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Migrating Heritage: Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe

Edited by PERLA INNOCENTI University of Glasgow, UK

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Jamie Allen directs the strategy and focus of research and experimentation at CIID, with the Research team and labs.ciid.dk. His interests lie, broadly, in the ways that creative uses of technology teach us about who we are as individuals, cultures and societies. Jamie draws on his experience as a former part of the directorial team of Culture Lab, Newcastle University, where he worked towards understanding community, collaborative and public technological practices. He has taught at NYU's Interactive Telecommunications Program, the Pratt Institute of Art and Design, Hanyang University in Seoul, and lectured at Parsons and the Royal College of Art in London. He

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Alexander Badenoch (1971) is a historian of media, culture and technology based in the Netherlands, and is chief content editor of the *Inventing Europe* international virtual exhibit for the Foundation for the History of Technology in Eindhoven. He received his PhD in Modern Languages from the University of Southampton (2004) and was Post-Doc on the Transnational Infrastructures and the Rise of Contemporary Europe (TIE) project at the Technical University of Eindhoven (2004–8) and Instructor in Media and Cultural studies at the University of Utrecht (2008–2012). In 2010–11, he was a fellow at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS). He is co-founder of the Transmitting and Receiving Europe (TRANS) collaborative research network and member of the Tensions of Europe Collaborative Network and Research Program. He is author of *Voices in ruins: West German radio across the 1945* (Palgrave 2008, winner of the 2007–8 IAMHIST prize) and editor, with Andreas Fickers of *Materializing Europe: transnational infrastructures and the project of Europe* (Palgrave 2010). His research covers a range of topics including European broadcasting history, questions of digital heritage, and representations of European space, and draws on disciplines

including media and cultural studies, cultural geography, gender studies, and history of technology.

Jacob Bak is an interdisciplinary design-engineer from the Technical University of Denmark (DTU) where he graduated with a Masters degree from the Design & Innovation programme. Before joining CIID Research, Bak was at the consultancy side of CIID where he worked with design prototyping and executive training courses on design process and thinking for clients in East-Asia. Prior to this he worked with a number of Danish artist developing sensing installations, and did consulting and research for the Danish Broadcasting Corporation and the Danish Architecture Centre. Bak's interest in design research is supplemented with a profound curiosity in physical and embedded computing, digital crafting tools and the promise and impact of rapid prototyping on the design process and deliverables. His main focus is divided into three areas: understanding the role of user-research and contextual inquiry in design, examining how designers themselves understand their process, and developing interactive design prototypes through software and embedded electronics. Bak is strong proponent of the power of cross-disciplinary work in product and service development, bringing together stakeholders from diverse fields to approach exploration and development in a holistic manner.

Michele Bellelli was born in Reggio Emilia, Italy in 1976. He is currently the director of the photographic archive at the Italian Institute for Contemporary History of Reggio Emilia (Istoreco), where he has been working since 2002 as an archivist and researcher. Istoreco photographic archive preserves many thousands of pictures about the life in the

twentieth century in Italy, with particular attention to the events of the two world wars and the Italian colonial wars. In 2003 Bellelli graduated in contemporary history at the University of Bologna, Italy. As co-author, he published two social history books on the First World War: *Una regione ospedale. Medicina e sanita in Emilia Romagna durante la prima guerra mondiale* (Clueb, Bologna 2010, co-authors Fabio Montella, Francesco Palella, Felicita Ratti) and *Piccola patria, grande guerra: la prima Guerra mondiale a Reggio Emilia* (Clueb, Bologna 2008, co-authors Mirco Carrattieri and Alberto Ferraboschi). He wrote articles on the Istoreco magazine 'RS Ricerche storiche' on the Second World War and the Fascist dictatorship in Reggio Emilia and Reggiane factory. Bellelli specialized on the history of the Reggiane factory and its impact in the local way of life in the twentieth century.

Lorraine Bluche read French Studies at Free University Berlin and gained a doctorate of philosophy. Between 2004–2006 she was a scientific trainee at Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, between 2006–2011 she conducted her dissertation within the research project Imagined Europeans. Die wissenschaftliche Konstruktion des Homo Europaeus. She currently works as a curator, recently within the project Migration macht Geschichte (funded by Hauptstadtkulturfonds) at Bezirksmuseum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Berlin, within which she curated the two exhibitions: NeuZugange. Migrationsgeschichte(n) in Berliner Sammlungen (New in stock. Migration hi/stories in Berlin Museum collections), 2011, and ortsgesprache. stadt – migration – geschichte. vom halleschen zum frankfurter Tor (local chats. city – migration – history, from hallesches to frankfurter tor), 2012.

Rita Capurro was born in 1968. She is member of the research team in Design for Cultural Heritage, at Politecnico di Milano, INDACO department, through which she participates to the EU-funded collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa). Capurro is also currently collaborating to didactic activities on several courses within the Faculty of Sociology at the Universita Milano-Bicocca (Religious Tourism) and the Faculty of Economy at the Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan (History of Art and Museology). She graduated and specialised in Arts and Humanities in 1992 at the University of Genoa and in Management and valorisation of ecclesiastic cultural heritage at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore. She holds a Ph.D. in Design and Technology for the Valorisation of Cultural Heritage from Politecnico di Milano. Since 2005 she worked as didactic coordinator in postgraduate courses on management of cultural heritage at the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, where she was previously didactic coordinator of the master in Museology, Museography and Management of Cultural Heritage. She worked in the production and coordination of several cultural projects for the Dioceses of Genoa and Tortona. Her research interests are focused on religious art and tourism, musealization and interpretation of religious cultural heritage, intercultural dialogue through educational activities in museums. Capurro published in the fields of history of art, musealization of religious cultural heritage and religious tourism.

Andrew Dewdney was the Principal Investigator and Director of the AHRC, Tate Encounters Britishness and Visual Cultures research project and a co-author of *Post Critical Museology: Theory and Practice in the Art Museum* (Routledge 2013). He has written extensively in the area of the politics of visual and media cultures. Dewdney is

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Celeste Ianniciello holds a PhD in Cultural and postcolonial studies of the Anglophone world from the University of Naples 'L'Orientale'. Commencing from the relation between I/eye and place in female migrant subjectivities, her research analyzes the visual (auto)biography of female artists from Middle-Eastern and Mediterranean countries as a contrapuntal example set against the epistemology of geographical, cultural and sexual borders. She has participated in national and international conferences, and published critical essays on literature, cinema and visual arts. With the University of Naples 'L'Orientale', she is a project staff member of the EU-funded collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa).

Perla Innocenti is Research Fellow in Cultural Heritage and Cultural Informatics at History of Art, School of Culture and Creative Arts, University of Glasgow (http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/cca/staff/perlainnocenti/). She is Principal Investigator for the University of Glasgow of the EU-funded FP7 collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa), where she is leading research on networks of cultural institutions. Trained as an art historian, she holds a degree in Humanities - History of Modern Art from University of Rome La Sapienza, and a Master in Management and Communication of Cultural Heritage from Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Innocenti led research as Co-Investigar and contributed to various national initiatives and EU-funded FP6 (DPE, Planets, CASPAR) and FP7 projects (SHAMAN, DL.org, and ECLAP) on digital preservation and digital libraries. She came to Glasgow from the Politecnico di Milano, Italy where she held a research scholarship on information systems for industrial design and coordinated digital libraries activities and projects. Prior to that, she conducted research on museology and museography in Italy with the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa; Goppion Laboratorio Museotecnico; Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome; Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna. She also collaborated with the Italian publishing house Electa-Mondadori for exhibition management at the Coliseum and Capitoline Museums. The results of her scholarship on Digital Preservation and Curation, Digital Libraries Design and Services, Risk Assessment for Digital Repositories, Digitization projects, History of Museums and Display Strategies, Usage models and Requirement analysis, Digital Cultural Heritage have been presented and published in international conferences, journals and books.

Laurent Isnard is a curator, graduated of the Institut National du Patrimoine (National Heritage Institute). Previously, for about ten years she had been working in her capacity as a certified teacher of natural sciences. She was involved in the renovation programme of the Museum of Mankind, Musée de L'Homme, Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, from 2009 to 2012, specifically on the future permanent exhibition conception. She was also a former Curator of the Natural History Museum in Le Havre, France in 2008. Isnard was involved in the setting up of the exhibition *Parce-queue* at the Neuchâtel Museum of Natural History in 2009. Since January 2013, Ms Isnard has taken up the position as a Museum Advisor in the Ile de France Cultural Affairs Agency. There, her duties include putting into operation cultural and heritage policies of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs and Territorial Communication. She acts in the capacity of a government scientific and technical overseer on those museums operating under the official label Musées de France in the Île de France territory.

Eleanor Kenny is Europeana European Campaign Manager. She has more than a decade's experience working in the arts and cultural heritage sector including with the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport, The European Commission's Culture Programme, English Heritage, Arts Council England and The British Library. A cultural communications specialist, Kenny has extensive international experience in the EU, heritage, film, and cultural and digital access networks.

David Gauthier is a scientist. His work and teachings explore creative use of technologies as a mean to probe and develop future scenarios involving humans and

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museums evolution: City, migrations, citizenship and identity: new challenges for European contemporary city museums at the conference City Museums: Collisions | Connections (Vancouver, Canada, 24- 26 October 2012); The City Museum as a Civic Project. Insights from Italy: the relationship between heritage, people and territory in the Italian tradition of civic museums at the conference 'Placing' Europe in the Museum: people(s), places, identities conference (Newcastle University, UK, 3-4 September 2012); The narratives of migration and the representation of national identity in Italian Migration Museum at the conference The Museum 2011. Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics (Taipei, Taiwan, 16-18 November 2011).

Jacopo Leveratto is an architect, graduated in Architecture at the Politecnico di Milano, in 2009 he gained a MA in Design and Requalification of the Built Environment. Since that date Leveratto has been collaborating with the Architectural Design Department, supporting research activities focused on the enhancement of the architectural and environmental heritage in Europe and in emerging countries. Assistant lecturer in Architectural and Urban Design, he PhD candidate in Interior Architecture and Exhibition Design at Politecnico di Milano, where he is investigating the relationships between libraries and museums in the age of global nomadism.

Eleonora Lupo is Assistant Professor at the School of Design of Milano Politecnico (www.design.polimi.it). Lupo gained a MA degree in 2001 in Industrial Design at the Design Faculty, Politecnico di Milano and a Ph.D. in Industrial Design and Multimedia Communication at the Indaco Department of Politecnico di Milano in 2007. In 2008 she was Visiting Researcher and Lecturer at the School of Design Hong Kong Polytechnic

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Sharon Macdonald has recently joined the University of York as Anniversary Professor of Cultural Anthropology in the Department of Sociology. Previously she was Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Manchester, and before that was Professor of Cultural Anthropology at the University of Sheffield. Her publications include *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Blackwell, 2006 –Choice Outstanding Academic Title Award), *Difficult Heritage*. *Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (Routledge, 2009) and *Memorylands*. *Heritage and Identity in Europe*

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John Messner holds the post of Curator, Transport and Technology at Glasgow Museums. His remit includes the extensive railway, tram, subway and bus collections. Messner was a member of the content design team for the Riverside Museum, which opened in June 2011. He was responsible for new primary research into the collections as part of the creation of the displays within the museum. He was a project manager for the purchase, return and conservation of a Glasgow built steam locomotive from South Africa as part of this project. This led to research into the history of the railways in South Africa (including the development of racially based laws and practices in transport in the country), and ultimately to a display on the history of racial discrimination in transport in South Africa within the Riverside Museum. Previous to coming to Glasgow, he held the post of Curator of Industry at the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester where he worked with the textile, paper making and machine tool collections. John holds a MA in Museum Studies from the University of Leicester and a BA in History from Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana, USA.

Frauke Miera is a curator and political scientist. She studied at Free University Berlin and gained a doctorate of philosophy. Her main areas of interest are migration/integration/multiculturalism and musealisation of migration. She worked as a researcher, e.g. in the EU-funded project A European Approach to Multicultural Citizenship: Legal, Political and Educational Challenges (EMILIE) (2006–2009). She trained as a curator at Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Bonn as

well as at Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin. Miera managed the project Migration macht Geschicht (funded by Hauptstadtkulturfonds) at Bezirksmuseum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Berlin, within which she curated the two exhibitions: *NeuZugange*. *Migrationsgeschichte(n) in Berliner Sammlungen* (New in stock. Migration hi/stories in Berlin Museum collections), 2011, and *ortsgesprache. stadt – migration –geschichte. vom halleschen zum frankfurter tor*

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Patricia Reynolds has worked for over 25 years in various heritage organizations, most recently leading Surrey County Council's heritage teams (archives, development control, community and developer funded archaeology, museum development support). She has a particular interest in issues of access, identity and (self-) representation. She has been working with vilified communities, and using heritage work to address stigma. Her work has included actions leading to the preservation and use of the heritage of mental health and Gypsy and Irish Traveller heritage. Pat Reynolds' PhD (Archaeology,

York, 2009) *Transmission and Recall: the meaning and use of short wall anchors* compared the use of a 'Dutch' building technique in early modern buildings in colonial and trading partner contexts, and its use in sustaining 'Dutch' identity in those locations. Her MBA dissertation (Surrey 2012) was on quality in heritage industries; it examined how quality was viewed by people working in those industries, and the stakeholders of those industries.

Constance Rinaldo has been the Librarian of the Ernst Mayr Library of the Museum of Comparative Zoology (http://library.mcz.harvard.edu/and https://www.facebook.com/ernstmayrlib) at Harvard University since 1999. She is a founding member of the Biodiversity Heritage Library (http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/) and vice-chair of the BHL Executive Council. Rinaldo received her M.L.S. from the University of Maryland, an M.Sc. from the University of Connecticut and a B.A. in Biology and Anthropology from the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Prior to becoming the Librarian of the Ernst Mayr, she spent 10 years as Head of Collections and Coordinator of the Librarian Liaison program in the Biomedical Libraries at Dartmouth College. Rinaldo's interest in digitization of library materials and data curation began when she was a library student and worked as an assistant in the National Text Digitizing project at the National Agricultural Library in the late 1980's. Developing strategies for teaching and learning and partnerships with other librarians, faculty and students have always been a priority for Rinaldo - from preparing biology classes and labs during her science graduate education, working with faculty and students on information based projects as a student and librarian, to teaching the skills of information mining and bibliographic tools to students, staff and faculty at

Dartmouth and Harvard. Rinaldo is passionate about natural history and making library collections, including special collections, open and accessible to the global community.

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Biodiversity Heritage Library Steering Committee (http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org). Prior to joining the NHM, Smith worked at the was Deputy Librarian and then Librarian at the British Medical Association where she was responsible for delivering remote access services to individual and one of the largest institutional membership schemes in the UK. She was Centre Manager at the Department Of Health funded National Centre for Clinical Audit, which has since evolved into the National Institute for Clinical Audit (NICE). It was there that she developed her interest in change management, evidence-based practice and quality improvement in libraries. Developing services that widen access to collections, including digitisation, and providing new ways to support researchers has underpinned all the library projects Smith has been involved in.

Davide Spallazzo is a designer and Post-Doc Research Fellow at Politecnico di Milano. Spallazzo carries out his research focusing on the interweaving of design, digital technologies and Cultural Heritage. He primarily studies the use of mobile technology in Cultural Heritage field and mobile gaming as a means to stimulate social engagement and to foster novel learning models during cultural visit. Spallazzo holds a Ph.D. in Design from Politecnico di Milano and has been involved in several national and international research projects concerning the use mobile technologies and virtual and augmented reality for museums, historic monuments, archives and for tourism.

Aileen Strachan started working for Glasgow Museums after graduating from the University of Glasgow, where she studied Scottish Literature and Language. She spent time spent working on the Riverside Museum Project to move the city's transport and

technology collections to the new purpose built museum by the Clyde. Eventually as a Project Curator she researched, planned, and developed a variety of different story displays. She curated the *Reel Lives* exhibition which included an exhibition and website designed to prompt responses and memories to our objects. She left Riverside in 2010 to co-ordinate the Curious Project, based at St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art.

Kim Tao is the Curator of Post-Federation Immigration at the Australian National Maritime Museum in Sydney, where she is responsible for developing collections, exhibitions and programs relating to migration to Australia. She has a Bachelor of Arts in Classical Archaeology, Anthropology and Sociology, and a Master of Arts in Museum Studies, both from the University of Sydney. Kim is the curator of the current travelling exhibition On of British child migration their own - Britain's child migrants, which explores the history to Commonwealth countries including Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe and New Zealand. The exhibition was developed in collaboration with National Museums Liverpool in the UK and won the award for best exhibition at the 2011 Museums & Galleries New South Wales IMAGinE Awards. Kim was previously the Curator of Social History at Fairfield City Museum & Gallery, located in one of the most culturally diverse local government areas in Australia. She curated a number of exhibitions with migrant communities including From Dawn to Sunset: Ramadan, Tet Nguyen Dan: Vietnamese New Year and Bodgies, Westies & Homies: Growing Up in Western Sydney, winner of the New South Wales Local Government Cultural Award for 2007. In 2008 Kim was awarded a Churchill Fellow ship from the Winston Churchill Memorial Trust of Australia to study strategies for building sustainable partnerships

between museums and culturally diverse communities in the UK, Canada and USA. She was able to research innovative models for collaboration between museums, government, schools and communities, which have helped to build a stronger sense of identity and belonging in multicultural communities. Kim's research interests include migration history in museums, community engagement, and museums and national identity. She has published articles on migrant and refugee collections and exhibitions, as well as several exhibition catalogues including *Rituals & Traditions and Storytelling Around the Dining Table*.

Sandra Vacca studied History of Art, History and Museum and Gallery Studies in Lyon, Durham and St Andrews. After her Master degree, she became Curator of the St Andrews Preservation Trust Museum (Scotland) where she organized exhibitions on various topics (including *Migration*, *Art in St Andrews*). Between 2009 and 2012, Vacca delivered seminars at the faculty of Human Sciences of the University of Cologne in Germany on Arts and Politics, Migration and Art, Migration Museums. In 2010–11, she became academic assistant at the Historical Institute of the University of Cologne. In 2011, Vacca co-organized a tri-national summer school on the topic Migration and Museums. Recently, she collaborated to the elaboration of an audio guide for the Museum of the City of Cologne (Project Blickwinkel) which brought the topic immigration to the museum from an unusual perspective. Since October 2011, Sandra has been working on her PhD in History, entitled Remembering, Narrating and Representing Immigration. Immigration Museums and Exhibitions in Germany, France and the UK (supervised by Prof. Jakob Vogel from Sciences Po Paris, Prof. Ralph Jessen from the University of Cologne and Prof. Klaus Schneider, director of the

Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum). Vacca is a scholarship holder at a.r.t.e.s. Research School, the University of Cologne's graduate School of Arts and Humanities.

Raffaella Trocchianesi is an architect and Assistant Professor and Assistant Coordinator of the Research Unit Design for Cultural Heritage at the Department of Industrial Design, Arts, Communication and Fashion, Politecnico di Milano, Italy. She works prevalently on interior design, communication in terms of design for valorization of the cultural heritage, where has national and international experiences. Since 2004 she has been member of the scientific coordination of the PhD course Design and Technology for the valorisation of cultural heritage and she's tutor of of many dissertations. In addition she has participated in the national research, funded by Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, ME.Design. Strategies, Tools and Operation of Industrial Design to Enhance and Strengthen the Resources of the Mediterranean Area between the Local and Global (2001-2003) and the national research funded by Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, D Cult The design for the Valorisation of Cultural Heritage. Strategies, Tools and Methodologies of the Project (2004-2006). Currently she's assistant coordinator on the national research Design of Cultural Heritage between History, Memory and Knowledge. The "Intangible, the "Virtual", the "Interactive" as Project Matters in the Time of Crisis, funded by Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research.

Guido Vaglio was born in Turin in 1956 and qualified as a historian. He is currently Director of the Museum of the Resistance, Deportation, the War, Rights and Freedom in Turin. Vaglio has worked in the field of education in museums; realisation of temporary

exhibitions; project conception for cultural events; museum concept-development and management. He has been involved in culture policy-making, international cultural projects; project conception and organisation for cultural events. Vaglio has taken part in conferences and other training opportunities on a national and international level. He has worked with teaching agencies as a lecturer, holding courses on museum design, museum strategy and the Italian regulations in this sector. He edited catalogues and published articles on exhibitions, museums, museum displays of twentieth-century historical memory, Italian deportation memories.

