to bring many actors together and make them do or provide services or things:

> "(...) draw a line around the West (sometimes even around the state) and declare it a nature preserve. (...) For Grinnell, then, California became a delimitable 'laboratory in the field' giving his research questions a regional, geographical focus. For the university administration, the regional focus supported its mandate to serve the people of the state. For the amateur naturalists concerned with the flora and fauna of their state, research conducted within its bounds also served their goals of preservation and conservation. This first constraint is a weak one with many advantages. It gives California itself the status of a boundary object, an object that lives in multiple social worlds and has different identities in each. Grinnell then transformed this agreement into a resource for getting more money."[16]

13 Star & Griesemer, Institutional, p. 393.

14 G. Bowker a.o. (eds.), *Boundary Objects and Beyond. Working With Leigh Star*. Cambridge MA & London, 2015; S. Gießmann & N. Taha, *Susan Leigh Star, Grenzobjekte und Medienforschung*, Bielefeld, 2017. An introduction is https://scalar.usc.edu/works/boundary-objects-guide/index.

15 See, as a pars pro toto, R. Morse, 'Integrative public leadership: Catalyzing collaboration to create public value', *The Leadership Quarterly* 21, 2010, p. 231-245.

16 Star & Griesemer, Institutional, p. 409.

Boundary objects allow actors to collaborate without necessarily coming to a consensus, Star and Griesemer claimed. Crucial is their ability to "tack back and forth" between being specific and abstract, but also to allow being interpreted differently from the perspective of each community of practice that deals with it. The concept can be used for analyzing all sorts of problems and topics, including intangible heritage and museums.[17]

You could say that the 'Basic Texts' as such is a boundary object. But according to me it makes it more interesting to approach the 'Blue Book' as a whole set of tools, an arsenal of boundary objects. Hence, the 'Blue Boundary Arsenal'. So (being an item on) the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity or an Accredited NGO, the Secretariat, a Periodic Report, a territory (as in article 11 and 12 of the 2003 Convention), an Inventory, a nomination form, or indeed a CGI can be approached as 'a boundary object'. The Overall Results Framework, as published in the 2018 edition of the Basic Texts (p. 117-129), is a 'boundary object', but also the underlying indicators for instance. In order to analyze what is happening in periodic reporting from 2020 onwards, this terminology can be very useful to decode and understand what the impact is or could be. A 'theory of change' can be a major new phase in a translation trajectory that can be managed and fed back into the Blue Book as an Obligatory Passage Point, and appropriated and transformed by many other actors.

There are different ways to use or operationalize this. According to me, one of the products of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project (IMP) trajectory presents a road map of tools to explore, deconstruct and reconstruct, combine and transform. It is published as a separate PDF: "ICH & Museums: Reference framework, key texts and networks." It can be used as a manual for translation processes or for setting up 'boundary operations', by influencers of policies or practices or by cultural entrepreneurs or heritage brokers, or, for the more timid researchers, to decode such heritage work.[18]

The Blue Book, as Obligatory Passage Point and/or Arsenal of Boundary Objects

In the decade after the launch of the Operational Directives in 2008 the paratextual feature of the blue cover made it into an object that can be produced and distributed on mass and used in different circumstances. It is a portable 'arsenal' of boundary objects, crucial for the coherence of the intangible cultural heritage paradigm, empowered by the 2003 Convention text itself.[19]

17 B. Reinhardt, 'Intangible Heritage, Tangible Controversies; The Baiana and the Arcarjé as Boundary Objects in Contemporary Brazil', in: B. Meyer & M. van de Port (eds.), *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural Production of the Real*. New York, 2018, p. 75-108; D. Chidester, 'Heritage under construction. Boundary Objects Scaffolding and Anticipation', in: B. Meyer & M. van de Port (eds.), *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural Production of the Real*. New York, 2018, p. 291-298.

18 https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/toolbox/ich-museums-reference-framework-key-texts-and-networks.

19 https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2018_version-EN.pdf.

In several contributions to this special issue of *Volkskunde*, specific articles of the 2003 Convention are quoted, discussed and interpreted, also by one of the original ghost writers and guardian angels of the Convention text, Janet Blake. In 2020 there is a powerful tool available that discusses the 2003 Convention article by article, a "Commentary" edited by Janet Blake and Lucas Lixinski. It is systematically providing context and several interpretations from legal, historical and other scholarly and policy-oriented perspectives. How it is still open for interpretation and discussions can be illustrated by the analysis of article 15, where one author regrets the lack of precision of the definition of words like 'community' and another author (yes, me) embraces and celebrates that CGIs are not well defined.[20]

From now on more efforts are due in the study of the other tools in the Blue Book. In first place we should consider the Operational Directives, those in the first version in 2008 and the version published in 2016 when complemented with another chapter, on sustainable development on the national level in order to accommodate the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Furthermore, in 2018 the Overall Results Framework has been added. The analysis of the periodic reports of all Member States, to be submitted between 2020 and 2025, will probably – hopefully – result in further development of this important instrument. Is it not high time to add extra guidelines to improve the connections between museums, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and CGIs? As several authors, and in particular Cécile Duvelle, discuss or mention in this special issue of *Volkskunde*, until now the most detailed Operational Directive where museums are mentioned is OD109. It is part of a diptych under the chapeau "Community centres and associations, museums, archives and other similar entities", together with OD108.

> OD 108: "Community centres and associations that are created and managed by communities themselves can play a vital role in supporting the transmission of intangible cultural heritage and informing the general public about its importance for those communities.
>
> In order to contribute to raising awareness about intangible cultural heritage and its importance, they are encouraged to:
>
> (a) be used by communities as cultural spaces in which their intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded through non-formal means;
>
> (b) be used as places for transmitting traditional knowledge and skills and thus contribute to intergenerational dialogue;

20 Compare and combine: G. D'Amico Soggetti, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. Participation and democracy', in: J. Blake & L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary.* Oxford, 2020, p. 290-305; M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just "the Community"', in: J. Blake & L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289.

(c) serve as information centres about a community's intangible cultural heritage."

OD 109: "Research institutes, centres of expertise, museums, archives, libraries, documentation centres and similar entities play an important role in collecting, documenting, archiving and conserving data on intangible cultural heritage, as well as in providing information and raising awareness about its importance. In order to enhance their awareness-raising functions about intangible cultural heritage, these entities are encouraged to:

(a) involve practitioners and bearers of intangible cultural heritage when organizing exhibitions, lectures, seminars, debates and training on their heritage;

(b) introduce and develop participatory approaches to presenting intangible cultural heritage as living heritage in constant evolution;

(c) focus on the continuous recreation and transmission of knowledge and skills necessary for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, rather than on the objects that are associated with it;

(d) employ, when appropriate, information and communication technologies to communicate the meaning and value of intangible cultural heritage;

(e) involve practitioners and bearers in their management, putting in place participatory systems for local development."

These Operational Directives were presented under a bigger chapeau 'Local and national levels' of awareness-raising. There is another Operational Directive under the heading 'International level' where the translation processes via the register and lists connected to articles 18, 17 and 16 are mentioned.

OD 118: "The Committee updates and publishes annually the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity and the Register of programmes, projects and activities that best reflect the principles and objectives of the Convention. In order to ensure better visibility of the intangible cultural heritage and awareness of its significance at the local, national and international levels, the Committee encourages and supports the widest possible dissemination of the Lists through formal and non-formal means, in particular by:

(a) schools, including those belonging to UNESCO's Associated Schools network;

(b) community centres, museums, archives, libraries and similar entities;

(c) universities, centres of expertise and research institutes;

(d) all forms of media, including UNESCO's website."

Of course many other Operational Directives can also be mobilized and used for enhancing the work between museums and the 2003 Convention paradigm.

Consider for instance the new chapter VI on sustainable development. Or the challenge by the Intergovernmental Committee in 2015 to develop sets of ethical tools in order to activate glocal ethics programs: museums can play an important role there.[21]

The next real occasion to make substantial additions and improvements of these tools in the Blue Arsenal will be after the first evaluation of the first round of processing periodic reports of Member States, framed by the Overall Results Framework. Although museums do only explicitly and nominatim pop up in just one of the eighty-six assessment factors linked to the twenty-six core indicators, they are implicitly linked to or relevant for much more of the indicators and factors.

Some museums could for instance recognize themselves (in their policy plans, subsidy applications and other strategic operations) as stakeholders in the mid-term outcomes of the Overall Results Framework "effective relationships built among a diversity of communities, groups and individuals and other stakeholders for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage" and "dynamic development and implementation of safeguarding measures or plans for specific elements of intangible cultural heritage led by a diversity of communities, groups and individuals." Or in any case in the short-term outcomes "improved capacities to support the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in general" and "improved capacities to implement safeguarding measures or plans for specific elements of intangible cultural heritage." Together with the second area (education), the first of the six thematic areas, 'institutional and human capacities', is directly linked to these short-term outcomes.

There are three core indicators linked to the first thematic area of building institutional and human capacities: "1. Competent bodies support practice and transmission; 2. Programmes support strengthening human capacities for safeguarding; 3. Training is operated by or addressed to communities and those working in the fields of culture and heritage." Here again, all three are directly relevant (challenges) for museums.

Linked to the first core indicator ('Competent bodies support practice and transmission') is then the one assessment factor where museums are explicitly mentioned: "1.5 Cultural centres, centres of expertise, research institutions, museums, archives, libraries, etc., contribute to ICH safeguarding and management."

But of course, it would be a shame if museums are only mentioned in the country reports under 1.5. There are many other points of entry, usually via the CGIs mentioned in article 15 of the 2003 Convention and/or via the

21 M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87; M. Jacobs, 'La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et l'éthique', in: F. Lempereur (ed.), *Patrimoine culturel immatériel*. Liège, 2017, p. 247-259; M. Jacobs, 'Glocal Perspectives on Safeguarding. CGIs, ICH, Ethics and Cultural Brokerage', in: T. Uesugi & M. Shiba (eds.), *Glocal Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage: Local Communities, Researchers, States and UNESCO, with the Special Focus on Global and National Perspectives*. Tokyo, 2017, p. 49-71.

(limiting wording of) 'practitioners' and 'bearers' like in assessment factor "4.1 Practitioners and bearers are involved inclusively in the design and development of ICH education programmes and/or in actively presenting and transmitting their heritage." ICOM could feel the itch to do something with assessment factor 25.2: "International networking is fostered among communities, groups and individuals, NGOs, experts, centres of expertise and research institutes, active in the field of ICH." Or to lobby and to try to get the underlying Operational Directive (or mentality) changed that causes the associated core indicator to be phrased as "25. Percentage of States Parties actively engaged in international networking and institutional cooperation."

European Tools

As Hanna Schreiber demonstrates in her contribution, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage has not been a priority of European institutions. Will the IMP-experience make a difference? Monuments and landscapes, and even authorized heritage discourses, remain dominant.

There is of course the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (CETS No. 199, 'Faro Convention') that pushes the door open a little bit, also for the 2003 Convention paradigm. In particular if we do not take a strange remark in the Explanatory Report – CETS 199 – Value of Cultural Heritage for Society too serious; stating that "in respect of intangible aspects of cultural heritage, where the present Convention focuses primarily on ascribed values rather than on the material or immaterial elements which combine to constitute heritages, thus taking an approach which is distinct from UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003). This is a Convention which, without excluding the exceptional, particularly embraces the commonplace heritage of all people."[22]

The Faro Framework Convention does, as I have emphasized in other publications, comprise many interesting ideas and suggestions that are fully compatible with the 2003 Convention. In any case, I fully endorse the vision formulated in the preamble:

> "Recognising the need to put people and human values at the centre of an enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage;
>
> Emphasising the value and potential of cultural heritage wisely used as a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society;"

The significance of introducing the notion of 'heritage community' can also not be underestimated, in particular as explained in the Explanatory Report: "The concept of heritage community is treated as self-defining: by valuing and

22 Explanatory Report – CETS 199 – Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, p. 3 (https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016800d3814, 25/07/2020).

wishing to pass on specific aspects of the cultural heritage, in interaction with others, an individual becomes part of a community. A heritage community is thus defined as a variable geometry without reference to ethnicity or other rigid communities. Such a community may have a geographical foundation linked to a language or religion, or indeed shared humanist values or past historical links. But equally, it may arise out of a common interest of another type. An interest in, for example, archaeology, can create an 'archaeological community' whose members are linked only by the cultural heritage which forms the focus of their activities."[23]

In the IMP-trajectory, the potential of an interpretation by the Flemish Government of the notion of 'heritage community' in successive cultural heritage decrees since 2008 (2012, 2017) was emphasized, the tweaked definition that "a '(cultural) heritage community' consists of organisations and people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage, which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations." This can be interpreted as a network of different actors, 'a variable geometry' that is not necessarily connected to convenient coincidental geographical boundaries or levels (local, regional, national), webs of both (of groups of) living human beings and institutions. One of the consequences is that some museums (networks) can thus be part of a (heritage) community. As the notion of community is not defined in the 2003 Convention, it can be tweaked and used as a boundary object to make other combinations possible.[24]

Recently the Council of Europe adopted the resolution 2269 entitled *Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe*. The text was adopted by the Standing Committee, acting on behalf of the Assembly, on 1 March 2019.[25] The resolution does not contain explicit recommendations about museums or museology, but in the preparatory documents the link was made.

In the Explanatory Memorandum, several examples of museums working on the safeguarding of intangible heritage were mentioned. Next to bullet point "48. A wide range of actors in Europe are active in the safeguarding of ICH, including NGOs, civil society organisations, folk culture and local history associations, eco-museums and other community museums, professional heritage institutions such as documentary heritage centers and archives, academic institutions and research centres, etc. Networks among these actors

23 Explanatory, p. 6.

24 See J. Neyrinck, E. Seghers & E. Tsakiridis, 'At the interface between living heritage and museum practice: dialogical encounters and the making of a "third space" in safeguarding heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 15, 2020, p. 61-85; M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Đerić a.o. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41; M. Jacobs, 'Van FARO naar Faro (en terug). Het internationale kader waarbinnen we werken', *faro | tijdschrift over cultureel erfgoed* 11, 2018, nr. 3, p. 46-49; L. Zagato, 'The Notion of "Heritage Community" in the Council of Europe's Faro Convention. Its Impact on the European Legal Framework', in: N. Adell a.o. (eds.), *Between Imagined Communities of Practice. Participation. Territory and the Making of Heritage*. Göttingen, 2015, p. 141-168.

25 See http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-XML2HTML-en.asp?fileid=25434&lang=en (consulted 1/3/2020). Doc. 14832 and Recommendation 2148 (2019).

are emerging internationally", in bullet point 51 the IMP-project is mentioned. The report also included the recommendation "62. In conceptual terms, clear dispositions on either tangible or intangible entries would help to facilitate dialogue and to recognise where connections and shared objectives may be retrieved. In practical terms, stimulating closer links between tangible and intangible heritage would bring many actors closer together, and provide existing expertise and infrastructure in the field of tangible heritage (heritage experts, museums, libraries, archives, etc.) to grassroots initiatives for safeguarding and enhancing intangible heritage. Such partnerships require however a certain degree of flexibility to accommodate the informal nature of grassroots activities."[26]

The Resolution 2269 of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe explicitly points at the 2003 Convention in combination with the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro, 2005). It also evokes several basic texts of the 2003 Convention including, in bullet point 4, the set of 12 Ethical Principles: "The Assembly considers, however, that models and methods of participatory governance are needed to address the challenge of setting up fair and feasible community participation. Moreover, it calls for a certain flexibility in managing ICH and highlights a set of 12 ethical principles which were adopted in 2016 to complement the ICH Convention, addressing the fragile balance between respect for the autonomy of communities, groups and individuals concerned and providing an adequate public support framework to intervene in the safeguarding of ICH."[27]

Some recommendations to the Member States of the Council of Europe are a lever in modern museum work, like for instance "5.1.5. develop new and creative approaches to minimise the negative impacts of urbanisation on ICH while maximising the potential of ICH to contribute to a more cohesive society, for example as a factor which could help migrants build bridges with local communities." Also recommendation "5.2.1. create collaborative and participatory platforms to establish inventories of ICH; in this regard, develop models and methods of participatory governance to address the challenge of setting up fair and feasible community participation" can be picked up by heritage policy makers, national, regional or local authorities or boards of directors of museums. Museums as institutions often have a suitable scale "to address the challenge of setting up fair and feasible community participation." In this special issue of *Volkskunde* and in the IMP-toolkit, many examples are provided to do this. This is also the case, as for instance the case studies presented by Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari in this volume demonstrate, for the recommendation "5.2.3. foster and support urban, local and regional

26 Jorijn Neyrinck was actively involved to provide input in this trajectory of the Council of Europe. Furthermore Tim Curtis of Marc Jacobs were consulted in hearings of the workgroup of the Council of Europe preparing the report, recommendations and resolution.

27 Compare and do hear the echo from M. Jacobs, 'La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et l'éthique', in: F. Lempereur (ed.), *Patrimoine culturel immatériel*, Liège, 2017, p. 247-259 and M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87.

development projects and strategies, and micro-economy, creative economy and sustainable tourism initiatives that integrate sustainable safeguarding and enhancement of ICH in close co-operation with the communities concerned."

Particularly relevant and compatible with the results of the IMP-project and in recent developments in policy and practice in the museum field is recommendation "5.2.4. provide incentives and funding for multi-stakeholder co-operation projects and effective platforms for sharing expertise and experience; in this context, provide training and incentives for local ICH stakeholders and ICH mediators to enhance co-operation."

Directly addressing policy makers and authorities at all levels is recommendation "5.2.5. promote closer links between tangible and intangible heritage in order to bring many stakeholders closer together and to provide available expertise and infrastructure in the field of tangible heritage; such partnerships, however, require a certain degree of flexibility."

In the light of the whole IMP-trajectory and of several contributions to this special issue, it is hopeful to read that the Assembly of the Council of Europe politely urges UNESCO and the European Union "to co-operate with the Council of Europe in supporting the effective implementation of the ICH Convention and the Faro Convention, and in particular to: '6.1. facilitate building capacities through: gathering and exchanging insights from ICH safeguarding and enhancement practices and methods; cross-disciplinary co-operation; educational programmes; alignment in digital strategies; ethics; and cross-border co-operation on common ICH elements or safeguarding programmes; and to '6.2. accommodate digital methods and tools for ICH inventories and for safeguarding practices, so that they can be harmonised in Europe (technically and methodologically) to further stimulate exchange and knowledge sharing.'"

Rather disappointing is the first reaction in October 2019 of a Committee of (deputies of) Ministers. Their response is narrowly framed within their own Council of Europe instruments and fails to fully develop the potential of 'safeguarding' or the harvest of almost two decades of implementation of the 2003 Convention and the Basic Texts (like the sixth chapter on sustainable development of the Operational Directives, the Twelve Ethical Principles), of which some aspects have been documented in the IMP-project.[28] It is clear that on the highest level of the European political and policy networks, there is still a lot of work to do in awareness-raising and capacity building, as far as the safeguarding intangible heritage paradigm is concerned. This publication and the IMP-toolkit might help to open the vistas and discover the potential.

On the one hand the recommendation of the Assembly that resulted in the reaction of the ministers included the suggestion to "4.3. acknowledge that ICH safeguarding targets and competences are covered implicitly by the terms of reference of the Steering Committee for Culture, Heritage and Landscape (CDCPP)." The choice of the word "implicitly" speaks volumes. On the other hand there is the consideration "3. The Council of Europe Framework

28 Doc. 14999 (21/10/2019): Reply to Recommendation 2148 (2019) by the "Committee of Ministers" (http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-DocDetails-EN.asp?FileID=28266&lang=EN).

Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (CETS No. 199, 'Faro Convention') and the European Heritage Strategy for the 21st Century (Strategy 21) set an excellent framework for cultural heritage preservation policies in Europe. In this context, the Assembly considers that the future development of ICH will require a policy vision based on these documents, in order to enhance ICH policies and measures to their full potential, and to provide guidance to the multiple stakeholders that are emerging across Europe who are committed to safeguarding ICH." There is however another opening (not yet picked up at the levels of the ministers) in recommendation "4.5. contribute, where possible, to monitoring efforts in Europe, in alignment with the Overall Results Framework established for the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2018, with a view to possibly integrating this work into the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe and the European Cultural Heritage Information Network (HEREIN)."[29]

Words matter... but definitions? Museums...

In the years before and after the transition from the second to the third decade of the twenty-first century, vocabulary is a hot issue in some museums in Europe and the West. The words on museum entrances or walls, the labels, the catalogue, etc. can cause conflicts. How problematic are paratexts? Is it not just a matter of "better, more elegant communication"? Is it about emotions, about protest and indignation...? It prompted the National Museum for World Cultures/Tropenmuseum in the Netherlands, to publish an unfinished booklet with the title *Words Matter*: "One of the areas in which museums should have a lot of experience is the use of words. They use language to describe objects and the makers of these objects and/or their countries and cultures. Museum staff know through their practice that the choice of words can be sensitive."[30]

It is not easy to do the right thing, even if you try. In my courses on critical heritage studies, I try to convince the students that it is important to explore several perspectives, consider many stakeholders and values, and point systematically at the world wide impact in the 21st century of views and practices of Aboriginals on global heritage theory and practice, e.g. via the oeuvre of Rodney Harrison or the evolution of the Burra Charter. But in *Words Matter* I discover there might be a problem to use the concept when referring to CGIs in Australia and Canada: "The term does not adequately describe the complexity and diversity of Indigenous peoples. Many Indigenous peoples in both countries do not like to be referred to as 'Aboriginal', preferring to emphasize other markers of their identity such as language, land and clan relationships." In the case of Australia, it can perhaps be used but always with a capital A. I think I will embrace the construct of CGIs even more than before.

29 Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe's Recommendation 2148 (2019) Safeguarding and enhancing intangible cultural heritage in Europe, http://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/XRef/Xref-DocDetails-EN.asp?FileID=26469&lang=EN (27/7/2020).

30 S. Schoonderwoerd, Foreword, in: W. Modest & R. Lelijveld, *Words matter... An Unfinished Guide to Word Choices in the Cultural Sector*. Leiden, 2018, p. 6-10, p. 7.

Among the words flagged in the Tropenmuseum's guide as potentially problematic is also the word 'traditional'. It is instructive, in particular in this journal, to read (and quote) the diagnosis and the prescription:

"traditional"

(diagnosis):

> "The term itself is not problematic, but can take on a negative connotation when used in opposition to other terms such as 'modern' and 'progress'. Several scholars have argued that this dichotomy emerged as part of a Eurocentric intellectual and colonial project, which reinforced the idea that non-European cultures were pre-modern and static as opposed to a modern, progressive Europe. This belief established a hierarchy of cultures and peoples, where West was equated to modern and non-West to traditional. This divide still exists today as used in terms such as 'traditional arts and cultures' and is commonly associated with ethnographic museums."
>
> "When writing about traditions, or objects understood by their makers to represent traditions or traditional styles, be as specific as possible about time, place and intention."
>
> For example: 'In the 18th century people used this, in 2018 they use that….'
>
> In some cases the term can be replaced with 'historic'.
>
> ---
>
> Or "Western"
>
> "The West is an ideological, historical, economic and geographical concept, the meaning of which has shifted over time.
>
> The term represents both a mental and physical division of the world that categorizes and contrasts people, cultures, religions and regions, placing them in a hierarchy. It is often contrasted with 'non-western'.
>
> Other terms with similar connotations include 'Third World' 'developed'/'undeveloped', etc.
>
> Be as specific as possible in terms of country, population etc."[31]

This reminds me of a discussion I got the Belgian delegation into with the Indian Delegation in 2008 when debating about the first set of Operational Directives. I objected against the introduction of North/South dichotomies, referring to the potential 'negative' framing of Indigenous groups living near the North Pole, pleading to find another and better language. The Indian Delegation won the debate with the aid of several delegates from Africa. Using the couple 'North and South' was to be encouraged, but a reference to East and West was not. Although I was absolutely in favor of programs and trajectories under article 18, I am still puzzled, ten years later, about the lesson about geopolitics I had to learn in the UNESCO arena.

31 Modest & Lelijveld, *Words*, p. 140 & 143.

Today, you can read this quote in the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention, in Operational Directive 6: "In its selection and promotion of safeguarding programmes, projects and activities, the Committee shall pay special attention to the needs of developing countries and to the principle of equitable geographic distribution, while strengthening South-South and North-South-South cooperation."

The Indian Ambassador approached me during the coffee break to ask if I, as a simple expert, did not know that South-South means East-West and that this was the politically correct way to phrase it.

A global debate about the words that can be used to define a museum is going on at the moment.

In 2020 the official ICOM definition for a museum still is the one coined more than fifteen years before, and accepted by ICOM in 2007. As the testimony of Amareswar Galla in the final symposium of IMP revealed, it was because of the direct influence of the discussions in UNESCO about the 2003 Convention and the intervention of cultural brokers and mediators like himself that 'intangible heritage' was added to the definition.

> "A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."

Since the 2016 ICOM General Conference in Milan, a *Committee on Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials* (MDPP, 2017-2019) gathered opinions and tried to prepare a new, updated definition. After a series of conferences and meetings, online and offline, in July 2019 the committee on MDPP, convinced the Executive Board of ICOM in Paris to try out a new global obligatory passage point, as core and motor for a paradigmatic shift.

This was the proposal:

> "Museums are democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures. Acknowledging and addressing the conflicts and challenges of the present, they hold artefacts and specimens in trust for society, safeguard diverse memories for future generations and guarantee equal rights and equal access to heritage for all people. Museums are not for profit. They are participatory and transparent, and work in active partnership with and for diverse communities to collect, preserve, research, interpret, exhibit, and enhance understandings of the world, aiming to contribute to human dignity and social justice, global equality and planetary wellbeing."

There was a flood of critique, openly or in the corridors, in journal articles and via e-mail exchanges. If we look at this proposal from the 2003 Convention's

interest, it can be regretted that the word 'intangible' has disappeared, losing the hyperlink to the 2003 Convention and the paradigm. The word 'safeguard' is present but in connection to memories, a word that is not part of the core vocabulary of the Convention (due to the existence of another UNESCO program on documentary heritage, called Memory of the World). The Archive is there more than ever, but the Repertoire no longer so clear. Notwithstanding references to planetary wellbeing, the words 'sustainable development', and hence a hyperlink to the sixth chapter of the Operational Directives or a direct mobilization of the UN Agenda 2030 was missing. In the eyes of people who want to work with the Blue Boundary Arsenal on intangible cultural heritage of CGIs, they are more set back than with the old definition.

It brought heated discussions in all directions, North-East-South-West (and the other way round) in ICOM and in the Extraordinary General Assembly on 7 September 2019 in Kyoto, Japan. The procedure was suspended. Since 2020 a new *Standing Committee on Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials* (MDPP2) started up, again chaired by Jette Sandahl (pro every wind direction, but living in a Nordic Country) embarking on a new quest for 'the' definition; a global, top-down attempt to cultivate a participatory and bottom-up model. The brief is to come up with "a museum definition which will address normative, legislative and ethical criteria, will be generic and whose final version will begin with the phrase 'a museum is…'.

The museum definition should:

1) be clear on the purposes of museums, and on the value base from which museums meet their sustainable, ethical, political, social and cultural challenges and responsibilities in the 21st century;
2) retain – even if current terminology may vary – the unique, defining and essential unity in museums of the functions of collecting, preserving, documenting, researching, exhibiting and in other ways communicating the collections or other evidence of cultural heritage;
3) acknowledge the urgency of the crises in nature and the imperative to develop and implement sustainable solutions;
4) acknowledge and recognise with respect and consideration the vastly different world views, conditions and traditions under which museums work across the globe;
5) acknowledge and recognise with concern the legacies and continuous presence of deep societal inequalities and asymmetries of power and wealth – across the globe as well as nationally, regionally and locally;
6) express the unity of the expert role of museums with the collaboration and shared commitment, responsibility and authority in relation to their communities;
7) express the commitment of museums to be meaningful meeting places and open and diverse platforms for learning and exchange;
8) express the accountability and transparency under which museums are expected to acquire and use their material, financial, social and intellectual resources."

So much work for a definition… and/or for a network of tens of thousands of museums.

The boundaries ahead…

It is not easy to imagine how the 'museum community' will reach consensus over 'what a museum is'. If you look at the requirements, it amounts to a paradigm shift, a series of ambitious goals. It is not just a combination of words and sensitivities. The assignment seems impossible to go for broad consensus, unless of course ritualized violence is used: a vote and decision by majority. Both on a global level and in the contact zones in the neigborhood ('*musées de société*'), the discussions will not be settled. Such global operations are possible.

One of the few attempts to clean up language that seemed to work, due to a conceptual Ctrl-Alt-Delete, is the paradigm shift empowered by the 2003 Convention. But many of the words and underlying motivations for choosing or defriending them, probably got lost in translation.

One of the lessons of the IMP-trajectory in order to get a grip on the complexity is to think in terms of 'intersections'. How can intersectional work, boundary work, be organized? Does it have to be in consensus? Or is it sometimes better to find coordination mechanisms, via sets of 'boundary objects'?

Can the repertoire of living heritage be ignored in museum practice and vocabulary today? Should it be excluded? "The archive and the repertoire have always been important sources of information, both exceeding the limitations of the other (…) They usually work in tandem and they work alongside other systems of transmission – the digital and the visual, to name two. (…) Other systems of transmission – like the digital – complicate any simple binary formulation."[32] Time to think about some'thing' else, 'networked', 'boundary spanning', 'hybrid', …

Perhaps the 'museum definition' challenge is too important to only leave it to museum professionals. I do not think it is time for museums to leave the heritage paradigm, as Serge Chaumier proposed, and as I question in another contribution to this special issue. They can find allies, shelter and tools under that umbrella. The recent attempt to take a step towards a convention, in the form of a 2015 Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections could be a step in the right direction. Many interesting combinations of words but not all okay; in particular when definitions are presented. Why using the term 'properties' is not a good idea when defining the term collection as "an assemblage of natural and cultural properties, tangible and intangible, past and present" was explained by Janet Blake in an article about international heritage policy.[33] Since the unmasking of the problematic concept of tangible values and the tautological nature of a

32 Taylor, Archive, p. 22 & 24.

33 See the interesting chapter "Cultural Heritage Law: Contextual Issues" (and the discussions about heritage and property on p. 6-9), J. Blake, *International Cultural Heritage Law*. Oxford, 2015, p. 1-15.

concept like "intangible values", by Laurajane Smith and Garry Campbell[34], it has become clear how it is now problematic to use the words in a definition, like the museum world tried in that recommendation, when presenting heritage "as a set of tangible and intangible values, and expressions that people select and identify, independently of ownership, (…) The term heritage also refers to the definitions of cultural and natural heritage, tangible and intangible, cultural property and cultural objects as included in the UNESCO culture conventions." Referring to the 'definitions' is not the way to go, because they are 'operational definitions' ('for the purposes of this convention'). Referring to the boundary tools might be more productive. The 2014 European definition of cultural heritage quoted above could also be a starting point.

I do not think that now it would be feasible or even a good idea to try a 'a museum (is)'-convention. Perhaps it is, in a decade or so, time to go for a hybrid mix. The IMP-trajectory and the road map at least offered a building block and interesting intersections, and points towards an arsenal of boundary tools.

34 L. Smith and G. Campbell, 'The tautology of 'Intangible values' and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage', *Heritage & Society* 10:1, 2017, p. 26-44.

CÉCILE DUVELLE

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel a-t-il une place au musée?

René Magritte, *La trahison des images*, 1928 – © Succesion René Margritte – SABAM Belgium 2020

C'est en tant qu'ancienne attachée de Cabinet du Directeur général de l'UNESCO en charge du Secteur de la culture (de 1999 à 2008), puis de Secrétaire de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel (de 2008 à 2015), que je partage ces quelques réflexions sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel et sa relation au musée. Elles sont basées sur mon expérience de la période d'élaboration de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel, puis de celle des premières années de sa mise en œuvre au niveau international.

L'expression 'patrimoine culturel immatériel', si elle a eu quelques difficultés à émerger dans le vocabulaire bien établi du champ patrimonial[1],

1 Il a par exemple fallu attendre juillet 2016 pour que le législateur français l'intègre dans le Code du patrimoine, soit dix années après la ratification par la France de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel (2003) (Ci-après citée comme 'Convention du patrimoine immatériel').

est aujourd'hui devenue largement reconnue et utilisée. Les institutions muséales se sont donc naturellement saisies, souvent avec enthousiasme, de cette nouvelle catégorie. Elles sont de plus en plus nombreuses à l'intégrer dans leurs espaces, élargissant ainsi leur offre au public tout en participant à sa sauvegarde.

De nombreuses expériences ouvrent des champs intéressants et prometteurs. Mais d'autres, à l'inverse de Monsieur Jourdain[2] qui faisait de la prose sans le savoir, pensent qu'ils intègrent ou sauvegardent le patrimoine culturel immatériel sur la base d'une compréhension inexacte de sa nature. Celle-ci est en effet complexe, et encore souvent sujette à des malentendus.

La question de la place que peut occuper le patrimoine culturel immatériel au sein des musées reste ainsi un champ de réflexion largement ouvert, et requiert, pour rendre justice à cette catégorie patrimoniale très particulière, des approches créatives, novatrices et surtout affranchies des pratiques établies pour conserver et exposer le patrimoine matériel.

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel: une définition encore parfois incomprise

L'UNESCO n'a cessé de développer, depuis sa création, des instruments normatifs internationaux en vue de protéger et mettre en valeur le patrimoine culturel de manière durable. Or la prééminence encore à l'œuvre du patrimoine matériel – objets, monuments ou sites – dans l'approche patrimoniale occidentale dominante, renforcée par la chronologie de l'adoption des instruments normatifs de l'UNESCO[3] et l'immense succès rencontré par la Convention du patrimoine mondial, culturel et naturel[4], rend la compréhension de la véritable nature du patrimoine immatériel d'autant plus ardue.

L'ombre puissante de la Convention du patrimoine mondial

L'histoire de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel[5] éclaire certaines des raisons de cette incompréhension encore tenace. Même si aujourd'hui la notion de patrimoine immatériel est largement acceptée et respectée, nombreux furent ses détracteurs, à l'époque où germait l'idée de cette nouvelle Convention. Certains critiquaient le concept même de 'patrimoine immatériel' et son absence de critères 'précis' ou 'objectifs' pour

2 Dans le *Bourgeois gentilhomme* de Molière.

3 Ainsi, pour ne citer que les conventions: Convention pour la protection des biens culturels en cas de conflit armé (1954); Convention pour la lutte contre le trafic illicite des biens culturels (1970); Convention pour la protection du patrimoine mondial culturel et naturel (1972); Convention pour la protection du patrimoine culturel subaquatique (2001); Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel (2003). Entre 1954 et 2001, les quatre conventions internationales adoptées par l'UNESCO concernent ainsi le patrimoine matériel.

4 Ci-après citée comme 'Convention du patrimoine mondial'.

5 Ci-après citée comme 'Convention du patrimoine immatériel'. Voir N. Aikawa-Faure, 'Panorama historique de la préparation de la Convention internationale pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'UNESCO', *Museum international* 56, 2004, p. 137-149; J. Blake, *Commentary on the UNESCO 2003 Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Leicester, 2006.

le définir. Certains, parfois les mêmes, rejetaient l'idée d'un patrimoine sans valeur universellement définie et acceptée, faisant intervenir la subjectivité de chaque individu et se détournant de l'expertise patrimoniale scientifique. D'autres estimaient que la Convention du patrimoine mondial, qui intègre dans sa définition du patrimoine culturel "les sites œuvres de l'homme ou œuvres conjuguées de l'homme et de la nature, ainsi que les zones y compris les sites archéologiques qui ont une valeur universelle exceptionnelle du point de vue historique, esthétique, ethnologique ou anthropologique"[6], pouvait tout à fait intégrer la notion de patrimoine immatériel.

S'appuyant sur le critère d'inscription (vi)[7], qui prévoit qu'"un bien a une valeur universelle exceptionnelle" si celui-ci est "directement ou matériellement associé à des événements ou des traditions vivantes, des idées, des croyances ou des œuvres artistiques et littéraires ayant une signification universelle exceptionnelle"[8], les opposants à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle Convention consacrée intégralement au patrimoine immatériel estimaient beaucoup rationnel et efficace de faire entrer le patrimoine immatériel dans le cadre de la Convention du patrimoine mondial.

L'histoire ne leur a pas donné raison. Mais leurs réserves révélaient déjà ce qui demeure aujourd'hui encore un positionnement sur la nature du patrimoine culturel immatériel, trop souvent encore compris comme "l'esprit du lieu", "la valeur immatérielle[9] et symbolique" des objets, des monuments, des sites.[10]

Ces approches semblent viser essentiellement à mettre en valeur, dans le patrimoine matériel (le lieu, les objets, les édifices), ses aspects 'immatériels', 'qu'on ne peut pas toucher', qui relèvent de la mise en perspective historique et ethnographique à la lumière des événements et des pratiques qui l'ont habité et/où qui l'habitent encore.

6 Convention du patrimoine mondial, article premier.

7 UNESCO, *Orientations devant guider la mise en œuvre de la Convention du patrimoine mondial, naturel et culturel.* Paris, 2019, paragraphe 77.(vi); le Comité considère que ce critère doit de préférence être utilisé conjointement avec d'autres critères.

8 Pour plus d'informations sur l'histoire de l'application du critère culturel (vi), voir le document WHC-01/CONF.208/INF.13.

9 L. Smith and G. Campbell, 'The tautology of "Intangible values" and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage', *Heritage & Society* 10:1, 2017, p. 26-46.

10 Ainsi, on peut lire sur le site du Ministère français de la culture: "L'idée selon laquelle les musées ont peu à dire sur l'immatériel est démentie non seulement par les collections des musées de société, mais encore par les activités de tous les musées qui prennent en compte la dimension symbolique, sociale et anthropologique des objets collectés." *PCI et musées,* https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Sites-thematiques/Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel/Ressources/PCI-et-musees (22/07/2020). De même, l'appel à contributions pour le Forum international des jeunes chercheurs et professionnels en patrimoine culturel organisé en marge de la 16e Assemblée générale de l'ICOMOS en septembre 2008 expose: "L'esprit du lieu ne se définit pas de manière simpliste. Il émane d'un ensemble de facteurs qui déterminent la nature et le caractère propres à ce lieu, notamment son histoire, les traces laissées par les pratiques et les croyances de ses occupants successifs, les activités qui s'y sont déroulées, celles qui s'y tiennent, les populations qui l'occupent, enfin les autorités qui le gouvernent."; *Penser et pratiquer l'esprit du lieu*, https://calenda.org/194400 (22/07/2020).

Or la centralité encore souvent présente du patrimoine matériel, ou sa référence comme point de départ, nuit à la juste compréhension de ce qu'est le patrimoine culturel immatériel, et a tendance à l'y assujettir injustement. Elle le suppose comme indissociable, consubstantiel, explicatif du patrimoine matériel. Elle invite le spectateur à imaginer le geste de l'artisan derrière l'objet, la musique derrière l'instrument. Mais les aspects immatériels du patrimoine matériel, leur contextualisation sociale, historique ou ethnographique, ne peuvent être confondus avec le patrimoine culturel immatériel lui-même, qui a une existence propre et indépendante.

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel existe en effet de manière autonome, sans nécessairement dépendre d'un lieu ou d'un objet. Inscrit dans l'esprit de l'être humain, connaissances et savoir-faire, il se déplace avec l'humain en qui il est ancré, au gré de ses migrations et mouvements. La berceuse chantée par la mère à son enfant se chante, de génération en génération, indépendamment des lieux où ils se trouvent. Les musiques se déplacent avec leurs musiciens, les savoir-faire artisanaux avec leurs détenteurs, qui les adaptent en permanence en fonction de leur environnement et des besoins du moment.

Cette première difficulté de compréhension de la nature spécifique du patrimoine culturel immatériel s'accompagne d'un autre biais de compréhension, lié à deux notions cardinales de la Convention du patrimoine mondial: la "valeur universelle exceptionnelle" et "l'intégrité et/ou l'authenticité"[11]. Ces valeurs essentielles dans la pratique patrimoniale sont restées ancrées dans les esprits quand il s'est agit de patrimoine immatériel, alors même que la Convention de 2003 non seulement ne les mentionne pas, mais les exclut formellement.

Ainsi, l'Organe d'évaluation chargé d'examiner les candidatures aux Listes du patrimoine culturel immatériel répétait, dans son rapport de 2019, comme il l'a fait systématiquement lors de ses précédents rapports depuis 2009: "Il est rappelé aux États parties d'éviter les termes faisant référence à la singularité ou au caractère exceptionnel ou immuable des éléments du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Lors de ce cycle, des termes tels que 'unique' ou 'prestige' ont été utilisés dans certains dossiers. De plus, de nombreux dossiers faisaient encore référence à la 'préservation' de l'élément plutôt qu'à sa sauvegarde, ce qui va à l'encontre de la nature vivante et dynamique du patrimoine culturel immatériel. En outre, certains dossiers ont employé des termes pour décrire 'l'intégrité' ou 'l'authenticité' de l'élément, ce qui est contraire aux principes et à l'esprit de la Convention."[12]

On voit ainsi que la notion de patrimoine culturel immatériel, largement adoptée et reconnue aujourd'hui, souffre encore de l'ombre que lui procure la Convention du patrimoine mondial et des concepts inhérents à celle-ci. Cela conduit à nombre de malentendus sur ce qu'est le patrimoine culturel immatériel.

11 UNESCO, *Orientations*, paragraphe 78.

12 UNESCO, *Rapport de l'Organe d'évaluation sur ses travaux en 2019*. Paris, 2019, paragraphe 30.

Une définition complexe, reflet d'une nouvelle conception du patrimoine

La Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel, premier instrument multilatéral juridiquement contraignant en la matière, a pour objectif principal – il est utile de le rappeler – la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel, considéré comme menacé "de dégradation, de disparition et de destruction."[13] Aux côtés de ce but primordial, trois autres buts sont mentionnés à l'article premier de la Convention: le respect du patrimoine culturel immatériel des communautés, groupes et individus concernés; la sensibilisation aux niveaux local, national et international à l'importance du patrimoine culturel immatériel et de son appréciation mutuelle; et la coopération et l'assistance internationales.

L'expression 'patrimoine culturel immatériel' est définie dans la Convention dans son article 2. Il s'agit des "pratiques, représentations, expressions, connaissances et savoir-faire – ainsi que les instruments, objets, artefacts et espaces culturels qui leur sont associés – que les communautés, les groupes et, le cas échéant, les individus reconnaissent comme faisant partie de leur patrimoine culturel."[14]. Une définition si ouverte voire abstraite a pu interpeller nombre de spécialistes du patrimoine, y compris au sein même du Secrétariat de l'UNESCO, puisqu'elle semble impliquer que 'tout et n'importe quoi' peut être considéré comme du patrimoine culturel immatériel, du simple fait que des communautés, groupes ou individus le définissent comme tel.

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel ainsi défini non seulement se détourne de son caractère 'unique' et 'exceptionnel', 'objectivement et scientifiquement défini' auquel la communauté patrimoniale a été habituée, mais est considéré comme une entité 'subjective' assumée, dont l'existence dépend des opinions des communautés elles-mêmes, qui sont les seules habilitées à déterminer si une pratique, une expression ou une compétence particulière fait ou non partie de leur patrimoine culturel. Une véritable révolution de la gouvernance culturelle en vigueur. Les experts et les institutions, jusqu'alors garants des connaissances scientifiques dans le domaine patrimonial, sont désormais dépendants des praticiens et détenteurs pour identifier patrimoine culturel immatériel et d'une certaine manière le 'légitimer'.

Cette première phrase de la définition du patrimoine culturel immatériel dans la Convention a une signification considérable. Elle constitue la reconnaissance du principe formulé plus explicitement quelques années plus tard dans la Convention de l'UNESCO sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles[15]: le principe de l'égale dignité et du respect de toutes les cultures. Et met un terme à toute hiérarchisation, en particulier celle basée sur l'esthétique, l'aspect grandiose ou admirable, la valeur historique, la rareté, l'ancienneté, l'authenticité ou l'unicité.

Elle consacre également l'idée que la notion de patrimoine est toujours une construction, que ce soit celle de la communauté scientifique ou celle, plus large, de la société dans son ensemble. Elle désigne donc les "communautés,

13 Convention du patrimoine immatériel, préambule.

14 Article 2.1 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

15 Adoptée par l'UNESCO le 20 octobre 2005.

groupes et individus" non seulement comme acteurs majeurs, mais comme décideurs dans ce champ patrimonial spécifique.[16]

La viabilité du patrimoine culturel immatériel étant entièrement tributaire de leur volonté et capacité d'en perpétuer la pratique, ils doivent être non seulement activement impliqués dans tout projet de sauvegarde, mais également être toujours considérés comme décisionnaires dans ces projets. L'expert scientifique devient le facilitateur, l'accoucheur, le médiateur. Il doit savoir s'incliner devant l'opinion des détenteurs, au risque de leur procurer un sentiment de dépossession et de spoliation, qui mènera parfois à l'abandon pur et simple de la pratique.

Mais la définition ne se limite pas à cela. Elle continue pour préciser: "Ce patrimoine culturel immatériel, transmis de génération en génération, est recréé en permanence par les communautés et groupes en fonction de leur milieu, de leur interaction avec la nature et de leur histoire, et leur procure un sentiment d'identité et de continuité, contribuant ainsi à promouvoir le respect de la diversité culturelle et la créativité humaine."[17]

Cette deuxième phrase de la définition met avant une autre spécificité du patrimoine culturel immatériel: sa double appartenance au passé et au présent. Il revêt un caractère traditionnel (puisque transmis de génération en génération) et contemporain (puisque recréé en permanence). L'expression 'patrimoine vivant'[18] est d'ailleurs de plus en plus souvent utilisée afin de mettre en lumière cette double appartenance, et pour le démarquer des expressions culturelles qui sont le fruit d'une création contemporaine (même si ces dernières sont nécessairement inspirées, consciemment ou non, par un contexte culturel et une histoire).

Cette expression rappelle à juste titre que le patrimoine culturel immatériel appartient bien à la catégorie 'patrimoine', avec la dimension historique qu'elle implique, garantie par sa transmission intergénérationnelle. Son caractère vivant est démontré par son existence contemporaine (et sa fonction sociale perpétuée) mais aussi dans sa nature évolutive, reflétant celle de tout organisme vivant (qui naît, se développe, évolue, se régénère, fusionne avec les autres et meurt après avoir donné naissance à d'autres formes qui lui ressemblent mais possèdent leur propre identité). Des expressions traditionnelles anciennes, bien documentées à travers des archives écrites, sonores et visuelles, mais sans aucun détenteur vivant souhaitant les perpétuer, ne peuvent donc être qualifiées de patrimoine culturel immatériel. Il s'agit là d'expressions appartenant désormais à l'histoire, parfois récente, d'archives, mais ne correspond pas à ce que la Convention considère comme le patrimoine culturel immatériel. Cela n'enlève rien, bien évidemment, à l'intérêt scientifique de telles archives.

16 La Convention-cadre du Conseil de l'Europe sur la valeur du patrimoine culturel pour la société, dite Convention de Faro, adoptée par le Comité des Ministres du Conseil de l'Europe en 2005, reprend également ce positionnement: "le patrimoine culturel constitue un ensemble de ressources héritées du passé que des personnes considèrent, par-delà le régime de propriété des biens, comme un reflet et une expression de leurs valeurs, croyances, savoirs et traditions en continuelle évolution."

17 Article 2.1 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

18 Signe des temps, l'ancienne Section du patrimoine culturel à l'UNESCO a récemment été nommée 'Entité du patrimoine vivant'.

Les rédacteurs de la Convention, afin de mieux faire comprendre les différents domaines dans lesquels se manifeste le patrimoine culturel immatériel, ont par ailleurs souhaité en faire une liste non exhaustive.[19] Elle mentionne donc que le patrimoine immatériel se manifeste *notamment*[20] dans les expressions et traditions orales, les arts du spectacle, les pratiques sociales, rituels et événements festifs, les connaissances et les pratiques concernant la nature et l'univers ou encore les savoir-faire liés à l'artisanat traditionnel. On l'oublie parfois, il ne s'agit là que d'exemples de domaines, loin d'être exhaustifs ni obligatoires. Et bien souvent, une expression de patrimoine culturel immatériel participera de plusieurs catégories à la fois.

Enfin, le premier paragraphe de la définition du patrimoine culturel immatériel dans la Convention se termine par une phrase qui est souvent sous-estimée: "Aux fins de la présente Convention, seul sera pris en considération le patrimoine culturel immatériel conforme aux instruments internationaux existants relatifs aux droits de l'homme, ainsi qu'à l'exigence de respect mutuel entre communautés, groupes et individus, et d'un développement durable."[21]

Cette mention qui a pu paraître parfois non essentielle en termes opérationnels pour l'identification du patrimoine immatériel, a pourtant eu des conséquences concrètes au niveau international: plusieurs candidatures aux Listes de la Convention se sont vues rejetées au motif du non respect du premier critère d'inscription ("L'élément est constitutif du patrimoine culturel immatériel tel que défini à l'article 2 de la Convention").[22] Qu'il s'agisse de revendications d'appartenance nationales malvenues, de pratiques jugées dangereuses pour l'intégrité physique, d'expressions belliqueuses, non respectueuses de l'environnement, voire discriminatoires envers une catégorie de population, l'Organe d'évaluation chargé de l'examen préliminaire des candidatures, et le Comité intergouvernemental lui-même, ont dû poser les limites de l'admissible en termes de reconnaissance au niveau international. Le respect des droits humains ainsi que l'exigence de respect mutuel entre communautés, groupes et individus, et d'un développement durable[23], n'a donc pas été, dans la courte histoire de la mise en œuvre de la Convention, qu'une simple figure de style.

Sauvegarder le patrimoine culturel immatériel?

Les hésitations exprimées sur le bien fondé de l'élaboration d'une Convention dédiée au patrimoine culturel immatériel se sont également exprimées sur l'objectif de la sauvegarde. Partant du principe que le patrimoine culturel

19 Article 2.2 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

20 C'est nous qui soulignons.

21 Article 2.1 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

22 UNESCO, *Directives opérationnelles pour la mise en œuvre de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel*. Paris, 2018, paragraphes 1 et 2.

23 Voir aussi le Chapitre VI des Directives opérationnelles, "Sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel et développement durable à l'échelle internationale", adopté en 2016, qui reflète la pertinence particulière de la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel pour le développement durable.

immatériel est en constante évolution, certaines voix se sont élevées pour plaider en faveur de sa libre évolution, sans intervention spécifique, au risque d'entraver son évolution naturelle, voire de le figer ou de le fossiliser.

Il est vrai qu'appliquée au patrimoine immatériel, la culture de la protection et de la préservation pose de nombreuses questions. Comment garantir que le patrimoine immatériel des différentes communautés continue à être activement produit, soutenu et transformé? Que pouvons-nous et devons-nous sauvegarder sans prendre en compte des notions telles que l'authenticité, l'exceptionnalité ou la valeur esthétique? Comment permettre à une entité vivante de se perpétuer?

Préserver ou protéger une expression en souhaitant maintenir son intégrité, c'est parfois la couper du monde extérieur et partant de ses moyens de régénération et de survie. Car le patrimoine immatériel n'est viable que s'il continue à trouver une fonction sociale dans le présent. A vouloir protéger une expression de sa nécessaire évolution, voire disparition, au contact d'autres expressions, ne cherche-t-on pas à la mettre sous cloche?[24]

De même, le réflexe patrimonial classique de l'inventaire, de la documentation et de la recherche ne suffit pas, loin s'en faut, à la sauvegarde. C'est d'ailleurs un reproche qui a été formulé à l'encontre de l'ancêtre de la Convention, la Recommandation de 1989 sur la sauvegarde de la culture traditionnelle et populaire, qui a été considérée comme beaucoup trop axée sur la documentation et la recherche et pas assez sur le soutien à la viabilité du patrimoine culturel immatériel.

La Convention a corrigé cette tendance en définissant le terme 'sauvegarde' comme "les mesures visant à assurer la *viabilité*[25] du patrimoine culturel immatériel, y compris l'identification, la documentation, la recherche, la préservation, la protection, la promotion, la mise en valeur, la transmission, essentiellement par l'éducation formelle et non formelle, ainsi que la revitalisation des divers aspects de ce patrimoine."[26].

Elle a donc mis en avant la première mission, "assurer la viabilité", en citant certains aspects qui peuvent y participer. Cette énumération illustre la multitude d'outils à disposition pour contribuer à la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel.[27]

Ce qui ressort clairement de la mise en œuvre de la Convention et de l'expérience à ce jour, c'est que la sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel exige deux paramètres incontournables: l'implication à tous les stades des communautés concernées, et élaboration de mesures de sauvegarde basées sur

24 Voir par exemple l'évaluation de l'ICOMOS sur la candidature du Pays Bassari en vue de son inscription sur la Liste du patrimoine mondial, section Menaces: "Si le contact avec les religions dominantes n'a pas modifié le style de vie et les concepts traditionnels du monde des Bassari et des Bédik, des signes de contact avec des groupes externes et la 'modernité' se voient dans l'adoption de vêtements 'occidentaux'. (…) les influences et les contacts externes avec le 'mode de vie moderne' ont déjà entraîné les signes d'un début d'affaiblissement du système éducatif basé sur les classes d'âge."

25 C'est nous qui soulignons.

26 Article 2.3 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

27 Pour plus d'informations sur la sauvegarde, voir le matériel de formation dédié à la sauvegarde élaboré par l'UNESCO: https://ich.unesco.org/fr/renforcement-des-capacités.

les besoins exprimés par ces communautés. La réalité est encore loin de s'y conformer.[28]

Les musées, partenaires de la sauvegarde

Les musées, institutions culturelles de référence dans le domaine du patrimoine, sont mentionnés à plusieurs reprises dans les Directives opérationnelles de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel comme partenaires de la sauvegarde. Ainsi, on peut lire dans la section du chapitre IV.1.2 des Directives opérationnelles, consacrée à la "Sensibilisation au patrimoine culturel immatériel aux niveaux local et national." Il y a en particulier la Directive opérationnelle 109 (pour de texte intégral, voir l'article *Words Matter… The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks*, en introduction de ce numéro spécial de *Volkskunde*).[29]

On y voit clairement que les Directives opérationnelles, tout en invitant les musées à être partenaires de la sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel, insistent sur le cadre dans lequel elle doit s'opérer, et en particulier sur la nécessaire implication des communautés à divers stades.

L'enquête menée en 2018-2019 par le Ministère français de la culture, en coopération avec la Fédération des écomusées et musées de société, sur le thème 'Patrimoine culturel immatériel et musées', fait ressortir que de nombreux musées se sont emparés de la notion de patrimoine immatériel, mais se révèlent plus enclins à travailler sur les inventaires, et sont principalement tournés vers la mémoire et les savoir-faire artisanaux. L'étude montre également combien le patrimoine immatériel attire les musées, qui constatent sa forte capacité à créer du lien social et à reconnecter certaines populations avec le musée.

L'enjeu de la participation des communautés est ici clé: en associant les communautés concernées à l'identification et aux mesures de sauvegarde, c'est un nouveau champ qui s'ouvre aux musées, et des fonctions élargies. C'est peut-être cette nouvelle perspective qui explique la relative hésitation des professionnels des musées qu'on a pu observer au moment de l'élaboration de

28 "L'Organe d'évaluation rappelle l'importance d'une définition claire des communautés, groupes ou individus concernés par les éléments du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Dans certains cas, les dossiers ne précisaient pas si le terme de 'communauté' désignait un groupe de personnes vivant dans une zone géographique spécifique ou bien les praticiens de l'élément. Dans d'autres dossiers, la communauté était associée à une organisation privée ou à un groupe de professionnels concernés par l'élément. L'évaluation des dossiers était alors problématique en raison de la nature ambiguë de la communauté concernée. La définition de la communauté doit également inclure une description détaillée de la question des genres, avec notamment l'identification des rôles tenus par les hommes et les femmes, ainsi que des lettres de consentement de praticiens de différents genres. L'Organe d'évaluation a exprimé sa préoccupation quant à l'absence de lettres de consentement de femmes dans certains dossiers, alors même que la forte participation de femmes et de filles à la pratique de l'élément y était mise en avant." UNESCO, *Rapport de l'Organe d'évaluation sur ses travaux en 2019*. Paris, 2019, paragraphe 38.

29 Paragraphe 109 des Directives opérationnelles, voir M. Jacobs, 'Words Matter… The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks, *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 121:3, 2020, p. 267-288.

la Convention du patrimoine immatériel et durant les premières années de sa mise en œuvre.

L'hésitation des professionnels des musées à participer à la sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel peut être en partie attribuée aux débats en cours sur le rôle futur des musées dans la société. Les musées fonctionnent traditionnellement comme des lieux de conservation, d'étude, de réflexion et de présentation du patrimoine matériel. Ce qui doit être conservé et exposé et comment et pourquoi ont généralement été recherchés et déterminés par divers experts en fonction de la valeur scientifique ou historique des objets concernés. Cette fonction fondamentale des musées et la position des professionnels des musées sont aujourd'hui remises en question à mesure que les significations que la société attache aux cultures évoluent. Loin de la conception élitiste de la Culture, c'est la culture, les cultures dans tout leur diversité qui apparaissent désormais tout aussi légitimes. Le caractère dynamique du patrimoine culturel immatériel place tous les acteurs de la gestion du patrimoine, y compris les professionnels des musées, au défi de reconsidérer ce que nous entendons par 'patrimoine', pourquoi nous le protégeons et pour qui, et comment s'en acquitter. Trois questions en découlent:

La première est de réfléchir à la manière dont les musées peuvent représenter une manifestation du patrimoine culturel immatériel sans la réduire à ses aspects matériels? Il faut le répéter sans cesse: le patrimoine culturel immatériel ne vit que dans l'esprit et le corps des détenteurs du patrimoine et des membres de la communauté. Il est problématique d'essayer de représenter le patrimoine immatériel uniquement à travers des objets car l'essentiel de ce patrimoine est précisément ce qui est 'immatériel': expressions, connaissances, savoir-faire… Les objets liés à la pratique du patrimoine jouent un rôle important mais ne sont que des supports. À moins que des précautions appropriées ne soient prises, le simple fait de séparer les objets de ceux qui les utilisent peut conduire à une décontextualisation ou dénaturation du patrimoine culturel immatériel et, finalement, à sa fossilisation ou sa folklorisation. Bien loin, donc, de l'ambition de sa sauvegarde.

Une deuxième question qu'on peut poser est de savoir comment les musées peuvent présenter et communiquer au public les valeurs que les communautés concernées associent à leur patrimoine immatériel. On l'a vu, dans le domaine du patrimoine immatériel, l'approche scientifique et 'objective' n'est pas nécessairement pertinente, car les valeurs du patrimoine immatériel sont avant tout celles que des détenteurs eux-mêmes lui accordent. La présentation d'un patrimoine immatériel doit pouvoir refléter sa valeur pour la communauté culturelle concernée, au risque d'échapper à la définition même de 'patrimoine culturel immatériel'.

Enfin, la dernière question est de savoir comment les musées peuvent-ils maintenir et entretenir le lien entre ce qu'on peut voir dans le musée et les communautés détentrices de ce patrimoine, et comment les éléments exposés peuvent-ils continuer à jouer un rôle important dans la vie des communautés détentrices?

On le comprend: présenter un patrimoine 'vivant' dans un musée est un réel défi qui appelle des solutions créatives. Divers musées, fort heureusement

de plus en plus nombreux, prennent des initiatives intéressantes. Par exemple, la transformation du musée en un centre culturel où diverses communautés peuvent se réunir non seulement pour en apprendre davantage sur les cultures des autres communautés mais aussi pour participer à la mise en œuvre de leurs propres pratiques culturelles. Les musées peuvent aussi, quand ils se transforment en un lieu de pratique sociale, jouer le rôle important de médiateurs culturels. En travaillant activement avec les communautés, les musées peuvent en outre constituer un espace public où le patrimoine et l'identité des communautés sont reconnus, ce qui ne peut que renforcer le sentiment d'appartenance et la fierté de ces communautés vis-à-vis de leur patrimoine.

Deux projets reconnus par le Comité intergouvernemental pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel comme reflétant le mieux les principes et objectifs de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel[30], illustrent le rôle crucial que peuvent jouer les musées pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel.

Le Centre pour la culture traditionnelle – musée-école du projet pédagogique de Pusol (Elche, Espagne)[31] – est né de la détermination d'un instituteur travaillant à l'école publique rurale à maître unique de Pusol pour sauvegarder la culture et les traditions locales face aux transformations culturelles et environnementales. Le projet a été lancé dans les années 1960 par le professeur Fernando García-Fontanet, qui a noté que la mécanisation agricole avait un impact négatif sur le patrimoine culturel de Pusol et des environs. Il a utilisé l'école de Pusol pour sauvegarder la culture et les traditions locales en introduisant l'étude des traditions, de l'environnement naturel et de la culture matérielle de Pusol dans le programme scolaire.

Un musée scolaire a été créé dans les années 1980 avec le soutien de la communauté locale. Dès le lancement du projet pédagogique, des dons ont été récoltés qui ont permis la création d'un musée scolaire de l'agriculture. Le projet s'est ensuite étendu pour englober d'abord la campagne environnante, puis la ville d'Elche. Deux extensions de musée ont été financées par la Mairie d'Elche en 1993 et 2001.

Les objectifs du Centre pour la culture traditionnelle étaient de promouvoir une éducation fondée sur les valeurs en intégrant le patrimoine culturel et naturel local dans le programme d'études et de contribuer à la préservation du patrimoine d'Elche par l'éducation, la formation, l'action directe et la sensibilisation dans la communauté éducative. À ce jour, plus de cinq cents écoliers ont été formés. Le musée de l'école comprend actuellement plus de 61 000 entrées d'inventaire et 770 fichiers audio (en grande partie collectés par les écoliers sur le terrain) qui documentent le patrimoine local de la vie quotidienne et favorisent sa cartographie. Ce projet de musée scolaire a contribué à la sauvegarde de nombreuses traditions et expressions de la culture populaire d'Elche à une époque où ce type de patrimoine n'était pas considéré comme une priorité officielle. Il a revitalisé le patrimoine local de manière

30 Article 18 de la Convention du patrimoine immatériel.

31 Sélectionné au cours de la 4e session du Comité en 2009 à Abu Dhabi.

efficace et ouvert des voies entièrement nouvelles pour leur promotion. Le projet a également rendu ces expressions culturelles visibles, montrant et diffusant leur valeur patrimoniale et scientifique, suscitant ainsi un intérêt et une fierté pour leur préservation au sein de la communauté.

Un deuxième projet reconnu par le Comité intergouvernemental pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel est le programme d'éducation et de formation au patrimoine culturel du batik indonésien à destination des étudiants des écoles élémentaires, secondaires, supérieures, professionnelles et polytechniques, entrepris en collaboration avec le Musée du Batik de Pekalongan (Indonésie).

Le batik est un textile artisanal traditionnel dont les techniques sont transmises depuis des générations à Java et ses environs. Le tissu est décoré de motifs produits par un processus de teinture résistant à la cire, et les motifs qui en résultent symbolisent le statut social, les communautés locales, la nature, l'histoire et d'autres aspects du patrimoine culturel. La sauvegarde du patrimoine du batik a été lancée pour sensibiliser la jeune génération, qui manifestait peu d'intérêt pour le batik, en raison, notamment, de l'impact de la mondialisation, de la modernisation et de la technologie sur la production textile.

Les mesures de sauvegarde se sont concentrées sur la transmission traditionnelle du patrimoine par imitation et à travers des canaux non formels, principalement au sein des familles. Pour faciliter la transmission, la direction du Batik Museum Institute, récemment ouvert à Pekalongan, a mis en place un programme, en collaboration avec les chefs d'établissement, pour intégrer des modules éducatifs sur la culture du batik dans les écoles élémentaires, secondaires, supérieures et professionnelles, ainsi qu'à l'école polytechnique de la ville de Pekalongan. L'objectif du programme était de faire mieux connaître et apprécier le patrimoine culturel du batik indonésien, y compris son histoire, ses valeurs culturelles et ses savoir-faire traditionnels, parmi les élèves fréquentant le musée et les établissements d'enseignement concernés. La direction et le personnel du Musée du Batik ont organisé des activités éducatives pour les étudiants et le grand public sur les valeurs culturelles du batik et ses techniques artisanales traditionnelles. Les membres du personnel du musée ont également reçu une formation sur l'enseignement de l'histoire du batik, ses valeurs culturelles et ses techniques traditionnelles aux étudiants. Ce programme a permis à quasiment tous les participants de maîtriser à la fois les valeurs culturelles et les techniques de l'artisanat traditionnel du batik, soutenant ainsi la sauvegarde de ce patrimoine immatériel important pour les communautés de Java et ses environs.

Des musées réinventés pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel

Ces exemples mettent en évidence le rôle vital que les musées peuvent jouer dans la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel.

Le musée communautaire est l'un des moyens concrets d'impliquer les communautés en tant qu'acteurs principaux du patrimoine culturel

immatériel. En créant des expositions participatives et interactives, les musées peuvent faciliter la transmission du patrimoine immatériel. En outre, une réflexion plus approfondie sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel qui 'se cache' derrière les collections des musées pourrait conduire à une documentation plus approfondie de ces collections, à une interprétation plus large des éléments exposés à l'aide d'installations audiovisuelles et avec la participation des communautés concernées, et à des programmes de sensibilisation et d'éducation communautaires supplémentaires.

Par ailleurs, les États parties à la Convention du patrimoine immatériel ayant l'obligation de créer un ou plusieurs inventaires du patrimoine culturel immatériel présent sur leur territoire, avec la participation active des communautés et avec une mise à jour régulière, les musées peuvent être des institutions privilégiées pour constituer de tels inventaires et en être dépositaires. Les informations récoltées, accessibles aux communautés, participent à la sauvegarde. Les communautés sont en effet en constante présence des éléments de leur propre patrimoine, tandis qu'un public plus large en prend connaissance et peut en apprécier les divers aspects. Les professionnels des musées peuvent donc jouer un rôle crucial en aidant les communautés à dresser des inventaires de leur patrimoine immatériel et en rendant les informations inventoriées disponibles pour consultation et mise à jour. Les informations répertoriées peuvent également fournir un matériel précieux pour des activités éducatives interactives.

Tous les musées n'ont cependant pas vocation à se transformer en institutions communautaires afin de jouer un rôle dans la sauvegarde du patrimoine immatériel. Et l'expertise des professionnels des musées ne doit pas être sollicitée que pour la documentation et la conservation des données sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel. La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel est multidimensionnelle et le rôle que les musées peuvent y jouer est également multidimensionnel. À mesure que les musées se diversifient (musées en plein air, écomusées, musées virtuels et musées mobiles, par exemple), les moyens par lesquels ils peuvent soutenir la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel se multiplient et prennent de nouveaux visages.

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel est en effet tout à la fois vecteur d'innovation muséale que terreau d'innovation sociétale, "réserve d'énergies, ressource créative, gisement de potentiels, force d'engendrement de figures et de formes alternatives du réel, puissance de germination".[32] Gageons que les musées réinventés trouveront les voies et moyens de lui offrir toute la place qu'il mérite.