Federico Zannoni was born in Sassuolo (Modena) in 1981. From 2010 Zannoni is PhD candidate in Education at the Department of Education, University of Bologna, and since 2008 he is part of the research group of Intercultural Education in the same department and teaching assistant for didactic, tutorial and research activities. His research interests are related to themes of intercultural and social education: ethnic and cultural stereotypes and prejudices; intercultural education at school; immigrant writers; second generation of immigrants; cultural, social, religious and ethnic conflicts and their management. Zannoni delivered several lectures at the universities of Bologna, Florence and Kazan and published various articles on intercultural education in academic journals in Italy, Romania and Russia. He is a member of the Glasgow Refugee, Asylum and Migration Network (GRAMNET) and of the European Society for Transcultural and Interdisciplinary Dialogue (ESTIDIA).

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from 2005–11 during which time she led on the Tate Encounters research project in the role of Co-Investigator, having previously worked in seven departments across Tate since 1994. As an independent curator and consultant in the fields of Visual Arts and Architecture she has also worked across both the public and private sector, including for the Mayor of London's Department of Culture, LSE Cities Enterprise, Foster & Partners, The Architecture Foundation and the Thames Light Project. Trained as an art historian, she holds various research and teaching positions within the UK and abroad and has published on post-war British art including *Nigel Henderson: Parallel of Life and Art* (2001), Francis Bacon (Tate, 2008), architects Alison and Peter Smithson (2004), Gilbert & George (*Sculpture in 20th Century Britain*, 2003).

Katherine Watson has been the Director of the European Cultural Foundation (ECF) (www.eurocult.org) since June 2010. Based in Amsterdam, ECF is an independent pan-European foundation, acting as a catalyst for change through arts and culture, via its activities, programmes, grants and online platforms. Watson moved from Canada to join ECF in 2006 as Director of its online partner initiative, the multi-lingual cultural information and networking platform www.labforculture.org. Watson has over 30 years of international experience, on both sides of the Atlantic, combining interdisciplinary art productions with advocacy, research, policy and programme development for non-profit arts organisations as well as governments. She has a particular interest in investigating how the digital shift has affected our society and in the intersection of art and culture with other fields of endeavour. Watson has been a producer, director, manager, fund developer, arts adviser and jury member, and chair of several boards. She is currently on

the governing council of the European Foundation Centre in which ECF plays an active part.

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This book grew out of the work of the Research Field 03 Network of Museums, Libraries and Public Cultural Institutions led by Perla Innocenti, History of Art, School of Culture and Creative Arts, University of Glasgow, within the EU-funded collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa). MeLa is a four-year interdisciplinary research project funded in 2011 by the European Commission under the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities Seventh Framework Programme. Adopting the notion of 'migration' as a paradigm of the contemporary global and multicultural world, MeLa reflects on the role of museums and heritage in the twenty-first century. The main objective of the MeLa project is to define innovative museum practices that reflect the challenges of the contemporary processes of globalization, mobility and migration. As people, objects, knowledge and information move at increasingly high rates, a sharper awareness of an inclusive European identity is needed to facilitate mutual understanding and social cohesion. MeLa aims at empowering museums spaces, practices and policies with the task of building this identity. The project involves nine European partners - universities, museums, research institutes and a private company - leading six Research Fields (RFs) with a collaborative approach.

This volume - second of three books planned within the Research Field 03 Investigation - collects the contributions of twenty-four scholars and practitioners from eight European and extra-European countries, which were previously presented at the international conference 'Migrating Heritage: networks and collaborations across European museums, libraries and public cultural institutions', organised and hosted by the School of Cultural and Creative Arts - History of Art at the University of Glasgow

on 3rd and 4th December 2012.

The focus of this book lies in the realisation that we are witnessing a shift from the identity-marking heritage of European nation-states to a contemporary migrating heritage. Migrating heritage encompasses not only the migration and mobility of post-colonial artefacts, but also migration of people, technologies and disciplines, crossing boundaries and joining forces in cultural networks and partnerships to address new emerging challenges of social inclusion, cultural dialogue, new models of citizenship and national belonging. The authors share their experiences of how local, national and transnational networks engage in the construction and reconfiguration of cultural value; how cultural networks and culture dialogue initiatives work in a specific region or on a specific issue; how they vary according to socio-cultural context; how problems and issues are monitored and solved and how they communicate what lessons have been learnt so that others may learn from. I am deeply grateful to all of them for their enthusiastic contributions and their feedbacks on our MeLa research: their reflections and practice contribute to making cultural cooperation exciting and enriching the European horizons.

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The editor

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Introduction

Migrating Heritage – Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe

Perla Innocenti

Unbounded Cultures: Migrating Heritage and Cultural Networks

This book collects selected contributions of international scholars and practitioners, presented at the international conference 'Migrating Heritage: networks and collaborations across European museums, libraries and public cultural institutions',¹ organised and hosted by the School of Cultural and Creative Arts – History of Art at the University of Glasgow on 3–4 December 2012 within the activities of the EU-funded collaborative research project 'European Museums in an Age of Migration' (MeLa), Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities Program.²

The focus of this volume lies in the realisation that we are witnessing a shift from the identity-marking heritage of European nation states (MacDonald 1993, Chambers 1994, Shore 2000, Orchard 2002, Sassatelli 2002, MacDonald 2003, Delanty 2003, Bennett 2009) to a contemporary migrating heritage, a new concept I am introducing with this research. Cultural identities, which define what represents cultural heritage for us, are not written in stone but continuously evolve and reshape themselves, adapting to new contexts determined by the contact with our own and other cultures. Such encounters not only allow one to assess but also to create one's cultural identity. Therefore I believe that one key feature of (multi)cultural heritage is the drive to unbound identities and let them interweave

¹ The 'Migrating Heritage' conference provided participants with a platform for connecting people and institutions; learning about the promising landscape of cooperation and partnerships among museums, libraries and public cultural institutions across Europe and beyond; and exchanging new ideas on how to initiate and develop future collaborations. See the conference booklet with abstracts and biographies at http://www.mela-project.eu/upl/cms/attach/20121119/181830286_6888.pdf.

² www.mela-project.eu. Grant Agreement number 266757, 01/03/11–28/02/15. The overarching goal of MeLa's to research the new role of museums and define new strategies for contemporary museums in a context characterised by a continuous migration of people and ideas. Within the project, Research Field 03 (RF03) Network of Museums, Libraries and Public Cultural Institutions investigates, led by History of Art at the University of Glasgow, identifies and proposes innovative strategies for the coordination of transnational European museums, libraries and public cultural institutions, around the themes of European cultural and scientific heritage, migration and integration, and ICT.

in networks, in pathways of exchange and contamination. Migrating heritage encompasses not only the migration and mobility of post-colonial artefacts, but also migration of people, technologies and disciplines, crossing boundaries and joining forces in cultural networks and partnerships to address new emerging challenges of social inclusion, cultural dialogue, new models of cultural identity, citizenship and national belonging.

How are cultural institutions - the historical collectors of cultural heritage, presenting collections to users within the frame of a systematic, continuous, organised knowledge structure (Carr 2003) – responding to such new scenarios? Cultural institutions typically address public knowledge and memory, and deal with the need to create a coherent narrative, a story of a society and its cultural, historical and social contexts. In the last decades, cultural networks played an increasingly important role in supporting transnational, cross-sectoral cooperation and cultural dialogue, and creating cultural value. UNESCO's notion of cultural diversity (UNESCO 2001) and the Council of Europe's holistic definition of heritage (Council of Europe 2005) leave the dimension of interactions and exchanges between cultures to be further explored and defined, for example in terms of 'cooperation capital' as defined by the DIGICult project (European Commission 2002: 83-4). Also of interest is how the usage of digital technologies is changing the dynamics and scoping of cultural networking and of memory construction, display and understanding in a networked society (Castells 1996, 1997, Benkler 2006, Latour 2010). Finally, the idea of a network, or system of cooperation, between cultural institutions based on a non-territorial approach is an appealing way of breaking through Europe's geographic, sociological and political borders.

The underlying hypothesis here is that cultural networks, at local, national and transnational levels, can contribute to the development of new models and institutional practices of heritage within cultural institutions. This assumption was also eloquently supported in a study commissioned by the European Forum for Arts and Heritage (Staines 1996) and demonstrated by 20 years of research activities by CultureLink, a Network of Networks for Research and Cooperation in Cultural Development, established by UNESCO and the Council of Europe in 1989 (Cvjeticanin 2011). The network research of the MeLa project is based on the understanding that the potential of networks for cultural dialogue has not yet been recognised nor it has been supported by policy makers, as confirmed by the lack of penetration of such themes into cultural policies reported in the Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe.³ To fill this gap, I engaged in investigating real-life case studies of cultural institutions working in what is defined here as 'migrating heritage', organised either in wider cultural networks or in individual initiatives of cultural dialogue. These case studies were presented in the book European Crossroads (Innocenti 2012a). In the current volume, I am triangulating and enriching the first volume's initial findings with further experiences of migrating heritage, cultural networks and cultural dialogue.

³ http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php.

Finally, to conclude this research, with a bottom-up approach I will identify what theories can be deducted from the real world of cultural institutions, whether the identified scenarios match with current network theories,⁴ and suggest implications and materials for cultural policies.

There are a number of network theories in social sciences, anthropology and media studies (Latour 1999, Strathern 1996, 2002, 2004, Terranova 2004, Rossiter 2006, Ingold 2007, 2008, Potts et al. 2008). These theories are certainly useful for reflecting on the features and dimensions of networks, for example, networks as complex and heterogeneous sets of relations between actors and nonhuman agents, as in Latour's actor network theory, or Potts's social network theory. However, the real-life case studies and examples considered so far in MeLa's research point towards further theoretical frameworks. The first pattern emerging from the research seems to match the network mathematical model described by Albert-László Barabási (2003), which applies to the Web environment as well as to biological and social systems. While investigating networks, Barabási discovered that the vast majority of nodes in a network have only a few links, whilst a few nodes (the hubs) have a very large number of links. This model, which visually resembles the hubs of international airports networks, is evident, for example, in the network of Europeana, Biodiversity Heritage Library, Inventing Europe, the Research Network of Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration (chapters from Kenny, Rinaldo and Smith, Badenoch, Arquez-Roth in this book) and other case studies in this volume. The second emerging pattern fits with Richard Sennett's empirical discussion in Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation (Sennett 2012) and helps us to shed some light on the dynamics of cultural networks. Sennett argues that cooperation is a matter of skills, rather than a bundle of shared ideals and moral attitudes towards others; cooperation is a craft conveyed by social rituals, which we have been observing closely in several memory and cultural institutions dedicated to migrating heritage. The third observed pattern is aligned with a concept introduced by Manuel Castells in 2001 and recently republished; museums have the potential to become 'communication protocols' between diverse entities and 'cultural connectors of time and space', connecting 'global and local dimensions of identity, space and local society' (Castells 2010: 433). Castells specifies that not every museum can do this, but rather 'only those which are capable of articulating virtual flows in a specific place – for communication and culture are global and virtual, but also require spatial markers; those which are capable of synthesizing art, human experience and technology, creating new technological forms of communication protocols; those which are open to society and hence not only archives but also educational and interactive institutions which are anchored in a specific historical identity while also being open to present and future multicultural currents' [Castells 2010: 434]. Within my research on cultural networks and social inclusion in Europe, this is for example the case of the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration (chapter by Arquez-Roth,

⁴ The final results of MeLa's network research will be published in 2014.

Innocenti 2012c) and the ZKM Media Museum (Innocenti 2012d), both rooted within their own local and national communities, acting as unifiers of initiatives and routers for cooperation and dissemination exploiting digital technologies.

Migrating Heritage and a Common European Union Culture

The concept of migrating heritage also provides an interesting perspective from which to look at the history and politics of the EU-legitimising and ambivalent concepts of 'unity in diversity' and a 'common European heritage', and how these intersect and conflict with the heterogeneous, multi-level institutional construction that is Europe (Appadurai 1990).

The latest example of EU cultural politics is the speech recently given by European Commission President Barroso on 'Culture: The Cement that Binds Europe Together'. Speaking to an audience of culture-sector representatives in Vienna, President Barroso highlighted the role of culture in fostering a sense of unity and shared identity in Europe, commenting 'Given the undeniable truth that a European Union of culture preceded and nurtured the economic and political European Union that we know today ... culture always was, and still is, more than ever, the cement that binds Europe together.' Highlighting several of the initiatives which the European Commission has led to foster intercultural dialogue, President Barroso also said:

It is this kinship that has finally overcome hostility. And it is this spirit that continues to thrive today, encouraged and sustained by the wide range of measures taken by the European Union and in that case the European Commission, whether it be through the Erasmus programmes and the creation by 2014 of a European Research Area; or through the European capitals of culture, the promotion of multilingualism and intercultural dialogue, and not forgetting the European Community legislation to protect the rights of authors, producers and artists. What we want to defend is a Europe constantly developing new forms of cooperation founded on the exchange of ideas, innovation, and research. It is a Europe that accords a central place to the individual, to every human being, and to respect for human dignity. Science and culture are at the very heart of Europe's openness precisely because they enrich us as individuals and create bonds that extend beyond frontiers.

The idea of a common European culture is problematically interconnected with the concept of migrating heritage in Europe and beyond. So it is interesting to trace the background of President Barroso's speech. Over the last year, a rich body of literature has been produced on colonialism's roots and its influence on

^{5 4} April 2013. The full text of President Barroso's speech is available at http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-13-280_en.htm.

the formation and politics of national European identities and related questions of ethnicity, culture, racism and migration. 'Culture' was not mentioned in the founding economic treaties of the European Community in 1957; the concept only emerged around the 1970s and was relaunched from the 1980s onwards, supported through various initiatives such as the cultural exchange programme Erasmus, the MEDIA programme, Information and Social Fund policies, initiatives such as European years (of culture, for example), European prizes, and Jean Monnet awards. The concept of a common European culture and heritage was formalised in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty on the European Union, and legally and financially framed in Article 151 of the Treaty of Amsterdam. This notion of culture not connected to a specific, national community but rather as a common European heritage to legitimise the EU was reflected in an EU Cultural Policy (originally Article 128 of Treaty on European Union, Maastricht 1992): 'The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.'6

The problems related to the definition and implications of European cultural identity and its semantic history have been widely discussed (Morin 1987, MacDonald 1993, Anderson 1993, Delanty 1995, Shore 2000, Orchard 2002, Sassatelli 2002, Delanty 2003, Chakarabarty 2000). These scholars noted that there are many European cultures and identities, whose multiplicity would be endangered by the idea of a European gluing and homogenising sameness. Thus European collective cultural identity is being rhetorically constructed and fostered by the European Union via a dynamic, ongoing process of cultural policies and symbolic initiatives under the motto 'United in diversity' (borrowed from the American motto E pluribus unum) that has become the canonical frame of reference for European integration. But how can this cultural multiplicity be operationally and practically implemented and supported, without being susceptible to self-referentiality and ghettoisation? Philip Schlesinger warned early on that Europeanness 'does not add up to a convincing recipe for collective identity' without an adequate place for culture (Schlesinger 1994: 320), and Ash Amin rightly noted that, in parallel with EU promotion of a pan-European identity, 'racism and xenophobia have become trans-European phenomena' (Amin 1993: 15), increasing exclusion in the name of cultural differences. The politics of cultural identity risked quickly sidelining the real disruptive and regenerating potential of cultural and historical differences (Chambers 1994, 2007, Chambers and Curti 1996).

Indeed, since the nineteenth century, cultural heritage and multi-ethnic identity have been woven into the conceptual fabric of multiculturalism. Among the several definitions developed over time (Jokiletho 2005), heritage was described

⁶ http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/glossary/culture_en.htm.

⁷ European Commission, 'The Founding Principles of the Union', http://europa.eu/scadplus/constitution/objectives_en.htm.

by UNESCO in 1989 as 'a constituent part of the affirmation and enrichment of cultural identities', that are a patrimony of the world.

At the global level, in 2003, UNESCO also developed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, followed in 2005 by the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. At the European level, cultural heritage became the foundation of the nation states, often becoming synonymous with a unity of heritage, identity and ethnicity which strengthened cultural and political divisions.

A step toward a more problematising and operational approach was taken when the Council of Europe (currently 47 member states, 28 of which are members of the European Union) addressed these issues and provided a new framework for cultural heritage in 2005 with the so-called 'Faro Convention' (Council of Europe 2005). The Council of Europe Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society provided a new holistic and dynamic characterisation of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage, seen as important means of fostering democratic dialogue between diverse cultural communities. Heritage is defined as

... a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time. (Council of Europe 2005: Art. 2).

In this newly expanded heritage model, there is a strong, integrated connection with the concepts of landscape, natural heritage, biodiversity and environmental issues, which are the product of human actions and processes and whose solution and conservation must be addressed culturally. The Faro Convention also introduced the reference to 'heritage communities' linked by a 'purposive commitment to specific heritages' (Council of Europe 2009: 10), and the concept of 'common heritage of Europe', connected to the idea of open citizenship (Council of Europe 2005: Art. 3).

Of further relevance to the research described here, among its various heritage policy tools, the Faro Convention:

- identifies a vision of cultural heritage based on partnerships and cooperation between public authorities and non-governmental institutions, private owners, cultural industries, experts, to increase and deepen international cooperation towards heritage management actions (Council of Europe 2005: Art. 11, Art. 17).
- supports 'the use of digital technologies to enhance access to cultural heritage' as integral part of the Information Society (Council of Europe 2005: Art. 14).
- defines tools for improving mobility and exchange of people and ideas.

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The idea of transnational partnerships, cooperations and networks for common heritage projects developed in parallel with the conceptualisation of a European cultural diversity and reached maturity in the mid-1990s. Since the early 1990s, with its unique inclusiveness the Council of Europe actively supported the birth of several international cultural networks (Pehn 1999). Gradually overshadowing the political prominence of the Council of Europe, at European Union level, transnational partnerships were supported by initiatives such as European Cities of Culture (Myerscough 1994), pilot and sectoral programmes (such as Kaleidoscope, Ariane and Raphael) and the Culture 2000 Programme, which addressed the formation of a European identity. Institutions within wider civil society, for example, NGOs, were not engaged through a structured, permanent contact but rather via ad hoc consultations such as the Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008. Culture 2007 moved the focus towards transnational cooperation between established cultural institutions (Gerth 2006).

There are several issues surrounding the creation of an EU collective identity and the challenge of creating a European public sphere, conceived as a communication structure 'rooted in the lifeworld through the associational network of civil society' (Habermas 1996: 359). Within European civil society, Ericksen (2004) has identified dynamically differentiated, complex and segmented public spheres at subnational, national and transnational level, which create different arenas, both physical and digital, where elites, professionals and the wider public cooperate at various degrees and levels. However

... the main problem with the development of a European public sphere is held back by the lack of a cultural substrate required for collective will-information. The forging of a collective identity so to say presupposes certain social underpinnings presently lacking in the EU. Can there be a public sphere without a collective identity? (Eriksen 2004: 2)

In Ericksen's view, lack of agreement on common interests and values, different languages and national cultures make the viability of a European public sphere rather unlikely.

In the last decade, the European Commission has fostered a decentralised communication policy that prioritised the construction of a European public sphere as an instrument to create a transnational arena (Bee and Bozzini 2010). The goal of a significant number of initiatives (from EU-funded projects to festivals and workshops across Europe) has been to establish better relationships within different types of institutional and media networks.

However, this seems to remain an EU top-down policy agenda, whose priorities seems to lack effective feedback mechanisms into civil society. And as

⁸ As Dragan Klaic noted, after the 1990s 'the EU took over the primacy from the Council of Europe in setting the terms for international cultural cooperation, despite its somewhat restricted competence and capacity' (Klaic 2007: 25).