32 F. Sarr and B. Savoy, *Restituer le patrimoine africain*. Paris, 2018, p. 69.

AMARESWAR GALLA

Discursive Crossings in Liminal Spaces[1]

The *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (IMP) unravels the challenges of conceptualising as liminal spaces the fractures that are real or imagined between museums and bearers and transmitters of intangible heritage elements. These are often constructed as in Binary Oppositions; 'Contact Zones'; Subject to the Tyranny of Authenticity; Unfathomable Fluidity; Agency/s for Revitalisation; Sites for Safeguarding; and dilemmas of 'Coloniality and Contextuality'.[2] It is my argument that the 'atmosphere' of museums[3], their collections and the location of associated living heritage elements command the respect of deeper and more rigorous interrogation. Illustrative case studies have the proclivity to museumise and freeze in time living heritage through the narratives of 'self and the other'[4] or 'as it once happened' in the anthropological past. Many questions remain for deep and ethical research – museological and interdisciplinary.

The current debate on formulating a new Definition of the Museum by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) could provide a platform for some of the answers or the ways forward. The following text is desultory referring to the intersectionality of the nature of border crossings attempted, negotiated and often in ethno-centric intellectual, professional and community group landscapes. Six months into the lockdown now and with the momentum from Black Lives Matters, both the institutions of the academy and the museum have opportunities to reflect, reveal and confront their theory and praxis. They may want to drag through as much baggage as possible through the 'portal'.[5] But the global triangulation of crises – COVID 19, Climate and Environmental Deterioration, and surging protests for Racial Justice across the world – challenge us to rethink current approaches to cultural justice and travel through the portal to vision and walk better futures. I sincerely hope that the rigour and reach with which the IMP project has been conducting

1 This contribution is based on the keynote by Amareswar Galla, held on the occasion of the Concluding Symposium of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (26/02/2020, Brussels).

2 Cfr. the keynote address by Amareswar Galla, *The Dialectic of Coloniality and Contextuality*, held on the occasion of the ICOM Vienna Conference (06/12/2019).

3 I. K. B. Lundgaard, *Museum Atmospheres - Embodiment in responsive environments* (PhD. Thesis, Aarhus University, Denmark, 2019).

4 K. Yoshida, 'Introduction. Portraits from Asia and Europe: How have people depicted each other?', in: K. Yoshida and B. Durrans (eds.), *Self and Other: Portraits from Asia and Europe*. Osaka, 2008.

5 A. Roy, 'The Pandemic as a Portal', *Financial Times* (03/04/2020).

is a starting point to decolonise the 'whiteness',[6] and 'anglophone' hegemony in museological discourse. Race matters in the liminal spaces. For it is here that the rites of passage, as if it were, are betrayed. Hegemonic and privileged discourses frame and often co-opt active citizenship and esotericise the conceptual, diminishing the voices of rights-based stakeholders, the bearers, and transmitters of intangible heritage elements.

What kind of interdisciplinary persuasions and paradigmatic shifts do museums need to consider in addressing the atmosphere of experiences in their ambit to become civic spaces?[7] Do they engage with or even consider 'grassroots globalisation' and address the elite legacies, dominance and cultural reproduction?[8] Has museology evolved to internalise the constitutive embeddedness and the dynamism and democratic intent of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage? Are museums ready or do they have the capacity to go beyond chameleon like transformations?[9] Can they negotiate the imperatives of the marketplace or sustainability and address the poverty of methodologies – 'users', 'audiences', 'stakeholders', 'community engagement'?[10] Do they have the capacities and capabilities to address the First Voice and Sustainable Development Goals?[11] What of the human face of globalisation and developing communities of practice to enable rootedness in the ethics of engagement?[12] Can the notion of heritage value or even significance be interrogated, even within one's own ethnocentric boundaries such as the Anglophone world of the former colonies and their metropolis? These and many other challenges are opened by the five encounters of the IMP project. The pathways for the future are 'untrodden' and the liminal location of safeguarding beckons the future institution of the

6 A. Moreton-Robinson, 'Towards a new research agenda?: Foucault, Whiteness and Indigenous sovereignty', *Journal of Sociology* 42:4 2006, p. 383-395.

7 R. West, *The Making of the National Museum of the American Indian*. Champaign, in press.

8 A. Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination', *Public Culture* 12:1, 2000, p. 1-19.

9 Richard Kurin, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention', Inaugural Public Lecture, Smithsonian Institution and the University of Queensland MoU Ceremony, 23 November 2006, published in: R. Kurin, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2, 2007, p. 10-20.

10 J. Falk, 'Understanding Museum Visitors' Motivation and Learning', in: I. Lundgaard and J. Thorek Jensen (eds.), *Museums – Social Learning Spaces and Knowledge Producing Processes*. Copenhagen, 2013, p. 106-127.

11 A. Galla, 'First Voice in Heritage Conservation', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 3, 2008, p. 10-25.

12 *Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/ethics-and-ich-00866 (20/8/2020); M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87; M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 249-256.

museum to the 'third space in the heritage sector' and as to 'how it can become inclusive', a central concern of my professional and academic journey.[13]

In addressing the role of museums in safeguarding intangible heritage there are many antecedents across the world. They offer lessons in different culturally and linguistically diverse contexts. One of the maladies of the heritage field in general and museums in particular, is cultural amnesia.[14] Considerable material from earlier transformations is either forgotten or lost in the academic practice of circulation of chosen publications, incestuous collegiality and chasing select citation indexes. The result is an increasing gulf between theory and the praxis of community-based inventorying and safeguarding. Academics and heritage professionals need to respect that modernity has created a chasm between the tangible and intangible, a construct of the colonial sociology of knowledge. It was not inherent in the bearer-transmitter communities. There are no such things as values of the binary heritage discourse that can be measured and authorised.[15] If postmodernity has failed the source communities, decolonisation discourse continues to be from the vantage point of legacy possessions and hegemonic power base of the former colonial institutional corridors. The elite middle classes of India for instance have rarely addressed this situation.

The idea of India as a construct, could be constitutional, administrative, political, and geographical and many more things one could possibly imagine.[16] It is an amalgam of one of the most complex layers of history in the world. India is one of the first countries in the world to constitutionally guarantee the equal rights of all its citizens. It is also the first one to incorporate Fundamental Rights of all its citizens and include a cultural diversity framework in its Constitution. The translation of such a powerful legal instrument into practice on the ground has been wanting and challenging. Some progress has been made. Now the Pandemic lockdown provides a critical reflexive space for understanding the progress made and the role of museums as agencies of empowerment and participation for historically disadvantaged communities. To label something as intangible heritage of India and its representation in the several national museums is part of a museological practice that has not so far progressed.

What makes the National Museum in New Delhi National? What makes the Indian Museum in Kolkata, the largest and oldest in South Asia, Indian? There are several other national cultural institutions in India. They are administrative organisations to represent India in a poorly conceived museological discourse. The questions have not even been addressed so far, either in the academy or the museum profession, as openly admitted in a series of national symposia in

13 A. Galla, 'In Search of the Inclusive Museum', in: B. Murphy (ed.), *Museums, Ethics and Cultural Heritage*. New York, 2016, p. 304-316.

14 One of the excellent expositions on cultural amnesia: C. James, *Cultural Amnesia: Notes in the Margin of My Time*. London, 2007.

15 L. Smith and G. Campbell, 'The Tautology of "Intangible Values" and the Misrecognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Heritage and Society* 10:1, 2017, p. 26-44.

16 B. Chattopadhyaya, *The Concept of Bharatavarsha and Other Essays*. Ranikhet, 2017.

2019.[17] Throw into this ambiguity, if not vacuity, of intangible heritage elements as Indian. Several continue across the recent political borders. Bauls are from Bengal. Safeguarding their living heritage across the region that has been divided in 1905 by the colonial administration within the ambit of their divide and rule policies, is at least one among them. Another example is the Jamdani textile tradition that has no borders between India and Bangladesh. Yet both argue over Geographical Indications of Goods (henceforth GI) registration[18], as different from intangible heritage. Punjabi heritage cuisine is both Indian and Pakistani. The politicisation of intangible heritage has reached such high levels that two states in India, based on their recent borders, West Bengal, and Orissa, went to court for registering the GI of a popular heritage sweet called *Rasagulla*. But the intangible heritage of the cuisines was neither recalled nor understood. Competition for GI registration is for tourism promotion. But safeguarding intangible heritage through tourism and livelihood concerns of the bearer-transmitter community groups is poorly addressed across India. What is evident is that much of intangible heritage is perceived from the present, synchronically. The diachronic layers and continuities are rarely examined. Popular heritage arguments are hardly evidence based. "Contemporary Pasts" is a critical discourse that must be understood as it informs the living heritage of the present in India or elsewhere.[19]

In India as in Europe, rethinking objects, and sites or even the gaze of the so-called cultural landscapes, mapping their multiple journeys, and assessing their layered significances are critical in the much-discussed decolonising process. Understanding coloniality is a prerequisite in any such framing or positioning as might be appropriate. Contextuality, morality, ethics and respecting evidence based historical interrogation would help heritage and museological progression. It is in this context that I launched the Asia Europe Museums Network (ASEMUS) in Barcelona during the ICOM Triennial General Conference in July 2001. It was a responsibility that I undertook as part of my endeavour to establish a collaborative dialogue that is not oppositional, but one that would help us to learn to 'walk together on our museological journeys'. I was then the President of ICOM Asia Pacific Executive Board. The concept was originally presented via my keynote speech at the ICOM NORD meeting in Stockholm in 2000. It was more than the asymmetry of collections in the Asia Pacific and European contexts. It was the call for an inclusive museology that is progressive. It was my argument that the European collections from Asia were decontextualized and that bringing together coloniality and contextuality, both the meaning and associated intangible heritage of the collections, was a way forward for strategic partnerships for museums from the two regions.

In the early days prior to the start of the series of workshops and meetings that led to the adoption of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, there were seminal transformations

17 Several meetings, symposia and projects are covered in my Heritage Matters Column in the New Indian Express, http://inclusivemuseums.org/index.php/heritage-matters/(21/08/2020).

18 *Intellectual Property India,* http://www.ipindia.nic.in/gi.htm (21/8/2020).

19 R. Thapar, *Indian Cultures as Heritage, Contemporary Pasts.* New Delhi, 2018.

taking place in Australia. In 1982, the Interim Council of the National Museum of Australia was established. It is true that it did not open until 2001 as a Centenary of Federation project, a celebration that conveniently left to oblivion the framing of White Australia policy and its legacies. These are finally surfacing as Australia attempts to engage with Black Lives Matter. However, a major decision in the formation of the National Museum, one of the first anywhere in the world, was to establish an Indigenous or Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Committee of the Council. The Council also made a major decision to scope and establish, once again one of the first ever in the world, an affirmative action program for enabling the participation of Indigenous Australians in museums through a strategic partnership with the higher education sector.[20]

I will give an instance, from the 1980s in the affirmative action program, of what is now framed as intangible heritage. In the curricula planning for the first two years there was a sequence of subjects entitled *Traditional Aboriginal Society* and *Contemporary Aboriginal Society*. In 1988, a review underlined the adage – once a practice and twice a tradition. The ambiguity of the binary between traditional and contemporary was questioned. It was discussed and considered as a colonial construct and that the binary of the subjects was artificial. In the reframing of the curricula a new sequence was introduced: *Concepts in Applied Anthropology*, *Aboriginal Society and Adaptation* and *Aboriginal Material Culture*. It was recognised and translated into both curricula planning and pedagogy that Indigenous Cultures in Australia are living, dynamic and adaptive to what were often traumatic histories of displacement, dispossession, and colonisation. Adaptability was included as part of the resistance sometimes referred to as frontier wars. Collaborative learning and teaching were funded to engage Indigenous knowledge bearers and transmitters in the classroom and field immersions.[21] This movement was translated into a national advocacy strategy through the Federal Government.[22] In 1994, the program received the recognition among the first group of projects funded for excellence by the Committee for Australian University Teaching. What is now considered as intangible heritage provided the essence of the programming that had a multiplier effect across Australia.

In the above-mentioned transformations, the seminal community grounded meeting from the Kimberley region of Australia and its emphasis on respect and recognition of living heritage, informed the 1994 meeting in Japan that drafted the Nara Recommendation on Authenticity of the World Heritage Convention.[23] The decision of the World Heritage Committee in 1994 to take

20 An overview of the program was published and a thousand free copies circulated during the Triennial General Conference of ICOM in Den Hague in 1989. A. Galla, *Museums and Beyond*. Canberra, 1989.

21 Curricula transformations were informed through the first voice of Indigenous Australians. P. Yu, *Crocodile Hole Report*, Derby, 1991; Yu, *Aboriginal Interests Working Group, Final Report of the Western Australian State Museums Taskforce* (report also called after the Chairperson, *Stannage Report*). Perth, 1991.

22 A. Galla, *Heritage Curricula and Cultural Diversity.* Canberra, 1993.

23 UNESCO, *Nara Recommendation on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention.* Paris, 1995.

into consideration the principles and views contained in the Nara Document on Authenticity in its consideration of properties nominated for inclusion on the World Heritage List is a turning point in the history of the World Heritage Convention. It generated an enriched World Heritage discourse and listing of sites that demonstrated both cultural diversity and heritage diversity. Significantly, the knowledge of community groups living in World Heritage sites has become important in management, and this was further underscored in 2007 by the Committee adopting 'Communities' as one of the five 'Cs', or Strategic Objectives for facilitating the implementation of the Convention.

Eighteen years later, the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the World Heritage Convention resulted in a mainstream publication locating intangible heritage in World Heritage sites. What is significant is that the safeguarding of intangible heritage elements in World Heritage sites need not be oppositional but collaborative, each abetting and augmenting the other respecting local rights-based communities and their living heritage elements. It is the practice of integrated local area planning. Through a rigorous refereeing process, five case studies were included.[24] They illustrate the participation of local communities living in and around World Heritage sites and contributing to the safeguarding of their respective intangible heritage and in doing so the outstanding universal value. iSimangaliso Wetland Park (South Africa) clearly demonstrates that conservation of a World Heritage site in partnership with the primary stakeholder community can result in economic, social, and environmental benefits derived to communities that have been historically disadvantaged. Conservation and community development are facilitated as sustainable development of the World Heritage site. Sian Ka'an (Mexico) is an example of participatory methodologies and project-based learning in safeguarding both intangible heritage and outstanding universal value. It recognizes that the high degree of biodiversity conserved in the World Heritage site is partly a legacy of the traditional knowledge systems of the Maya people. It respects and benefits from the Maya management practices and landscape skills over the centuries. In doing so the approach stems the decline of traditional knowledge.

In the Republic of Korea's Hahoe Historic Village, the recognition and knowledge of the local communities has become significant for conservation and in facilitating cultural experiences for visitors. World Heritage status has also helped Hahoe villagers in their struggle to resist external appropriation of their culture and to reclaim stewardship of their village, leading to tangible economic and social benefits. Kaiping Diaolou and Villages (China) World Heritage site presents a relatively recent phenomenon where the safeguarding of World Heritage is a networked exercise with the international diaspora. However, local people who live within the site take on shared responsibility and custodianship of its outstanding universal value. The last case study in this chapter is the Shiretoko World Heritage site (Japan), which argues that the co-management of fisheries with the fishing communities yields significant benefits for conservation of the World Heritage site and for the

24 A. Galla, (ed.), *World Heritage: Benefits Beyond Borders.* Cambridge and Paris, 2012.

local stakeholders. Building consensus with the fishing communities serves the common purpose of conservation and responsible economic development based on systematic monitoring of impacts.

Australian experiences were also translated into local methodologies elsewhere. In these translations there are lessons to be learnt from scoping the role of museums in safeguarding intangible heritage. One of them could be understood from museums in three World Heritage sites in Vietnam and India. All the three were inscribed on the World Heritage List without engagement with the local rights holders. In fact, working on post inscription projects in all the three of them revealed that the local stakeholder populations were oblivious to the meaning of World Heritage and outstanding universal value. The latter had subordinated both the primary stakeholder communities and their living or intangible heritage, if not overwhelming it with the processes of globalisation in its various avatars – cultural, social, economic, environmental (imposition of the colonial western Nature/Culture dichotomy) and digital and even religious and spiritual. Ecomuseology was used in the initial transformations or rehabilitation – Halong Bay and Hoi An World Heritage sites in Vietnam and Darjeeling Himalayan Railway World Heritage in India.[25] Ecomuseology became a tool for bringing people and their heritage together through community-based inventorying and safeguarding demonstration projects.[26] Benefit analysis for the primary, secondary and tertiary stakeholder communities informed the first stage of transformation.

Coming back to India, one must learn to accept that community groups have had safeguarding through their own First Voice for hundreds of years, just as in Australia. Guilds and craft societies have been recorded safeguarding the intangible heritage of skills, rituals, and modalities of intergenerational transmission for hundreds of years across the world. For example, in South Asia weaving and textile heritage continued, yes viable and sustainable, for centuries until the tyranny of British colonial taxation and the dumping of cheaper material from Lancashire mills. Relationship of indigenous people with the environment in India was diminished through heavy taxation on forest products. Modernity of design and architecture superimposed itself on local and indigenous forms that are now being revived and valued as climate friendly through the new discourse of intangible heritage and climate action.

It must be emphasised that NOT ALL intangible heritage elements need safeguarding. Caste system and its mores are systemically embedded in the codes of ritual hierarchies in India. They are the root problem of present-day India's power problems and corruption. Female genital mutilation and female infanticide are gross violations of human rights. Bonded labour or the legacies of the Devadasis, Temple Dancers, even after the systems were made illegal continue. Patriarchal practices and dowry are continuing. Many of these abominable practices must be understood to eradicate or minimise them. Only

25 A. Galla, 'Culture and Heritage in Development: Ha Long Ecomuseum, a case study from Vietnam', *Humanities Research* 9:1, 2002, p. 63-76.

26 A. Galla, 'Locating tourism in sustainable heritage development Darjeeling Himalayan Railway (DHR)', *Cultura y Desarrollo* 4, 2005, p. 1-14.

legal prescriptions through international standard setting instruments have a limited role. Nor can simple solutions be found in the post-World War II mantra of education. If anything, demographers from Australian National University and Bangalore have demonstrated that education and the value placed on it has entrenched some of these practices even more in India. Education has diminished bride wealth, but dowry has become unbearably demonic on parents. The complexity of traditional practices and their contemporary manifestation is to be researched and understood through the First Voice of community groups and the liminal spaces of transmission of such practices, if we are to ensure human rights. For example, the adaptability of women with the growth of middle classes and their continuing subordination in the household needs to be researched. It has exposed the exploitative dimension of education and its role in increasing household incomes at the expense of subordinating and demeaning of women. If you apply the borders of caste, class, race, ethnicity, gender, age, economic status, faith, and sexuality, the liminality of intersectionality and associated ill-conceived intangible heritage becomes a pandemic. Education has proven to be an ineffectual vaccine.

It is the argument here for the youth present in the final IMP symposium, aspiring to become heritage professionals and researchers, that they interrogate the possibility of community grounded cultural spaces and then secondarily museums as sites for safeguarding intangible heritage. In the latter intangible heritage can be critical in reanimating or bringing to life recent and sometimes historical collections to facilitate experiential learning. This enhances the didactics of the display and adds value to the respective museum through dynamism in exhibition planning, design, and final outcomes. In the educational programming such contextual valorisation of collections creates a space for meaningful intergenerational dialogue and transmission. The direct participation of bearers and transmitters makes the learning more engaging for young audiences who are often seduced by the offerings of global popular cultural experiences that are often homogenising and have become a major threat to safeguarding intangible heritage at levels both the local and beyond.

Inventorying is a major challenge for safeguarding intangible heritage. Conventional collections management systems and site survey and mapping methodologies are inadequate for dealing with living heritage elements. Documentation can easily induce freezing the element for the transliteration process captures it in time and space. Museums have considerable experience in creating and managing databases. This knowledge could inform new and innovative methods for inventorying intangible heritage. However, most research and publications on cultural mapping marginalise or add on intangible heritage elements. Community based inventorying and safeguarding would also assist museums that want to become relevant to their diverse audiences. In addition to the visitors, working with bearers and transmitters would create the appropriate and respectful atmosphere that is ethically engaging.

Conservation is only a part of safeguarding process. Most often legacy practices of preservation, restoration and conservation of tangible heritage endure into the discourses of safeguarding intangible heritage. Yet conservation of tangible items associated with intangible heritage could be

informed by the knowledge of the bearers and carriers. This would inform the safeguarding process through direct community engagement.[27] The meaning and multidimensionality of safeguarding as a process should not be defined but understood and respected as an integral part of the contextual interface of museums and the element that they are working with. It requires a sharing of authority and not the patriarchy of authorising. The ethical frame is one of letting go the power and authority of the museum or making it secondary to the authority of the cultural rights of the respective bearers and transmitters. Safeguarding requires a critical understanding of the different contextual effects of power and authority. If it is ethically based on respect for the bearers and transmitters, shared authority could also be a way forward for museum development.

Museums have become media savvy to overcome the constraints of lockdowns during the Pandemic. Performative spaces, digital or real, of intangible heritage elements are more likely to attract quality media profiles than simulated tourist promotions which often compromise the values embedded in both the intangible elements and the associated collections. In recent years social media has become increasingly significant for the promotion of active citizenship. So important is the role of social media that it has been dubbed as the catalyst for the 'Arab spring' and various recent radical political transformations. The globally transformative movement, Black Lives Matter, has brought to the forefront racism and discrimination so deeply entrenched in museums across the world. Colour and power and the intersectionality of a range of cultural borders have created hierarchies. Decolonising and collaborative framing of them as flexible and ongoing intercultural discourses is critical. How well we come through the Pandemic as a portal, to what extent we drag through past prejudices and the scope of creating post Pandemic blended realities will determine as to what we learnt through reflecting, revealing and confronting our prejudices. Tweeting, Instagramming, and other modalities have become the culture of social action impacting on the way young people participate in civic processes. If in the transmission of intangible heritage, young people are our target groups or if you will critical audiences, what role does social media have in the safeguarding of intangible heritage through museums? At the same time: how can museums be of assistance through relevance, respect and participation in the intergenerational transmission and elements in all their adaptive transformations as part of community-based safeguarding of intangible heritage? The fundamental question remains whether museums have come to an understanding of the use of social media for young people. How can they maximise on the opportunities provided by social media in the intergenerational transmission of intangible heritage?

27 Some of the early incorporations of safeguarding in museum practice are by conservators. M. Clavir, 'Preserving conceptual integrity: ethics and theory in preventive conservation', *Studies in Conservation* 39:2, 1994; p. 53-57; M. Clavir, *Preserving What is Valued: Museums, Conservation and First Nations*. Vancouver, 2002; N. Odegaard, 'Artists' Intent: Material Culture Studies and Conservation', *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation* 34:3, 1995, p. 187-193.

In the movable dimension of heritage, museums have witnessed the development of considerable scholarship on 'objects', 'art works', and sometimes 'things'.[28] Similarly, our work has interfaced with sites, places, and landscapes in addressing the physical context of movable heritage. For the past two decades there has been considerable effort on the part of professionals from being site or object centred to becoming more community centred. Community engagement has become a measurable dimension of the corporate culture of heritage agencies. We now have a new dimension of expanding on the role and function of museums as spaces for safeguarding intangible heritage 'elements', where the bearer and transmitter communities, groups and individuals are the primary rights stakeholders and whose role is critical in the transmission and the revitalisation of intangible heritage elements.

In 2004 Richard Kurin in his keynote speech to ICOM 2004 in Seoul, has challenged the readiness or capacity of museums in the safeguarding of intangible heritage. In 2019 at an international research meeting he threw open the same challenge at the Smithsonian Institution. In 2020 museums continue to struggle to come to terms with the key conceptual frameworks: elements, safeguarding, revitalisation, viability, sustainability, carriers, transmitters, inventorying of living heritage, intellectual property rights, ethical engagement and in fact, the very centrality of intangible heritage and its community based inventorying and safeguarding. Several case studies and demonstration projects are paving the way to create an understanding of these conceptual challenges, but the establishment museology continues to reinvent itself and needs critical interrogation. Drawing from the current discussions on the implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Convention we could focus in future on the following thematic considerations:

a. Examining the concepts of the 'element' in the drafting of the 2003 Convention and its Operational Directives. What does an element mean in the museum business?
b. Actual trends, categories and examples of the elements inscribed on the Representative, Urgent Safeguarding and Good Practice lists. What are the different examples of elements that museums have dealt with in the safeguarding of intangible heritage in culturally and linguistically diverse contexts?
c. Addressing 'similar elements' in different countries or contexts. How do museums deal with intangible heritage elements that have multiple source communities or bearer and transmitter communities that are at times transnationals?
d. What is appropriate for elements of intangible heritage in inventorying, listing, safeguarding, and raising awareness? Museums have diverse contexts and are driven by their core missions. How do we transform our approaches and practices, addressing the safeguarding of intangible heritage, to incorporate or rather integrate inventorying, creating databases, establishing

28 S. Weil, *Rethinking the Museum and Other Meditations*. Washington DC, 1990.

safeguarding strategies and active citizenship and public education programming?

Research is critical in better understanding of an element (or group of elements) of intangible heritage through an examination of form, function, social, cultural and economic values, practices, modes of transmission and artistic and aesthetic dimensions, history and the dynamics of creation and re-creation. Museums must look at the way documentation and research assist safeguarding measures, especially for furthering the continued practice and transmission of the element/s; and be prepared with the participation and sustained prior informed consent of the communities, groups and individuals concerned.

One of the principal goals in establishing the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* after the Seoul Declaration of ICOM 2004, and drawing on the work of the ICOM Cross Cultural Task Force, was to promote research on the role of museums in safeguarding intangible heritage. As a co-founder and Second and Third Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal*, I worked with the Editorial Board on sourcing, negotiating, and publishing a series of case studies that address the different ways that the safeguarding of intangible heritage informs the transformation of museum practice. Professor Lourdes Arizpe, the eminent anthropologist from Mexico, has consistently advocated the need for research in understanding the impacts of normative instruments such as the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and especially for the inscription processes on the above-mentioned lists under the Convention.[29] She identified the following concerns after a research planning meeting in Mexico and the research advocated could inform what we could endeavour to do in museums:

1. To analyse the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage in current development processes. The main three issues are sustainability – intangible cultural heritage is very important in many instances for environmental, social, and political sustainability; the redefinition of what makes us human – several new theories show the relevance of cultural practices to the way societies achieve negotiated conviviality and pluralism; and the repositioning of nations, traditional regional cultures, ethnic and religious groups in the new world order. Research on these issues will make visible underlying currents in proposals for inscriptions on the different lists of intangible heritage and would make such work more relevant in the world today.
2. To examine intangible cultural heritage in terms of the needs and wants of local communities, as expressed in cultural idioms and in the context of economic crises and policy trends. Such an analysis must take into account the different levels of decision-making – say, municipal, state, and national – in the inventorying and proposing of candidatures on intangible cultural heritage.

29 L. Arizpe and C. Amescua (eds.), *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*. New York, 2012.

3. To create methodological tools for inventorying, registering and promoting intangible cultural heritage in multiscalar models, that is, taking into account that local cultures are always related to larger 'cultural areas': micro-regional, national and even macro-regional or even sub-continental. This may help ease the controversies arising from different groups claiming that only they have the 'authentic' way of performing an intangible cultural heritage practice, and falling out with other groups when that practice is included in the Representative List.

I have presented a few thoughts on the significance of promoting the role of museums and heritage agencies in safeguarding intangible heritage. There is considerable urgency for museums to rethink their core missions to integrate the safeguarding of intangible heritage along with the conservation of tangible heritage. This can only be done through critical and constructive research that engages and respects community-based knowledge systems. In doing so museums must learn to gain the sustained prior informed consent of the rights holder stakeholders or sometimes the source communities and ensure an equitable and ethical practice that enables the museum as an inclusive agency in safeguarding intangible heritage in the face of the accelerated pace of all forms of globalisation leading to the extinction of languages and cultures across the world. In addressing this challenge museums learn that community engagement is indivisible from their core purpose.

Relevance, living heritage and interdisciplinary thinking in education and cultural democracy from the early 20th century gradually transformed and mainstreamed design to improve life. One of the most well-known schools is the Bauhaus with the manifesto *Thinking the World Anew*. Bauhaus' Centenary last year interrogated the heritage of design and as to how changing values inform innovation, inspiration, and creativity. The Design Museum (MAK) in Vienna hosted The Design Biennale in 2019 on *Changing Values*. The MAK Conference "*The Vienna Biennale for Change: Brave New Virtues. Shaping Our Digital World* focussed on brave visions on handling artificial intelligence and new technologies, on shaping innovative (urban) ways of work, on new ways of living (together), and on responsible consumption."[30] Christoph Thun-Hohenstein, General Director of the MAK, initiator and head of the Biennale, states: "With the possibilities of art, design, and architecture, the Vienna Biennale will contribute to shaping a future based on values." Which "values can the utopia of an economically and socially just and fair as well as ecologically sustainable future become reality?"[31] All players, museums personnel, rights holder communities and collections remain strangers in a decontextualized

30 *Vienna Biennale For Change 2019: Brave New Virtues. Shaping Our Digital World*, https://www.biennialfoundation.org/2019/06/vienna-biennale-for-change-2019-brave-new-virtues-shaping-our-digital-world/ (21/08/2020).

31 *Opening VIENNA BIENNALE FOR CHANGE 2019. BRAVE NEW VIRTUES. Shaping Our Digital World*, http://www.viennabiennale.org/en/exhibitions/detail/opening-vienna-biennale-for-change-2019-1/ (21/08/2020).

environment. Can museums get in step with such contemporary thinking and take mediated pathways cognisant of the liminal spaces between institutions and community groups, between considerations of tangible and intangible?[32]

We are familiar with the impacts of leading edge museologists of the day such as Duncan Cameron who queried the museum as a "temple or forum" in 1967. Steven Weil argued the museum as an "idea" and an object as a "thing" in 1989.[33] The ICOM 2002 Asia Pacific meeting in Shanghai demanded the decolonisation of the museum, calling for rethinking the museum as a dynamic institution and including safeguarding living heritage. In 2010 ICOM adopted the Shanghai Charter on Cultural Diversity that called for a shift from Monoculturalism to Cultural Pluralism. In 2008 in Leiden, The Netherlands, in partnership with ICOM, we launched a research network – *The Inclusive Museum* – on how the institution of the museum could become more inclusive. It is an open-ended research movement for intellectual debate and discussion rather than being prescriptive on what is inclusion (see: onmuseums.com).

Rethinking museums as relevant spaces at the end of the second decade of the 21st century has become imperative. At the same time as the Vienna Biennale Conference in 2019, the Extraordinary General Assembly of ICOM in Kyoto discussed and debated the adoption of a proposed new definition. The debate almost broke up the professional body, the largest for heritage in the world. The current definition of a museum in its sixth iteration since 1948, was updated and adopted unanimously in 2007 in Vienna. As the then Chair of the Cross Cultural Task Force of ICOM (2004 to 2010), I participated in the complex negotiation process through the ICOM Reform Taskforce to have 'intangible heritage' integrated into the definition.

Those of us working on cultural justice through museums felt that our life journeys were being vindicated when the new definition was presented in Kyoto last year. It covered the range of social, cultural, economic and environmental concerns that mattered to museums two decades into the 21st century. The decision to adopt the new definition has been deferred. But the momentum for change can only be accelerated now. India is yet to join the debate. But India witnessed in 2019 a plethora of museum conferencing raising several important questions interspersed with a few excellent case studies of transformations as well as plenty of show and tell of the conventional demonstrations. Vendor driven culture of transformations without institutional capacity building is evident. Even if meetings are limited to burgeoning urban elites and their cultural reproduction in a market economy, these are conversations one must have to open the legacies of the past and start decolonising the museums. The silence on the role of museums in safeguarding intangible heritage of India is resounding! In 2019, the Government of India has come up with a new five-year plan with substantial budget for the transformation of national museums, and even to establish a National Institute for Cultural Heritage and Conservation to drive professionalisation of museums in India. The Government of India

32 A. Galla, 'The Stranger is Present', S. Nagbøl (ed.), *The Stranger. On the Understanding of, and Socialising With, the Stranger in a Globalised and Constantly Changing World*. Aarhus, 2015 [*CURSIV* 16].

33 S. Weil, 'What is the Proper Business of the Museum: Ideas or Things?', *Muse* 7:1, 1989, p. 28-32.

also released in 2020, during the Pandemic, a new National Educational Policy. It provides significant avenues of interdisciplinary research and teaching, both at the community and institutional levels for safeguarding intangible heritage. Hopefully, it will not be more of the same and there will be new and conscionable change agents beyond the national capital and other major metropolises in India. More than 80% of the country, villages, are forgotten by the museums in India, hence its intangible heritage.

India was an active member in the UNESCO General Conference that adopted the text of a new standard-setting instrument on the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity, and their Role in Society in November 2015. It was drafted in close collaboration with ICOM. It affirms the *Code of Ethics for Museums* of ICOM. Member States have agreed on establishing and implementing a set of global guidelines for the protection and promotion of museums and collections. It is to become the cornerstone of international and national museum policies and legal instruments. It refers to the current definition from 2007. It reflects the international community's strong commitment to assisting museums in fulfilling their roles in contemporary society to promote sustainable development and intercultural dialogue, safeguarding heritage in all its manifestations. Hopefully ICOM will edit and amend through negotiation with its constituent committees and UNESCO, and adopt a progressive new definition by 2022, at the next Triennial General Assembly in Prague.

The new Secretary of the Smithsonian, Lonnie G. Bunch III, historian and founding Director of the iconic and phenomenal, National Museum of African American History and Culture on the Smithsonian Mall, offers three suggestions for museum transformation when and where appropriate. "A community-driven model of interpretation, collecting, and relationships that might assist them in navigating the tensions between history and memory" so that "museums matter"; "help audiences find the contemporary resonance of a museum's efforts"; "reposition cultural institutions as sites of value that are the centres and not peripheries of their communities".[34] The legacies or the way forward for the innovative and inspirational progression of the IMP project will be the future transformation, transitions, and transgressions of museums in the way they engage, rethinking the museums as a holistic and inclusive institution.

34 L. Bunch III, *A fool's errand, Creating the National Museum of African American History and Culture in the Age of Bush, Obama, and Trump*. Washington DC, 2019.

JANET BLAKE

Participation in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Viewed as a Human Rights Imperative

A paradox lies at the heart of international law for heritage protection and safeguarding that mirrors the tension in human rights law between universal standards and cultural specificities: the act of international regulation implies a set of universal interests through the setting of international standards which are, mostly, intended to be applied in a similar manner across the board.[1] Placing UNESCO's 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) within an explicit human rights framework,[2] one of the most powerful of these universalizing normative bodies in modern international law, this has set up a potential internal contradiction between global, let alone national, 'heritage value' that is ascribed to ICH elements and the special meaning it holds for bearer and local communities. The aforementioned 'civilizing mission' of international law towards setting universal norms that reflect goals desirable to the international community is demonstrated clearly by two central principles of human rights law, namely equality and non-discrimination, and the fundamental value of human dignity.[3] It is important to appreciate that these concepts, which have acquired the status of unchallenged truths, may also be placed under question. If we do this, as addressing the gender dynamics of safeguarding ICH may well require us to,[4] it sets up a tension between the universalizing (human rights) norm and the values and aspirations of members of communities and groups associated with that ICH. This does not by any means suggest that we have to suspend the

1 J. Blake, 'Gender Dynamics of Intangible Cultural Heritage: Cross-disciplinarity in International Law', in: V. Negri and I. Schulte-Tenckhoff (eds.), *Mimesis – Towards International Normativity between Mimetism and Dissemination*. Geneva, 2016, p. 211-30.

2 The first recital of the Preamble makes this clear by referring to: "existing international human rights instruments, in particular to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966."

3 Dignity *has become* the basis for human rights through being declared as such in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and in subsequent instruments, not necessarily because it *is*. Despite this fact, it continues to be a fundamental justification for all the international human rights norms and standards that have been developed since 1945.

4 J. Blake, 'Anthropology in international law: the case of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage', in: J. A.R. Nafziger (ed.), *Comparative Law and Anthropology*. London, 2018, p. 135-52.

universal standards of human rights – the clear violation of which would rule out cultural practices from being counted as ICH for the purposes of the 2003 Convention – but it does suggest the fact of a constant tension that has to be recognized and taken into account. As institutions that often reflect national values and identities, while also serving local inhabitants and communities, museums are therefore situated at the cusp of such tensions. When considering the role museums can play in supporting the participatory approach towards ICH safeguarding that is both a central requirement of the 2003 Convention[5] and is a key procedural principle of human rights. In developing strategies for participatory engagement by and with local communities and their members, museums will therefore have to negotiate these often contradictory requirements.

It should be noted that this paper is written from the perspective of international and human rights law, and makes no claims to specific expertise in museology or related disciplines. As such, its objective and focus is to consider what implications human rights norms – in particular that of participation – alongside developments under the 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention might have for safeguarding ICH through museums. The focus in this paper is placed on the question as to how real participation by various actors and stakeholders – heritage bearers and associated groups and communities, civil society, private sector actors, and others – can be ensured. The human rights context of the development of 2003 Convention is, of course, a significant contextual factor to this question and it raises important challenges as to how the notion of participation promoted by the Convention can be made operational in different societies and contexts.

Community Participation under the 2003 Convention

The 2003 Convention places a requirement on States Parties to develop participatory approaches towards ICH safeguarding explicit, but it fails to elaborate as to how this is to be done. Of course, that is in large part due to the fact that each country is different and the degree to which the kind of 'one-type-fits-all' 'participatory' strategies (that have often been employed in development approaches,[6] for example) will work is so heavily dependent on the political, social, economic, cultural and even environmental context of that country. There is no doubt that the powerful notion of the "heritage

5 This is made clear in Article 15 to the 2003 Convention. See, M. Jacobs, 'Article 15: Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals – CGIs, not Just "the Community", in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; and G. D. Soggetti, 'Article 15: Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals – Participation and Democracy', in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention – A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 274-91 and 291-306, respectively.

6 These are well-critiqued in V. Rao and M. Walton (eds.), *Culture and Public Action.* Stanford, 2004. The chapter by M. Douglas entitled 'Traditional Culture – Let's Hear No More about It' is of particular relevance here.

community" set out in the Faro Convention (2005) of the Council of Europe[7] and its notion of participation that acknowledges "the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage" in the Preamble (fifth recital) can operate in the context of pluralistic democracies that exist in most member countries of that Organization. The less ambitious notion of "communities, groups and (…) individuals" who identify with and who create, enact and transmit ICH of the 2003 Convention represents a compromise position whereby the importance of the role of these various actors is recognized but that still reserves a high degree of State control over the process of safeguarding. The notion of "public action" employed in the Faro Convention would be anathema to a large number of the Parties to the 2003 Convention. In addition, this idea of "communities, groups and (…) individuals" employed in the 2003 Convention allows for a diversity of social institutions – ranging from village councils to tribal chiefdoms and beyond, to NGOs, public and state institutions, and even private sector actors – to play a role in the identification and safeguarding of ICH elements. It also, importantly, suggests that the strict limitation to individual rights that has been the classic position of human rights law must acquire a collective dimension where safeguarding ICH is concerned, i.e. where cultural rights are in play.[8]

Given that the 2003 Convention is a normative instrument under the aegis of UNESCO, the Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity and their Role in Society adopted by UNESCO in 2015 must be seen as a significant document for consideration here. The impact that it could have on how museums contribute towards participatory forms of ICH safeguarding will therefore be examined in this article.

The definition of ICH provided in Article 2(1) of the Convention[9] addresses one of the apparent conundrums associated with the role that museums – traditionally housing collections of objects – can play in safeguarding a predominantly immaterial form of heritage. What this points us to is that it is generally the significance that these objects carry for particular groups, communities and even nations that provides them with heritage value; this, in turn, connects with their power to confirm cultural (and other) identities which are an important element in human dignity, the primary subject of protection of human rights. This also reminds us that the distinction between 'intangible' and 'tangible' heritage is, to a large degree, an instrumental one that does not

7 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Faro 27/10/2005. Article 2(b) defines a "heritage community" as consisting of "people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations."

8 This is also recognized in United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR), *General comment no. 21. Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (art. 15, para. 1 (a), of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights)* adopted by the CESCR at its Forty-third session, 21/12/2009. [Doc. E/C.12/GC/21]

9 It includes reference to "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith."

necessarily describe *a fact about heritage* but rather a *fact about how we can protect and/or safeguard* it. Hence, we understand that when we focus on ICH – the intangible aspect of heritage – the difference may not be found in what we are safeguarding but rather in how we understand its significance and for whom this significance is primary. This does affect the measures we may take for its safeguarding – including how museums present and interpret this heritage, for example – and who we involve directly in the process.[10] In particular, as ICH is seen as part of a *living* heritage and, so, specific communities (groups and individuals) use these items as part of a knowledge system they hold and practice which, in turn, should form part of the 'story' of any museum exhibition showing them.

Community participation in ICH Safeguarding: A Human Rights Imperative

Human rights and cultural heritage are closely linked, sharing as they do certain objectives and characteristics. For example, they have a shared *temporal character* whereby we select elements of heritage according to the requirements of the present and we entrust them to the future in order to satisfy the needs of unborn future generations.[11] In a similar way, human rights are not just concerned with improving our current living situation, but also seek to create conditions that will help us to create the kind of society we wish for ourselves and our children to live in. At the same time, while human rights support and strengthen human capacities in order to develop an improved society, cultural heritage is now understood to be a cultural, social, economic and even environmental resource that can help individuals and communities to develop their capacities for a better life.

There is no doubt that safeguarding cultural heritage is a human rights issue and objective, founded on the right to participate in cultural life and the fundamental human rights imperative of protecting human dignity.[12] Cultural heritage is important not only as an end in itself, but also for the significance it holds for individuals, groups and communities and their identity/identities.[13] The preservation of cultural identity is essential for supporting the sense of well being and self-respect that lies at the heart of human dignity; safeguarding cultural identity can therefore be said to lie at the heart of human rights itself. Moreover, the respect for the individual and human dignity that is a fundamental component of human rights implies showing respect for cultural differences. As acknowledged in the Preamble to the 2003 Convention (in the second recital) safeguarding ICH serves to preserve cultural diversity and this

10 If we wish to take an example, an ethnographic museum might hold a collection in which agricultural implements are presented and where the interpretation of these describes how they have traditionally been used, the traditional knowledge surrounding their use, and the materials which they are made of.

11 In this sense, too, it satisfies the core ideas of sustainable development.

12 Which is set out in Article 15 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* ('ICESCR') from the United Nations, dating from 1966.

13 As recognized in Article 2(1) of the 2003 Convention.

also encourages the mutual respect among communities required by the last part of the definition.[14] A good way to understand this point is to appreciate that the core idea of the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity (RL) established under the 2003 Convention is predicated on the idea that the inscribed elements are *typical* of examples of ICH and, overall, the RL celebrates the *global diversity* of ICH.

The main source of a right to (to enjoy and to access) cultural heritage in international law is the right to participate in cultural life, as set out in Article 27 of the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR, 1948) and Article 15 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR).[15] This right of access to and enjoyment of cultural heritage, includes such aspects as the right to create heritage, the use and enjoyment of one's own heritage, access to one's own and to others' heritage and a more general right to cultural development. It is broadly concerned with the ways in which individuals (and communities) express their humanity and give meaning to their existence through the *multiple* heritages they identify with, how individuals (and communities) respond to the external forces affecting their lives and the freedom of individuals (and communities) to create and maintain their cultural heritage and transmit it to future generations. When it is applied to cultural heritage, the right to participate in cultural life as articulated in Article 15 of the ICESCR can be broadly divided into two rights: the right of access and the right of enjoyment. The notion of access covers, in particular, the right of everyone (alone, or in association with others or as a community) "to know and understand his or her own culture and that of others through education and information, and to receive quality education and training with due regard for cultural identity."[16] The work of museums in presenting and interpreting objects and in organizing educational programs is, of course, highly relevant to this.

In analyzing this right more closely, Donders notes that the phrase "take part" in cultural life contains both passive and active elements.[17] The passive elements include having access to cultural life and enjoying its benefits,

14 The final sentence of Article 2(1) contains the proviso that "consideration will be given solely to such intangible cultural heritage as is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development."

15 Article 15(1)(a) of the ICESCR (cfr. footnote 12), reads: "1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone: (a) To take part in cultural life; [...]".

16 *CESCR General Comment No. 21* (cfr. footnote 8) on the *Right of everyone to take part in cultural life (art. 15, para. 1 (a), of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* adopted at the forty-third session of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 2–20 November 2009 [Doc. E/C.12/GC/21] of 21/12/2009]. It continues: "Everyone has also the right to learn about forms of expression and dissemination through any technical medium of information or communication, to follow a way of life associated with the use of cultural goods and resources such as land, water, biodiversity, language or specific institutions, and to benefit from the cultural heritage and the creation of other individuals and communities."

17 Y. Donders, 'The legal framework of the right to take part in cultural life', in: Y. Donders and V. Volodin, (eds.), *Human Rights in Education, Science and Culture – Legal developments and Challenges*. Paris, 2007, p. 256.

without discrimination; and the protection and safeguarding of cultural and artistic heritage. Active elements include the freedom to choose and change one's cultural affiliation or identity and to take part in decision-making processes over cultural life. While the former (passive elements) are generally covered by the traditional activities of museums, the reference to non-discrimination and the more active elements suggest a proactive and participatory role for members of the heritage community associated with museum collections and exhibitions; the governance structures of museums may even need to be reconsidered in order to include such groups in decision-making processes. In view of the people-centered and participatory approach that the 2003 Convention takes with regard to identifying intangible heritage elements (Article 2(1)) and designing and implementing safeguarding plans and policies (Article 15, in particular), this human rights requirement acquires an even greater significance when museums are engaging with intangible heritage.

It is normal to break down the human rights requirements placed on governments[18] into three main types of obligation: (a) the obligation to respect; (b) the obligation to protect; and (c) the obligation to fulfil. Under this schema the *obligation to respect* Article 15 (ICESCR) would include ensuring the right of everyone, individually or in association with others to have access to their own cultural heritage and to that of others; and to take part freely, actively, in an informed way and without discrimination, in any important decision-making process that may impact on his or her way of life and on this right. The *obligation to protect* requires States to take measures to prevent third parties from interfering in the exercise of rights guaranteed by this article, including ensuring that all forms of cultural heritage are respected under all conditions, and that the cultural productions of indigenous peoples,[19] are respected and protected. This clearly has important implications for museums that hold or exhibit tools, objects and cultural products associated with ICH.[20] The *obligation to promote* (falling under the obligation to fulfil) requires States (and related bodies) to provide education and awareness-raising programmes on the need to respect cultural heritage and cultural diversity. One form that this might take – which has been echoed in Article 14 of the 2003 Convention with regard to educational and awareness-raising programmes – involves the inclusion of cultural education in school curricula at every level, and guarantees access for all, without discrimination on grounds of financial or any other status, to museums, libraries, cinemas and theatres and to cultural activities, services and events.[21]

18 This can also apply to associated social institutions (which include many museums).

19 Including their traditional cosmologies and ecological knowledge, human remains, natural medicines, folklore, rituals, etc. The breadth of indigenous heritage was made clear by the UN Special Rapporteur in E.-I. Daes, *The Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous People*. Geneva, 1997.

20 It implies, among other things, that responsible governmental agencies (at all levels) should have oversight on the activities of museums to ensure that this is properly respected.

21 For more details of these obligations, see: *General Comment No. 21* (cfr. footnote 8) at paragraphs 44-54.

In addition to this universal right, Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) ICESCR[22] is another important source that sets out special status rights for members of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities to enjoy their culture, profess their religion or use their mother language. These rights can also be seen as imposing a duty on the State *not to discriminate* in terms of official recognition of heritage, for example. Of course, the right to access and enjoy cultural heritage (one's own and that of others) frequently requires a range of other human rights to be supported if it is to be exercised. For example, the freedoms of association and expression and the right to education are often essential to being able to access, enjoy and create cultural heritage. Even the right to self-determination (in particular, internal self-determination allowing for control over cultural and other policies) and the right to development can be seen as providing an essential framework for protection of cultural heritage.

International law for the protection of cultural heritage does not respond fully to the requirements of human rights, in particular in the strong reservation of State sovereignty that is preserved in all the main cultural heritage treaties.[23] This has a limiting effect on how far these treaties can truly support individual (and collective) human rights since these latter rights should operate in a space that lies between the Government and its citizens. However, there have been attempts over recent years to give international cultural heritage treaties a stronger human-rights orientation and the 2003 Convention is the treaty that has most strongly expressed this approach to date. This is made clear in its Preamble (first recital) what explicitly mentions the main human rights instruments[24] and the definitional limitation described above. In the 2003 Convention, a twin-pronged approach towards human rights and safeguarding ICH is taken: From a positive sense, protecting human rights is presented as a basic reason for identifying and safeguarding this heritage since it represents what communities, groups and individuals perceive as part of their identity. From a negative viewpoint, the concept of 'ICH' is limited under the 2003 Convention only to heritage that does not contravene international human rights standards. This human rights limitation, however, has caused some difficulties in applying the criteria for inscription of ICH on the international

22 Article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* ('ICCPR') from the United Nations, dating from 1966, reads: "In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, or to use their own language."

23 This is discussed in P. Kuruk, 'Cultural Heritage, Traditional Knowledge and Indigenous Rights: An Analysis of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Macquarie Journal of International and Comparative Law* 1, 2004, p. 111-134.

24 This paragraph reads: "Referring to existing international human rights instruments, in particular to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966."

lists of that Convention[25] since much ICH is gender-specific or has other characteristics that appear to contradict human rights values and standards.[26] As a consequence, it is not always easy to determine whether this constitutes a discrimination of one sex or the other. At present, the only way in which this issue can be addressed is for the Intergovernmental Committee of the Convention (through its Evaluation Body) to consider each element proposed for inscription on a case-by-case basis.

Of course, selecting traditional cultural practices indiscriminately for safeguarding as 'ICH' would be contrary to human rights[27] since some clearly contravene human rights standards. This is a highly complex question in human rights theory and is not one that can be explored here in much detail but it is quite straightforward to accept certain traditional practices (such as female infanticide and foot-binding) constitute clear human rights violations. Others fall into a grey area where it is much more difficult to determine whether those particular practices do violate international human rights standards, especially where those are not always universally accepted.[28] Many rituals are traditionally segregated by sex, age or some other factor and certain secret and/or sacred knowledge is only shared with a social group restricted by sex, age, ethnicity and so on. This raises complex questions as to whether we should exclude all of these from the category of ICH on the basis of discrimination against the excluded groups and individuals within the communities concerned. Or should we rather seek to identify the social power relations that underlie them to ascertain if they really harm specific individuals? Such cases also raise further complicated questions, such as: Who should determine what is unacceptable? Who decides if members of a group or community are harmed by a particular practice?

The relevance of this for the main argument of this article is that it illustrates very clearly that taking a human rights approach towards heritage safeguarding, including applying participatory approaches, inevitably raises a number of difficult and uncomfortable questions. We are inevitably led to ask, as a starting point, who defines cultural heritage and its significance and the related question as to which and whose cultural heritage deserves protection. This then forces us to consider how far individuals and communities can truly

25 Inscription Criterion R.1 requires that an element "constitutes intangible cultural heritage as defined in Article 2 of the Convention", OD I.2.2. This implies that the human rights limitation introduced by the definition given in Article 2(1) is part of the evaluation of the appropriateness of an element for inscription.

26 Although the deliberations have mostly focused on the gender-related issues, these may relate to other dimensions of social identity, such as age, ethnicity, social status. The issue of treatment of animals has also become a controversial one, although it is not strictly a human rights issue and, indeed, does not have any real basis in international law which barely protects animal welfare let alone animal rights.

27 The author discusses this, and the human rights dimensions of traditional cultural practices that may contravene international standards, in more detail in J. Blake, 'Gender and Intangible Heritage: Illustrating the Inter-disciplinary Character of International Law', in: W. Grahn and R. Wilson (eds.), *Gender and Heritage: Performance, Place and Politics Key Issues in Cultural Heritage*. London, 2019.

28 Ibidem.

participate in the interpretation, preservation and safeguarding of the cultural heritage element(s) identified.[29] Implicit in this question are a series of other issues surrounding relative positions of expertise, and how scientific expertise is to be balanced against the expert knowledge of those whose heritage it is.[30] Also, involved in this approach is the challenge as to how conflicts and competing interests over particular ICH elements can be resolved since we should not make the mistake of expecting there always to be a simple and (monolithic) relationship between a specific 'community' and a particular element. Indeed, a human rights-based approach should assume that, even where a group, community or certain individuals can be identified as directly relating to an ICH element, there are likely to be a number of diverse views among them as to how that element should be understood, what significance it has, how it is best safeguarded, and so on. This recognition of what Sunder has termed "cultural dissent"[31] is essential to any approach towards safeguarding that is founded on human rights – as any truly participatory one must be – and it immediately raises the level of complexity of this task significantly. It also implies that a high degree of dialogue, both within the relevant cultural groups and communities and between them and outside agents will have to be engaged in and that the quality of this dialogue – carried out on a basis of equality and with all sides prepared to listen to and learn from each other – is also an essential aspect of participation.[32] Finally, we have to recognize, as seen above, that it may be necessary at times to place limitations on the right to enjoy cultural heritage in order to protect the rights of other members of society.

29 There is now a growing literature on this question. For a detailed analysis of participation under UNESCO's 2003 Convention, see: M. Jacobs, 'Article 15: Participation of Communities, Groups and Individuals – CGIs, Not Just "the community"', in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention: A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 274-290. See also: N Adell e.a. (eds.), *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice*. Göttingen, 2015; M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 257-264; and J. Blake, 'Further reflections on community involvement in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage', in: L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.), *Safeguarding intangible heritage. Practices and Politics*. London and New York, 2018, p. 17-35.

30 L. Lixinski in *International Heritage Law for Communities – Exclusion and Re-Imagination*. Oxford, 2019 at p. 88 reminds us that "the incipient possibilities for community-oriented approaches with respect to museums as well is a means to engage stakeholders in a way in which they are not just consumers of culture but, in fact, produce heritage as well, and can control its meanings in a way that would otherwise not be possible."

31 M. Sunder, 'Cultural Dissent', *Stanford Law Review* 54, 2001, p. 495.

32 With regard to eliminating female genital cutting, Tobin calls for a multifaceted approach designed through dialogue with the communities that tolerate harmful practices in order to achieve the effective elimination of such harmful practices. J. Tobin, 'The International Obligation to Abolish Traditional Practices Harmful to Children's Health: What Does It Mean and Require of States?', *Human Rights Law Review* 9:3, 2009, p. 373-396.

Taking a Participatory Approach

One of the most innovative aspects of the 2003 Convention is the highly participatory approach it requires towards safeguarding ICH, with as full involvement as possible of the related communities, groups and individuals in the management and safeguarding of heritage, including in its identification. Participation is, essentially, a procedural principle of human rights that has become applied also in other areas of international law, such as in environmental and cultural heritage law.

The most explicit requirement for participation in safeguarding ICH is found in Article 15 of the Convention.[33] Despite the somewhat 'soft' language used here of "endeavour to ensure", this does set out a strong encouragement for States Parties to find appropriate ways for the "communities, groups and … individuals" of the 2003 Convention (henceforth 'CGIs') to be fully involved in all stages of safeguarding. It should also be remembered that the definition of ICH that underpins the whole Convention is one in which it is defined with direct reference to the CGIs that create and transmit it[34]; hence, the notion of participation is wholly inseparable from that of ICH safeguarding. In addition, Article 11(b) requires that identifying and inventorying ICH elements – both of which should be seen as fundamental safeguarding actions – should be done "with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations." This is very significant since identifying what is to be regarded as having 'heritage value' as part of the national heritage has traditionally always been a right solely exercised by the State. By extending this to the heritage bearers, it turns on its head the paradigm of heritage protection and even of identifying national identity.

Although the question as to *how* such an approach should operate was not set out in the Convention itself, and the Intergovernmental Committee has been developing Operational Directives (OD) since 2008 for the implementation of the Convention. In 2010, new directives for more effective community participation in the measures taken for indentifying and safeguarding ICH were adopted.[35] Thus far, these have mostly been limited to actions taken at the national level, although community involvement in international actions (such as international inscriptions and periodic reporting) may become stronger in the future. However, we can say that the traditional state-driven and top-down paradigm of heritage identification and safeguarding has been significantly reversed by this treaty. This has the potential to serve as an extremely important step towards *democratizing the process of heritage safeguarding*

33 It requires that "Within the framework of its safeguarding activities of the intangible cultural heritage, each State Party shall endeavour to ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and to involve them actively in its management."

34 Under Article 2(1), ICH is defined in part with reference to the community, groups and individuals that self-identify as its bearers, noting that it "is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity."

35 Operational Directives 79-99. [Henceforth, 'Operational Directive(s)' will be abbreviated as 'OD'].

from the beginning to the end, perhaps the most essentially human rights approach possible. However, since the pluralistic and democratic systems that are required fully to underpin such an approach are not well developed in many countries and regions around the world, this remains a challenge for a number of States Parties to the Convention

Community-based participatory strategies for ICH safeguarding are still a work in progress in many States Parties,[36] although a number have now made significant strides in involving communities, especially through applying community-based inventorying strategies. This has been supported by the Global Capacity-building Programme[37] operated by the Convention Secretariat in UNESCO and also the mechanism for providing international assistance to States Parties under the Convention has contributed towards this.[38] Some recent examples of international assistance provided to States Parties under the 2003 Convention illustrate this development: US$ 213,260 was granted to Albania in 2019 for a project on "Community based Inventory of ICH in Albania with a view to safeguarding and transmitting to future generations" and US$ 99,886 was granted to the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 2019 for a project on "Capacity-building for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage through creation of community-based inventory for Luang Prabang." A project was undertaken by Colombia in 2018 with an international assistance grant of US$ 99,950 granted in 2018 entitled "My Heritage, My Region: strategy for capacity-building in social management of the intangible cultural heritage in two departments of the Colombian Orinoco region." This fourteen month project, implemented by a CSO, was aimed at building community and stakeholder capacities in managing the ICH in the Orinoco region of the country. Overall, its objective was to ensure a larger and more prominent role for social and institutional actors in ICH safeguarding in that region.[39]

The work of the ICH Committee in preparing new Operational Directives over time[40] has also played an important role in developing and encouraging participatory strategies. This demonstrates the value of having a flexibly treaty with a set of broad principles and obligations set out in the main text that can be reinterpreted and updated by the Committee over time through the OD. Of course, this still locates the power to make such changes in the hands of the 24 States Parties that make up the membership of the Committee, but experience suggests that other voices, from NGOs that are accredited to the Committee and experts acting as consultants to the Secretariat (who are often tasked with preparing reports and other documents which serve as the basis for such

36 As noted by H. Deacon and C. Bortolotto, 'Charting A Way Forward: Existing Research and Future Directions for ICH Research Related to the Intangible Heritage Convention', in: IRCI, *The First ICH-Researchers Forum. The Implementation of UNESCO's 2003 Convention. FINAL REPORT*. Tokyo, 2010, p. 39.

37 More details of this are available online at: *Global capacity-building programme*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/capacity-building (17/06/2020).

38 This is provided for in Articles 20-24 of the Convention.

39 Details of international assistance can be found online at: *Requesting international assistance*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/requesting-assistance-00039 (17/06/2020).

40 The original Operational Directives adopted in 2008 have subsequently been revised and added to in 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018 and 2019.

developments), are being heard and having some influence on this process. Although ensuring real participation in the intergovernmental processes will always be challenging, there does appear to be a pressure building up on States Parties to demonstrate real attempts to involve CGIs in various aspects of implementing the Convention.

It would seem, from the OD on participation adopted by the Committee in 2010 that there is a desire to encourage this. In these, States Parties are encouraged "to establish functional and complementary cooperation among communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals who create, maintain and transmit intangible cultural heritage, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutes."[41] The inclusion here of reference to experts and research institutes is significant since it would suggest a potential role for museum-based specialists to be an active part of this "functional and complementary cooperation" and would seem to offer governments an extremely helpful institutional basis for this. The following paragraph encourages Parties "to create a consultative body or a coordination mechanism to facilitate the participation of communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals, as well as experts, centres of expertise and research institutes", in safeguarding activities. These activities[42] referred to include: identification and definition of the different elements of intangible cultural heritage present on their territories; drawing up inventories; elaboration and implementation of programs, projects and activities; and preparation of nomination files for inscription on the Lists. Again, we can see that museums can be very helpful as partners (with both governmental and non-governmental actors) in a consultative body or a coordination mechanism. Indeed, beyond membership of such a body or mechanism, they may in some contexts provide a basis for developing this. If these measures are taken seriously and are implemented as intended, they will go some way towards establishing a relatively full and meaningful participation by various non-state actors and stakeholders in safeguarding ICH. In particular, establishing long-term channels for communication, consultation and cooperation between governmental and non-governmental bodies and actors is an essential prerequisite for any real participatory mechanism.

The sensitization of CGIs about the value of their ICH, the importance of safeguarding it and promoting the Convention among them is understood as an essential safeguarding action for States Parties to undertake. This is particularly true in cases where bearers are stigmatized or feel that their ICH makes them seem less 'sophisticated' or less members of the 'respectable' strata of society. Parties are also encouraged to support and build CGIs' safeguarding capacities and, by this, to enable them to become fully and effectively involved in this process.[43] Museums, in particular those embedded in the local community, are obviously a key social institution that can support this process through the provision of spaces and facilitators for capacity

41 OD 76 which refers to Article 11(b) and in the spirit of Article 15.

42 According to the definition of "safeguarding" provided in Article 2(3).

43 OD 80-82.

building. Without doubt, their potential role in awareness-raising about ICH and its significance (to its bearers, but also to the wider society) and combating stigma that may be experienced by ethnic and cultural minorities can be very important. Examples include the Migration Museum in London which has staged a number of events, exhibitions and education workshops at venues across the UK since 2013, exploring the central role that migration has played in making the country what it is today, including through a far-reaching nationwide education programme and a knowledge-sharing network of museums and galleries across the UK. Current exhibitions include *Keepsakes* which explores the nature and importance of personal keepsakes in telling migration stories, *100 Images of Migration* presenting a collection of diverse images that tell a compelling story about what migration means to people across the UK, and *Room to Breathe* which presents an immersive exhibition with stories from generations of new arrivals to Britain, through the medium of audio, films, photographs and personal objects.[44] The programme *Multaka: Museum as Meeting Point – Refugees as Guides in Berlin Museums* has trained Syrian and Iraqi refugees since 2015 to become museum guides, so that they can then provide free guided tours for Syrian and Iraqi refugees of the Museum of Islamic Art, the Museum of Ancient Middle Eastern Art, the Museum of Byzantine Art and the Sculpture Collection of the German Historical Museum since November 2015. As guides, they encourage the visitors to observe and interpret the objects and become active participants through considering their own history. This, then, aims to facilitate access for refugees to museums, to help them to find social and cultural points of connection and to increase their participation in the public sphere.[45]

It is clear, then, that finding new and inclusive ways to present and interpret ICH in museums must be associated with developing a community-based conception of the museum. This requires imagination and is something that is most likely to spring from establishing a real dialogue among relevant actors and stakeholders among whom CGIs must, naturally, play a central role.[46]

Another implementing measure proposed in the 2010 OD which is relevant to the role that museums can play in supporting participation is strengthening CGI participation through facilitating access to research findings.[47] They may also serve as a valuable base for establishing networks of communities, experts, centers of expertise and research institutes to develop joint approaches and in sharing ICH-related documentation relating to ICH located in another State.[48] On the intergovernmental level, the Committee may consult with "experts, centers of expertise and research institutes, as well as regional centres active in

44 Available online at: *Migration Museum,* https://www.migrationmuseum.org (19/06/2020).

45 Available online at: *Multaka: Museums as Meeting Point - Refugees as Guides in Berlin Museums*, https://www.betterplace.org/en/projects/39889-multaka-museums-as-meeting-point-refugees-as-guides-in-berlin-museums (19/06/2020), and (in German) *Multaka: Treffpunkt Museum,* https://www.freunde-islamische-kunst-pergamonmuseum.de/index.php?multaka-treffpunkt-museum (19/06/2020).

46 Several of the cases provided by the videos filmed during the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (available as part of the project's Toolkit) are excellent examples of how this can be done.

47 OD 86.

48 OD 87-88.

the domains covered by the Convention" and private persons "with recognized competence in the field of intangible cultural heritage" on specific matters and "in order to sustain an interactive dialogue."[49] Although not used thus far by the Committee, this is a further possible way in which museums and museum-based experts might help in the future to drive ICH safeguarding policy. Since museums have a strong potential for acting as an interface between local and bearer communities and state authorities[50], whether at the national or international level, this is an important space for them to be active. In addition, unlike most NGOs, many museums can enjoy a degree of authority on the national (or local) level, and even international recognition, that uniquely situates them to pursue this possibility.

How far all of this can and will be put into practice depends greatly on how democratic the political contexts in which safeguarding is taking place are. It could be argued that this explicit reference to CGI involvement in safeguarding ICH, based on the principle of consultation, acts as a counter-weight to the generally state-centric approach of the 2003 Convention.[51] Despite this, we should remember that some UNESCO Member States negotiating the Convention were reluctant to allow the high degree of involvement in identifying ICH and in implementing and designing safeguarding measures that this provision implies.[52] Either way, it is unavoidable that official safeguarding measures will inevitably have direct impacts on social and cultural processes since ICH elements are an intrinsic part of how CGIs (and the wider local society) live. Museums, as institutions that occupy a space lying between state and/or local authorities and CGIs are well-placed to help to mitigate the negative results of such impacts.

As noted in the section above, a diversity of voices from within CGIs has to be listened to in order to achieve truly participatory approaches to safeguarding.[53] In Parties which genuinely attempt to implement these Directives, as we would hope EU Member States will, this could contribute significantly towards developing meaningful forms of involvement by CGIs in *all stages* of the safeguarding process. However, it remains wholly at the discretion of States Parties how far they allow for CGI participation in the identification and safeguarding of ICH elements. This would suggest, therefore, that museums may also have a further important role to play in sharing experiences and

49 OD 84 and 89.

50 In the good governance model, museums, like research institutes, universities and other centres of expertise, occupy a middle ground between governmental bodies and civil society and can therefore act as mediators between the two sides if direct communication channels are not well-established.

51 Cfr. Kuruk, *Cultural Heritage*, p. 126: "the danger posed by…granting each state the right to subjectively specify the scope and content of cultural property includes the right to exclude property from protection that others outside the state might find more culturally valuable…"

52 J. Blake, *Commentary on the UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Leicester, 2007, p.76. In the pre-draft text for the Convention presented to the intergovernmental negotiators in 2002, Article 10*bis* provided for a Scientific Committee, comprising non-governmental experts, to oversee the treaty's implementation; this quickly became the purely intergovernmental committee established under Arts.4-8 of the 2003 Convention.

53 Sunder, *Cultural Dissent*, p. 495.

good practices with other museums through their professional associations and other forms of networks. Given that museum institutions often wield a significant degree of influence in some of the more authoritarian and less open countries, this type of cross-fertilization has the potential to be very powerful over time. They need to remind their Ministries of Culture that UNESCO Member States did not commit themselves to operate a centralized and state-driven approach towards ICH identification, inventorying and safeguarding when they ratified the 2003 Convention.

Implementing the Convention is in itself part of a learning process shared across the international community. The 2003 Convention presents a novel conception of heritage and a radically revised paradigm for its protection/safeguarding; this will require a lot more experience and sharing of good practice for locally appropriate participatory approaches to develop. As much as Parties can learn a lot from each other, there is no doubt that local specificities – not only at the national level but also in terms of traditional cultural practices and social institutions – mean that what is a good practice in one country may require substantial revision to be useful in other places. Essentially, the implementation of the 2003 Convention on the ground in its 180 States Parties is somewhat akin to experimentation in a laboratory in which museums can serve both as petri dishes and as investigators.

When considering the role that museums can play in supporting participatory approaches to ICH safeguarding, it is important to recognize the wide diversity of persons and groups with interests in ICH safeguarding and their different rights and duties with regard to this heritage. The periodic reporting by States Parties during 2012-2014 threw up the fact that a number of different actors serve as important vectors for implementing ICH safeguarding policies and measures. These actors and institutions include local authorities, community centres, non-governmental organizations active in the field of ICH, cultural associations and the private sector.[54]

In addition, museums can be pivotal actors in helping to integrate ICH into society and policies for achieving sustainable communities. This is a complex picture and it is important to be able to identify the relative roles and rights of each. In her 2011 report, the UN Special Rapporteur on Cultural Rights provided a very useful exposition of the breakdown of different actors and stakeholders and their diverse interests in cultural heritage.[55] Shaheed noted that they comprise a broad range with varying degrees of rights to enjoy and access heritage that increase according to their proximity to the heritage element in question. Hence, those who create, practice, perform, maintain and transmit an ICH element can seen to have the strongest rights in it, followed by other members of the local community who are not bearers themselves. After these, we might identify NGOs active in safeguarding the element and supporting its

54 B. Torggler and E. Sediakina-Rivière, *Evaluation of UNESCO's Standard-setting Work of the Culture Sector, Part I – 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.* Paris, 2014.

55 Human Rights Council, *Report of the independent expert in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed,* Seventeenth session Agenda item 3, 21/03/2011. [UN Doc. A/HR/C/17/38] It can be helpful to visualize these relationships as the concentric circles created in water by dropping a pebble into it.

bearer community, then local government actors, museums, cultural centres, and so on. Scientific experts and researchers (and their institutions) are also likely to fall into this circle of relationship with the element. Following these, we might find regional and national bodies and communities and, finally, the international community or humanity that is also perceived in the 2003 Convention as having a 'common interest' in ICH safeguarding.

A particular actor that may be more difficult to situate within this picture is the private sector which, as we know, may often plan activities that can threaten to commodify or misappropriate ICH elements, but which also has the potential to play an important role in its safeguarding.[56] National museums and those established by local authorities may potentially play a valuable role in mediating the relationship between private sector actors and others with interests in ICH elements, since they enjoy a degree of 'official' authority while having one foot in the commercial sector.[57]

In the OD to the 2003 Convention, we find references to 'museums' in two paragraphs in Chapter IV on awareness-raising in a section on the role of "community centres and associations, museums, archives and other similar entities." The first of these refers to their role on the national level while the second addresses the role they can play in the international aspects of the Convention. The role envisaged for museums (along with schools, community centres, archives, libraries, similar entities) on the international level[58] is a fairly limited one, namely to disseminate information about the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding (USL), the RL and the Register of Good Safeguarding Practices (RGSP).

On the national level, counted along with research institutes, centres of expertise, archives, libraries, documentation centres and similar entities, museums are understood to "play an important role in collecting, documenting, archiving and conserving data on intangible cultural heritage, as well as in providing information and raising awareness about its importance. In order to enhance their awareness-raising functions about intangible cultural Heritage, they are encouraged to:

(a) involve practitioners and bearers of intangible cultural heritage when organizing exhibitions, lectures, seminars, debates and training on their heritage;
(b) introduce and develop participatory approaches to presenting intangible cultural heritage as living heritage in constant evolution;

56 OD 102 refers to "the misappropriation or abuse of the knowledge and skills" of CGIs and "over-commercialization" resulting from unsustainable tourism.

57 Since many museums also need to raise money from museum shops, cafes and restaurants, etc. The Museum of Tomorrow in Rio de Janeiro (cfr. footnote 75) is a good example of a successful partnership between public power, civil society and private sector actors: It is overseen by Rio's Secretary of Culture and, originally conceived by Roberto Marinho Foundation it is currently managed by the Instituto de Desenvolvimento e Gestão and is sponsored by a wide network of partner sponsors (including Shell, IBM, IRB-Brasil RE, Engie, Grupo Globo and CCR).

58 OD 119.

(c) focus on the continuous recreation and transmission of knowledge and skills necessary for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, rather than on the objects that are associated with it;
(d) employ, when appropriate, information and communication technologies to communicate the meaning and value of intangible cultural heritage;
(e) involve practitioners and bearers in their management, putting in place participatory systems for local development."[59]

The first of these is self-explanatory and we would hope that it is becoming a standard approach towards presenting ICH in museums and for museums when providing training on ICH and its safeguarding. The encouragement to "introduce and develop participatory approaches to presenting intangible cultural heritage as living heritage in constant evolution" not only enjoins museums to develop new participatory approaches (which we have seen above is not a simple task), but is asking them to find ways to exhibit and interpret a form of heritage that is both living and constantly evolving; in contrast to the static character of most museum collections, as well, this clearly presents a challenge and will require the development of innovative approaches. Without doubt, close involvement of ICH practitioners and bearers will prove to be a sine qua non of such an exercise. Again, the exhortation in sub-paragraph (c) to focus on "continuous recreation and transmission of knowledge and skills" necessary to ICH and not on the associated objects is asking for a fundamental reconsideration not only of what museums *do* but what museums *are*.[60] The requirement in (d) to use ICTs to "communicate the meaning and value of meaning" of ICH is less of a challenge for museums that are already using ICTs quite extensively, though there remains the need to consider how this can be done appropriately for ICH. One aspect of this, for example, will be the area of the intellectual property vested in any resultant fixation of ICH elements which may prove more complex than in the case of most museum collections.

Finally, museums are being asked to "involve practitioners and bearers in their management, putting in place participatory systems for local development." Without doubt, involving CGIs in the management of exhibitions, lectures, seminars, debates and training courses that take place in museums will be more or less challenging depending on the size and existing management structures of the museums in question. There is no doubt that museums – of whatever size and kind – that have already instituted an effective and equal dialogue with the CGIs will be much better placed to fulfil this requirement, and such channels of communication and dialogue must be seen as an essential first step in this. Following this, is the additional encouragement that museums will put in place "participatory systems for local development" as part of this management approach. This is a very big ask and

59 OD 109.

60 As we have seen in the video clips prepared by the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* showing various new ways of presenting ICH and museums, these may be very different from our traditional conception of the museum.

it is likely that only some museums that are particularly well-embedded in the local culture and society will be in a position to achieve this fully.[61] However, what all of this suggests is that our idea of what a museum is will undergo a radical reconsideration in order to address the specific requirements of ICH and that, over time, we will see new types of museum emerging to answer to these.

Ensuring a function for ICH in society

Experience of the periodic reports submitted by States Parties during the 2012 to 2019 reporting cycles suggests that one of the most challenging aspects of implementation to report on relates to the requirement to "adopt a general policy aimed at promoting the function of the intangible cultural heritage in society."[62] This relates, in part, to setting policies at the macro level, but it also relates to a notion that ICH elements and their safeguarding should operate at a local level to contribute towards building sustainable communities and towards micro level social and economic benefits. It is at this micro level that museums, in particular those developed around specific ICH elements and community museums, have the potential to make a valuable contribution.

If we analyse Chapter VI concerning sustainable development that was added to the OD in 2016,[63] it can help us to understand the kinds of interventions that museums might make in this regard. The "dynamic nature of intangible cultural heritage in both urban and rural contexts"[64] is presented as an essential aspect of its importance to sustainable development, and we have seen above (with reference to Chapter IV of the OD) that this has certain important implications for how they operate. A further general point is that, with regard to specific measures aimed at enjoying the benefits of ICH safeguarding in the various aspects of sustainable development,[65] undertaking research and studies is a commonly proposed measure. Clearly, museums are in a strong position to undertake such research and studies and/or to disseminate their findings. Another aspect in which a role could be envisaged

61 The Casa Lussu museum described in T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 59 is an excellent case where this approach is already being put into action.

62 Article 13(a).

63 Chapter VI on "Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development at the national level" added to the Operational Directives for the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage by the Committee at its sixth session (UNESCO Headquarters, Paris, 30 May to 1 June 2016). It contains OD 170-197.

64 OD 170.

65 These are in brief: food security; health care; quality education for all as part of inclusive social development; knowledge and practices concerning nature and environmental impacts; environmental sustainability through stronger community-based resilience to natural disasters and climate change; income generation through productive employment; tourism towards sustaining livelihoods and inclusive economic development; and contributing to peace and security through preventing disputes and post-conflict resolution.

for museums – especially in view of the ethical codes that already exist – is that they can help to ensure that development plans, policies and programs "respect ethical considerations" and do not "negatively affect the viability" of ICH or "de-contextualize or denaturalize that heritage."[66] However, this does beg the question as to whether current museum codes from national, regional or international professional bodies[67] and networks sufficiently take account of the specific ethical requirements of ICH safeguarding.

For example, the Ethical Principles for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage[68] set out as the first principle that "communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals should have the **primary role** in safeguarding their own intangible cultural heritage." This would, of course, suggest a fundamental recalibration of the relationship between museums and the CGIs of ICH elements exhibited and other related activities. The fourth principle is also highly relevant to how museums interact with CGIs, stating that "(a)ll interactions with the communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals who create, safeguard, maintain and transmit intangible cultural heritage should be characterized by **transparent** collaboration, dialogue, negotiation and consultation." This would imply a degree of partnership and equality in participatory approaches that is difficult to achieve, and also emphasizes the importance of dialogue and negotiation. Principle 5 has potential to impact directly on museums whose collections include items associated with ICH: **"Access** of communities, groups and individuals to the instruments, objects, artefacts, cultural and natural spaces and places of memory whose existence is necessary for expressing the intangible cultural heritage should be ensured, including in situations of armed conflict. Customary practices governing access to intangible cultural heritage should be fully respected, even where these may limit broader public access."

This would go further in terms of recognizing the rights of "source communities" than museum codes of ethics generally do. The requirement in Principle 8 that CGIs who create ICH "should **benefit from the protection** of the moral and material interests resulting from such heritage, and particularly from its use, research, documentation, promotion …" will clearly have important implications for how museums interpret and present ICH and related research findings. Principle 9 again emphasizes that "(t)he **dynamic and living nature of intangible cultural heritage** should be continuously respected" which

66 OD 171.

67 The latest version of the Museums Association in the UK whose Code of Ethics was adopted on 5/11/2015, following an eighteen month consultation process during 2014-2015 and includes a section on "Public Engagement"; in the latest version of ICOM's *Code of Ethics for Museums* (2017) under the rubric "Respect for Communities", 6.5 on Contemporary Communities states that, "(w)here museum activities involve a contemporary community or its heritage, acquisitions should only be made based on informed and mutual consent without exploitation of the owner or informants. Respect for the wishes of the community involved should be paramount."

68 Adopted by the ICH Committee in 2015 in Decision 10.COM 15.a.

has been considered above with regard to the OD.[69] Principle 10 reiterates the warning against the dangers of "decontextualization, commodification and misrepresentation" of ICH which is obviously relevant for museums presenting ICH (and its exponents) in exhibitions. Avoiding these potential pitfalls does suggest again the need for a real and equal dialogue with CGIs. The importance of museums reflecting the diversity of the communities and social groups that they serve and whose heritage is displayed in their exhibitions is strongly set out in principle 11: **"Cultural diversity** and the identities of communities, groups and individuals should be fully respected. In the respect of values recognized by communities, groups and individuals and sensitivity to cultural norms, specific attention to **gender** equality, **youth** involvement and **respect for ethnic identities** should be included in the design and implementation of safeguarding measures."

An interesting issue is introduced in principle 12 which characterizes safeguarding ICH as "of general interest to humanity." This does not, however, support the notion of the "world museum" as a form of global heritage in itself, but rather suggests that more transfrontier and transnational cooperation and networking over shared ICH elements is encouraged. Again, this is a principle with potentially fundamental impacts on how museums view their role regionally and internationally, while still balancing the rights of local CGIs.

Continuing with the analysis of Chapter VI of the OD, we see the introduction of the notion of "inclusive social development"[70] which is obviously one that should be given prominence by museums seeking to ensure that their engagement with ICH and its CGIs really contributes towards sustainable local development. Various elements are included in this idea, including sustainable food security, quality health care, quality education for all, gender equality and access to safe water and sanitation. Although some of these may appear rather tangential to the role of museums, they do signal that museums are able to bring out these aspects of the ICH they present and may even seek to give prominence to ICH elements that respond to specific local needs. In addition, museums' educational activities can support quality education for all, and their role in supporting transmission can be important to supporting ICH that itself feeds into achieving inclusive social development goals. Interestingly, one of the requirements of this is that people are free "to choose their own value systems" and museums can certainly be crucial in presenting and giving value to these value systems.[71]

69 The additional requirement in this principle that "(a)uthenticity and exclusivity should not constitute concerns and obstacles" to safeguarding ICH might prove challenging for ethnographic museums.

70 OD 177.

71 OD 180 extends these ideas, setting out a goal for States Parties to "endeavour, by all appropriate means, to ensure recognition of, respect for and enhancement of the intangible cultural heritage in society, emphasizing its particular role in transmitting values and life skills and contributing to sustainable development, in particular through specific educational and training programmes within the communities and groups concerned and through non-formal means of transmitting knowledge."

In view of the place that museums have on many tourism itineraries and in presenting, interpreting and explaining local heritage and sites to tourists, they can be key partners with States Parties in ensuring that CGIs are "the primary beneficiaries of any tourism associated with their own" ICH and in "promoting their lead role in managing such tourism."[72] and "ensure that the viability, social functions and cultural meanings of that heritage are in no way diminished or threatened by such tourism."[73] Museums are well-placed to ensure not only that the identity of local CGIs is supported in the way in which their ICH is presented to tourists, but also build respect for their identities and values so that when tourists visit the places that they live in they do so in a respectful manner that does not disrupt their lives.

Museums can also help to "conserve and protect those natural spaces whose existence is necessary for expressing the intangible cultural heritage"[74] by drawing out explicitly the links between ICH practices and performances (and the associated objects) and the natural spaces and resources essential to these in the way they interpret them. It is even possible for museums to play a central role in encouraging community-based resilience to natural disasters and climate change.[75] The OD also explicitly recognize the potential of ICH and its safeguarding "to foster peaceful, just and inclusive societies"[76] and to contribute to "social cohesion, overcoming all forms of discrimination and strengthening the social fabric of communities and groups in an inclusive way."[77] This not only includes the contribution that ICH can make towards the prevention of disputes and peaceful conflict resolution[78] but also in supporting post-conflict reconciliation and the recovery of CGIs after conflicts.[79] Although much of this lies beyond the remit of most museums, for those museums that have peace (or conflict) as a primary object[80] and museums that are operating in conditions of conflict or in post-conflict societies this is an issue of importance which may encourage them to rethink their collections and

72 OD 187 (b) (i).

73 OD 187 (b) (ii).

74 OD 189 (c) (Ii).

75 OD Section V.3.3. Examples of museums worldwide dedicated to educating the public about climate change include: the Jockey Club Museum of Climate Change which aims to contribute towards positive changes in knowledge, attitudes and behaviour in relation to climate change throughout Hong Kong and beyond, available online at: *Jockey Club Museum of Climate Change*, https://www.mocc.cuhk.edu.hk/en-gb/ (20/06/2020); and the Museum of Tomorrow sited at Rio de Janeiro's harbour which was established in 2015 and explores the opportunities and challenges which humanity will be forced to tackle in the coming decades from the perspective of sustainability and cooperation, available online at: *Museu do Amanhã*, https://museudoamanha.org.br/en/about-the-museum (20/06/2020); and The Climate Museum (New York) whose mission is to inspire action on the climate crisis through programming across the arts and sciences that deepens understanding, builds connections, and advances just solutions, available online at: *The Climate Museum*, https://climatemuseum.org (20/06/2020).

76 OD 192.

77 OD 194.

78 OD 195.

79 OD 196.

80 Such as the Museum of Peace in Tehran, or museums established to memorialize previous conflicts.

how they present and interpret these. With regard to strengthening social cohesions and confronting various forms of discrimination, the potential of museums is easier to see. In this regard, the work of museums in highlighting minority heritages (of refugees, ethnic and religious minorities, heritage of gender-based minorities, etc.), the heritage of Indigenous peoples, and slave heritage among others is of course important.[81]

When looking at the question of what museums can contribute towards safeguarding ICH and taking a participatory approach towards this, the UNESCO Recommendation concerning the Protection and Promotion of Museums and Collections, their Diversity and their Role in Society (2015)[82] is also an important document. An important departure, this Recommendation aims to place the museum at the forefront of the paradigm shift occurring in international cultural policy- and law-making towards a less state-driven model. It defines heritage as "a set of tangible and intangible values, and expressions that people select and identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their identities, beliefs, knowledge and traditions, and living environment." The emphasis on *values* rather than on objects (even for tangible heritage) shows a clear influence from the conception of ICH, and the idea that heritage expresses people's identities beliefs, knowledge and traditions, and living environment owes a lot to the definition of ICH given in Article 2(1) of the 2003 Convention; this is particularly obvious in the emphasis on self-identification and on the idea that heritage is created in response to the environmental constraints that people face.[83]

From this, we see that the understanding of the heritage represented through museum collections has evolved greatly, with an emphasis not only on the intangible character of much of what is now considered as heritage but also, significantly, its contemporary character as a living tradition, something based on traditions passed on through generations but with a contemporary role and meaning for each one. According to the Recommendation, museums are "spaces for cultural transmission, intercultural dialogue, learning, discussion and training, also *play an important role in education (formal, informal, and lifelong learning), social cohesion and sustainable development*" [emphasis added]. This can be seen to mirror closely the core notions of safeguarding ICH and the understanding expressed in the 2003 Convention that ICH contributes both to social cohesion and "truly sustainable development."[84] Moreover, ICH is presented in the Convention as a "well-spring of cultural diversity"[85] and this idea is again mirrored in the Recommendation as follows: "The diversity

81 OD 197 (a) also makes reference to the need for States Parties to "ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of indigenous peoples, migrants, immigrants and refugees, people of different ages and genders, persons with disabilities, and members of vulnerable groups in their safeguarding efforts" as part of social inclusion and cohesion.

82 Adopted 17/11/2015. Available online at: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=49357&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.

83 A museum collection is defined as "an assemblage of natural and cultural properties, tangible and intangible, past and present."

84 Second recital of the Preamble.

85 Ibidem.

of museums and the heritage of which they are custodians constitutes their greatest value."[86]

Conclusion

Tensions associated with the dual global and local character of heritage have become evident in the implementation of the 2003 Convention. This treaty requires us to reconsider the role of CGIs in safeguarding ICH and to propose new mechanisms for their partnership with state bodies in this. A key question, then, is the way in which this paradigm shift is being played out on the ground and, in particular, what roles museums can play in supporting more community-driven approaches to heritage safeguarding. From the above, we can see that museums will have to continue to reflect upon their place in society, how they engage with local communities and groups and how they can expand their range of activities accordingly. As we have seen, this question has been addressed by the States Parties to the 2003 Convention (in the ODs) and many museums are already thinking deeply and creatively about the challenges this presents.

Local museums are central to safeguarding specific ICH elements, often working in cooperation with bearers, and can provide communities with the educational, social and spatial capacities necessary to participate effectively in ICH safeguarding.[87] This is not without its challenges, however, especially given a tendency in ethnographic museums that often hold collections of ICH to emphasize documentation and recording of ICH over seeking to enhance the function of ICH within society and the community.[88] Moreover, the requirements of ICH as a living heritage means that museums have to re-consider how (and whether) to hold the tangible elements associated with ICH – masks, musical instruments, costumes, looms, cooking utensils etc. – or not in order not to restrict their use by the ICH holders.[89]

86 2015 Recommendation at paragraph 23.

87 UNESCO, *Examination of the Reports of States Parties on the Implementation of the Convention and on the Current Status of all Elements Inscribed on the Representative List*. Paris, 2013.

88 UNESCO, *Examination of the Reports of States Parties on the Implementation of the Convention and on the Current Status of all Elements Inscribed on the Representative List*. Paris, 2012.

89 The utensils required for performing the Jongmyo element in South Korea are held in a local museum and released to the community for use when this periodic element is performed.

MARC JACOBS

On Levels, (Politics of) Scale, Cases and Networking

> "Operational Directive 14. The Committee encourages the submission of (…) programmes, projects and activities (…) undertaken jointly (…) in geographically discontinuous areas. States Parties may submit these proposals individually or jointly."

In this article, I reflect on a number of issues related to scale, territories and alternative trails. The *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (IMP) is an intangible cultural heritage safeguarding policy-oriented project, co-financed by the European governance level; it is an exception. In Hanna Schreiber's article in this journal, it becomes clear that safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is, at present, not at all high on the agenda of European institutions. The fact that the Council of Europe had to make a recommendation in 2019 to consider the potential of policies for and via safeguarding intangible heritage is a sign that there are problems, and a lack of investments or understanding, at least among policy makers and in particular the ministers responsible for heritage and active on the 'European level' (up to now, usually the ministers responsible for monuments and landscapes). Even if most countries on the European continent, in particular the Member States of the European Union, have ratified the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, a powerful Eurocentric effect is lacking: an effect in the sense of real strong centripetal or centrifugal forces or investments in a jointly undertaken European policy as part of the global endeavor for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage of humanity. The IMP swallow does not yet make summer. Also the European Year for Cultural Heritage in 2018 opened a few doors, including towards UNESCO and the 2003 Convention, but the impact or follow-up remains to be realized.

Probably the strongest contemporary impulse for some Euro(ex)centricity in ICH safeguarding policies and practices comes from the global level (and, of course from a few NGOs 'on the ground', next to entrepreneurs in tourism or agriculture).

Paradoxically, it is actively facilitated from 'above' (UNESCO Headquarters) in order to monitor the effects of an instrument that is sometimes seen as counter-Eurocentric. It found its origin, so the diplomatic mythology goes, in trying to find an alternative for the (centripetal) Eurocentric dominance that people detect and 'feel' in the World Heritage List. The antidote was the 2003 Convention. The Overall Results Framework and the way it is now

used to structure the system of periodic reporting of Member States of the 2003 Convention, might have an interesting effect: to bring European administrators together to organise themselves, to compare, to learn and to anticipate. They might realize that these questionnaires will come (back) and that they can share efforts. Periodic reporting nation state per nation state, but geo-politically synchronized and organized by joining two clusters inherited from the Cold War era: UNESCO's Electoral Groups 1 and 2. It is their turn, as 'Europe', in 2021.

The 2003 Convention and the way it is implemented by UNESCO keeps on being an *Unvollendete* Symphony of Double Binds. How to embrace some, but to avoid other effects of Eurocentric and non-global, non-hyperlinked impulses, without just favoring or stimulating the new empires or neo-colonial trajectories that operate under the North-South mist (from East to West and the other directions). What about communities, groups and individuals (CGIs) and other networks? Is it possible to move across and beyond the "subregional and regional levels" when considering Operational Directive 86 in the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention: "States Parties are encouraged to develop together, at the subregional and regional levels, networks of communities, experts, centres of expertise and research institutes to develop joint approaches, particularly concerning the elements of intangible cultural heritage they have in common, as well as interdisciplinary approaches."

Questioning levels and scales matters...

One of my favorite books, ever since I discovered it in 1989 when I was working and living in Florence, is *L'Eredità immateriale. Carriera di un esorcista nel Piemonte del Seicento*, a well-documented, confusing, strange publication composed by Giovanni Levi. In 1990, I published a review in Dutch of the French translation, which was introduced by Jacques Revel with a brilliant essay *L'histoire au ras du sol*.[1] These awkward publications helped me to see and understand an interesting series of experiments that were going on in Paris in the next years around the journal *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* (EHESS) and scholars like Luc Boltanski, Bruno Latour, Susan Leigh Star and Michel Callon. Thirty years later, it seems a game of Destiny that I was swept away by a Italian book of a non-conformist economic historian, with the title *The immaterial inheritance* (not intangible heritage as the 2003 Convention constructs, but as Jacques Revel explained, a "(...) formule cristalline et secrète, c'est (...) celui du pouvoir au sein d'une communauté villageoise replacé dans ses divers contextes (...) Le parcours sinueux, compliqué, proposé par Levi me paraît en outre avoir le mérite de (...) jouer de façon raisonnée sur ce que l'on pourrait nommer des variations d'échelles d'observation."[2] Jacques Revel published other volumes, like *Jeux d'échelles* (playing with scales), where a

1 M. Jacobs, 'G. Levi, Le pouvoir au village. Histoire d'un exorciste dans le Piémont du XVII[e] siècle, Paris, Editions Gallimard, 1989', *Oostvlaamse Zanten* 65, 1990, p. 65-67.

2 J. Revel, 'L'histoire au ras du sol', [introduction] in : G. Levi, *Le pouvoir au village. Histoire d'un exorciste dans le Piémont du XVIIe siècle*. Paris, 1989, p. I-XXXIII, p. I & XXXII.

number of ideas formulated in his 'skimming the ground' (as the world wide web was not yet invented, he did not use the surfing metaphor) introduction to Giovanni Levi's book. I picked up several insights. One of them is to follow the actor (the scholar, the heritage worker, …) across fields and disciplines, contexts and frames, over time… (which is also one of the Actor-Network Theory methods). Another is the incentive not to be satisfied with the scales or frames that seem evident in your discipline (in my case for instance a study of XXX in that 'local museum', or in Bruges, or in Flanders, or in Belgium, or in Europe…) but to vary, question, combine, transgress the levels, boundaries, … like networks, actors or the components of their *eredità immateriale* do. Why do many scholars seem to take the scales handed to them by teachers and peers for granted? What are alternatives?[3] This new academic historic path emerging in France was not the one I further pursued (and the sudden death of Bernard Lepetit in 1996 nipped this promising transdisciplinary development in historical sciences in the bud). I took another by-path that grew into a highway, that of *patrimoine*.

In the field of Critical Heritage Studies, David Harvey published an eye-opening article in 2015 about scales. Using two fascinating case studies, one about a problematic tradition and feast (Darkie Day in Padstow, Cornwall) and one about the National Museum of Scotland, he warned not to take levels for granted or just as "the background" or "a neutral frame" but to ask questions about effects and bias. He recommends working with the oeuvre of Doreen Massey and to think and look twice and deeper: "however real, authentic or democratic such public performance might appear to be, it is crucial that we should understand the spatialised geometries of power rather than be blinded by any warming glow of localness." Harvey's article is a must-read, also for museum and intangible heritage experts. What to do with the argument that:

> "Localness, as a bounded space, (…) is not a defensible category on which to construct a politically aware and progressive argument. (…) Such a place is never politically neutral, and neither can it be located without reference to a much larger set of relationships. An active and processual notion of heritage, therefore, must cut free from assumptions about the stability and essential characteristics of scale, just as the validity of places must not be left to rest upon an uncritically cast and one-dimensional appeal to 'real heritage'."[4]

Harvey does not shy away from also pointing at several political implications and effects of a critical analysis of heritage discourses and spatial frames. Just like creating awareness and insights about the authorized heritage discourse

3 See M. Jacobs, 'Actornetwerk. Geschiedenis, sociale wetenschappen. De nieuwe Annales en het werk van Boltanski en Thévenot: een (re)view-artikel', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 22:3, 1996, p. 260-283, p. 273, 278 & 288.

4 D. Harvey, 'Heritage and scale: settings, boundaries and relations', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21:6, 2015, p. 577-593, p. 589 and passim.

(AHD, Laurajane Smith's classic concept), it is important today to be aware about the politics of scale.

"Under the present circumstances of economic crises and global uncertainty, there is a danger that certain constructions of heritage might be used to support the would be excluders and boundary builders (…) This is particularly important in a world in which the very nature of the nation state is becoming more fluid. In the vacuum that has been created by the undermining of old national certainties, must come something better and sharper than a fuzzy 'glocalism', in which everything that is local is sacrosanct, as long as it refers to some warm universal messages about the authenticity of a community. (…) while people might recognize their sense of identity through a complex web of multiscalar, contingent and relational axes of place, it might well be the case that the (re-thought) nation state can act as the most suitable arbiter and distributor of social justice."[5] Or not…

Politics of scale

In 2019 a special volume was published with a title that speaks volumes: *Politics of Scale. New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies*. In the introduction, Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Yujie Zhu and Suzie Thomas gave many reasons why "scales and politics of scale" should be on the agenda today. It is related to several other hot topics in heritage studies and practice, like the expected breakthrough of significance assessment in heritage management. For instance in dealing with the effects of the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, it is important to realize that "the world heritage status that is bestowed upon them gives a site significance at different scales. The site's value locally may be transformed by the world heritage status, while it also gains a global 'outstanding universal value'. The relationship between this status and nation states – especially with sites that have contested histories or heritage – can also lead to experiences of transnational conflict and contestation." And these kinds of phenomena and effects, and the different kinds of capital it mobilizes and generates, have an influence on how the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm develops. "Thus, the same heritage practice, object or site can have several scalar meanings and be used to foster and promote several scalar identities or feelings of belonging to different scalarly organized communities. In diverse processes of heritage making, the idea of heritage is commonly fixed to both real and imagined scalarly structured and defined territories: heritage is perceived and narrated as reflecting not only locally, regionally and nationally framed meanings but also those of supranational entities, such as cross-border or transnational regions or continents. However, scale does not only determine the relationships of

5 Harvey, *Heritage*, p. 590.

territories and territorialized cultural features and identities. It also influences non-territorial social and cultural divisions."[6]

Lähdesmäki suggested taking into consideration several interpretations of scale. Classic are the *matryoshka* (a Russian nesting doll) models of scale as a nested hierarchy.[7] "In this kind of scalar hierarchy, local, regional, national, continental and global levels form a spatial system in which each 'broader' scope is understood as transcending the previous 'narrower' scope."[8] Heritage items can function on all those levels, sometimes, as the quote about items on the world heritage list mentions, generating opportunities or tensions. But often policy makers try to make a distinction between these levels for organizing legislation and administrations, and for distributing work, power and resources. In the European context, this is related to ideas about subsidiarity. In the Treaty of the European Union, as amended by the Lisbon Treaty (17/12/2007), the Preamble states the intention to be resolved "to continue the process of creating an ever closer Union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity."[9]

It is also linked to power struggles, discourses and perceptions, in terms of 'top down' or 'bottom up'. As Harvey demonstrated, the notion of scales can also be approached as processes, for instance as "social production of space."[10] Another way to deal with this is to think in terms of networks, for instance by using Actor-Network Theory instruments. This can help to see and deal with "the flow of people, ideas, objects and resources as 'interconnected complexity'";[11] in terms of connectivity and boundary work.

In the networks of Critical Heritage Studies, a series of case studies is now being conducted to explore the consequences and lessons of working with these questions and tools. In the oeuvre of Lähdesmäkhi for instance, these concepts are used for studying how heritage policies and practices in Europe evolve. Other authors like myself focus on the impact and evolution of the UNESCO (or ICOMOS, ICOM, etc.) related heritage paradigms.

In scholarly research of cultural heritage, there have been paradigmatic changes, digesting, being sensitized by and taking into account major transformations in societies. These evolutions are described with words like globalization, decolonization and sustainable development agendas. They have, according to Lähdesmäkhi, been challenging so-called core functions of heritage "as a bedrock of monocultural nation-building projects, a continuation of elitist cultural canons, and as upholding Eurocentric cultural values. As a part of this transformation, consensual heritage narratives about the nation

6 T. Lähdesmäki, Y. Zhu and S. Thomas, 'Introduction. Heritage and Scale', in: T. Lähdesmäki, S. Thomas and Y. Zhu (eds.), *Politics of Scale. New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies*. New York & Oxford, 2019, p. 1-18, p. 3.

7 Compare to R. During, 'European heritage discourses, a matter of identity construction?', in: R. During (ed.), *Cultural heritage and identity politics*. Wageningen, 2011, p. 17-30.

8 Lähdesmäki, Zhu and Thomas, *Introduction*, p. 3.

9 http://data.europa.eu/eli/treaty/teu_2012/oj (1/8/2020).

10 Lähdesmäki, Zhu and Thomas, *Introduction*, p. 6.

11 Lähdesmäki, Zhu and Thomas, *Introduction*, p. 7.

and national identity have been questioned and contested through various identity claims below and above the national narrative – and within it."[12]

But, one could argue, these are precisely considerations that are linked to the emergence and proliferation of the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm, as empowered by the 2003 Convention; at least as some activists try to cultivate it. Apparently it is high time to emphasize this more, as I did in the reply to museologist Serge Chaumier,[13] as the IMP-trajectory tried to do and as many other commentators argue. The editors of the *New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies* contribution on *Politics of Scale* decided to end the book with an essay of Kristin Kuutma that spells out such points, and in the meantime also emphasizes the power play and dangers in that new UNESCO Convention.

In her subtle analysis, Kuutma explained how, on the one hand, the 2003 Convention tried to make a difference in comparison to the 1972 Convention: "(…) the new convention argued for an altered politics of scale. Its provisions foreground the role of communities and negate the scales of significance, as they are pronounced by the terms of 'universal value' or 'authenticity'. Although the official UNESCO discourse in the intangible heritage framework shuns such external evaluative categorization, it need not be the case on the ground. Local scales are associated with authenticity, while branding in tourist industry requires both singularity and authentic heritage."[14]

But on the other hand, some of these official tools 'in the (policy) cloud', were right from the start infected by implicit hierarchies and politics of scale in denial, like the List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding or the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Kuutma hits the nails on the head: "The practice of listing effectuates the notions of scale, territory and boundedness."[15] Referring to the critique of authorized heritage discourse and the scalar power mechanisms involved in implementing it, as being predominantly higher-classes and 'Western' specific, Kuutma also invited to keep looking at "the more universal sanctioning with authority that emerges in various scales." She detected AHD in contexts where national identity is built on folklore collections, like post-soviet Eastern European countries. According to Kuutma: "In the intangible heritage configuration, power hierarchies in AHD that are sanctioned by state authority valorize the scale of 'local' as a spatial and moralizing denominator for a particular purpose." But, it is complicated if you persist in systematically following and disentangling the lines: "Community participation – that is, mobilization around intangible cultural heritage – favours the emergence of a clearly bounded and targeted group, who would be easier to administer. And

12 Lähdesmäki, Zhu and Thomas, *Introduction*, p. 1.

13 M. Jacobs, 'Pourquoi? – Why Museology and Museums Should – more than ever – be Part of the Heritage Paradigm…', in: *Volkskunde*. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven 121:3, 2020, p. 381-388.

14 K. Kuutma, 'Afterword. The Politics of Scale for Intangible Cultural Heritage. Identification, Ownership and Representation', in: T. Lähdesmäki, S. Thomas and Y. Zhu (eds.), *Politics of Scale. New Directions in Critical Heritage Studies*. New York & Oxford, 2019, p. 156-170, p. 159.

15 Kuutma, *Afterword*, p. 159.

yet (…) the scalar structure plays it role also internally, because the grass-roots level in the intangible heritage framework is multifarious with different social layers and strands involved."[16]

Levels in the Blue Book of the 2003 Convention

The word 'scale' is not used in the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention.[17] It could have been included a few years ago, related to a specific problem that preoccupied many delegations, experts and advisers in the years after the introduction of the Operational Directives in 2008. But it wasn't. In order to avoid 'inflation', 'work overload' for the Secretariat and 'inscription bulimia', the access to inscribing elements on the international lists of the 2003 Convention was limited more and more. State Parties had to wait turns, whatever the size of the country or population, to get elements inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Heritage of Humanity. China or India or Luxemburg or Monaco: (in principle, and not taking into account multinational nominations) one item each every two years in the present system. In the first years of using the criteria proposed in the 2008 version of the Operational Directives, a series of discussions and problems emerged.

There were extensive debates about the inventories of intangible cultural heritage, not only as foreseen in article 11 of the Convention ("Member States should (…) identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations") and article 12, but also for the new lists based on articles 16 and 17. How 'big' and 'extended' can an element to be inscribed in the Representative List be(come)? Singing one song or a repertoire of songs of a group or even a country? Cooking and enjoying one dish or a whole national cuisine? Or even Mediterranean, and why not a Pacific or Atlantic (or, to go all the way a 'Global Seas') diet? Making one specific type of beer like faro? Or can 'Belgian beer culture' also be an element on a list? (It is). And after the 'Belgian beer culture' is inscribed on the Representative List, can then specific nominations of brewing a specific Walloon abbey beer or organizing and enjoying one special Flemish beer museum festival be submitted by Belgium and inscribed separately in a next round? What if similar parades in two locations in a region were presented in two separate nomination files, and eight other, also very similar parades in the same region not (yet)? Would then preparing a joint nomination of parades' culture in that region not be more appropriate? Of course, there was a lot at stake, e.g. as being on the Representative List could mean a world difference for tourists in their choices where to go and visit and spend money. It was not only a question of geographic scales, but also thematic scaling. How can one deal with *portemanteau* elements?

On 22 and 23 October 2012 an *Open ended intergovernmental working group* of experts was convened in the Paris Headquarters of UNESCO, sponsored by

16 Kuutma, *Afterword*, p. 161.

17 https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/2003_Convention_Basic_Texts-_2018_version-EN.pdf (28/7/2020).

Japanese funds. The problem was framed by a question: 'What is the right scale and scope of an element'? Several analyses and reports were made but of course it was not possible to reach consensus about the 'right scale'. It was argued that it was impossible, and not desirable, to give a good answer to a bad question, except, as the wise Brazilian expert Maria Fonseca proposed: "It depends" and "What do the CGIs find appropriate and what do other stakeholders think? Can consensus be found so it can be put on a list as an item and 'continue' 'living' as 'an element'?" It was not possible to agree among the delegations so the Intergovernmental Committee decided not to decide upon determining 'right scales or scopes' for 'elements' (of intangible cultural heritage) and relevant 'communities'. In the final decision 7.COM 13.b, all that could be agreed upon was the fact that the Intergovernmental Committee "notes that the 'right' scale or scope of elements of intangible cultural heritage depends on the diverse contexts of the implementation of the 2003 Convention and its mechanisms at the national and international levels; and recommends that States Parties be attentive as to what scale is appropriate for what purposes."[18]

Trying to find a 'simple' or 'right' solution for dealing with scale or scope of 'an element' of 'intangible cultural heritage' was off the agenda for several years. But notice how the discussion might return the next decade, if you consider the assessment factor 7.2 for core indicator 7: "Extent to which inventories reflect the diversity of ICH and contribute to safeguarding" in the Overall Results Framework: "7.2 Specialized inventories and/or inventories of various scopes reflect diversity and contribute to safeguarding." Or the assessment factor "8.2 Inventorying process respects the diversity of ICH and its practitioners, including the practices and expressions of all sectors of society, all genders and all regions"; or for core indicator "8. Extent to which the inventorying process is inclusive, respects the diversity of ICH and its practitioners, and supports safeguarding by communities, groups and individuals concerned." Do notice how the focus is shifted towards 'the process' and to challenges of managing and combining different scalar systems. When these complex and (economically, socially, ecologically and culturally, hence politically) sensitive issues would be put on the UNESCO agenda again, hopefully more scholarly solutions and insights will be available to feed and enrich these debates, as well as the experiences and solutions of heritage brokers and mediators surfing on and connecting these different levels and contexts.

At the moment, the word 'border' is used only once in the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention, and once in an assessment factor of the Overall Results Framework: "24.2 Bilateral, multilateral, regional or international cooperation is undertaken to implement safeguarding measures for specific elements of ICH, in particular those in danger, those present in the territories of more than one State, and cross-border elements."

The word 'level(s)' is used dozens of times in the 2018 version of the Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention, introduced in a foreword by director-general Audrey Azoulay, announcing that: "In its annex, this 2018 edition of the Basic

18 https://ich.unesco.org/en/7com; https://ich.unesco.org/en/Decisions/7.COM/13.b (28/7/2020), for the discussions do see the documents and reports, https://ich.unesco.org/en/7com-wg.

Texts includes the overall results framework for the Convention, which was approved by the General Assembly of the States Parties to the Convention in June 2018. The framework should make it possible to measure and monitor the impact of the Convention at various levels, in the spirit of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development."[19]

The concept of levels is already used in article 1 of the Convention text itself. The purposes of the 2003 Convention are not only to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage and ensure respect for the communities, groups and individuals concerned, and to provide for international cooperation and assistance but also "1 (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof." And article 19 states that "the States Parties recognize that the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is of general interest to humanity, and to that end undertake to cooperate at the bilateral, subregional, regional and international levels." Article 20 (c) even makes an opening for supporting "programmes, projects and activities carried out at the national, subregional and regional levels aimed at the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage."

Level discourse is strongly linked to awareness-raising, following the Living Apart Together arrangements of Member States and the nested structures of their internal households, abstractly captured in 'local, national and international levels'-figures of speech. But there are also possibilities of inter alia exchanges, collaboration, cooperation and joint adventures at more levels (including bilateral, in principle between any two countries in the world).

A new line of research is investigating how and to what extent actors try to refashion and re-frame themselves and (e.g. the name of) their intangible heritage. Bernard Debarbieux and Hervé Munz demonstrated to what extent actors in France, Italy and Switzerland were prepared to accommodate in order to fit in a desired format or on a 'level'. The call for research in other nomination files, on how each "(…) stakeholder or set of stakeholders copes with the scalar systems used by the others and how this diversity can lead to conflicts, trade-offs or compromises in the adoption of a common scalar framework. More specifically, within the ICH realm, we address the skill implemented by ICH bearers in order to adapt to UNESCO's own scalar systems and to negotiate scalar framings with state administrations and heritage experts."[20] A fascinating line of research will be to investigate how the Overall Results Framework will provoke or facilitate civil servants and government to answer appropriately according to the scalar system in the 2003 Convention, and how much space there will be to also show alternatives.

19 UNESCO, *Basic Texts of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Paris, 2020, p. 1.

20 B. Debarbieux & H. Munz, 'Scaling heritage. The construction of scales in the submission process of alpinism to UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage list', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25:12, 2019, p. 1248-1262.

The official story on the effect and implementation in Member State Bulgaria: intangible heritage, museums and community cultural centres.

An eye-opening example to understand how the politics of scale in the 2003 Convention is implemented and works is the official story presented by member state Bulgaria. Since 2009 the project of a UNESCO Category II Centre, the Regional Centre for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in South-Eastern Europe, was launched. In 2016, at the occasion of the 70th birthday of UNESCO, the Centre published an overview on the contribution of the Balkan countries to the development and implementation of the 2003 Convention. The first contribution was signed by prof. dr. Ventzislav Velev, who also works in the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria. The title of his article tries to speak volumes: *The Contribution of the State, Academic and Local Government Institutions, as well as of the Network of Museums and Chitalishta (Community Centres) to the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Promotion of Its Transmission to the next Generations*. The frame in Bulgaria is a special Cultural Heritage Act in 2009, amended in 2012: "Within the territory of the country the government policy for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage is implemented by the Minister of Culture in collaboration with the relevant state and municipal authorities (…) The vision of the state proceeds from the understanding that, especially at local level, government policies should be realized with the active involvement and assistance of the regional administrations and the municipalities (…) From the perspective of the local authorities, the policies in this area should proceed from the assumption that any actions for the safeguarding of the ICH should be based on the understanding that the ICH is instrumental for the upholding of the identity of the population, its connection with the particular territory and its adherence to the local traditional culture as an important part of daily life."[21] Museums are consolidating the vistas: "An important factor for the development of processes pertinent to the safeguarding and promotion of the ICH within the territory of Bulgaria is the wide network of museums, among which specialised ethnographic ones stand out. Within the framework of general museum exhibitions, there is designated space for showcasing the ethnographic and folklore peculiarities of the particular region or of the country as a whole. (…) The promotional factor is also very important, not least because of its educational effect, especially where the younger generation is concerned."[22]

21 V. Velev, 'The Contribution of the State, Academic and Local Government Institutions, as well as of the Network of Museums and Chitalishta (Community Centres) to the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Promotion of Its Transmission to the next Generations', in: *The Contribution of UNESCO Member States of South-Eastern Europe to the Implementation of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. A Jubilee Edition Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of UNESCO.* Sofia, 2016, p. 17-31, p. 21.; https://www.unesco-centerbg.org/wp-new/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/izdanie_UNESCO_print-last.pdf (15/07/2015).

22 Ibidem, p. 26-27.

And then, last but not least, there is "yet another Bulgarian institution, which is unique for the country: the *chitalishte*, or community centre. This prototype of self-organised civil society has already 160 years of history behind itself (…) Today the *chitalishta* are autonomous, self-governing cultural and educational associations set each within a population centre, which also pursue cultural and educational functions entrusted to them by the Bulgarian State." The importance of this formula had been assessed by scholarly research, according to Velev: "The government policy with respect to the development of the *chitalishta* is based both on an internal evaluation of their significance for the social and cultural life of the country and on their international reputation. An emotionally candid, ethnically neutral team of British scholars led by Charles Landry and Robert Pulford examined the role and place of these popular institutions within the Bulgarian culture and their significance in the context of preservation of cultural and historical heritage in Bulgaria. As a result of that, Landry and Rulford unreservedly proclaimed the need for the *chitalishta* to be rediscovered as a main anchor of both the cultural development and the advancement of civil society."[23] On the basis of the 1995 study by the independent scholars from the UK, it seemed to make sense in 2016 to contemplate giving this network a prominent role.[24]

This official account is compatible with the last periodic report, submitted in 2012 by Member State Bulgaria and examined by the Intergovernmental Committee in Baku in 2013.[25]

The 'case' of Nadezhda Savova-Grigorova

In another contribution in this volume,[26] I start by presenting an interesting case of a 'hybrid institution', in Bulgaria, building on the community cultural center model and taking, among others, the form of a museum. The cultural broker behind it is Nadezhda Savova. She is not mentioned in the 2016 overview by professor Velev or professor Santova, nor in the successful UNESCO nomination file 969, on *Bulgarian Chitalishte (Community Cultural Center): practical experience in safeguarding the vitality of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, that led in 2017 to the inscription of the community cultural centres in the UNESCO list of good safeguarding practices. Will she and her projects be mentioned in the next country report, due, together with all other European reports, in 2021? Perhaps this article can be a reminder. In any case, in this special issue it is interesting to discover an alternative approach that was and is grounded in the 2003 UNESCO paradigm.

23 Ibidem, p. 28.

24 Ibidem, p. 29. Reference: C. Landry, R. Pulford et al., *The Cultural Policy of Bulgaria. A Report by an European Team of Experts*. Sofia, 1995. Do note: the 2013 Princeton PhD on this topic by the Bulgarian scholar Nadezhda Savova-Grigorova, http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp01qn59q403h is not mentioned.

25 https://ich.unesco.org/en-state/bulgaria-BG?info=periodic-reporting.

26 M. Jacobs, 'Words matter… – The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks', in: *Volkskunde*. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven 121:3, 2020, p. 267-288.

As a young anthropologist, after moving from Bulgaria to the academic networks in the United States, Nadezhda Savova wrote an unusual, widely circulated scholarly paper. In the title she presents a surprising combination of words: 'museum', 'favela' (slum-neighbourhood), 'local constructivism', 'UNESCO's Intangible-Tangible Politics' and a new concept she coined 'Heritage Kin(a)esthetics'. The 'museum' was something 'under construction', a mental construct and a development project, explored while she did fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro in 2006 and 2007. Her research method was walking, looking, and doing interviews. She tried to understand an experiment that was part of a bigger social development project, the Slum-Neighborhood Project (*Projeito Favela-Bairro*), a 300 million-dollar project of the Municipality of Rio to improve living conditions, the reputation and visitability of 160 favelas. One of the ideas was to launch a heritage project in the first favela in Rio, Providencia (more than a century old). The plan was to present a historic trail to boost tourism. Project developers and artists decided to declare the favela "an open-air museum"/"living museum (*museu vivo*)." It was also intended to counterbalance huge museum projects (in buildings that had to be designed and constructed) in other parts of the city. Framing and promoting a crowded, vibrant, poor, dangerous (due to drug and gang related violence), unruly slum as a 'living museum' was easier said than done. In 2007, Savova wondered if calling an urban zone 'a living museum' and trying to act on that idea, would be compatible with (safeguarding) 'intangible cultural heritage', the new buzzwords the anthropologist read and heard about. The scholar invented a word to make a contrast with 'aesthetic heritage' (like you find in museum buildings for fine arts): 'heritage kinaesthetics'. This refers to the embodied practices (walking, dancing, feasting …) that (could) "set the built environment – to be revitalised – alive and are a counterpart of heritage aesthetics, or the immobile quality usually ascribed to a historic site." People living in the favela and visitors of Providencia's Museum, according to her, would have to apply several senses and explore methods that are visual (photographing; seeing), ambulatory (walking around as exploration), performances (samba, capoeira, football, and music; tour guides' performances), oral (telling stories/imagining history), and acoustic (creating and listening to place-specific sounds).[27]

Savova brings together a wide variety of references to debates in UNESCO, theories, and observations on the role of cybercafés, photographers, tourists and samba. Her article is what Simon Schama called "shamelessly eclectic." In 2020, it is included in the database about safeguarding intangible cultural heritage on the UNESCO ICH research webpage and, right from the start in the online IMP database. It is interesting but unusual, different in comparison to other articles in those domains.[28]

Between 2007 and 2013, Savova had the chance to live and study in Princeton. She could also work for several months at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris in 2008, in the year the first set of the Operational Directives for the

27 N. Savova, 'Heritage Kinaesthetics: Local Constructivism and UNESCO's Intangible-Tangible Politics at a "Favela" Museum', *Anthropological Quarterly* 82:2, 2009, p. 547-585, p. 553.

28 https://ich.unesco.org/en/2003-convention-and-research-00945;

2003 Convention landed. In her PhD, golden nuggets of her personal history are scattered around, stories that throw a new light on several issues in the history of the development of the 2003 Convention, the first set of Operational Directives in 2008 and 2010, and even the Historic Urban Landscape Recommendation in 2011:

> "While doing research at UNESCO, I started calling the 'houses of culture' 'Living Houses', echoing the 'Living Human Treasures' concept, in order to be able to translate for people at UNESCO in their own language and recognizable categories what I meant by 'community cultural centers', where people usually engaged in folk activities such as folk dance and music ensembles, or what UNESCO would have termed 'intangible cultural heritage transmission', particularly since often the teachers would be old masters, musicians or craftsmen, and even if these people were often not officially recognized as 'Living Human Treasures', many of the people practicing the traditional cultural activity as hobby would often become 'Living Human Treasures' themselves through regular engagement, performing as folk ensembles at world-class festivals. These 'living houses' are particularly intriguing sites for the negotiation of concepts, practices, and meanings of what constitutes living heritage and what is its role in the daily life of the modern city landscapes (with the evolving UNESCO notion of 'historic urban [cultural] landscape' [H.U.L], stressing the intertwining of tangible and intangible heritage, which I have elsewhere analyzed as heritage kinaesthetics."[29]

In Paris, Nadezhda Savova grabbed the chance of setting up a global network, the International Council for Cultural Centers (I3C): connecting national networks/associations of community cultural centers (3c-s), including *pontos de cultura* (bridges or hubs for culture), initiatives in Africa and UNESCO-coordinated community learning centers (CLCs) in Thailand and Vietnam. The formula she applied was to connect relatively disconnected local cultural systems and their national and regional networks and weaving a global network connected to the UNESCO apparatus. The example of the *chitalishte* 'community cultural centers network' that had functioned since the middle of the 19th century in Bulgaria had sensitized her, in an age of the internet and UNESCO networks. She discovered similar institutions all over the world. The principles of the *chitalishte* movement (Self-sufficiency, Self-governance and Self-motivation (volunteer work)) were also compatible with what small museum projects seemingly needed.

One of the assists I noticed while analyzing the Operational Directives for the IMP-project, was the link between Operational Directives 108 and 109 (prepared in the UNESCO Secretariat) and the recent invitation in the Overall Results Framework (with ghostwriters like Frank Proschan and Janet Blake) via assessment factor "1.5 Cultural centres, centres of expertise, research

29 N. Savova-Grigorova, *Braed and Home: Global Cultural Politics in the Tangible Places of Intangible Heritage*. (Bulgaria, Cuba, Brazil). Princeton, 2013, p. 5.

institutions, museums, archives, libraries, etc., contribute to ICH safeguarding and management." Savova was there when the link between 108 and 109 was made on paper, waiting to be discovered and developed later. Do notice the thank you note in her PhD thesis for "the whole Intangible Heritage Section team and in particular Franck Proschan and Cesar Moreno-Triana for our multiple lunch-break discussions about the tangibility and intangibility of heritage, letting me experience UNESCO's ICH Convention right from the kitchen where it was cooked."[30]

Nadezhda Savova mixed the aforementioned impressions and developed it into the core argument of her PhD in Cultural Anthropology at Princeton University. She combined this with work at the Princeton Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, and with a training in the Keller Center for Innovation focusing on social entrepreneurship. And she discovered the power of making and enjoying food, in particular bread. After founding the International Council for Cultural Centers (www.international3c.org) in 2008, she also created a spin-off, the Bread Houses Network (www.breadhousesnetwork.org), based in Bulgaria. Here again she applied techniques, picked up at UNESCO, by establishing a central hub, constructing an arsenal of stories and aspirations, and training a series of facilitators with the mission, in casu, "to 'knead' peace and friendship among isolated and even feuding communities around the world by inspiring them to make, bake, and break bread together."[31]

Nadezhda also developed toolkits with documentation, methods and games (www.thegame.bakerswithoutborders.net). She returned to Bulgaria to set up a hybrid organization and a network. She is still active, not so much in academia, but in several locations in Bulgaria and elsewhere: "coming down to the local level and especially working with large groups of people and with cultural institutions made me come down from the clouds of imagined networks and the beautiful worlds depicted by UNESCO's narratives, yet rarely made material, and plant myself in the communal reality faced with entangled webs of bureaucratic miscommunication and impossible hygiene regulations."[32]

Way forward

Nadezhda's work is not (yet) on the register for good safeguarding practices, but 'the Bulgarian *Chitalishte* (Community Cultural Centre): practical experience in safeguarding the vitality of the intangible cultural heritage' was inscribed in 2017 on the UNESCO Register of Good Safeguarding Practices. In section D of the nomination form, there is the chance to tick 'one box to identify whether the geographic scope of the programme, project or activity is essentially national, sub-regional, regional or international (the last category includes projects carried out in geographically non-continuous areas)'. The first box 'national' was ticked. In the file there is a strong emphasis on the relevance in

30 Savova-Grigorova, *Bread*, p. vi-vii.

31 Savova-Grigorova, *Bread*, p. iv-v.

32 Savova-Grigorova, *Bread*, p. 323.

Bulgaria, referring to the different levels of governments and museums. But should it not be international, such an article 18 file, as Savova demonstrated?

How can one fit 'without borders' initiatives or a shameless eclectic approach, hip-hopping between levels, scales and disciplines into nested scalar systems/reports? What will it take to avoid that impressive reports, like the ones produced by the official Bulgarian administrative levels in a UNESCO context, would let interesting brokers and cases liked the tweaked community cultural center model of Savova-Grigorova fall through the mazes of the net? This is not a challenge just for our esteemed colleagues in Bulgaria, but for every country. As we argued in the special issue in *Volkskunde* in 2014, cultural brokerage, translation and cultural brokerage are critical success factors. Of course the most important aspect is that CGIs and other stakeholders get connected, make relevant and empowering projects and plans, and can make a difference for many people. But the politics of scale, and the way official monitoring, reporting and overall results collections and processing is organized, should not overshadow, but also not ignore these insights and initiatives, if the 2003 Convention is to be fully developed and the role of UNESCO as a global clearing-house would really function. The story of the safeguarding ICH paradigm should not just be a story of compliance but also inspiration and aspiration. If the scalar system sticks to the official, states-centred version and nested structures, it will be very hard to pick up these traces. This is in particular the case for detecting contact zones and boundary spanning.

In the Council of the European Union conclusions of 21 May 2014 on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe, there are challenges concerning "5. the increased recognition at European, national, regional and local level of the social dimension of cultural heritage and the importance of activating synergies across different stakeholders to safeguard, develop and transmit cultural heritage to future generations" or "12. develop multilevel and multi-stakeholder governance frameworks which recognise cultural heritage as a shared resource by strengthening the links between the local, regional, national and European levels of governance of cultural heritage, with due respect to the principle of subsidiarity, so that benefits for people are envisaged at all levels." How will they be picked up?

It will be necessary to critically assess and discuss the results yielded by the operations in 2021 by 'Europe' with the Overall Results Framework and to not take the (politics of) scales and levels for granted, as well as not taking the organization of Electoral Group per Electoral Group for granted, but as something to be corrected with supplementary research with a broader and deeper scope.

More incentives can be given. This is why I plead to reconsider and take serious the potential of article 18 of the 2003 Convention, and in particular a suggestion in Operational Directive "14. The Committee encourages the submission of (…) programmes, projects and activities (…) undertaken jointly by States Parties in geographically discontinuous areas. States Parties may submit these proposals individually or jointly." The intentions are good but formulated in an unfortunate way. Why not change the wording in Operational

Directive 14 to "The Committee encourages the submission of (…) programmes, projects and activities (…) undertaken jointly (…) in geographically discontinuous areas." When guideline 14 is changed, then there could be specific calls, as they are foreseen in Operational Directive 4. "At each session the Committee may explicitly call for proposals characterized by international cooperation, as mentioned in Article 19 of the Convention, and/or focusing on specific priority aspects of safeguarding." And there is Operational Directive 6: "In its selection and promotion of safeguarding programmes, projects and activities, the Committee shall pay special attention to the needs of developing countries and to the principle of equitable geographic distribution, while strengthening South-South and North-South-South cooperation." If this is not possible via the UNESCO procedures, then let us go for stimulating 'lighter ways of sharing' good practices, in the light of the disappointment of how the crucial article 18 has functioned up to now. And of course if the criteria would be optimized, it is time to finetune criteria like "P.2 The programme, project or activity promotes the coordination of efforts for safeguarding intangible cultural heritage on regional, subregional and/or international levels." The word "on" can be replaced or complemented by for instance "over" or "beyond."

But there is also work to be done concerning other instruments "on the international level" (articles 16, 17, 19 …). Kristin Kuutma emphasized that, in the first decades of the history of UNESCO's heritage convention(s), a front zone of the politics of scale resides in inventorying and listing: "The scalar structuration and politics find instrumental mediation through the two lists established by the 2003 Convention, the Representative List and the List of Urgent Safeguarding (…) Inventorying reflects interests and ideologies that are often driven by external agendas; it is rarely taken up on the initiative of cultural communities themselves, but assumes a brokerage and mediation role (see Arantes 2009)."[33] Indeed, the role of cultural brokers, translators and mediators is a critical success factor.[34]

As I learned in 2002 and 2003 during the meeting for the drafting of the 2003 Convention, from talks with my neighbor Maria Fonseca (Brazil is often seated next to Belgium, in particular when Belize is absent), one of the most important reasons to make those inventories in the first place, is that it is an occasion and even an obligation for experts, brokers, governments, and UNESCO networks to start and keep the dialogue and conversation going with the communities, groups and individuals 'on the ground'. She explained to me why in the future it would become so important that in article 12 we were drafting, that little phrase "These inventories shall be regularly updated" is there, in particular in combination with article 15. Not inventories, encyclopedias, websites, maps

33 Kuutma, *Afterword*, p. 164.

34 Next to A. Arantes, 'Heritage as Culture: Limits, Uses and Implications of Intangible Cultural Heritage Inventories', in: T. Kono (ed.), *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Intellectual Property. Cultural Diversity and Sustainable Development*. Antwerp, 2009, p. 51-75, the special issue in *Volkskunde*, introduced by M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck & A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 249–256.

(brochures of travel agencies) or atlases, on whatever scale were crucial, but the 'connectivity' and 'networking', the dialogue and the obligation to go back and explain, again and again, what the consequences and effects are, first to the people directly involved, and then, via periodic reporting to the rest of the world. It is about assuring there is free, prior and informed consent and co-management among the partners and the stakeholders.

I still remember these insights from my Brazilian colleague, about the different layers of the components of the Convention and how the levers and the checks and balances might work. These deeper truths re-emerged during the exercise to explain the 2003 Convention in other words, yielding the Twelve Ethical Principles: "All interactions with the communities, groups and, where applicable, individuals who create, safeguard, maintain and transmit intangible cultural heritage should be characterized by transparent collaboration, dialogue, negotiation and consultation, and contingent upon their free, prior, *sustained* and informed consent." It can even go further, beyond the politics of scale that even the use of a concept or perspective of 'consenting' CGIs in a UNESCO Convention implies. The juxtaposition of actors in the ninth ethical principle is significant: "Communities, groups, local, national and transnational organizations and individuals should carefully assess the direct and indirect, short-term and long-term, potential and definitive impact of any action that may affect the viability of intangible cultural heritage or the communities who practise it." Museums can be those organisations (or members of those communities) and their networks too. All museum workers, brokers, researchers and other people are individuals. All are actors, with networks, and agency, and they can cultivate the skills to deal with scales.

HANNA SCHREIBER

Squaring the Circle?

In Search of the Characteristics of the Relationship between Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums, Europe and the EU

This paper seeks to analyze the complex and evolving relationship between intangible cultural heritage (ICH), museums, Europe as a geographical region and the European Union as a regional organization.

With the aim to understand this relationship and find relevant quantitative and qualitative data, the number of inscriptions coming from European countries (and separately from the EU member states) to the Representative List of ICH is analyzed, as one of proofs of the interest shown by States Parties to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (the 2003 Convention). Inscriptions from the EU members are also examined by paying special attention to the way they incorporate museums and the role ascribed to museums visible in nomination files. Also examined is how the EU defines 'intangible cultural heritage' in practice, e.g. via diverse funds and programs, with the aim to see how close (or how far) its interpretations of what is 'intangible heritage' are to the 2003 Convention's definition, and what is the place provided by the EU for museums promoting ICH. At the end the paper presents the challenges and possible traps that might be encountered in the process of including ICH in the current EU and museums heritage policies and actions.

In order to provide a clear referential framework, the research is based on an interdisciplinary approach, involving the legal, institutional, and political dimensions. In terms of the sources used, information was drawn from international governmental (EU, UNESCO) and non-governmental organizations (NEMO, Europeana) primary sources – e.g. conventions (with a focus on the 2003 Convention), institutional agreements, directives, policy documents and statements, operational directives, and open calls for funds.

Europe, the EU and the 2003 Convention

The undisputed success of the most recognizable international 'promotion machine' for cultural heritage – the UNESCO List of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (WHL) established by the 1972 Convention and now covering more than 1,000 entries – served (though not without many controversies raised and debates held) as a model for the 2003 Convention, which established the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This

list currently includes 463 inscriptions from 124 countries (as of December 2019).

Soon after the adoption of the 1972 Convention, the WHL proved to be a great success story and also promotional machine – but mainly for one region of the world: Europe, which has the majority of inscribed sites.[1] This situation caused growing international consternation throughout the 1980s, and in the 1990s mechanisms were invented in order to correct this imbalance, including the launch of the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced, and Credible World Heritage List in 1994.[2] Despite these initiatives, European hegemony on the WHL remains in place, making it still a 'most European Convention'. Thus it comes as no surprise that one of the arguments raised at the time of drafting the 2003 Convention was that this instrument should finally mitigate this imbalance by raising and promoting the richness of traditions, customs, rituals, and traditional craftsmanship of African, Asian, and Latin American origin.[3]

The hope of having a 2003 'non-Western Convention' did not materialize however. In the UNESCO lobbies one may indeed hear, 'off the record', that "UNESCO is not for Europe, and Europe does not need the 2003 Convention", or that "the governing bodies are clear that they invest only in developing countries, like Africa, Latin America" (noted in July 2016). The statistics, however, show that Europe as a region can handle this 'neglect' quite well, with the number of inscriptions being a visible proof of the frozen power structure in the global heritage regime, in which Europe has played a key role for decades. Europe, as a region, has been highly successful in operationalizing the 2003 UNESCO Convention (or in other words, in "capitalising on new possibilities"[4]), as regards the presence of intangible cultural elements originating from Europe on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Out of the five world regions, Europe has (since December 2019) 175 unique inscriptions, which constitutes the second largest share (34%) in the regional representation. It is still very close to Asia and the Pacific with 35%, and in the period 2016-2018 Europe was a leading region.

Another step in the analysis of the widespread European presence on the ICH international arena reveals the central role of the activities undertaken by the 27 EU member states in heritage diplomacy, which has resulted in the large number of inscriptions on the Representative List, forming at the same time an

1 For more on the history of creating regional groups in the framework of the 1972 Convention, with the aim to ensure an equitable representation of the different regions and cultures of the world, especially in the context of the elections to Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Article 8 of the 1972 Convention) see L. Meskell, C. Liuzza and N.s Brown, 'World Heritage Regionalism: UNESCO from Europe to Asia', *International Journal of Cultural Property* 22:4, 2015, p. 437-470. See also: H. Schreiber, 'Intangible cultural heritage, Europe and the European Union: dangerous liaisons?', in: A. Jakubowski, F. Fiorentini, K. Hausler (eds.), *Cultural Heritage in the European Union: A Critical Inquiry.* Leiden and Boston, 2019, p. 324-364.

2 Meskell, Liuzza and Brown, *World Heritage Regionalism*, p. 438; C. Brumann and D. Berliner, *World Heritage on the Ground: Ethnographic Perspectives.* Oxford and New York, 2016, p. 11.

3 Brumann and Berliner, *World Heritage*, p. 12.

4 Brumann and Berliner, *World Heritage*, p. 11.

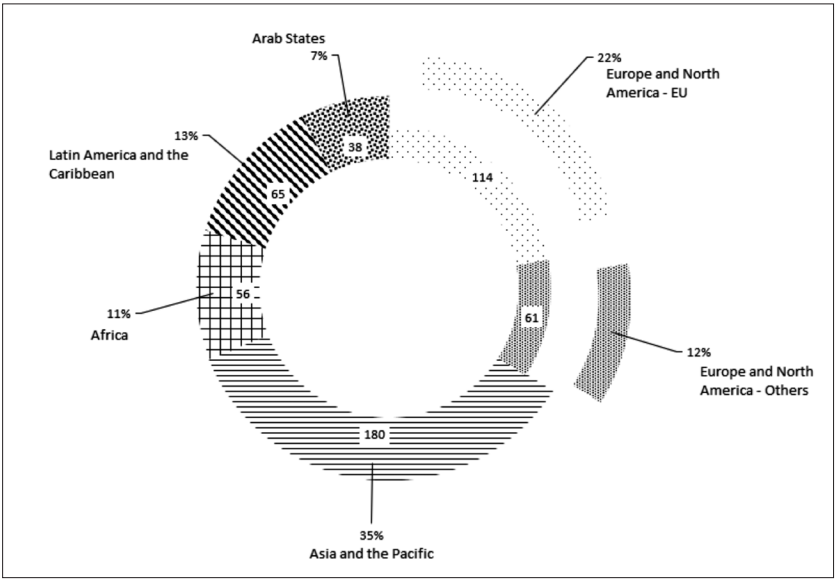

Figure 1. Number of inscriptions on the Representative List of ICH of Humanity – regional imbalance. Methodology: only unique inscriptions were counted for each region (multinational inscriptions were counted as one in each region). For EU member states also only unique inscriptions were counted for the whole group. Source: own elaboration, December 2019.

overwhelming majority of inscriptions representing Europe as a geographical region on this UNESCO list. As of December 2019, out of the 46 states forming Groups I and II (generally representing Europe as a regional group), 27 EU member states possess definite majority of ICH inscribed elements out of all counted for this region. All current EU member states are also States Parties to the 2003 Convention, with Malta joining as the last EU member in spring 2017 (with the exception of the UK, which is, however, currently in the Brexit process).