Migrating Heritage

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the historian Tony Judt remarked in his masterly essay on the European Union originally published in 1996, although cross-continental and intercontinental migrations have been and are now again a feature of European society, 'there is very little tradition in Europe of effective assimilation – or, alternatively, "multiculturalism" – when it comes to truly foreign communities' (Judt 2011: 107). It is also useful to note here that initiatives and policies of the European Union and of the Council of Europe (CoE) on cultural dialogue and cultural cooperation themes are sometimes misaligned or overlap with each other. European Union actions in this area could greatly benefit from liaising more deeply with the CoE's initiatives such as the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*9 and CultureWatchEurope. 10

Can communication and interaction between these translocal and transnational spheres be improved? How are cultural institutions organised to support transnational dialogue and social engagement within European contemporary society, beyond EU rhetoric? Are there emerging patterns of transnational networking across European cultural institutions? Some chapters in this book provide some useful examples of migrating heritage in Europe and ongoing cultural networking and initiatives in the making.

Overview of the Contributions in This Volume

Each chapter in *Migrating Heritage* is united by the common thread of investigating aspects of the evolving ecology of migrating heritage, cultural networking and culture in the twenty-first century in Europe: transnational, translocal and transdisciplinary cooperation; initiatives of social inclusion and cultural dialogue; histories of migration and migration archives; city museums and cultural development. These themes are investigated through theoretical reflections and practical case studies, discussing experiences and politics around:

- how museums can define innovative practices, spaces and policies that reflect the challenges of building an inclusive Europe in an age of migrations;
- what are the experiences and effects of collaboration, partnerships and networks around the core activities of archiving, preserving and displaying history and artefacts, and the associated concepts of cultural value and identity;
- what are the cooperation dynamics and roles (for example, catalysts and facilitators, routers and connectors, producers and consumers);
- whether more flexible and heterogeneous connections between public cultural institutions can be achieved within the European/ Mediterranean space;

⁹ http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/index.php.

¹⁰ http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/cwe/default_en.asp.

- how are museums, libraries and other cultural institutions presenting themselves and interacting with multicultural audiences, and
- what guidelines and policies can be suggested to support networking between public cultural institutions.

An overview of macro-areas and of the chapters in this book are provided below.

Cultural Heritage, Digital Technologies and Transdisciplinary Networking

Underlying many of the contributions in this volume is the use of digital technologies in the service of cultural heritage, which has been rapidly growing since the early 1990s. In several ways, culture has been one of the driving forces for research and technological development in the last few decades. However, digital and communication technologies in cultural heritage also raise challenging questions regarding the convergence and integration of 'memory institutions', the arts sector and information and communications technology (ICT). How could and should cultural heritage be preserved, represented, given access to and disseminated in digital and networked environments? How can digital media be contextualised, interpreted and considered authentic? Who are the privileged users in digital literacy and who is left out in the digital divide? How can cultural dialogue and social inclusion initiatives benefit from digital technologies?

In his influential book *Modernity at large*, the anthropologist Appadurai indicated media and migration as the 'two major, and interconnected, diacritics' of his 'theory of rupture' in our contemporary, globalised world [Appadurai 1996: 3]. New interdisciplinary areas of study and of practice have emerged to circumscribe the use of such technologies to cultural heritage, such as virtual heritage (Addison 2000, 2008), digital cultural heritage (Cameron and Kenderdine 2007), new heritage (Manovich 2001, Kalay, Kvan and Affleck 2008), ¹² cultural heritage informatics (Dallas 2007) and eCulture (Ronchi 2009: 9), with the intention of addressing new social, political and economic dimensions of sites, artefacts and

¹¹ The fast-paced development and increasing accessibility of resources provoked a rush into the virtual and the digital, with the creation of a large number of associations, conferences, meetings and workshops on cultural heritage and ICT. For example, the International Society and Conference on Virtual Systems and Multimedia (VSMM), International Symposium on Virtual Reality, Archaeology and Cultural Heritage (VAST), IEEE Virtual Reality (IEEE VR), Association for Computing Machinery's Special Interest Group on Computer Graphics and Interactive Techniques (ACM SIGGRAPH), conferences of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and of United Nations Organization for Education, Science and Culture (UNESCO), Museums and the Web conferences, International Cultural Heritage Informatics Meetings (ICHIM), Electronic Information, the Visual Arts and Beyond (EVA) and many others.

¹² In his seminal book Lev Manovich identified five key principles that characterise digital media: numerical presentation, modularity, automation, variability and transcoding (Manovich 2001).

other aspects of cultural heritage. The definitions of these areas of study and practice have been evolving in parallel with the development of a normative definition of what constitutes cultural heritage, which over time has moved from the eighteenth-century European approach of preserving and collecting material culture and artefacts (Jokiletho 2005). Cultural heritage now includes significant buildings, people and objects, industrial buildings and sites, landscape and natural heritage (Bouchenaki 2004), intangible heritage (UNESCO 2003b) and born digital resources (UNESCO 2003a), such as digital objects in Europeana and the Biodiversity Heritage Library. The recent UNESCO conference, 'The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation', ¹³ produced a further advancement in the preservation and dissemination of digital heritage, with the UNESCO/UBC Vancouver Declaration (UNESCO 2013).

The potentialities of digital cultural heritage, in particular for artefacts of movable cultural heritage in terms of digitisation (Kenney and Rieger 2000) and access (European Commission 2002) have been explored internationally in the last decades. I could argue that digital imagining is the linchpin between 'traditional' cultural heritage studies and the brave new world of cultural heritage informatics, data management and access on different scales and contexts. It is also noted elsewhere that as technology comes to play an increasingly crucial role in understanding and representing our cultural heritage, digital cultural heritage – like digital objects - becomes fragile and susceptible to technological change, and we need interdisciplinary cooperation to keep it alive (Innocenti 2012f). Of interest here is that a number of funding bodies, including the funding schemes of the European Commission, have been encouraging cross-border and cross-sectoral cooperation between cultural heritage and ICT domains since the late 1980s (Hemsley, Cappellini and Stanke 2005: 4-13), favouring the development of growing disciplines such as cultural informatics and the progressive hybridisation of media and digital artefacts, both within museums and libraries.

In this book, authors describe how networks exploit digital technologies to break down political, cultural and national barriers (Watson and Paulissen's chapter; see also Innocenti 2012e), between community of practice and academia (Badenoch's chapter), or raising the question on how to represent non-Western heritages in museums and online collections (Macdonald's chapter).

Katherine Watson and Vivian Paulissen explore the role of 'Remapping Europe – A Remix', an experimental project initiated by the European Cultural Foundation's (ECF) youth programme. The authors consider multimedia an ideal form in which to explore the multitude of intersections (intercultural, interdisciplinary, intergenerational) that both arise from, and are best able to tackle, the breakdown of political, cultural and national barriers that characterise

¹³ UNESCO conference 'The Memory of the World in the Digital Age: Digitization and Preservation', 26–28 September 2012, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/mow/mow_vancouver_programme_en.pdf.

our times. The ECF is in a unique position in being able to work across Europe and its neighbours and to sponsor risk-taking and experimental projects. Working

across borders, generations and cultures, but united by new media technologies, their youth and a transnational creativity, participants in 'Remapping Europe – A Remix' can, among other achievements, explore the migration experience afresh. Wittily framed by the metaphorical and allegorical figure of a travelling salesman selling Singer sewing machines, Alexander Badenoch's essay discusses how the 'Inventing Europe' project, part of a pan-European research activity, 'Tensions of Europe', which was founded by a group of technology historians, set out to explore the multifarious connections between Europe's technologies. The project's online exhibition Europe, Interrupted, brought out hidden tensions between partners in the project network, between academic historians and public curators, between museum objects and their presences online and in book form. These tensions are also apparent in Sharon Macdonald's exploration of the specific issue of how to represent 'Islamic' heritage in museums and online collections, and how these issues have become problematic in the context of current political issues in the West. She identifies an intrinsic 'networked' nature of Islam as a religion and culture, but finds contradictions and unresolved problems in how museum and online exhibitions respond to this in reality.

The potentialities of using digital technologies to implement cultural policies in museums and computational visualisation to process museum large data sets are described in the chapters by Lupo and colleagues, and by Gauthier, Bak and Allen. The team of Lupo, Parrino, Radice, Spallazzo and Trocchianesi presents research on how digital technologies can contribute to implementing cultural policies in museums and other such institutions. They identify three approaches – multicultural storytelling, intercultural dialogue and transcultural practices – and four models for implementing these through content, design and potential for social interaction. These four models are illustrated where possible with real life case studies. The whole provides rich and thoughtful grounding for those creating new museums, exhibitions, or interpretative activities. David Gauthier, Jacob Bak and Jamie Allen address the practical and theoretical analysis of museum spaces, proposing an interdisciplinary approach encompassing contemporary practice-based research in cultural, social and political studies, media and communication design. Within their ongoing research, the authors suggest how to handle large combined quantitative and qualitative data sets (such as those produced in the study of museums) by processing such information conglomerates through computational visualisation, which also allows multiple viewpoints.

Transnational and Translocal Networking of Heterogeneous Memory Institutions

In addition and in parallel to thematic networks, there are also translocal, transnational and transdisciplinary networks engaging diverse types of so-called 'memory institutions'. The latter is a term which primarily but not exclusively denotes libraries, archives and museums (Hjerppe 1994, Dempsey 1999), and Copyrighted Material

the shift towards information science, with a progressive convergence of library, archival and museum studies (Trant 2009). Cultural institutions deal with the need to create a coherent narrative, a story of who we are and what our cultural, historical and social contexts are. In modern Western society, cultural institutions include but are not limited to libraries, archives and museums (sometimes also jointly referred to as 'LAMs' – see Zorich, Gunther, and Erway 2008), galleries, and other heritage and cultural organisations. Their histories are often intertwined, although their interrelations have not always led to a consolidated path of collaboration. For example, although often originating as unified 'universal museums', museums and libraries have developed separate institutional contexts and distinct cultures. Jennifer Trant (2009) noted how philosophies and policies of museums and libraries now reflect their different approaches to collecting, preserving, interpreting and providing access to objects in their care. Liz Bishoff (2004: 35) has remarked:

Libraries believe in resource sharing, are committed to freely available information, value the preservation of collections, and focus on access to information. Museums believe in preservation of collections, often create their identity based on these collections, are committed to community education, and frequently operate in a strongly competitive environment.

In the last century, policy makers have attempted to group and bridge these communities of practices through 'their similar role as part of the informal educational structures supported by the public, and their common governance' (Trant 2009: 369). Such commonalities are increasingly important to the sustainability of museums, libraries and related public cultural institutions in a globalised world.

Within the context of the MeLa project research, exploring the potential for partnerships and collaborations between museums and libraries also provides the opportunity to critically reflect on the roles and power of both types of institution. Museums are historically placed to interpret and preserve culturally diverse heritage, although until now they typically have been selecting and showcasing the histories and collective memories of the elites rather than ethnic minorities, weaving them into the grand metanarratives of nation states (see, for example, Barker 1999, Karp et al. 2006, Knell, MacLeod and Watson 2007, Gonzalez 2008, Bennett 2009, Graham and Cook 2010). As centres for culture, information, learning and gathering, libraries would be natural service providers for a migrating heritage and culturally diverse, transnational communities, enabling intercultural dialogue and education while supporting and promoting diversity (IFLA 2006). But as sites of learning and knowledge, libraries are not neutral spaces either (Chambers 2012).

Collaborations between museums and libraries seem therefore a promising area in which to start identifying and problematising patterns and trends of partnerships. Some studies of museum and library collaborations (for example, Diamant-Cohen and Sherman 2003, Gibson, Morris and Cleeve 2007, Zorich, Gunter and Erway, 2008, Yarrow, Clubb and Draper 2008) have highlighted the

benefits of joining forces and resources in a variety of areas. ¹⁴ The International Federation of Libraries Association (IFLA) remarked that museums and libraries are often natural partners for collaboration and cooperation (Yarrow, Clubb and Draper 2008). One of the IFLA groups, Libraries, Archives, Museums, Monuments & Sites (LAMMS), ¹⁵ unites the five international organisations for cultural heritage: IFLA (libraries), ICA (archives), ICOM (museums), ICOMOS (monuments and sites) and CCAAA (audiovisual archives), to intensify cooperation in areas of common interest. In the Faro Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, the Council of Europe has defined a clear vision for cultural heritage based on shared responsibilities, and on partnerships between public authorities and the non-governmental sector with a focus on community participation (Goddard 2009).

Digital technologies and the Web provide new ways of creating, managing and providing access to resources and of redefining collections, whilst at the same time supporting translocal, transnational and transdisciplinary networking between libraries, museums and cultural institutions. A good example is the EU aggregation project 'Europeana', an Internet portal aunched in 2008 as an interface to millions of digitised books, paintings, films, museum objects and archival records, and to showcase Europe's heritage and political, scientific, economic, artistic and religious culture (Innocenti 2012b). In this volume, Eleanor Kenny explains how Europeana brings together 27 million objects from 34 countries. Such a long-term project requires international cooperation from governments, individual institutions, other domain aggregators and collection management software companies, and common data standards, to create a freely accessible, valuable and useful resource. Further developments will include user engagement and curation opportunities, scope for user-generated content and other forms of interaction. A further relevant case of this type of network is represented here by the Biodiversity Heritage Library (BHL). Valuable voices from the field of science, Constance Rinaldo and Jane Smith present the work of BHL, which aims to unite the world's biodiversity library collections online and is also one of Europeana's aggregators. The BHL fosters global collaboration between cultural heritage in the arts and the sciences to ensure preservation and access to biodiversity literature (Council of Europe 2005, 2009). International access to taxonomy data and literature is essential to recording and advancing biodiversity; BHL provides the tools to unite published references to species descriptions across time and space, and allow scholarly access. The wider community is engaged through image

¹⁴ For example: library activities and programmes related to museum exhibits; travelling museum exhibitions hosted in libraries; links between web-based resources in library and museum websites; library programmes including passes to museums; collaborative digitisation and digital library projects enhancing access to resources in both museums and libraries; collaborative initiatives to bring in authors as speakers; museum and library partnerships with other cultural and educational organisations.

¹⁵ http://www.ifla.org/en/about-lamms.

banks, virtual exhibitions and links to other resources' such as Charles Darwin's Library. The international partnership is managed through regional hubs, thus bringing enormous benefits to less well-resourced regions such as Africa, despite difficulties with intellectual property and interoperability.

Shifting from a global to a national level, Agnès Arquez-Roth's chapter analyses with refreshing honesty two aspects of the work of the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration in Paris, its fraught origins in a time of political controversy around the place of immigrants in French society and the Cité's attempts to achieve balance and cooperation in its complex cultural and digital network of regional and European partnerships (see also the interviews at the Cité in Innocenti 2012c).

Another case of European-wide partnership of memory institutions is provided by Patricia Reynolds' discussion of the transnational 'Roma Routes', an EUfunded project giving Roma communities the opportunity to present their own culture. She notes that museums, archives and libraries are grounded in concepts of property and land ownership, that local funding is derived from local communities and that collections mostly aim at reflecting local history. These values militate against giving voice to nomadic, in this case Roma, heritage. Even though cultural differences made the necessary partnerships and networking difficult at times, the project has been successfully working towards creating an official EU Route of Roma Culture and Heritage. In terms of intercontinental partnerships, Kim Tao provides a moving account of the development and implementation of an exhibition on a previously little-known story, that of British child migrant schemes that, until the 1960s, transported thousands of children, not all orphans, to Australia. The author explains the design and planning behind the exhibition, the importance of case studies and of personal photographs and effects, and the resulting public response. She recognises the difficulties in successfully carrying out the international partnership aspects of the project.

The Emergence of City Museum Networks and the Museo Diffuso

A further promising example of cultural networks on a local scale is represented by city museum networks and the concept of *museo diffuso* (Emiliani 1974, chapters by Lanz and by Guido Vaglio), an Italian model in which museums reach out from their walls to local territories, local communities and partnerships with like-minded institutions, thus also encouraging integration in a period of mass migration, social change and shifting identities.

The emerging importance of cities and their networks has been recently stressed by the analyst Nassim Nicholas Taleb, who envisioned decentralised governments in which fragile *nation* states will be replaced by stronger – because more flexible – *city* states (Taleb 2012). Harvard economist Edward Glaeser further challenged our notion of what a city is, describing cities as positive catalysts of humanities, multipliers of personal interactions attracting talent and creativity, favouring entrepreneurship and supporting social mobility thanks to dense human

networks (Glaeser 2011). In this volume, Francesca Lanz proposes that city museums have an especially important role to play in a period of mass migration, social change and shifting identities. Referring to real-life examples, including the concept of the museo diffuso, she shows how such museums must change their displays, collecting activities, exhibition and outreach programmes to ensure their continued relevance. Partnerships, locally with the museum's own communities and with like-minded institutions elsewhere - the 'glocal' dimension - are essential. Guido Vaglio's case study, the 'Turin-Earth' project at the city's museo diffuso also refers explicitly to the role of the project in transforming 'visitors into citizens' as part of the process of integration. Here the contexts are the museum's permanent exhibition which focuses on the period before and after the war, the role of immigration in very different economic times, and the current political climate in Italy. The *museo diffuso* model seems to also be appropriate in Germany, where city museums are seen as vital in promoting social inclusion. In Frauke Miera and Lorraine Bluche's chapter, collecting policies, and the involvement and representation of new communities such as migrants in building collections, are crucial to city museums. The authors note that in the first place curators often do not recognise the potential of their existing collections. Migrant communities should be represented in creating new collections and these collections and displays should not be kept distinct from 'general' history collections, thus reinforcing difference and separation. Audio-archives can play an especially important role in creating new collections around migrants' experiences.

Further Initiatives for Cultural Dialogue and Social Inclusion

In parallel to these emerging examples of cultural networks, we are witnessing a rich variety of initiatives promoted and led by cultural institutions under the themes of cultural dialogue through objects, social inclusion and engaging with multicultural audiences. Some of these undertakings also allow critical reflections on the implications for cultural policies (chapters by Dewdney and Walsh and by Galangau and Isnard), whilst others provide us with insights in real-life initiatives and projects (chapters by Sergi, Strachan, Vacca, Bellelli and Zannoni).

As a powerful example of a local initiative deployed to look critically at a national level, Dewdney and Walsh's important chapter presents the research project 'Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Culture'. Their research amounts to a critique of the social inclusion policies of the New Labour years. The authors argue that the emphasis on racial difference in determining how to engage new audiences in public culture, conflates race and ethnicity with economic and educational deprivation, and reinforces ethnic differences rather than bridging them. A new understanding of public and audience is required, one that allows a full range of subjectively defined audiences to engage with today's art museums. Laurence Isnard and Fabienne Galangau-Quérat's chapter discusses two cases of repatriation in the Musée de l'Homme, how the conflict between the Western, particularly French, tradition of scientific objectivity and the claims of aboriginal

people were and can be reconciled, in the context of French and wider European law and public policy.

Using results from his field research, Domenico Sergi highlights the role objects can play in articulating the concerns of individual migrants in their host country by creating 'critical incidents'. In a project at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts, he and colleagues reveal how a small group of objects allowed cultural taboos to be discussed, emotions to be expressed and different modes of communication to be explored. Sergi echoes Dewdney and Walsh in noting that curators and policy makers should not prejudge participants' interests and thus confirm static images of cultural diversity. Aileen Strachan illustrates the use of objects in Glasgow Museums' 'Curious' project. She notes how participants, drawn from earlier community engagement and consultation exercises, made their own interpretation of objects that did not always conform to curators' expectations. Many valuable project outcomes followed the exhibition opening, including visitor responses, tours by volunteers, training programmes for language students and enhanced object documentation. Sandra Vacca focuses on migrants' interpretative work in Cologne's city museums through the creation of an audio-guide to exhibits they selected, using the city's distinctive dialect. This route to integrating the topic of migration and the voices of migrants into the museum avoided treating migration as a topic in itself, but used the individual experiences of being an 'Imi' in the city. Integrating new migrants into an existing, often economically deprived, neighbourhood is also the subject of Michele Bellelli and Federico Zannoni's chapter, offering a history of the ex-industrial town of Reggio Emilia to its newest arrivals, with mixed success.