Although the number of inscriptions does not necessarily reflect the potential, richness, or status of ICH in a given country, they generally reflect the financial and diplomatic capacities of the EU member states.[5]

The role of museums stemming from the EU member states' ICH nomination files

In order to answer questions regarding the role of museums for the safeguarding of ICH I have analyzed 114 nominations coming from the EU member states (multinational counted as one, data as of December 2019, UK has not yet ratified the 2003 Convention). I have taken both a quantitative and a qualitative approach. Firstly, I have checked the number of nominations

5 Schreiber, *Intangible cultural heritage*, p. 328-329.

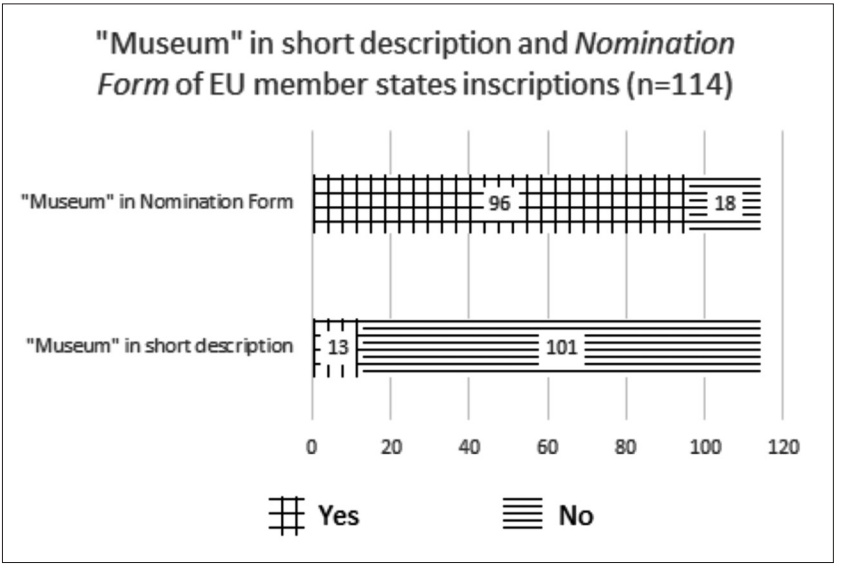

Figure 2. Number of references to museums in short description of ICH elements inscribed into the Representative List of ICH visible at the UNESCO website and number of references to museums in nomination files. All analysed nomination files were submitted by the EU member states (as of December 2019). Own elaboration.

where reference to 'museum' appears. Secondly, I have explored the context where this word appears in order to identify the role ascribed to the museum within the nomination (the 'gravity' of the 'museum' for described practices and communities). It was observed that the reference to 'museum' does not appear too often in the short description, visible at the UNESCO website, of any ICH element (short description of an ICH element visible at the UNESCO website is taken from the nomination file: it is regarded as a nomination file 'in a nutshell'). Only thirteen short descriptions contained any reference to museums. The situation changes significantly when one analyzes the whole nomination file: the majority of inscriptions refer to museums (see Figure 2). However, the context of these references differs widely.

There are observations to be made on the basis of my analysis:

1. In some cases the establishment or enlarging and redesigning of a museum is planned as an element of a safeguarding plan – in that sense one may say that the 2003 Convention has a 'museum-(re) generating' effect, e.g. to implement the 2003 Convention Serbia established ICH Centre at the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade responsible for safeguarding all ICH elements inscribed to ICH lists both at the national as well as the international levels (e.g. *kolo*, traditional folk dance); Portugal established The UNESCO Centre for the Appreciation and Safeguard of the Estremoz Clay

Figure[6] in the process of preparation of the nomination file on Craftmanship of Estremoz clay figures; in the process of preparation to the nomination procedure Naples Municipality created a specific section dedicated to *pizzaiuolo* in the Mediterranean Museum of Culture, Arts and Tradition; the Lombardy Region, the Cremona Municipality and the Department of Musicology supported the creation of an audio-visual archive at the Stradivari Museum about the learning processes, technical skills and personal histories of violin-makers in 2011 (Traditional violin craftsmanship in Cremona was inscribed into Representative list in 2012); and a new museum dedicated exclusively to Rebetiko (inscribed in 2017) was opened in the same year in Trikala (Thessaly, Greece). It is important to underline, however, that the scale of these planned 'museum-(re)generating' projects differs: sometimes it is related to a small museum at school, sometimes to a huge, large-scale institution.

(*museum as an effect of ICH Convention*);

2. In some cases museums existed long before the nomination process had started. In some cases the museum is considered to be a part of a wider group of engaged actors (alongside NGOs, a state administration, experts, academics, practitioners themselves) (e.g. the Museum of Folk Arts in the case of Armenian cross-stones art; the Ethnographic Museum of Istria in the case of Annual carnival bell ringers' pageant from the Kastav area; the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków in the case of *szopka* tradition);

   (*museum as an element of an ICH community, museum as an actor that initiated the ICH inscription process*);

3. In a few cases nominations were 'purely-museum-like', e.g. they were written and created by a museum network, which are key actors in safeguarding a given practice and where a museum acts as a competent body (e.g. cultural practices associated to the first of March; traditional wall-carpet craftsmanship in Romania and the Republic of Moldova, Aubusson tapestry, Blaudruck); in some cases one museum plays a key role in transmitting ICH and preparing the nomination file (e.g. bobbin lacemaking in Slovenia)

   (*museum as a part of intangible practice cultivation*);

6 This name is used in the nomination file, however in the short description, reviewed by UNESCO before publishing it on its website the word 'UNESCO' is avoided, see *Craftsmanship of Estremoz clay figures*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/craftmanship-of-estremoz-clay-figures-01279 and compare to nomination file no. 01279 (Dec. 12. COM 11.b.26) (26/07/2020).

4. In some cases museums where presented solely in the context of their traditional functions, such as collecting, researching, archiving. They are presented more as 'memory keepers' than as active players engaged in safeguarding living practice (e.g. the Slovak National Museum – Music Museum in the case of bagpipe culture in Slovakia)

   (*museum as researching and collecting institution*);

5. The terminology used in the museum context varies; *virtual museum, living museum* (e.g. Fandango's Living Museum) or writing about dry stone walling sites as "living museums" in the case of the multinational nomination file submitted by Croatia, Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland), *ecomuseum* (e.g. the Batana Eco-museum) or an *Open Air Living Museum.*

The relationship between the EU, museums and the 2003 Convention is not very clear in the nomination files I studied. When ICH nomination files mention the European Union it usually appears in three roles regarding their influence on museums activities: 1) as an institution providing funding for projects ran by museums (or even contributing to establishing a new museum as in the case of Rebetiko Museum in Trikala, dedicated also to the memory of Rebetiko composer Vassilis Tsitsanis); 2) as legal regulator, issuing laws that a museum has to take into account when organizing the practice (e.g.

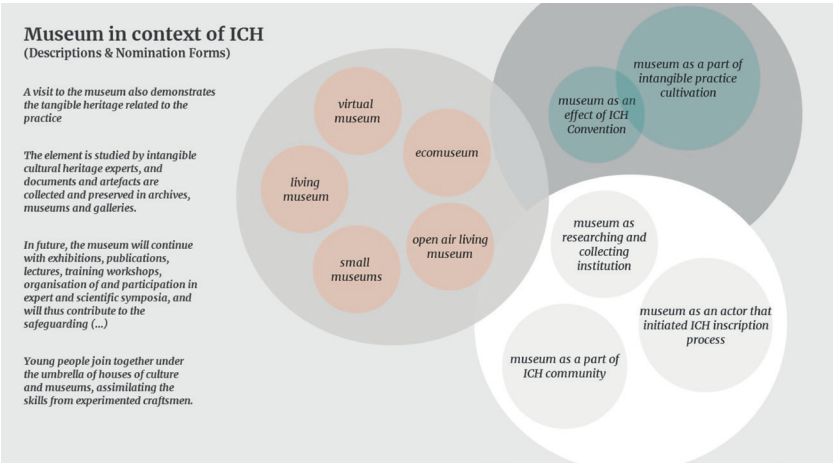

Figure 3. Terminology used – the role of museums in ICH nomination files (short description visible on the UNESCO website and other parts of nomination files) submitted by the EU member states. Citations from nomination files are presented on the left. Note: diverse roles of museums usually overlap and do not function in isolation. Own elaboration.

safety regulations during Valencia Fallas festivity[7]); 3) as an actor engaged in providing a research framework and diverse 'EU scientific programmes', e.g. in case of Rebetiko in Greece.

'Intangible heritage' and museums in the EU funding

Museums are considered as one of the crucial elements of culture infrastructure in Europe. The survey published in 2007 on European Cultural Values reveals that when thinking about culture, for eleven percent of European citizens the first thing that comes to mind is a museum. Respondents in Slovakia, Austria (26%) and Luxembourg (23%) were most likely to make this association. 41% of European citizens declare to visit a museum at least once a year. Respondents in Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands were most likely to have visited a museum or gallery at least once in the last year – the participation rate there is above sixty percent. What is also worth stressing is that the Internet is changing the ways in which many people consume cultural content: almost a quarter of leisure-time users say that they access museum, library and other specialist websites, in order to boost their knowledge.[8]

Cultural programs preceding the Creative Europe Programme had never included any 'intangible heritage' terminology in their descriptions or guidelines.[9] Interestingly, the Creative Europe Programme is not the only one that funds projects designed for safeguarding ICH. The European Regional Development Fund and Cohesion Fund also provide financial support for ICH, among other programs. The references to ICH began to appear and grow in visibility also in more (or less) appropriate configurations in Horizon 2020 or Interreg. An analysis of projects combining museums and ICH is presented below (Figure 4 and Figure 5).

It is important to note that in order to analyze the relevance of 'intangible cultural heritage' in the funding programs I have deliberately decided to search for the phrases 'intangible culture' and 'intangible heritage' due to the fact that search results for 'intangible cultural heritage' were very rare and did

7 "As regards the use of gunpowder and fireworks, the central and regional administration have adapted legislation to permit the use of these elements while complying with European safety standards while maintaining traditional pyrotechnical traditions" – nomination file no. 00859 (*Valencia Fallas festivity*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/valencia-fallas-festivity-00859 (26/07/2020). The controversies about the compliance of festivity activities with the EU regulations were earlier covered by media: *Spain overturns EU law to keep fiesta fires alight*, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/feb/21/spain-eu-fiestas-fires (26/07/2020).

8 European Commission, *European Cultural Values, Special Eurobarometer 278 / Wave 67.* S.L. 2007, p. 5, 12 and 26.

9 Among the three pilot programmes (so-called first-generation programmes) which have been introduced since 1996 (until 1999), one was specifically devoted to cultural heritage, i.e. Raphael (formally established by the European Parliament and Council Decision of 13 October 1997). Although the objectives and areas of the Raphael programme were set quite broadly, only the projects related to tangible cultural heritage were covered by the programme funding of €70 million. It ended in 2000 and was substituted by the programme Culture 2000–2006 (equipped with €240 million), and subsequently Culture 2007–2013 with a budget of €400 million to support projects and activities designed to protect and promote cultural diversity and heritage.

not give the possibility to fully acknowledge the interest in and the presence of 'intangible' cultural heritage.

Area	Source	Searched phrase	2007-2013	2014-2019
CULTURE	The Culture Programme (2007-2013)[10]	intangible culture	9	-
		intangible culture + museum	1	-
		intangible heritage	6	-
		intangible heritage + museum	1	-
	Creative Europe (2014-2019)[11]	intangible culture	-	100
		intangible culture + museum	-	7
		intangible heritage	-	46
		intangible heritage + museum	-	2
	Europeana[12]	intangible culture	46	
		intangible culture + museum	3	
		intangible heritage	266	
		intangible heritage + museum	20	
EDUCATION	ERASMUS+[13]	intangible culture	2	287
		intangible culture + museum	0	13
		intangible heritage	7	194
		intangible heritage + museum	0	15

10 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible heritage, museum', 'intangible culture' and 'intangible culture, museum' via the official Creative Europe website: *Creative Europe Project Results*, http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects#) (14/04/2019).

11 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible heritage, museum', 'intangible culture' and 'intangible culture, museum' via the official Creative Europe website: *Creative Europe Project Results*, http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/projects#) (14/04/2019).

12 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible culture', 'intangible heritage' and 'museum', 'intangible culture' and 'museum' via the Europeana Website: Europeana, https://www.europeana.eu/ (14/04/2019).

13 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible culture', 'intangible heritage, museum', 'intangible culture, museum' via Erasmus+ Projects website: *Erasmus + Project Results*, http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/projects/) (14/04/2019).

RESEARCH& INNOVATION	CORDIS (Horizon 2020, FP7, FP6)[14]	intangible culture	69	
		intangible culture + museum	35	
		intangible heritage	60	
		intangible heritage + museum	36	
MARITIME POLICY[15]	European Fisheries Fund (EFF) 2007-2014	intangible culture	NDA	NDA
		intangible heritage	NDA	NDA
	European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) 2014-2020	intangible culture	NDA	NDA
		intangible heritage	NDA	NDA
COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD)[16]	intangible culture	NDA	NDA
		intangible heritage	NDA	NDA
	European Network for Rural Development (ENRD)[17]	intangible culture	1	
		intangible culture + museum	0	
		intangible heritage	1	
		intangible heritage + museum	0	
		culture	96	
		culture + museum	46	
INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, TOURISM AND INTERPRENEUR-SHIP	COSME Programme (2014-2020)[18]	intangible culture	-	0
		intangible heritage	-	1
		intangible heritage + museum	-	0
		museum	-	2

Figure 4. Possible sources of ICH and museum projects funding within EU (after the entry into force of the 2003 Convention). NDA – no data available.

14 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible culture', 'intangible heritage, museum' and 'intangible culture, museum' via CORDIS website within collection 'Projects', aggregating the research and innovation projects, realized within Horizon 2020, FP7, FP6, FP5 and earlier programmes stretching back to 1990: Cordis, http://cordis.europa.eu/projects/home_en.html) (14/04/2019).

15 There is no official project database for EFF and EMFF funds.

16 There are no official databases with all European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development projects – each country provides information on the beneficiaries of the fund separately.

17 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage', 'intangible culture', 'intangible heritage, museum', 'intangible culture, museum' via ENRD official website: *P*rojects & Practice, https://enrd.ec.europa.eu/projects-practice_en (02/10/2017).

18 Based on search results of phrases 'intangible heritage' and 'intangible culture' via COSME official data website: *COSME data hub*, https://cosme.easme-web.eu/# (14/04/2019).

The analysis of the EU funding for (broadly interpreted) intangible culture and heritage projects proves the impact of the 2003 Convention. After its entry into force the used terminology has started to change. However, there is still not much cause for optimism when it comes to the number of projects actually linking museums and intangible culture or intangible heritage. One must however consider that the existing websites and the way the data are collected do not give a full and coherent picture of the situation. E.g. for maritime and agricultural policy (no data available when one searches for 'intangible') a good example constitutes 'Reviving the tradition of fish markets in Gdansk' (Poland). The project was implemented from August 2013 to August 2014, long after the entry into force of the 2003 Convention. It could be considered as belonging to the domain of intangible cultural heritage, but the key words (theme) were: adding value to fisheries, short circuits, gastronomy, tourism, cultural heritage.[19] Similar situations were found in projects with titles like 'Revitalising Traditional Craft Culture' or 'Destination Pottery Village' (see Figure 5).

CULTURE
Europeana → *Europeana Food and Drink collaboration with National Historical Museum of Athens*

Creative Europe (2014-2020) → *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum Project*

The Culture Programme (2007-2013) → *Childhood. Remains and Heritage*

EDUCATION
Erasmus+ → *Cultural Heritage Journeys with Models*

RESEARCH&INNOVATION

Horizon 2020 → *Visual History of the Holocaust: Rethinking Curation in the Digital Age*

7th Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development → *European Museums in an Age of Migrations*

Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage and Global Change

MARITIME POLICY
European Fisheries Fund (EFF) 2007-2014 → *Reviving the tradition of fish markets in Gdansk*

European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) 2014-2020 → *The Tirschenreuth FLAG project: Interactive digital museum about the local history of aquaculture and aquariums exhibiting local species*

19 *Reviving the tradition of fish markets in Gdanks*, https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/cms/farnet2/on-the-ground/good-practice/short-stories/reviving-tradition-fish-markets-gdansk_en (12/07/2020).

COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY
European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) → *Revitalising Traditional Craft Culture*

European Network for Rural Development (ENRD) → *Destination "Pottery Village"*

INTERNAL MARKET, INDUSTRY, TOURISM AND ENTERPRENEURSHIP
COSME Programme (2014-2020) → *Seniors ENhancing Intangible and INTERgenerational heritage in Europe during the low and medium season*

DEVELOPMENT
European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) → *Živa coprnija- active preservation of mithology tradition in Pohorje and Istria*

European Social Fund (ESF) → *Co-financing paper 'The Importance of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Economy of Petronela Tudorache'*

Poland: Infrastruktura i Środowisko 2014-2020 (Cohesion Fund + European Regional Development Fund)

DEVELOPMENT AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS
Instrument for pre-accession assistance IPA and IPA II → *CULTUREVIVE*

European Development Fund (EDF) → *Community Art Space (CAS) - A tool for local development*

European Neighbourhood Policy Funds → *Living tradition - a trilateral cross border cooperation to preserve and revive community folklore*

Cooperation with UNESCO → *Mediterranean Living Heritage (MedLiHer)*

Protecting cultural heritage and diversity in complex emergencies for stability and peace, Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), 2017-2018 → *In Search of a Common Ground: Textile Cultural Traditions in the Island of Timor - their Preservation, Promotion and the Development of Cultural Social Capital*

Figure 5. Possible sources of ICH and museum projects funding within EU with examples. Own elaboration.

Despite the fact that "EU engagement in heritage has always been linked to the developments within UNESCO and Council of Europe",[20] the adopted terminology in the abovementioned programs veers far away from the ICH definition as contained in the 2003 Convention. It seems to place ICH merely in the sphere of "cultural and creative industries", thus including it in the strong "economy-based paradigm", with the role of bringing "comparative advantage

20 E. Niklasson, 'The Janus-face of European heritage: Revisiting the rhetoric of Europe-making in EU cultural politcs', *Journal of Social Archeology* 17, 2018, p. 141.

in an increasingly competitive tourism marketplace" (see below).[21] In the *Ex post evaluation of Cohesion Policy programmes 2007–2013, focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and Cohesion Fund (CF) – Work Package nine: Culture and Tourism*, adopted in November 2014, one can read two interesting passages that reveal the understanding of the role of culture as an 'intangible product' and heritage as a mainly tangible asset (whether natural, historical, or cultural) which must be preserved and restored. If we extract from this paragraph ICH elements such as music, crafts, or performing arts, we see that they work in the broader context of culture and creative industries, although the drafters of this text also admit that culture is an "intangible product" and that there has been a move away from product-based definitions to process-based definitions of culture.[22] When referring to cities, the document introduces another cultural term: "tangible and intangible cultural assets", which are identified and used with the sole aim of rendering places more attractive to tourists, other visitors, or to live, work, and invest in.[23]

Introducing 'intangible cultural heritage' – the case of NEMO and Europeana

This specific understanding of what constitutes 'intangible' and of the role that museums shall play in the European space seems also to be reflected in approved statements by the largest European museums organization: NEMO and in the Europeana platform.

On the Europeana platform a search for 'intangible cultural heritage" yielded 31 results.[24] In the majority of those hits, it is just an addition in the phrase: 'tangible and intangible heritage'. In few cases it appears as a collocation to new formulas: "understanding of many **intangible aspects**, such as customs, beliefs or historical information" or even "**intangible and digital forms**", "objects and related **intangible cultural issues**."

NEMO on the other hand seldom made references to ICH, preferring "creativity", next to concepts like "intangible knowledge", "intangible meaning", "intangible asset", "intangible culture", "intangible expression", "intangible evidence." Generally speaking, the topic of ICH as introduced by the 2003 Convention in NEMO's published reports in the previous decade seems heavily marginalized. What is more surprising "ICH" as a phrase does not appear at all in the reports which – to the understanding of ICH experts – should deal with it, such as: *Museums, Migrants and Cultural Diversity* (May 2016); *Revisiting the educational value of museums: Connecting to Audiences* (March 2016),

21 Schreiber, *Intangible cultural heritage, p. 359-360.*

22 European Commission, *Ex Post Evaluation of Cohesion Policy Programmes 2007-2013, Focusing on the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and Cohesion Fund (CF) – Work Package Nine: Culture and Tourism.* S.L, 2014, p. 8. Available online via: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/evaluation/pdf/expost2013/wp9_inception_report.pdf.

23 Ibidem, p. 9.

24 *31 search results for 'intangible'*, https://pro.europeana.eu/search?q=intangible&page_search=2 (20/07/2020).

Learning in Museums and Young People (May 2015). In the *Progress report. Museums and creative industries* (NEMO, December 2017) ICH appears once in the footnote. However, this report contains only data from Poland, Iceland and Latvia. So I assumed that the last report on the same matter I studied, published at the end of 2018 with the subtitle: *Case Studies From Across Europe*, would embrace "ICH" with greater care. Unfortunately, there is only one sentence mentioning the adjective *intangible*: "The Historical Museum Frankfurt begins with the premise that everybody living in Frankfurt is an expert on the city. The Stadtlabor/City Lab at the museum provides the space and the method by which the untold stories and the **intangible knowledge** people have about the city can be gathered and shared."

I also discovered the word 'intangible' in other NEMO reports: *Money Matters: The Economic Value of Museums (intangible meaning)* and *Museums in the Digital Age and Museums and the Development of Active Citizenship.* The last one constitutes a collection of articles from NEMO's 2013 Annual Conference in Bucharest, Romania. Only two authors contributing to the latter report refer to 'intangible': "**intangible asset**" understood as democracy, rights, rules of law, freedom of expression, welfare/solidarity, education, environmental sensitivity, public spaces (*Europe: it is a transition, not a crisis* by Luca Bergamo) and "**intangible culture**" (*Museums and Europeana* by Harry Verwayen).

The lack of or very scarce references to the term of 'ICH' is continued also in NEMO Political Statements, however, two latest statements acknowledge at least the existence of ICH. *The Berlin Call to Action – Cultural Heritage for the Future of Europe* (June 2018) claims: "This *Berlin Call to Action* draws its inspiration and legitimacy from the expertise, enthusiasm and engagement of all those women and men who care for cultural heritage (tangible, **intangible** and digital) and who dedicate their expertise, time and energy, as professionals or volunteers, to ensure the transmission of this heritage to future generations. *The economic value of their work is significant; its social and cultural value is priceless.* (…) We should also recognize the value of **intangible expressions** of our heritage which are constantly evolving and enriching our society and living environment"[25]. The second one, *Priorities for Museums – NEMO Recommendations for the European Parliament Elections in 2019*, recognizes that: "Museums safeguard tangible and **intangible evidence** of the manmade and natural world for current and future generations. Their collections tell a rich variety of stories, interpreting past and present history. Museums *encourage dialogue, stimulating us to think, learn and reflect; to celebrate differences and discover affinities*. Museums contribute to developing cultural factors: they create memory and identity, and they *foster creativity, diversity and knowledge*. All of these factors are crucial for the building of today's society. We believe that museums deliver these benefits for European society. Therefore NEMO invites the EU to an appropriate translation of this very potential of culture for society into apt initiatives on European level, investing into the inspirational, social, educational, connecting and cohesive power of cultural heritage and museums, to complement the already proposed measures *to enhance heritage's economic potential for Europe*."

25 NEMO, *The Berlin Call to Action – Cultural Heritage for the Future of Europe.* Berlin, 2018.

Having said that, one must underline that the above observed lack of 'ICH' terminology in the NEMO reports and documents does not mean that the organization is exclusively 'tangible-centered'. The interest in ICH is visible and present but in other terms (what also constitutes a discourse problem). It is observable especially in references to projects focused on traditional cuisine, food heritage, regional food culture.[26]

Concluding remarks

The relationship between Europe, the EU, museums and the 2003 Convention is complicated. It is resembling the ancient geometrical challenge of squaring the circle. On the one hand the term 'museologization' is considered as one of the gravest ICH 'sins' – e.g. in the *aide-memoire* for the completion of nomination files to the UNESCO Representative List it is advised that the "safeguarding measures should be concrete, precise and detailed; their primary focus should be on transmission rather than on **museological approaches that tend to freeze the element**"(par. 85), "to make sure that documentary evidence (…) relates clearly to living heritage and not, for example to lists of monuments and places or of accessions in a museum" (par. 113).[27] One may observe this approach even in some nomination files as in the case of Lithuanian multipart songs inscription (2010): "The archaic 'Sutartinės' are **not just a 'museum piece'**. They form a valuable and living part of not only traditional, but also contemporary culture."[28] On the other, it is hard not to acknowledge the importance of museums in safeguarding ICH – what is revealed in nomination files as well as other analyzed reports, documents, calls for funding.

EU policy documents and actions that introduce 'intangible' aspects into EU heritage discourse seem to acknowledge only the presence of this still 'new' heritage dimension, but so far without taking into serious consideration the way in which it is defined by the 2003 Convention.[29] The same, simply 'add the adjective' approach combined with 'creativity' regarding the context for 'intangible' is visible in official statements approved by European museums. The vagueness of the 'intangible' terminology used in the diverse actions, documents and policies leads on the one hand to the fragmentation of ICH's presence and visibility on the EU level. On the other, the lack of coherent EU policy and strategy for the safeguarding of ICH and no real implementation of UNESCO's understanding of ICH within the broader framework of the EU cultural heritage policies and actions might be related not only to the lack of awareness and will to follow UNESCO's approach but also to the richness and diversity of ICH itself. An analysis of the funding of the projects including

26 The author would like to thank and acknowledge the anonymous reviewer who pointed out this situation.

27 Form ICH-02 – Aide-mémoire – EN – 26 February 2015, available at: https://ich.unesco.org/en/forms.

28 Nomination file no. 00433, DEC. 5.com.6.26: *Surtartinės, Lithuanian multipart songs*. https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/sutartines-lithuanian-multipart-songs-00433 (26/07/2020).

29 Schreiber, *Intangible cultural heritage*, p. 360.

'intangible' cultural heritage as well as 'museum' references confirms the existence of a very fragmented and incoherent picture, with some serious gaps, misunderstandings, and a very broad interpretation of ICH. Pushing the metaphor of the squared circle to its limits, one may suggest that ICH is similar to a transcendental ϖ (pi) – its character make it impossible to find the length of the side of the square of the same area as a given circle. The living, dynamic, transcendental character of ICH resembles pi a lot.

There is also, however, a very strong post-Maastricht trend to promote "European cultural heritage" as a tool for boosting EU member states' economic markets. This visible but merely instrumental trend, referred to as creating "the EU heritage market", must be taken into consideration and confronted with the delicate and identity-driven nature of ICH.[30]

There is also another significant threat to ICH with regard to the activities undertaken by States Parties and museums at the national level which eventually flow into the EU arena – that of reducing the meaning of ICH and considering only its *representational* character on the Representative List of ICH, which would be in this context eminent due to the trend to label, prize, and list cultural heritage at the EU level. The 'economy-booster' role ascribed to cultural heritage in the narrative prevailing in the EU, but implemented as well by museums might thus easily reduce the impact and meaning of the 2003 Convention, making it yet another product on 'the (EU) heritage market'. Viewed in this perspective, inscriptions to the Representative List coming from EU member states are specifically vulnerable to oversimplification and commercialization. From this standpoint, it is hard for other meanings and aims than the growing number of tourist visits to the sites – with museums at the forefront where ICH practices can be touched, bought, eaten, drunk, and digested – to be transmitted or introduced. The supposed credo of the 2003 Convention, 'communities first', seems to be therefore in contradiction to the process of heritage-making at the EU level or in Europe in general, taken by some museums for granted, which appears to focus on 'economy first'. While both implicit credos are interrelated, it would be naive to exclude the meaning of economy for communities and groups practising ICH. The centre of gravity that will be chosen by European museums and the ways they will balance their position in the European institutions and toward ICH is still a matter to be brought to wider attention and discussion among museum experts and practitioners.

Acknowledgements

* The author would like to acknowledge Julia Krzesicka for her help in preparing figures presenting the results of the conducted research in this paper as well as anonymous reviewers whose comments greatly supported the process of drafting final version of this article.

30 Ibidem, p. 360.

FILOMENA SOUSA

Is 'Bottom-Up' a Condescending Expression?

Tales of Indignation and Reflexivity

The case of the ICH Inventory of Elvas

In 2013 and 2014, under the MEMORIAMEDIA trajectory, I worked as an adviser in a project for an inventory of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in Elvas (Portugal). The project was managed by *Memória Imaterial*, a Portuguese non-governmental organization (NGO) accredited to provide advisory services to the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of UNESCO.

The project started from an initiative of Elvas City Hall and, when this entity requested *Memória Imaterial* to collaborate, the cultural expressions to be addressed had already been identified. A team of City Hall technicians conducted a first survey by distributing a questionnaire via informal groups, parishes and local associations and organizations. This allowed the population to identify the elements they considered to be representative of local intangible cultural heritage and, therefore, worthy to be inventoried, studied and safeguarded.

Subsequently, the MEMORIAMEDIA team worked for a year with the City Hall team and with more than one hundred members of the community who were directly involved in the creation, production and transmission of cultural expressions in several localities in the municipality. Fifteen cultural expressions in different ICH domains were inventoried – cyclical events, most of them related to festivities and agricultural calendars.[1]

The project was developed in collaboration with the practitioners of cultural expressions during several phases: planning, study and collection of documentation, audiovisual registering, discussion of results and public presentation. In these phases – carried out in different periods: before, during and after the cultural practices – the population and, in particular, the

1 In the 'know-how' domain (arts and crafts): tannery, leather and cork work from *Terrugem*; the *ronca* from Elvas; preparing sweet plums from Elvas; making the *sericaia* and cookies of S. Sebastião. In the 'celebrations' domain (religious processions and pilgrimages): *Procissão dos Passos* in Vila Boim; *Procissão dos Ramos* in Vila Boim; *Enterro do Senhor* in Vila Boim; *Procissão do Mandato* in Elvas; *Procissão of S. Sebastião* in Barbacena; *Aleluias* in Terrugem; *Procissão of Pendões* in Elvas; *Romarias* in Elvas and *Romarias* in Vila Boim; Oral Expressions (songs): *Cantar dos Reis* in Barbacena.

practitioners of cultural expressions, guided the team in accomplishing the field work. To be precise, they were treated as co-authors of the study and the inventory recording.

The objectives of the work were previously established in partnership with representatives of the communities and practitioners. They identified and involved other relevant people in the inventory process. They signaled the moments, details, locations and chronology of the practices/processes. They facilitated the access to documentation. They identified objects and built or natural spaces associated with the elements. They indicated the environments. They were aware of special situations of more or less intimacy in the various practices, thus influencing the way they were recorded. They shared memories, historical facts and their expectations regarding the future of the practices. Last but not least, they were the ones who provided consent for the presence of the team, the inventorying and the registration of the ICH practices.

Before publishing the first version of the inventory on the web, we met again with the community representatives to present the results achieved (contextualization articles, the database, photographic records and documentary videos). This moment was useful to avoid any inaccuracies, to confirm information about the practitioners and the vocabulary associated with the intangible and tangible heritage, as well as to correct some chronological inconsistencies. In a third moment of the project, on April 12, 2014, a public session took place and everyone was invited to participate, in particular, those who participated in the inventorying process.

All of this is compatible with the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, in particular article 15, emphasizing the role of communities, groups and individuals (CGIs) and, article 9 and 11b, relevant NGOs.[2] The successive versions of the Operational Directives of the UNESCO Convention elaborate this and recommend to implement procedures according to the bottom-up model. Therefore, administrative institutions and scientific and/or heritage organizations (museums, archives, research centres, etc.) are encouraged to act in a spirit of collaboration, mediation, 'negotiation' with communities; as supporting agents and not in a logic of owning the 'exclusivity' or 'authority' over the process.

But is the 2003 Convention basically not top-down? It is fostered by national and supranational governmental institutions that suggested the

2 M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just "the Community"', in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41; C. Bortolotto and J. Neyrinck, 'Article 9. Accreditation of Advisory Organizations', in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 153-163.

need for the direct participation of civil society but keep the power.[3] These institutions defined the programs and legal instruments for the safeguarding of ICH, i.e. this process was not born out of populations' claims or out of their democratic participation in these decisions. That is, contrary to what, in theory, it is intended to happen, in practice, it all began with a top-down procedure.

A speech on April 12th, 2014

At the aforementioned meeting in April 2014, with more than one hundred people present, I enthusiastically congratulated the municipality and the population for having identified the ICH expressions they wished to be inventoried and for having decided how to organize that inventory – and only afterwards having required our services. I congratulated them "for spontaneously having followed UNESCO recommendations, that is, for having adopted a *bottom-up* approach: an approach from the 'bottom to the top', from the community to the experts or to the academia."

As soon as I said this, I realized that I had committed a *faux pas*, since I was literally saying that the community was 'below' us, the experts. It was not what I meant, but it was what I had just said. I think that at the time I managed to get around the issue and the audience was not offended by my words, but this episode made me think how we, academics, use terms without truly questioning them and when we sometimes try to explain them to ICH practitioners, they are inadequate and 'treacherous', 'perverting' the sense we wish to give our actions.

In several meetings and conferences on safeguarding ICH, I heard talking about the *bottom-up* model. Most of the time the model appears in the discourses without being explained, defined or questioned. Almost intuitively, we refer to it as an ideal approach that values the interests, decisions and solutions of groups and communities about their territory, their heritage or different dimensions of everyday life. It is true that the complexity of the implementation of the model is assumed in creating valid evaluation systems on methodologies, practices and results. *The bottom-up* expression is mentioned in the literature produced on ICH.[4] According to the current recommendations of the UNESCO, such a model seems to be the most indicated to the processes of ICH safeguarding.

So, why shouldn't I talk about a *bottom-up* model in Elvas' public session? If we are talking about a participatory methodology model, shouldn't we talk openly, for instance with practitioners, about the model we're working with?

3 J. Leal, 'Cultura, Património Imaterial, Antropologia', in: Direção-Geral do Património Cultural e.a., *Atas do Colóquio Internacional Políticas Públicas para o Património Imaterial na Europa do Sul: percursos, concretizações, perspetivas*. Lisboa, 2013, p. 131-144. Available online: http://www.igespar.pt/media/uploads/dgpc/Politicas_Publicas_para_o_Patrimonio_Imaterial_na_Europa_do_Sul_DGPC_2013.pdf (22/01/2020).

4 See the many references and an analysis in E. Herz, 'Bottoms, genuine and spurious', in: N. Adell e.a. (eds.), *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice*. Göttingen, 2015, p. 25-58.

About which words we use? Can we just use this terminology among academic peers but not with 'community members'?

The truth I sense in this is that the *bottom-up/top-down* terminology leads to a structured and hierarchical system arranged into two different levels of power – a higher level that is 'on top' and a lower level, which is 'below' – thus fostering the existence of subordinates or situations where the final decision will ultimately be, inevitably, at the 'top'.

One could argue that the terms 'down' and 'up' do not imply an absolute hierarchy, a pejorative, condescending or even discriminatory judgment, and that the *bottom-up* model defends, above all, the need to reverse the process and the idea that democracy is only truly implemented if starting from the bases. Considering this argument, we ask: how can we explain the *bottom-up* model to the communities without the idea of hierarchy lying behind?

On the one hand, there seems to be no way of addressing the *bottom-up* model with the ICH practitioners without bearing in mind that when we talk about who is 'at the bottom' we usually mean communities, groups or individuals. On the other hand, if the citizens' decision is equally or more important than the rulers' decision, why shouldn't we value them at the same level? Or why shouldn't we place communities and citizens at a higher level, for instance, 'above' a central government?

Between *bottom-up* and *top-down*, several authors began to support a meso-level, where the relations between the local/micro and the global/macro becomes intensified: "(…) on the one hand, the literature on local and regional development has developed sound 'meso-level' analytical tools which combine inductive and deductive perspectives on local and regional development dynamics. On the other, the macro-economic approach to development has made significant steps towards becoming more open to inductive reasoning and, hence, to the consideration of local specificities."[5]

One way of explaining what happened in April 2014 is the tension between an outsiders' and an insiders' vocabulary. In anthropology this is developed as the *emic/etic* terminology.[6] To follow an emic perspective is to use a culturalist approach that pays attention to the details and specificities of each context by taking into consideration the interpretations of the social actors. According to an *emic* approach, the patrimonialization process activation should be initiated by the communities, the local actors, and not by external agents.

A trip to UNESCO Paris

In 2014 the application of the *cante alentejano* was presented at the 9th session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the UNESCO. On November 27th, 2014, in Paris, the *cante*

5 R. Crescenzi and A. Rodríguez-Pose, 'Reconciling top-down and bottom-up development policies', *Environment and planning A* 43:4, 2011, p. 774.

6 See for instance T. Headland, K. Pike and M. Harris (eds.), *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate*. London, 1990.

alentejano was inscribed as an element in the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

The *cante alentejano* is usually defined by the melodic structure and the type of performative organization that characterizes it: polyphonic singing performed in a group and without instruments. This *cante* is called *alentejano* because it originally came from that Portuguese region, *Alentejo*, which is situated in the South of the river Tejo and above the region of the Algarve.[7]

I do not intend to comment here on how the singers and local communities were involved in the inscription process. *Cante alentejano*'s application was considered an example of good practice, so we can deduce that the basic conditions have been verified and, among them, the respect for practitioners' participation.[8] However, I do wish to comment on the difference verified between this result (the good evaluation of the application) and the way that the 25 singers of the Choral Group of Serpa were treated during the trip to Paris, where the group performed to celebrate the inscription of the *cante alentejano* on the Representative List, live, during the 9th session of the Committee.

My reflection is based on the report and testimony of Paulo Barriga, journalist from *Diário do Alentejo* who accompanied the Choral Group of Serpa on this trip. These sources exposed a treatment that was, according to me, not in line with the spirit of the Convention, especially if we compare it with the treatment that other individuals enjoyed, like for instance the Portuguese representatives of entities involved in the application process, government representatives from the ministries responsible for culture and tourism, representatives of local administration and representatives of academic institutions.

The report (never publicly commented or contradicted) described the bad conditions in which the singers traveled and stayed in Paris, the way they were ignored and even humiliated by several Portuguese entities. In a first analysis this news revealed two things: a) that the newspaper *Diário do Alentejo*, and journalist Paulo Barriga were informed and intended to inform about how the 'legitimate bearers' of ICH expressions should be recognized in the processes of patrimonialization and b) the way the singers were treated revealed devaluation of their role as protagonists.

On November 26, 2014, the day before the Committee's decision, the journalist wrote: "(…) because they are a '[cultural] good', the *cantares* [songs] have a legitimate holder, the choral groups. That's why a group of singers were brought to Paris, (…) [the Choral Group of Serpa]. After all, the *cante* is celebrating. And UNESCO recognizes in this way of singing the asset value that we have always identified (…)."[9]

7 S. Cabeça and J. Santos, 'A mulher no Cante Alentejano', in: S. Conde (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Conference in Oral Tradition. Vol II*. Ourense, 2010, p. 31-38; S. Castelo-Branco and J. Freitas (eds.), *Vozes do Povo: A Folclorização em Portugal*. Oeiras, 2003; A.A Marvão, 'Motivações e Sociologia do Cante', in: Comissão Promotora - Alentejo, *Atas do 2 Congresso sobre o Alentejo. – Vol. I*. Beja, 1987.

8 *Cante Alentejano polyphonic singing from Alentejo, southern Portugal,* https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/cante-alentejano-polyphonic-singing-from-alentejo-southern-portugal-01007 (06/08/2020).

9 Translation by the author.

Then he described what actually happened: "(…) Serpa's singers are in Paris to climb the great podium of UNESCO. But they came by bus from the left bank of the Guadiana [a Portuguese river]. Serpa's singers are in the city of light, but only saw the city light through the windows of the bus. Serpa's singers are the stars (…) but have no dignity to be invited to the reception that the ambassador gives today at his home, under the pretext that the *cante* can be inscribed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Serpa's singers sleep in a 'dump' more than an hour from Paris, while the guests of the ambassador stay overnight in the multi-star hotels in the fancy zones of the city. Serpa's singers, all singers, look good in photography, especially if the ambassador's guests and, by the way, the ambassador himself fit into the photograph. Otherwise, the singers, those of Serpa and all the others, are a hindrance when they are not singing or when they are not being photographed alongside those who still think they are the owners of the *cante*."

The journalist denounced the disrespect for the singers of the Choral Group of Serpa who came to sing at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. He denounced the long and tiring bus ride (no one found it important to find the necessary means to pay for the plane trips); the fact that the singers were not invited to the reception that the ambassador gave at his home (celebrating the possibility of the *cante being inscribed in the* Representative List) and the bad conditions in which they were hosted, an hour from Paris. Conditions that, according to Paulo Barriga, contrasted with the conditions of other Portuguese who, representing other entities involved in the application, considered themselves to be the 'owners of the *cante*'.

The journalist ends the report, concluding: "(…) the *cante*, as I already said, has a legitimate holder: the choral groups. Groups that continue to sing, even after spending whole days inside a bus, sleep in a 'dump' or stand outside the ambassador's house (…)."[10]

It should be noted that in addition to this journalistic report, the described episode didn't have consequences known by the general public. The incident, which may be considered a diplomatic gaffe, had no exceptional repercussions or impact on the way choral groups relate themselves with the different entities present in Paris, how they salute the inscription of the *cante* in the Representative List or how they are committed in promoting and safeguarding this element of ICH. But I think it is significant to highlight this episode because I believe that the patrimonialization process of ICH should be an exercise of good governance. The implementation of the 2003 Convention will only be successful if the allocation of heritage value is in the hands of communities, without being subdued to political interests. The way in which the Group of Serpa was treated shows that we still have a long way to go. This episode may be an example of how the patrimonialization process of ICH can reproduce systems that, speaking on behalf of a collective, subversively, ignore ICH practitioners and bearers' rights and voices.

10 On 26/11/2014 Paulo Barriga published the following article: *O Diário do Alentejo a acompanhar a candidatura do cante a Património Imaterial da Humanidade em Paris*, https://sites.google.com/site/amigosterrasborba/alentejo-noticias (26/1/2020).

For instance, the visibility and voice given to practitioners in the General Assemblies of the States Parties and in the Sessions of the Intergovernmental Committee is still restricted. Usually, CGIs only appear in the Committee sessions through the exhibition of videos and photos – or 'live' to 'act' in a few minutes and in a kind of 'show case' or as sidekick of Delegates, celebrating the inscription of a specific ICH element on the UNESCO Lists.

Between concepts and practices

One of the roles allocated to organizations working in the field of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage – such as museums, NGOs, category 2 UNESCO Centres and others – is the decoding of the 2003 Convention and other Basic Texts for the benefit of ICH communities and practitioners. The Convention, the concept of ICH and most legal instruments that inform the ICH safeguarding paradigm were designed by experts through an *etic* process. Explaining the academic and legal language to other ICH actors is important because an informed population yields more and better participation.

This task is not always easy. Sometimes we find inconsistencies between the theoretical or political discourses on the one hand and the practices in the field on the other hand. In these cases, adopting a vocabulary that better corresponds to the purpose of safeguarding ICH is crucial. But as I demonstrated in two cases, we should keep on questioning the words we use in different contexts. Reflexivity, but also indignation, can help to sensitize the observations, experiences and relations between different actors and stakeholders. What does the concept of *bottom-up* infer? Is an *emic and etic* terminology useful? How can we defend an informed and effective involvement of communities, groups or individuals and try to avoid the misuse or merely lip-service use of the participatory paradigm for diplomatic negotiations and political, ideological and mercantilist instrumentalization. My aim is to provoke/promote debates about conceptual models that are usually articulated without a real discussion and contribute to the construction of sustainable and responsible action spaces where practitioners, citizens, NGOs, States, researchers, etc., dialogue and collaborate with transparency, common language and common purposes. It is a collaborative work guided by ethical principles, enhancing the empowerment of the CGIs, diversity and intercultural dialogue.

MARC JACOBS

Pourquoi?

Why Museology and Museums Should – more than ever – be Part of the Heritage Paradigm...

Why museology should no longer be a part of heritage... This statement is the title of an article published in 2016 by the French museologist Serge Chaumier. Was the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (IMP) then a waste of energy and work? No, I do not think so, on the contrary. But on the other hand, the fact that a professor in a scholarly discipline self-fashioned as *muséologie et l'expographie* makes such claims in a book called *Nouvelles tendances de la muséologie* cannot be ignored, as perhaps there could be readers who might not understand this was an ironic piece of satire about disciplinary claims and aspirations, and might be confused. Chaumier published several excellent books on museum work, then why this *faux pas* or brilliant satire? It deserves a reply; among others: IMP. Or the other contributions to this special issue of *Volkskunde*.

Pourquoi la muséologie ne devra plus être une composante du patrimoine?

Chaumier started by questioning the integration of the museum sector in the heritage sector and/or paradigm. Or the (sub)discipline museology as part of (the umbrella cluster of) heritage studies? It is not crystal clear: *la muséologie* on the one hand and *patrimoine* on the other hand. What does he mean? "Il est une idée de sens commun que l'on retrouve énoncée dans tous les ouvrages traitant de l'histoire et du secteur, qui est d'inclure sans autre forme de procès la muséologie à l'intérieur d'un vaste espace fourre-tout qui serait celui du patrimoine. Comme si le monde des musées et de l'exposition était placé nécessairement à l'intérieur de cet ensemble plus large."[1]

Chaumier questions the inevitability of these evolutions and tries, so he claims, to unmask "ideological prejudices" and to show the harmful consequences for the museum sector ("conséquences néfastes pour le secteur"). Let us follow his construction (that I prefer not to follow intellectually nor in practice). First he points out that since 1979 (1980 was the year of heritage in France) an important evolution was started, embracing and expanding the concept of *patrimoine*. He refers to the impulse given by Giscard d'Estaing (I

1 S. Chaumier, 'Pourquoi la muséologie ne devra plus être une composante du patrimoine', in: F. Mairesse (ed.), *Nouvelles tendances de la muséologie*. Paris, 2016, p. 67.

would also go for the duo François Mitterand and Jack Lang). What happened according to Chaumier, was a process of inflation: "(…) l'inflation n'a cessé de croître et le concept est devenu un mot-valise qui absorbe tout (…)." It is like a monster that eats everything, even modern art in museums. Everything, from spoons to cathedrals, seems to become heritage. And this now extends to the present: even internet and digital culture is considered from a heritage perspective. Chaumier seems to regret it.

"L'ogre patrimoine dévore tout sur son passage, ne laisse rien échapper, entend que rien ne se perde Le syndrome de la perte, de la destruction de biens mémorables, du vandalisme, …" He adds to this the incorporation of "popular culture", related to an expanded conception of culture. This leads to the recognition of all kinds of types of heritage: "(…) tant le patrimoine vernaculaire que le patrimoine de nos grands-pères, les arts modestes, singuliers et même éphémères (mais que l'on veut néanmoins conserver) jusqu'au patrimoine immatériel."[2]

Chaumier uses one negative metaphor after another, and does not seem to be very much in favor of what could also be called an opening up, a democratization process. Is it a bad case of preservationist bulimia, "(…) cette boulimie frénétique à vouloir tout conserver, tout préserver"? He contrasts this with memory work, which implies selection, forgetting and loss. He also confronts this interpretation of heritage with 'living creativity': "La création ne peut être que vivante que s'il y a possibilité de transformation et de métamorphose."[3]

In architecture in particular, he evokes a discussion of the restraints imposed by heritage: "Par prudence il faudrait préserver, et si possible en l'état, en s'interdisant bien souvent de réinterpréter, d'adapter, de transformer. Car des notions plus que contestables d'authenticité et d'origine viennent souvent renforcer la doctrine pour fossiliser dans des classements et des labels des unités entières, contrôlées jalousement par des missionnaires zélés."[4] Chaumier emphasizes that the "ideology of authenticity" was formatted, in the worlds of built heritage and restoring paintings. This was nourishing not only the extremism of a group of heritage avengers and defenders, but also the supremacy of experts. Freezing or working with limited essentialist notions about what heritage is, is not a good idea, so … away with the notion of heritage.

Why should museums be dragged into a monster breathing cold flames of 'authenticity' and inflexible expert monopolies, incapable of embracing change, transformation, or 'living' metaphors? So, in this (according to me) caricature, labelled "cette inflation, cette folie patrimoniale (qui ne fait que croître)", why should museums play a role? In particular if they are presented as primarily places of conservation and preservation, keeping resources "en réserve."

2 Chaumier, *Pourquoi*, p. 68.

3 Ibidem, p. 68.

4 Ibidem, p. 68.

But this would be a fourfold mistake to go that way, Chaumier (rightly) claims.

Firstly, he evokes the battles since the Sixties in France both on the level of the Republic or of the centralist Direction of Museums, in the Departments, on the local level or in the museums themselves, to evolve from a collections centered vision to a public/visitors/citizens oriented approach. Many victories were won, education and outreach services installed, mediation introduced…[5] Involving and communicating with visitors and the public and professionalizing this evolution: that was what had happened in many museums in the last decades. But Chaumier fears it is not secure and anchored enough yet: that budget cuts or political interventions could turn back the clock. He is not sure if the population of museum professionals are really sensitized and convinced enough that this is really the way to go for museums, embracing the interaction with 'the public', next to preserving the collections. Is the education of these professionals, in universities or on the floor, really strong enough?: "Car il a fallu des années de combat pour qu'au sein des formations, et notamment celles pour les conservateurs, on fasse entendre (un peu) la voix des publics."[6] Chaumier pleads to cultivate a healthy, balanced and non-exclusive relation with 'the collection' in museums, to make it clear that (work in) museums should be relevant for society.

The second reason Chaumier puts forward is *historiography*. One of the classic ways to present the history of museums is to construct a narrative that starts from closed collections of princes, noblemen, churches or rich merchants or phenomena like the *Wunderkammer*, over the opening up of collections in the Louvre and other museums at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, to a proliferation of museums in the 20th century, as open as possible for the broad public and for tourists. The episode of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution is so important because it was a period of opening up archives and museums (next to forms of appropriation by the State and collection mobility). The movement since the 1970s of *nouvelle muséologie* has reinforced this process. The tendency is clear: more and more open, reaching out to more and more people… Chaumier emphasizes that museums are invented for education, to inspire creativity ("pour l'inspiration et non pour la dévotion"). He also claims: "Contrairement aux apparences, le musée n'est pas créé pour des raisons patrimoniales mais par vocation sociale et culturelle."[7] The recent history shows this opening up, but there are dangers, temptations, to reverse this process of opening and out-reach: "la tentation du repli est constante."[8]

The third reason is called, inaccurately, *sociologique*. Here Chaumier mentions the rise and growing importance of exhibitions and events: "l'exposition temporaire." This does not only occur in museums but in and on many other sites, ranging from galleries, art centers, community centers

5 S. Chaumier and F. Mairesse, *Médiation culturelle*. Paris, 2013.

6 Chaumier, *Pourquoi*, p. 71.

7 Ibidem, p. 72.

8 Ibidem, p. 74.

archives, libraries etc. It is not limited to heritage. It is freer because it is mainly about the presentation of a discourse, not necessarily with so-called authentic objects. It refers to a tendency in France to distinguish exhibitions and museum work, building on the work of Jean Davallon and inscribing it in communication studies and work. Here Chaumier makes a remarkable move in his construction that can be explained with staking (high) claims on the labor and higher education markets in France: "(…) il est convenu dans le secteur professionnel d'utiliser le terme de muséographie et de muséographe pour désigner l'ensemble des productions d'expositions. La muséologie recouvre l'étude de cet ensemble, et n'a donc plus guère à voir avec la notion de patrimoine."[9] It is not only an attempt to escape from heritage, it also launches another question related to museum functions. It was and is often the case that the scientific *conservateur* was the organizer or curator and designer of exhibitions. Is this a good option and are these not different skills sets? Should the exhibition designers and communicators work in the service of researchers or the other way around, or could/should they go through the process together from the onset? Should a special coordinator, a so-called *muséographe* not take central stage in designing and mounting the exhibition? Other specialists and researchers might then via a scientific committee, 'irrigate' the exposition with contents. Gradually it becomes clear what kind of 'liberation struggle' is resonating in these paragraphs: how to become freer from the dominance of the art historians or historians, linked to '*patrimoine*'/'the past'. The problem is that today (for bigger exhibitions) it is no longer one curator or one researcher who is responsible, but a whole series of specialists, "une équipe de muséographie."

The fourth reason was *epistemological*, linked again to the role of the so-called '*muséo-graphe*'. The idea is that an exhibition presupposes a 'scenario', with choices, positions, creative statements that are to be made. This presupposes intellectual work and professional skills, creativity and the role of an author. It is a discourse that Chaumier has developed in other publications. This kind of work is close to that of organizing a performance, an intervention, an event, a creative process: dynamics.

So how can something so dynamic, creative and contemporary be categorized as '*patrimoine*': "Dès lors, ces formes extrêmes pointent l'incohérence de positionner l'exposition dans le champ du patrimoine alors qu'il s'agit véritablement de création contemporaine."[10]

Chaumier goes on to push his argument and criticizes the organization of the French Ministry of Culture. He doubts if it is okay that the services for artistic creation are positioned under the *Direction du spectacle vivant*, while the museums for contemporary arts are constrained and forced, by falling under the authority of the Direction of Museums and hence under the authority of the *Direction Générale du patrimoine*. Will this lead to 'freezing' or to 'fossilization', to safe choices and retreating to the collections, away from creativity and communication? Do savor the message that makes clear that perhaps the cleavage is not so much between museums or expositions on the one hand and

9 Ibidem, p. 75.

10 Ibidem, p. 79.

heritage on the other hand, but that these concepts refer to something else: "En donnant autorité au scientifique ou au conservateur en quelque sorte, on prend le risque de revenir sur quarante ans d'avancées pour affirmer l'autonomie de la muséologie vis-à-vis des disciplines qu'elle sert, mais dans lesquelles elle ne se confond pas."[11]

In the conclusion, Chaumier pleads to go beyond the concept of '*patrimoine*': "La part de création qu'il tolère demeure strictement encadrée et canalisée. Il est avant tout affaire de conservatisme, de préservation des biens acquis en vue de leur transmission."[12]

So what is needed? In his article and in particular in the final paragraph, Chaumier gives his wish list of what should be invented or developed. Wanted: A more dynamic vision, interested in renewal, creation and giving energy

- nourished by otherness, by diversity;
- involving new generations;
- going for encounters, exchanges, collective enjoyment and understanding;
- oriented towards vitality, living culture rather than freezing the past;
- building on the role women play, cultivating ideas about '*matrimoine*', '*ecofeminisme*', etc.
- taking distance from a too strong emphasis on notions of authenticity;
- cultivating forms of communication towards a broader public, like in an exposition…

Ne pas pourquoi, pourquoi ne pas

Pourquoi pas? was the title of a Belgian satiric journal where humoristic pieces (nicknamed in the Brussels' dialect *zwanze*) and more serious articles were combined. If you are aware of the emergence and strong points of the paradigm of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, in particular the Basic Texts, identified in this issue as 'the Blue Arsenal' and if you have read the IMP volume[13], you can only be puzzled when reading the statements of a prominent French *muséologue*. Is the article of Chaumier a brilliant caricature, a pastiche, a masterpiece of irony or satire, a parody…? Or is it just a saddening or arrogant attempt to defend a niche and stake in the education or job market for '*muséologues francophones*'? Giving the benefit of doubt, we will consider it as a rhetorical construction that emphasizes that it is high time among different actors in the heritage fields, including museums, communities, groups and individuals (CGIs) and other actors that work with the Ethical Principles of the UNESCO 2003 Convention and others, to join forces to defend and cultivate a number

11 Ibidem, p. 79.

12 Ibidem, p. 80.

13 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century. Bruges, 2020.

of positive evolutions that have been going on. It must be a satiric parody to demonstrate that museums and *muséologues* should do more effort to get acquainted with international developments (also those not published in French) to understand what is going on in the world. All the points on the wish list of Chaumier can be addressed and met with an intelligent use of the tools in the Blue Arsenal, the Basic Texts. They are applicable in 180 States, including France, as a reference for *heritage* policy, and can provide inspiration for the shrinking rest of the States that have not yet ratified, including Canada, hence including Québec. Problematizing the notion of 'authenticity', embracing diversity, not freezing but transforming, stimulating creativity and adaptation, stimulating encounters, exchanges, collective enjoyment and understanding; going for being more gender sensitive, not only for women but also including all LGBTQIAP, and involving as many stakeholders as possible. Participation and involving stakeholders, this should be a shared agenda.[14]

There is definitely some work to do to get the museum networks and the academic world in France up to speed as far as the relation between museums and intangible cultural heritage is concerned. This was one of the conclusions of an important survey that was conducted by Isabel Chave and her team for the French Ministry of Culture, at the occasion of the IMP colloquium in France (February 5 and 6, 2019), in the Cité internationale de la tapisserie in Aubusson.[15] These were the mains, presented on the IMP website:

> "The preliminary findings allowed for a number of assertions to be made which demonstrate that intangible cultural heritage is a real challenge to museums:
> - Most museums associate intangible cultural heritage with terms such as artisanal know-how, collective remembrance and legacies, and oral archives, which shows that the UNESCO's official definition of ICH is only partially understood.
> - For a large majority, intangible cultural heritage can help strengthen social ties and a sense of identity. Inhabitants of a territory can often times partake in the process, be it a cultural project, an exhibition

14 M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just "the Community"", in: J. Blake and L. Lixinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary.* Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289; Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41; M. Jacobs, '城市中的社区、群体、个人——保护非物质文化遗产、行动网与边界对象》,南方科技大学社会科学高等研究院主编', 遗产 *Heritage* 1:1, 2019, p. 15-36, M. Jacobs, 'The Spirit of the Convention: Interlocking Principles and Ethics for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 11, 2016, p. 71-87; and the projects described in M. Jacobs e.a. 'Internationale netwerking, duurzame ontwikkeling en evoluerende kaders Het programma van de UNESCO-leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 120:2, 2019, p. 179-191

15 *PCI et musées*, https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Sites-thematiques/Patrimoine-culturel-immateriel/Ressources/PCI-et-musees (7/8/2020).

or an ethnological survey. Through intangible cultural heritage, the individual is brought back at the heart of patrimonialization. By its very definition, intangible cultural heritage is prone to inclusivity and co-construction, hence why most of the interviewees believe that intangible cultural heritage can add exiting new dimensions to existing projects.

- Almost 3/4 of museums have never received a training dedicated to intangible cultural heritage but 80% of them would like to.
- 50% of scientific and cultural projects in museums take into account intangible cultural heritage. However in the years to come, intangible cultural heritage will play a bigger role in subsequent scientific and cultural projects.
- Museums are still unfamiliar with the National Inventory: it is necessary to build bridges between museums and tools such as the National Inventory in order to make them relevant.
- Innovation is mostly noticeable in scenographic arrangements and specifically in immersive devices. As a general rule, most museums still do tend to apply standard practices and techniques to intangible cultural heritage."[16]

So when the going gets tough, the tough should get going. It is no time to flee or hide away in a '*muséologie*' cocoon and retreat to a cozy museum and/or museology (p)reservation but to join to co-creation.

Or to say it in French: "Il est surprenant que les musées, en tant qu'institutions par définition préoccupées de culture matérielle, débattent de culture immatérielle et y voient même un danger potentiel (…) Les musées pourraient tout aussi bien affirmer: 'De toute évidence, cela ne nous concerne pas, sujet suivant s'il vous plait (…)'."[17] The author of these sharp phrases goes on to give nine reasons why this is not a good idea. But, of course, you can lead a horse to the water, but you cannot force it to drink.

16 *Report of the International Conference: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and Innovation (5.2.2019, Aubusson)*, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/reports/fr-international-conference (9/8/2020).

17 W. Leimgruber, 'Patrimoine culturel immatériel et musées: un danger?', in: M.-O Gonseth, e.a. (eds.), *Bruits. Echos du patrimoine culturel immatériel*. Neuchâtel, 2011, p. 34-46.

FLORENCE PIZZORNI ITIÉ

Le PCI et les musées

Quand l'esprit vient à la matière sous l'arbre à palabres

Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si l'interrogation sur les interrelations entre le patrimoine culturel immatériel et les musées se présente au moment même où les musées, à l'initiative d'ICOM, repensent leur propre définition. Poussée par la vague d'expression mondiale des revendications mémorielles et de la quête d'identité, l'institution muséale plus que bicentenaire en Europe se voit dans l'obligation de remettre en cause ses principes fondamentaux. Elle se pensait universelle et se réveille coloniale dans ses transposition extra-européennes.

L'énonciation du concept de 'patrimoine culturel immatériel'(PCI), oblige les musées à une profonde introspection et à une réévaluation en écho aux exigences culturelles du monde extra-européen. Le PCI n'invente rien, mais porte l'attention sur des expressions patrimoniales qui n'entraient dans le champ du musée occidental que de manière allusive en marge le plus souvent des objets de tradition populaire, une catégorie à qui les Académies peinent à accorder le sacro-saint statut artistique qui place à un degré supérieur d'excellence et offre un ticket d'entrée au musée, permanent et incontestable. L'introduction de 'l'immatériel' comme catégorie d'objet muséal ébranle le temple de la conservation. Elle porte atteinte à ses principaux piliers: la nature des items qui composent les collections qu'il a pour mission de mettre hors d'atteinte des blessures du temps et la qualification des experts qui en choisissent les immortels icônes. Autant de fissures qui conduisent à une réflexion ontologique à fort impact sur le rôle et la fonction des musées à l'échelle du monde au 21e siècle.

Dans l'acception commune, les objets sont aux musées, ce que les livres sont aux bibliothèques, les documents papiers aux centres d'Archives. La bibliothèque survivrait-elle si on lui retirait le livre? La question semble brutale, mais c'est ainsi que certains responsables de collections muséales appréhendent l'émergence de l'immatérialité dans le champ de leur activité d'étude, de collecte et de conservation. Ils craignent que vidé de sa substance, le musée ne disparaisse.

Cette crainte amène à repenser ce qu'est l'objet patrimonial, quel est son statut dans la société moderne et quel impact sa redéfinition projette sur les activités qu'il convient de déployer collectivement pour sa valorisation et sa sauvegarde.

Le patrimoine immatériel remet le sensible au cœur de la transmission muséale. Revisiter la nature de l'objet

Les musées sont de prestigieux silos à objets tridimensionnels qui y sont en réserve la plupart du temps ou bien, quand ils sont choisis pour exposition, présentés sous vitrine aux regards des visiteurs. Présentés aux regards, mais uniquement aux regards. L'"homomuseus' est un regardeur: il construit de la connaissance à partir de son œil mais il lui est interdit de toucher, de sentir, de goûter, le plus souvent d'entendre. L'interaction entre l'objet et son contexte d'usage a disparu de la mémoire. Seule la forme de l'objet reste accessible. D'ailleurs, c'est souvent sa plasticité qui lui vaut d'être exposé. Il est choisi pour sa 'beauté'. La notion de patrimoine immatériel invite à contextualiser l'objet dans son rapport à l'homme. Elle autorise ainsi à revisiter l'analyse de la perception des objets selon l'approche esthétique originelle. L'esthétique au sens d'Alexander Baumgartner, le premier à introduire ce terme comme une réflexion philosophique sur les représentations, est la "science de la connaissance sensible".[1] Dans le même temps, Voltaire avance la notion de relativité dans la perception de l'objet en suggérant que l'effet produit d'un objet n'est pas dans sa matérialité intrinsèque, mais dans la relation qui existe entre le regardeur et l'objet regardé, dans l'immatérialité d'un lien entre un émetteur et un récepteur. Il propose la métaphore du crapaud dont l'idéal du beau est …sa crapaude.[2]

Charles Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier, François-René de Chateaubriand, Marcel Proust[3], qualifieront ce lien d'"émotion produite', conscientisant le fait qu'un "sixième sens, allié de la beauté", identifié par l'abbé Dubos[4] au 18e siècle, s'exerce sur plusieurs registres simultanément, mettant en vibration tous les sens et s'exprimant en musique, poésie, roman, peinture, sculpture, architecture, art décoratif, art de la mode, mœurs et manières. Tout se répond et concoure au même émoi par la métaphore et les *correspondances*[5], chères à Charles Baudelaire.

Ces considérations repoussent les limites du champ d'interprétation des objets patrimoniaux classiquement rangés dans l'ordre de l'usuel, de l'utilitaire. Ils sont ainsi autorisés à pénétrer dans la catégorie artistique dès lors que leur 'représentation' produit de l'émotion sensible sur celui qui les fréquente.

Le 19e siècle, très normatif, et le 20e siècle en suiveur, ont transformé la communication de l'art, qu'il soit visuel ou musical-sonore en un spectacle qui clive la société en deux catégories bien distinctes: d'un côté mis en scène

1 A.G. Baumgarten, *Aesthetica*. Francfort-sur-l'Oder, 1750, trad. Jean-Yves Pranchère, *Esthétique, précédée des Méditations philosophiques sur quelques sujets se rapportant à l'essence du poème et de la Métaphysique*. Paris, 1988, p. 75-76.

2 Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique portatif.* Genève, 1764, article 'Beau, beauté': "Demandez à un crapaud ce que c'est que la beauté, le grand beau, le *to Kalon*. Il vous répondra que c'est sa crapaude avec deux gros yeux ronds sortant de sa petite tête, une gueule large et plate, un ventre jaune, un dos brun."

3 Marcel Proust écrit alors sous le pseudonyme de Geneviève de Brabant.

4 J.B. Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*. Paris, 1719.

5 C. Baudelaire, *Écrits sur l'art*. Paris, 1992.

et sur scène, les artistes-virtuoses reconnus (sous vitrine, dans les galeries des musées, les œuvres), et de l'autre, réduits au mutisme, les regardeurs-écouteurs, des consommateurs. Les musées ou les salles de concerts sont l'expression architecturale de cette dichotomie sociétale qui consacre la relation entre le public-consommateur et une forme d'excellence académique seule autorisée à s'exprimer. Pressées par la nécessité de réintroduire la diversité des perceptions sensibles des publics pour déployer la multiplicité des sens de l'objet, les formes nouvelles du musée devront rompre ce face-à-face devenu stérile et imaginer des espaces ouverts dans lesquelles les correspondances émotionnelles pourront s'exprimer librement. De ce fait, une osmose s'opère du musée-conservatoire au musée- spectacle vivant.

Le patrimoine immatériel réactive l'imprégnation de l'existence antérieure des choses: substance et correspondances mémorielles[6]

Le musée-conservatoire est souvent associé à l'image du cimetière d'objets. Grâce à l'émergence du concept de patrimoine immatériel les choses de musées commutent d'objets végétatifs à sujets actifs. Le domaine de réactivité des objets de musée réfère à la mémoire. Le matériau qui les compose est pétri de références au passé. Ils sont faits de 'substance' mémorielle qui renvoie à leur existence antérieure. Baudelaire tente de saisir les ressorts de la représentation artistique en ancrant le processus de création dans une conception imaginative de la mémoire. "La véritable mémoire ne consiste (…) que dans une imagination très vive, facile à émouvoir et par conséquent susceptible d'évoquer à l'appui de chaque sensation les scènes [ou les objets] du passé, en les douant, comme par enchantement, de la vie et du caractère propre à chacune d'elles.".[7]

La substance de l'objet qui est image-représentation, permet des correspondances[8] sensibles, comme nous l'avons vu, mais construit également des passerelles entre les mondes matériel et spirituel. Baudelaire identifie leur activation à une revivification, à une libération de la contention de mémoire résurrectionniste inhérente à la matière de la chose. Elles établissent des analogies entre les perceptions et les idées. Elles constituent les objets patrimoniaux en vecteurs de mémoires à mémoires, en passeurs du présent au passé. Le présent résonne ainsi avec le passé par l'effet d'une correspondance temporelle.

Jorge Luis Borges étend le thème des correspondances temporelles à la 'substance' des objets dont la durabilité est plus grande que celle des hommes. Il nous rapporte le récit du duel de Maneco Uriarte et Duncan. Deux amis ivres, un soir de fête, s'amusent à simuler un duel alors qu'ils n'ont aucune expérience de combat. Ils s'emparent d'armes blanches de collection ayant appartenu à

6 Ce paragraphe reprend en partie des idées et paragraphes développées dans F. Pizzorni Itié 'La forêt des choses. Substance mémorielle et correspondances sensibles des objets au musée', *Socio-anthropologie* 30, 2014, p. 171-181.

7 C. Baudelaire, 'Le Salon de 1846': texte établi et présenté par D. Kelley, *L'imagination créatrice*. Oxford, 1975.

8 C. Baudelaire, 'Correspondances', in: C. Baudelaire (ed.), *Les fleurs du mal.* Alençon, 1857.

deux brigands experts du crime qui se haïssaient et avaient juré de se tuer l'un l'autre mais qui moururent sans se rencontrer. Uriarte et Duncan ne savaient pas se battre et pourtant quand couteau et épée furent en main, ils ne furent plus maîtres de leur comportement. Les armes réglaient entre elles un compte depuis longtemps oublié des protagonistes qui, eux-mêmes, n'étaient plus que souvenir. A l'issue d'un rude et long échange de passes, Uriarte tua Duncan qui murmura en tombant: "comme c'est étrange, tout ceci semble un rêve."[9] La correspondance mémoire du temps passé et acte au présent est établie par les armes car ce furent les armes qui combattirent et non les hommes. "Les choses durent plus que les gens. Qui peut savoir si cette histoire est terminée, qui peut savoir si ces armes ne se retrouveront pas un jour?"[10] Les armes servent ici de moyen à l'histoire pour se répéter. Le lien peut être un totem, une idole, un talisman.[11] La présence des objets dans les collections muséales trouve là une interprétation troublante. Les objets des collections, présumés morts, sortent de l'inertie supposée et accèdent à une opérabilité toujours renouvelée.

L'histoire vécue de la poupée votive normande dont la réactivation détectée par une visiteuse a jeté l'émoi au Musée national des Arts et Traditions Populaires de Paris[12] tend à confirmer l'hypothèse de la capacité substantielle résurrectionniste.

La substance des choses et la relation à autrui

Plus encore, la substance des choses des musées est le lieu d'une triple correspondance: celle des émotions, celle de la mémoire, et celle de la relation de soi à autrui. Les musées, silos-conservatoires d'objets, sont avant tout des lieux où est explorée la question de nos relations à l'Autre au sein des sociétés humaines conçues comme des espaces de culture. Le lien social y est approché par sa traduction objectale. Une fois encore le recours à la littérature, l'exploration de l'univers romanesque apporte beaucoup d'enseignements. Sur la question du patrimoine immatériel et la relation des hommes aux objets, le personnage de Robinson Crusoé[13] constitue une référence dans la bibliothèque européenne partagée. Quel meilleur espace expérimental que l'île vierge du rescapé solitaire peut-on imaginer pour concevoir les effets de la privation conjointe de l'objet matériel et de la société humaine? Conserver la conscience et la mesure de l'écoulement du temps est la première angoisse de Robinson: compter le temps, c'est à la fois penser la mémoire et anticiper un futur. L'obsession du temps, cette préoccupation immatérielle, profondément humaine, se traduit par la matérialisation d'un calendrier. Cet épisode

9 J. L. Borges, 'La rencontre', in: J.L. Borges (ed.), *Œuvres complètes, t. II.* Paris, 2010 [1974], p. 214.

10 Borges, *La rencontre*, p. 214.

11 Récemment, la question de la restitution des Récades (sceptres royaux béninois), objets de pouvoir africains confisqués dans la période coloniale, donne une actualité significative à la mémoire résurrectionniste.

12 F. Pizzorni Itié, *La forêt*, p. 171-181.

13 D. Defoe, *The life and strange surprising adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, mariner.* London, 1719.

démontre et illustre la relation fusionnelle entre 'l'immatériel' qui fait sens et le 'matériel' qui rend réel. La relation entre musée et patrimoine immatériel est toute entière illustrée par la métaphore du corps et de l'esprit. Le corps, l'objet conservé au musée n'est rien sans l'esprit, le PCI, qui lui-même est invisible à l'homme s'il ne prend corps.

La situation du Robinson de Michel Tournier[14], privé d'altérité et construisant seul son rapport aux choses, est analysée par Gilles Deleuze[15]. Il établit le lien existentiel à l'objet comme un entre-nous: le concept moteur de la production d'objets matériels et des émotions qu'ils provoquent est fondé sur le besoin de l'altérité.

"(…) autrui conditionnait l'ensemble du champ perceptif, l'application à ce champ des catégories de l'objet perçu et des dimensions du sujet percevant (…). En effet les lois de la perception pour la constitution d'objets (forme-fond, etc.), pour la détermination temporelle du sujet, pour le développement successif des mondes, nous ont paru dépendre du possible comme structure Autrui. (…) Autrui apparaît comme ce qui organise les éléments en terre, la terre en corps, les corps en objets, et qui règle et mesure à la fois l'objet, la perception et le désir."[16]

"On comprend alors le paradoxe de l'île déserte: le naufragé, s'il est unique, s'il a perdu la structure-autrui, ne rompt en rien le désert de l'île, il le consacre plutôt (…). C'est qu'autrui présidait à l'organisation du monde en objets, et aux relations transitives entre ces objets. Les objets n'existaient que par les possibilités dont autrui peuplait le monde ; chacun ne se fermait sur soi, ne s'ouvrait sur d'autres objets, qu'en fonction des mondes possibles exprimés par autrui. Bref: c'est autrui qui emprisonnait les éléments dans la limite des corps, et au plus loin dans les limites de la terre."[17]

Les musées, lieux d'interprétation de la société, sont des forêts de choses[18] qui racontent des histoires vécues en d'autres corps, en d'autres temps. Ces choses comme les arbres, aux apparences immuables face au temps humain, mais vivantes et inter-agissantes[19] ouvrent un champ d'expérience de narration que Paul Ricœur[20] caractérise comme un type de communication lié à "la conservation de l'expérience" et du "temps humain". Elles proposent un regard renouvelé sur les institutions muséales, considérées comme des conservatoires alors qu'elles sont, avant tout, des lieux où se pose la question de nos relations à l'Autre au sein des sociétés humaines, dans le temps long et l'espace ouvert.

Ces hypothèses proposent de voir les choses des musées comme des figures-avatars de l'esthétique du patrimoine, dont elles seraient la substance.

14 M. Tournier, *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique.* Paris, 1967.

15 G. Deleuze, *Michel Tournier et le monde sans autrui.* Paris, 1969.

16 Deleuze, *Michel Tournier*, p. 370.

17 Ibidem, p. 362- 363.

18 Formule empruntée au titre de l'ouvrage P. Clemente and E. Guatelli (eds.), *Il bosco delle cose, Il museo Guatelli di Ozzaro Taro*. Parma, 1996.

19 Pizzorni Itié, *La forêt*. p. 4.

20 P. Ricœur, *Temps et récit.* Paris, 1983.

L'esthétique du lien social y est approchée par sa traduction objectale. Ces objets reconsidérés sont source de multiples correspondances qui leur prêtent des vies insoupçonnées, fruits d'interactions entre présent et passé, entre soi et autrui.

Objets performatifs dociles et indisciplinés. Où il est question de la sauvegarde du patrimoine

Le concept de performativité issu de la philosophie du langage de J.L. Austin soutient l'idée de la capacité d'un signe à produire une action par son énonciation.[21] L'objet performatif[22] est décrit classiquement dans le champ de la création. L'objet patrimonial, dont le sens immatériel est énoncé par sa forme matérielle est un objet performatif, au même titre que les œuvres d'art contemporain, les performances. Il sort de son inertie supposée et accède à une opérabilité toujours renouvelée. Cette opérabilité se nourrit de la vie antérieure de l'objet, décrite, présumée et réinterprétée. Mais, plus encore, elle se renforce par l'ampleur des soins et des attentions qui sont prodigués à l'œuvre, au présent: sa sauvegarde, son étude et sa présentation.

Alfred Gell présente une manière renouvelée de formuler 'les correspondances'.[23] Plutôt que d'envisager les objets patrimoniaux sous l'angle de leurs aspects formels ou conceptuels il propose de les penser en terme 'd'intentionnalités', *agencies*, inhérentes à leur 'substance'.

Ce qui a été appelé objet patrimonial possède une force ou un pouvoir de fascination parce que nous considérons ces objets comme des indicateurs de ce qu'il y avait dans l'esprit des personnes qui les ont, à différents degrés, fabriqués et utilisés. Ce pouvoir, qui les distingue des autres objets produits en société, résulte, d'après Gell, de la convergence de divers réseaux d'intentionnalité qui diffèrent considérablement selon les cas: l'intention de l'artiste/artisan d'effectuer une performance 'technique', l'intention du sujet représenté, l'intention du mécène et du commanditaire, celle de la collectivité publique qui l'expose (déploiement de moyens conservation, sécurité, restauration...), l'intention des usagers (à considérer dans sa diversité à travers le temps et la durée de vie de l'objet), le gain de prestige que prodigue sa possession, l'intention de l'objet lui-même dans sa substance...

Fernando Dominguez Rubio propose une requalification des objets qu'il classe en objets dociles ou indisciplinés.[24] Il introduit la mesure de l'importance de l'effort de mobilisation sociétale qu'impose une œuvre pour être muséographiée.

Dans un musée de beaux-arts, docile, serait un tableau, une huile sur toile, considérant la pratique habituelle des responsables de ce type d'objet. Le

21 J.L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*. Oxford, 1962; J.L. Austin, *Quand dire, c'est faire*. Paris, 1970.

22 M. Akrich, 'Les objets techniques et leurs utilisateurs. De la conception à l'action', in: B. Conein, N. Dodier et L. Thévenot, *Les objets dans l'action. De la maison au laboratoire*. Paris, 1993, p. 35-57.

23 A. Gell, *Art and Agency: an anthropological theory*. Oxford, 1998.

24 F. Dominguez Rubio, 'Preserving the unpreservable: docile and unruly objects at MoMA', *Theory and Society* 43, 2014, p. 617-645.

suivi, l'interprétation, les soins afférents à sa restauration, à sa conservation préventive, à son transport, aux manipulations sont codifiés. Indociles, seraient une installation gigantesque ou une performance hors norme imposant des comportements ajustés, improvisés, innovants.

Dans un musée de société, dociles seraient les costumes ou le mobilier ; indisciplinés seraient les objets de patrimoine immatériels désignés par la convention, dont l'identification, l'inventaire, la sauvegarde, la scénographie chamboulent les habitudes.

Les objets indociles sont souvent facteurs de changement pour l'institution. Ils la contraignent à revoir ses codes et ses règles pour s'adapter. C'est l'institution qui plie, et non l'objet.

L'empoétisation de l'objet: laisser le regardeur lui donner de l'âme, l'animer

La théorie des intentionnalités accorde une place importante aux regardeurs, c'est à dire aux publics. Jusqu'ici considérés comme de simples consommateurs, les visiteurs deviennent acteurs dans l'évaluation de la performativité de l'objet patrimonial. La Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel qui désigne expressément "les communautés, les groupes et, le cas échéant, les individus" comme les indicateurs du patrimoine culturel, s'inscrit dans cette démarche participative. Ainsi, la Convention reconnait que le regardeur provoque l'opérabilité de l'objet tout autant que les experts (nous, les conservateurs, ethnologues, concepteurs de 'évènements' culturels) qui élaborent des stratégies et les actions de contrôle.

Dans le contexte du musée traditionnel, les publics ne disposent que de micro libertés. Pour s'approprier leur patrimoine culturel exposé, ils sont contraints à l'usage de ruses que Michel de Certeau qualifie d'actes de résistance (zapper, débarrasser, lire en diagonale) qu'il apparente à du "braconnage culturel".[25] Il assimile les producteurs de sens à des propriétaires terriens qui imposent le sens des biens culturels aux consommateurs, grâce à la réglementation des usages et accès. Il compare alors les consommateurs à des "braconniers" sur ces terres, passant au travers des mailles du réseau imposé et recomposant leur interprétation intime. Ces figures sont transposables dans le champ muséographique. Le concepteur de l'exposition cherche à indiquer un sens, que, de fait, il impose. Le lieu musée, corseté de pratiques contraignantes, est également un 'en soi' producteur de dire et de faire paroxystique. La prise en compte de la définition du patrimoine culturel immatériel pousse à inventer des formes expographiques qui provoquent le laisser-aller, le braconnage du visiteur et à recueillir les multiples poèmes issus de ces errances jubilatoires. Ainsi réunira-t-on autant d'histoires ajoutées à la fiche documentaire-biographique-objet.

Laisser du champ à l'empoétisation du patrimoine? A chacun une anthologie poétique de l'objet.

25 M. de Certeau, *L'invention du quotidien I: Arts de faire*. Paris, 1980, p. 279-296.

PCI et Musée: un espace ouvert aux diversités culturelles – La diversité culturelle à la source de la créativité sociétale

Il se pourrait que le monde de demain soit un monde urbain dans lequel les nécessités économiques poussent les hommes venus du monde entier à vivre dans une promiscuité où se joue une nouvelle articulation du local et du global, du monde et de la ville, des micro transformations et des déstabilisations générales du pouvoir formel. La ville-monde c'est l'opportunité de l'ouverture de nouveaux espaces de politisation agissant au niveau subnational comme supranational. La réflexion sur les enjeux sociaux et culturels de la ville-monde avancera par la mobilisation des populations.

Lancée par *la rencontre de Barcelone* (1998), la *Charte Européenne de sauvegarde des Droits de l'homme dans la ville (Saint-Denis 2000)* pose les bases d'une nouvelle citoyenneté urbaine disjointe de sa définition nationale: "La ville est un espace collectif appartenant à tous ses habitants, (…) en conséquence (…) les droits énoncés dans cette Charte sont reconnus à toutes les personnes vivant dans les villes signataires indépendamment de leur nationalité. Elles sont désignées ci-après comme citoyens et citoyennes des villes."[26] C'est une conception à la fois résidentielle et transnationale de la citoyenneté urbaine, qui s'exprime ici. La nationalité, voire même la régularité du séjour, n'est en aucun cas une condition de citoyenneté. Cette charte congédie les débats autour de l'immigration, de l'intégration, du statut de l'étranger, au profit de l'idée d'appartenance multinationale, d'un cosmopolitisme assumé de la citoyenneté urbaine. L'opérabilité d'une telle conception de la citoyenneté suppose de trouver le liant entre des figures de la diversité qui jouent *le côte-à-côte*, *le face-à-face* et la *figure des connivences* des cultures sous-jacentes dotées d'une massive homogénéité, celle des conditions d'adaptation à la situation de migration, ou plutôt de diaspora.[27] Un jeu de miroirs dont les différences culturelles forment le système. Trouver un liant qui tienne à la reconnaissance et à la responsabilisation de groupes constitués dont la continuité est toujours renouvelée. Ces groupes constitués sont les creusets de la diversité culturelle telle qu'elle se donne à lire dans la ville-monde.

La Convention du PCI de 2003 considère "l'importance du patrimoine culturel immatériel, creuset de la diversité culturelle et garant du développement durable", et reconnait "que les processus de mondialisation et de transformation sociale, à côté des conditions qu'ils créent pour un dialogue renouvelé entre les communautés, font, tout comme les phénomènes d'intolérance, également peser de graves menaces de dégradation, de disparition et de destruction sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel, en particulier du fait du manque de moyens de sauvegarde de celui-ci."

26 *Charte Européenne de sauvegarde des Droits de l'Homme dans la Ville*, https://www.uclg-cisdp.org/fr/activities/villes-pour-les-droits-humains/charte-europeenne (26/07/2020).

27 C. Bromberger, 'Le pont, le mur, le miroir, coexistences et affrontements dans le monde Méditerranéen', in: T. Fabre et E. La Parra, *Paix et guerre entre les cultures entre Europe et Méditerranée.* Arles, 2005, p. 115-138.

Reconnaitre la diversité culturelle, c'est reconnaitre qu'on partage avec d'autres un espace physique, politique, social et de valeurs.

Dans un premier temps, les acteurs sociaux ont développé tant dans le monde du travail social, de la politique de la ville, de l'enseignement et de la culture, des pratiques dites interculturelles. Le but énoncé appelle à la découverte de l'Autre ou à la rencontre des cultures, ou encore au dialogue interculturel. La culture n'est pas une donnée génétique territorialisée. C'est un processus inscrit dans les dynamiques de l'histoire et des rapports économico-politiques. Pour exemple, il est évident aujourd'hui, qu'il ne suffira pas de montrer la beauté des objets berbères (en leur donnant une place au Louvre) pour que les Berbères émigrés de France trouvent leur place dans la société française dans le plein respect de leurs spécificités et le plein exercice des droits civiques.

La constatation des limites d'efficacité de la stricte démarche de l'interconnaissance amène à une nouvelle question qui touche aux conditions sociales de la rencontre des cultures. La démarche de connaissance n'est plus suffisante. Accepter l'Autre, dans la complétude des ressemblances et des différences, s'appuie sur le culturel, mais suppose également un engagement politique qui lui reconnait la même présence, les mêmes droits et la même reconnaissance de dignité et d'autorité qu'on accorde à soi-même.

Il apparait que l'action soutenable à ce stade de l'évolution de la réflexion sur la place des gens-de soi et des gens-de-l'autre dans la ville-monde passe par la nécessité de croiser le culturel et le politique. Quel rôle le musée peut-il jouer dans l'invention de ce délicat dialogue citoyen auquel engage la prise en compte du patrimoine immatériel?

PCI et Musée: un espace ouvert au politique

La créativité ne réside pas seulement dans la production d'objets artistiques, mais dans des pratiques du 'vivre ensemble' qui aident à forger de nouvelles formes du lien social. Les productions culturelles dans le monde, sont portées par des valeurs multiples (particulièrement différentes de ce qu'il se passe en Europe ou aux Etats Unis). Selon les cultures du monde, les formes, les couleurs, les assemblages, les matériaux, les sons, les saveurs, sont autant de vibrations, de mots, de phrases que le créateur organise pour établir un échange sensuel, souvent avec une personne, quelquefois avec un groupe. Les œuvres sont ouverture et non introversion. Le statut du producteur d'artefacts est extrêmement variable, il est rare qu'il situe le créateur hors de la société, comme le fait l'Occident. Les œuvres sont parties prenantes de la vie, de la nature, de la matière. Elles prennent sens par leur immersion dans une communauté élargie et non par le choix arbitraire d'un petit cénacle de marchands, de collectionneurs ou de conservateurs qui dénoue peu à peu, leur lien avec un peuple. Notre chance c'est que le monde ait essaimé. De ces frottements intercontinentaux, multiculturels tous les fruits de la création, de l'imagination sont à glaner.

La sociologue Jane Guyer formule que la culture doit être pensée en termes de "répertoires de possibilités pour la mobilisation sociale"[28] faisant le lien avec le politique.

L'Afrique, par exemple, propose un large répertoire de possibilités pour l'organisation sociale. Joseph Ki-Zerbo imagine des solutions pour l'Afrique que nous pouvons transposer sur les sociétés des villes-monde: "Il faut favoriser les réseaux de groupes qui se donnent pour projet 'l'homme nouveau' au XXIème s. Un homme ouvert à l'altérité qui, sur la base d'un minimum économique et social, est ouvert aux relations, aux liens humains, à une éthique universelle et aux valeurs. Je propose donc un projet, une fusée à trois étages: les biens économiques, les liens sociaux (comprenant les relations humaines, les services et l'organisation humaine) et les valeurs. Ce projet humain ne vise pas simplement à maximiser la consommation matérielle. Il se construira sur la base des valeurs de la solidarité, de la convivialité, de l'altérité, de la compassion, du contrôle de soi, de la pitié et de l'équilibre inspiré de la Maât pharaonique."[29]

"L'économie solidaire telle qu'elle existe en Afrique est une économie basée sur l'humanisme (*Mogoya* en langue Bambara, l'*humanitude* en somme). Il y a des investissements au niveau des communautés, une prise en charge par les familles qu'on ne trouve ni dans le 'privé-privé' du marché capitaliste ni dans l'économie étatisée. Nous avons déjà, au plan théorique, quelques éléments afin de mettre sur pied un monde moins sauvage que celui de la jungle du capitalisme néolibéral. Ces éléments tiennent compte à la fois des dimensions positives de la culture sociale africaine et des apports récents d'autres civilisations."[30]

Joseph Ki-Zerbo propose également la stratégie individuelle et collective à mettre en œuvre pour parvenir à cette construction: "Il ne faut pas trop se déterminer par rapport aux autres et concevoir la marginalisation en fonction du contre. Le contre est d'abord en nous-mêmes… En Afrique, nous avons des créneaux porteurs, surtout au niveau des industries culturelles. Nous avons les chercheurs, les inventeurs, les producteurs, les créateurs sur le plan de la musique, de la danse, des arts plastiques, du théâtre, de la vie en commun, de la convivialité, de la prise en charge des plus faibles, du management originel de l'environnement, du rapport à la santé et à la mort, aux ancêtres, de l'amour, de la gestion des conflits… Il faut réaliser une opération mentale individuelle d'abord, collective ensuite, et se dire: 'je suis le contre de moi-même' comme disent les Africains: *on ne peut pas coiffer quelqu'un en son absence*, ceci veut dire que personne ne peut se substituer à moi-même, sauf si je me laisse faire. Il faut partir de son contre en dépassant la périphérie par l'esprit, en se refondant en soi-même."[31]

28 Citée dans B. Mvé-Ondo, 'Quelle culture pour quel Développement Durable?', *Liaison IEPF* 68, 2005, p. 75.

29 J. Ki-Zerbo, 'Le monde des valeurs est une immensité qui dépasse de loin le monde matériel', *Liaison IEPF* 68, 2005, p. 29-31.

30 Ki-Zerbo, *Le monde*, p. 30.

31 Ibidem, p. 30.

Il conclut par un jeu de mot "On a dit que la guerre était chose trop sérieuse pour la confier aux généraux. Je crois que le développement des êtres humains est trop sérieux pour le laisser entre les mains des seuls économistes, les 'développementeurs' qui ont réduit le développement à ses dimensions les plus étriquées, les plus matérielles."[32]

L'avenir passe par la prise en compte de ces éléments: un examen scrupuleux des besoins collectifs fondamentaux, la mise en commun des multiples 'répertoires' des solutions sociétales qui apparaitront par l'écoute culturelle et la construction d'un nouvel édifice économico-socio culturel dans lequel chacun puisse se retrouver.

Régénérées, entre autres, par les considérants du PCI, les institutions culturelles peuvent-elles constituer des outils pour cette construction?

Les institutions culturelles d'un genre nouveau issues des musées d'art et tradition populaires et du mouvement écomuséal, tirent profit de l'intérêt porté au patrimoine culturel immatériel pour observer, experts et populations conjoints, les évolutions sociales et adapter leurs projets scientifiques et culturels aux nécessités qui se font jour dans les villes-monde, dont il deviendront l'un des outils du 'bricolage' de la reconstruction de la citoyenneté dans le théâtre renouvelé des échanges mondiaux.

Des institutions-musées, en ce qu'elles disposent d'un fonds d'œuvres patrimoniales qui constituent leur langage original. Les œuvres y sont considérées pour leur valeur sémiologique et montrées dans une perspective comparatiste, pour leur aptitude à susciter le débat, à déconstruire les idées reçues et à développer le sens critique du citoyen, de tous les citoyens. Des formes inventives de traitement et de sauvegarde des collections patrimoniales immatérielles y sont trouvées. Ces lieux ont vocation à trouver les modalités les plus collaboratives (participatives et inclusives) pour identifier, vivifier, actualiser et re-présenter le patrimoine culturel, pour favoriser une meilleure compréhension de l'autre, mais dans un souci de dynamique sociale intégrant les dimensions historiques, en évitant de folkloriser, et en les inscrivant dans des perspectives liées aux situations diasporiques. Les acteurs sociaux sont également producteurs des évènements dont ils sont les protagonistes, l'institution conservant un contrôle dosé afin de protéger le recul analytique et critique. L'institution doit devenir un lieu 'réparateur' où chacun trouve l'expression de sa dignité, pour puiser la capacité à construire l'avenir. Dans le même mouvement, la société dominante doit aussi être passée au crible de l'analyse critique. L'objectif est de remettre en cause les certitudes de soi.

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel permet d'ouvrir l'institution culturelle aux catégories sociales de la marge, celles dont la situation économique ne permet pas la production et la transmission de biens matériels, les exclus[33]: les

32 Ibidem, p. 30.

33 F. Pizzorni Itié, 'Muséographier l'exclusion? Petites histoires sans objet', in: D. Porporato et F. Tamarozzi (eds.), *Oggetti e immagini, Esperienze di ricerca etnoantropologica*. Torino, 2006, p. 75-92.

sans domicile fixe[34], les prisonniers et les bagnards, les malades[35] et la question de la contagion, les migrants…

Cette pensée élargie du PCI permet l'ouverture de vastes chantiers autour des patrimoines collectés dans le cadre de la colonisation, modalité politique qui a dirigé et modelé les relations intercontinentales pendant les siècles au cours desquels s'est élaborée une conscience de l'Autre et ont été constituées les collections muséales 'exotiques'. La question de leur ré-interprétation et, en parallèle, la problématique des restitutions aux pays et communautés d'origine est inhérente à la construction des rapports futurs entre héritiers du colonialisme, bénéficiaires ou victimes.

Des héritages invisibilisés devraient également faire l'objet d'une attention particulière: l'exhumation du patrimoine sensible de l'esclavage est attendue par les Afro descendants, comme une réparation du crime contre l'humanité dont leurs ancêtres ont été victimes.

Autant de situations que la Convention du PCI a laissé hors champ. Nous touchons là à des considérations qui déterminent les limites de la Convention dans sa formulation actuelle et devraient conduire à son évolution.

Le nouveau musée appartient à la catégorie des musées-forums. La priorité est donnée à l'expression des publics et la mise en œuvre de tous les moyens possibles pour mettre en débat la société d'aujourd'hui dans la perspective d'un temps, d'un espace et de méthode d'analyse élargis dans la transdisciplinarité. Il sera un espace de rencontre et de dialogue alternatif et protégé, dans un environnement sociétal où le virtuel, à travers les Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication, tient de plus en plus lieu d'Agora.

PCI et Musée: risques et freins

Sous nos yeux s'édifie la société de l'information. Avec l'avènement des Technologies de l'Information et de la Communication, les grandes firmes commerciales portent l'offensive d'une culture marchandisée qui place les lieux de débats et de décision au niveau des entités comme l'OMC et les accords et traités de libre-échange régionaux ou bilatéraux. L'enjeu des débats internationaux sur la culture consiste donc à garantir la survie de la diversité culturelle. En tout cas, pour les représentants des peuples autochtones, l'évolution des sociétés de l'information et de la communication doit reposer sur le respect et la promotion des droits des populations et de leur caractère distinctif.

Lors du Sommet Mondial sur la Société de l'Information de 2005, la déclaration indépendante de la société civile souligne l'urgence de la situation en ces termes: "l'information et le savoir sont de plus en plus transformés en ressources privées susceptibles d'être contrôlées, vendues et achetées, comme si

34 F. Pizzorni Itié, 'Don de soi et acceptation de l'autre dans les musées de société', *Musées et Collections publiques* 265:2, 2012, p. 55-61.

35 Le Mucem, Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée, organise une enquête collecte sur les malades du VIH (aids).

elles étaient de simples marchandises et non des composantes indispensables à l'organisation et au développement social. Ainsi, nous reconnaissons qu'il est urgent de trouver des solutions à ces problèmes, auxquels les sociétés de l'information et de la communication sont confrontées au premier chef."

Les débats actuels vont par exemple jusqu'à demander que les pays développés s'engagent à augmenter la part de marché national qu'ils consacrent aux professionnels, aux artistes et aux autres créateurs des pays en développement. Mais cette proposition suscite bien entendu l'opposition des États possédant les plus grandes industries culturelles. Pourtant, la question posée est à la base même de l'édification d'une société de l'information accessible pour tous. On retrouve ici, dans le contexte de la construction de la mise en place de ce nouvel espace cyber culturel, les préoccupations qui agitent la construction de la ville-monde.

La communauté scientifique a pris conscience du risque d'uniformisation de la culture dans une société globalisée, même si celle-ci permet théoriquement la manifestation de la diversité culturelle. En effet, les technologies de l'information et de la communication modèlent nos manières de penser et de créer. La culture est habitée par la technologie, dialoguant avec elle, la contenant parfois et se laissant souvent élaborer par elle. Cette situation crée une inégalité et une dépendance de la culture envers la technologie, et empêche la manifestation de la diversité culturelle si nécessaire à la société des savoirs. De nombreux observateurs affirment d'ailleurs que la technologie a laissé dans l'ombre toute une partie de la population, celle qui continue à vivre suivant les principes de la nature, celle qui croit au pouvoir des ancêtres, au savoir traditionnel. La diversité culturelle s'inscrit donc dans une logique qui considère qu'il existe d'autres manières de penser, d'exister, de travailler, que la manière anthropo-centrée et ratio-centrée moderne.[36] Toute institution culturelle doit trouver sa future place dans la société de l'information qui avance à pas de géant, ne peut l'ignorer et s'en tenir à l'écart. Dans un contexte de convivialité et de multiplicité d'approche des savoirs, en particulier par la proximité physique et la confrontation verbale, le musée doit conserver la fonction essentielle de *l'arbre à palabres* autour de la garantie du réel que constitue le bien matériel.

Une polémique critique qui fait obstacle au principe de solubilité du patrimoine culturel immatériel dans le musée repose sur un problème sémantique qu'il est important d'élucider. La proximité des signifiants *immatériel* et *virtuel*, plus fréquemment appliqué aux données échangées par la voie des autoroutes internet, introduit la crainte d'une opposition de nature entre le patrimoine culturel immatériel et les collections muséales. Les collections dont nous avons vu que l'ampleur des soins apportés à leur conservation et à leur valorisation concourent à l'agentivité, contribuent fortement au coût de fonctionnement d'un établissement muséal. Dans un

36 A. Ambrosi, V. Peugeot et D. Imienta, *Enjeux de mots: regards multiculturels sur les sociétés de l'information*. Paris, 2005.

contexte de réduction drastique des dépenses publiques, le secteur culturel est particulièrement visé, tous les postes budgétaires sont sur la sellette. Certains responsables culturels craignent que la vogue montante du patrimoine immatériel procure aux financeurs une justification pour restreindre les dépenses dévolues à la conservation des biens matériels. Jouant de l'apparente synonymie immatériel/virtuel, une substitution des objets matériels par un avatar 'virtuel' – image numérique, exposition virtuelle, réalité augmentée… – serait confortable et permettrait une économie substantielle. Cette brèche ouvrirait la possibilité d'une déresponsabilisation des pouvoirs publics face l'héritage muséal précieux et unique que constituent les collections.

Cette considération, bien que reposant sur une mauvaise interprétation et paraissant bien dérisoire en comparaison des apports considérables de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel, ne constitue pas moins un réel danger qui se traduit par l'expression de sérieuses réticences des professionnels à l'influence des préconisations de la Convention dans la définition même de l'institution muséale. Il est important et salvateur de modifier une posture qui étiquette les observations et collectes en des termes antinomiques (matériel versus immatériel, *intangible* versus *tangible*) et divise le patrimoine en catégories arbitraires. La bonne attitude consiste à porter une profonde attention à la dimension immatérielle du patrimoine culturel, partout et sous toutes les formes où il se manifeste.

Conclusion

La pensée du patrimoine culturel immatériel invite les musées à donner une réalité augmentée aux objets qu'ils ont mission de collecter, conserver et valoriser. L'objet patrimonial, dans toute culture, a un pouvoir de fascination, qu'on ne peut comprendre qu'en saisissant l'ensemble des interactions, des intentionnalités, qui président à son identification. La dimension immatérielle de l'objet est une valeur ajoutée à sa performativité, qui aide à forger de nouvelles formes du lien social. Les objets patrimoniaux sont pris dans un processus de création continue. Le regard qu'on porte sur eux ne cesse de se déplacer et de nourrir l'effet créatif. Le patrimoine culturel, loin d'être un espace de reproduction joue ainsi, pleinement, sa fonction sociale de lien entre la mémoire du passé, la perception du présent et l'invention du futur.

Une certaine pensée du futur donne à l'Afrique une place centrale dans le devenir de la planète confronté à l'artificialisation de l'humanité dont "le lot de tous sera dépossession et déprivation", selon Achille Mbembe. Dans la civilisation en voie d'immatérialisassions qui est la nôtre, les technologies digitales rendent possible la redécouverte du pouvoir d'animation des objets qui nous traversent, qui nous travaillent autant que nous les travaillons. "De plus en plus il est probable que ce qui nous est pris sera sans prix et ne pourra jamais nous être restitué. L'absence de toute possibilité de restitution ou de restauration signera peut-être la fin du musée, entendu non pas comme l'extension d'une chambre de curiosités, mais comme la figure par excellence du passé de l'humanité, un passé dont il serait comme la butte témoin. Ne resterait plus que l'antimusée, non point le musée sans objets ou la demeure

fugitive des objets sans musée, mais une sorte de grenier du futur dont la fonction serait d'accueillir ce qui doit naître, mais n'est pas encore là."[37]

Le concept de patrimoine culturel immatériel invite les musées à repenser leurs pratiques et leur inscription dans la citoyenneté. Le musée n'est plus seulement un lieu d'histoire mais entre de plein pied dans le présent et dans la perspective de la construction du futur. Dans ses formes nouvelles d'institution patrimoniale, il devient espace de co-création, d'échange, de partage, d'expression pour penser l'avenir basé sur l'interconnaissance des esprits et des corps. Une manière de lutter contre le tout virtuel qui, prétendant rendre l'homme plus libre de ses expressions, le leurre en l'abrutissant par la privation de sa condition matérielle et sensible d'être vivant et le rend seul.

Les cultures qui s'y expriment et s'y entrecroisent élaborent des répertoires de possibilités pour la mobilisation sociale. C'est la recombinaison d'éléments de ces répertoires qui constituera le modus vivendi des territoires et des villes-monde de demain.

Le musée ainsi adapté au monde ouvert et interconnecté, mobilisant les populations qui y trouvent re-connaissance et empathie recherche des voies qui servent la poétique du patrimoine et l'esthétique du lien social. Le patrimoine culturel immatériel ré-enchante le musée.

37 A. Mbembe, *Brutalisme*. Paris, 2020, p. 25-29.

TAMARA NIKOLIĆ ĐERIĆ

Intersections

Bridging the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage Practices

Nothing is so natural, familiar and simple as intangible cultural heritage (ICH). Put in words, however, makes it abstract and very often inapprehensible. Especially so, when people with different (professional) backgrounds and knowledge debate about it. The term reflects a set of ideas and policies generated on an academic and professional international level through UNESCO,[1] with the aim to valorize the diversity of cultural expressions, respecting in the first place the communities, groups and in some cases individuals (further referred to as CGI), who in different, today relevant ways, take part in cherishing skills and knowledge traced in the past and transmitted over time. For its bearers however, this knowledge and these practices are part of everyday life and become *heritage* once identified through the heritage sector.

Taking in consideration the strong presence and position of CGI, the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (further referred to as the 2003 Convention) presents a counterpoint to the UNESCO 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural an Natural Heritage (further referred to as the 1972 Convention) which is based on the concepts of outstanding universal value and authenticity. Even though the term *heritage* today encompasses both tangible and intangible cultural heritage along with natural heritage, it seems, and practice shows, in the past it proved incongruent and somehow impossible to apply the notion of authenticity and universal value to a living practice of a specific community (due of course to cultural and social dynamics). This incompatibility excluded intangible cultural heritage from the heritage discourse of the 1972 Convention. What is worth reflecting upon is that it also excluded folklore as a vivid performative heritage in the 1960s and 1970s.[2] In *Theorizing heritage* Kirschenblatt-Gimblatt asks "…if folklore is such a bad word, why heritage is such a good one?." Indeed, taking her words further, "… folklore is made, not found" gives us ground to compare this statement to what Laurajane Smith referrers to as the "making of heritage." The making of heritage according

1 I believe it is worth recalling the long process preceding the adoption of the 2003 Convention e.g. in N.B. Salazar, 'The heritage discourse', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 23-24.

2 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Theorizing heritage', *Ethnomusicology* 3, 1995, p. 367-380; L. Smith, 'All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums', in: R. Knoop, P. van der Pol and W. Wesselink (eds.), *All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums.* Weert, 2011, p. 6-35.

to Smith happens on three levels, folkloristic on that end is generated only on one, I dare to say, the professional level. Nevertheless, as production of knowledge in the present that has resources in the past, folkloristic is part of the heritage making. If we think about the 1972 Convention which included heritage sites and monuments that as evidences of culture are valorized from the present perspective and are made heritage, it is worth reflecting more on why other evidences of culture, respectively studied and as such valorized by folkloristic, were not included in that specific heritage paradigm and had to wait thirty more years and the change of nomenclature to be regarded as heritage on an international level. Museums and heritage sites are made, as well as folklore, through the interpretations of cultural manifestations (these are manifested in manifold material and performative ways). The only difference is the subfield of expertise (archaeology, anthropology, art…) and the medium (in situ, exhibition, choreography…) of representation. Expanding on the nomenclature further, it could seem even more logical to regard folklore as heritage than the actual living practices covered by the intangible cultural heritage paradigm. By stating this, I in no way want to hierarchize culture nor heritage as cultural practice of many contemporary societies. Rather, I want to emphasize the difference of heritage as contemporary act of valorizing cultural manifestations and (intangible) culture (framed maybe wrongly within the heritage paradigm) as contemporary act of living. In this regard the 2003 Convention is not only an instrument to valorize knowledge and practices transmitted from generation to generation (again, part of which was earlier regarded as the study-subject of folkloristic) but rather a par-excellence example of how all forms of heritage should be rethought in relation to different interest groups, in first instance the communities (or groups) living with or along this heritage.

Another possible dimension of this exclusion might be reflected in the materialist orientation of Western heritage studies stipulating hierarchization of cultural manifestations in this specific framework. A third reason I can suggest was (is) the problem of the heritage sector to democratize access to heritage and its management. I see this impossibility reflected in the Authorised Heritage Discourse conceived and explained by Laurajane Smith but also in the authoritative representations[3] within the anthropological fieldwork which were (and often still are) 'the voices' generating and communicating knowledge, partly constituting what is today regarded as intangible cultural heritage (or simply 'culture' as Salazar[4] noted) through written studies and museum exhibitions.

The heritage discourse reflected in the 1972 Convention was criticized at large, especially its Eurocentric standards, leading to the awareness of multiple and diverse interpretations of heritage and the impossibility of a globally agreed-upon concept of heritage. At the same time, the 1972 Convention affirmed the importance of identifying (tangible and natural) heritage and

3 J. Clifford, 'Introduction: partial truths', in: J. Clifford and G.E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing cultures: The poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. California, 1986, p. 1-26.

4 Salazar, *The heritage discourse*, p. 23-24.

raised awareness of its values as well as its vulnerability. It also showed its potential in empowering individuals and building resilient communities. Further, the specific *modus operandi* of the 1972 Convention (in relation / without any relation to intangible cultural heritage) generated a fruitful platform for cultural heritage activism, part of which related to ICH, along with a general need of heritage democratization.

This uncomfortable situation on an international policy level was (finally and partly) surpassed with the Programme of Proclamations of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2001, 2003 and 2005, preceding the entry into force of the 2003 Convention. "The programme of the Proclamation adopted an innovative approach assigning a major role to the local communities and to the custodians of the tradition in the safeguarding of their intangible heritage."[5] Heritage elements were selected on the basis of six criteria:

- possessing outstanding value as a Masterpiece of the human creative genius
- rootedness in the cultural tradition or cultural history of the community concerned
- plays a role as means of affirming the cultural identity of the community concerned
- is distinguished by excellence in the application of skills and technical qualities displayed
- constitutes a unique testimony of a living cultural tradition
- is threatened with disappearance due to insufficient means for safeguarding or to processes of rapid change.

Starting with the Proclamation programme we can trace the developments in applying the 2003 Convention, which – seen from today's perspective – seem quite far away from the first ideas on working with and safeguarding of ICH. This is especially so if we look at the first two criteria implying its universal and historical value. These very first inputs towards a general public (potential communities of bearers and practitioners especially) and the heritage sector, generated some kind of long-lasting uncertainty even though everyone 'knew' what ICH is all about.

The clumsy use of terminology, which was relying on the concept of binary oppositions, didn't explain the concept but it rather generated misunderstanding. The term *intangible cultural heritage* was coined as the very opposite to material and tangible. This term, on a conversational level, didn't mean anything in any language before 2003, and more importantly before 2006, after the 2003 Convention entered into force. This obviously raises the question: with whom was/is this heritage communicating? Further, even though one might think that the opposition would exclude one element from the other, the use of the binary system in heritage terminology brought us, paradoxically to a rather new but fastly growing 'problem' embedded in the

5 K. Matsuura, 'Preface', in: UNESCO, *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible heritage of Humanity. Proclamations 2001, 2003 and 2005.* Paris, 2006, p. 3.

idea of the *intangible dimension of tangible heritage*. The problem is reflected in the often witnessed difficulty to differentiate these two concepts. There are still not many works reflecting on this issue from the ICH perspective, but there are many scholars from the 'tangible part' of the heritage sector that often refer to ICH when speaking about the techniques and methods used in building and architecture, or to emotions, stories and memories relating to specific heritage sites, monuments and museum objects. Of course this is not entirely wrong, but a more precise definition of the research subject and choice of wording is needed. I will give one example. When in 2003 professor emeritus Nuobu Ito wrote about the intangible culture of heritage sites and monuments from the ICOMOS position, he starts with a bold statement:

"Intangible culture is the mother of all cultures."[6]

Let's focus on the fact that he didn't use the word 'heritage' in this syntagm. I would like to propose this is because (in this specific context) he was referring not to 'intangible cultural heritage' but rather to culture as "(...) human product moulded and matured in an inspired or cultivated brain."[7] In his truly inspiring text, Ito identifies seven categories or point of interest of intangible culture (!) involved in the tangible cultural heritage. Aware of other subjects that might be of interest in this context, for the purpose of the article, he focuses only on skills related to constructing buildings and spaces: skills on basic planning, on measuring unit, on the decision of measuring unit, on L-shape squares, on lumbering and processing timber, on joints and on special design techniques. He concluded that through such visual information, it is possible to approach the past (!) intangible cultural heritage.

This short paragraph enables us to emphasize a pertinent position of ICH in relationship to tangible cultural heritage. ICH is often understood as supporting knowledge and skill for the conservation of tangible heritage (heritage sites as well as museum objects) and as something frozen in the past. I personally do agree that these skills are part of the intangible cultural heritage, but are in no way 'past ICH' (because something like 'past ICH' doesn't exist) nor the only ICH manifestation related to built (tangible) cultural heritage. If we switch positions and try to understand heritage from the communities' perspective, we will discover many more ways of addressing intangible cultural heritage related to sites, monuments and even objects.

Years ago, I have studied the temple complex of Khajuraho as an Indology and Cultural anthropology student. All of the abovementioned planning, building and design skills, presented by professor Ito were present in a similar way even in the Indian example I was working on. These activities are inseparable from past and present religious' practices or – I might even add – from *knowledge on nature and the universe*. But what was (is) interesting and what I have witnessed during my short stay in Khajuraho, is the way people today

6 N. Ito, '*Intangible cultural heritage involved in tangible cultural heritage*', in: 14th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: *Place, memory, meaning: preserving intangible values in monuments and sites* (27-31/10/2003, Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe), p. 1.

7 Ibidem, p. 1.

still use one of the twenty-two temples for everyday religious purposes. With a fourteen years' distance, my professional experience and the developments in the heritage sector in mind, this is what I would call 'ICH related to heritage sites'. A position where tangible heritage 'supports' intangible heritage's needs and vice-versa.

This position is similarly addressed in Ayesha Pamela Rogers's excellent study *Values and Relationships between Tangible and Intangible Dimensions of Heritage Places.*[8] Writing about the contemporary authorized and unauthorized uses of Ali Mardan Khan's resting place in Lahore, Rogers illustrates the multiple values attributed to it by different communities. The tomb is officially protected and under the care of the provincial Department of Archaeology. It is closed for the public but opens for religious functions on Thursdays, which is regulated by the authorities. At the same time there is another group that uses the tomb, but without the approval of the authorities. This unauthorized use sees female devotees climb to the dome of the tomb and walk around their religious leader seeking fulfilment of their prayers. Although Rogers in her work refers to the intangible dimension of heritage places, as obvious from the title of her article, I will use two cases presented in the article to propose a distinction between 'intangible cultural heritage' and the 'intangible dimension of tangible heritage'.

The contemporary use of the tomb by a group of devotees is clearly a ritual which can be traced in history. It has been transmitted for generations and has a meaning in today's everyday life. This is clearly an ICH practice as understood by the 2003 Convention and it is closely connected with the heritage site as devotees actively use the tomb.

When Rogers presents the case study of the Plain of Jars in the People's Democratic Republic of Lao in the same article, she discusses a multitude of intangible dimensions of this heritage site (from its archaeological value to memorial values on the Secret War) as well as ICH practices and knowledge (tales of giant ancestors and medicinal purposes) related to the same site. It is exactly here that I want to emphasize the often misuse of the concept of intangible cultural heritage by (non)professionals who want to address values related to heritage sites and monuments. Of course values are intangible; but not every knowledge, memory or story related to heritage sites may fall under the concept of 'intangible cultural heritage' as understood by the 2003 Convention. These performative categories represent rather the intangible dimension of the tangible.

I find its unclear usage inappropriate and unethical as it can be misleading for the general public. When using the word intangible in the heritage context, we have to be clear on what kind of intangibility are we referring to. With no critical distance it undermines the meaning of the concept of ICH (mostly oriented towards a more democratic relation of communities and heritage) with possible dangerous consequences. When Laurajane Smith says "all

8 A.P. Rogers, 'Values and Relationships between Tangible and Intangible Dimensions of Heritage Places', in: E. Avrami e.a. (eds.), *Values in Heritage Management: Emerging Approaches and Research Directions.* Los Angeles, 2019, p. 172-185.

heritage is intangible"[9] and Nuobu Ito "intangible culture is the mother of all culture"[10] they address totally different aspects of heritage; Smith primarily that of heritage as a performative practice of valorisation and remembering and Ito skills needed to build and conserve tangible heritage.

From the few examples I presented in the above lines we can see the great potential for a value oriented conservation practice of heritage sites which could in some cases encompass ICH as practice, but also a set of theoretical ideas developed for the sake of safeguarding the very practice or knowledge, but in relation to tangible heritage also as measures of preservation. Unfortunately, as these studies show, the position of CGI in relation to heritage sites is still far away from a dialogic and participatory practice presenting one of the greatest challenges for future oriented heritage practices. Emphasizing the intangible dimension of tangible, as presented in previous lines, minimizes the role of CGIs related to ICH and/or heritage sites, as well as the values underpinning ICH.

Participation and change are the two concepts underlying the essence of understanding / identifying and safeguarding ICH and it is from this same practice that the tangible heritage sector, including museums, can learn.

Intangible cultural heritage and museums

I have been working in an ethnographic museum and in an ecomuseum as a professional program manager, while at the same time being part of the community concerned with a set of ICH practices managed by the ecomuseum. In the past 12 years, I have witnessed ICH and museums working closely together but not 'as one'. These collaborations are nothing new, especially in ethnographic and later to a greater extent in community museums and ecomuseums. Some practices, such as the use of film and photography to contextualize and explain how specific museum objects were used in respective cultures, started with the very first established ethnographic museums and exhibitions. Already in 1900, the anthropologist Félix-Louis Regnault and his colleague Léon Azoulay conceived an audio-visual museum of man, explaining that "having a loom, a lathe, or a javelin is not enough; one must also know how these things are used."[11] Even if the example has a positive note, the general framework within which these practices were delivered bares the burden of colonial power relations. I believe it is the postmodern thought and consequently the post-modern turn in anthropology[12] that influenced much of what has been going on in the heritage sector (and humanities in general) during the second half of the 20th century and accordingly, in what in the 1980s became known as New Museology strongly influenced by de Hugues de Varines's ideas and reflected also on a practical level in the concept of

9 L. Smith, *All Heritage is Intangible*, p. 5-36.

10 N. Ito, *Intangible cultural heritage*, p. 1.

11 J. Rouch, 'The Camera and Man', in: P. Hockings (ed.), *Principles of Visual Anthropology*. Berlin, 2003. p.79-99, p. 81.

12 J. Clifford, James and G. E. Marcus, *Writing culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley, 1986.

ecomuseums.[13] Even though the assumption is that community museums and ecomuseums have a strong orientation to communities and people as active contributors to the (eco)museums' policies and practices, an assessment is strongly needed to address the challenges faced by engaging with these remarkable ideas. The fact that many ecomuseums and community museums lack financing puts them in uncomfortable negotiating positions. It is hard to realize truly inclusive practices where the widest possible interested community (and not only authorized representatives) is actively and responsibly engaged on a managerial level, and collaborating with professionals within the field. It raises the question of the possibility of a genuine New Museological practice.

Museums' social role is not questionable as museums in all possible diverse forms are social practices and contribute to the education and enjoyment of the public.[14] Nevertheless, the emphasis on their social role is more than needed as to align the inequalities within the sector and within societies. For a long period has the elitist and exclusive approach to culture excluded living heritage (sector) but also many groups of people (society) from enjoying and exercising culture in its diverse forms (tangible, intangible, academic and amateur, in museums, in situ, in theatres, on the streets…). When talking about the contemporary social role of museums, we need to overcome the idea of the social role as preserving artefacts and transmitting knowledge for future generations, which indeed already is a social role, but need to strive for transparent and inclusive organisations that pose questions relevant to today's societies and engage with different groups allowing and stipulating interaction and dynamic relations between heritage and people. This is especially needed of course in the tangible sector but intangible cultural heritage in many contexts is also suffering from the 'authoritative heritage discourse syndrome'. It is exactly this specific view of museums' social role that enables us to work actively within both fields and to set in motion the principles as well as skills and knowledge 'stored' within what we regard as the living heritage for a future oriented and inclusive heritage practice. Because, no matter whether we talk about museology or new museology, the 1930s or 1990s, the question is to what extent were CGI involved in the production of knowledge that museums generated and displayed, and to what extent was the research done inside the community available to the same communities afterwards?

A new perspective is emerging. It is not related to the subject of inquiry, but to the epistemology and then methodology of identifying, collecting, documenting, displaying, … heritage making! The practice proposed in the following lines merges museum functions with some of the basic characteristics of ICH and wishes to overcome, among others, the threat of identifying all participation in museums (using stories and memories about

13 A.C. Valentino and B. B. Soares, 'Hugues de Varine', in*:* B. B. Soares (ed.), *A history of Museology. Key authors of museological theory.* Paris, 2019, p. 116-125.

14 *Museum Definition,* https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/ (26/08/2020).

objects as an example) as working with ICH[15] and the fact that the ICH-museum relationship is mostly trapped in the same unidirectional communication, having museums dictating these dynamics and 'using' living heritage for its own purpose (eg. contextualizing objects) and not allowing active participation of practitioners in management of objects related to living heritage practices as one possible example. Even though a lot has changed and positive effects of the collaboration between museum professionals and practitioners are already evident,[16] we need to bear in mind the different socio-political and cultural contexts museums and intangible cultural heritage operate in, and therefore need to emphasize the importance of participation and the continued reflection upon this concept and practice.

Museums can learn from ICH practice (and practitioners), as Léontine Meijer-van Mensch states, in the framework of Fiona Cameron's concept of the 'liquid museum': "This liquid museum tries to be an answer to contemporary museum work issues; a sort of mould to reframe museum realities that we have been living for the past twenty years. (…) Nevertheless, in order to adhere to this concept, especially in conservation and collection management, one would need to rethink and reshuffle what he/she has learned and put in practice for so many years."[17]

And here another question emerges, and that is, whether all museums should engage with ICH. For Art, Technical or Natural History Museums this may sound far-fetched at times. But practice shows, there is space to learn from each other. Before trying to identify some intersecting points, it is important to note that not every encounter with communities means that we as museum professionals engage with ICH. The implications are much deeper.

The next lines are conceived as an exploration of possible heritage practices sprouting on the intersection of museum functions (according to the ICOM museum definition) and ICH safeguarding measures, always questioning if these two should at all work together, needless to say then also work 'as one'. The key difference between preservation (measures commonly applied in museums) and safeguarding (measures related to ICH) is that preservation implicates the need of keeping objects unaltered and prevent decay of materials in this way communicating cultural values embodied in these objects, while safeguarding implicates socio-cultural dynamics that allow people to appropriate activities (and related objects) to the needs of their lives.[18] The idea of a future oriented heritage practice which would reconcile the needs of CGIs with the social role (understood as intertwined in all museum functions,

15 T. Nikolić Đerić, 'Interview with Filomena Sousa', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 33.

16 J.N. Collison, S.K.L. Bell and L. Neel (eds.), *Indigenous Repatriation Handbook*. Victoria, 2019. Available online: https://www.royalbcmuseum.bc.ca/first-nations/repatriation-handbook.

17 T. Nikolić Đerić, 'Interview with Léontine Meijer-van Mensch', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 69.

18 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 72.

as museums – through collection, documentation, exhibitions, educational programmes etc. – serve societies) of museums, is examined through the concept of intersections. The term is borrowed from mathematics as a pragmatic and visual explanation of the new, hybrid practice occurring when museums and ICH CGIs work together. This doesn't mean that I'm hiding away from intersectionality as a methodological[19] and theoretical approach which could be further explored in the heritage discourse to address inequalities and the diverse range of experiences born on different intersecting levels (which heritage, curators background, visitors background, socio-political context informing the practice etc. – the intersecting elements are endless).

These practices, born on the intersecting point of museum functions and ICH safeguarding measures, are further referred to as the 'third space' within the heritage sector. The practice is suggested as a *third practice* as it comes neither from the museum nor from the ICH perspective, but it informs both in accordance to specific needs. The third space is thus a symbolical space that "… enables other positions to emerge."[20] Drawing further from Homi K. Bhabha's insights on critical theory[21] we want to understand these hybrid practices not as a combination of two different 'things' but rather as new sites that are not referable through old principles if we want to be able to "participate in them fully and productively and creatively."[22]

It is worth mentioning that in March 2020 I participated in the ICOMOS Emerging Professionals Working Group (EPWG) webinar presented by professor Cornelius Holtorf from Linnaeus University in Kalmar, Sweden, UNESCO Chair on Heritage Futures. One thing that caught my attention is the very much present concern with adequately addressing the future of heritage, as today it is informed by *presentism*[23] not allowing change to enter into the practice on different levels. The idea underlying ICH is exactly in identifying and allowing change not only in performing the practice, but also understanding it (including not understanding it or leaving to fade).

The intersection methodology proposed in the recently published book *Museum and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*, is straightforward and not innovative in terms of intersecting museum functions and safeguarding measurers. The contribution it delivers lays in accepting the notion of change, informed by dynamic intersubjective relations within the strongly 'socialized' (i.e. emphasizing its social essence and role) heritage field. The exploration of the intersections starts from the basics; the safeguarding

19 It is important to underline that the contribution of intersectionality is in a methodological sense: to anticipate threats and problems/ to investigate all possible networks and relationships building a more responsive heritage practice.

20 J. Rutherford, 'The Third Space. Interview with Homi Bhabha', in: J. Rutherford (ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference.* London, 1990, p. 207-221.

21 H. K. Bhabha, 'The Commitment to theory', *New Formations* 5, 1988, p. 5-23.

22 J. Rutherford, *The Third Space*, p. 216.

23 See also C. Holtorf, 'Conservation and Heritage As Future-Making', in: C. Holtorf, L. Kealy, T. Kono (eds.), *A contemporary provocation: reconstructions as tools of future-making. Selected papers from the ICOMOS University Forum Workshop on Authenticity and Reconstructions (Paris, 13-15 March 2017).* Paris, 2018.

measures as stated in the 2003 Convention and museum functions derived from the ICOM museum definition. Exploring further the ICOM *Code of Ethics for Museums* and the 2003 Convention's Operational Directives, connected to a verity of inspiring practices which were accumulated working within both fields and learning from the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum project* (www.ICHandmuseums.eu), the basics evolve in suggestions for a future oriented heritage practice. The intersections are not covering all aspects of the museum or ICH field as I strongly believe in their disciplinary specificities. Rather, they open up possibilities to work together and improve the status of issues from which the sector and societies can benefit.

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Reenactment and Intangible Heritage

Strategies for Embodiment and Transmission in Museums

Intangible cultural heritage (ICH) is a field of research and cultural policy that has grown significantly since 2000, signalling a shift towards a holistic vision of cultural modalities.

These developments have spawned vigorous debate on the archiving of 'living heritage'. A key question often raised is whether something that is truly vital to cultural identity needs 're-vitalization', suggesting that archiving is an inherently dangerous process that 'freezes' culture within outdated notions of heritage as a non-renewable resource.[1] In parallel, the technical complexities of archiving the 'live' have made museums reliant on fixed point perspectives and linear approaches to representation, thus perpetuating 19th century conventions manifest today as audio-visual recordings.[2] By contrast, many humanists see the application of digital technologies to ICH as a 'green field' ripe for innovation while others envision a future for heritage libraries where digital assets from ICH will be part of augmented, virtual and mixed reality experiences.[3]

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage defines living heritage as that which is transmitted through constant recreation and reenactment, implying that present-day forms of ICH are no less authentic than historical ones. As expertise developed through sensory education, 'reenacted' cultural performances share many attributes with the more classically defined notions of tacit knowledge and 'repertoires' of transmission.[4] Reenactment produces ontologically intensive knowledge in

1 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production', *Museum International* 56: 1/2, 2004, p. 52-65.

2 M. Bonn, L. Kendall and J. McDonough, 'Preserving intangible heritage: Defining a research agenda', *Proceedings of the Association for Information Science and Technology 53*:1, 2016, p. 1-5 and L. Jae-Phil e.a., *Guidebook for the Documentation of Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Daejeon, 2011.

3 G. Cozzani e.a., 'Innovative technologies for intangible cultural heritage education and preservation: the case of i-Treasures', *Personal and Ubiquitous Computing* 21:2, 2017, p. 253-265; and S. Whatley, R. Cisneros and A. Sabiescu, 'Introduction', in: S. Whatley e.a. (eds.), *Digital Echoes*. Cham, 2018, p. 1-7; and A. Doulamis e.a., 'Modelling of Static and Moving Objects: Digitizing Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage', in: M. Ioannides, N. Magnenat-Thalmann and G. Papagiannakis (eds.), *Mixed Reality and Gamification for Cultural Heritage*. Cham, 2017, p. 567-589.

4 D. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham, 2003; D. Taylor, 'Saving the 'Live? Re-Performance and Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Études Anglaises* 69:2, 2016, p. 149-61.

which the 'actors' are placed in the world along with the things or beings being studied.[5] Reenactment not only challenges conventional understandings of heritage and authenticity but is also a vital tool for sustaining and transmitting culture.[6] It encompasses bodily practices that are profoundly experiential; replacing interpretation with action, experience and impact.[7] Reenactment is thus a space for immersion, made vital by its participants, transcending orthodox Western mind-matter dualisms to produce new agencies, materialities, intercorporealities, kinetic empathy, sympathetic imagination, haptic communication and dialogue.[8]

Cultural heritage is often described as being invested in places, objects or materials, however we know that it is bodies that are crucial to cultural transmission. The increasing popularity of reenacted cultural performances signals how sustained forms of sensory education might share common traits with classically defined notions of ICH that claim to be embedded in tacit knowledge and repertoires of transmission.

There is however little scope as yet for including embodied expressions of cultural heritage in museums, despite increasing engagement with audiences in immersive and interactive museological models. As such, the future of ICH in museums faces the risk of being caught between these two incongruous frameworks – that of the 19th century archival archetype, which preserves or fossilises rather than enlivening heritage, and that of the technological complexity of archiving the 'live'. As we will see in the course of this article, the next generation of immersive system designs has arguably transformed viewers into mobile agents and interactors, to fundamentally change the relative passivity of viewers in relation to the screen, transcending subject-object relations.

This article pivots on the interplay of different forms of intangibility (living heritage and reenactment heritage) and the way technologically enabled practices might reshape the role and transformation of ICH in museums. I introduce three cultural heritage digitisation research projects and their associated museological interventions that form part of the research at the Laboratory for Experimental Museology (eM+) at *École polytechnique*

5 S. Lash, *Intensive Culture: Social Theory, Religion and Contemporary Capitalism*. London, 2010.

6 E. Burkart, 'Limits of Understanding in the Study of Lost Martial Arts, Epistemological Reflections on the Mediality of Historical Records of Technique and the Status of Modern', *(Re)Constructions, Acta Periodica Duellatorum* 4:2, 2016, p. 5-30.

7 A. Boswijk, T. Thijssen and E. Peelen, *The Experience Economy. A New Perspective*. Amsterdam, 2007; B. Knudsen and A. Waade (eds.), *Re-Investing Authenticity. Tourism, Place and Emotions*. Bristol, 2010; S. Lash and C. Lury, *Global Culture Industry: The Mediation of Things*. Cambridge, 2007.

8 See M. Daugbjerg, R. Eisner and B. Knudsen, 'Re-Enacting the Past: Vivifying Heritage "Again"', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20:7/8, 2014, p. 681-687; and D. Jaquet e.a., 'Range of Motion and Energy Cost of Locomotion of the Late Medieval Armoured Fighter: A Proof of Concept of Confronting the Medieval Technical Literature with Modern Movement Analysis', *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History* 49:3, 2016, p. 169-186; and L. Smith. 'All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums', in: R. Knoop, P. van der Pol and W. Wesselink (eds.), *All Heritage is Intangible: Critical Heritage Studies and Museums*. Weert, 2011, p. 6-35; G. Weissman, *Fantasies of Witnessing. Postwar Efforts to Experience the Holocaust*. Ithaca, 2004.

fédérale de Lausanne, Switzerland. The Laboratory focuses on the intersection of immersive visualisation technologies, visual analytics, aesthetics and cultural (big) data. One of the core research themes of eM+ pioneers 'whole of environment' encoding for ICH. The examples chosen for this chapter take up this new approach and include the living heritage of South Chinese martial arts in Hong Kong, and the ritual reenactments arising from the canonical Confucian performance manual *YiLi* from the Book of Etiquette and Rites.[9] Both projects were initiated in 2012 and are ongoing. The third project is an interactive re-performance of the poetic oeuvre of Edwin Thumboo, Singapore's leading living poet, created between 2013 and 2018 in two distinct environments/interfaces. Through use of multimodal encoding, algorithmic reenactment, recombinatory narrative and kinaesthetic digital interfaces, these three projects signal important new forms of museological experience arising from embodied cognition that have the potential to transmit ICH in museums.[10]

Hong Kong Martial Arts Living Archive

The Hong Kong Martial Arts Living Archive (HKMALA) was instigated in 2012 as an ongoing research collaboration between the International Guoshu Association, City University of Hong Kong, and the Laboratory for Experimental Museology (eM+) at EPFL. Thus far, the project has generated eight international exhibitions, including *Kung Fu Motion* at EPFL's ArtLab in 2018 and the Immigration Museum Melbourne in 2017, and *300 Years of Hakka Kung Fu* (2016) at the Heritage Museum and CityU Galleries, Hong Kong, China. This archival project responds to the decline of Southern Chinese kung fu in mainland China, where traditional martial arts practices have largely already vanished. Hong Kong nonetheless remains a significant hub for elite practitioners, where some of the most prominent martial artists in the world still practice. But Hong Kong's civil and political unrest, as well as rapid urban development, population growth and the aging of the masters are seriously endangering the last living vestiges of these ancient practices.

Recent scholarship has underscored the vitality of performative archives as living repertoires of memory, even though performance is not always

9 儀禮 *Yili* primary source for 'Remaking the Confucian Rites' (汉) 郑玄注、(唐) 贾公彦疏《仪礼注疏》五十卷，《文渊阁四库全书》本；《十三经注疏》本，中华书局，1957 年。(Han) Zheng Xuan, (Tang) Jia Gongyan, *Yili zhushu*, 50 volumes, Zhonghua Book Company, 1957.

10 S. Kenderdine, 'Embodiment, entanglement and immersion in digital cultural heritage', in: S. Schreibman, R. Siemens and J. Unsworth (eds.), *A New Companion to Digital Humanities*. Oxford, 2016, p. 22-41; and S. Kenderdine, 'Travelling Kungkarangkalpa', in: M. Neale (ed.), *Songlines: Tracking the Seven Sisters*. Canberra, 2017, p. 82-85.

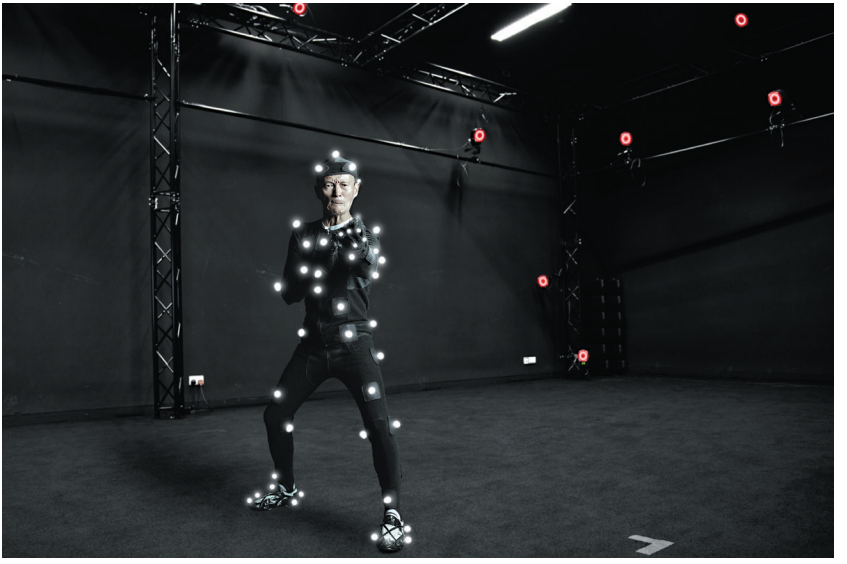

Figure 1. Motion capture of Kung Fu master, City University of Hong Kong © HKMALA, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2012).

considered as a legitimate means of authoring an historical account.[11] Yet Laurajane Smith underscores that, in contrast to the "Western idea of heritage" which assumes that the past can be "mapped, studied, managed, preserved and/or conserved", in other cultural contexts heritage can be "a multilayered performance (...) that embodies acts of remembrance and commemoration while (...) constructing a sense of place, belonging and understanding in the present".[12] Similarly, kung fu involves a person-to-person exchange that takes place between an expert and a novice.[13] Learning kung fu requires the imitation of movements of a master or an instructor.[14] The question of how to translate this embodied knowledge via 'motion as meaning' is central to the

11 M. Bal, 'Memory Acts: Performing Subjectivity', *boijmans bulletin*, 1:2, 2001, p. 8-18; and M. Bal, J. Crewe, and L. Spitzer (eds.), *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover, 1998; B. Spatz, *What a Body Can Do: Technique as Knowledge, Practice as Research. What a Body Can Do: Technique as Knowledge, Practice as Research*. London, 2015; D. Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire. Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas.* Durham NC, 2003; and D. Taylor, 'Saving the "Live"? Re-performance and Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Études Anglaises* 69:2 (2016) p. 149-161; and B. Trezise, *Performing Feeling in Cultures of Memory*. London, 2014.