Examples of initiatives, activities and ideas of cultural memory institutions addressing migrating heritage are included in this volume for their potential to inspire ideas for future cultural networks (chapters by Messner, Capurro, Rogatchevskaia, Leveratto, and Ianniciello). John Messner explains why and how Glasgow Museums took the decision to include the issue of apartheid in the interpretative displays around a Glasgow-made South African Railways locomotive in their new Riverside Museum, the successor to the Museum of Transport. He defends the introduction of social and political context, 'hidden histories', into what some visitors saw as simply a museum of transport and technology. Touching on religious museums, Rita Capurro describes a project with economic and spiritual potential, the relaunch of the rural birthplace museum of Pope John XXIII in Sotto il Monte, Lombardy, as a multimedia exploration of the life and message of the pope for a wider public than just the traditional devout pilgrim. Ekaterina Rogatchevskaia provides an unusual historical perspective on migration issues, the creation of cultural identity and the role of national institutions. The relationship between Russian émigrés and the British Museum Library in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries is a fascinating case study of such themes. The story's complexity is compounded by the attitude of individual librarians, the influences and opinions of foreign governments and the differing cultural perspectives of the émigrés, their British hosts and Russians

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at home. Analysing the evolution of architectural types, Jacopo Leveratto argues that the musealisation of libraries offers a way to construct new cultural identities, citing the historical example of the seventeenth-century Biblioteca Ambrosiana and the contemporary Bidoun Library, created in 2009.

Finally, in Celeste Ianniciello's chapter, the works of contemporary artists are investigated from a cultural memory viewpoint. Ianniciello analyses four recent works of art that speak eloquently to an age of migration, shared heritage and the dissolution of state and cultural boundaries. Like Tarek Zaki's *Monument X*, all these works question the very notion of the public monument. Rahman and Ahmed's *The Tomb of Qara Koz*, at the Venice Biennale 2011, evokes a multitude of cultural references from literature and film, the Venetian Renaissance, and immigrant memories in a fragile (and often vandalised) 'impermanent monument'; Emily Jacir's *Memorial to 498 Palestinian Villages* ... is also fragile and temporary – a refugee tent embroidered by visitors with the names of these lost Palestinian villages. These works re-imagine the monument in an age of flux; they are situated in a new kind of space, like the Palestinian Museum project, a post-territorial, postcolonial space, one that inherently criticises existing structures of power.

Coda: Migrating Heritage and Cultural Ecosystems

The authors in this book share their experiences of how local, national and transnational networks engage in the construction and reconfiguration of cultural value; how cultural networks and culture dialogue initiatives work in a specific region or on a specific issue; how they vary according to socio-cultural context; how problems and issues are monitored and solved and what lessons have been learnt so that others may learn from them.

To wrap up these reflections on the manifestations and dynamics of migrating heritage, cultural networks and cultural dialogue in Europe, I can conclude with the words of Colin Mercer, cultural policy research advisor and UK's first Professor of Cultural Policy:

We are dealing, finally, not with a 'system' or a 'structure' in any static sense but with a cultural ecology or ecosystem in which micro-organisms move around, multiply and migrate, and establish new relations of communication, exchange, symbiosis, from the hub to the nodes and beyond, and vice versa. In this we could do worse than follow the direction of ecology which, in one definition, is 'the study of living relations' and in another is 'concerned with the web or network of relations among organisms at different scales of organization'. That seems to me to be as appropriate for cultural ecosystems as it is for natural ones and will demand as much scrutiny and new knowledge to protect and sustain cultural diversity. (Mercer 2011: 42)

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Chapter 1

Remapping Europe - a Remix: a case study in international and inter-institutional collaboration and networking

Katherine Watson and Vivian Paulissen

Introduction

Collaboration across Europe benefits from some key ingredients, which need to be at the root of our working processes. We must cross and indeed break-down borders on many physical and metaphysical levels. Collaboration enhances the 'spaces inbetween', the intersections between, people, organisations and ideas.

In our complicated (but very rich) twenty-first century, the intersections are not of two spheres converging, but of many - layered, interconnected - and made even more complex by the digital opportunities that envelop us.

This paper considers a thought provoking project through several lenses, through several intersections. The two year experimental project Remapping Europe - a Remix was initiated by the Doc Next Network, a network instigated by the Youth and Media Programme of the European Cultural Foundation. The project launched in De Balie, Amsterdam in October 2012 with a live cinema performance by five young multimedia artists from different corners of Europe called European Souvenirs².

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¹ www.docnextnetwork.org.

² From 4 to 7 October 2012 the European Cultural Foundation organised Imagining Europe, an event bringing together leading artists and thinkers from diverse disciplines and backgrounds to explore these issues, through music, performance, film, exhibitions and debates. European Souvenirs was a project commissioned by the Doc Next Network and staged for the first time during the event www.europeansouvenirs.eu.

Figure 1.1 The artists of European Souvenirs

Note: (from left to right) Karol Rakowski (Poland), Bariş Gürsel (Turkey), Farah

Rahman (Netherlands), Malaventura (Spain), Noriko Okaku (Japan / UK).

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

The intersections reflected on here are:

- International
- Intercultural
- Intersectoral
- Interdisciplinary
- Intergenerational, and
- Inter-experiential.

All of these intersections require us to step out of our comfort zones and to engage in silo-busting. This is critical in our current context and with the overwhelming challenges that we face. Boundaries between disciplines within the cultural sphere and sectors beyond it are no longer relevant, especially in view of the digital shift and the changes that it has brought in cultural and media practice. The 'prosumer' has appeared, people who are not solely the consumers, but also producers of content (artistic, journalistic, etc.), as well as distributors.

This shift has provoked significant changes in our organisations, in our consideration of 'quality', often related to the professional field, and in our attempts to be inclusive and participatory in our processes.

Remapping Europe - a Remix is both a collaborative action and a network. It is an ongoing 'work in progress' - a process-oriented project that dives into the different intersections mentioned above. The project (and process) as such offers a thorough

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reflection on the challenges and opportunities faced by collaborations across Europe. Rather than waiting until a project is finished, it is important to face up to necessary changes, results, ambitions and networking in the course of action and to make them at the appropriate time in the life of a project.

Multiple intersections undeniably raise multiple challenges. One of the lessons learned throughout the course of the project has been how crucial it is to invest in the creation of a 'shared lexicon'. A first step in this is a mutual understanding of the different contexts, prejudices and values that shape the collaboration. How many different meanings are there of words and concepts used in an inter-national, intergenerational, intercultural, intersectoral and inter-experiential project? Words such as 'immigrant', 'migrant' and 'remix' have different connotations in different contexts: what is considered a rather neutral term in Poland ('immigrant'), given the country's relatively small immigration history, is a term loaded with negative connotations in many other European countries. So, in any collaborative project, what is our agreed level of understanding and what words do we use?

The European Cultural Foundation

The European Cultural Foundation (ECF) was founded in Geneva in 1954 by key European thinkers like Denis de Rougemont and Robert Schumann, who believed that Europe was more than coal and steel and that culture was vital to building the European project. In 1960 the foundation moved to Amsterdam on the invitation of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, who also established the funding model for the foundation that continues to this day. Through a long-standing partnership, 25% of the lottery funds that are granted to the Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds are passed on to ECF. Its mission has also remained consistent for almost 60 years ago - that culture is a key contributor

to the building of open, inclusive and democratic communities in Europe. Almost 60 years later, ECF has the same mission, however in a very different context. Nevertheless, both Europe and culture remain the pillars upon which our work is anchored.

ECF does not support culture simply because it happens in Europe, rather for what it contributes to Europe and how it can bring us closer together as Europeans. ECF is a hybrid foundation - both grant-making and programming. Its grant-making supports cultural collaboration, exchange and travel between European countries, with a special interest in the connections between the EU and our European neighbours. Its programmes focus on two themes: the European Neighbourhood, through a scheme called Tandem; and Youth and Media, at the heart of which is the Doc Next Network.

Young people and future generations have always had a key place in ECF's work. With the digital shift it has turned its focus to young people and media. People are expressing their opinions and creative visions as never before, with new media technologies opening up a whole range of new communication possibilities. People of all ages can create, produce, distribute and share in ways that have certainly upended the cultural production and distribution chain that we have long been accustomed to.

In 2012 ECF's Youth and Media programme continued to focus its support on and showcase emerging young media-makers. The programme is, in essence, a partnership network, called Doc Next. It aims to bring forward the views of European emerging documentary-makers and opinion-makers to promote an inclusive public society. It also gives access to young people who, as a result of social, cultural or political conditions, are likely to be excluded from mainstream public discourse. Practices and researches, processes and projects that encompass digital media and its

influence in our societies in Europe are the core of the Doc Next Network.

Figure 1.2 Digital media storytelling at the heart of the Doc Next Network

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

The Doc Next Network is a collaboration between peers. ECF identified and connected vibrant local grassroots cultural/media organisations in the UK, Spain, Poland, the Netherlands and Turkey. On their own initiative, they have grown into a European movement with shared visions and battling common causes - capturing the views of young European media-makers, to redefine and re-imagine documentary within the shifting borders of Europe.

Their shared learning is based on supporting creative and opinion-making media, the philosophy of open and free culture³ and the idea of expanded education in which critical media thinking and making is a fundamental ingredient.

They have a manifesto that reads:

...our common goals ... are:

- To strive for a more inclusive public debate and imagery in and about Europe;
- To champion the idea of commons and present experiences across Europe, regardless of religion, ethnicity and social background;
- To advocate for young people and to promote the fact that young people also have stories to tell, and these stories are important;
- To broaden perspectives of Europe, and to champion the idea that Europe is defined by similarities and proximities, not by borders; and
- To redefine and re-imagine the notion of 'documentary' and to promote documentary as a tool for communication, as well as documentation. (Doc Next Network 2012)

Remapping Europe

Remapping Europe - a Remix is an investigative artistic project by the Doc Next

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³ For a definition and concept of free culture see Lessig (2004).

Network. Its aim is to contribute to an inclusive cultural practice and public imagery *in* and *of* Europe by connecting young creative media-makers who have (im)migrant backgrounds and perspectives from Spain, Poland, Turkey, and the UK to wider European intergenerational audiences.

The project's activities stem from one underlying principle: *re-mixing* of media is a method to re-view, re-investigate and re-consider prevailing imagery of (im)migrants in European societies and to ultimately 're-map' Europe visually, geographically and mentally.

Its activities include:

- trans-national and cross-sectoral learning platforms, investigating the immigrant's perspective in public debate and imagery
- creative remix ateliers involving young digital storytellers with (im)migrant backgrounds and perspectives
- international showcases of their remix works at cultural festivals across

 Europe and in an on-line media collection
- major remix-performances and installations in Amsterdam and Seville, with a wider participatory, digital component involving European citizens across the continent
- a seminar and publication and catalogue documenting the project process and outcomes.

Remapping Europe is two-year programme that began with European Souvenirs
- a collective exploration by five young media artists who have been on a journey
delving into the archives in their countries and the existing imagery of Europe and its
travellers. The result has been a combination of live cinema and remix that can truly

contribute to deconstruct and challenge our social and cultural European imaginaries. This expedition is deeply influenced by the hegemonic media landscape and pop culture that we silently consume in our daily life: music videos, commercials, advertisements, TV news.

Figure 1.3 Exploring in media what it means to live and travel in Europe

Note: live cinema performance, European Souvenirs, Amsterdam, October 2012.

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

Building on European Souvenirs, four remix ateliers are being organised in 2013 that will involve young media makers with a migrant background or story of migration to tell. The ateliers are based on a shared methodology developed by the Doc Next Network, in partnership with local migrant associations: non-cultural organisations that have the contacts, trust and networks and have built solid relationships with this target group - something that cultural partners often do not have. A special training course has been developed to enhance the relationships between the cultural and the (im)migrant organisations.⁴

The remix works produced will be showcased nationally and internationally on a variety of arts and culture platforms, such as documentary festivals, in at least four countries and online for a broad and intergenerational audience. To follow the process and to capture the learning, a seminar and publication are planned in 2014.

Remapping Europe makes a compelling case study, because it reflects all of the intersections mentioned earlier and provides a rich 'space in-between' and some food for thought.

Mapping the Spaces in Between

⁴ The local migrant associations involved are Homo Faber (Poland), Tarlabasi Community Center (Turkey), ODS (Spain) and Refugee Youth (UK).

International

Doc Next Network is a unique European movement which brings together the European Cultural Foundation (Amsterdam, NL), ZEMOS98 (Seville, Spain), Creative Initiatives 'e' (Warsaw, Poland), Future Film - British Film Institute (London, UK) and Mode Istanbul (Turkey). Each of these organisations is locally rooted but is also a hub, whose connections, exchange and influence reach out across their country, region and internationally. It was not a *project* that brought these individual organisations together (and they are all very different), but a common and shared interest - a commitment to young people and D-I-Y media expression. This plays out quite differently in their individual contexts - one is not transferable to another and there was no interest on the part of ECF to push any single organisation to look like or to work like another. What we are interested in is connecting local experience and by so doing to present a European picture - not with a single story but as an intricate mesh overlaying the continent. Shared learning, the network's manifesto and the individual projects grew organically, as their connection between each other became stronger. Key to this are the elements of time, reflection and meaningful exchange - long-term value cannot be realised overnight or around a single project.

Intercultural

A specific project that did grow out of the international Doc Next Network is European Souvenirs: four media-artists worked together for six months to make a new live cinema performance and were confronted with challenges and opportunities that arose out of their four different backgrounds and four different migrations, which included:

- Japan to the UK
- rural Poland via Berlin, Finland and Wroclaw

- migrant stories of growing up in Malaga alongside the beaches of the
 Mediterranean sea called by many 'the Cemetery'
- (post-)colonial migration from India to Surinam and the Netherlands.

Each of these artists went on an individual journey, investigating the traces of their families and cultures, collecting audiovisual souvenirs and also leaving them behind. When they came together to weave a collaborative work from their voyages, they found many differences and some commonalities. Their families' journeys may have been as different as the cities and places that they landed in - but the misunderstandings, difficulties and challenges that they all faced were strikingly similar. The artists worked closely with public archives, but also with personal memories - home movies, photos and family mementos. They needed to find common language through which to communicate - certainly facilitated by English - but what they had even more in common was a sensitivity to media and an eye for storyline, all wrapped in a common global popular culture.

Figure 1.4 The artists worked with found footage found at flea markets for European Souvenirs

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

What began with the art project European Souvenirs has grown into the research and process oriented project Remapping Europe, which is an open invitation to anyone with a migrant story and background to redefine our image of Europe. The emphasis is on the migrant perspective, instead of the immigrant, stemming from the thought that everyone is indeed a 'migrant'; perhaps even more now with the constant movement of people (physically) and of ideas (digitally).

Intersectoral

None of the Doc Next members would define themselves as a solely 'cultural' organisation, they belong to the 'citizen sector', as defined by Ashoka:

When Europeans saw a new type of organization stirring, they perceived them to be "nongovernmental organizations" (NGOs). Americans were struck that they were not businesses and called them "non–profits". Words matter - and being defined by what we are **not** certainly does not help. That is why Ashoka and a growing number of sister organizations have sworn off the "non-" words. Instead we use "citizen sector" and "citizen organization". Why? Because citizens - people who care and take action to serve others and cause needed change - are the essence of the sector. We believe that when one or several people get together to cause positive social change, they instantly become citizens in the fullest sense of the word. (Ashoka 2012)

Doc Next members are community changemakers, bridging media; education; grass root and (im)migrant organisations; cultural and media archives; cultural review and (citizen) journalism; visual, performing arts and documentary. Innovation and technology - open and free culture, the creative commons - are the fuel that brings these sectors and disciplines together.

Remapping Europe - a Remix is investigating cross-sectoral methodologies, to involve young D-I-Y creative media-makers with (im)migrant backgrounds in the creation of new remixed media works. The Doc Next organisations partner with local immigrant and refugee associations to learn from their best practices and to reach and include young immigrants in their creative media making ateliers. This collaboration is based on mutual learning: the cultural organisation learns what it takes to work with young people with other cultural backgrounds - often with disadvantaged profiles and little access to professional media opportunities; the (im)migrant association learns how cultural expression such as creative media-making can build self-esteem and create many opportunities to participate in life. The objective is to forge sustainable ties

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between the cultural and non-cultural organisations and facilitate an ongoing dialogue in their communities and practices. This will enable them to co-develop a joint methodology to support outreach and engagement with immigrant youth in the long run.

Remapping Europe is an interesting case on another level. Working with archives in the project does not only refer to well-equipped institutional archives, such as museums, filmotheques, libraries and other types of archive (often national). The living and interactive archive - on the net - is also part of the project. There is an increasing intersection between such institutions and the public as they are becoming more and more accessible and open.

Figure 1.5 Using different archival materials

Note: Live cinema performance, European Souvenirs, 6 October 2012, Amsterdam.

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

Participating archives include: Eye Film Institute (NL), Instituut voorBeeld en Geluid (NL), Nationaal Archief (NL), Sarnamihuis (NL), FundacjaArcheologiaFotografii (PL), National Digital Archive (PL), NInA. NarodowyInstytutAudiowizualny (PL), PhotoRegister - a project of the Archaeology of Photography Foundation (PL), Filmoteca de Andalucía (SP), SALT (TR), British Film Institute (UK), Antonio España archive (ES), Family Rahman archive (NL), José Luis Tirado archive (ES), Archive.org, Doc Next Network media collection and found objects from different flea markets.

Finally, the combination of practice and grass roots work of migrant associations and of the cultural organisations in the Doc Next Network, the views of the young media-makers, as well as the academic field that is involved, brings together many different sectors of society in an attempt to redefine and remap Europe in an inclusive

way by linking all these different sources of knowledge.

Interdisciplinary

In the project more traditional, institutional and, perhaps 'newer', non-institutional approaches come together in both the making of, and the reflection on, the process. Academics and practitioners connect with the research, debate and a publication around migration history, cultural diversity, remix and contemporary digital culture. The underlying research level of the project brings together an interesting range of academic disciplines to investigate and understand our imagery of and on Europe. In the seminar and publication of the project, interpretations and essays from different perspectives and theories - art history, philosophy, political geography, migrant studies, media studies and remix culture - will be brought together.

Furthermore, perhaps as a result of the digital shift or perhaps simply as a sign of the times, creators today are working generally more inter-disciplinarily, less willing to define themselves by, or confine themselves to, a single discipline. Certainly our institutions and our funding structures have to be more mindful of and responsive to this (a topic for another paper). Remapping Europe brings together film, video, live cinema, performance, media, remixed image and sound and reflects new audiences' interests. The artists have different profiles complementing each other as media artists, performers, 3D animators, documentarians, musicians, DJs and VJs.

Figure 1.6 An interdisciplinary project

Note: Live cinema performance, European Souvenirs, 6 October 2012, Amsterdam.

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

Remix culture⁵ frames Remapping Europe: de-constructing narrative(s),

5 'Remix culture is a society that allows and encourages derivative works by combining or editing existing materials

-

recreating new narrative(s) of representation, using D-I-Y⁶ forms of media production and appropriating mass media texts. It is a cultural operating system, in which existing audiovisual material and images are framed in a new context, juxtaposed and seen from a fresh perspective, revealing new visions on our past, present and future. Remix is also a tool that is accessible, reflects a multidimensional, rather than a linear interest, and encompasses everything from collaging to digital storytelling.

Intergenerational

At its root, both Doc Next Network and Remapping Europe are intergenerational - looking at Europe as the intersection of generations rather than a division or gap between generations. The organisations on the ground have designed intergenerational activities for their communities and the project brought together the narration of the young creators with that of their parents and grandparents. It remixes and weaves the stories, contexts and perspectives of older generations through archival searching - confronting and interrogating them. A personal story becomes the centre of a more collective narrative. Because we are standing on the brink of the greatest generational shift that we have experienced in the western world, we must find intergenerational approaches and innovations - intergenerational knowledge sharing - rather than looking at projects, programmes or solutions that address 'older' people and others that address 'youth'. The inclusiveness of our communities must also include generations.

Inter-experiential

Many of these intersections raise questions and fuel debate, sometimes heated. Perhaps the most debated is the notion of the value of inter-experiential connections and

to produce a new product.' (Wikipedia 2011).

6 D-I-Y (Do it Yourself) in this paper refers to media made by young people without a professional film or media education.

knowledge - placing the voice of the expert alongside that of the 'experienced'. The digital shift has played havoc with the comfortable hierarchies that we are accustomed to: between the writer and the reader; the teacher and the student; the amateur and the professional; the consumer and the producer; the institution and the individual. Accessibility of technology means that everyone can create and share their creation without any intermediaries - D-I-Y takes on a whole new meaning. However it is not just Do it Yourself - but it is also Do it With Others, or Do it Together. The subtitle of European Souvenirs, 'Remixing media, crossing (shifting) borders', also refers to these elements and intersections.