12 L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*. New York, 2006, p. 3.

13 T. Komura e.a., 'e-Learning martial arts', in: L. Wenyunn L. Qing and WH.L, Ryson (eds.) *Proceedings of the 5th International Conference on Advances in Web Based Learning.* Berlin, 2006, p. 239-248.

14 J. Chan e.a., 'A virtual reality dance training system using motion capture technology', *IEEE Transactions on Learning Technologies* 4:2, 2011, p. 187-195.

Figure 2. Pose Matching in *300 Years of Hakka Kung Fu*, Hong Kong Heritage Museum, Hong Kong, China © HKMALA, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2016).

Hong Kong Martial Arts Living Archive project. Specifically, how embodied activity can 'migrate' from expert to novice without a living master of which processes of motion capture (Fig. 1).[15]

Multimodal participation is a core aspect of the project philosophy, which clearly comes into play in the HKMALA *Pose Matching* installation, created for the ArtLab exhibition *Kung Fu Motion* in 2018 (Fig. 2). It specifically deploys technologies of 'gamification' to pair the participant-actor with a human-scaled projection screen. Once having taken this position, the actor is tracked using sensors that 'motion capture' their movement and body position in order to 'match' these with a video sequence of poses presented on the screen, originally performed by a kung fu master. As the actor configures their body to match these poses, a corporeal conjunction is created, in which the somatic memory of the kung fu master is imprinted on the participant's body. The viewer's endeavour is simply to see how quickly they can configure their body to match these poses, and the 'reward' credo of the videogame constructs success or failure within a given time limit. In this way, the installation appropriates the videogame vernacular to create a corporeal conjunction between the body of the viewer and the body of the kung fu master, thereby imprinting the somatic memory of kung fu on the viewers' bodies. This pose matching installation moreover elicits the production of "embodied artifacts", as Trninic and Abrahamson underscore generally for these technologies (2012) in a generative process that enlivens the arguably crucial capacity of "novel

15 S. Kenderdine and J. Shaw, 'Archives in Motion. Motion as Meaning', in: O. Grau (ed.), *Museum and Archive on the Move: Changing Cultural Institutions in the Digital Era.* Berlin, 2017, p. 211-233.

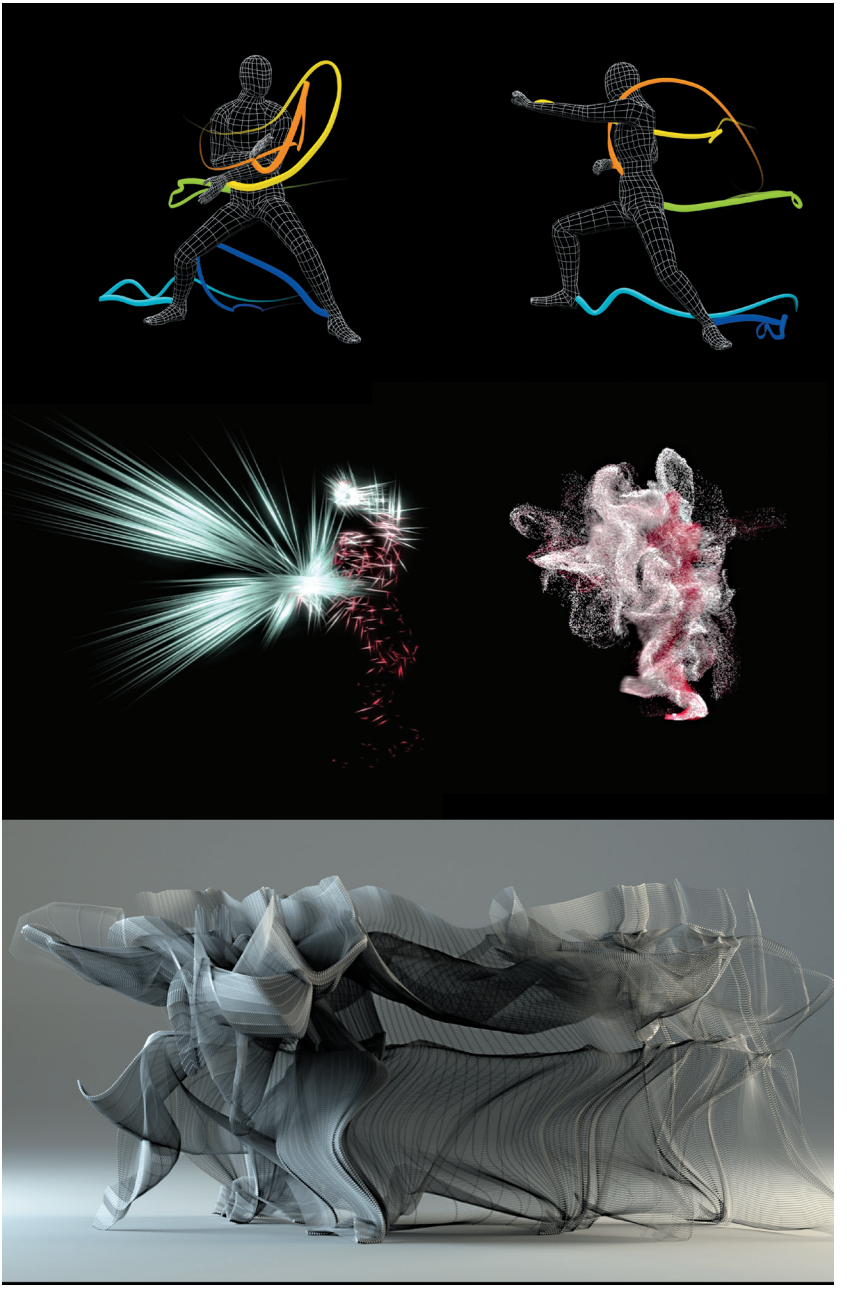

Figure 3. Visualisation and motion over time analytics from motion sequences © HKMALA, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2016).

Figure 4. Reactor in *300 Years of Hakka Kung Fu,* Hong Kong Heritage Museum, Hong Kong, China © HKMALA, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2016).

motion-sensitive cyber-technologies to both craft and leverage embodied artifacts as a means of fostering learning."[16] The result is both a cultural reclamation and reinstatement of an invaluable teaching and learning tool for current and future generations of kung fu practitioners. The difficulty facing this heritage remains critical, due to the ongoing challenge of ensuring this vitally 'live' archive can be performed, it continues to exist in and through the body.

Situated within a panoptic virtual reality environment – the eM+ Re-ACTOR system – *Kung Fu Visualization* reveals the intricate dynamics of the kung fu master's reenacted performances via serial 3D motion-captures from six different points of view, with an interactive control panel that allows visitors to select six different visualisation styles that elucidate the underlying dynamics of the master's movements (Fig. 3 & Fig. 4). This work brings together historical materials with creative visualisations derived from advanced documentation processes, including motion capture, motion-over-time analytics, 3D reconstruction, and panoramic video, which are re-interpreted and re-performed through the mediums of augmented virtual reality and interactive media art, as configured on the Re-ACTOR display.

16 D. Trninic and D. Abrahamson, 'Embodied Artifacts in Action and Conceptual Performances', in: J. v. Aalst et. al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference of the Learning* Sciences*: Future of Learning*. Sydney, 2012, p. 283.

Figure 5. Digital reconstruction of Lam Sai Wing in *Kung Fu Motion*, EPFL ArtLab © HKMALA, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2018).

In the potential absence of masters the multiple modalities of the HKMALA archive's materials can act as a vital digital or multimedia prosthesis for memory, moreover as proxies that foreground the body as the principle site of the repertoire and the holder of knowledge. This goes beyond the knowledge of style 'sets' and movement itself and refers to tangible aspects of kung fu traditions and consideration of these practices as holistic philosophies and ways of life. In the context of cultural heritage, the benefit of interactive platforms combined with HKMALA's multiple forms allows for a mode of engagement that situates the public in the act of re-producing heritage – or what might be interpreted as the 'social production of heritage'.

Another original modality for re-embodied transaction is the *Digital reconstruction of Lam Sai Wing* (2018), a video extrapolated from an avatar created from a real kung fu master practitioner of south Chinese traditions in Hong Kong (Fig. 5). This virtual reconstruction builds on developments in Hollywood movie and game industries, which have perfected the manufacture of 3D human avatars, while animation brings these replicates to convincing life. Prior to this work, the same technique was applied to re-create a performance of Iron Wire Boxing by Lam Sai Wing. In this instance, the late master's facial and bodily features were digitally reconstructed with reference to old photographic portraits. These were mapped onto of his martial arts movements, simulated with data extracted from contemporary reenactments performed by his descendant, Master Oscar Lam. The result is both a cultural reclamation and reinstatement of an invaluable teaching and learning tool for current and future generations of kung fu practitioners. The difficulty facing this heritage remains critical, due to the ongoing marginalisation of this vitally 'live' archive, which must be performed in order to exist.

The installations deployed in HKMALA offer direct engagement with kung fu embodied knowledge. They constitute a specific operational and aesthetic strategy that sets out to overcome both the Chinese and global relegation of vital cultural practices to a position of 'past-ness'. By providing the circumstances for embodied knowledge transmission, digital strategies can help to sustain intangible heritage despite the difficulties associated with documenting the ephemeral, codifying the tacit, and mediating the embodied. With these new approaches HKMALA creates practical strategies for encoding, retrieving and reenacting intangible heritage in ways that allow these archives at risk to be 'alive' in the present, which in the absence of masters may be the only prosthesis for future memory.

Remaking the Confucian Rites

The *Remaking the Confucian Rites* project, which commenced in 2012, highlights the possibilities for the archiving and exhibition of ICH, and is an undertaking that continues through an international partnership between Jia Li Hall Digital Platform, Hong Kong, along with Tsinghua University Centre for Ritual Studies, Beijing, City University, Hong Kong, and eM+ at EPFL. This project utilises

Figure 6. Actors performing great archery meet in a green-screen film studio in Beijing © RCR (2016).

advanced digital techniques, including motion capture and augmented-reality annotation of movement as a new performance mode for the contemporary reenactment of Confucian rituals in conjunction with an analytical re-reading of the 1st century (CE) version of the *Book of Etiquettes and Rites* (*Yili* 儀禮). Once a core text on Zhou dynasty social behaviour and ceremonial ritual, central to the Confucian canon for thousands of years, *Yili* was violently rejected by modernisers at the end of dynastic China, precipitating a breakdown in cultural transmission. *Remaking the Confucian Rites* revives *li* studies as a system of awareness and embodied practice that also reflects recent rapid changes to Chinese people's sensibilities in terms of their physical bodies and embodied self through modernisation.

Beyond China, reenactment has been gaining widespread popular appeal. From witnessing battle scenes and historic European martial arts to watching the reperformance of performing art or ancient rites of passage, reenactment offers non-specialist audiences 'authentic' encounters with history.[17] Scholars now argue that reenactment engages in complex temporalities and that it produces ontologically intense knowledge by placing 'actors' in the same world as the cultural objects being studied.[18] Reenactment replaces detached interpretation with physical connection, action, experience and impact, and as embodied historiography it entails "a process of critical thinking" that permits us to "dig deeper" than in standard modes of historicol production and reception.[19] Yet, in order to transmit the past into the present through reenactment, mediation is required between reenactors and audiences. This mediation takes on diverse expressive forms such as pageant, theatre, performance, film, and more recently in the form of video games, which as a medium of history and of heritage production is defined by the archival properties of reception, storage and transmission.[20]

My own research has shown that immersive and interactive interface visualisations of codified reenactments can return historical forms of somatic practice to their anthropocentric and ontological status.[21] Tacit experience has proven to be particularly resistant to computational advances in data science and graphics modelling; technologies that have however been very

17 S. Gapps, 'Black-Facing for the Explorers', in: V. Agnew and J. Lamb (eds.), *Settler and Creole Re-Enactment*. New York, 2009, p. 208-220.

18 S.M. Lash, *Intensive Culture. Social Theory, Religion and Contemporary Capitalism.* Oxford, 2010; and R. Schneider, *Performing Remains. Art and War in times of Theatrical Reenactment.* New York, 2011.

19 E. Waterton and S. Watson, 'Framing Theory: Towards a Critical Imagination in Heritage Studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19:6, 2013, p. 546-561.

20 M. Mulhe, 'Mediality', in: V. Agnew, J. Lamb and J. Tomann (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Reenactment Studies.* London, 2020, p. 133-137.

21 See S. Kenderdine and J. Shaw 'Archives in Motion. Motion as Meaning', in: O. Grau, W. Coones and V. Rühse (eds.), *Museum and archive on the move: changing cultural institutions in the digital era?* Berlin and Boston, 2019; and S. Kenderdine and J. Shaw, 'The Museological Re-enactment of Lingnan Hung Kuen', in: Hing Chao (ed.), *Lingnan Hung Kuen Across the Century: Kung Fu Narratives in Cinema and Community.* Hong Kong, 2018, p. 137-159.

Figure 7. 'Remaking the Confucian Rites' in *Beyond the Globe - 8th Triennial of Contemporary Art, U3*, Moderna galerija, Ljubljana, Slovenia © RCR, Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2016).

successfully applied to material cultural heritage. From performance and dance through to intangible cultural heritage, scholars assert that the real revolution in digitisation of embodied knowledge is yet to come.[22]

The *Remaking the Confucian Rites* project integrates objects within live performances using advanced computer graphics to model architectures, costumes, ritual utensils, musical instruments and weapons. This method models archivable movements into a 4D motion library and develops machine learning for texture mapping and simulation. Its real-time methods inaugurate opportunities for highly accurate scholarly interventions in scenography, while reducing expensive speculation made on inaccurate models, and opening up scholarship based on reenactment to dialogue and intervention. Of the total seventeen Rites, three have so far been recorded, with elite actors from the Beijing Opera working alongside amateur performers. Of these, the Rite of 'Capping Ceremony of a Minor Official's Son' has been developed into an interactive application in which motion capture and augmented-reality annotation of movement enliven these re-envisioned performances. Another three-screen video offers a linear exposition of the 'Capping Rite', with an interactive application that offers the user a hyperlinked database, enabling deeper exploration of the layers of embodied knowledge and rich historical meanings (Fig. 7).

22 See A. Aristidou e.a., 'Style-based Motion Analysis for Dance Composition', *International. Journal of Computer. Games Technology* 34, 2018, p. 1-13; and N. Doulamis e.a., *Modelling of Static and Moving Objects;* and, Whatley, Cisneros and Sabiescu, *Introduction*.

With the objective of generating a historically-informed set of modelled characters, alongside ritual motion schemas, this project intends to configure an authenticated algorithmically-driven world of reperformable Confucian Rites. The asset library and its coding interface will form the basis of a new networked 'choreography' platform for scholars and, interactive museum installations for publics. It enables additionally embodied transfer by addressing the entire lifecycle of data curation, with theoretical implications for the historical transmission of tacit knowledge. Making this creative and conceptual leap will reframe interpretative and discursive practices, providing a new visual language tool through which to think across aesthetic, physical, socio-cultural and metaphysical meanings. The visualisation of these semantics could profoundly change the way we are able to conceptualise and thus access embodied knowledge via the digital. As it generates intelligent systems for 1:1 scale embodied interaction with the Confucian Rites, defined by algorithmically encoded parameters, the project's novel digital intervention offers the chance to reactivate the embodied Confucian repertoire from its current dormant status via immersive interactive interfaces that facilitate active bodily interaction. In doing so, this research project envisages new forms of embodied interaction and methods for transmission for ICH.

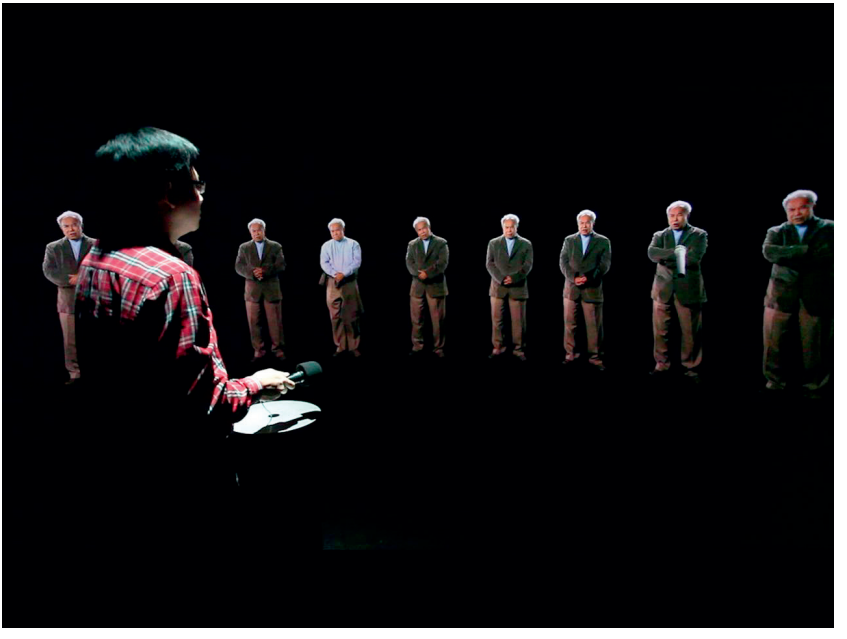

Figure 8. *The Infinite Line, in Twofold Exhibition*, Jeffrey Shaw and Hu Jieming, Chronus Art Center, Shanghai, China © Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2014).

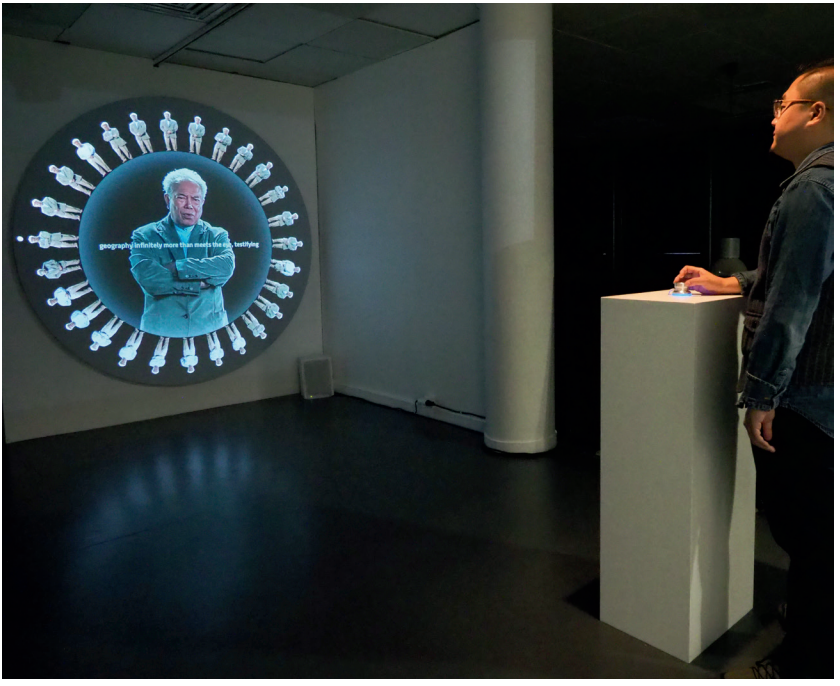

Figure 9: *Recombinatory Poetry Wheel, Thinking Machines, Passé Augmenté x Présent Augmenté*, Arts Center of Enghien-les-Bains, Enghien-les-Bains, France © Sarah Kenderdine & Jeffrey Shaw (2019).

Infinite Line

Presented in an immersive 360-degree projection theatre, *Infinite Line* (2014) proposes a new mode of spectatorship in the performance of poetry, as it provides visitors the opportunity to recombine the poetic ensemble of the preeminent Singaporean poet Edwin Thumboo. Having made video recordings of Thumboo reciting twenty-seven of the finest poems he composed throughout his career, the artwork's interactive design engages visitors with the surrounding twenty-seven life-sized video recitals performed by Edwin Thumboo which they can randomly access and intermix individual lines of Thumboo's poetry to create a spontaneous rereading of his texts (Fig 8).

The *Recombinatory Poetry Wheel* is an aesthetic and technical reformulation of this earlier installation. Instead of the cylindrical projection screen, it features a 200 cm diameter circular wall-projected image with a clock-like arrangement of twenty-seven figures of Edwin Thumboo (Fig. 9). The visitor uses a circular knob to rotate a white dot around the edge of the circle to select one of the figures and thereby trigger the poet's reading of a specific line, which continues until the dial is turned again and another figure is chosen. By moving the marker from one figure to another, the viewer interrupts the ongoing reading and cuts to the reading of another poem. Also displayed as printed texts across the centre of the screen, the resulting indeterminate assembly of Thumboo's poetry readings coalesce to form new poetic entities.

Both versions of *Infinite Line* and *Recombinatory Poetry Wheel* foster interactive performances that re-mediate the bodily and literary repertoire of Edwin Thumboo. The most immediate analogic antecedent and inspiration for the work is Raymond Queneau's magnificent *Cent mille milliards de poèmes* (1961), which was printed in such a way that every line could be separated and rearranged. The artwork also has lineages in the old parlour game of 'consequences', the Surrealist 'cadavre exquis' and the literary cut-ups of William Burroughs and Brion Gyson. Today's digital systems have provided powerful means for media artists to create modular, navigable and emergent narratives via interactively accessible audio-visual databases. And the recombinatory poetics of these two works provide the viewer with the opportunity to explore manifold possible amalgamations of these twenty-seven poems, thereby creating personal 'meta-poems' with emergent vectors of meaning. Despite the prospect of an unlimited unfolding of multi-temporal narrative conjunctions, their de- and reconstruction nonetheless maintain the unity of thought and form in the identity of Thumboo's authorship.

Conclusion

The three examples chosen for this chapter are examples of the possibilities of digital affordances for intangible cultural heritage and of novel embodied relationships with historical memory and its restaging in the museum. What is at stake is the critical attention paid to both the body being represented as well as the viewer's engagement with an affective simulation in an exhibition. Interactive, immersive displays and augmented, virtual and mixed reality experiences are moreover already transforming how we conserve and engage with ICH, including the prospect of fundamental advances for reenactment heritage and the transmission of tacit cultural knowledge via methodological, representational and theoretical breakthroughs in 'whole of environment' encoding. These examples reveal that there are vibrant futures for ICH documentation and exhibition through experimental museology, challenging conventional understandings of heritage and authenticity as well as offering vital tools for sustaining and transmitting culture.

As museums extend their traditional spaces and interpretative programmes to encompass these new modalities, there is an even more urgent need for them to ensure that technologies are made available for the analysis and transmission of tacit knowledge for curators and scholars, as well as for communities and publics. Yet, if the understanding that the digital 'remaking' of ICH is a fundamental means of safeguarding knowledge for the future can be combined with expert interpretation and communities of practice, these approaches could create crucial alternatives for cultural heritage in museums beyond orthodox preservation strategies.

SOPHIE ELPERS

Past and Future Presencing in Museums

Four Cases of Engaging with Intangible Heritage from the Netherlands

Museums in a rapidly changing world

In the context of the various rapid transformations taking place in the world today, the roles of museums are being rethought, resulting in urgent requests for engagement as regards the current questions and challenges facing human societies. Museums are being required to reflect upon those challenges, to be a forum for discussions and negotiations, and to take up an activist approach towards the future, as highlighted forcefully by diverse scholars and museum experts such as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett or Fiona Cameron.[1] Concepts like the 'post-museum', the 'network museum', the 'disruptive museum', or the 'liquid museum', that all, more or less, describe museums as self-reflexive democratic institutions operating in complex interconnected networks and embracing different world views are getting more and more attention in museum practice.[2] The in 2019 highly debated proposal of a new museum definition of the International Council of Museums, that calls for moving from a 'passive observer' to a more activist role in society, is also an example of this. This rethinking corresponds to the postulation that museums should become participative, actively engaging people as cultural participants and not as passive consumers, and co-creating together with individuals and communities.

At the same time that ideas about various highly needed reconceptualizations of museums are being brought forward, the awareness of the concept of 'intangible cultural heritage' is growing significantly. The concept of intangible cultural heritage, as it has been essentially established and put into operation by the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, describes the radical contemporary character of living cultural heritage, stresses the central role of the practitioners (heritage

1 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett at SIEF2019 closing event, available via: https://vimeo.com/362078953; F. Cameron, 'The Liquid Museum: New Institutional Ontologies for a Complex, Uncertain World', in: A. Witcomb, and K. Message (eds.), *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies: Museum Theories*. New Jersey, 2015, p. 345-361.

2 For example, Cameron, *The Liquid Museum*; A. Odding, *Het disruptieve museum*. The Hague, 2011; N. Simon, *The participatory museum*. Santa Cruz, 2010; E. Hooper-Greenhill, 'Culture and meaning in the museum', in: E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*. New York, 2005 (2000), p. 1-22.

communities) who are highly engaged with their heritage, claims bottom-up, participative approaches, and focuses on the dynamic safeguarding of the heritage – which is constantly evolving and changing – towards the future.[3]

This coincidence, which is not by chance, but has to do with attempts to democratize and decolonize, and approach culture inclusively, encourages the intangible cultural heritage sector to stimulate museums to actively engage with intangible cultural heritage and its practitioners and include the approaches of the intangible heritage paradigm in their work in general.[4] To get there, intangible heritage brokers[5] provide museum professionals with inspirational and pragmatic methodological tools emphasizing the "great potential [of intangible cultural heritage] to address pressing issues in today's world in innovative ways, and to contribute to the identification and implementation of sustainable solutions" for the future.[6]

My argument, however, is that in the museum sector broader time alignments are critical when engaging with intangible cultural heritage. The multidirectional relationships between the past, present and future that museums create and use when working with intangible cultural heritage will have to be taken into account more profoundly in the discourse about building bridges across, and collaborating between, the sectors.

Four cases of engaging with intangible heritage from the Netherlands

Which choices do museums in the Netherlands make when they decide to work with intangible cultural heritage and collaborate with its bearers? Which ambitions concerning the museums' contribution to knowledge about the past, their interpretation of the present, and the shaping of the future form the basis for the engagement? To try and answer this, I will analyze the approaches of four museums in more detail: an open-air museum, a city museum, a museum of religious culture, and a regional museum.

3 *Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (26/07/2020).

4 This is supported by the demands and advice of the cultural policy framework of both UNESCO and ICOM, see: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 110-111.

5 M. Jacobs, 'Cultural Brokerage, Addressing Boundaries and the New Paradigm of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. Folklore Studies, Transdisciplinary Perspectives and UNESCO', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 265-291 [Special issue - Cultural Brokerage].

6 *Declaration on the dynamic engagement between a multiplicity of actors from the fields of museums and intangible cultural heritage*, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/toolbox/imp-declaration (26/07/2020); see also: *A Toolkit for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage together with Museums,* https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/imp-toolkit (30/05/2020).

Dutch Open Air Museum

The Dutch Open Air Museum (Arnhem) positions itself explicitly as a museum focusing on the history of everyday life in the Netherlands. Next to the outdoor museum, that shows many historical ways of living and working in rural and urban contexts, there is also an indoor museum, which opened its doors in 2017, that displays the 'Canon of Dutch History'. In fifty topics (or 'windows'), the most important events, individuals, and objects of Dutch history are presented, including a topic about slavery between the 17th and the 19th centuries – a topic which was neglected in Dutch society for a long time.

Corresponding with this 'window' of slavery, the museum retraces (the history of) slavery through a collaboration with storytellers performing Afro-Caribbean stories. Through the slavery trade, the stories have been transferred from West-Africa to the Dutch colonies Suriname and the Antilles where they became part of the living oral tradition. With the arrival of many citizens from Suriname and the Antilles after the Second World War, the stories entered the Netherlands and can be described as vibrant living heritage today. One of the central storylines is about a human-like spider called Anansi.

Several times per week the museum gives Anansi storytellers and performers the floor in the outdoor museum. The museum also supports trainings for new storytellers, mostly with Antillian or Surinamese roots.[7]

The tradition of Anansi storytelling is inextricably linked with the history of the slave trade. In addition to the live performance of the stories, a film is shown in which people from Ghana, the Caribbean, and the Netherlands speak about their relationship with, and their memories from slavery. The Anansi storytellers are also available to talk to the museum's visitors and answer questions about the transatlantic slave trade.[8]

Museum Catharijneconvent

Museum Catharijneconvent (Catherine's Convent) in Utrecht tells the history of Christianity in the Netherlands. It preserves a rich collection of religious heritage, including precious objects relating to the city of Utrecht's patron Sint-Maarten (Saint Martin) and his veneration from the 15th to the middle of the 20th century. Since 2016 the museum has been actively involved in the current Saint Martin's festival in Utrecht. Based on the legend of Saint Martin, the festival propagates ideals of togetherness, sharing and justice in the diverse secular urban society. In 2011 a Saint Martin parade was instigated that has become a recurring annual event taking place in November during which a large procession of people holding self-made light-sculptures, preceded by

7 At the same time as the museum was creating a space where Anansi tales could be shared and the tradition of Anansi storytelling could be passed on to future generations through workshops, the culture of Anansi storytelling was recognized and listed by the Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands. This Inventory is part of the implementation of the UNSECO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage which the Netherlands ratified in 2012.

8 S. Elpers e.a. (eds.) 'Special issue - Immaterieel erfgoed en musea', *Museumpeil* 49, 2018, p. 18-19.

Figure 1. Anansi Story Telling in the Dutch Open Air Museum. Photo: Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Figure 2. Staff from Museum Catharijneconvent places shrine with Saint Martin relic along the path of the parade. Photo: Billie-Jo Krul-4443.

a large light-sculpture of Saint Martin, makes its way through the city. The procession attracts thousands of participants every year.[9]

For several years, the procession would end at the inner court of the museum, after which the museum would open its doors to everyone, free of charge. As the tradition grew to high levels of popularity, the end point had to be relocated. Since 2019, the museum has actually been going to the procession: in 2019, a central item from the museum's Saint Martin collection, a reliquary (20th century) with a piece of the saint's skull, was placed along the route of the procession. The employees of the museum have also constructed some light-sculptures together with the residents of an asylum seekers' center, sculptures that were then carried by participants during the procession itself. After the

9 In 2012, the Saint Martin celebration was placed on the Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Netherlands.

procession, the most beautiful light-sculptures were displayed in Utrecht Cathedral, an initiative that was organized by the Museum Catharijneconvent.

Remnants of the procession can also be found in the museum. In addition to the historic artefacts that tell about the history of the veneration of Saint Martin, a light-sculpture from the procession, created by the residents of Utrecht, is displayed, and a video clip about the procession is shown. The museum also offers workshops a few weeks prior to the procession in which residents of Utrecht can make their own processional light-sculptures.[10]

Zeeuws Museum

The next case is a regional museum engaging with crafts as intangible cultural heritage. The museum of the province of Zeeland, *Zeeuws museum* (Middelburg) preserves a large variety of arts and crafts, fashion and regional costumes. In the HANDWERK (handicraft) project (2013-2017), the museum traced the various ways in which the traditional clothes of the region were made as they tracked down and filmed the few people left that know how to fold items using traditional techniques. The knowledge and skills that go into making these clothes are on the verge of being lost, and documenting this expertise is therefore of great importance for the museum.

The museum also brought the local craftsmen and vocational students and designers together. The aim was to pass on the knowledge and skills connected with the making of the clothes to students and designers so that they could use them as inspiration for new (fashion) products.

The museum has had a permanent arts and crafts area for several years now. It is a place where demonstrations and workshops are held on the production of traditional clothing. Visitors can create something for themselves and can get

Figure 3. Zeeuws Museum: Mrs. Vos teaches students traditional folding techniques. Photo: Urbi et orbi filmstill.

10 Interview with Dimphy Schreurs, conservator Museum Catharijneconvent, in April 2020; Elpers, *Special issue - Immaterieel erfgoed*, p. 17-18, 23.

guidance from instructional videos and volunteers with know-how. The arts and crafts area is also a place where visitors can share their own experiences and knowledge on traditional clothing.

Keeping the heritage alive and transferring the know-how to future generations is supported by the museum shop that sells patterns, fabrics, buttons, and bead material.[11]

Museum Rotterdam

The last case of engagement with intangible cultural heritage is the so-called 'Active Collection Centre' of the museum of the superdiverse city of Rotterdam. Rotterdam's superdiverse cultural composition – the residents' roots lie in over 170 countries – is one of the city's main challenges today.[12]

The museum manages the collection of historical objects from the city of Rotterdam. However, central to today's policies of the former Historic Museum of Rotterdam are the contemporary stories and heritage of the diverse inhabitants of the city. Within the 'Active Collection Centre'/'Authentic Rotterdam Heritage collection' of the museum, residents are invited to explore the contemporary heritage of the city. They are invited to join the museum in a council and identify or rather label as heritage: "Rotterdammers whose activities are informed by improving or changing the city", "heritage traditions that are continued or renewed by Rotterdam's communities", and "artistic cultural activities that connect Rotterdammers."[13] Whereas the criteria at the beginning of the project in 2017 still involved a relationship to a historical development or object, in 2019 the criteria prescribed that: the heritage is from Rotterdam, it is topical, it is actively working for others and/or the city, it is open to connection, it adds something to the city.[14]

After the decision regarding a new item of heritage has been taken, the participant or activity is added to the list of 'Authentic Rotterdam Heritage' – both online and in the museum.[15] In the first years of the project, the museum also linked a historical predecessor (which might be an object and/or a story) to the new heritage. However, the focus of the museum is now on bringing the contemporary heritage bearers and their activities into contact with each other and to stimulate future collaboration in order to shape the city in an inclusive way. Here the museum prefers the concept of an 'encounter' to that of an 'exhibition'.[16]

At the end of 2019, the 'Authentic Rotterdam Heritage' collection had eighty items and I would like to name three examples here: (1) The Humanitas

11 Interview with Marjan Ruiter, director Zeeuws Museum, in April 2020; Elpers, *Special issue - Immaterieel erfgoed*, 2018, p. 26.

12 Nikolić Đerić, *Museums*, p. 55.

13 N. Van Dijk, *Authentic Rotterdam Heritage, Part 2. The approach to new heritage*. Rotterdam, 2019, p. 21.

14 Van Dijk, *Authentic Rotterdam Heritage*, p. 11.

15 The concerned person or community receives a certificate with an 'Authentic Rotterdam Heritage' stamp – which symbolizes that heritage making means labelling things as heritage – and a registration number in the collection.

16 N. Van Dijk e.a. (eds.), *Authentic Rotterdam Heritage, Part 1. 55 go-getters, doers and connectors*. Rotterdam, 2018, p. 7.

Figure 4. Museum Rotterdam brings diverse heritage communities together, here during the book presentation of Authentic Rotterdam Heritage, part 2. Photo: Museum Rotterdam.

Foundation takes care of the Rotterdam region's most vulnerable people, from ages zero to one hundred+. When it received the label 'heritage', the museum linked it to the object of a gable stone from 1609 which originally decorated one of the five Rotterdam shelters for poor people. (2) Another heritage item is the Fred Kulturu Shop which promotes the spiritual values of the Winti culture. Here customers from different backgrounds can get advice on life's big and small questions. (3) The museum also labels individuals and their activities as heritage. An example of this is party organizer Ted Langenbach who mixes new musical forms and styles with other art disciplines for a very diverse audience.

Time Alignments

I will now take a closer look at the aims of the four cases, specifically focusing on the time alignments that are important to the museums and that they try to achieve through the integration of intangible cultural heritage.

I see four approaches or issues that play a central role: the historical collection as a fulcrum and focal point, the relationship between historical tangible objects and intangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage experience, and contemporary challenges and social relevance.

The collection as a fulcrum and focal point

All four of the described ways of engagement with intangible cultural heritage have more or less strong relationships with the existing collections of the museums. The case of Museum Catharijneconvent illustrates the issue of the collection as a fulcrum and focal point most aptly. The aim of the museum is to draw attention to the meanings of the celebration in the present and then, in a next step, to make people curious about the celebration and worship

of Saint Martin in the past.[17] This is done both through the participation of the museum in the parade and its preparations, as well as through the fact that the museum has incorporated a contemporary light sculpture into the exhibition. People keep looking for the familiar. From the perspective of the present, attention is thus generated for the historical objects in the collection. But even more so: departing from popular, vernacular culture today, makes the collection that mainly consists of priceless works of art – and which might be described as exclusive or privileged heritage – more inclusive since the scope is now extended to a greater public to which the heritage matters.[18]

When included in their collections, museums usually remove objects from circulation and they become detached from their common (daily) usage. Disconnected from their original dynamic contexts, the objects change their function in the museum and become static. But by placing the shrine with a Saint Martin relic along the path of the current parade, the object is momentarily returned to use. Being again applied in practice has added new layers of significance to the cultural biography of the object.[19] The message behind this might be to show that although part of the Christian culture in Utrecht has been consigned to a museum, there is still a community for which the items of the collection matters outside the museum. In this way the museum can build stronger ties with this community.

And finally, adding a contemporary light sculpture to its collection and exhibition – which is part of the intangible cultural heritage and gives insight into it at this particular point in time[20] – has a renewing potential for the museum in terms of remembering the past in the future.[21]

In summary, three ways can be observed as to how the museum has tried to draw attention to its historical collection through engagement with intangible cultural heritage: 1) by connecting the collection with the new contemporary context, 2) by temporarily turning the collection into a more 'hands on' collection, and 3) by adding a new contemporary item to the collection.

Tangible objects and intangible cultural heritage

The approach of connecting tangible objects and intangible cultural heritage is – next to the case of Museum Catharijneconvent – most visible in the case of the Zeeuws Museum.

17 Interview with Dimphy Schreurs, conservator Museum Catharijneconvent.

18 V.T. Hafstein, 'Cultural Heritage', in: R. Bendix and F. Galit Hasan-Rokem (eds.), *A Companion to Folklore*. Oxford, 2012, p. 505.

19 L. Meijer-van Mensch, 'The 'liquid' museum', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 70.

20 M. Jacobs, 'As well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith', T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 47-49.

21 M. Alivizatou, 'Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage in Heritage Studies and Museology', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 3, 2008, p. 48.

Against the backdrop of a "salvage mode",[22] and in order to re-forge links with a past that appears to be lost in today's changing world, the museum collected the knowledge and skills of the making of traditional clothes and added it to the collection of historical objects. This made the collection more complete because, until then, only the clothing had been collected, and not the immaterial aspects of it as well. Only through this addition can the objects – which, conversely, also act as a tangible representation of intangible cultural heritage and even can be described as a part of intangible cultural heritage[23] – be understood.

What is remarkable here is that the cultural practice of the making of traditional clothes is placed by the museum in both the – rapidly passing – present and also in the recent past and thus used as a smooth bridge between the past and the present.

In addition, the historical objects are made accessible by another aspect, namely through the personal story which is attached as a result of the intangible cultural heritage approach. The HANDWERK project emphasizes the fact that the traditional regional clothes are inextricably linked to real persons,[24] not only to the persons who actually wore the clothes, but also to the people who made, and still make, them. The people-oriented approach results in a re-enchantment of the historical objects in the collections.[25]

At the same time, the museum's emphasis on the active experience of the visitors (who literally get 'in touch' with the materials) in the crafts area contributes to transcending the boundaries between present and past.

In summary, a shift can be observed from a preoccupation with the historical object itself to an increased interest in the persons, knowledge and skills that make the past more accessible. At the same times the museum focuses attention on the vulnerability of the intangible cultural heritage concerned and stimulates dynamic transmission towards the future.

Intangible heritage experience

The visitors' activities in the crafts area of the Zeeuws Museum where one can participate in and practice the techniques of traditional clothing making, evoke sensory and emotional heritage experiences. Visitors are asked to identify rather than to position themselves as distanced subjects. They become – even if it is only for a short moment – part of the heritage community which, on the one hand inspires interest in the past and, on the other hand, might even lead to safeguarding activities in the future. The exercises also might revive possible personal experiences with the particular heritage in the past and evoke memories which the visitors can share.

22 J. Clifford, 'Museums as Contact Zones', in: J. Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, 1997, p. 211.

23 *Make your own museum of the intangible: a toolkit. The Museum of English Rural Life.* https://merl.reading.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2019/03/IntangibleMuseumToolkit-002.pdf (30/05/2020), 10; Jacobs, *As well as the instruments*.

24 B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 'Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production', *Museum International* 56:1-2, 2004, p. 60.

25 Alivizatou, *Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage*, p. 52.

The case of the Netherlands Open Air Museum where Anansi stories are told, performed and listened to is another – strong – example of how and why a museum invests in intangible heritage experiences. Listening to the stories and looking at the performances, the visitors have a more passive than active experience. However, the experience might still be intense and moving since the visitor takes part in what intangible heritage scholars Tone Erlien and Egil Bakka call an "event of practice".[26] It concerns events where practitioners of intangible cultural heritage continue their practice in their own way (with strong emotions involved[27]) in a museum, which distinguishes them from the established concepts of exhibitions and museum performances.

The 'event of practice' of Anansi storytelling provides an inclusive, person-oriented way of comprehending and interacting with the past. The intangible heritage points to the fact that the past exists in living people, in their bodies and minds, through memory, oral transmission and performances.[28] The long silence about slavery in the Netherlands still leads to uncertainties, discussions and conflicts about how to remember slavery, how to articulate it in narratives, and how to represent it in the public memory.[29] In this context, the Anansi storytelling in the Open Air Museum provides a contribution to an inclusive understanding of the past, an understanding which focusses on "other histories"[30] and perceptions beyond the mainstream perceptions which embrace the fact that aspects of the colonial past live on in the present, that this past is dealt with and can be negotiated through intangible cultural heritage and that it will be transmitted to, and adopted by, future generations.

Contemporary challenges and social relevance

All four museums consciously deal with urgent contemporary issues through their engagement with intangible cultural heritage: the search of social cohesion and identity in a diverse secular society with religious roots (Catharijneconvent), the call for the revival of traditional handicrafts in order to shape a sustainable future (Zeeuws Museum), the question of how to remember slavery in a postcolonial society (Open Air Museum), and the challenge to shape a shared and sustainable future in a superdiverse city (Museum Rotterdam).

Unlike the other cases, Museum Rotterdam most radically focuses on the present while the view of the past and the historical collection of the museum is increasingly abandoned. The activities centre on making new heritage: on

26 T. Erlien and E. Bakka, 'Museums, Dance, and the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage: "Events of Practice" – A New Strategy for Museums?', *Satander Art and Culture Law Review* 3, 2017:2, p. 142.

27 These events can also be described as "sensational forms" (B. Meyer, *Religious Sensations. Why Media, Aesthetics and Power Matter in the Study of Contemporary Religion*. Amsterdam, 2006, p. 9), practices that involve and affect the practitioners sensorially and emotionally. These practices might appeal to the senses and emotions of passive participants as well.

28 Alivizatou, *Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage*, p. 48.

29 M. Balkenhol, *Tracing Slavery. An ethnography of diaspora, affect, and cultural heritage in Amsterdam*. (Dissertation, VU University Amsterdam, 2014), p. 11-49.

30 K. Hastrup, *Other Histories*. London, 1992.

labeling people and activities as heritage so that those people get a reflexive relationship with their own practices (with reference to other practices labelled as heritage) and feel empowered.[31] In a second step, the museum makes an effort to connect people in order to stimulate and generate new processes. These activities and efforts have transformed the museum into a cultural centre which is active beyond the museum walls. One might even describe the museum as an agent of social engineering with strong intentions towards shaping the future (heritage) of the city and towards urban development.[32]

The connections which at the beginning of the project were made between the contemporary heritage and (museum objects representing) the past of the city of Rotterdam, seem to mainly serve as technology to strengthen and empower the heritage communities in the present and intensify their identification with the city. With the side effect that through the engagement with intangible cultural heritage, the museum could treat and present the historical collection as *someone's* heritage. We can observe this same effect in the Zeeuws Museum and Museum Catharijneconvent.

Past and future presencing – conclusion

The four museums that I have looked at shape diverse multidirectional relationships between the past, present and future, significantly supported by their engagement with intangible cultural heritage.[33] The most striking relationships built between the past, present, and future are as follows:

Through the Anansi storytelling, the Open Air Museum draws attention to how past worlds still exist and work in the present – in the practices, bodies and minds of people. The museum gives these people a floor. The Museum Catharijneconvent has another main approach. Heritage experiences in the present are used to point to the past. In the Zeeuws Museum, knowledge about and from the past is used to create new experiences in the present and to transmit these towards the future. At the same time, objects of the past are supplemented and enriched with contemporary knowledge, skills and experiences. Finally, Museum Rotterdam uses contemporary heritage dynamics in order to shape the future, the past being used in order to empower the current heritage communities.

Additionally, all four museums can more or less be seen as actors that attach history to living cultural heritage. By including artefacts of this intangible heritage in the collections, the museums will in the future be able to facilitate access to what then will be history.

31 This reflexive relationship is crucial to the making of heritage in general, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has pointed out. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Intangible Heritage*; see also Hafstein, *Cultural Heritage*, p. 508 and 511.

32 This requires a fundamentally different museological approach and different knowledge, skills and attitudes of the museum staff. Cfr. Alivizatou, *Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage*, p. 51.

33 S. Macdonald, 'Presencing Europe's Pasts', in: U. Kockel e.a. (eds.), *A Companion to the Anthropology of Europe*. Oxford, 2012, p. 247.

Last but not least, the diverse ways of collaborating with intangible cultural heritage communities contribute to the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage, i.e. to the transmission of knowledge and skills towards the future: by making the heritage concerned visible, by teaching new storytellers, by offering a space where light sculptures can be made, by bringing together craftsmen and students and designers, by bringing heritage communities into contact with each other and so forth.[34]

In the growing market for information and insights into intangible heritage approaches in the wider context of heritage studies, when encouraging museums to work with intangible cultural heritage, most emphasis is – rightly – on the inclusive approaches of intangible heritage, its high significance in the present, and its capabilities for the future. The *Intangible Cultural Heritage & Museums Project* with its conference themes Diversity, Participation, Urbanized Society, Innovation, and Cultural Policies is an example of this. However, the possibilities that museums working with intangible heritage see to build, strengthen and use multidirectional relationships between the past, present and future should not be underestimated, but rather seriously acknowledged and employed in the discourse about building bridges across, and collaborating between, the sectors – the discourse about the "Third Space in the Heritage Sector",[35] borrowed from the postcolonial theory of "third space" of Homhi K. Bhabha, a space where different heritage paradigms 'encounter' which leads to translation, negotiation, innovation, engagement and mutual respect within the broad heritage field.

Unquestionably, also the time alignments which actually matter for the diverse heritage communities themselves have to be taken into account seriously, acknowledging that time experiences can differ considerably in diverse cultures.

Through museums' engagement with intangible heritage, the view *on the present* and the view *from the present* on the past and the future are reinforced. Visitors' perceptions of the past are clearly determined by heritage experiences in the present, and the past can, in principle, no longer even be seen separately from these experiences. This is in fact what heritage scholar Sharon Macdonald describes with her concept "past presencing."[36] Past presencing is concerned with the ways in which the past is experienced, negotiated, reconstructed, and performed in the present. Of course, musealization and museum work as such are already part of past presencing: in museums, the past already is a product of the present that appoints, organizes and represents it. But the engagement with contemporary intangible heritage of diverse heritage communities further strengthens present oriented approaches to history. In how far these approaches make the complexities of history clearer or in how far complexities

34 It would be interesting to examine in how far these collaborations indeed unsettle the tenets of the "authorized heritage discourse" (L. Smith and G. Campbell, 'The tautology of "Intangible values" and the misrecognition of intangible cultural heritage', *Heritage and Society* 10:1, 2017, p. 26-44) and find new balances between professional expertise and community knowledge.

35 Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums*.

36 Macdonald, *Presencing*.

just become more hidden,[37] is a very relevant topic for future research. Another topic which still has to be examined closer is in how far museums, as strong agents in the heritage regime, change or even determine the social and cultural memory of heritage communities when they engage with intangible cultural heritage.

In conclusion, what is true for the approach of the past is also true for the approach of the future. Here too, the intangible heritage determines the ways in which the future is imagined and shaped by museums – a form of future presencing.

37 R. Bendix, 'Heredity, Hybridity and Heritage from One Fin-de-Siècle to the Next', in: P. Anttonen (ed.), *Folklore, Heritage, Politics and Ethnic Diversity*. Botkyra, 2000, p. 38; Hafstein, *Cultural Heritage*.

SERGIO SERVELLÓN AND
LEEN VAN DE WEGHE

Avant-Garde & Status Quo

The FeliXart Museum and its Paradoxical Legacy

The FeliXart Museum, located in a little municipality bordering the metropolitan capital of Brussels, wishes to reconcile artistic and the ecological aspects because both are inseparable in the figure of Felix De Boeck (1898-1995), who charms by his authenticity as an artist-farmer. He was a soft anarchist who preferred the rhythm of nature to profitability and an avant-gardist who was at the cradle of a new pictorial language.

It seems paradoxical that De Boeck's conservative reflex, the bequest to preserve an oeuvre and a life, is at the heart of a new museological impetus. The type of legal protection enjoyed by De Boeck's farm and orchard has given rise to fears that a 'bell jar', a metaphor for the preservation of heritage, is being maintained. The conservation of a place enforces the 'status quo', yet it enables at the same time the activation of the 'spirit' of what caused the artist to donate it to the community. If the protection took place without questioning the

Figure 1. Felix De Boeck. Photo: Archives of the FeliXart Museum

(potential) users, today the ambition is to build a future exploitation that will be all the more participatory.

The further development of the two-track policy of the museum focuses, on the one hand, on the Interbellum and Felix's contemporaries who fall under abstract modernism: an inspiring period and movement that advocates human, social, and ecological values through revolutionary new imagery. On the other hand, further attention will be paid to local history and all possible forms of intangible cultural heritage, to create more local and regional involvement, inclusiveness, and greater socio-cultural engagement. The ambition of the museum is to link these seemingly opposing values: both to be faithful to the original values of the foundation of the museum, and to justify its existence today with the local community, the subsidizing powers, the international museum and scientific community, which is increasingly committed to the path of inclusion and the social dimension.

The search for 'core' museum values now coincides with the, often polemical, question about the 'essence' of museums. Is sticking to an internal logic, growing from a constraining donation, combinable with a truly participatory and even activist path bridging existing social and communitarian problems? Can preservation be the fundament of social accountability and sustainability? The future will tell how far the one will influence the other, but both can gain pace based on one inspiring legacy.

A UFO with specific expertise

The FeliXart Museum is a small regional museum run by a staff of five, supported by fifteen volunteers. There is need for more connection or embeddedness with the inhabitants of the municipality of Drogenbos where the museum is located. The museum has long been regarded almost like a UFO within the social texture of the small village. To understand the origin of this, we need to look at the history of how the museum came about: a combination of artistic and political opportunism.[1]

In 1969, on the occasion of the official opening of the renovated town hall, the municipality of Drogenbos took the initiative to dedicate an entire hall for three weeks to the work of the artist Felix De Boeck, living in Drogenbos. This temporary exhibition in the attic of the town hall was a huge success and steps were taken to give a continuous character to the exhibition. When Felix De Boeck donated an important part of his artistic oeuvre to the Flemish Community in 1992, this was under the condition that the Flemish Community would exhibit the artist's work permanently in Drogenbos. The Flemish Community accepted the donation and undertook to contribute to the construction of a museum in

1 The following historic overview of the FeliXart Museum contains excerpts published in: S. Servellón, 'Case FeliXart Museum. Een sui generis-vzw van overheden', *faro | tijdschrift over cultureel erfgoed* 11:2, 2018, p. 44-47.

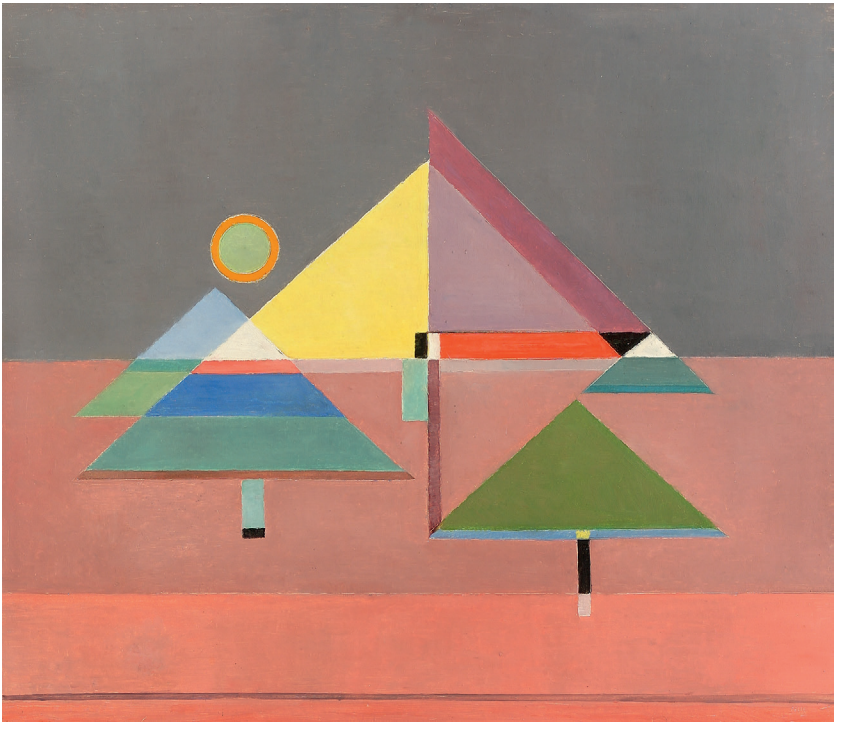

Figure 2. Felix De Boeck, Abstract landschap [Abstract Landscape], 1959. Coll. Vlaamse Gemeenschap – FeliXart Museum.

1996.[2] Its modern architecture, with the obligatory stairs at the entrance, was clearly there to radiate prestige and seriousness.

The construction fitted in a political project: built in the Flemish region, the building represents – in origin – an affirmation of 'Flemish culture' in a predominately French-speaking municipality. With its protected farm and orchard, it can also be seen as part of the Green Belt (*Groene Gordel*) strategy to preserve the 'green' character of Flanders and thus contain the growth of the Brussels metropolitan agglomeration and more specific the 'Frenchification' of the region.[3]

The legacy that the FeliXart Museum manages includes the totality of the artist's life and work. Felix De Boeck, the artist and farmer from Drogenbos, was aware of the idiosyncratic heritage he left behind: in his will he let it be

2 As a purely municipal initiative, the museum faced structural problems from the outset. To find a solution for the continuity of the museum's operation, the municipality of Drogenbos, the province of Flemish Brabant, and the 'de Rand' (the latter acting on behalf of the Flemish Community) set up the 'vzw Museum Felix De Boeck' in 2003. Since then, this new not-for-profit organization has been responsible for the policy, management, and operation of the museum.

3 For this policy, see *Green Belt*, https://www.docu.vlaamserand.be/node/12973?language=en (06/07/2020).

known that in addition to a new museum building where his work was to be on permanent display, his house and adjoining grounds also needed to be given a museological context. The latter was intended to keep his life and the values behind his environment alive. It was based on this dual relationship, connecting the artist and the farmer, that a twin-track policy on art and ecology emerged. For a long time, the restoration of the farmstead was an obstacle toward expanding the 'second track': the ecological part of the museum's strategy. Now that the restoration is near completion, the question becomes poignant: how do we define and activate the 'values' of De Boeck's legacy?

Felix De Boeck was part of what he called "the spontaneous generation of the 1920s" in Belgium.[4] What we now know as 'constructivism' in art history is a combination of not only a new kind of art, abstraction, but also the vision of a revolutionary new society. Abstract art based on proportion and geometry was due to bring a "rational, objective art". Art that was anonymized as it was not the individual, but the social framework that mattered.[5] De Boeck was part of what was called the Pure Plasticism movement, an art that self-referred itself as Community Art (*Gemeenschapskunst*). His contribution to the historical avant-garde as one of the first abstract artists in Belgium went hand in hand with that special attitude of those groups in which cooperative action and anti-capitalism were very characteristic features.[6] De Boeck remained faithful to most principles from his youth. After the bursting of the modernist bubble with the stock market crash of 1929, De Boeck persisted in rejecting too much commerce in his activities. He rarely worked for galleries, for instance, and in his farming practice, he would continue to focus on contentment and meditation rather than on efficiency and profit. De Boeck, for example, kept his high-stemmed fruit trees, while the entire Zenne region switched to the easier to pick and more profitable low-stemmed trees. This state of mind was determined in his youth where a different way of life was favored after the disastrous destructiveness of the Great War. A war, that according to the progressive youth, had been the result of individualistic capitalism.

Until 2004, the museum focused on the management, conservation, and presentation of De Boeck's collection. The classification as a 'recognized' museum by the Flemish government was questioned by the expert's committees because of the strict monographic policy. Sustainability was considered fragile in the first place due to the diminishing reputation of the artist and the

4 J. Florquin, 'Felix De Boeck, Grote Baan 379, Drogenbos', in: J. Florquin, *Ten Huize van…* 1. Leuven, 1968, p. 192.

5 J. De Smet, 'Voorbij de mimesis: wegen naar een autonome kunst in België (1917-1930)', in: J. De Smet, *Modernisme. Belgische abstrakte kunst en Europa*. Gent, 2013, p. 64-76.

6 The Brussels group and magazine *7 Arts*, to which De Boeck was very close arouse together with many other cooperatives like the professional association *Belgische Maatschappij van de Modernistische Urbanisten en Architecten* (Belgian Society of Modernist Urban Planners and Architects), or the cooperative publishing association L'Equerre (*Société coopérative d'Edition et de Propagande intellectuelle*). The Centre d'Art for instance included an exhibition hall and several facilities, intended in part for the sale of artist supplies. See: S. Servellón, 'The "buffer state" from 1925 to 1959: sandwiched between the historic and the neo-avant-garde', in: G. Van Broekhoven and S. Servellón, *Modern art from the interbellum: collection of the Royal Museum of Fine Arts Antwerp*. Kontich, 2016, p. 27-39.

paradigm shift that started to take place within the heritage sector. Although there were some plans for the integration of the museum into a museum site grouping the new museum building, the 18th century farmhouse and the 'protected' orchard, conservative management and an unclear strategy made it difficult to materialize this idea. But the elements were there, and so was the potential.

De Boeck's values and ideologies, both in his art and in his way of life, are still very much alive today: they are reactivated by the work of FeliXart Museum. A first theoretical exercise consisted of a 'cross-grid of oppositions' where on the one hand art and ecology were thematically opposed to each other and on the other hand, an 'elitist' museological service and 'popular' accessibility were positioned against each other. The center of all these contrasting forces should be the base for a new museum identity. It soon became clear that, if we wanted to set up a fully-fledged operation, we would have to carry out an in-depth study of both the object-oriented museum and the value-driven second track around the farmstead and the orchard.

Intangible avant-garde

Just as we benefit of the research of the avant-garde for our exhibition policy, with ever new perspectives on the cultural-historical importance of abstract art and constructivism, showcasing the generation of De Boeck and other generations from the neo-avant-garde of the 1950s to more contemporary uses of abstraction, the period of the 1920s might inspire us to create a research-driven approach to the ecological track.

Various idealistic movements, initially inspired by the *Lebensreform* practices and theories from Germany, affected young people in Flanders just after the First World War. Anarchist, socially driven, feminist, naturalist, and theosophical movements as well as folkloristic practices such as 'folk dance' flourished.[7] At the end of the 19th century, Frederik Van Eeden published *De kleine Johannes,* an allegorical fairy tale that symbolized the authors' 'coming of age'. Van Eeden strongly inspired young Dutch speaking people with his account of the contrast between city life and a return to a 'different' way of life, in nature.

Huig Hofman, a contemporary of De Boeck, who organized the naturist-community *De Spar*, directly inspired by Frederik van Eeden, summarised the state of mind of the youth movements: the slogans "we must live simply and naturally" and "back to nature", anti-militarism, total abstinence, and even vegetarianism were the recipes for a new world. Opposing the city life, activities such as hiking, trekking, and camping were promoted as a counterbalance

7 For a insight on these idealistic movements see: E. Peeters, *De Beloften Van Het Lichaam, Lebensreform in België 1890-1940*. Leuven, 2007.

to cinemas and dance halls.[8] Van Eeden went so far as to establish a utopian commune, *Walden*, on an estate in the Dutch town of Bossum. This commune, based on the then-growing socialist model, wanted to bring together intellectuals and working people in a collectivist spirit.

It would be too far-reaching to claim that De Boeck created a commune on his own. But what is certain is that all these ideals from his youth were influential in his choices later in life. After the decline of the avant-garde, from the mid-1920s onwards, De Boeck retreated to his farm where he would earn his living as a farmer for the next decades. In the meantime, he continued to receive contemporaries and new friends in what was mythically called a "magical place".[9] He kept his activities small-scale and although mainly focused on self-supply, during difficult times he made his land available to his neighbors for allotments. Self-reliance and social commitment, small scale, and local production: these are current 'hot topics' that we can distill from the period when De Boeck made his most important abstract works.

Practical elaboration of an ideal: 'I FeliX – We FeliX'

From 2005 on, the museum opted for an evolution rather than a revolution. There was no choice but to take into account the various traditional stakeholders ranging from the subsidizing authorities, foundations, and rights holders of all kinds. In the wrangling around which path to take, there was an option on the table: turn the museum as such into a cultural center. Within the Flemish context, however, this meant that 'museum' protection of the patrimony would not be the main task and that the institution could primarily serve as infrastructure for all kinds of cultural activities. The biggest obstacle for this scenario was the legal aspect of the donation. Instead of using a museum as an excuse, for example by linking a small biographical museum to a cultural center, we opted to gradually open up the concept of the museum in terms of content. This way, a parallel plan arose: while the museum was immersing itself in the historical avant-garde in Belgium, the restoration of the farmstead, the unification of all the surrounding land, and the growth of the donor's reputation were systematically continued.

At a certain moment, the FeliXart Museum created a prestigious new infrastructural plan for a building that would not only literally bridge the museum and the farm but also would create multifunctional spaces for meetings, concerts, and other receptive functions. The force of these kinds

8 H. Hofman, 'Een schema voor ons gesprek met een jeugdleider uit de jaren '20', in: Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Cultuur, Nationale Dienst voor de Jeugd, *Het leven in de jaren* '20. (Documentatiebrochure, NDJ Stage voor gevorderden te Genval, 20-29 augustus 1963), Brussel, 1963, p. H1.

9 At this moment David Veltman is finishing a PhD research with a biography of Felix De Boeck at the Biography Institute of the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, The Netherlands.

of visionary plans cannot be underestimated.[10] The museum indeed was able to find at least two thirds of the needed funding. While it was a good thing that political stakeholders embraced our project, it was clear that this superstructure would possibly create an even greater alienation. We first had to work on relations with the inhabitants; making the museum part of the local community and include the inhabitants in our museum community. It was a whole process to come to terms with the fact that this was also a way to stay in 'tune' with our ecological ambition. It would have made us part of the problem: a materialistic view on growth focusing on more space and more income.

What was initially mostly a facilities operation enters a new phase: we have laid the foundations on how to give substance and, above all, 'meaning' to the overall project. To give an example. The original 2.5-hectare orchard was suddenly doubled in a biodiversity project for the benefit of the population with the realization of *Het Moeras* (The Swamp) developed together with the *Regionaal Landschap Pajottenland en Zennevallei.* But what does the public that comes for a walk with a dog, to pick apples, to relax or enjoy themselves know about the reasons for the existenc of this little green oasis in Drogenbos? In what way can we, whether or not 'educating' them about Felix De Boeck and his generation, convert the value of the estate to the reality of the inhabitants? The value of a historical orchard must therefore somehow be linked to the needs of an already existing public. Once again we have to move in the opposite direction from 'something that exists' to 'something that can be useful'.

The question remains on how to integrate these opportunities into our daily operations. As a first task, we translated the aforementioned challenge by defining the objectives of our ecology track into 'local anchoring' and 'regional embedding of the institution'. In other words: to organize activities and make use of our facilities in such a way that they enable social justification. Under the title of 'I FeliX – We FeliX' the two-track policy is taking a more practical turn. With the campaign we want to show that the FeliX site belongs to, is made by and exists for everyone. This means that, again in parallell, next to an 'elitist' research-driven art museum, a community museum is being set up around the farm as a place where schools, social services, or associations feel at home and can organize activities. In this trajectory, the contribution of the local population is not only limited to their own story, but it is our ambition to create meta-reflections on contemporary forms of living and propel community building together. It could show how participation can be an important instrument to implement the museum's mission and have an impact on the future of the local inhabitants.

We consider the diversity in a municipality such as Drogenbos to be the greatest asset, even if we could consider Drogenbos not to be an 'easy' municipality. Anyone passing by will not expect to find a museum of fine arts here. A large part of the municipality is occupied by companies and department stores with large surface areas. The municipality is perceived as a

10 This is described as one of the persistent 'vanities' of museums: 'The edifice Complex'. R. Janes and. Sandell, 'Posterity has arrived. The necessary emergence of museum activism', in: R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds.), *Museum Activism*. London and New York, 2019, p. 9.

Figure 3. Every first Sunday of the month (from March to October) a participatory workshop takes place in the herb garden. People take care of the different plants. Each time the focus gets placed on two types of herbs. Sometimes – when culinary applications are possible - Felix' old furnace even gets used. The initiative is supported by volunteers and is part of the larger participatory project in and around the domain surrounding the farm. It's a biodiversity project for and by residents of Drogenbos. Photo: Leen Van de Weghe – FeliXart Museum.

'dormitory' municipality for commuters to the capital. A few figures show that this is a community with a population with a rather vulnerable social profile.[11] Studies on museum visitors suggest that the majority of the people living in Drogenbos are diametral opposed to the traditional museum visitor. It is now up to us to pick up the signals and the dynamics of the residents of Drogenbos and to include them in the policy plan of the future.

We are listening to various groups, residents, individual visitors to the museum, active associations, involved administrators, etc. In short, people who know the museum from far and near and who would like to contribute to the development of the FeliX site. In concrete terms, this means that we will make visits in Drogenbos, and organize surveys and consultation moments. A policy plan outlining the broad goals will externally be consulted and proposed so that suggestions, ideas, and questions can be discussed and coordinated. Our 'second track' is set up as an independent entity, with its budget and a new commission with an extensive decision-making mandate.

But to be successful in all these participatory efforts we need to be able to inspire with a value-driven framework. Even though the objects, the stones, and the land, thus both movable and immovable heritage seem to have been the foundation for the creation of a museum, the intangible aspects now come to the forefront and they even appear to be what enables us not only museology-wise, but also managerially, to create a coherent and qualitative growth. Projects can include social work, educational, economical and environmental goals. Is this also a shift to a more active but perhaps ephemeral "cultural memory bank"[12] that directly refers to the location of the museum? These reflections yielded new perspectives on what our 'collection' is: a mix of tangible and intangible items, all based on the legacy of De Boeck. The recreation of the farming activities brought for instance the idea of a petting zoo or the placing of cows in the orchard. These interactions can be of use on different levels. It could purely enhance an immersive feeling of a visitor wanting to see how Felix De Boeck lived. At the same time, there is this awareness of the location where we are, with orchards possibly dating back to Roman times, agricultural and industrial heritage (with the nearby paper mill Catala) that rub against each other on the edge of a capital region.[13] The apple

11 Drogenbos counts 5.456 inhabitants of which 50.3% are of foreign origin, which makes Drogenbos particularly multicultural in comparison with the rest of Flanders with an average of 20.5%. The number of shelter places for toddlers is far below the national average, as well as school results in primary schools and average income tax returns. There is more unemployment and more registered thefts and violent crimes than in similar municipalities. Source: data from 2018: *Gemeente- en Stadsmonitor van het Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur en Statistiek Vlaanderen, Agentschap Binnenlands Bestuur (ABB), Statistiek Vlaanderen (SV), Statbel, Kruispuntbank Sociale Zekerheid, Departement Onderwijs & Vorming, Kind en Gezin, Steunpunt Werk, POD Maatschappelijke Integratie, VITO, Agentschap Zorg en Gezondheid, Federale Politie.*

12 Janes and Sandell, *Posterity*, p. 11.

13 A historical map analysis and environmental analysis was carried out for the policy plan of the FeliXart Museum 2019-2023. See: L. Van de Weghe, 'Syntheserapport ontwikkeling strategische visie en actieplan voor lokale verankering, regionale inbedding en landelijke uitstraling Felixsite', in: *Aangepast beleidsplan 2019-2023.* Drogenbos, 2020, appendix 4.

is possibly a symbol of a region that for a long time was called the "vegetable and fruit garden" of Brussels. A value that could now be converted into the facilitation of knowledge about small-scale vegetable cultivation, evolving, for instance, to the sale of seeds and materials for apartment residents in the capital. Such initiatives are evident from a management vision: ecology not only sells a beautiful image; it certainly fills a need. Meanwhile, you also have a setting that is different from just another bio-shop: there is a story that can inspire, a discovery that can be made.

But there is more: from the very beginning, the Swamp site was to be included by the historic archers' guild of Saint Sebastian, an almost lost tradition in Drogenbos. Folklore has not yet been able to digest or go with the flow of the growing diversity of Drogenbos' demography: it is now almost a symbol of Flemish identity. The museum can be a mediator in this respect to start a potential new, diverse, tradition. Success strongly will depend on the composition of our structure and the decision-making processes we can set up. Maybe we could shape our model into a cooperative one, something that can breathe new life into the 'friends of museum' service? Ecology in this broad perspective, as in 'alternative way of living', can thus be directly linked to the first steps in that direction, the experiments of a generation in the 1920s. It has been correctly analyzed that activation of participatory values have nothing to do with business-rhetoric of revenue and visitor growth, but rather express the internal motivation and justification of the museum and museum work itself.[14] In this sense, we can bridge expertise and the call for social accountability. It makes it possible to use the historical context of De Boeck as the 'material' to embody historical consciousness needed to inspire solutions or attitudes to confront the social and climate change challenges we are experiencing.

Recent Flemish Cultural Heritage Policy: a top-bottom experiment for creating grassroots initiatives?

The new Flemish Cultural Heritage Decree of 2017, which in a sense is the prolongation of the earlier 'participatory' decree, offers us more opportunities for our overall project, for example through the role it gives to intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in the work of museums. Participation remains one of the points of attention and the new decree motivates the sector to include, in addition to the objects, the values, and contexts associated with it as the whole of cultural heritage. At this moment museums in Flanders are working and trying to accommodate this new paradigm into their functioning. Interpreting the decree to the reality of every museum is mandatory if you want to profit the most from the financial possibilities. ICH somehow is being perceived equal to the call for participation and inclusive target audience's policy. And while it is true that opening up your collection to ICH can broaden up your 'stakeholders' group, it also means that you have to get in a 'messy' field.

14 Janes and Sandell, *Posterity*, p. 12: "Values are enduring beliefs and guiding beacons about the purpose of the museum and how it will conduct itself, as well as how it will treat others."

One of the main problems for art museums to work with ICH is the fact that strictly speaking there are not many ICH practices that can be 'naturally' involved when starting from your collection. Even for the FeliXart Museum, all the topics found connected to our 'heritage' like fruit cultivation, vegetable garden culture, (heritage) bread baking, cheese and butter trade, cooperative work, etc. don't automatically or always comply with an important stipulation of the UNESCO definition, namely that ICH practices have to be "traditional, contemporary and living at the same time".[15] Nor are these "community based". In a sense, all the FeliX site can do is sensitize and mediate with these old and forgotten traditions to try and create a new 'community' feeling.

At the moment, only the archers' guild is more or less active. But our site has also provided space for a group of volunteers who have set up a garden where the medicinal aspects of herbs are emphasized. It is in this sense that we do believe that an institution, even though it stars from a 'collection', creates possibilities for bottom-up projects.

A question of identity

The process that led to the new decree was not an uncontested one. It is arguably so that many of the forces pleading for a new critical approach to heritage were able to lobby effectively to broaden the scope of museum policy. A new nomenclature for the definition of museums was imprinted in the decree, at the expense of the previous copy-paste of the ICOM definition.[16] One could argue that with this Flanders regionalized the definition of museums. At the same time, the question about the function of museums has become a global one, with fierce debate on what the right (and righteous) way is for museums. It is in this sense that the FeliXart Museum could be seen as a case where two forms of cultural heritage management are included in its mission. Without the changes in the decrees, the institution would have struggled to finance the costs of the transformation as some elements of the operation fall outside the classical framework of art-care. Now we can include many more aspects into our model as being part of the collections we collect, protect, research, and disseminate. Other parts will remain difficult, in particular the maintenance of green spaces, playground operation. The work around the socio-cultural cohesion will however be at the core of the different top-down and bottom-up efforts.

Together with all the users and stakeholders, the old and new ones, we are raising awareness and try to set ambitions based on their different needs and possibilities. Surviving, adapting, or confronting any sort of paradigm shifts

15 *What is intangible cultural heritage?*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003 (06/07/2020).

16 Prof. dr. Marc Jacobs, then the director of FARO, the parastatal support center for cultural heritage, used the presentation of the new decree by the Flemish administration to predict the liberation from the 'straitjacket' of the ICOM definition. The new basic five museum functions that integrated ICH notions in the new decree are: recognize and collect, maintain and secure, investigate, presentation and guidance, and participative approach.

can only be met when your content, your own identity as an institution, is clear. In this sense, we remain true to the 'old school' of museum work. Meanwhile, recent evolutions, with for instance the battle of the different heritage ideologies, have created opportunities to enlarge our commitment towards our collection, our users and visitors, and society in general. Defining what the social goal is of the collections is something that can only be part of a cycle that starts from an internal logic to the end-user and back again. Keeping close to your core is the only sure way to remain in the course between opportunity and opportunism.

VALENTINA LAPICCIRELLA ZINGARI,
PIETRO CLEMENTE AND TOMMASO LUSSU,
ALESSANDRA BROCCOLINI AND
CLAUDIO GNESSI

In Rural Villages and the Suburbs

Italian Experiences with Museums and Ecomuseums

"There are more things in Heaven and Earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy"
(William Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act 1, Scene 5)

Suburbs at the center: reflecting on the relationship between ICH and museums

Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari

This reflection has been written during the COVID-19 pandemia, a peculiar context to re-think the challenges surrounding intangible cultural heritage (ICH) safeguarding and museums after several years of travels, meetings and real time spent together in the context of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum Project* (IMP). As result of a collective discussion within the Italian NGO SIMBDEA[1], we took the decision to propose for this publication two Italian case-studies involved in the IMP project, from two different 'peripherical' areas and angles.[2] On the one hand there is the case of Casa Lussu, a museum/artisan-workshop based in a little rural village in Sardinia, Armungia, at risk of depopulation. On the other hand there is the Ecomuseum Casilino, situated in a superdiverse neighbourhood in the suburbs of Rome.

IMP has been a real opportunity to reflect on the remarkable diversity of museum realities. In this process we took the stance at heart that often the core of a question becomes more visible from its margins, borders and boundaries. Peripherical spaces hence might also be able to function as observatories for reflection on our society and its transformations. Far from the centers of power, (urban) suburbs and (rural) villages – as evidenced by the historical

1 SIMBDEA, Italian Society for Museum and Heritage Anthropology, since 2010 is an accredited NGO for the safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, and a partner of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum Project*.

2 In the section 'inspiration' of the IMP website, the Casilino Ecomuseum is presented with the Co.Heritage project, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/inspiration-2/detail-2/co-heritage-intercultural-ich-in-rome-suburbs (01/09/2020).

relation between mountains and lowlands – are places and social spaces for alternative and creative solutions (between strategies and tactics of resistance[3]) to be tested.

We organised a reflection among the direct protagonists of these ongoing experiences in Armungia and Casilino, together with two representatives of the Italian academic community. Pietro Clemente and Alessandra Broccolini were involved with their research groups and students in a long-term dialogue with these two territories, organising fieldwork, research sessions, but also directly participating into the heritage-making process: animating debates, meetings and festivals. Claudio Gnessi and Tommaso Lussu embody the roles and voices of the 'communities, groups and individuals' (CGIs) as developed in the frame of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (and which offered food for ongoing reflection in its wake).[4] Claudio and Tommaso are, through their experience of developing cultural projects in the territory of their daily life, in different ways also the protagonists of a constructive dialogue with the scientific world. And from within open and interconnected 'heritage communities' both also engage from the local level in networking processes with regional, national and international policy frameworks.[5]

We argue that the dialogue between cultural bearers and brokers like Tommaso Lussu and Claudio Gnessi and the scientific community, here represented by Alessandra Broccolini and Pietro Clemente, can play a crucial role in processes of heritage-making.[6] We also consider that these human, intellectual and affective relations between social scientists and CGIs, can become a powerful factor of sustainable heritage-making processes, bearing a creative approach to ICH safeguarding.

What do we learn from the two following stories on the relation between the ancient word 'museum', crossing the contemporary discussions towards a new museum definition[7], and the recent ICH paradigm that meets the sustainability challenges? We will reflect on these questions later on within this contribution, but let us first get you acquainted with both experiences:

3 The concept of 'resistance strategies and tactics' is used in reference to M. de Certeau *L'invention du quotidien I, Arts de faire.* Paris, 1990; M. de Certeau, *La culture au pluriel*. Paris, 1976.

4 You can find a trace of these reflections on CGIs for example in the contribution: M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and intangible heritage communities', in T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 38-40.

5 Marc Jacobs reflects on engagement, also related to the Overall Result Framework of the 2003 Convention, in: M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and intangible heritage communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 41.

6 M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 251-252.

7 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums*, p. 112.

Armungia: two museums and many stories for the local cultural heritage

Pietro Clemente and Tommaso Lussu

Armungia is a small village in the south-east of the island Sardinia in Italy. It is a historical village of farmers and shepherds, for a long time *finis terrae*. Emilio Lussu (1890-1975), a figure of high profile in the history of Sardinia and Italy, was born there in 1890. During the First World War, Lussu was captain of the brigade Sassari, composed entirely of Sardinians. His experience of the war inspired him to write the novel *Un anno sull'altipiano - A Year on the Plateau,* translated worldwide. He founded the Sardinian Action Party with other veterans. As elected member of the Chamber of Deputies he was sent to political confinement by fascism. He escaped to France where he took part in the struggle for liberation. He afterwards became minister, senator of the Italian Social Party and later of the Social Proletarian Party. As a major figure of honesty and a brave politician, committed to the emancipation of the island Sardinia and, at the same time, of the Italian working class, his memory – together with a prehistoric *nuraghe* (a typical Sardinian dolmen) – differentiates Armungia from many neighbouring and equally isolated villages. In 1911, 1332 inhabitants lived in the village; today 473 nominal and far less residents. Here, in the 1980s, objects of work and life before modernization – especially by women – were brought together in a collection, upon the initiative of Emilio Lussu and his emancipated wife Joyce Salvadori (1912-1998).

The 1980-2000: Collecting, remembering. Research and museums as long-term activators of a local heritage process

Based on a collection created in the last quarter of the 20th century under impulse of the politician Emilio Lussu, and in particular his partner Joyce Salvadori, a museum was established in 2000. The museum was developed with the support of anthropologists of the University of Cagliari, in order to study the work and daily life in the territory and was named *Sa Domu de Is Ainas* (the house of tools).[8] From 1998 to 2000 Armungia hosted a course of anthropological research training by the Sapienza University of Rome, which yielded some publications. Later on, after a first permanent exhibition, the Emilio and Joyce Lussu Museum (2014/15) was established in a historic palace in the village centre.

At the end of the 1990s the road linking Armungia to the coast was built. Since then the village is no longer *finis terrae*, and offered more opportunities for services and for tourism. Nevertheless, the demographic decline, the attraction of the city and the coast, the persistence of marginal pastoralism and agriculture, the high index of old aged people, is combined with social

8 *Museo storico "Emilio e Joyce Lussu"*, http: //www.armungiamusei.it/index (01/09/2020).

disintegration, lack of jobs and of local development opportunities. These areas have been confronted with hydrogeological problems and serious seismic events.

These types of so-called 'inner areas' cover some 60% of the national territory. A recent policy tool addressing the challenges in these regions is the national Inner Areas Strategy (SNAI)[9], supporting or accompanying the growing awareness and the organisation of bottom-up responses with the networking of small villages and various civil society movements, meeting the support of new research perspectives such as those interdisciplinary promoted by the book *Re-inhabiting Italy* (Antonio De Rossi (ed.), *Riabitare l'Italia*. Rome, 2018). This book points out the need to reverse the process of abandonment of the heart of the mountainous, hilly island and rural Italy.

2010: Traditional weaving and revitalisation challenges. The birth of a local ICH dynamic involving museums

The sketched overall picture highlights the Armungia experience. It is in this context that a nephew of Emilio, whose family had lived in Rome since the post-war period, at a certain moment chooses to re-inhabit Casa Lussu. He transforms the building of patrimonial value (visited by schools) into a building of historical value but for private use and hospitality – somewhere in between a B&B and a historic house. Here a traditional weaving activity starts taking place, as a means of cultural promotion for both craftsmanship and research. It can also be related and compared to diverse other revitalisation practices occurring in small centres in Sardinia, also through a festival. The new role of Casa Lussu seems to have influenced the social life of the village far more than other interventions of the past (museums, research internships, ...), and it seems also to have changed the marginality of the two museums and to have turned these into becoming attractive again.

In the case of the *Sa domu de is ainas* museum, traditional weaving activities, demonstrations, courses and training are provided today; while the Lussu Museum is enhanced by the presence on-site of one of the grandchildren of Emilio and Joyce Lussu, and by a network of references. This small turning point got launched in 2008 through the choice of Tommaso Lussu who, after having variously implemented his skills as a palethnologist in the Mediterranean, decided to return to Sardinia and to work in the field of nuragic archeology, while rehabilitating the family home which had been used only occasionally and for holidays during many years. He did this together with his partner Barbara Cardia, granddaughter of Giovanna Serri, the most experienced weaver of Armungia. Both decided to learn the tradition of handweaving from grandma Giovanna and to make it an activity practiced anew. 'Casa Lussu rugs' today have a Facebook page.

9 See note 10.

The rooted and innovative reference point in the village generated a small stream of cultural movements, but also of larger media representations for the local community, and the development of cultural tourism with visitors from the coasts. Various B&Bs started in Armungia, as well as a restaurant. Although the overall situation in the village still remains difficult today, and the local community is not always favourable to all of these innovations, we can say that small-scale museums, *nuraghe*, and tourism have been productive for a recovery in the village. The most recent statistics also indicate a slight improvement in the relationship of old/young inhabitants. Casa Lussu furthermore operates as a reference for a network of production and marketing of quality craftsmanship, which is based on a manual and non-mechanised production cycle and connects to the more recently emerging UNESCO 2003 intangible cultural heritage paradigm and to the "heritage community" perspectives provided by the 2005 Faro Convention. It also connects with the experiences of biodiversity and traditional food offerings in which the nearby San Nicolò Gerrei agricultural cooperative is the local protagonist.

Casa Lussu: the heritage-making process for a sustainable future

Casa Lussu is an interesting case of how re-habiting places with a significant cultural capital can open ways, fostering the different expressions of the cultural heritage of a community. This 'return to the territory' bringing living activities, also revitalised the museums that otherwise risked to become cathedrals in the desert.

Figure 1. An evening in Casa Lussu, during the annual event *Un caffé ad Armungia* (2017). Photo: Simone Mizzotti

The two museums, and an annual festival, joined a national network of small villages.[10] The driving forces are actors trained in higher education and with strong innovative planning views. It is key that local authorities and historical communities discover how to adopt this new perspective and to move towards a new inclusive common definition of local community.

Overcoming the ideology of modernity and the Armungia lesson: heritage as a sustainability key factor

It happens frequently that local marginalised communities adopt, almost self-denigrating and neglecting its values, the ideology of modernity, marrying the fate of the inevitable abandonment of marginal and rural areas. It is yet necessary to overcome subordination to cities and urban culture, claiming new perspectives for young people. Crafts and agricultural biodiversity may be positive predisposing factors for the renewal of local identities.

The case of Armungia shows in a nutshell these possibilities that could make it a good example in the field of heritage management, aiming to develop an integrated approach to heritage combining key factors as the public-private relationship, and the connection between intangible heritage, museums, historical landscape, natural heritage and food biodiversity. As an outcome of the balanced combination of these factors, a qualitative sustainable touristic development should be adequately manageable over time.

The case of the *Ecomuseum Casilino ad Duas Lauros:* dialogical approaches to defining cultural heritage from the suburbs of Rome, Italy

Alessandra Broccolini and Claudio Gnessi

Le 'periferia storica' di Roma. The historical suburbs of Rome

In the beginning of this century, the eastern suburbs of Rome, a 'historic' suburb, particularly rich in archeological ruins and historical landscapes, experienced the impact of internal migrations. Many people moved in from the Italian central-south regions, giving birth to new residential areas, often self-built. People from other areas of Rome, from Apulia, Abruzzi, Molise, Campania, Umbria and Sicily, from Friuli, Veneto and other regions, began to live together in the many hamlets.[11] The migration movements also left a visible trace in many areas of the historic outskirts of Rome of Marranella, Villa Certosa, degli Angeli, Alessandrino, Torpignattara, among others.[12]

10 In reference to an on-going initiative of informal network, *la rete dei piccoli paesi*, the 'Italian little villages network', including several association, groups and individuals from the North to the South of Italy. See the online article: *Rete dei piccoli paesi, musei, patrimonio*, https://www.istitutoeuroarabo.it/DM/rete-dei-piccoli-paesi-musei-patrimonio/ (01/09/2020).

11 The autonomous hamlets and the small hamlets were unofficial settlements, that unlike official ones built during the fascism, made of small houses, huts, shacks, makeshift houses of different kind where the poorest lived, often without the essential services

12 F. Ferrarotti, *Roma, da capitale a periferia*. Rome, 1970; F. Martinelli, *Roma nuo va: borgate spontanee e insediamenti pubblici. Dalla marginalità alla domanda dei servizi*. Milan, 1990 [*4a ed.*].

This area played an important role in the Resistance to Fascism.[13] Over time it developed, from a social point of view, in a mosaic of sub-proletariat, proletariat, lower middle class in an area now included in Municipio V and composed of various subareas, each one with its own physiognomy.

Urbanization has led to a continuous erosion of pieces of *campagna romana*, 'Roman countryside' which over the years have gradually been removed from the green areas to make room for new built-up areas. Of this all remains today a green area, the Casilino *Ad Duas Lauros* area, also fragmented, composed of various 'pieces' of green that survived the urbanisation, which here and there overlook the inhabited areas, for a total of 140 hectares in small part public, and mostly in the hands of private owners.

In this area already since the 1970s the District Committees made their voices heard to claim services, rights, houses, green, in an area that has long been deprived of essential services. But over the years the territory has changed; after an exodus of old inhabitants also due to small crime problems, in the 1990s the area gradually became a residence district for a number of migrant communities, especially Bangladeshis (the area was renamed Banglatown), but also Chinese, Latin American and others. This process was marked by an ongoing confrontation between old and new residents, and by a growing young population of students. All of the newcomers – students and migrants – being attracted by the low cost of houses that was also determined by the state of deterioration of the old urban fabric.[14]

Birth of a citizen's movement and an ecomuseum

In 2009 the Municipality of Rome cancelled the landscape restrictions by the Lazio Regional Administrative Court dating back to 2006. This was the consequence of an appeal filed many years earlier by the *Centro Direzionale Casilino* Consortium, a group of owners of the land of the aforementioned district, which has several million cubic meters of concrete on the area. In 2009, in fact, during a meeting at the Periphery Development Department of the Municipality of Rome, a self-styled urban redevelopment project was presented. The intervention area was precisely that of the Casilino district in Duas Lauros, which would have been submerged by over three million cubic meters of concrete in order to build a new residential district, roads and services.

Some residents protested against the destruction of one of the few green lungs of the area, arguing that it was a valuable landscape and an archaeologically relevant space; the municipal authorities however made the argument that there was nothing 'important' in this area and that this project would cultivate this *terra di risulta*, 'waste land'.

13 S. Ficacci, *Tor Pignattara. Fascismo e Resistenza di un quartiere romano*. Milan, 2007.

14 Broccolini, A., 'Torpignattara/Banglatown: Processes of re-urbanization and rhetorics of locality in an outer suburb of Rome', in: B. Thomassen and I. Clough Molinaro (eds.), *Global Rome. Changing Faces of the Eternal City*. Blomington and Indianapolis, 2014, p. 81-98; A. Broccolini and V. Padiglione (eds.), *Ripensare i margini. L'Ecomuseo Casilino per la periferia di Roma*. Rome, 2016.

Such a qualification deeply shocked the participants. The Casilino Observatory was created to represent the different neighborhoods of the area. Two authors of this contribution, Alessandra Broccolini and Claudio Gnessi, witnessed the dramatic moment in which the citizens of the Torpignattara District Committee, along with many other movements in the area, became aware of the urgency.[15] A group of citizens decided to oppose a development model centered on the 'myth of cement' and on the modernist rhetoric of the 'requalification' of neighborhoods of the suburbs. An alternative model was expressed instead with the proposal for establishing an ecomuseum which was intended as a participatory project for the enhancement and safeguarding of the various forms of heritage in the area: environmental, archaeological, anthropological, and urban.[16]

Ecomuseum as a participatory tool for the management of the territory

After about one year of intense reflection, the trajectory of *Ecomuseo Casilino ad Duas Lauros* was set up. A new *Association for the Casilino Ecomuseum in Duas Lauros* was entrusted with the tasks of launching territorial research, building community maps through participatory laboratories, managing relations with institutions and developing an urban planning project for the area, to be based on the principles of safeguarding and enhancing the environmental, landscape and cultural heritage. The research activity was inaugurated by a public event, *Towards the Ecomuseum*, which was organized in the format of a real intercultural feast including all the communities and inviting them to imagine the future Ecomuseum.

In a short time laboratory activities started up involving schools, associations, religious communities, elderly centers and institutions. The meetings were aimed at identifying on one hand the points of view from which to move towards the interpretation of the territory, and on the other hand to collectively survey and map the various environmental, landscape and cultural resources. To structure the process, it was decided to limit the intervention area to the Tor Pignattara district only, in order to test a model that could be replicated in other contexts of the Ecomuseum. From these activities it became clear that, in addition to a remarkable archaeological, landscape and environmental wealth, there was an even more dense and real complex of intangible heritage elements which make the foundation of the sense of identity of the various communities. A conflicting, plural, complex identity that represented the true wealth of the territory, and

15 For a reflection on the process that led to this bottom-up process in the Roman suburbs, see: A. Broccolini and V. Padiglione (eds.), *Ripensare i margini. L'Ecomuseo Casilino per la periferia di Roma*. Rome, 2016.

16 For a story and a reflection on ecomuseums, not only in Italy, see H. de Varine and D. Jalla, 'Oltre l'ecomuseo?', in: S. Vesco (ed.), *Gli Ecomusei. La cultura locale come strumento di sviluppo*. San Giuliano Terme, 2011, p. 23-48; A. Muzzioli and F. Gabrielli, 'Ecomuseo Casilino, La Rocca Fortezza Culturale', in: E. Turco (ed.) *Guida Verace di Tor Pignattara. Un mappamonde di quartiere.* Rome, 2020; D. Di Leo and J. Forester (eds.), *Reimagining Planning. How Italian Urban Planners are changing Planning Activities*. Rome, 2018.

therefore the lever on which to push and to build the collective awareness necessary to support the Casilino Ecomuseum project.

Identifying, mapping, researching and documenting to build an alternative narrative. The Co.Heritage programme

The preliminary research, completed in 2014, provided results that completely reversed the narrative undergone so far, identifying a very rich patrimonial complex in the territory. This evidence, combined with militant activity, led to the failure of the municipal redevelopment project which was withdrawn just at the end of 2014. The Casilino district was safe(guarded) and the Casilino Ecomuseum was born.[17]

With the abandon of the municipal redevelopment project, new planning laboratories were launched, aimed at drafting the set-up plan of the Casilino Ecomuseum. In the meantime, the research continued, culminating in 2016 with the presentation of the first series of six community maps. It was the completion of the research in the Tor Pignattara area which had led, through over 300 hours of workshops, to map over 200 resources of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. During this event the inhabitants of the districts of Pigneto, Centocelle and Gordiani were asked to adhere to the research model, and to scale it also in their territories. Thus were born, on one side the 'Sundays of the Casilino Ecomuseum' and on the other 'The days of the territory' and finally the 'Co.Heritage' programme.[18] The first one aims to tell the research of the Casilino Ecomuseum to the territory from unpublished points of view. The second responds to the need to create a moment of collective reflection on the issues of safeguarding and protecting the cultural heritage. And the third, the Co.Heritage programme, intends to create training courses aimed at bringing out how the cultural heritage is perceived and recognized by the various local communities, with particular attention to migrants, children and the elderly.

Today there are three open-air street art museums, three prestigious archaeological areas, two naturalistic-landscape areas and a meaningful intangible heritage complex. Each space is managed by a local 'community of practice' (be it an association, an informal committee, a religious community or a cultural institution) and the Casilino Ecomuseum is the glue between all of these, realizing exhibitions, organizing visits in collaboration with communities and a wide range of other shared activities.

Reversing narratives: the Casilino Ecomuseum as a museum

What in the head of some bureaucrat was a 'waste land' has revealed itself as a place with a significant cultural heritage, recognised by the communities that live there and appreciated by visitors and scholars. This long process has led to the creation of a community organization, made up of citizens, associations, third sector enterprises, … All of them are united by the need to promote a harmonious development of the territory, for which they found a

17 *Ecomuseo Casilino Ad Duas Lauros*, www.ecomuseocasilino.it (01/09/2020).

18 *Il progetto Co.Heritage 2018*, www.ecomuseocasilino.it/coheritage/2018/02/20/il-progetto-co-heritage-2018/ (01/09/2020).

Figure 2. Community map made with a community of migrant women, aimed at telling the intangible cultural heritage produced by foreign communities (2018). Photo: Luisa Fabriziani

way through the safeguarding and enhancement of the local cultural heritage. This community organization has recently been officially acknowledged by the Lazio Region, which welcomed the Casilino Ecomuseum among the territorial museum institutions, including them in the Regional Museum Organization. This is an important outcome, indicating the reversal of the narrative that had for so long characterised these places, currently defining the area of the Casilino Ecomuseum as an area of regional interest *ex lege*.

Conducting and assisting this Ecomuseum 'capitalisation' process within the civil society bottom-up movements was not an easy process; it required long maturation processes, produced conflicts, needed negotiations, and generated various changes within the new collective entity under construction and definition. The process towards forming the Ecomuseum community lasted a few years and is a process of continuous definition, linked to a territory crossed by numerous *heritage frictions*. Both as anthropologists and as residents we have followed this process, we have participated in an engaged form, motivated, and at times also struggling and suffering.

The making of a new heritage community

Throughout this dialogical process the ecomuseum imaginative frame defined itself, and a new 'heritage community' of citizens began to connect, to know each other, to frequent each other, to plan and create, generating a new form of appropriation of urban space and envisioning the territory as an imaginative resource for the future.[19]

19 The two authors of this article are both long-term residents of the neighbourhood.

From that moment on, the territory has been crossed – be it not without conflict – by important cultural stimuli, transversal and hybrid projects by the new 'eco-museum community', together with the District Committee and many other protagonists of the cultural policies in the neighborhood.

If initially it was the perception of an emergency that characterized the objective of the ecomuseum project, over time it went beyond the action of protest and resistance against cementing, and beyond the need for green spaces. An awareness of the open and holistic nature of the heritage emerged. The different actors realized how heritage is connected and integrated in the contemporary and everyday life, understanding the complexity of the territory, composed by places of sociality as well as street art, worship, or storytelling as an indissoluble whole.

The Casilino Ecomuseum is not consolidated today in a traditional museum building and structure and it does not receive public funding (the institutional involvement is still weak). It is, instead, the expression of a collective project. It exists and is embodied through its projects and by a public visibility of which the 'ecomuseum community' is the promotor. It represents a framework for social and cultural reassessment, expressing the significance of a territory for a group of citizens. Here, an idea of belonging through new relationship practices is in a permanent (or ongoing) process of definition.

Hence, the imaginative Ecomuseum space is functioning as an activator of projects and planning, giving meaning to civil action in a new way that overcomes both the usual forms of political participation and the traditional forms of community solidarity. It is a territorial movement of proximity, configuring diverging practices within a network dimension. It produces a new interpretative frame of one's own cultural world, which develops itself through relationships, connecting individual action with public space.

Reflections from the Italian experiments with ecomuseums in rural villages and the suburbs

Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari

Casa Lussu: an innovative project on traditional craftsmanship, building a new cultural ecosystem

Living in Armungia means to experiment an unforgotten experience, sharing time with a deeply rooted community, understanding the challenges of the choice made by Barbara Candia and Tommaso Lussu when deciding to come back from the big urban centers to the village of their ancestors in rural Sardinia, and to do so in a creative way.

What are the components of this 'local landscape' and what local resources represent the potential to start a new economy? Reading the description of Pietro Clemente and Tommaso Lussu, we discover that research in anthropology and archeology have played an important role in a time that preceded the ICH approach of traditional handcraft revitalization and renewal.

Here we wish to focus on the role museums have in the local life and in particular in connection with the traditional handcraft revitalization project of Barbara and Tommaso. There are two archeological, historical/ethnographical

small local museums. They have contributed in the past three decades to a slow movement of awareness raising on the values of the local and – more generally – of rural heritage. They tried to tweak and to reverse the modern fate of the peasant heritage as popular, subaltern and outdated culture. They contributed in different ways to build the foundations of a *cultural ecosystem*.

According to Pietro Clemente and Tommaso Lussu, the museum is a local activator of cultural awareness and self-esteem, contributing to new possible developments, starting the heritage-making process. Living activities, based on local heritage, boosted the reversal of the socio-economic decline process. The handcraft-revitalizing project started a process of new development possibilities for Armungia, connecting a complex of cultural activities in a post-modern and post-agricultural era.

Here the example of the challenges faced by the Casa Lussu experience help us to recognize ICH as a vital factor in building a sustainable future, together with museums. The role of community-based handcraft is crucial. According to Pietro Clemente: "In a sense, the factors of sustainable development have not been the more classical heritage, such as museums and *nuraghe*, but those of innovation guided by tradition such as craftsmanship and biodiversity based on new practical knowledge and on an intangible heritage that comes from experiences of the past."

The Casilino Ecomuseum: reversing narratives

The Casilino Ecomuseum, as a citizen initiative, became over time a creative laboratory reflecting the complexity of a superdiverse urban context. The spirit of this large and inclusive social project lies in the sharing of authority and its dialogical approach. Born from conflict, it motivated the willing to look for innovative tools for *giving the voice* to the different groups involved into this suburban area. The ecomuseum paradigm provided an adequate methodology to face the challenges of such a complex social context, contributing to the creation of a space of dialogue and creativity, a contact-zone that was also directly inspired by the participatory ICH paradigm.

Is the word 'museum' still pertinent to grasp and understand this experience? What kind of heritage processes are activated by the 'ecomuseum' paradigm in this superdiverse urban context? Being an engaging and inclusive museum, the Casilino story meets the spirit of the UNESCO 2003 Convention:

> "(…) endeavor to ensure that their safeguarding plans and programmes are fully inclusive of all sectors and strata of the society, including indigenous people, migrants, immigrants and refugees, people of different ages and genders, persons with disabilities and members of vulnerable groups, in conformity with article 11 of the Convention." (Operational Directive 174)

A dimension to highlight, learning this process, is the need for institutional recognition. The (eco)museum model and paradigm demonstrate an interesting power. To provide enough strength to defend (or 'empower') the interests of the groups that make up the process of such civil society initiative,

the dialogue with institutions and the acquisition of legitimacy, is a crucial challenge. According to Claudio Gnessi: "This community institution has recently been officially acknowledged by the Lazio Region, which welcomed the Casilino Ecomuseum among the territorial museum institutions, including them in the Regional Museum Organization. An important outcome, which reverses the narrative that has always characterized these places, as it defines the area of the Casilino Ecomuseum as an area of regional interest *ex lege*."

The ecomuseum is, in this case, the device of legitimacy of a living social process, flexible and open but also competitive with more classical institutions and museums. If we would consider the impact and importance of the social means and functions realized as criteria for museum's work and accomplishments, the (value of) ecomuseum activities would probably be estimated higher than those of many other more ancient cultural institutions.

Heritage as a sustainability key factor

In the two descriptions of Casa Lussu and Ecomuseo Casilino, we find a series of key-concepts: reversing narratives, changing the 'modernist rhetoric', building and supporting processes of resistance and resolution of conflict in cases of controversial heritages. These concepts are helpful for the interpretation of concrete processes taking shape in both case-studies presented. In particular, I want to point out the process of acquiring legitimacy, generated through combining and accumulating the translation capacity of cultural brokers, cultivating the dialogue with the scientific field, and at the same time activating the attention and involvement of regional/national institutions and policies.

Similar developments were at work, in both the rural as well as the urban contexts we have explored. For Casa Lussu, the context of 'inner areas', which are depopulated and at risk of devitalisation, are object of a national strategy in Italy.[20] For Ecomuseum Casilino, in the context of urban suburbs, it concerns a question of overpopulation and a serious situation of non-recognition of cultural affiliations and a multilayered heritage waiting for possibilities of expression. In the two cases, we are facing the major challenge that culture is being missed as one of the basic pillars in sustainable development processes, as I have indicated also previously in my contribution to the publication realised in the context of the IMP project.[21] When culture become a matter of

20 A national Italian strategy, is devoted to the inner area, as reported in the official website of the Italian Council of Ministers. "As part of the regional cohesion policy for the 2014-2020 cycle, particular attention – as a tool for the development of the entire country – was placed on the so-called 'internal areas'. The predominant part of the Italian territory (about sixty percent of the national territory) is characterized by the presence of small municipalities, far from essential services – such as school, health and mobility – and the marginalization of these areas therefore assumes 'national' importance; the policy document for the programming of the regional policy *Methods and Objectives for an Effective Use of Community Funds 2014-2020*, has in fact recognized that the development of the entire country also depends on the development of its internal areas." [Translation from the original]

21 V. Lapiccirella Zingari, 'Sustainable development: why is culture missing?', in T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 56-58.

human rights, as evocated by the Marshall Shalins introduction to the 1995 UNESCO report *Our creative diversity*, it makes visible the connection between cultural heritage and human well-being.[22] Revealing the power of living cultural heritage as a key factor to build sustainable models and experiences, creates alternative and heritage-driven ways of life.

Crossing dreams: rural and urban utopias in concrete life-experiences

During several years, starting from the period of first discussions on its concept in 2016, the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* brought together so many and different experiences of museums and – but also *as*[23] – heritage communities, groups and individuals, by bringing together ideas and dreams, really helping us to nourish our critical and constructive reflections on heritage, museums, international conventions at work, and allowing us to evaluate limits and potentials of our human tools together.

In these 2020 confinement times due to the COVID-19 pandemic, let us conclude this short reflection on the irreplaceable value of experience and human relations. Our connective meetings have revealed us the importance to share lived experiences, made of encounters between minds and bodies, looks and smiles in their infinite expressions. Strengthening intercultural dialogue means to cultivate these embodied and shared imaginaries, building spaces of expression for biographical approaches to cultural heritage. Telling the story of the Casa Lussu and Casilino experiences, and listening to the voices of Tommaso Lussu and Claudio Gnessi to the occasion of IMP sessions in Rotterdam, Palermo and Bern allowed *to see* and *grasp* the power of embodied experience. These are two stories that at the same time also embody a concrete demonstration of how change is possible, with shared dreams as the substance for a better future.

22 *Our creative diversity: report of the World Commission on Culture and Development*, https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000101651 (01/09/2020).

23 In reference to the conceptualization of museum as part of "heritage communities", as defined by the Council of Europe 2005 Framework Convention on the social value of heritage for society, also named Faro Convention, see M Jacobs' reflections: M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and intangible heritage communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century*. Bruges, 2020, p. 41.

ANDRZEJ IWO SZOKA

Szopka Krakowska

The Nativity Scene Tradition and the Museum of Kraków

On the 29th of November 2018 the Intergovernmental Committee inscribed the "nativity scene (*szopka*) tradition" in Kraków (Poland) on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In the Polish delegation that took part in the 13th session of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee in Port Louis, Mauritius, there were not only government officials, diplomats and legal advisors. There were also four nativity scene makers and one museum professional from the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków. The inclusion on the UNESCO list signified that the international community appreciated the transmission and vitality of the tradition. Would the nativity scene tradition in Kraków survive without the interventions of the museum? Would it have a different form? Which role did the museum and the museum professionals play in the transmission, and now safeguarding process?

The nativity scene (*szopka*) tradition in Kraków and its musealization

A history of the nativity scene craft can be divided into at least two main stages. In the first stage, before 1937, this phenomenon existed without any significant institutional support. The second stage is characterized by growing institutionalization. It started in 1937 with the first competition for the most beautiful nativity scene. Today, some authors suggest that a third period is beginning: the UNESCO-ization.[1]

The beginning of the first period is difficult to indicate. There are indications that the nativity scenes were presented in churches in Poland since the Middle Ages, possibly responding to suggestions by Francis of Assisi.[2] With the passing of time these immobile scenes were developed into a sort of more active puppet theater in the churches. Descriptions of the spectacles called *szopka* or *jesełka* are known from the 18th century in Poland. Alongside the Bible characters like the Holy Family and the Three Wise Men also representatives of various social groups (Polish nobility, burghers, peasants,

1 The third period begins nowday and is called the UNESCO-ization of the nativity-scene craft, see A. Soćko-Mucha, 'From "tradition" to "intangible heritage": Kraków's Nativity-scene craft', *Etnografia Polska* 63, 2019, 1-2, p. 207.

2 A. Kozieł and J. Kubiena, *The Kraków Bethlehem. The History of the Kraków Nativity Crib.* Kraków, 2003, p. 18-19.

soldiers, Jewish people, Romani people, Ukrainian Cossacks) were portrayed in these performances. The screenplays and dialogues of these popular plays (possibly influenced by the French puppet theater) are unknown. Its joviality and indecency could be the reason for the objection of the Catholic church authorities and as a consequence for the eviction these performances from the church buildings until the end of the 18th century.

But these kinds of shows continued to be played in inns and private houses. In the 19th century the nativity scene theatre acquired the local features. In the performances played in Kraków there were more figures from the surrounding cultural space like 'the lad and maid in folk costume singing local songs' or the legendary 'alchemist and sorcerer Master Twardowski who made a deal with the Devil'.

The set design for these performances also changed. A crib with Baby Jesus was surrounded with miniaturized buildings of a town. On the oldest representations of the nativity scenes, we are not able to identify specific cityscapes.[3]

Since the end of the 19th century, these elements of miniature urban architecture began to refer to recognizable buildings. In Kraków, it is the higher tower of St. Mary's Basilica with the characteristic 'helmet' that is presented in the oldest preserved Kraków nativity scene made about 1890 by tiler Michał Ezenekier from Krowodrza. Today this 'mother of nativity scenes' is preserved in the collections of the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. It features a scene of adoration on the upper floor and, below, a stage where the dolls are shown. The symmetrical construction is topped with three towers, resembling constructions in Kraków. It is a representation of the cityscape, but not a realistic miniaturized copy. According to the words of titled creator Tadeusz Gillert: "The Kraków nativity scene is such a thing that when you look at it you know that it is Kraków, but it is not a copy of Kraków." The phenomenon of giving recognizable local characteristics to elements in the crib was not limited to Kraków, as examples from Lviv show.

At the turn of the 20th century, creators of Kraków nativity scenes organized themselves. The community included craftsmen and bricklayers and their families living in the outskirts of Kraków, in former villages like Krowodrza, Zwierzniec, Grzegórzki, Dąbie, Ludwinów and Czarna Wieś. Their main motivation was not so much upholding traditions, but the need to generate income. The performances were played for a fee, in the Christmas season in the homes of wealthy townspeople or in the inns.

Moreover, the intellectual and artistic elite of Kraków were inspired by the creativity of bricklayers and 'quoted' them in other performances. An example is the nativity scene played in 1906 in the famous Kraków cabaret *Zielony Balonik* (Green Balloon) in the art café of Jan Michalik. A crib and figurines can still be seen inside this place today. After the First World War, the context had changed. The inhabitants of Kraków preferred to go to the cinema or other venues in December rather than to invite a group of bricklayers with a nativity

3 Reproductions of the oldest representations see A. Szałapak, *Szopka Krakowska jako zjawisko folkloru Krakowskiego na tle szopki europejskiej. Studium historyczno-etnograficzne*. Kraków, 2012, p. 110 and 135.

scene to their homes and apartments. Therefore, the makers began to create smaller nativity scenes in order to sell them as a Christmas gift or for putting them under the Christmas tree. A number of individual creators with their nativity scenes wandered around the city and sang Christmas carols, expecting donations.

The older tradition of puppet theater was maintained by tram driver Walenty Malik from Zwierzyniec with his son Włodzimierz. They performed their nativity play in a club room of the tram drivers and in schools. In the 1920s and 1930s we note the first attempts to institutional protection of the tradition of Kraków nativity scenes. Established in 1868 as a private institution, the Museum of Science and Industry in Kraków made its cinema hall available to the nativity play of Walenty Malik. In 1926, museum workers took the initiative to make a set, puppets and acted themselves.

1937

A breakthrough took place in 1937. A new policy was introduced by mayor Mieczysław Kaplicki (1933-1939) to invest in local culture, including folk festivals and ancient traditions, as a development strategy for the city. Folklore was promoted with new measures and media, like radio broadcasts, posters distributed in Polish cities and abroad, and engaging a number of stars of popular culture. The goal was to attract a new type of visitors to the city: tourists.

To manage this policy the mayor appointed dr. Jerzy Dobrzycki, the head of the Propaganda and Art Office and deputy head of the Department of Education and Culture of the Municipal Council. Dobrzcki launched the summer festival called 'the Days of Kraków' (1936-1939) which included numerous traditional celebrations. His second initiative was a competition for the most beautiful Kraków nativity scene. The main idea of the competition was to raise the artistic level of small and medium-sized cribs used for the caroling. The competition

Figure 1. A group with the Kraków nativity scene, 1936. Photo: 'Światowid' Photo Agency, Museum of Kraków archives.

Figure 2. The first competition for the most beautiful nativity scene, 1937. Photo: 'Światowid' Photo Agency, Museum of Kraków archives.

regulations specified the rules. The shape of the crib had to be 'in accordance with tradition' with conventional towers or domes. The acceptable materials were colored paper, tin foil (*staniol*), colored tissue paper, glass or cellophane. Metal sheets and aluminum were excluded. The organizers also indicated the monument to the poet Adam Mickiewicz on the Main Market Square as the place where the competition had to take place. Winners were chosen by a jury which was composed mainly of museologists: Kazimierz Witkiewicz (a director of the Museum of Science and Industry in Kraków), Ludwik Strojek (director of the Archives of the Cracow City Historical Records with subordinate the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków) and dr. Tadeusz Seweryn (Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków).

In the first edition, 86 cribs were submitted to the contest. Most of the participants were men, but a few women also took part. The winners received financial prizes, cakes, wine, sausages or even tramway tickets and books funded by the local companies. In 1938 the second edition of the competition took place, but only 48 cribs were evaluated. No competitions were organized during World War II. Activities of the groups displaying nativity play were forbidden. However, some groups continued secretly presenting their performances in the churches and monasteries.[4] In some cribs, the King Herod's puppet was modified to symbolize Adolf Hitler.

The next competition was organized in 1945 by the Municipal Council of Kraków. In 1946, the organization of the contest was taken over by the Historical Museum of the city of Kraków and its new director Jerzy Dobrzycki. In the communist period, especially in the most difficult times of Stalinist repression in the years 1948-1954, the competition was conducted, but the authorities' attitude was ambiguous. On the one hand, the nativity scene as a presentation of the birth of God was in contradiction to the officially propagated atheism. On the other hand, the authorities did not want to give up on the competition of cribs whose creators were the bricklayers and workers, called by the communist propaganda 'a leading force of the nation'. During this period, in several cribs submitted to the competition the Holy Family was replaced with symbols of official ideology. Also the jury of the competition was ambiguous. Nativity scenes containing Bible figures were not disqualified, but won awards. The prizes were also given for cribs without the Holy Family. Anna Szałapak, a researcher of the Kraków nativity scene and a curator of the Kraków Nativity Scene Competition in 1987-2007, emphasizes that during this period the human figurines as a relic of the former nativity play had become less important. The architecture present in the cribs had become a determinant of the artistic level.[5] The nativity scenes prepared for the annual competition have changed over the decades. The changes concerned using materials, mechanisms and lighting. In these nativity scenes created since the 1950s colored paper was replaced almost completely by the colored tin foil called *staniol*. The widespread availability of domestic electrical appliances allowed

4 During this period the following groups were active: the family of Malik, family of Dudzik, family of Tabor, group of Ferdynda Kijaka-Solowskiego and Tadeusza Grzesło.

5 Szałapak, *Szopka Krakowska*, p. 217.

Figure 3. *Szopka* with a symbol: Six-Year Plan instead of Holy Family, 1952. Photo: Museum of Kraków archives.

the creators to put mobile mechanisms in their cribs. Thanks to the recycling of electric engines they could for instance set in motion several figurines. Candles were replaced by electric bulbs (today LED bulbs).

In the 1970s and 1980s, new types of materials appeared, factory-made components: haberdashery ribbons, synthetic beads and thin metal plaques. In the beginning, the jury was against this innovation. But when the best artists like Stanisław Paczyński, Bronisław Pięcik, Tedeusz Żmierek, Andrzej Morański started to use it, the museum experts had to accept these controversial materials. This case reveals some tension between the creators and the museologist. The conservative attitude of the latter can hold back the changes of the phenomenon, but the consistency of the creators can transform the 'canon' of the Kraków nativity scene. Indeed, some trends have been stopped by the jury and the museum, such as making nativity scenes from unusual materials: food or fabrics.

In this period the jury introduced four categories according to the height of the cribs: small (up to 70 cm high), medium (from 70 to 120 cm high) and large (over 120 cm high) and miniature nativity scenes (up to 15 cm high). In 1978 cribs made by adult creators were separated from work done by children and adolescents. In the last decades nativity scenes makers also began to look for new inspiration in the architecture of Kraków, besides the Gothic and Baroque church towers references, namely to the architecture of the 19th and 20th centuries. As a result of all these changes a new type of Kraków nativity scene built especially for the competition was formed which Anna Szałapak defined as follows:

> "The nativity scene is a small, slender, multi-level, tower-shaped, symmetrical, richly ornamented construction, depicting the place of the birth of Jesus, the Son of God. This construction, which is made of light, perishable materials, is characterized by the piling up of miniaturized elements of Kraków's historic architecture, transformed and combined in a fantastical manner."[6]

The definition was introduced into the official regulations of the Kraków Nativity Scene Competition. Some passages of the definition were questioned by members of the jury, but it indicates the basic characteristics of the Kraków nativity scene for the contestants. However, some creators do not pay attention to such regulations. One of the most titled creators claimed that he only learned about these rules many years later from his granddaughter. For years he created the cribs in accordance with his inner belief about what the Kraków nativity scene should look like.

Community or individuals?

After 1945 a group of about forty Kraków nativity scenes makers participated each year. Over time, they passed on their passion and skills to their children who continue the tradition. They were not the bricklayers of old times and only the family of Malik upheld traditions of the pre-war ancestors. The Kraków nativity scene makers were and are workers, craftsmen, teachers, artists, engineers, academics, pensioners, students and schoolkids. Did they create a community or were they a group of individuals?

All initiatives leading to the formalization of this group have not been successful to this day. At the end of the 1960s, the nativity-scene makers' club was established on the initiative of the director of the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, but it quickly ended its activity.[7] To this day nativity scene makers have not established their association. Likewise, most scene makers don't want to belong to the Folk Artists Association, which they perceive as an NGO caring more for the heritage of the country than the city. In the 21st

6 Szałapak, *Szopka Krakowska*, p. 216, translated by Michelle Granas in: Soćko-Mucha, *From "tradition"*, p. 208.

7 E. Fryś-Pietraszkowa, 'Szopkarze Krakowscy a konkursy szopek', *Polska Sztuka Ludowa – Konteksty* 26, 1972, fasc. 1, p. 58.

Figure 4. Anna and Rozalia Malik with their nativity scene, 2012. Photo: Andrzej Janikowski, Museum of Kraków archives.

century, a group of nativity scene makers created a website to facilitate the sale of the cribs, but only a few were interested in this idea.[8] However, we must remember that many tasks that an association of nativity scene makers could take on, have been carried out for decades by the museum: attracting buyers of the cribs, arranging meetings of the community, obtaining public funds, organizing exhibitions of the Kraków nativity scenes, issuing publications, etc. Perhaps this is the reason why the creators do not see the need to establish their NGO.

The Kraków nativity scene makers are closely integrated with the Historical Museum of the City Kraków (from 2019 onwards called the Museum of Kraków). It has roots in the communist era when this institution seemed for *szopka* makers a safe haven in opposition to the officials who were unfriendly to their Christian tradition.

In the surveys conducted by the museum staff among the nativity scenes makers in the late 1970s and early 1980s, they emphasized their good relationship with the museum and they considered the jury as the highest authority (although some of them also pointed out some 'unfair' decisions that concerned them personally).[9] In communist times the museum was subordinated to local authorities, nevertheless it had a limited autonomy. And it can be mentioned that in 1980 most of the museum employees joined the first non-governmental trade union 'Solidarity'.[10] In 1986 a censor ordered

Figure 5. Jury of the contest, 2012. Photo: Andrzej Janikowski, Museum of Kraków archives.

8 *Szopki Krakowskie*, https://szopki.eu (25/02/2020).

9 Archives of the Department of folk and traditions of Kraków in the Museum of Kraków.

10 M. Niezabitowski, *Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa w latach 1945-1996* (Ph.D. Disseration, Kraków, 2019), p. 131-132. Available via: http://rep.up.krakow.pl/xmlui/handle/11716/6239 (08/03/2020).

Figure 6. The seventieth competition for the most beautiful nativity scene, 2012. Photo: Andrzej Janikowski, Museum of Kraków archives.

Figure 7. *Szopka* makers during the Lauksnos International Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival in Klaipeda, 2019. Photo: Andrzej Szoka.

to withdraw a candidature from the contest. A nativity scene of Andrzej Morański contained a figurine of general Wojciech Jaruzelski, the leader of the communist government. As a result of negotiations between the museologists and the officials the nativity scene could stay in the competition, although the controversial figurine had to be removed. This nativity scene was purchased and it is now in the museum collection.

The creators have a particular respect for Anna Szałapak, not only as the ethnographer employed at the museum, but also as the singer called 'the White Angel' and as an artist of the famous literary cabaret *Piwnica pod Baranami* (the Cellar under the Rams). Many nativity scene makers commemorated Anna Szałapak after her death in 2017 by placing a figurine of a white angel in their works.

The opinions of museum staff had an impact on the careers of the creators. For example, in 1983 the curator of the competition Tamara Petryk convinced the disappointed creator Marian Dłużniewski to return to the craft after a three-year break. After his comeback, he won several awards.[11] The good reputation of the museum amongst the nativity scene makers is partly the result of obtained benefits. The museum gives financial awards in the competition and buys the works from the creators for the collection (already 270 objects in 2019). Furthermore, the museum also organizes educational lessons and workshops and pays the creators for their involvement in these activities.

For decades the museum focused on the popularization of the material aspects of the phenomenon: post-competition exhibitions *in situ*, exhibitions of the Kraków nativity scenes in many places around the world, making and distributing albums presenting cribs from the museum collection. The identity, skills, passions of creators and the intergenerational communication were left aside.

In 2012 the museum has realized a project of interviews with the most active creators who were interviewed in their workshops by dr. Magdalena Kwiecińska. The result of the project was a series of three documentaries: *Kraków in Miniature*[12], *The Tradition of Generations*[13], *From Competition to Competition*[14]. A publication presenting the profiles of thirty artists was also published.[15]

A significant step in the interaction between the creators of nativity scenes and the museum was cooperation in preparing applications for entry on the national intangible heritage list in 2014 and then on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2018. During the meetings and consultations, the community has revealed its needs: lack of

11 Szałapak, *Szopka Krakowska*, p. 347.

12 M. Kwiecińska e.a., *Kraków w miniaturze* [*Kraków in miniature*]. Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2012. Available via: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rrFrVXW4QYM (10/03/2020).

13 M. Kwiecińska e.a., *Tradycja pokoleń* [*The Traditions of Generations*]. Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, 2012. Available via: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O1YNUKJ9nQA (10/03/2020).

14 M. Kwiecińska e.a., *Od konkursu do konkursu* [*From Competition to Competition*]. Historical Museum of the City of Kraków 2012. Available via: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rkqtFJKHgaU (10/03/2020).

15 M. Kwiecińska Magdalena and M. Niechaj Małgorzata, *Portrety twórców szopek Krakowskich.* Kraków, 2012. The biographies of the creators are also published on the museum's website: https://opowiedzmimiasto.mhk.pl (10/03/2020).

space at home to store the annually-made cribs, difficulties in renting workshop spaces, lack of funds for the purchase of materials, difficulties with selling the finished works. The creators pointed out that the museum's support was also insufficient. These numerous meetings furthermore had a social aspect and brought the community together. There have always been friendships and animosities among the Kraków nativity scenes makers, but as one artist emphasizes: "So many meetings, and such a good spirit of cooperation have never occurred before." The ties between creators are enhanced. For example, a group of creators reached an agreement during a meeting at the museum that they will jointly order the larger quantities of tin foil from a producer and thanks to this everyone will pay less.

Today, the museum's activities, in cooperation with the city authorities, have an impact on the phenomenon of the Kraków nativity scene. The latest example is the project 'The Walk All Around Nativity Scenes'. As part of this project, the museum ordered the big nativity scenes which can be viewed from four sides (the typical Kraków nativity scene is viewed only from the front). These cribs were placed in showcases on squares and in city parks as a way to promote the competition and post-competition exhibition and the phenomenon as such. However, this affected the phenomenon because the two-sided nativity scenes have recently appeared among the works submitted to the competition.

UNESCO and what's next?

In 2018 the decision of the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee brought joy and hope to solve the problems of the community. The application for inclusion on the Representative List was submitted by Poland's Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, but the safeguarding measures should be implemented with the involvement of several institutions: Culture and National Heritage of Kraków City Hall, the Historical Museum of the City of Kraków, the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, and the Friends of Kraków's History and Historical Monuments Society.[16] One year later, it can be said that the Museum of Kraków initiates and manages the implementation of these measures. The museum staff has a closer relationship with the creators than the officials. Together they prepared a proposal for a resolution of the Kraków City Council including a designation of the communal flats as studios for the Kraków nativity scene makers or a promotion of the Kraków nativity scenes as the official city souvenirs.

The nativity scene makers and museologists joined the network of international contacts concerning the intangible cultural heritage. An example is the participation of a group of artists and museologists in the Lauksnos International Intangible Cutural Heritage Festival in Klaipeda. The festival took place in July 2019 and was held under the auspices of the Lithuanian National UNESCO Commission. The participants from Kraków had

16 *Nomination file No. 001362 - Nativity scene (szopka) tradition in Krakow,* https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/38977-EN.doc (13/03/2020).

the opportunity to meet with actors and networks of phenomena inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity from other countries: Albania, Argentina, Armenia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Croatia, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Serbia and Ukraine. During the festival a group of ten makers created one crib together which was a very unusual practice.[17] Another tendency is the participation of creators in the projects of the exhibitions in Poland and abroad. In addition to the Kraków nativity scenes from the museum collection a living heritage is presented through the meetings with the artists and the workshops of the craft.

Conclusion

For decades museums had a great impact on the phenomenon of Kraków nativity scenes, starting with the inventing of the competition and ending with the inclusion on the UNESCO list. Alicja Soćko-Mucha considers that it is possible to claim that these persons are co-creators of Kraków's nativity-scene heritage.[18]

It is difficult to say whether the Kraków nativity scene craft would have survived the last eighty years without the museum. Certainly, this phenomenon would look completely different because the scale of the museum's interference was very significant. There is also no doubt that the Kraków nativity scene craft and the collection of the cribs are a motor for the Museum of Kraków. Much of this institution's activity is related to the Kraków nativity scene and its creators. Without this phenomenon the museum would be a completely different place. The nativity scene is also a continuous commentary on the changing city that the museum needs. What's more, without the eighty years of cooperation between the Kraków nativity scene makers and the museum, the practice and the safeguarding of the intangible heritage in Poland would look different and many institutions build on these experiences.

17 M. Niechaj, *Fenomen szopkarstwa krakowskiego. Od tradycji do listy UNESCO* [*The Phenomenon of Nativity Scene-Making in Kraków. From Tradition to UNESCO list*]. Kraków, 2019, p. 73-76.

18 Soćko-Mucha, *From "tradition"*, p. 217.

MARC JACOBS AND JORIJN NEYRINCK

Transforming, Not Saving

Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and/or the World

A sequel...?

A previous special issue of *Volkskunde* we co-edited together in 2014 drew attention to the role of cultural brokers, mediators and translators in processes of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH). If you reread the introduction, you will discover that it was published just after the tenth anniversary of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the publication of the fourth version of its Operational Directives (ODs). It was in part a collection of papers of an international colloquium on ICH brokers, facilitators, mediators and intermediaries, organized by FARO, tapis plein and the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (UNESCO Chair on critical heritage studies and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage)[1], on November 6th, 2013.

It also had the explicit intention to influence debates in the broader cultural heritage sector: "This new focus on cultural brokerage is also important for other sectors as is illustrated in the discussion about community involvement in museums and other heritage institutions."[2] This sentence was accompanied with a reference to a volume, edited in 2013 by Wayne Modest and Vivian Golding, on museums, mediation and community involvement. One of the contributions in that book eloquently captured what was going on:

> "Since the 1990s, there has been increasing discussion about community involvement and participation in museums and, to a lesser extent, art galleries, giving rise to terms such as consultation, outreach, inclusion, engagement, inreach, co-curation, and co-production. (...) Each of these terms has different connotations and politics in terms of how much control is retained, ceded, or shared by institutions and individuals. (...) This gives new impetus to the long-standing question within new museology of how to deal with conflicting perspectives,

1 M. Jacobs e.a., 'Internationale netwerking, duurzame ontwikkeling en evoluerende kaders. Het programma van de UNESCO-leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 119:2, 2019, p. 179-191.

2 M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and A. Van der Zeijden, 'UNESCO, Brokers and Critical Success (F)Actors in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 251-252.

competing agendas, issues of control, and who has the authority to speak on behalf of others."[3]

The focus of the special issue in 2014 was on heritage brokerage and safeguarding intangible heritage, not specifically on museums. Several contributions dealt with anthropology and folklore studies and their relation with the safeguarding intangible heritage paradigm.[4] They brought the strong influence of some of the biggest museums in the world, in particular the Smithsonian institution and cultural brokers like Richard Kurin, into the spotlight, and by extension the work of American public folklorists and museums in the two decades before the *'shrinking the USA'*-era under Donald Trump.[5] One of the other contributions, by Veronika Filkó, described how in 2009, hence before the arrival into power of Viktor Orbán (prime minister of Hungary since 2010), a department of ICH was installed in the Hungarian Open Air Museum and assigned the responsibility for the 'national' inventory of ICH. The work done by this ICH department from within the museum was deliberately connected to a networking policy in the country.[6] How this functions today, what the effects are, and in which policy context this system evolves, ten years later, would deserve an independent critical study. If we look back we can only regret that in a decade the policy of some of the best pupils in the class (also think of the Brazil of Gilberto Gil, Maria Fonseca and Antonio Arantes) could become so problematic under specific forms of right-wing populist leadership. It is also a lesson that periodic upgrading and reconsidering is crucial in assessing heritage politics and policy and choosing examples to follow; a lesson that still is very hard to digest within the UNESCO system, of – for instance – the 2003 Convention. Do also note that the brokerage roles of NGOs were discussed in that special issue of *Volkskunde* (and in other places, like the ICH NGO Forum symposia). These themes will not be discussed in detail in this volume.[7]

3 R. Mason, C. Whitehead and H. Graham, 'One Voice to Many Voices? Displaying Polyvocality in an Art Gallery', in: V. Golding and W. Modest (eds.), *Museums and Communities, Curators, Collections, and Collaboration*. London, 2013, p. 163.

4 M. Jacobs, 'Cultural Brokerage, Addressing Boundaries and the New Paradigm of Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage. Folklore Studies, Transdisciplinary Perspectives and UNESCO', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 265-291. Compare with M. Jacobs, 'Bruegel and Burke were here! Examining the criteria implicit in the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding ICH: the first decade', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 9, 2014, p. 100-118.

5 R. Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker. A View from the Smithsonian*. Washington and London, 1997; R. Baron, 'Public folklore dialogism and critical heritage studies', *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22:8, 2016, p. 588-606. See also on the topic of museum festivals and good practices in the USA, O. Cadaval e.a. (eds.) *Curatorial Conversations: Cultural Representation and the Smithsonian Folklife Festival*. Jackson, 2016.

6 V. Filkó, 'Using Networks in the Process of Developing the National Inventory of ICH in Hungary', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 379-385.

7 Among other contributions in that issue, see D. Lewis, 'Understanding the Role of Non-government Organizations (NGOs) as Cultural Brokers', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 293-298 and J. Neyrinck, 'Beyond the Conventional. How to Foster Co-production for Safeguarding ICH', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 319-338.

In other words, in particular these two special issues – 2014, 2020 – of *Volkskunde* should be combined as part of one bigger, ongoing conversation, in and beyond the 2003 Convention's paradigm.

Let us use two quotes to provide insight in what has happened and what is at stake. In Dutch, we have a nice expression of '*voortschrijdend inzicht*', literally 'insights striding (or treading) further'. In this special issue, ongoing discussions about vocabulary and discussions about for instance the museum definition get much attention. In the contribution of Filomena Sousa, even a word pair like 'bottom up' and 'top down' is being questioned. In 2014, the importance of *translation* for brokers was emphasized. It is a key skill for operating at and with intersections, and for transformation processes:

> "The brokers have to be able to address the power-holders, to be flexible enough to deal with different actors and to package it in a convincing manner. This includes 'translation' into the correct jargon and register (avoiding taboo words, sticking to the vocabulary of the 2003 Convention and the 2014 operational directives, i.e. as long as the 2016 version, which may contain new words regarding sustainable development and … brokerage, is not yet available). The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the one hand involves a top-down reboot operation by means of a severe limitation of vocabulary, but on the other, thanks to article 15 of the Convention, it is an invitation to devise bottom-up solutions and approaches. This is why brokers who are also 'translators' are so crucial."[8]

The self-fulfilling prophecy came true. Since 2016 the Operational Directives contain not only some suggestions but a whole new chapter on sustainable development, directly inspired by the United Nations' *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. It also contains the word 'brokers' in crucial places.[9] As they cannot be quoted enough, to generate impact, OD170 and OD171 are keys to make the title of this article and this volume come true:

> "[OD]170. With a view to effectively implementing the Convention, States Parties shall endeavour, by all appropriate means, to recognize the importance and strengthen the role of intangible cultural heritage

8 M. Jacobs, 'Development Brokerage, Anthropology and Public Action. Local Empowerment, International Cooperation and Aid: Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 299-318, p. 310-311. For a case study, see M. Jacobs, 'Domesticating and harvesting shrimps – Fisher communities and the sea: Blue Ocean Strategies, translation processes and the UNESCO paradigm of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage', in: F. Barata e.a. (eds.), *Heritages and Memories from the Sea: 1st International Conference of the UNESCO Chair in Intangible Heritage and Traditional Know-How: Linking Heritage*. Évora, 2015, p. 174-189.

9 Note that this impact on an international policy text is also illustrating the relativity of the general measuring systems in academia in the Western world in the recent past like impact factors of scholarly journals: that of a journal like *Volkskunde* that is usually not published in English for instance but in Dutch flirts with between impact factor zero and 0.5. By influencing the Operational directives of the 2003 Convention, the global impact should not be underestimated.

as a driver and guarantee of sustainable development, as well as fully integrate the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into their development plans, policies and programmes at all levels. While recognizing the interdependence between the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage and sustainable development, States Parties shall strive to maintain a balance between the three dimensions of sustainable development (the economic, social and environmental), as well as their interdependence with peace and security, in their safeguarding efforts and shall to this end facilitate cooperation with relevant experts, *cultural brokers and mediators through a participatory approach*. States Parties shall acknowledge the dynamic nature of intangible cultural heritage in both urban and rural contexts and shall direct their safeguarding efforts solely on such intangible cultural heritage that is compatible with existing international human rights instruments, as well as with the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and of sustainable development."

[OD]171. Insofar as their development plans, policies and programmes involve intangible cultural heritage or may potentially affect its viability, States Parties shall endeavour to:

(a) ensure the widest possible participation of communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals that create, maintain and transmit such heritage, and involve them actively in elaboration and implementation of such plans, policies and programmes;

(b) ensure that those communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals concerned are the primary beneficiaries, both in moral and in material terms, of any such plans, policies and programmes;

(c) ensure that such plans, policies and programmes respect ethical considerations and do not negatively affect the viability of the intangible cultural heritage concerned or decontextualize or denaturalize that heritage;

(d) facilitate cooperation with sustainable development experts and cultural brokers for the appropriate integration of the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage into plans, policies and programmes, both within and outside the cultural sector."

Museums: places, spaces, homes, contact zones

As we explained in the institutional introduction to this special issue, this publication is concluding a multiannual and largely networked project, researching and developing the convergence of museums and safeguarding

intangible cultural heritage.[10] There was a whole series of conferences and meetings with dozens of papers and lectures presented during the last three years. Some were processed in the book *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Other papers were included in the line-up for the present scholarly publication. More than in the 'Brokerage'-issue, spaces and places are in the focus here. Not just (who or what is on) the museum floors or walls, in front or back-office rooms, but also metaphorically. "Contact zones"[11] or "boundaries" are just two of the trendy and useful terms to think this through, just like "liminal", "liminoid" or, even "fluid", like Léontine Meyer-van Mensch explained.[12] In her PhD, Nadezhda Savova tried in turn, unsuccessfully until now, to pitch a new concept to interpret safeguarding from the perspective of for instance a museum or another community center with a building and a (semi-)public space that citizens (communities, groups and individuals - CGIs) can physically enter and use: 'heritage house-guarding':

> "Yet the question of 'where' or of the very 'how' of transmission of heritage within a particular group was very generally asked and hardly practically responded in the hundreds of pages of UNESCO documents and conference follow-up notes (…) as interpreters and sometimes implementers of UNESCO's discourses, (…) these houses of different sizes, design, participants, and politics, offer much more tangible options than the long documents filled with generic terms and wishful talking. Indeed, the (…) multifunctionality turns them into polyphonic spaces for both modern and traditional arts through heritage houseguarding (Savova 2011c) – again, a term by which I denote the processes that have been securing heritage safeguarding in transmission across generations through activities hosted regularly by the house/cultural center."[13]

The historian/anthropologist James Clifford imported and propagated the contact zone metaphor in his *Routes* book in 1997, also to counter and broaden ideas about the museum as (just) a 'safe', where objects could be saved, kept, more or less protected from deteriorating forces in 'the outside world'. He developed his ideas in a more recent book, *Returns*:

10 M. Jacobs, J. Neyrinck and E. Tsakiridis, 'Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and museums. A crossing of several projects and trajectories', in: *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 121:3, 2020, p. 241-248.