Figure 1.7 The digital shift creates opportunities for Do-It-Yourself and Do It With Others

Note: European Souvenirs artists at work, Istanbul, May 2012.

Source: Photographer - Ricardo Barquín Molero (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0).

The increased opening-up of archives and collections to the public further enhances this potential - allowing people greater access to information and the ability to attribute their own meaning to it. Meaning becomes much more important that the information itself.

How do we make sense of it all though? How do we make our way through the masses of information and content? We do need increased media literacy - by the creators (the millions of them) and in the sifting and filtering ability of the audiences (millions more!). Given this caveat, it is our belief that the opportunities and benefits of open access far outstrip the challenges.

Remapping Europe is seeking a new generation of digital storytellers. Remix is both the conceptual starting point and the tool to remap Europe. The existing narrative

of a single new image, photograph, recording, sound or story is 'de-constructed' from the individual perspective of the participant and a new imagery based on the original is then created. In his book, *Remix: Making Art and Commerce Thrive in the Hybrid Economy*, Lawrence Lessig (2008) 'presents this as a desirable ideal and argues ... that the health, progress, and wealth creation of a culture is fundamentally tied to this participatory remix process' (Wikipedia 2011).

As remix culture is becoming more acknowledged as an essential aspect of contemporary art and cultural practice, Remapping Europe - a Remix provides many opportunities to exchange, interact, to be involved and to ensure peer-to-peer learning. It goes far beyond the individual remix, the individual organisation, institution or community.

It is European collaboration on every level.

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Chapter 2

Translating Objects, Transnationalising Collections: Inventing Europe between

Museums and Researchers

Alexander Badenoch

Introduction

I still don't know his name. All the same, the Singer sewing machine salesman and I have travelled together extensively and probably much farther than he dreamed when he posed for the photographer Matti Luhtala in Murole, Finland in 1929 (see Figure 2.1). His digitised image is now visible worldwide in the collaborative online exhibition *Inventing Europe*, as part of a narrative written by my colleague Sławomir Łotysz about the ways Singer sewing machines were introduced into a number of contexts in everyday life (Lotysz 2012). I also use the image in presenting the Inventing Europe project to illustrate the problems and possibilities of using objects from national collections to tell transnational stories. Inventing Europe (IE) is a collaborative effort between a group of academic researchers and ten cultural heritage institutions and is also a pilot project of the European digital library Europeana's API (Application Programming Interface, see Europeana n.d.). Kimmo Antila, senior curator of the Museum Centre Vapriikki brought the salesman to our attention at a workshop we held for authors and collection holders at the start of 2011. The image performs well the functions we seek in online objects, particularly those related to technology. The salesman's bold stance and fur-collared coat are visually compelling on the small screen and imbue the technical object of the sewing machine with subjective experience. His body supplies a basic sense of scale to the object and the sign behind him, the Singer

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emblem with 'sewing machine' in Swedish and Finnish, places him at once within the (bilingual) nation of Finland and in a transnational relationship with the US manufacturer. At the same time, the historical content of this image is not entirely self-evident: it is difficult to locate in time (at least without a close understanding of historical fashion) and raises a number of questions about the social relationships that were active in this frozen moment of time. As Łotysz's story notes, Singer machines were neither very innovative technologically nor necessarily cheaper than other machines, but the system of door-to-door sales that the firm pioneered nevertheless helped to spread them far and wide in countries like Finland. But was our salesman successful? Where and how far did he travel to sell them? Who bought from him and what convinced them to invest? Did they buy the machine to keep up better with clothing fashions from abroad or to (re)produce traditional clothes with greater speed?

Figure 2.1 A seller of Singer sewing machines in the house of the Youth Association in Murole

Source: Photo Matti Luhtola. Courtesy of Tampere Museums Photo Archives.

Its eloquence and mystery as a historical object help make the image of the salesman equally eloquent in communicating the goals of the Inventing Europe project to peers. I began taking the salesman on the road to conferences and seminars long before the exhibition went online. This salesman and I are becoming increasingly implicated in each other's social lives. I introduce him into all kinds of social spheres, and he performs there as if born to them. Unlike many digital avatars of museum collections (Macdonald 2006: 84), he - or at least his photograph - was 'born' as a collected object and has spent much of his life being reborn in collections. That life began as part of photographer Matti Luhtala's effort to document and collect scenes of

life in the rural communities north of Tampere between 1910 and 1940. Luhtala's 7,000 negatives were collected by the Museum Centre Vapriikki, where they are now classified under 'rural photographs' (Museum Centre Vapriiki n.d.), and subsequently also became part of Siiri, the online photo collection of Tampere Museums (http://siiri.tampere.fi/). The documentary concerns of the original photographer shine through and now do double duty in my presentations, demonstrating the potential for 'local' objects to tell transnational stories. As photos from conferences and talks come into circulation in social media, I find it increasingly difficult to overlook the striking similarities between the salesman and me: there I stand, too, dressed up and proudly displaying both logo and complex (technological) object, making a journey through various social domains in Europe. Typing my name into the Siiri database will reveal that things have come full circle and such images of me have also been 'collected' in the same database.

In this essay, I embrace this moment of reflexivity to explore processes of bringing 'European' heritage over borders, with the promises and pitfalls we have encountered. IE aims to generate critical historical reflection on the prominent technological processes and narratives of European integration as technological progress. As such, the collaborative online platform for circulating (digital) artefacts and knowledge is inevitably enmeshed in the very sort of processes it seeks to explore. Much in the way that the salesman - man/machine, photo and avatar - makes visible a number of moments of translation between heterogeneous realms, here I will, drawing particularly on some of the fruitful concepts from actor-network theory (Latour 2005), trace some of my own paths through the construction of Inventing Europe to highlight the points of mediation and translation in the heterogeneous digital sphere.

Connecting Domains

Inventing Europe is a networked project, but it is also the project of a network: the Tensions of Europe research network (www.tensionsofeurope.eu/network). Tensions of Europe was founded in 2000 by historians of technology, including scholars from the Science Museum and the Deutsches Museum, to develop new lines of research on the relationship between technology and Europe. Formulated broadly, Tensions of Europe's research agenda had two academic aims: first, to explode the national (and very often US-based) framing of the history of technology; second, to take the circulation and appropriation of technology as a historiographical lens through which to challenge narratives of European integration that focus on the state actors and formal processes of the European Union. This new framework would also embrace a longer timeframe and highlight processes of fragmentation as well as 'hidden' processes of integration (Misa and Schot 2005). These research goals were developed into more specific themes, and an international network of personal contacts was forged, through a number of international workshops and conferences. In 2006, these networking activities were formalised further when the European Science Foundation embraced the Tensions of Europe research agenda (under the name Inventing Europe) as a call for collaborative under their **EUROCORES** research projects scheme (http://www.esf.org/activities/eurocores.html). Under this call, four major international collaborative research projects were funded, running between 2007 and 2010 (European Science Foundation 2011). Along with these four projects came substantial support for networking between the four projects as well as disseminating results to a broader public. A collaborative online virtual exhibition was a core plank of these activities, and it was from this initial project that IE was eventually developed.

This academic network shaped IE's collaboration with cultural heritage institutions profoundly, in some ways paradoxically. On the one hand, the model of personal networking across academic and national boundaries central to Tensions of Europe helped to spark the project in the first place. The impetus to collaborate with cultural heritage institutions came largely from researchers within the network who were attached to museums of science and technology. On the other hand, the project's concerns in part worked to define an academic field separate from the domain of cultural heritage. This boundary is drawn in terms of the peer-orientation of the academic research community as opposed to the public orientation of cultural heritage institutions. Just as the origins of the public museum are contemporaneous with those of the modern public and with efforts to discipline those publics into national subjects (Macdonald 2003: 1-3, Bennett 1995), from the point of view of academic enterprise, cultural heritage institutions represent access to the public. In the categories of the European Science Foundation, and therefore the structural and temporal organisation of the projects themselves, building an online exhibit falls under the rubric of 'disseminating' research results (European Science Foundation 2011: 25-6).

The prototype exhibition, *Europe, Interrupted* (http://europeinterrupted.eu), based around the EUROCORES projects was developed in collaboration with six science and technology museums. This exhibition was conceived both as a product in itself as well as a means of demonstrating the principle, and developing a network, of communication and cooperation for a follow-up exhibition. The dissemination brief meant that the project was largely seen as a way of translating stories written by EUROCORES researchers into the web environment. This was done by producing short narrative texts, dividing them into web-friendly quantities and associating them with objects from

museum collections. With web designer Alan Outten, a visual concept was developed that arrayed its 'stories' based on EUROCORES research as a tube map superimposed on a stylised map of Europe, in which individual historical cases appeared as 'nodes' on themed 'lines'. Each story was designed to question, on the one hand, narratives of technological progress and steady integration across national boundaries and, on the other, the fixity of national and ideological borders (such as the 'Iron Curtain'). This design worked well in terms of projecting the intellectual goals of the academic projects that drove it. As an exhibition, however, *Europe, Interrupted* was criticised by some museum professionals, particularly for its use of objects. These were seen as too small, as well as being mostly illustrations, while the visual relationships between the contents were not seen as clear enough to bring a viewer over borders.

Inventing Europe's production process in conjunction with the *Making Europe* books allowed us to address these criticisms in three key ways. First, the books themselves were more oriented toward crossing knowledge domains outside the history of technology and indeed beyond academic research. Second, the production schedule foresaw the completion of the exhibition long before the books in the book series were complete, which meant that greater involvement by the heritage partners in the book production process was both possible and necessary. We were thus able to conceive of the project as a two-way flow of information and expertise. Third, the smaller number of researchers on *Making Europe* and their geographical concentration at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study (NIAS) gave the editorial team regular access to the book authors and enabled us to conduct two workshops in which book authors and collection curators could discuss themes and common processes of interpretation could emerge.

A Difficult Landscape

If, in relation to the academic research community, heritage institutions represent gateways to wider publics, those gateways are far from uniform, especially in the digital sphere, and publics are increasingly diffuse in their identities. The much-vaunted eroding of borders around and between galleries, libraries, archives and museums (well captured in the acronym GLAMs) is being driven both as technical practice and cultural policy but is by no means complete. This is true both in the sense that heritage collections and collecting have always been bound up in complex networks of agency beyond the institution (Byrne et al. 2011) but also in that digitisation and display practices vary widely (Zorich, Waibel, and Erway 2008). Table 1 provides an overview of the online presence of IE's partners, though it should be noted this is changing rapidly. Further highlighting the uneven nature of the current digital environment, the table follows Manovich's distinction in new media between database orientation, usually a searchable archive of images, and narrative orientation, in which objects are surrounded by interpretive material and often a themed grouping of other objects (2001: 191). These distinctions are, of course, fluid. The Deutsches Museum, for example, presents its Meisterwerke (Masterpieces) as one rubric under the heading of 'collections' (http://www.deutsches-museum.de/sammlungen/ausgewaehlte-objekte/). Instead of being presented in a more database-oriented fashion as part of a collection, they are embedded within a series of themed, illustrated essays on social history. In contrast, the other elements under the heading 'collections' are then presented in a tree-like hierarchy, which is much more akin to the classical taxonomy of the museum collection (Parry 2007).

Table 2.1 Inventing Europe partners and their digital presence

Institution	Online database	Online narrative environment or exhibition
Science Museum (UK)	Yes	Several
Deutsches Museum (DE)	No	Several
Norwegian Technology Museum (NO)	Yes	Some
Museum Centre Vapriikki, (FI)	Yes	Some
Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision (NL)	Yes	None
Science Centre NEMO (NL)	Yes	None
Hungarian Museum Science, Technology and	No	Few
Transport (HU)		
Institute for Tropical Research (PT)	Yes	None
Museum Boerhaave (NL)	Yes	None
Dokumentationszentrum Alltagskultur der DDR (DE)	No	Some

Source: Alec Badenoch.

While narrative exhibitions tend to address a similar public to museum visitors, the databases show strong differences both in style, scope and intended user. Furthermore, they show the ways in which museum collections have diffused beyond the immediate museum boundaries. At the Science Museum, for example, the Science and Society Picture Library (www.scienceandsociety.co.uk) is a collective database with two other museums, aimed at commercial exploitation of the collections. The Norsk Teknisk Museum's digitised collection is similarly available via a shared database portal, the DigitaltMuseum (www.digitaltmuseum.no), which aggregates content between a number of Norwegian museums and feeds into the European aggregator Europeana.

Practically speaking, IE had to be a flexible object, with multiple forms of participation for stakeholders with a range of assets and needs and a different kind of interface for each institution. In some cases, this would largely entail supplying material from an online database to which we had access. In others, consultations with (and therefore working time of) curators was necessary. At the Deutsches Museum, for example, our point of interface was not the collection curators but the picture archive,

which had to be consulted on site. Another partner, the Dokumentationszentrum Alltagskultur der DDR, actually photographed objects from their display for us to include - and at one point even posted physical objects to us so we could scan them ourselves.

It is important to consider the motivations of heritage institutions in engaging with a project like IE. In many cases, as can be seen, their collection objects are already available for circulation and use online. Many of these online collections are aimed, at least in terms of language, mostly at national users. The personal engagement of individual curators who are interested in the theme is certainly one key force in driving participation, both in IE and in projects of Europeanising cultural heritage more generally (Kaiser, Krankenhagen and Poehls 2012: 72ff.). The 'European' dimension of the project is certainly another. In their investigations of the 'Europeanisation' of the museum field, Kaiser, Krankenhagen and Poehls (2012) have noted that it is a crowded and somewhat opaque field of actors. Within such an environment, 'Europeanness' appears to add value to objects and collections in various ways. 'Europe' stands in part for a broader and emerging public expected to engage with the objects; demonstrating the 'European' value of collections via international projects in turn is also seen as helpful in attracting funding for further digitisation or international exhibition projects. Co-operation with Inventing Europe has been included in funding bids among partners and presented to peers as a sign of increased and vital presence in the digital sphere.

As a number of scholars have noted, translating museum objects into digital objects for duplication, circulation and variation involves more than creating a digital version of the original. A digital object is assigned a minimum of proprietary metadata, which, while maintaining a faint trace of its life as a collected object, also makes it

subject to potentially infinite re-collection (Cameron 2008: 229–30). The creation of and access to such mobile objects, especially within European cultural spheres, is configured around equally mobile interactive subjects, who are expected to engage with them and indeed augment them in new ways (Barry 2001, Bayne, Ross and Williamson 2009, Badenoch 2011). Such networked objects have 'a built-in tendency to become "free" of the institution which originally guaranteed its authenticity and status' (Bayne, Ross and Williamson 2009: 111). In the first IE workshop we held, a curator of the Norsk Teknisk Museum demonstrated this with a compelling presentation that consisted of a number of objects from their digital collection, without captions. Many were visually strong and all had striking stories that were not attached to the objects by means of written documentation or metadata but rather were part of the knowledge shared between curators. Arguments as to whether the computerisation of collections is undermining curatorship date back to the 1960s (Parry 2007: 46ff.) and of course have persisted. Indeed, at the same time as increasing numbers of objects come online, particularly at Europeana, the situation identified by Manovich over a decade ago seems to persist, that the proliferations of databases means there seems to be an increasing need for narrative environments (Manovich 2001: 193). This is precisely a realm where collectors can step back into the digital sphere, not so much as authorities, but as expert networkers.

Using Inventing Europe as a platform for discovering and mobilising the extra knowledge attached to artefacts was seized upon by book authors and heritage partners alike as an important aspect of the project. Realising this goal in practice, however, was hampered both by the realities of trying to develop stories based on emerging books and the wide range of collections. While some rich objects, including the sewing machine

salesman, emerged from two joint workshops, the editors needed to develop far more content than this. Ultimately, the choice was taken to start by interviewing the book authors to select themes and stories that would be representative of the themes of the book. These were then developed into 'story boards' of five to six units each, with suggestions for what sort of object would fit into each unit. While the storyboards made sense to the editors, however, they were less effective in being points of dialogue with heritage partners, because they were often too specific to be of use in helping to locate objects. This resulted in a production bottleneck in which the majority of the exhibit objects had been chosen, provisionally at least, from online databases other than those belonging to our partners. Only very late in the production process was this impasse overcome by the editors visiting most of the partners onsite. Where the editors' storyboards had failed as boundary objects, the partners' collections were far more successful. The objects were more clearly visible as part of a larger interpretive network, and it seemed that curators as well found it easier to engage the collection objects from within their 'native' environment.

Reframing Curation

Networking allows museum collections to step into a new form of agency, 'not just as a symbolic technology but as an influential force, as an attractor in a network bringing together serendipitous elements and as a border zone where heterogeneous systems of representation might meet' (Cameron and Mengler 2009: 213). Helen Robinson similarly argues that looking more closely at the differing classificatory and interpretive practices of museums, archives and libraries allows us to acknowledge 'nuance, diversity and polyphony in the representation of history and cultural memory' (Robinson 2012: 414). Drawing attention to gaps and points of disjuncture can

encourage visitors to employ what Latour (2005: 217) calls social 'plug-ins' - small portable pieces of social behaviour from other parts of social life that can be called up and brought to bear in new social encounters. Translation, not necessarily in Latour's specific sense but rather a willingness to move into new knowledge spheres, is such a plug-in (sometimes performed now using an actual software plug-in). By highlighting such historical moments online, curators can also encourage users and readers to take plunges into new domains, other languages, and otherwise cross the visible boundaries of cyberspace (Badenoch 2012). In the online realm, curation is another such plug-in that can be activated. It seems to be transformed by the online environment and become immediately intelligible in numerous realms of online - and offline - space, also as a reflexive exercise. The 'self-curation' behaviours of social media are well-known, but via digital media this shifts into the physical realm as well.

With these notions in mind, Inventing Europe set out not to absorb collection objects seamlessly into new narratives from the Making Europe books, but to show them simultaneously as parts of national or local collections. By showing multiple frames of curation, the intention was to show objects as open to multiple interpretations and make explicit the interpretive work of cultural heritage collections as well as academic research (Bal 2002). Specifically, there are four different frames of curation visible in Inventing Europe, each occupying a different position between the domains of the book series and the museum collections: exhibitions, tours, guest curator tours, and related content from partner websites.

The site is divided into six 'exhibitions', which correspond to the six books of the *Making Europe* book series. Each book is named with its authors and a short blurb lays out the theme of the book. Objects appear arrayed in clustered 'tours' (the five- to

six-unit 'stories' mentioned above) within each associated exhibition. The metaphor of the 'tour' came out of an earlier visual design iteration using the visual metaphor of a visitor walking around a museum with a notebook, collecting items and impressions of interest. In the first instance, these tours would be impressions of a guided 'tour' through the objects in the exhibition, given by one of the exhibition's creators. Initially, the intention was these stories would provide inspiration for users to then create their own annotated tours through the exhibitions by collecting items from different stories into new connections. This idea proved technically unworkable when it was decided that user tours should include related content as well. We kept the term 'tour' because of its implications of a selective and incomplete trajectory 'inspired by' the forthcoming book. The tours are in a hybrid form between an academic narrative, with named author whose photo (with a link to a biography) appears in the sidebar, cited sources and a suggestion how to cite the article, and an interpretive exhibition text (for which they would be slightly too long). By clicking on the object, a user then switches its frame to that of the supplying institution: the user views its metadata, can enlarge the image and, if the object is from a project partner, follow a link back to it on the original site.

The tours written by the editorial team are arrayed within the themed exhibitions, linking them closely to the books. In addition to these, there is a series of 'guest curator' tours. These are done by curators at partner museums, following the same visual format, but these present objects from their own collections. This is a reversal to the traditional way in which cultural heritage institutions have been placed within public heritage spheres. Rather than appearing as authorities granting access to objects they own to members of the public or to a curator in their own institution, here they are granted voices to speak in a broader transnational environment. Not only the

objects become mobile but institutional knowledge is mobilised over borders as well, and networked with other objects and places. Interestingly, most of these new tours grew out of conversations that took place on site in the heritage collections, very often during or following an actual tour of the collection. The tour on cotton cloth, assembled by Tone Rasch of the Norsk Teknisk Museum (Rasch 2012) grew out of such a visit and is a prime example of the possibilities. Based largely on a collection of material on early industrial weaving in Norway held by the museum, the narrative presents an interesting retelling of the beginnings and developments of a national industry. Rather than highlighting the national story, which was why the materials had been collected by the museum, objects from Manchester (a loom) and Hamburg (teaching materials, Norway's budding industrialists) emphasise the ongoing transnational aspects of the story.