11 J. Clifford, 'Museums as contact zones', in: J. Clifford, *Routes: travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge MA, 1997, p. 188-219.

12 L. Meijer-van Mensch, in T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 68-71.

13 N. Savova-Grigorova, *Bread and Home: Global Cultural Politics in the Tangible Places of Intangible Heritage. (Bulgaria, Cuba, Brazil)*. Princeton, 2013, p. 144.

> "(…) the chronotope of the (…) 'museum' (including a range of sites, like the 'archive,' the 'monument,' etc.), where valued memories and objects are gathered, rescued from a forward-rushing, linear progress that never turns back on itself. A permanent home for things worth keeping, the museum is a last destination—thus its association with immobility, death. Things in museums or archives, deposited there by history, come to stay—or so it seems (…) today (…) the chronotope (…) museums everywhere, under pressure from cultural property claims, repatriations, marketing, and commercialization, are in flux, unstable and creative 'contact zones' (…)".[14]

Clifford shared also another insight and message, which resonates in several contributions in this special issue of *Volkskunde*. It is becoming more and more pressing as this century progresses:

> "But little by little the presence of Asia, the long history of north/south movements in the Americas, and influences from culturally rich Island Pacific worlds made themselves felt. In a decentered, dynamic world of contacts, the whole idea of the West, as a kind of historical headquarters, stopped making sense. (…) But the shift was also the work of newly flexible and mobile forms of capitalism. I was caught up in the double history of two unfinished, postwar forces working in tension and synergy: decolonization and globalization."[15]

All these forces and evolutions are also relevant for the topics we are trying to tackle, even if they are not all discussed as profoundly in this issue.[16]

In an earlier article on ICH in times of superdiversity, Jorijn Neyrinck described how one could – as well – consider the UNESCO and its 2003 Convention as such a 'contact zone' in which many peoples and cultures with different backgrounds come together, and by which they can see their (hybrid and fluid) 'cultural identities' supported in a rapidly changing global context as a sort of 'platform in the world' from which one can always depart. She made a plea to see the UNESCO 2003 Convention as a democratic space for active pluralism and social arbitration, a context that makes dis-sensus and agony/strife possible in and among the divergent visions and approaches to interaction with heritage practices.

14 J. Clifford, *Returns: Becoming Indigenous in the Twenty-First Century.* Cambridge MA, 2013, p. 184.

15 Clifford, *Returns*, p. 3.

16 For decolonization debates, see the special issue of *Volkskunde,* introduced by J. van Beurden, K. Adams and P. Catteeuw, 'Returns Unraveled. Reflections on Museum Objects in an Age of Repatriation and Restitution', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 120:3, 2019, p. 325-339. Another topic that deserves a discussion, is yielded by the work on collections, heritage and value creation: L. Boltanski and A. Esquerre, *Enrichment. A Critique of Commodities*. Cambridge, 2020, although it focusses on an aesthetic approach and on world heritage.

> "Or, would it be better if we continue to strive for total decolonisation, and continue to fight over the custodianship of ICH in order to free it up and let it evolve separately, alongside the dominant heritage discourse that takes material culture and logics, a western historical perspective and its presumed superiority, as a starting point? Yet, most surprisingly, within international fora such as UNESCO, (…) the southern regions (…) are now situated in a sort of overhaul movement—that strive the hardest for canonical forms of recognition on lists and the like. Reality is complex, full of paradoxes and ambivalences. It is not uncommon for experts, NGO's, researchers and a handful of bold policy representatives, as ICH brokers, to try to engage in debate with the current discourses and imaging and add reflexivity and keying to these debates. Rodney Harrison writes about … *the potential to reorganise relationships between experts, politicians, bureaucrats and laypersons, which rather than suppressing conflicts, make use of the overflows and controversies that emerge as a result of conflict and uncertainties over heritage in productive and innovative ways.*" [17]

It was no coincidence that in the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (IMP), at one of our passionate discussions with several of its Think Tank members[18] early in the morning at breakfast, a lively debate took place where it was argued that the UNESCO 2003 Convention is actually better understood as a global movement and an internationally adopted instrument of/for decolonizing heritage, which was moreover from its very onset profoundly participatory in the definitions and Operational Directives. It was found all the more striking how especially 'the West', along large segments of the institutionalized heritage sector (professionalized around monuments, museums, archives…) seems to have a hard time embracing and appropriating the ICH paradigm.

During the final months when the IMP project was wrapping up, intense societal debates over decolonizing heritage and the museum rose. Florence Pizzorni Itié rightly touches on this question in her essay in this journal:

> "Ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard si l'interrogation sur les interrelations entre le patrimoine culturel immatériel et les musées se présente au moment même où les musées, à l'initiative d'ICOM, repensent leur propre définition. Poussée par la vague d'expression mondiale des revendications mémorielles et de la quête d'identité, l'institution muséale plus que bicentenaire en Europe se voit dans l'obligation de remettre en cause ses principes fondamentaux. Elle se pensait universelle et se réveille coloniale dans ses transposition extra-européennes.

17 J. Neyrinck. 'ICH in Times of Superdiversity: Exploring Ways of Transformation', *International Journal for Intangible Heritage* 12, 2017, p. 157-174, referring to R. Harrison, *Heritage. Critical Approaches*. Abingdon and New York, 2013, p. 225.

18 *Team*, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/about/team (05/08/2020).

> (…) Le concept de patrimoine culturel immatériel invite les musées à repenser leurs pratiques et leur inscription dans la citoyenneté. Le musée n'est plus seulement un lieu d'histoire mais entre de plein pied dans le présent et dans la perspective de la construction du futur. Dans ses formes nouvelles d'institution patrimoniale, il devient espace de co-création, d'échange, de partage, d'expression pour penser l'avenir basé sur l'interconnaissance des esprits et des corps. (…) Les cultures qui s'y expriment et s'y entrecroisent élaborent un 'répertoire de possibilités pour la mobilisation sociale'. C'est la recombinaison d'éléments de ces répertoires qui constituera le modus vivendi des territoires et des villes-monde de demain."[19]

The making of the UNESCO 2003 Paradigm: the first epistemic generation (1990s-2015)

Peter Haas defined an epistemic community as an (international) network of professionals with expertise and competence in a particular domain and an authoritative claim to policy relevant knowledge within that issue-area. In several case studies Haas identified such networks in international negotiations between groups of people who often did not have any specific history together before and were brought together from a wide variety of disciplines and backgrounds. They construct something consisting out of sets of rules, a vocabulary and guidelines for policy and then function a while together, sharing a history, to cultivate that paradigm. They work together trying to build consensus, in a common policy enterprise. They foster a set of common practices associated with problems to which their professional competence is directed, believing that human welfare will be enhanced as a consequence. That for instance intangible heritage of CGIs and, *en passant*, the world, will be transformed, for the better. They constitute, in a certain period, a global network of professionals in scholarly and evidence-based development areas that often affect policy-making.[20] If you add the time dimension, you could speak about an 'epistemic generation'.

To understand the emergence and the dynamics of the UNESCO 2003 Convention, the Operational Directives, the core scholarship networks and discussions on these topics in the first fifteen years of the 21st century, it is important to understand that an 'epistemic community' was operational and effective. It is a population of (depending on how you count) between a hundred and two hundred people worldwide, actually taking the floor in UNESCO

19 See the contribution by Florence Pizzorni Itié in this special issue.

20 See P. Haas, 'Introduction: epistemic communities and international policy coordination', *International Organization* 46:1, 1992, p. 3 and M. Cross, 'Rethinking Epistemic Communities Twenty Years Later', *Review of International Studies* 39:1, 2013, p. 137-160.

meetings during the first fifteen years of the Convention (and then publishing, debating and meeting outside the UNESCO arenas).[21]

In the case of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, the successive secretaries of the Convention and heads of the competent UNESCO section linked with that normative text, play an important role. Up to now, dr. Noriko Aikawa-Faure, dr. Rieks Smeets and Cécile Duvelle, all key-players in the first epistemic generation of the Convention, held this position that is now occupied by dr. Tim Curtis, who is embodying and assuring the transition and transformation to a next phase. The contribution of Cécile Duvelle in this special issue captures both the core ideas and sensitivities of that first epistemic generation. So does the article by Janet Blake, who was the legal consultant and key person not operating inside the Secretariat, but acting as a – hardly hidden – ghostwriter, guardian angel and a cornerstone.

The story of that epistemic generation is relevant in many senses, here in particular when exploring the relation with the world of museums.[22] Let us give two examples of people who are each, (also '*bien étonnés de se trouver ensemble*') in their own way, bridge figures and representatives of regional divisions in ICOM and illustrate the diversity of forces, perspectives and other issues in the international network of museum professionals.

One of the hypotheses which needs further investigation is that there was a strong peak in the connection between 'museums' and the 'safeguarding ICH paradigm' in the four years before and the four years after 2003 (before fading away for a few years). The crucial meeting in the Smithsonian Institution in 1999, to assess the failure of the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore and to chart the way forward is already part of the official story of the trajectory towards a Convention.[23] But there have been other episodes. It would take a book to reconstruct this and

21 There are a series of 'histories' or 'genealogies' available, official versions written and published, over and over again, by protagonists and key figures of that first epistemic generation, like Noriko Aikawa-Faure or Janet Blake: see N. Aikawa-Faure, 'From the Proclamation of Masterpieces to the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage', in: L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Heritage*. London, 2009; and the oeuvre of Janet Blake, including for instance J. Blake, *Commentary on the 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Leicester, 2006; J. Blake, 'UNESCO's 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: the implications of community involvement in safeguarding', in: L. Smith and N. Akagawa (eds.), *Intangible Cultural Heritage*. London, 2009, p. 45-73, and her contribution to this volume.

22 The story of that epistemic generation still has to be written, in particular as time passes and when it will become possible to move beyond the loud voices and pens of the Secretariat, Janet Blake and a handful of prolific authors. The challenge is to reconstruct (via oral history and data mining the documents and recordings) the puzzle or prosopography of the first generation, the 2003 Convention text and the first three versions of the Operational Directives.

23 See for instance R. Kurin, 'Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 2, 2007, p. 10-20.

to discuss the many interesting initiatives, ranging from realizations of Öcal Oğuz in Turkey to the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology.[24]

One of the members of that epistemic community, the Bulgarian (folklore studies) professor Mila Santova, was impressively present in the first decade of the 21st century in the governmental expert meetings and later in the Intergovernmental Committee and the General Assembly of the 2003 Convention. She embodied a traditional folklore studies approach, Eastern Europe branch/style, in the meetings. The last few years she is internationally active in ICOM. In a retrospective article about the relation between the 2003 Convention and museums, she chooses interesting points of reference in the first period: a process leading from the Shanghai Charter in October 2002 at the meeting of the Seventh Regional Assembly of ICOM for the Asia-Pacific Region on 'Museums, Intangible Heritage and Globalisation', via a UNESCO meeting in Oud-Poelgeest in the Netherlands in 2004 to the ICOM General Assembly in 2004 (and then the 2007 ICOM Museum Definition).[25]

The meeting in Oud-Poelgeest in the Netherlands is largely forgotten today, but it is significant that a Bulgarian key-player singled it out. It was an important meeting for pleading to introduce 'intangible living heritage' in the ICOM definition of the museum. Unfortunately the author(s?) of the position paper immediately introduced the bias of the 'local community' discourse, instead of keeping it dynamic and closer to the Convention text itself: "Bearing in mind these complexities in the relationships between local communities and public culture, it is important to consider how local museums might function as intermediaries in safeguarding both local interests and those of UNESCO regarding cultural diversity, while taking into account the intervening interests of the state involved. The positioning of local museums among the various fields of interest that converge upon a particular form of living heritage, mean that they may be key players in the complex processes of identity negotiation between the various levels and parties involved." In that 2004 document many questions were asked that would resurface more than fifteen years later: "Museums are already, in this sense, involved with living heritage: collections that look dead to us in their depots and showcases may be very much alive to descendants widely separated in space and time from this material and conventional ways of dealing with it. And here is a conundrum: if the dead collections in museums (dead, anyway, except to the few who can lay hands on them!) can 'come alive' under certain circumstances, can currently 'living cultural heritage' die (inadvertently) if it is musealised in a certain way?

24 See N. Van Huy, 'The Role of Museums in the Preservation of Living Heritage: Experiences of the Vietnam Museum of Ethnology', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 1, 2006, p. 36-41; compare to M. Jacobs, 'Immaterieel-erfgoedbeleid, het Vietnamees etnologiemuseum en het loslaten van en terugkijken op de 'subsidie-economie', *faro | tijdschrift over cultureel erfgoed* 2:2, 2009, p. 42-55.

25 M. Santova, 'Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums: Challenges and Issues', in: M. Santova, I. Todorova-Pirgova and M. Staneva (eds.), *Between the Visible and the Invisible. The Intangible Cultural Heritage and the Museum*. Sofia, 2018, p. 7-13.

What does it mean to speak of 'safeguarding' living heritage when the outcome of musealisation is so unpredictable?"[26]

In the final IMP symposium, in Brussels, another bridge figure, Amareswar Galla, brought an eye-opening presentation in which he narrated his version and interpretation about the link between museums and intangible heritage and how it was put on the agenda of the ICOM meetings, from an insider perspective. His contribution to this special volume of *Volkskunde* is both a testimony and a sharp reflexive achievement. The video of his crucial talk in Brussels in 2020 is available online.[27]

Do note in the episodes Galla is describing, the launch in 2006 of the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* (IJIH), as a refereed academic journal. It is coordinated by the National Folk Museum of Korea and ICOM, in particular the Korean National Committee of ICOM. The president of ICOM at the time, Alissandra Cummins (the successor of Galla as editor-in-chief of the IJIH), explicitly anchored the endeavor of linking the connection between safeguarding intangible heritage and museums to the oeuvre of French museologists and former presidents of ICOM:

> "In leading ICOM as its first Director from 1948 to 1965, Rivière developed a cogent theory and practice of the importance of traditional folklore and values. This was carried forward through the Ethics of Acquisition (1970), forerunner to today's ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums (adopted in 1986, most recently revised and unanimously approved in Seoul in 2004, and published in 2006). Indeed, the practices of acquisition, documentation, and exhibition were, in great part, the bases for the world's first international museum organisation with expressions of traditional culture (both tangible and intangible) in mind."[28]

Alissandra Cummins then goes on to explicitly attach the initiative of the IJIH and the 2003 Convention to the movement of ecomuseums:

> "Furthermore, Rivière, along with Hugues de Varine, (…) promoted very actively the value and potential contribution of museums and the wider cultural sector in community development and empowerment (…) 'ecomuseums' (…) were seen as expressions of a 'new museology', providing facilities for housing, and promoting equally, much more than what is typically seen within the walls of a traditional museum (…) The 2003 Intangible Heritage Convention's commitment to communities,

26 *The Roles of Museums in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO Convention, October 2003) Position Paper for the Expert Meeting April 5 – 7, 2004*, https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00085-EN.pdf (25/07/2020).

27 *IMP 2020 – Full Symposium (Livestreaming)*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zuIyEzcECJI&feature=youtu.be (05/08/2020). Go to the start after 2 hours and 50 minutes.

28 A. Cummins, 'Welcome', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 1, 2006, p. 7-8. For a critical assessment of the MATP and ecomuseums, although written in the era of 'patrimoine ethnologique' and before the 'patrimoine culturel immatériel'-era, see M. Segalen, *Vie d'un musée*. Paris, 2005.

groups and in some cases individuals who recognise the value of the intangible cultural heritage is identical to that of those who create, devise and run these museums and other such 'community' and 'site' museums. This new Journal of the Intangible Heritage will therefore provide a major service to cultural and community development within the field of museums, but also of course far beyond these."[29]

If you look at the impressive amount of studies published in the journal, you do notice a very broad interpretation of the notion of 'intangible cultural heritage'. Some are far away from what the first epistemic generation of the 2003 Convention cooked up and what the 'Basic Texts' try to create as an obligatory passage point. Other articles do try to make a closer fit between museum studies and the development in and around UNESCO and the 2003 Convention. One of the most powerful attempts is an article by Richard Kurin in the second volume of the IJIH yearbook. He seems to assertively claim a central position for museums in this paragraph (but do read to the end):

> "Perhaps the most appropriate type of organisation to take the lead role in the realisation of the Convention is the museum, or a museum-like cultural organisation (Kurin 2004b). Content-wise, they often cover the areas included in the Convention - they are cultural preservation institutions by their very definition. Like universities, they are 'official' without being overly governmental. Like universities, they usually have staff expertise in varied areas of cultural heritage research and documentation. They may also have access to students, interns and highly-motivated volunteers who can perform tasks related to research and documentation. Museums are masterful in providing public and even official recognition and respect for traditions and cultural practitioners, and also, generally, adept in matters of public presentation and educational programmes. However, unlike universities, most do not have the depth nor range of disciplines required for the full measure of ICH work envisioned and encouraged in the Convention. Unlike governments, they do not usually command the resources needed to mount large-scale national efforts in the cultural arena. Museums are also generally oriented toward the collection of objects, not the documentation of living traditions. They usually deal with things inanimate or dead, and while many museums – at national, regional and local levels – have increasingly become quite skilled in relating to and partnering their constituent cultural communities, it is something fairly new in their orientation and practice. More than anything else though, museums are mainly concerned with the survival and preservation of their collections - items of culture taken away and

29 Idem, p. 8. As it becomes apparent in several contributions, the ecomuseums movement was quite influential. See http://www.hugues-devarine.eu/, including Hugues de Varine, "*écomusées et communautés. Le patrimoine immatériel du territoire et de la communauté : cadre, inspiration et ressource du développement local*" in http://www.hugues-devarine.eu/book/view/37 (05/08/2020).

> alienated from the community settings and social matrix within which they were created and used. That is to say, as I have written elsewhere, museums tend to like their culture dead and stuffed (Kurin 2004b). They are not very experienced in ensuring that culture is safeguarded as a living, dynamic, sustainable process in situ."[30]

So Kurin – in 2007 – is not immediately sure which roles the museums will actually take up. He does venture to predict what might happen:

> "Most likely, I expect it will take a combination of organisational types to implement the Convention successfully within the signatory States (…) Museums can be used as the loci of activities - storehouses of archives and related collections, venues for the public presentation of ICH and public education - as well as for their expertise, frameworks for dealing with cultural heritage, and, in the best of cases, vehicles for community interaction. Other organizations – including NGOs, cultural advocacy groups, and local level project groups – would also rightly be brought into the mix to do the work of the Convention."[31]

The circle is (for the time being) closed when cultural brokers from an ICH NGO were invited thirteen years later (2020) by the *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* to share the results of the IMP trajectory – one of the first systematic attempts to explore what museums might do in a more mature version of the 2003 Convention's paradigm.[32]

Intangible Heritage and the Museum

On the website of the IMP project,[33] a number of relevant bibliographic references have been brought together. There are several articles but only a limited amount of books available, combining the words 'museum' and 'intangible cultural heritage' (but not often including the crucial concept of safeguarding). The title of this paragraph is the main title of the book that Marilena Alivizatou published on the topic in 2012. The subtitle is *New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation*. In this book she brought together several examples and insights on the topic. Alivizatou inspired the IMP project directly and she was also one of the speakers and discussants at the IMP conference in Rotterdam in 2017.[34]

30 Kurin, *Safeguarding*, p. 14.

31 Ibidem, p. 14.

32 J. Neyrinck, E. Seghers and E. Tsakiridis, 'At the interface between living heritage and museum practice: dialogical encounters and the making of a "third space" in safeguarding heritage', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 15, 2020, p. 61-85.

33 www.ICHandmuseums.eu

34 M. Alivizatou, *Intangible Heritage and the Museum. New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation*. Walnut Creek, 2012; M. Alivizatou, 'Contextualising Intangible Cultural Heritage in Heritage Studies and Museology', *International Journal of Intangible Heritage* 3, 2008, p. 44-54.

The book, defended as a PhD thesis in 2012 at University College London, captured the spirit of the early years of the Convention, as also evoked in the contribution of Cécile Duvelle in this issue. One of the recurrent patterns when looking at a number of the most influential studies of the previous decade, is that they were written by scholars connected to the 'epistemic community' or first 'epistemic generation' of the 2003 Convention. There are several subgroups that can be distinguished. A limited number of scholars among these had the chance to work as an intern or temporary collaborator in the Section of Intangible Cultural Heritage, today the 'Living Heritage Entity' at the UNESCO Headquarters, and to process that 'behind-the-screens experience' in their doctorates. Next to the trajectory of Nadezhda Savova-Grigorova discussed in this issue, there is of course the work of Sophia Labadi.[35]

Alivizatou had the chance to do an internship at UNESCO in 2004 while the 2003 Convention was still hot from the oven and then to go and study projects of museums in New Zealand (National Museum Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington), Vanuatu (Cultural Centre in Port Vila), the United States (the Living Memorial of Native Americans /the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington D.C. and New York), the UK (Horniman Museum in London) and France (Musée du quai Branly in Paris). They were approached as "zones of contact and conflict", applying the metaphors introduced by James Clifford. This happened before the first batch of Operational Directives of the 2003 Convention was launched. Rather than exploring the full innovative potential of 'safeguarding', she explored the possibilities of a "museology of intangible heritage" and tried to expand both the notion of preservation and empowerment of communities. As part of that 'new museology' she traced a genealogy leading to Skansen and open air museums, and to the ecomuseums movement of Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine. Other museum projects also experimented with participation and community engagement, in particular so-called 'source communities' and participation.[36]

In the 2014 issue of *Volkskunde* on cultural brokerage, one book review was included, precisely of Alivizatou's PhD. One of the critical remarks was about that concept of 'source communities', which was critiqued as being too easy or even a blind spot. They should not be considered as homogenous and well-defined groups, as a result of identity politics for groups of migrants, but as formations (to underscore the temporality) or as networks. Notwithstanding this caveat, useful for follow up research, Ramon de la Combé emphasized that the mixing of the 2003 Convention and museums can generate "a possibility

35 S. Labadi, *UNESCO, cultural heritage, and outstanding universal value: Value-based analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. Lanham, 2013; S. Labadi and W. Logan, *Urban heritage, development and sustainability: international frameworks, national and local governance*. London, 2015 and S. Labadi, *Museums, immigrants, and social justice*. London, 2017. She is now working on (world) heritage and sustainable development.

36 See Alivizatou, *Intangible Heritage*, p. 18-21.

to reconnect the peoples with the objects, to revive living culture, with the reinvented museum as a cultural broker."[37]

One of the key figures in the decolonization movement that Alivizatou also mobilized in the debate is Christina Kreps. Kreps elaborated concepts like 'Indigenous curation', in practices and discourses about the 'preservation' and 'interpretation' of collections in ways that can, according to her, be conceptualized as "an expression of intangible heritage, which ultimately liberates culture from the oppressive, exclusive, and authoritarian articulations of Western museology."[38] One of the significant lines of research Kreps launched, is the attempt to question working with what she called "a Eurocentric museum model" outside Europe. Considering this topic is resurging profusely and pressingly until today, one of the follow-up trajectories after IMP could be to look at a number of these possibilities; but it seems obvious to us that these experiments should not be limited to 'museums' but also 'archives' and 'libraries', as well as cultural centers and other types of cultural organisations. We do advocate for building on the results of IMP, for broadening the scope beyond the museum, and to include other memory institutions, e-platforms and hybrid organizations and formats.

After the first 'epistemic generation': the ORF lever

When one observes the people in the delegations and UNESCO Secretariat in the meeting rooms of the Intergovernmental Committee, the ICH NGO Forum or other arenas, one notices that – as the years go by – more and more of the people who had been drafting, negotiating and interpreting the Convention texts and the 2008 version of the Operational Directives, are no longer there – often retired, replaced, some already deceased. The 'members' of the first epistemic community or generation present in the UNESCO meetings are fewer every year. In many delegations and in the Intergovernmental Committee, notwithstanding article 6.7 of the 2003 Convention, diplomats have taken over, changing the group dynamics and increasing the amount of wheeling and dealing, geopolitics and diplomatic trade-offs. By 2030 most of the first group of experts will have disappeared.

UNESCO has set up a whole system of capacity building. In the first years, this amounted to transmitting specific interpretations of the Convention texts and procedures, often using tools developed by protagonists of the first epistemic generation (like Rieks Smeets, Harriet Deacon, Janet Blake, etc.) and trained new people and actors around the world. As time goes by, one can see a shift going on, expressed in the Basic Texts, 'called the Blue Boundary' Arsenal in the contribution titled *Words Matter* by Marc Jacobs in this journal. The inventories and international listing craze continues with all the politics

37 R. de la Combé, '(review of) Marilena Alivizatou, Intangible Heritage and the Museum. New Perspectives on Cultural Preservation', *Volkskunde. Tijdschrift over de cultuur van het dagelijks leven* 115:3, 2014, p. 417-420.

38 Alivizatou, *Intangible Heritage*, p. 21. C. Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation, and Heritage Preservation.* London, 2003.

of scale involved. But an increasing amount of critical reports on the negative effects of listing are published, combined with inflation effects of the listing process. The first *parcours de route* accidents and conflicts (like Alost Carnival) have happened and triggered a delisting/de-safeguarding action by UNESCO.

Yet, there are also potentially positive evolutions. Since 2016, there is the growing impact of the United Nations' Agenda 2030 and the Sustainable Development Goals, and a growing need to legitimize, hence document, monitor, inspire and guide the impact, effects and policies of the safeguarding ICH paradigm in and between States Parties. A key tool for the second phase (2016-2030) of the 2003 Convention is a policy instrument, called the 'Overall Results Framework' (ORF), in which many challenges are, or could be, ambitiously and pragmatically managed, monitored and inspired. The ORF has been designed to act as a global monitoring framework for follow-up on the 2003 Convention's impact and development. The framework will become operational and will be rolled out from 2020 onwards, continent by continent (in Europe in 2021). This will create a huge need in the 2020s for consultancy and cultural brokerage, for follow up and feedback, both within the organs of the 2003 Convention and accredited NGOs, in States Parties and on a global level. It also raises new needs for heritage training programs, both in and outside academia. A well informed, reflexive brokers' perspective is needed in the growing stream of studies and publications, after the phase of scholarly production with a core dominated by members of the first epistemic community.

In several publications and in the IMP project, and in particular in the actions on the ground, you can detect the visions of the members of a new generation. As Marc Jacobs points out in his article on the politics of scale in this special issue, the monitoring and reporting systems might fail to capture interesting initiatives that also operate outside the box. Will, for example, transnational networking initiatives engaging strongly in the ICH safeguarding effort developed in the wake of the 2003 Convention, such as the IMP project itself, be captured in such a reporting format processed through national administrations? Or (how) will 'virtual communities' active around living heritage – such as for example Demoscene,[39] or the 'ICH researchers network' of the Association for Critical Heritage Studies[40] – find their way to inspire and to be monitored in the overall results processed through the existing framework and levels? This could, in the next years, become a challenging focus for the 'second epistemic generation' to take care of, and to watch over.

It may be assuring, meanwhile, that the (approach of the) actors mobilized around the work of the Convention itself appears to be evolving. The Capacity Building Programme[41] of the 2003 Convention in recent years widened its scope (away from the type of unidirectional training for adequate implementation

39 *Demoscene - The Art of Coding*, http://demoscene-the-art-of-coding.net (11/08/2020).

40 *Intangible Heritage (ICH) Researchers Network*, https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/intangible-heritage-network (11/08/2020).

41 *Global capacity-building programme*, https://ich.unesco.org/en/capacity-building and *Living Heritage and Capacity Building*, https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/45455-EN.pdf (11/08/2020).

of the Convention's targets on policy development, inventorying, etc.), as well as the types of profiles of new facilitators being trained by UNESCO, ranging from academic researchers over independent heritage consultants to ICH NGO professionals.[42] The accredited facilitators are now intended to form a global network and a community of practice, to respond effectively to emerging capacity-building needs and challenges. On the one hand, the network is aiming to provide a vital resource of knowledge and experience that all stakeholders can turn to when requesting training and advisory support for the effective implementation of the Convention. On the other hand, it provides network members with support to empower them to play their different roles as facilitators, mediators, trainers or advisors.

The 'second epistemic generation' in itself appears – compared to the first generation – to be also evolving with regards to e.g. the (profile of) people and actors that are being engaged or engaging themselves. The number of academic experts and researchers working around the 2003 Convention remains quite limited, though fostered by the Convention's Secretariat[43], but the number and the diversity of accredited ICH NGOs have been significantly growing and widening in the past ten years[44], just like their collaboration through the ICH NGO Forum, its working groups, symposia, etc.[45], and the roles they play.[46] All of the actors – researchers, accredited NGOs, Category II Centres, etc. – related to safeguarding ICH and/or the 2003 Convention, function more and more through modes and approaches of networking. They are easily connecting and combining diverse entrances: thematic, methodological, advocacy-related... They form a community of practice and an adaptive learning network, according to Etienne Wengers' theory of learning in landscapes of practice. In this same line of analysis, they may even, at least partly, be understood to be 'system conveners' for the ICH paradigm. System conveners act to reconfigure the landscape by forging new learning partnerships across traditional boundaries.[47]

One of the initiatives already in the pipeline and directed to complementing the expected reporting on the overall results of the Convention, is a working group on the ORF within the ICH NGO Forum.[48] What kind of actions and

42 *Global network of facilitators,* https://ich.unesco.org/en/facilitator (11/08/2020).

43 *Research references on the implementation of the 2003 Convention,* https://ich.unesco.org/en/2003-convention-and-research-00945 (11/08/2020).

44 *Non-Governmental Organizations accredited to provide advisory services to the Committee,* https://ich.unesco.org/en/accredited-ngos-00331 (11/08/2020).

45 *About us,* http://www.ichngoforum.org/about-us/ (11/08/2020).

46 C. Bortolotto and J. Neyrinck, 'Article 9. Accreditation of Advisory Organizations', in: J. Blake and L. Linxinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary.* Oxford, 2020, p. 153-163. See also: *Reflection on the role of accredited non-governmental organizations within the 2003 Convention,* https://ich.unesco.org/en/reflection-on-the-role-of-ngos-01037 (11/08/2020).

47 E. Wenger-Trayner e.a., *Learning in landscapes of practice: boundaries, identity, and knowledgeability in practice-based learning*. Abingdon, 2015, p. 97.

48 *Overall results framework,* http://www.ichngoforum.org/wg/global-results-framework/ (11/08/2020).

formats will really cover and capture the interesting initiatives and/or worrisome evolutions happening 'out there in the world' around the 2003 Convention remains to be seen in the next few years.[49]

And, of course, there is no such thing as a hard line to be drawn between the so-called first and second epistemic generation. Some of the protagonists of the first generation – such as Janet Blake, Kristin Kuutma, Diego Gradis – have been very much involved and have hence already been transmitting their memories and legacies, fluidly and 'intersecting' (to express it in the buzzwords of IMP). Even if the next generation can maybe play more future-oriented serious games or operate more eclectically, being freed of the weight of the making of the first texts, the still active people of that first generation have also been evolving through ongoing actions and reflections in the epistemic network. So do we, authors of this contribution and both part of those first and second epistemic generations. We share the gaze of many years of connected trajectories, bridging perspectives as well as generations, and have been engaging jointly for safeguarding the 'spirit of the Convention'.

Towards a new wording of/by/for/beyond museums

In our encounters with the worlds of museology, we witnessed heated debates in the ranks of international organisations. In 2019 and 2020, and the following years, the quest for a new ICOM museum definition has been generating sharp and emotional controversies. It shows divisions but also many living-apart-together relationships between different schools and networks in museology.

The Brazilian professor Teresa Scheiner flagged both the difference and the dominance of English and French (that deserve their own decolonization debates in the intangible heritage of international diplomacy) as a problem. It is linked to old Empires (and of course Portuguese or Spanish, or today Chinese also have those links to former or contemporary empires). Scheiner referred to a "développement d'une polarisation de la production théorique dans et sur la muséologie, où des auteurs de langue francophone et anglophone semblent s'être fixés eux-mêmes la mission d'expliquer à leurs collègues d'autres cultures ce qu'est vraiment ce champ disciplinaire (…) Ceux qui ne sont ni anglophones ni francophones doivent forcément rédiger dans une de ces deux langues, au risque sinon de n'être jamais lus ou considérés."[50] One of the consequences is that the themes or urgencies in those two languages, and in particular in English, are said to be 'high on the agenda'. But the risk is that items got overemphasized and others debunked.

49 Inspiration to the global reporting through (States Parties of) the Convention, as well as to complement the reporting, can be found in the context of to the 2005 Convention on the diversity of cultural expressions – see e.g. *Global Report 2018*, Https://En.Unesco.Org/Creativity/Global-Report-2018 (11/08/2020) and the website and reports by IFCCD: *IFCCD 2019 Report on Civil Society Activities*, https://ficdc.org/en/publications/ifccd-2019-report-on-civil-society-activities/?sf_action=get_data&sf_data=all&sf_paged=2 (11/08/2020).

50 T. Scheiner, 'Réfléchir sur le champ muséal : significations et impact théorique de la muséologie', in: F. Mairesse (ed.), *Nouvelles tendances de la muséologie*. Paris, 2016, p. 41.

High on the agenda, according to Scheiner, are on the one hand debates on the inclusive museum theme in English museum studies and on museum terminology in French on the other hand: "(...) par le biais de la traduction dans d'autres langues, constitue une preuve incontestable de l'hégémonie de la production dans ces deux langues et du désir d'imprimer, dans d'autres cultures, une certaine influence de la pensée anglophone ou francophone sur le champ."[51]

The two topics mentioned by Scheiner are of course very relevant. In one of the strongholds of museology in the world, the School of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, activist practices, intending e.g. to act on climate change, injustice and inequalities, are promoted today for museums. The protagonists Robert Janes and Richard Sandell see it as their task to wake up what they perceive as a sleeping giant, the global museum community. It is time, so they claim, for "museum activism", a practice "shaped out of ethically-informed values that is intended to bring about political, social and environmental change." Is a museum today more than a mall? Is it not time to abandon myths of neutrality and to embrace and use the status of trustworthiness? Many thought-provoking questions and interesting examples are presented in a special volume entitled *Museum Activism*, published by Routledge in 2019. But it is telling that the safeguarding intangible cultural heritage paradigm is not yet included in the program!

This issue of *Volkskunde* was intended to be published following the adoption of a new ICOM museum definition, and hence to include reflections and mirror its impact towards future museum policies and practices at all levels. It turned out differently. The launch of this journal instead falls fully amidst still ongoing discussions on the museum definition. Indeed, a Committee on Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials (MDPP, 2017-2019) was set up within ICOM to explore the shared but also the profoundly dissimilar conditions, values and practices of museums in diverse and rapidly changing societies. The Committee wished to address the ambiguous and often contradictory trends in society, and the subsequent new conditions, obligations and possibilities for museums, and set up a wide process of dialogue around the reinterpretation, revision, rewriting, and reformulation of the museum definition.[52] In the resulting 2019 proposal for a new museum definition, the emphasis on societal and planetary challenges, on participation and multivocality was particularly interesting.[53] But on the other hand, one of the newest heritage policy babies, safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, that was just accepted and incorporated in the 2007 version of the ICOM museum definition, seems to have evaporated in the stream of global

51 Scheiner, *Réfléchir*, p. 41.

52 Read more on ICOM's website: *Museum Definition*, https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/ (11/08/2020).

53 See the advocacy by Jette Sandahl: *The Challenge of Revising the Museum Definition*, https://icom.museum/en/news/the-challenge-of-revising-the-museum-definition (11/08/2020) and the special issue edited by J. Sandahl, 'The Museum Definition as the Backbone of ICOM', *Museum International* 71:1&2, 2019.

discussions around a new definition. With the IMP project and this volume we hope to contribute to signalling that this would be a bad idea, and to put the safeguarding ICH, participation, empowerment and sustainable development potential and paradigm more on the radar.

A Wor(l)d for Participation

On the basis of academic field schools (for anthropologists) in museums in Lamphun (Thailand), Alexandra Denes discerned how challenging it is to correlate core museum activities with the core activities of safeguarding intangible heritage as defined in article 2.3 of the 2003 Convention. Trying to implement article 15 of the 2003 Convention particularly proved to test the limits of anthropological training, and the skills of museum professionals and heritage managers.[54] A similar exercise was attempted in the IMP framework, in an operation called 'intersections', and resulting in a tool for heritage workers.[55] IMP explored the ICOM *Code of Ethics for Museums* and the 2003 Convention's Operational Directives as a starting point to disclose the intersections, and thus the meeting points of the museum and intangible cultural heritage sector on a theoretical and practical level, framing it within the 'third space' concept.[56]

One of the recurrent buzzwords is: 'participatory'. Richard Sandell and Robert Janes rightly remind us that participation is not necessarily easy, not for individuals nor for institutions: "(…) we cannot ignore the fact that the Western world's, citizen-based democracy (the commons personified) is dependent upon participation, and to participate is to be permanently uncomfortable – emotionally, intellectually, spiritually. Museums will need to embrace this discomfort and uncertainty in order to become the authentic participants they are equipped to be, and to make good on their singular combination of historical consciousness, sense of place, and public accessibility."[57]

Especially in European policy jargons, concepts like 'citizen science' and the related 'citizen humanities' are hot today thanks to their participatory approach. In the context of museums what is meant with the term participation has strongly evolved in the past fifty years: "Over time, understandings of public participation shifted from 'cultivating impressed spectactors' (…) to the democratic models of public engagement currently framing national and local

54 A. Denes, 'Acquiring the Tools for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage: Lessons from an ICH Field School in Lamphun, Thailand', in: M. Stefano, P. Davis and G. Corsane (eds.), *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Woodbridge, 2012, p. 165-176.

55 *Toolkit*, https://www.ichandmuseums.eu/en/imp-toolkit (11/08/2020).

56 T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020 and the contribution by T. Nikolić Đerić in this issue.

57 R. Janes and R. Sandell, 'Posterity has arrived. The necessary emergence of museum activism', in: R. Janes and R. Sandell (eds.), *Museum Activism*. London and New York, 2019, p. 17.

cultural policy in countries worldwide (…) with technological developments in digital communication platforms often viewed as a crucial driver of change."[58]

Under the umbrella of 'citizen science' several approaches can be distinguished: 1) a contributory model, 2) a collaborative model, and 3) a co-creation model. In the first model scientists design, plan and manage the project and 'the public' can help to collect, validate or 'process' data. In practice, it is seen that most of the work is done by an active minority of participants. In the second model, the project design is still in the hands of scientists, but participants can voice their opinions on interpreting the data and the conclusions. In the last co-creation model, projects are usually "initiated by local communities, and which may include experts and scientists, but often originate outside academic institutions and most of their funding structures."[59] All of these models can be applied, by museums or other research institutions in relation to intangible cultural heritage, but the co-creation model is the one most compatible with what 'safeguarding' is about.

The models are types in a continuum. While the first is more oriented towards large volumes of data and is most productive in yielding peer-reviewed publications, the collaborative and co-creation models are smaller in scale, with fewer participants, requiring repeated measurement or tending to focus on specific problems relevant for specific groups. Along the continuum there are differences in the role and authority of the experts, the validation and relevance assessment of the results, ownership, or even benefit sharing. All of these issues are relevant in the discussions in IMP and other projects. Here the influence of article 15 of the 2003 Convention, emphasizing the involvement of CGIs, is important.[60] It is one of the most explicit mentions of expectations of participatory heritage work. But this has implications on the words used in the world and discourses of museums, where concepts as 'the visitor' or 'the public' abound. This is causing a lot of debate and discussions, e.g. about the use of concepts such as 'users', 'public(s)' or 'audience(s)', or for instance 'prosumers' (actors in whom the roles of consumers and producers are blurring or merging).[61]

As repeatedly stated earlier in this issue (as in many other publications), the 2003 Convention is profoundly participatory in its principles. In the Convention's framework, 'participation' appears to be inextricably linked in particular to the 'communities, groups and individuals' involved with ICH. However, when we allow ourselves to further elaborate on these ideas and combine it to what the 2005 Faro Framework Convention on the Value of

58 P. Pierroux, P. Hetland and L. Esborg, 'Traversing Citizen Science and Citizen Humanities. Tacking Stiches', in: P. Hetland, P. Pierroux and L. Esborg (eds.), *A History of Participation in Museums and Archives. Traversing Citizen Science and Citizen Humanities.* London and New York, 2020, p. 3.

59 Pierroux, Hetland and Esborg, *Traversing Citizen Science*, p. 9.

60 M. Jacobs, 'Article 15. Participation of Communities, Groups, and Individuals. CGIs, not Just 'the Community", in: J. Blake and L. Linxinski (eds.), *The 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention. A Commentary*. Oxford, 2020, p. 273-289.

61 See the overview in P. Hetland and K. Schrøder, 'The Participatory turn. Users, publics, and audiences', in: P. Hetland, P. Pierroux and L. Esborg (eds.), *A History of Participation in Museums and Archives. Traversing Citizen Science and Citizen Humanities.* London and New York, 2020, p. 168-185.

Cultural Heritage for Society has to offer in this regard, or the Flemish policy adaptation, there are promising applications in which a '(cultural) heritage community' consists of organizations and people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage, which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations. In such an approach we imagine 'heritage communities' in the sense of networks of different actors, both (groups of) living human beings and organizations as well. One of the consequences is that some museums (networks) can, as organizations, be(come) part of the (heritage) community, and this changes the perspectives, alliances and assemblages. It really can help to think outside the 'museum' or 'community'-boxes, and to embrace co-design strategies and practices. In addition, if you allow yourself to also think 'museums' when CGIs are mentioned in the 6th chapter on sustainable development in the Operational Directives of the 2003 Convention, and how it turns everything into an open invitation to act, then much more becomes possible.[62]

Or, to conclude by the appeal expressed in the title of this special issue: "Transforming, Not Saving: Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums, and/or the World."

62 M. Jacobs, 'CGIs and Intangible Heritage Communities, museums engaged', in: T. Nikolić Đerić e.a. (eds.), *Museums and Intangible Cultural Heritage: Towards a Third Space in the Heritage Sector. A Companion to Discover Transformative Heritage Practices for the 21st Century.* Bruges, 2020, p. 38-41.

SUMMARIES

Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums
A Crossing of Several Projects and Trajectories
Marc Jacobs, Jorijn Neyrinck and Evdokia Tsakiridis

In this concise institutional introduction text, guest editors Jorijn Neyrinck, Evdokia Tsakiridis and Marc Jacobs contextualise the publication of the special issue of the journal *Volkskunde* on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums as a scholarly result of cooperation between actors in the European *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project*, moderated by NGO Workshop intangible heritage (BE), and the UNESCO chair on critical heritage studies and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage of the Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Keywords: UNESCO 2003 Convention, Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, Museums, Museology, Heritage studies

Het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed en musea
Een kruispunt van verschillende projecten en trajecten
Jorijn Neyrinck, Evdokia Tsakiridis en Marc Jacobs

In deze beknopte institutionele inleiding, contextualiseren de gastredacteurs Jorijn Neyrinck, Evdokia Tsakiridis en Marc Jacobs onderhavig themanummer van het Tijdschrift *Volkskunde* over het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed en musea als het academisch resultaat van een samenwerking tussen actoren in het Europese *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project*, getrokken door de organisatie Werkplaats immaterieel erfgoed (BE), en de UNESCO Leerstoel voor kritische erfgoedstudies en het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed aan de Vrije Universiteit Brussel.

Keywords: UNESCO 2003 Conventie voor het borgen van immaterieel cultureel erfgoed, Museum, Museologie, Erfgoedstudies

Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums
A Special Issue
Evdokia Tsakiridis, Marc Jacobs and Jorijn Neyrinck

This article introduces the special issue of the journal *Volkskunde* dedicated to the subject of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage in relation with museums. Guest editors Marc Jacobs, Jorijn Neyrinck and Evdokia Tsakiridis situate the different contributions and case studies made by a range of authors within the overall setup of the publication. The challenge and approach throughout the volume is (how) to build and cross bridges

between the living heritage field and the museum sector and museology, identifying intersections and occasions where the twain can meet.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, UNESCO 2003 Convention, Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, Museums, Museology, Heritage studies

Words Matter...
The Arsenal and the Repertoire: UNESCO, ICOM and European Frameworks
Marc Jacobs

This article presents concepts like "the Archive" and "the Repertoire" (D. Taylor), obligatory passage points (M. Callon), "boundary objects" (S. Star) and the metaphor of the "Blue Arsenal" as useful tools to explore the impact of the Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. It zooms in on the connection between Operational Directives 108 and 109. Furthermore, new European heritage policy instruments are introduced, next to reflections on the debates on the operational definition of what a museum is according to ICOM, and why the 2003 UNESCO Convention's paradigm should not be ignored in this debate.

Keywords: Safeguarding intangible heritage, ICOM museum definition, museums, Council of Europe, UNESCO, Boundary objects, Appropriate vocabulary

Le patrimoine culturel immatériel a-t-il une place au musée?
Cécile Duvelle

The expression 'intangible cultural heritage' (ICH) has now become widely recognized and used. More and more museums are integrating ICH into their exhibitions, thus expanding their offer to the public while participating in safeguarding. Some institutions, however, believe they integrate or safeguard ICH, but they do it on the basis of an inaccurate understanding of its very nature. The question of the place that ICH can take within museums thus remains a largely open field of reflection. In order to do justice to this very particular heritage category, creative, innovative approaches are required.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Museums, UNESCO 2003 Convention, Innovative approaches, UNESCO Secretariat

Discursive Crossings in Liminal Spaces
Amareswar Galla

Could museums become civic spaces for Safeguarding Intangible Heritage is a timely question to address, especially as the International Council of Museums is currently debating the definition of a museum. Modernity has categorised, along with coloniality, heritage formations into binaries such as natural and cultural, movable and immovable, and tangible and intangible. These are being questioned over the past two decades largely focussing on indigeneity and cultural diversity. Demonstration projects are important

to interrogate establishment notions and their hegemonic positioning. That is exactly what the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* has been able to do, open the pathways for rethinking European heritage discourse. It has wider global implications. This paper raises certain key questions anticipating that the next decade would be the decolonising period for rethinking the institution of the museum. Transformations would need to be necessarily situated within the broader post coloniality of sustainable heritage development addressing the triangulation of Covid-19 and post pandemic realities, environmental degradation and climate crisis and gross inequities exposed by the Black Lives Matter movement in various manifestations across the world.

Keywords: ICOM, UNESCO heritage discourse, Decolonising heritage, Museums, Intangible cultural heritage

Participation in Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage Viewed as a Human Rights Imperative
Janet Blake

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is clearly situated within a human rights context, though putting these aspirations into practice can prove challenging, in particular the notion of participation that is promoted by the Convention. More recently, the significance of heritage to local actors has become much better understood and international law now calls for a greater democratization of the heritage protection paradigm, in particular through community participation in its identification, safeguarding and management. The question of how real participation by various actors – heritage bearers and associated groups and communities, civil society, private sector actors, and others – can be ensured touches very directly on human rights related to ICH safeguarding. Museums have the potential to play a very specific role in ensuring that this aspect of the 2003 Convention is put into practice and this article attempts to locate this role of museums within this broader context of the relevant human rights.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Safeguarding, Museums, Participation, Human rights

On Levels, (Politics of) Scale, Cases and Networking
Marc Jacobs

This article explores notions like 'levels', 'scales' or 'case studies' as useful tools to study the impact of the Basic Texts of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. It draws attention to 'politics of scale' and questionable labels like 'Eurocentric'. It also zooms in on the potential problems and effects of using the overall results framework and reporting, illustrated with examples from and beyond Bulgaria.

Keywords: Politics of scale, levels, Safeguarding intangible heritage, Overall results framework, Eurocentric, Bulgaria

Squaring the Circle?
In Search of the Charateristics of the Relationship between Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums, Europe and the EU
Hanna Schreiber

The paper seeks to analyse the complex and evolving relationship between intangible cultural heritage (ICH), museums, Europe as a geographical region and the European Union as a regional organization. With the aim to understand this relationship and find relevant quantitative and qualitative data the number of inscriptions stemming from European countries (and separately from the EU member states) to the Representative List of ICH is analysed, as one of proofs of the interest shown by States Parties to the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Inscriptions from the EU members are also examined by paying special attention to the way they incorporate museums and the role ascribed to museums visible in nomination files. Also examined is how the EU defines 'intangible cultural heritage' in practice, e.g. via diverse funds and programmes, with the aim to see how close (or how far) its interpretations of what is 'intangible heritage' are to the 2003 Convention's definition and what is the place provided by the EU for museums promoting ICH. At the end the paper presents the challenges and possible traps that might be encountered in the process of including ICH in the current EU and museums heritage policies and actions. In order to provide a clear referential framework, the research is based on an interdisciplinary approach, involving the legal, institutional, and political dimensions. In terms of the sources used, information was drawn from international governmental (EU, UNESCO) and non-governmental organizations (NEMO, Europeana) primary sources – e.g. conventions (with a focus on the 2003 Convention), institutional agreements, directives, policy documents and statements, operational directives, open calls for funds.

Keywords: Museum, UNESCO, Intangible cultural heritage, The European Union, NEMO, Europeana, European funds, Representative List

Is 'Bottom-Up' a Condescending Expression?
Tales of Indignation and Reflexivity
Filomena Sousa

In this essay, the author discusses the empowerment of practitioners of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and, from a conceptual perspective, the bottom-up model. To contextualize this reflection, she refers to two episodes, ephemeral and apparently irrelevant, but which helped her to rethink concepts and procedures that we often consider 'definitive' or even 'unquestionable'. One of these episodes is related to her collaboration on the ICH Inventory held in the municipality of Elvas (2013-2014), in Portugal. The other episode refers to a journalistic report about the presence of a Choral Group of Cante Alentejano in Paris, in the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2014, when this cultural expression was inscribed in the Representative List.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Bottom-up model; ICH practitioners; ICH Inventory

Pourquoi?
Why Museology and Museums Should – more than ever – be Part of the Heritage Paradigm...
Marc Jacobs

Why museology should no longer be a part of heritage is the title of an article published in 2016 by the French museologist Serge Chaumier. This contribution reacts to the arguments presented in that article and argues that the interaction between museums and the rest of 'heritage' and between museology and heritage studies is needed more than ever. The conclusions of a recent survey on museums and safeguarding intangible heritage of the French Ministry of Culture and of the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* are presented as a counterarguments and as an incentive not to ignore the paradigm of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Keywords: Museums, Museology, heritage studies, Safeguarding intangible cultural heritage

Le PCI et les musées
Quand l'esprit vient à la matière sous l'arbre à palabres
Florence Pizzorni Itié

In the post-colonial era, museums of the 21st century are committed to rethinking their roles and functions in society, the nature and meaning of the objects they preserve and the role of expertise. The new forms of museums that are developing in the global cities, by the virtue of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) that embraces diversity, are spaces open to the political and cultural repertoires of continents that seem absent in the old museum world, stemming from a colonial Europe.

Currently we are experiencing a shock in our cultural and digitized societies, risking the standardization of culture. Thanks to ICH entering into the museums, there are platforms for conviviality and multiplicity of approaches to knowledge through physical proximity and verbal and sensory confrontation. The museum that is open to ICH may be the 'palaver tree' of future societies.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Museums, Safeguarding, emotions, Memory, Reciprocity

Intersections
Bridging the Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage Practices
Tamara Nikolić Đerić

The heritage sector is in constant change and quest for reinforcing its position and relevance in today's societies. The more advanced the practice, studies and the debates, the more evident the challenge in adopting interdisciplinary, holistic and participatory approaches in preserving and safeguarding heritage. Reflecting on the legacy of studies related to heritage sites, museums,

folkloristic and intangible cultural heritage, the author addresses some key issues generating the collaborative unease between these heritage practices and explores further the ICOM *Code of Ethics for Museums* and the UNESCO 2003 Convention's Operational Directives as starting point to disclose the intersections and thus meeting points of the museum and intangible cultural heritage sector on a theoretical and practical level framing it within the 'third space' concept and contributing to the reinforcement of future-oriented heritage practices.

Keywords: Museums, Intangible cultural heritage, Safeguarding, Heritage sector, Third space, Intersections

Reenactment and Intangible Heritage
Strategies for Embodiment and Transmission in Museums
Sarah Kenderdine

This article is focused on the interplay of different forms of intangibility (living heritage and reenactment heritage) and the way technologically enabled practices might reshape the role and transformation of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) in museums. The article introduces three cultural heritage digitisation research projects and their associated museological interventions. The examples chosen for this chapter include the living heritage of South Chinese martial arts in Hong Kong, and the ritual reenactments arising from the canonical Confucian performance manual YiLi from the Book of Etiquette and Rites. Both projects are ongoing and were initiated in 2012. The third project is an interactive re-performance of the poetic oeuvre of Edwin Thumboo, Singapore's leading living poet, dating to 2013/2018 in two distinct environments/interfaces. Through use of multimodal encoding, algorithmic reenactment, recombinatory narrative and kinaesthetic digital interfaces, these three projects signal important new forms of museological experience arising from embodied cognition that have the potential to transmit ICH in museums.

Keywords: Reenactment, New museology, Encoding, Digitization, Interaction, Reperformance, Intangible

Past and Future Presencing in Museums
Four Cases of Engaging with Intangible Heritage from the Netherlands
Sophie Elpers

In the context of the current rapid transformations in the world, the roles of museums are rethought resulting in museums' engagement in discussing current questions and challenges of human societies. Hand in hand goes the postulation that museums should engage people as cultural participants and co-create together with individuals and communities. Which choices do museums in the Netherlands make when they decide to work with contemporary intangible cultural heritage and its bearers? Which roles do constructions of the past and ideas about the future

as well as their entanglements play when working with intangible cultures? This paper argues that in the museum sector broad time alignments are critical when engaging with intangible cultural heritage. The multidirectional relationships between the past, present and future that museums create and use when working with intangible cultural heritage will have to be taken into account more profoundly in the discourse about building bridges across, and collaborating between, the sectors.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Museums, Time alignments, Relationships between past, Present and future, Past presencing, The Netherlands

Avant-Garde & Status Quo
The FeliXart Museum and its Paradoxical Legacy
Sergio Servellón and
Leen Van de Weghe

In this article, we present the evolution of the FeliXart Museum from an object-driven monographic museum to a two-track project pivoting around the legacy of the Belgian painter-farmer Felix De Boeck (1898-1995). The particularity of his involvement in the avant-garde is being researched not only for his art but also for his way of living inspired by a revolutionary time where abstraction, ecology, and new forms of organizing the world were being preached. The heritage ensemble of a museum, a farm, and an orchard seek also the inclusion of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) to create local cohesion, building a participatory track to the museological functioning. This experiment is directly applicable within the Flemish cultural heritage policy where a top-bottom approach of ICH and museums is favored.

Keywords: Art, Intangible cultural heritage, Heritage ensemble, Museum, transformation, Participation

In Rural Villages and the Suburbs
Italian Experiences with Museums and Ecomuseums
Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari,
Pietro Clemente and Tommaso Lussu,
Alessandra Broccolini and
Claudio Gnessi

Two heritage-making processes, from very different contexts of rural and urban Italy, improve our vision and understanding of the connection between the museum paradigm/ experience and the intangible cultural heritage (ICH) safeguarding challenges. On one hand, the Casa Lussu experience shows the importance of local museums as building blocks of a traditional weaving revitalization project. On the other hand, the Casilino Ecomuseum is an example of a community-based ICH process in an urban context, and the pertinence of the ecomuseum paradigm to deal with such complexity.

Keywords: Intangible cultural heritage, Urban, Local, Contemporary, Participation, Suburbs

Szopka Krakowska
The Nativity Scene Tradition and the Museum of Kraków
Andrzej Iwo Szoka

The nativity scene (*szopka*) tradition in Kraków was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2018. It is the first Polish inscription on this list of UNESCO. The tradition has its roots in 19th century Kraków. Since 1937 it has been safeguarded by the city council and by the museum of the city. For decades the museum has supported the bearers of tradition and built a collection of 270 Kraków Nativity Scenes. But it also had an influence on the modification of the phenomenon or even was at the origin of these changes. An important factor that should be considered was the relationship between the bearers of tradition and museologists. During the communist era in Poland, the museum seemed a safe haven for the nativity scene makers. The article presents a brief history of the cooperation of the museum professionals with the crib makers in the last eighty years in safeguarding the nativity scene tradition in Kraków and looks forward to the challenges in the next years.

Keywords: Nativity scenes, Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO, City museum

Transforming, Not Saving Intangible Cultural Heritage, Museums and/or the World
Marc Jacobs and Jorijn Neyrinck

This article considers the content of this special issue of *Volkskunde* (n° 3, 2020) in wider frames of reference. The publication is partly a follow-up on a previous special issue (n° 3, 2014) of this journal that focused on cultural brokerage and safeguarding intangible heritage. The theme and the articles of the current special issue are situated and discussed in a broader context of other scholarly literature, international debates, initiatives and project results (in particular the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project*) on museums and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, as well as in the subsequent phases, and even epistemic generations, of the paradigm of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Keywords: Safeguarding, Transforming, Intangible cultural heritage, 2003 UNESCO Convention, Museums, Museology, IMP

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Alessandra Broccolini (Ph.D. Cultural Anthropology 1999) is Full Professor in Cultural Anthropology and Heritage Anthropology from 2008 at the faculty of Political Sciences, Sociology and Communication of the Sapienza University of Rome. From December 2015 she is President of the Association SIMBDEA (Italian Society for Museum and Heritage Anthropology). She deals with anthropology of the cultural heritage, inventories, identity politics, processes of heritage-making, UNESCO policies, rituals, handicraft practices and migratory phenomena in urban contexts. Recently she published different essays on national (Treccani and others) and international magazines on the UNESCO politics related to the intangible heritage in the Italian context, and festivities ('Intangible Cultural Heritage Scenarios within the Bureaucratic Italian State,' in: R. F. Bendix, A. Eggert and A. Peselmann (eds.), *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Göttingen, 2012). She is working on carnival rituals in the Campania Region, on traditional knowledge of biodiversity in agriculture and traditional fishing in Central Italy.

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Pietro Clemente, retired professor of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Florence, Siena and Rome, is honorary president of the Italian Society for Museum and Heritage Antropology (SIMBDEA); he presides the scientific Committee of the *Museo Guatelli Foundation*, is a member of the jury for the Saverio Tutino Prize from the Archive and the Silvia dell'Orso Award and an editorial staff member of the *Lares* magazine and the *Antropologia Museale* magazine. Clemente writes about folk culture, museums, and the history of anthropology. He has received the Cocchiara Prize for Demoethnoanthropological studies in 2018. His recent writings include: Pietro Clemente, *Le parole degli altri. Gli antropologi e le storie della vita*. Pisa, Pacini, 2013. He's the president of the Historical Insitute of the Senese Resistance and the ISRSEC Contemporary Age *Vittorio Meoni*.

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Dr. Tamara Nikolić Đerić, senior curator, holds degrees in Ethnology/Cultural anthropology and Indology/Oriental studies from the University in Zagreb. Since 2008 Nikolić Đerić has been working for the Ethnographic Museum of Istria, Croatia. Along with other museum activities she started and still runs the first Ethnographic film festival in Croatia – ETNOFILm – dedicated to visual documentation and interpretation of intangible cultural heritage (ICH). Since 2014 Nikolić Đerić manages Ecomuseum Batana, a heritage practice acknowledged by UNESCO as Good safeguarding practice in 2016 in the context of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the ICH.

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Cécile Duvelle, trained in cultural anthropology, joined UNESCO in 1989. Appointed in 1999 in the Office of the Director-General of UNESCO, she has been his focal point for culture and speechwriter in French. She closely followed the elaboration and negotiation process of several cultural normative instruments, in particular the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2005 Convention for the Promotion and Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. From 2008 to 2015, she has been the Chief of the Section of Intangible Heritage of UNESCO and the Secretary of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

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Sophie Elpers, PhD, works for the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage (Dutch Open Air Museum), where she conducts research about the relationship between tangible and intangible heritage. She is also a researcher on rural everyday cultures, heritage and museums at the Meertens Institute, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam, and teaches critical heritage and museum studies at the University of Bonn. Sophie Elpers is the executive vice president of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) and senior editor of the scholarly journal Cultural Analysis. As intangible cultural heritage (ICH) expert she is a member of the evaluation committee of the German ICH inventory. Her recent publications focus on museums in an entangled world, and on material culture, specifically vernacular architecture in the countryside.

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Claudio Gnessi is the President of the Association Ecomuseo Casilino Ad Duas Lauros. Gnessi is lead interaction designer consultant for institutions and corporations, expert in communication and social engagement. He has been working as a cultural manager and community innovator for years. Gnessi is an expert in participatory design and co-design. For the Ecomuseum he developed the research model and the framework of the participatory laboratories. As president, he is general coordinator of research activities, taking care of relations with institutions and the media, developing fundaraising strategies. For the Ecomuseum he coordinates the Co.Heritage project, a research activity aimed at safeguarding and enhancing the intangible heritage of the various local communities. He lectures at universities, schools, national and international research bodies on the topics of ecomuseum research. He is a member of the newly established network of Ecomuseums of Lazio.

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Marc Jacobs is professor heritage studies (since 2019) in the Faculty of Design Sciences of the University of Antwerp and also part-time professor and holder (since 2014) of the UNESCO Chair on Critical Heritage Studies and the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. In the 1980s and 1990s, he studied and worked in universities in Ghent, Florence, Paris, Antwerp and in the VUB in Brussels, where he obtained a PhD in history. As the director of VCV, later FARO (Interface organization and UNESCO accredited NGO), he was active in the 21st century on the Flemish and global (UNESCO) level as a boundary spanner in the study of popular culture and other forms of cultural heritage.

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Professor Sarah Kenderdine researches at the forefront of interactive and immersive experiences for galleries, libraries, archives and museums. In widely exhibited installation works, she has amalgamated tangible and intangible cultural heritage with new media art practice, especially in the realms of interactive cinema, augmented reality and embodied narrative. Sarah had authored numerous scholarly articles and six books. She has produced eighty exhibitions and installations for museums worldwide including a museum complex in India and received a number of major international awards for this work. In 2017, Kenderdine was appointed professor at the École polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), Switzerland where she has built the Laboratory for Experimental Museology (eM+), exploring the convergence of aesthetic practice, visual analytics and cultural data. She is also director and lead curator of EPFL's new art/science initiative ArtLab.

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Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari is a PhD cultural anthropologist. Since 1990 she develops ethnographical and community-based approaches in the process of heritage-making. For the Italian Society for Museum and Heritage Anthropology – SIMBDEA (accredited ICH NGO in 2010), since 2009 she follows the processes related to the implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) and the dialogue between the ICH accredited NGOs in the ICH NGO Forum. She is developing innovative

approaches to the ICH safeguarding, improving and activating processes, projects and dialogues at different levels: from the local grassroots to the national and multinational. She is a trained UNESCO ICH Facilitator in the context of the global capacity building programme for the effective implementation of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

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Tommaso Lussu grew up in Rome, where he graduated in Prehistoric Archeology in 1999 at University of Rome *La Sapienza*. He worked on archaeological and architectural restoration, research projects and territorial investigations companies. From 2001 to 2007 he worked for an organic farm, near Rome. Since 2008, he lives in Sardinia, in Armungia, a small village in the southeast, with Barbara Cardia in the old house of his grandfather, where they founded in 2014 the cultural association *Casa Lussu*. They are engaged in the revitalization of traditional handweaving, studying and researching in collaboration with other handicraftsmen and designers. Their workshop and activities take place in the Armungia Museum.

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Jorijn Neyrinck is comparative anthropologist. She coordinates the organization Workshop intangible heritage (BE) since 2003 (called *tapis plein* until 2017), taking a lead in the field from the onset regarding development and network cooperation around safeguarding intangible cultural heritage (ICH). Neyrinck acts as an active cultural broker and independent expert, bridging between ICH communities, policy makers, civil servants, institutions, NGOs, civil society... A recent accomplishment is the *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* in Europe. Neyrinck is Vice-President of the Flemish Commission for UNESCO in Belgium, a trained facilitator for the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and member in the 2003 Convention's Evaluation Body from 2020 until 2023.

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Florence Pizzorni Itié is a heritage curator and anthropologist who joined the team of the National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions (ATP) in Paris, an innovative museum-laboratory experience. She was part of the team that created the MuCEM in Marseilles, and joined the French Museum Service where she provides the support and validation of the Scientific and Cultural Projects (PSC) of 'society museums' (more than half of the 1220 museums in France). From 2017 to 2020, she is scientific director of the Foundation for the Memory of Slavery and Its Contemporary Footprints, a Foundation that is recognized by decree (dated November 12, 2019) as a non-profit institution. She joined the Research and Scientific Policy Management Department of the Heritage Directorate at the Ministry of Culture. This department is piloting the French national inventory of the intangible cultural heritage. Pizzorni Itié has curated numerous exhibitions.

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Sergio Servellón studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts Antwerp and Cultural Management at Antwerp University. Since 2005, he has been director of FeliXart Museum, which he has reoriented from a monographic to a thematic museum with a focus on the Belgian historical avant-garde movement in the inter-war period. He published a catalog raisonné of the drawings of Felix De Boeck and a monograph on the author-artist Michel Seuphor. He is web editor of the site theme 'Abstract Modernism' for the Flemish Art Collection. Servellón is Vice-chair of the National

Committee of ICOM Belgium, president of ICOM Belgium Flanders and member of the Executive Board of NEMO, the Network of European Museum Organisations. Servellón worked as program coordinator of the Conservation and Restoration Department of the Royal Academy of Antwerp and is president of the Pasfoundation, a Maecenas project part of the King Baudouin Foundation in collaboration with companies, artists and museums. He currently is doing a Ph.D. research at the KU Leuven on the relationship of the World Wars and the emergence of the abstract movements in Belgium.

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Andrzej Iwo Szoka, From 2009 onwards, Dr. Andrzej Iwo Szoka is associated with the Museum of Krakow. He is chief of the Department of Folklore and Traditions of Krakow and curator of the Krakow nativity scene collection**.** In 2017 he was a member of the team preparing the entry application of nativity scene (*szopka*) tradition in Krakow to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Szoka is curator of exhibitions presenting the intangible heritage of Krakow.

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Evdokia Tsakiridis holds a MA in History from Ghent University (BE) and a dual MA in Cultural Heritage Studies from the University of Amsterdam (NL). After coordinating the secretariat and volunteer pool of

the world music festival Polé Polé, during the ten-day city festival Gentse Feesten in 2014, she started working at the NGO Workshop intangible heritage (from 2015 until today). Tsakiridis is currently in charge of the administrative management of the NGO. From 2017-2020, she coordinated the international *Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Project* (funded, a.o., by the Creative Europe programme of the European Union). In 2018 Tsakiridis was member of the assessment committee for regional museums in Flanders, in the context of the 2019-2023 subsidy round. As of 2020, she represents her organization in UNESCO's Evaluation Body in the context of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, and she became board member for ICOM Belgium Flanders.

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