Mirroring the networks woven by the collected tour objects is a range of related content both from our partners as well as from Europeana, fed in via RSS feeds in thumbnail form. Viewing these objects, which are linked by selected keywords (currently selected by the content editors), the user is then able to use the platform to follow objects back to the collections they stem from and ideally into new narrative environments to explore. Often these new sites are in foreign languages, which has proven disturbing to some users, but the hope is that by presenting such a cosmopolitan environment users will be encouraged to continue and find ways of working in the new environment. While this Web 2.0 feature contains some of the greatest potential for opening new transnational connections from the exhibition, making it useful to users and heritage partners alike has also proven to be one of the largest challenges the project has faced. The task of marking content on the home pages has proved time-consuming,

and thus far has been done by the Inventing Europe team, which is not scalable. Just as the storyboards often proved less engaging for partner institutions, so, too, the long list of keywords that do not necessarily match categories on their own sites has proven difficult for them to work with. In the future, marking related content will either be automated, with keywords being automatically extracted, or it will become a more open activity, undertaken by groups like students as they engage with the exhibition.

Conclusions

Long after I first took the salesman on the road, my incomplete understanding of the Finnish database meant I was still unaware of the photograph's date. The Siiri database's apparent date of '1900' referred to a century, not a year (decade and year are listed elsewhere). When further enquiries of the photo archivist revealed the date, his proud pose gained new poignancy: 1929. It is hard not to wonder what happened when he and his clients found themselves networked with the US in the crashing global economy and that of the world of commodities. While these are perhaps not quite such dramatic times, the world of digital heritage institutions is still quite uncertain, especially currently (at the time of writing, one of IE's partners is threatened with closure due to funding cuts). Like the sewing machine, digital heritage, while costly, offers a range of tools for networking knowledge and translating skills and indeed wellknown patterns into new realms and connections. Translation involves more than simply engaging with the possibilities of the digital sphere, it also requires closer attention to the realms of institutional knowledge to be translated. In the case of Inventing Europe, this has meant following the example of the travelling salesman more literally and visiting the physical sites of the collections, where the knowledge of the partners is situated, and using those encounters to help structure the online space.

Inventing Europe, online live since the end of August 2012, is envisioned as a space of interaction that will continue to grow as more tours are developed. A re-launch with design adjustments to allow for additional expansion took place is April 2013. Further tours are expected from current partners, and the expanding platform also will allow involvement of new partners. With the publication of the *Making Europe* book series starting in September 2013, the book authors will appear on the site themselves with new tours tied more directly to work on the finished product. Parallel to these planned expansions, an initiative is currently underway to use the site in a number of university courses across Europe. Apart from exploring the themes of the exhibition, this also engages students with the uneven spaces of digital heritage and can help to identify new material. As this initiative moves forward, this will also allow Inventing Europe to become a space that will enable student collaboration across borders as they develop new skills of translation.

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Chapter 3

Migrating Heritage, Networks and Networking: Europe and Islamic Heritage

Sharon Macdonald

Introduction

The idea of 'migrating heritage' - the theme of this volume - is intriguing, stimulating and even unsettling. The first part of this paper explores some reasons why this is so. It also address the question of networks and networking, notions that are easy to take for granted and, moreover, to take for granted as obviously good and worthy developments. While they certainly often *are*, the purpose of the discussion is to prompt reflection on questions that also deserve attention while considering networks and networking. The second part of the paper turns to some examples of a particular 'migrating heritage' and their associated networks, networking and employment of network metaphors. This heritage is 'Islamic heritage' - the inverted commas around which will be explained below-, a form of migrating heritage that, as we will see, often poses particular representational problems *in* and *for* Europe.

Making and migrating heritage

As part of the formation of nation-states in Western Europe and beyond, heritage - as an idea and a materialised form (including so-called 'intangible heritage') - was produced to help create stable, clearly demarcated identities. Heritage was a technique of bounding and grounding. This is why the idea of migrating heritage sets up certain perplexities. It is also the case, however, that heritage - in the sense of things that matter a lot to some people and that are bound up with their sense of who they are - has long

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⁷ See, for example, Bennett 1995 and Macdonald 2013.

migrated. European nation-making also involved bringing things from overseas and putting them on display in the new national museums. While the core of national heritage was home-grown, home-found or home-made, stuff from elsewhere could become part of the national patrimony. From the cup of tea to the Christmas tree, for example, products from overseas could become part of what was and is considered 'British' and part of national tradition.

When they did so, however, they did not usually challenge the idea of the nation as something discrete and known. On the contrary, for the most part - though in various ways - things from other places supported the nation as an entity capable of possessing and making stuff from elsewhere its own. They could also be put to work to mark boundaries of difference, to distinguish the home-team from others.⁸

If heritage has long migrated, then, why has the idea of migrating heritage gained an extra frisson - and come to be seen as something worthy of new attention - in more recent years? The answer is both obvious and not obvious. Migrating heritage has become an issue because migrating people have. But people have long migrated too, of course, including in and out of Europe. In the second half of the twentieth century, however, those migrating in have come to be seen as potentially challenging the nature and character of existing nation-states. This is partly on account of numbers and proportions, especially in cities, but it is also, and more so, because of the problematic set up of the existing models of citizenship and national belonging, coupled with a democratisation of heritage - everybody deserves to have one and to have it recognised.

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⁸ This is evident, for example, in ethnographic exhibitions and museums. See, for example, Coombes 1994 and Sherman 2008.

⁹ For a classic discussion see Taylor 1992.

This then raises questions such as, should new citizens bring their heritage with them - and is this even a matter of 'choice'? If they do, where should they put it? Should their heritage become part of the heritage of the place where they now live? And if it does, are there any consequences for existing heritage - does it have to shuffle about a bit too?

In thinking about these things, it is also worth thinking about the terms 'heritage' and 'culture'. Sometimes these are used interchangeably. But they are not identical. Culture is something into which we can become enculturated; we can learn it. Heritage, however, is typically understood as where we have *come from*. This is partly why, while we have become used to concepts such as 'multicultural', 'intercultural' and even 'transcultural', the heritage equivalents are not common currency. This, however, raises the question of whether we can think of 'heritage' not only as mobile, in the sense of moving from one place to another, but also as itself capable of transformation and capable of *effecting* transformation. Is it possible to develop new models and practices of heritage? And might networks and networking provide these?

Networks and Networking

Networks are usually conceptualised as comprised of multiple nodes, each connected non-hierarchically. Rather than being identifiable and confined by boundaries, networks are constituted by connections between different points. Networks, thus, are understood as capable of travelling across borders rather than being contained by them and as capable of expansion. It is not surprising, therefore, that the idea of networks has proved attractive both as a practical mode of operation - especially as part of Europeanisation - and as a theoretical concept.

One area of theorising drawing on the potency of the network idea is actor

network theory. This was formulated partly to avoid containment by social categories such as 'society' or 'culture', as well as to prompt consideration of the ways in which humans are entangled with the material or technical world. It proposes that rather than start with a bounded entity, we take an 'actor' - be that human or non-human - and 'follow' that actor, charting the multiple kinds of networks in which it becomes enmeshed.

But while the idea of networks is attractive in many ways, it has been subject to critique from some theorists. Tim Ingold argues that it retains the idea of nodes as the most significant element and so does not really challenge the idea of the bounded whole as most significant. He proposes the 'meshwork' - a set of interconnected threads and life-forces - as a node-less alternative.¹¹ There has also been critique of the idea of networks as themselves unbounded: in practice, they do stop somewhere, and that 'cut off' might be significant. What gets left out of a network, argues Marilyn Strathern, might be as important as what gets networked in (Strathern 1996).¹² More widely, she suggests, an emphasis on connections and networks risks operating as an endorsement of 'globalism as a kind of super-sociality', simultaneously 'concealing' that which does not connect or whose connections are somehow problematic (Strathern 2002: xv).

Keeping some of these ideas in mind, then, let us turn to some examples of the

¹⁰ There is debate about precisely what constitutes actor network theory, generated partly by one of its supposed founder's iconoclastic claims that there is no such theory (Latour 1999). For further discussion see Law and Hassard 1999, Law and Mol 2002 and Latour 2005,

¹¹ See Ingold 2007, 2008. Ingold's argument is also that the meshwork is a structured pattern rather than an assemblage of heterogeneous elements; and that it makes no sense to apply the concept of agency as widely as is done in actor network theory.

¹² See also Strathern 2004.

representation of Islam and Muslim culture in Europe. This is a contentious and politically fraught topic, not least because Islam has so often operated, and still frequently operates, as the 'Other' in Europe's self-definitions. On the one hand, Islamic heritage can itself readily be seen as 'transnational' and even as 'networked'. At the same time, on the other hand, it also features in many representations as culturally restrictive and homogenising, as cutting off, rather than opening up, interactions with cultural others.

Representing Islamic Heritage

Before continuing, let us return to the inverted commas that need to surround the terms 'Islam' and 'Islamic heritage', taken as given in what follows. In discussing Islamic heritage it should not be assumed that this is a self-evident category, even though it may seem as such to some. Rather, the interest is in what comes to be identified as Islamic heritage and how this is variously framed and understood. One particular issue in relation to 'Islamic' is that it is often, but not always, understood as a religious designation, or primarily as such. This is widespread in popular use. In other contexts, however, it is used to refer to certain aesthetic or cultural affinities that are not necessarily religious. Within museums, religion is rarely the primary classificatory mode of either collections or exhibitions.¹³ This is common within museums, 'Islamic art' being a widely and long-used category both of collecting and display.¹⁴ In many

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¹³ St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art, opened in Glasgow in 1993, is a rare example of a museum that has religion as its main focus and organising principle.

As Heath writes of museums in Britain, for example, the collecting of much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries showed 'little interest in Islam itself...the emphasis [being] heavily in favour of the art of the Islamic world, and in particular Iran' (2004: 297). See Shaw 2012 for discussion of what 'Islam' means more broadly in the context of art historical and museological discussions.

cases, however, objects that might be considered 'Islamic' on the basis of the countries from which they came or more specifically as religious objects might be found in other kinds of collections, such as those organized on a geographical basis, such as 'Persian art'. Such objects might also find homes in ethnographic museums and collections – which also usually employ geographical classification systems, 'Islamic' objects potentially being found in collections such as 'Middle East', 'North Africa' or 'Indonesia'.

This field of linked, sometimes overlapping, designations and framings is itself the field of interest here, rather than trying to create an *a priori* definition of Islamic heritage. For some museums the term 'Islamic' has become problematic, not least in the face of a wider popular expectation that this would mean a focus on the religious, and so they have sought alternative labels for the exhibition of objects from their Islamic collections. The new galleries opened at the Metropolitan Museum in New York in November 2011, for example, chose a surprisingly cumbersome title for displaying its Islamic collections: *The Art of the Arab Lands, Turkey, Iran, Central Asia and Later South Asia* (Vogel 2012).

More often, however, 'Islam' and 'Islamic' have come to be more frequently deployed, with a wave of new or substantially renewed galleries and exhibitions opening across the world. Major examples include the new wing of Islamic Art at the Louvre (September 2012), the Jameel Islamic Art Gallery at the V&A (2006), the *Hajj*. *Into the Heart of Islam* exhibition at the British Museum (2012), *Muslims' Worlds* at the Ethnological Museum, Berlin, *Islam: Art and Civilization* at the Brazilian Arts Centre in Rio de Janeiro (2010) and the US touring exhibition *1001 Inventions: Discover the*

Golden Age of Muslim Civilization (2012-13).¹⁵ These are the tip of an iceberg of intensified efforts to represent Islam in the public sphere, with numerous exhibitions having been mounted and projects begun in many countries.

Many of these new exhibitions and museums have articulated an explicit aim of trying to create a different kind of image of Islam - and, in particular, to try to show its rich cultural heritage - to counter the stereotype of the Muslim terrorist. In doing so, they often draw on a rich heritage within existing museum and library collections of items that migrated to Europe in the past. In addition, there are numerous initiatives to bring heritage from elsewhere *to* Europe and to tap into the heritage of Muslims who have migrated here.¹⁶

That such exhibitions might have a role to play in perceptions of Islam and might even contribute to more harmonious social relations is evident in the publicity and public statements that often surround such exhibitions. For example, the main donor of funding for the new Louvre wing, Prince Waleed bin Talal of Saudi Arabia, explained what he saw as the aim of the gallery: 'After 9/11 all Arabs and Muslims have the duty and the responsibility to tell the west about real Muslims, about real Islam, and how peaceful our religion is' (Simmonds 2012). The gallery opened at the same time as a wave of violent protests around the world - and, in France, banning of protests - against the satirical film *Innocence of Muslims* and also against some cartoons of Mohammed, a conjunction that various newspapers noted.¹⁷ So too, if in a rather generalised form, did President François Hollande at the opening of the gallery: 'The Islamic civilisations are

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¹⁵ See: http://events.nationalgeographic.com/events/exhibits/2012/08/03/1001-inventions/

¹⁶ See Shatanawi 2012. Various initiatives are discussed in Macdonald 2013.

¹⁷ See the following press reports: Iqbal 2012 and Simmonds 2012.

older, more vibrant and more tolerant than those who claim unfairly to speak in their name '18

Within the gallery itself, presenting Islam as multiple - the product of many traditions - contributed to undercutting the notion that it is the preserve of one particular group. Including a representation of Mohammed - albeit in a curtained-off area that visitors can choose not to enter - is one way in which the fact that there are different interpretations of the Quran and different ideas about what is proscribed in Islam is presented. In addition, by making a distinction between 'islam' (purposefully using a small 'i') as a religion and 'Islam' as 'the broader, overall civilization' ('Islam with a capital I'), director Sophie Makariou explained that the museum was dealing with the latter - a larger matter, deserving a capital letter, not the narrower concerns of the protestors.¹⁹

Exhibiting Islam is clearly, then, part of a broader political battle over Islam in public space and what is being spoken in its name. That this has emerged as such a key topic in contemporary Europe is significant in a period in which there have been debates about Turkey's possible accession to the EU and high profile public debates about matters such as veiling. The fact that this is the period in which nationalism has reemerged in various European countries is not coincidental. Typically accompanied by claims of the death of multiculturalism, this development is sometimes called 'the new Nationalism'. Oskar Verkaik, who has looked at citizenship ceremonies in the Netherlands, argues that this nationalism differs from earlier European nationalisms in being less defined in opposition to *external* others and more in relation to *internal* ones -

¹⁸ http://www.nationmultimedia.com/life/Louvre-opens-new-wing-of-Islamic-art-30190804.html.

¹⁹ As reported, for example, by Fayard 2012.

especially migrant Muslim populations (Verkaik 2010). At the same time, however, this occurs alongside - and is strengthened by - a broader defining of Europe against a perceived external Islamic threat.

It is worth here turning to Jessica Winegar's insightful analysis of US exhibitions of Islamic art that have opened since 9/11, as she identifies a set of representational tendencies that sometimes compound rather than alleviate the 'problems' that they set out to address (Winegar 2008). She observes that many exhibitions of Islamic art invoke a distinction between Islam past and Islam now; basically 'good' past and 'bad' present Islam. While such exhibitions often have a worthy aim of highlighting the peaceful elements of Islam, she worries that this is undercut by the emphasis on cultured Islam as a thing of the past. Such exhibitions, she notes, are frequently framed through a language of creating 'cultural bridges', a trope that is problematic in its depiction of two distinct, and even clashing, civilisations. At the same time, she points out that interactions between Islam and the West are usually depicted as one-way: what Islam has contributed to the West, so producing a narrative of absorption and accommodation - the West has taken the best of what was on offer.

In addition, she is critical of what she argues is a use of:

the aesthetic to anesthetize the complex history of interaction between the so-called East and West, and especially any negative aspects of that interaction (for example, the conquering of Al-Andalus, the Crusades, or colonialism). Too often, these arts events communicate the idea of a past utopia of cross-cultural understanding that can be regained through art appreciation, as if art ever existed in a world devoid of military conquest and economic inequalities. (Winegar 2008: 663)

So, are there different ways of doing these things? And might the idea and practice of networks offer any alternatives? Let us look at a couple of cases. In doing so, it should be noted that these are not necessarily the best ones but they offer some interesting possibilities.

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No Frontiers

The first example is Museum with No Frontiers. Begun in the mid-1990s, ²⁰ this project has the aim of 'establish[ing] a vast trans-national museum that presents works of art, architecture and archaeology within the contexts in which they were created'21 - and with a particular aim of highlighting Islamic heritage within Europe and neighbouring countries around the Mediterranean.

Museum with No Frontiers (MWNF) uses a mix of techniques: exhibition trails in effect guide-books that pick out particular themes through a set of museums and sites, existing either as actual, physical books or as virtual books; and an online database of museums and selected objects, drawn from the various partner museums, on particular topics.²²

The networked model used by MWNF seems to avoid the creation of a twocivilisations model. A set of countries is involved but there is no demarcating of some as 'Muslim' and others as not. Also, both the database and the books dive into a level of detail about particular objects and places that means that there are few of the grand statements into which claims about 'civilisations' and 'bridges' can fit. It is the case that most of MWNF's objects are old - the most recent are early twentieth century - but there is not a strong framing within a past/present contrast, partly because it has little accompanying commentary but also because the guide books, for example, address you

²⁰ http://www.museumwnf.org/atrium_chronology.php?id=61.

²¹ http://www.museumwnf.org/atrium about.php.

²² The countries included in the project are Algeria, Austria, Denmark, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Jordan, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco, Palestinian Territories, Portugal, Qatar, Spain, Sweden, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and United States of America. See http://www.discoverislamicart.org/pm partner list.php?theme=ISL&type=museum.

as though you are in a particular place now (e.g. 'looking to the right here, you will see....').

But the kind of accompanying information presented rarely seems to avoid Winegar's criticism of aesthetic anaesthetisation. This intriguing image (Figure 3.1) is on the main page of the Algerian National Museum of Antiquities and Islamic Art - but no information is provided about it at all.

Figure 3.1 Case of guns, National Museum of Antiquities and Islamic Art

Source: Screen shot from the Museum with no Frontiers website http://www.museumwnf.org/ (December 2012).

There are occasionally hints at the histories that Winegar says get left out, as in this spur (Figure 3.2) from a crusader in Glasgow Museums but this is all the information that we are given. Yet it is a model that could surely be put to work in the service of a much richer and more multifaceted account.

Figure 3.2 Spur, Burrell Collection, Glasgow Museums

Source: Screen shot from the Museum with no Frontiers website http://www.museumwnf.org/ (December 2012).

Connections

A single exhibition that employs a metaphor of connections and networks can also provide such a model, as in the second example, the Connect galleries in Cartwright Hall in Bradford (opened in 2008).²³ These grew out of the earlier Transcultural Galleries, curated by Nima Poovaya-Smith and shaped by her reading in postcolonial theory. Created in a city with one of the highest proportions of migrants in the UK - especially, but not only, from the Indian subcontinent, with a majority of Muslims from

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²³ Discussed in more depth in Macdonald, 2013.

Pakistan and Kashmir -, the exhibition purposefully seeks to address questions of the heritage of migrants to the city and at the same time to establish a new city heritage. It does so by creating galleries that mix art works and objects from the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent - some of which might be called Islamic - with other pieces that have some connection to Bradford itself, and so are part of the *local* heritage, or are from the museum's own collections - another mode of being 'Bradford heritage'. What results here is a networked model of heritage, which seeks to highlight connections and depicts identities as fluid.

One exhibition, later part of the gallery, focused, for example, on gold jewellery, a form that is very popular across the subcontinent and among migrants, as well as among many other people too. The collection includes work from South Asia but also work by British artists not of South Asian origin, such as that of Clarissa Mitchell and Roger Barnes, who have been influenced by South Asian styles. Their inclusion was controversial; members of the 'South Asian community' in Bradford argued that these artists 'were exploiting the subcontinent for their own ends' (Poovaya Smith 1991: 126). The curator, however, disagreed: 'The voices of the community are important voices,' she said, 'but they do not necessarily always embody a God-like infallibility or collective wisdom' (Poovaya Smith 1991: 126). Showing cultural intermixing - which in this case she characterised as the agency of India impressing itself upon the artists rather than the latter exploiting the continent - was a key part of her transcultural strategy. It is extended further in the galleries themselves, which also draw on other Cartwright Hall collections to include art works that have no South Asian connection at all.

The kinds of connections at work in *Connections* are very various. Sometimes they are thematic or topical; at others they are aesthetic - perhaps a shared substance,

colour or form. They are not presented as in any way inevitable but, rather, to spark reflection and a sense of the vigour of these kind of 'contacts', ²⁴ 'connection' thus being conceptualised as movement, process and creative agency. Again, this is an attractive approach in many ways. In terms of representing Islam, it allows for making suggestive links, with other forms or religious artefacts, or between countries. But perhaps its very indeterminacy in effect anaesthetises in the way that Winegar argues? Or perhaps it avoids this – or could?

Conclusions

Here we have looked very briefly at two different models of networked/connective modes of representing Islam, one virtual, one physically in situ. These by no means represent the only possibilities and in a planned future project the author, together with colleagues, hopes to be able to explore the multiple ways in which Islam has been, is being and - importantly - might be represented through exhibitions. Representing Islam and Islamic heritage is undoubtedly particularly fraught for the reasons explained above. How to find modes that do not end up compounding existing stereotypes or misconceptions is the challenge.

Networking and network models clearly hold considerable promise not only for the representation of Islamic heritage but more generally for working transnationally and acknowledging and addressing migrant and migrating heritage. Yet, they do not necessarily do so as well as they might in and of themselves. Rather, they need coupling with a rigorous attention to where networks and networking cut off, and to what (and who) is left out as well as allowed in. The MeLa project is especially valuable in providing such extensive and in-depth attention to ways in which migration - and wider

²⁴ For Clifford on museums as 'contact zones' see Clifford 1997.

issues concerned with 'the age of migration' - is being tackled in museums and libraries, identifying good models and the range of challenges and possibilities involved.²⁵ Moreover, it also exemplifies valuable aspects of networks and networking by bringing together scholars and practitioners, so making connections and opening up dialogue that would be unlikely to happen otherwise.

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²⁵ See the MeLa website: www.mela-project.eu/. On the specific theme of networks and giving an excellent account of networks of European museums and libraries, see Innocenti 2012.

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Chapter 4

Migrations and Multiculturalism: a Design Approach for Cultural Institutions.

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Trocchianesi

Introduction

This paper presents the first results of the research activities carried out by the Design Department of Politecnico di Milano within the general framework of the EU-funded collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa).

The authors' work is set in the intersection between cultural frictions and evolving heritage and enabling devices, studying the role that design and digital technologies can play in representing cultural diversity in museums and cultural institutions.

The aim is to devise some design hypotheses intended to support museums and cultural institutions in consciously addressing the issues of cultural frictions and integration when designing heritage experiences, taking advantage of the opportunities offered by digital technologies.

The paper describes the theoretical framework assumed as the basis for its inquiry and the methodology adopted, and outlines four models of presentation and comprehension of cultural diversity within cultural institutions through digital technologies. The description of each model is supported by illustrative case studies, which have been selected from those that stimulated its definition. The final discussion evaluates the models' suitability for inviting visitors to deal with cultural diversity and

the ways they can achieve this aim.

Theoretical Framework

Museums and Cultural Diversity

This paper, like all MeLa research, is based on the concept of migration, 'here adopted as a key term for thinking through planetary processes that reveal the refashioning of the cultural and political spheres under the impact of the accelerated mobility and nomadism of people, goods, ideas and knowledge' (Basso Peressut and Pozzi 2012, 10).

This condition affects both qualitatively and quantitatively the multicultural character of contemporary societies (Vertovec 2010). In this context, the issue of addressing diversity, at social, cultural and political levels, is pivotal. One sign of the importance of the theme is the spread of terms such as multicultural, intercultural, transcultural, etc., as well as of their theorisations (see for example Baumann 2003, Martiniello 2000, Vertovec 2010 and Welsch 2009). These concepts are used in different ways, depending on the authors and the area of study. On the whole, the reflections presented in this paper play on the three prefixes multi-, inter- and trans- in order to describe and/or regulate dynamics among communities and people with different cultural backgrounds.

Discussing the several meanings assigned to these words is not one of the aims of this paper. Instead, a more relevant aspect is how such approaches to dealing with diversity and related definitional issues have entered heritage and museum practices.

In identifying some approaches that museums have adopted to face the multicultural challenge, Macdonald recognises both 'multiculturalism' and 'transcultural display' (Macdonald 2007). The first presents groups and communities as

discrete cultures and illustrates them mainly through their distinctive material culture (Macdonald 2007). Her description of the 'transcultural display' approach is developed by reference to the case of the Transcultural Gallery in Bradford, curated by Nima Poovaya Smith. The notion of transculturalism that emerges is linked to the representation of transcultural identities: 'the attempt was to articulate a plural, multicultural, identity. ... Rather than try to represent distinct communities, however, Poovaya Smith sought to express the fluidity of cultural boundaries and identities'. (Macdonald 2003: 10).

The rejection of the idea of cultures as closed entities and the focus on intermixing, entanglement and commonality between cultures associate this approach not only with other contributions on transculturality (Welsch 2009), but also with another museum approach to cultural diversity, that of heritage education in an intercultural perspective (Bodo and Mascheroni 2012). The intercultural character of museum education does not lie as much in the transmission of notions on cultural diversity, as in the development in the audience of those skills and competences more and more needed in contemporary societies, characterised by increasing contacts and exchanges between different cultural practices (Bodo and Mascheroni 2012).

This paper's contribution places itself in the context of museological reflections on multi-, inter- and transcultural approaches, with a different focus from those previously seen. It considers three possible approaches through which museums and cultural institutions can invite, and are inviting, audiences to deal with cultural diversity. These are described below (an important emphasis should be given to the second word):

1. *Multicultural storytelling*. This approach conceives and represents different cultures alongside one another but separately. It is similar to what Macdonald

calls 'multiculturalism' (Macdonald 2007).

- 2. Intercultural dialogue. This approach identifies and highlights the interconnections between cultures while representing them. It represents dialogue and hybridisation between cultures, but the audience is not called to put into play its identity and cultural background. In this respect, the term 'intercultural' is used here differently from how it is used in heritage education in an intercultural perspective described above (Bodo and Mascheroni 2012).
- 3. Transcultural practice. This approach allows and encourages further readings enabled by the 'practice' of cultural diversity. The practice of 'passing through' cultures is stressed: the audience is called to identify with other cultures. If the 'transcultural display' described by Macdonald (2007) puts the emphasis on the identities resulting from passing through fluid cultural boundaries, then the present approach focuses rather on the experience of passing through itself.

Museums and Digital Technologies

Museums and cultural institutions are increasingly using digital technologies as a means of effectively engaging their visitors, but there is still a need for a greater understanding of differences and possible synergies in the use of emerging technological media within museums, especially when dealing with cultural diversity and its representation.

The opportunities opened by the most recent applications of ICT are several and diversified: just think at the six areas - mobile apps, tablets, augmented reality, electronic publishing, digital preservation and smart objects - that Johnson, Adams, and Witchey (2011) identify as technologies with a great potential for use in the interpretation of heritage within museums. Multimedia booths, interactive devices and

smart objects can be employed to layer diverse and even dissenting interpretations on the same cultural asset, leading to a multifaceted perception of heritage. This kind of digital intermediation can increase the opportunity to make different cultures meet each other, or allow users to play an active role in the curation and co-creation of content. Augmented reality can also enable an amplified experience of heritage, enriching human sensory perception (Wils and Piekart 2012) and providing a high level of audience involvement. Jason Daponte (2012) stresses the need to think about the future for augmented reality systems, making it possible to assign meaning to contents in context, in a way that is not so dependent on a physical device, or designing exhibits as responsive environments that modify themselves directly according to visitors' actions.

Digital technologies can thus deeply modify the relationships between visitors and contents and visitors and space, but they can also affect the relationship between diverse visitors. In some cases, technological mediation can make visitors more comfortable in engaging with one other: interacting with strangers via a digital media, visitors 'are more willing to engage in ways that might be considered rude or disruptive if they were together in person' (Simon 2010).

Moving from the individual involvement of the visitor to the social experience of the visit, museums can conceive themselves as connective spaces that effectively coordinate the actions and interests of individual visitors to create a collective result (Simon 2010).

Many activities within museums and cultural institutions, such as educational workshops, networking and so on, can (and must) act in synergy to foster multi- intertranscultural experiences. However, this paper concentrates on the visitor experience, involving competences and areas of intervention that fall within the area of design.

Design can act both with a disciplinary (e.g. museographic, exhibition design, interactive design, lighting design) and a strategic approach, mediating the contributions of diverse disciplines while playing a directing role in the design of visitor experience and envisioning novel practices and models of understanding cultural diversity within museums.

Methodology

The reflections presented here derive from the intertwining of an analysis of case studies and a study of multidisciplinary literature, aimed at framing the connections between ICT, museum practices²⁶ and cultural diversity/identity.

In the context of MeLa Research Field 05-Exhibition Design, Technology of Representation and Experimental Actions,²⁷ several case studies (Allen and Lupo 2012) were critically selected and analysed through the effort of several researchers involved in the project. The cases were selected mainly on a thematic basis, trying to map projects that combined aspects of ICT and cultural representation in museum practices, focusing more on the projects themselves rather than on the institutions. ²⁸ Depending on the case, information was collected through literature and documents describing them (websites, brochures, reports, photos, and videos), participatory observations and interviews or correspondence with promoters and designers.²⁹

²⁶ Since it is closely linked to MeLa* European Museums in an age of migrations project, our study is mainly focused on museums. Nevertheless, our remarks can be extended to other kinds of cultural institutions when dealing with the exhibition, interpretation and representation of cultural assets.

28 see Allen and Lupo 2012: 10 for further details on selection criteria.

29 This fieldwork was exclusively aimed at collecting information about the case studies. Consequent elaborations and proposed models were not discussed with staff members of the investigated institutions.

²⁷ http://wp5.mela-project.eu/.

An overview of these case studies and their ICT and representational solutions and tendencies, together with work on theoretical contributions, gave rise to the definition of four possible models for visitors' understanding and experiencing of cultural diversity within museums.

These models are based on tendencies and features actually found in the analysed cases, but their definition has been complemented with reflections on design. Indeed, they are meant to be novel operative models for museums and for design intervention, useful to support designers and practitioners in dealing with cultural diversity within cultural institutions, trying to overcome the state of the art at the operative level.

The following section of the paper is devoted to explaining the characteristic features of the four models. As well as discussing their operating mode and the role of ICT, they are described according to three design dimensions, which are significant for a focus on visitor experience:

- 1. Cultural contents
- 2. Spatial settings
- 3. Social relations.

The description of each model is supported and illustrated by aspects of the case studies, selected from those which stimulated its definition and presented as emblematic for each operative model (summarised in Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Design dimensions relevant to the Operative Models

Operative models	Design Dimensions		
	Cultural Contents	Spatial Settings	Social Relations

Amplified Heritage	Relevant, e.g. 'A Oriente'	Relevant, e.g. 'You are not here'	Not relevant
Multifaceted Heritage	Relevant, e.g. 'A Matter of Faith' and '7 billion Others'	Not relevant	Not relevant
Connective Heritage	Not relevant	Relevant	Relevant, e.g. 'Free2choose' and 'Crossing Over'
Performing Heritage	Relevant	Relevant	Relevant

Source: the authors.

Following the definition of these models is an evaluation of their position as regards the three possible approaches to how museums and cultural institutions can invite audiences to deal with cultural diversity described above. The conclusions discuss whether or not each model can foster 'multicultural storytelling', 'intercultural dialogue' or 'transcultural practice' approaches.

Operative models

The authors developed four models for the representation and experience of cultural diversity within museums and cultural institutions, aimed at fostering a continuous negotiation and re-creation of heritage.

Constant features detected in the case studies and identified as elements of the models are: the type, quality and role of digital and multimedia technologies as

enablers; and their configuration and positioning in relation to multi-, inter- and transcultural issues.³⁰

The four models are not self-exclusive, rather they can coexist. Indeed, they can be thought of as a cumulative perspective, in which one model is a prerequisite for the following one that represents its evolution and advancement.

The Amplified Heritage Model

The first model encompasses all those experiences in which the cultural institution, be it a museum or something else, and its collections are augmented and amplified through digital technologies. Multimedia booths and digital and interactive devices amplify the relationship between visitors and cultural content, allowing a diversified and customised access as well as an extended experience in terms of time (pre- and post- visit) and place (on-site, on-line).

This model does not automatically imply a confrontation between cultures, but the visitor experience is enhanced and practices of comprehension and confrontation that are typical of a plural (e.g. the second 'multifacted' model) or relational (the third 'connective' model) approach can be enabled.

In this model the design dimensions are characterised by different levels of enhancement: from spatial ones, in which ICT amplifies the physical environment, ranging from the use of mixed languages and media narrative settings to immersive (simulated or virtual) spaces, up to geographical ones, connecting cultural assets with their place of origin. Some design directions can therefore address the key issue of

³⁰ As a first finding, these models are not sufficient to guarantee multi-/inter-/transcultural experiences but they can be considered as enablers of these practices, feasible scenarios rather than real conditions.

'situativity', localising, delocalising and re-localising the experience in terms of bodily interactions.

Concerning the first dimension of design, cultural contents, there are ways to augment cultural contents by multiplying the links between them or with their original context, so that in terms of design directions we can talk about 'content connectivity'.

The dimension of 'social relations' is not relevant or applicable to this experience model because this focuses more on the relation between user and contents, rather than on that between users.

In this area the design discipline is already apparent and this model is therefore recognisable in several of the case studies. Below are briefly described two relevant cases in which the use of this first model has been identified. These descriptions are not comprehensive explanations of the examples but are intended to clarify the model itself.

The exhibition *A Oriente*³¹ (To the East) displays the silk route and its stops, telling personal stories, proposing different viewpoints and highlighting the connections between cultures. The topic is multi/intercultural in itself and the use of digital technologies (multimedia booths using audio, video, images and texts) enables understanding and relationships between the exhibits. Here the spatial experience is embedded in the exhibition through the metaphor of the journey.

You Are Not Here³² is a platform that invites participants to become metatourists, encouraging intercultural understanding between conflicted communities.

Using a downloadable paper map and a mobile phone, it allows users to visit Baghdad by walking in New York or to use the streets of Tel Aviv to visit Gaza. In this case, the

³¹ http://www.viedellaseta.roma.it/.

³² http://www.youarenothere.org/.

content is 'neutral', as it is a heritage that presents no difficulties, but it is the dislocation that deliberately creates displacement and reflection.

The Multifaceted Heritage Model

The second model encompasses experiences in which digital technologies are employed by cultural institutions to offer a plural and multifaceted view of heritage. Using digital technologies, like interactive screens or displays, the users can choose a specifically designed point of view, or experience and compare different viewpoints alongside one another, or even add their personal one. This model can be called 'prismatic' because the cultural background of the observer interacts with the diverse interpretive paths proposed by the curators and possibly 'refracts' them like light rays through a prism.

In terms of cultural issues, this confrontation can allow the recognition of cultural contact points but also of cultural frictions. In so doing, it can stimulate (even if not automatically) discussion on heritage, its renegotiation and, eventually, transformation. In this scenario, the dynamic of auto-/hetero-representation becomes relevant: who represents who and for whom? The topic of authorship is also relevant because it raises the issue of individual or collective curatorship of content, in order to offer the visitors diverse yet reliable points of view.

In this model, cultural contents are characterised by a 'plurality of layered meanings', that can be represented by creating parallels and juxtapositions or highlighting dissonances or similarities. So regarding the design directions, the key issues to be addressed are 'contents multiplicity' and 'generation'.

A case study that well illustrates this second model is the temporary exhibition *A Matter of Faith*, ³³ which made visitors enter a world of faith made of different and even dissenting voices and opinions, presented alongside one another. Here, religious frictions were deliberately represented, by showing different points of view in order to stimulate reflection, without assuming a specific perspective. The use of audio and video contributions was functional, to represent a plurality of voices, sometimes dissenting, without taking any one side.

The temporary touring exhibition and web archive 7 billion Others³⁴ displays 6,000 video interviews filmed in 84 countries by about 20 directors who went in search of the 'others'. The interviews offer a portrait of different life experiences without any curatorial filters, and the archetypal and fundamental questions posed underline the cultural diversity of people from all over the world.

The Connective Heritage Model

The third model, called 'connective', refers to those cases in which digital technologies are employed as enablers of social relations. It can rely on the multifaceted model but it goes a step further, towards the building of new social ties (connections between people and cultures) around a common heritage, ties that enrich and amplify the experience of heritage thanks to a continuous and bidirectional interaction. The model is characterised by the presence of digital devices, systems or applications that allow social and collaborative processes and exchange, and work as enablers of social engagement in both direct and indirect ways. In terms of cultural issues, people's awareness and

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³³ http://www.stapferhaus.ch/stapferhaus/projektarchiv/archiv-ausstellungen/glaubenssache-lenzburg/.

³⁴ http://www.7billionothers.org/.

knowledge of heritage increases thanks to social relations, and the value of cultural assets is in turn increased by recognition of their background.

The most relevant design dimensions of this model, social and spatial, are characterised by forms of relations that make specific people and cultures meet in a particular spatial setting and context. So exchange, participation and collaboration are the key issues to be addressed in terms of design in order to create relationships between people.

A case that illustrates this third model is the permanent exhibition *Free2choose*, ³⁵ an interactive show in which visitors vote on their stances on issues related to human rights. Short video clips and a poll system with instant feedback are meant to make people feel the presence of dissenting voices in the room with the aim of introducing social tension, forcing the audience to look for other people's opinions, to get actively involved in the issue, and eventually engage socially.

Crossing Over³⁶ is a web-based, pedagogical project between students with different cultural background, which raises issues about the care we owe to strangers and the ethics of social interaction facilitated by the web. In this project ICT allows international students of different cultures to collaborate in real time and to confront themselves with diversity (Allen and Lupo 2012, 95-98).

The Performing Heritage Model

The last model encompasses those experiences in which the heritage can be interculturally performed, making visitors literally 'practise' or act another culture in a controlled context.

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³⁵ http://www.annefrank.org/en/Museum/Exhibitions/Free2choose/.

³⁶ Some results can be seen at: http://cat.uregina.ca/crossingover/.

By this model is meant responsive environments in which the cultural content is activated not by standard digital interactions (e.g. a touch screen) but by actions similar to or coherent with those that normally make the culture alive in its original contexts, such as particular dances, rituals or gestures. This model is particularly suitable for dealing with the intangible heritage, experienced in the first person by the user, who can play and perform cultural practices, alone or in a shared situation. The culture of the 'other' is not therefore represented, described or testified but practised, thus helping a deeper comprehension.

All the three design dimensions are relevant to this model. They are characterised by strongly active components: cultural content is performed and reproduced, individually or in a social context, in a space that becomes a stage, created by users' gestures.

The performing model is less well represented in the case studies and in fact none were identified that matched all aspects of this model. Some projects employ ICT to engage visitors bodily but the gestures they require are not culturally significant (e.g. Digital Dacha Murals³⁷); in some, on the other hand, cultural practices may be performed without the support of digital technologies. Nevertheless, the feasibility and the potential of this model can be seen, for instance, in the case of *Whispering Table*,³⁸ an installation that deals with food and religion. Four unique festivities celebrated by people of distinct cultures are assembled in an archetypal scene of a 'congregation'. Visitors approaching a round table filled with empty dishes discover that these are actually telling personal stories about the symbolic meanings of food and rituals. If the

³⁷ http://bjoern.org/projects/murals/.

³⁸ http://thegreeneyl.com/whispering-table.

dishes, instead of being unconventional headphones, had been used as real dishes simulating real rituals, the comprehension of the 'other' could have been more immediate and deeper. Of course the design must be careful enough to avoid distortion, misrepresentation or useless spectacularisation.

Conclusions

The four models discussed above present different ways of employing digital technologies to modify the quality of relations within the museum ecosystem, which is essentially composed of users, contents and space, working on visitors' experience and behaviour more than on technology itself. A step further is needed to understand what kind of behaviour these models enable and if they can actually foster multicultural storytelling, intercultural dialogue or transcultural practice and to work out how these aims can be pursued.

The first model presented, 'amplified', is characterised by the strengthening of the relation between visitors and cultural content; digital technologies play the role of amplifiers but their employment does not automatically imply a reflection on cultural diversity.

Looking at the two cases described within this model, we can easily understand how reflection on culture is not stimulated by a specific and purposeful use of technology but by the choice of the topic. Digital technologies make the experience more immersive in *A Oriente* and the sense of displacement more evident in *You Are Not Here*, but similar results could have been achieved without digital technologies. In brief, ICT can enhance the experience but the duty of stimulating reflection on culture, be it multi- inter- or transcultural, is left to curators and their choices.

The second model, 'multifaceted', presents different points of view alongside

one another, employing digital technologies to stimulate confrontation and, eventually, a reflection on culture. Thanks to its prismatic approach, it can then easily work towards multicultural storytelling but it can also leverage confrontation to stimulate intercultural dialogue.

In 7 billion Others, for example, thousands of life stories are shown alongside one another and the interviewees offer their personal viewpoints on life, leaving visitors free to confront and, eventually, reflect on cultural diversities or similarities. Even if this example does not fit exactly into a multicultural approach, because it presents life stories and not necessarily different cultures, the confrontation on which it is based is a necessary prerequisite for such an approach.

The second case described within the multifaceted model, *A Matter of Faith*, goes a step further. It not only presents several viewpoints on faith but also questions visitors' religious identity by asking them to get actively involved and not only be passive spectators as in *7 billion Others*. Confrontation is here the basis for active reflection and hopefully dialogue, moving more towards an intercultural approach.

The third model, 'connective', acts on the social side of cultural experiences, employing digital technologies to foster mediated or direct social connections between visitors. Since it involves social engagement and dialogue, be it in person or mediated by ICT, this model is undoubtedly well suited to achieve an intercultural or a transcultural experience.

Looking at the case studies described as illustrative of this model, we can recognise an intercultural approach in *Free2choose*, which asks visitors to understand two different and contrasting cultural positions, to question their personal stance on human rights and to side with one of them. The sharing of the choices made within the

current session and throughout the duration of the exhibition is then meant to make the dialogue spark between the bystanders.

The other example, *Crossing Over*, asks students with different cultural backgrounds to imagine the future life of migrants in a different culture. Digital and multimedia technologies are here employed to crystallise an identity and then to represent a new one, different from the previous one. The project asks for an effective rethinking of identities when transferred to a different country and participants are involved in a highly social and empathic activity. It stimulates a transcultural practice because it encourages multiple readings and parallel interpretations of cultural intersections.

Despite the fact that fourth model, 'performing', has not been illustrated with a concrete example, its approach seems able to push the visitor experience towards a transcultural one. It could indeed ask visitors to practice something that belongs to another culture, to perform, alone or in coordination with other bystanders, actions that are potentially very distant from their culture. These actions require an understanding of the system of values in which they were born and identification and empathy with another culture.

This does not mean that the performing model cannot stimulate a multicultural or an intercultural experience. Rather, its bodily and multisensory engagement seems able to facilitate that deep comprehension of the 'other' and the hybridisation that is postulated for the transcultural practice approach.

Summing up, the first model is the least characterised and the most open-ended, leaving the responsibility for dealing with culture to curatorial choices and to the cultural content itself. Although all the other models can in some way encompass multi-

inter- and transcultural experiences, their defining traits seem to point towards different cultural approaches. Confrontation, which is typical of the second model, easily fosters a multicultural storytelling approach and eventually an intercultural dialogue one; the direct or indirect social engagement of the third model steers towards an intercultural and a transcultural approach, while the performing model, the last, seems able to foster a transcultural and hybridised practice.

This is clearly a simplification, because the models certainly are not waterproof and the distinctions between multi-, inter- and transcultural approaches can be questioned, but the authors believe that it could be of some help at the operative level, informing possible design actions in the field, providing guidelines for designers and practitioners dealing with migration in museums and cultural institutions.

The research presented in this paper can be considered novel within the design domain because it addresses the topic of ICT within the museum field with a particular focus on the enablement of multi-, inter- and transcultural experiences. The authors believe that the models here discussed are articulating in a systematic and complementary perspective with technologies design dimensions that previously have been taken in consideration separately, and whose combination is instead crucial in characterising and defining innovative cultural heritage experiences. The models are of interest not only at the operative level, as stated above, but also at a theoretical level, because they provide a point a view on the diversified domain of digital technologies' employment within museums, summarising trends and approaches.

The research is still on-going and the proposed models are yet to be tested and discussed with cultural institutions: the next step is the kick off of pilot projects to verify and implement these models.

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Chapter 5

Visualising Interdisciplinary Research: Algorithmic Treatment of Museum Case-Study

Information Sets

David Gauthier, Jakob Bak and Jamie Allen

Introduction

The practice and theorising of museum spaces is a rich subject for both analytic and synthesising interdisciplinary research. Interests in this area involve strands of contemporary practice-based research in cultural and social studies, and their application in media, design and other creative digital practices, including burgeoning pursuits in the digital humanities. Study of the museum space necessitates an interdisciplinary approach, with the inevitable problems of developing common languages, values (in terms of emphasis, publication outputs and communications) and knowledge resources for both collaborating researchers and external audiences of research outputs.

One way of dealing with the provision of multiple perspectives on large combined quantitative, qualitative and descriptive data sets is through computational visualisation. This interaction design research area has been one subject of the Copenhagen Institute of Interaction Design's (CIID) work within the pan-European collaborative research project European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa). Based on case-study research data of technology applications within museum spaces, collected during early stages of the MeLa project, the work presented in this paper is inspired by what has been called 'distant reading' (Moretti 2000). Rather than operating on single cases, information is extracted from a set of case study descriptions and metadata to produce a diagrammatic interpretation of an entire, often large (>100 cases)

data set. Using sorting and semantic algorithms to automate the reading of data, it is possible to 'focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes or genres and systems' (Moretti 2000: 57).

Metadata Visualisation

As a first visualisation, the authors looked at the geographical distribution of the institutions gathered in their survey. In total, 123 cases concerning uses of technology in or by museums institutions were collected and catalogued according to 41 parameters and questions (multiple choice, scales, and free-text). Aligned with the MeLa project's themes, the survey's focus was directed towards methods of representating and communicating cultural tropes, dialogues and narratives that had been mediated through the use of technology in different exhibition contexts. Most submitted cases originated from Europe and North America, where cities such as New York, London and Amsterdam act as poles comprising the most catalogued cases. Each institution was identified with a particular field of activity and rendered as a coloured dot. These institutions shown included the Museum of Copenhagen, the National History Museum of London and the Netherlands Architecture Institute.

Figure 5.1 World Map of Cases and Fields of Activity

Source: Copenhagen Institute of Interaction Design.

The visualisations and algorithms used are devised to manipulate the case study data, based on the input fields required for each case study. Many of these input fields, descriptors and prompts were intended to produce information most suitable for a distant-reading approach, e.g. to enable cases to be indexed with a finite set of categories and/or mutually exclusive numerical inputs. Using this researcher-input metadata, analyses can more easily correlate cases and visualise relationships. However,

metadata introduces various descriptive biases. Some level of taxonomies must necessarily be defined *a priori* in order to allow for the practical collection of data, for anticipated cases. Although this pre-defined taxonomy produces a common language for all researchers, each of these have their own bias – i.e. how and what to categorise using the taxonomy. During our investigation, simple initial visualisations helped the iteration and revision of initially researcher-chosen taxonomies. These bias considerations led to increased use of textual input by the MeLa group of researchers (in line with more typical museum studies and other humanities-based textual analyses used to describe and analyse museum case studies) and to the use of semantic analyses as a basis for further case study visualisations.

Latent Semantic Visualisation

In latent semantic visualisation a slightly different approach is taken, in which text is dealt with as an object-of-analysis, from which algorithms extract overall topics and themes. A few sections in the survey were free-text inputs in which researchers, rather than categorising cases according to a predefined and limited typology (metadata), were asked to reflect or describe in words or prose their view and analysis of cases.

Figure 5.2 Topical Triangle

Source: Copenhagen Institute of Interaction Design.

In latent semantic visualisation, an approach is taken in which text is dealt with as an object-of-analysis, from which algorithms extract overall topics and themes, automatically from 'bags of words', using various connectivity, frequency and logical assumptions about language. Input fields in the survey of case studies include free-text inputs in which researchers, rather than categorising cases according to a predefined and

limited typology (metadata), are asked to reflect and describe in words their view and analysis of cases.

Two specific topic modelling algorithms, Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) (Blei, Ng and Jordan 2003) and Correlated Topic Models (CTM) (Blei and Lafferty 2007), were employed to extract topics from the free text portions of the case study questionnaire results. A single latent topic consists of a single list of words, which are (as a group) algorithmically and statistically selected as representative of the content of the texts. Hence the meaning of a given latent topic is derived from its constituting list and interpreted by researchers after the algorithm runs. Both of the above algorithms yield a multitude of these latent topics (a triplet selection in the case of Figure 2) against which all documents in the case study data set are measured automatically and given proportion as a scale from 0 to 10. We used this scale information in Figure 2 to place the group of case studies inside a triangle where each of the vertices represents an extracted latent topic. With this approach, correlation is assumed between the words of a text and its latent (or unexpressed) semantic themes. This method is interesting as it differs from other kinds of metadata (e.g. human-generated 'tagging' of cases with keywords) as it is more suggestive than deterministic and heirarchical; topic modelling offers better dynamism and flexibility in abstracting textual case study data.

Figure 2 offers a view of the case studies, spatially dispersed according to three extracted latent topics listed beneath the triangle. From the extracted list of words we can interpret the meaning of latent topics such as: (1) stories as specific historical and lived memories, (2) media and content oriented and (3) approaches in presenting stories and memories. From this diagram, we can read that most of our cases have strong ties with topic (1), while oscillating between topic (2) and topic (3).

Conclusions

Conducting highly interdisciplinary research, such as that undertaken in the MeLa project, brings into perspective the contours and boundaries of one's own field of expertise, and what types of artefacts need to be created to help bridge these boundaries. Multiple discussions on how to approach the task of designing surveys, their generality, differences, relevance and appearance contributed to defining common objects and languages relevant to each research field under the MeLa core themes of migration, cultural identities and dialogue. In turn, the graphics and dynamic visualisations created should be regarded as computationally-derived boundary objects for interdisciplinary research of the kind being undertaken here, that is:

...objects that both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are thus both plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use and become strongly structured in individual-site use. (Star and Griesemer 1989: 297)

Digital humanities techniques occupy a potentially important position in interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary contexts in that they are capable of elaborating and researching such objects (Manovich 2008). They do not claim to represent universal truths about the information at hand, but rather evoke and resonate boundaries of meaning on the intersecting borders of various research fields and communities.

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Chapter 6

Europeana: Cultural Heritage in the Digital Age

Eleanor Kenny

Introduction

Europeana (http://www.europeana.eu) provides access to the digitised holdings of more

than 2,200 museums, libraries, archives and audiovisual collections from 34 European

countries. 27 million digitised books, paintings, archival records, videos, museum

objects, sound files, manuscripts, newspapers and photographs are available online. At

its launch, only five years ago, Europeana provided access to two million items,

demonstrating how quickly the holdings of our different memory institutions are

coming together online.

This integration is also reflected elsewhere online. The Wikimedia Foundation,

which runs Wikipedia, describes and works with the cultural heritage sector under the

collective name 'GLAMs' - galleries, libraries, archives and museums (Wikipedia

2012). But do these sectors want to be grouped together like this, into the same

category? Or do they believe that each domain - museums, libraries, archives, galleries

and audiovisual collections - has its own professional practice, its own material to

curate, its own audiences?

It is true that librarians, or curators, or archivists recognise the differences and

know that many of those differences are necessary and will persist (Bishoff 2004). But

often the outside world doesn't see it that way and the term GLAMs demonstrates its

viewpoint. From the outside, GLAMS have a common purpose: to collect a record of

knowledge and creativity, to hold it in trust for citizens, and to provide access to it.

Online especially, the similarities between galleries, libraries, archives and museums outweigh their differences for users (Hedstrom and King 2004).

The Universal Museum

At the start of the GLAMs story, that was exactly the situation. In the eighteenth century, the *Wunderkammer* or 'cabinet of curiosities' was an important symbol of the Age of Enlightenment. In it, a man of means and education would show his rare books and manuscripts alongside fossils, minerals and archaeological finds. Specimens from the natural world and anthropological discoveries brought back by explorers and traders could be displayed alongside classical antiquities and religious relics (Breen 2012).

The step from the cabinet of curiosities to the 'universal museum' was a short one. In many countries the establishment of great national collections was built upon the accumulations of individual aristocrats and scholars such as the Ashmolean in England founded on the collection of Elisa Ashmole and cited by some as the first modern public museum (Swann 2001). All this was reflected in Europe's museums. New museums were established across the continent to house collections of arts, science and industry, such as the British Museum in London and the Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'archéologie de Besançon in France.

The museum had a number of purposes, but primary among them was providing opportunities for people to explore, classify and understand the world around them. Over the following century, the classification of knowledge became more specialised, specific and professional practices developed, and the materials accumulated rapidly (Hedstrom and King 2004: 11).

Today's Hybrid Collections

At the same time as specialisations developed, a process of hybridisation also took

place. Book collections were donated or added to museums (as in the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, see MNHN n.d.), and sound archives were added to libraries (as in the British Library, see British Library n.d.), so a single institution began to provide access to paintings, texts and sound and video recordings. Recordings of personal histories, such as diaries and letters, are aggregated and added to archives. Collections are hybrid, meaning that they include items that could belong equally to libraries, archives, galleries, museums and audiovisual collections, or to more than one nation, or to multiple domains.

From the public there could be some confusion about what they can expect to find where. Finding out what was held where used to be a big part of the postgraduate research process and still takes up a good share of the amateur historian's time. If you wanted to bring together the unpublished letters, sketchbooks, diaries and papers of a nationally famous artist, where would you look? A library, an archive, or a gallery?

Integration Online

On the web, these questions no longer exist. Once materials are digitised their physical location no longer matters much to the searcher. Users no longer need to visit different places in Europe to see different materials. They can bring them together in the same space - 24 hours a day and with a search interface in multiple languages. Items can be found, viewed and compared in ways not possible in the offline world.

Online and instant accessibility is important for a generation that has grown up with high and specific expectations of what technology can provide. They want to be able to read text, see pictures, watch films and hear sounds all in the same space. Social network sites offer that level of content integration; mobile devices provide simplicity of access to all formats.

Today's software and the hardware gives users what they want, and it is vital that our organisations respond to these expectations, and use the technology to remain relevant to new generations of users. Last year Europeana commissioned a study of what devices were being used to access its portal, using log file analysis. The resulting report, *Culture on the Go* (Europeana 2011a), illustrates how enthusiastically mobile technology is being adopted across Europe and the rapid rise in its use to explore Europeana. It makes the point that a high resolution (portable) screen, like an iPad, is a perfect place to explore cultural heritage - to read a text, scroll through images, watch movies and listen to recordings, at any time, and almost anywhere. The rapidly changing uptake in mobile technology the past few years is exciting but not without its challenges. When Europeana was first established, mobile phones were expected to be the next main form of mobile access, and no-one foresaw how the tablet would be embraced by the public. Europeana had worked hard to develop the right user experience on mobile phones and then had to refocus efforts to meet user needs and deliver the same quality experience on tablets.

Europeana

Europeana teams Europe's cultural and scientific heritage with technological innovation. It presents Europe's rich cultural and scientific history online, on tablets, smartphones and APIs, in ways that are relevant to today's user. It opens new doors to learning and creativity - personal and professional. Funded by the European Commission with matched funding from Ministries of Culture in 21 member states, Europeana was launched as a proof of concept in 2008, with two million objects from 27 EU Countries. Since then Europeana has worked with content partners and, aided by Europe's leading research universities, now has a strong and vibrant network of

museums, archives and libraries (Europeana 2011b).

Europeana is a relatively small organisation and couldn't work with every one of the organisations that provides Europeana with data. So it uses an aggregation model. Individual heritage institutions digitise their material and send their materials to an aggregator. Aggregators operate at national, domain or thematic levels, to harmonise the metadata and channel it into Europeana's ingestion process. Most European countries now have national aggregation initiatives, funded by national governments.

The other main providers to Europeana are the domain aggregators. For example: the European Film Gateway (http://www.europeanfilmgateway.eu/), film archives in 16 countries; EU Screen (www.euscreen.eu), bringing together TV material from some 20 archives; the European Library (www.theeuropeanlibrary.org), aggregating the content of all Europe's national libraries; and the Archives Portal Europe (www.archivesportaleurope.net), which covers national and regional archives in 16 countries. Domain aggregators establish the framework for digitisation within a specific domain, set out formats and standards and examine issues around copyright before beginning the digitisation process and implementing a data supply infrastructure. Domain aggregators have the advantage of familiarity with the issues common to specific types of collection, such as broadcast material.

Thematic aggregators are partnerships that come together around particular topics. Judaica Europeana (www.judaica-europeana.eu) is a good example, digitising great collections of material relating to the Jewish contribution to European culture. Its ten partners include the Jewish Archives, Budapest, the Sephardi Museum in Toledo and the Hebrew collections of the British Library. Another example of a thematic project is Europeana Fashion (www.europeanafashion.eu), a partnership of 23 organisations

holding relevant collections. Few of the partners are focused solely on fashion. Many, like the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, are great applied art and design museums with significant clothing and textile collections and related collections of printed and graphic materials.

An aggregator approaching a single topic has the great advantage of in-depth understanding of the subject and knowledge of where the great collections are and what needs to be digitised. They are able to tell the story of a subject across countries, continents and time.

Metadata Standards

For aggregation to work there have to be two things, a shared vision and a shared standard. To realise a shared vision you need a willingness to work together to create a process and an infrastructure that gets the job done. A shared standard enables the integration and harmonisation of the metadata and, for Europeana, the delivery of that data to its ingestion process and final display on the website.

Early in Europeana's history, it created a metadata standard called the Europeana Semantic Elements (http://pro.europeana.eu/technical-requirements), based on Dublin Core, which can be used to describe, in basic terms, all the different types of material shown in Europeana. It provides a generic set of DC elements and some locally coined terms, which have been added specifically to support Europeana's functionalities.

The aim is to achieve basic interoperability and provide a lowest common denominator description. Europeana always recognised the limitations of this approach but it was key to demonstrating that interoperability was possible - that different types of objects could be brought together, searched and displayed consistently.

It was also important in establishing the idea of partnerships between museums,

libraries and archives - to get Europe's curators, archivists and librarians talking to each other - to get them to recognise shared aims, to share problems and to learn from approaches and expertise developed in particular fields. Librarians, for example, had long experience of establishing international cataloguing standards and had been sharing bibliographic metadata internationally for many years.

The Europeana Data Model

To provide richer metadata, the next step was to develop a more sophisticated model. The Europeana Data Model (http://pro.europeana.eu/web/guest/edm-documentation) was the result of extensive collaboration between experts and standards keepers from all domains - museums, libraries, archives and the audiovisual sector. Each domain tested the model to make sure it fulfilled its cataloguing needs and could describe the materials it was digitising and making available.³⁹

Most of the standards in each domain - MARC 21 in the library world, for example - were created in a pre-internet age. The Europeana Data Model, on the other hand, was created to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the online world, importantly, that similar data and objects can be linked and new relationships can become apparent - in other words, to take advantage of the potential of the semantic web and linked data.

The European Data Model is now being implemented and some projects are already sending their data to Europeana in EDM format, for example Musical Instrument Museums Online and the performing arts project ECLAP.

As yet, this richer data can't be seen in Europeana, but in spring 2013, it will

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³⁹ Case studies detailing this collaboration and testing are available on the European Pro site http://pro.europeana.eu/web/guest/case-studies-edm.

launch an EDM interface. When users examine EDM records they will see some improvement in the range of information available to them but it is in the related material and its degree of relevance to their search that the greatest potential lies. For example, in a search for Julius Caesar the searcher will be able to refine what they want to see much more precisely: books written by or about him, sculptures of him, coinage representing him, the play about him by William Shakespeare or a television documentary about his imperial conquests.

The next step is to build EDM into the working practices of the GLAM community. To achieve this, Europeana is running a project called Europeana Inside, which collaborates with developers and suppliers of popular collection management and digital asset management software. The goal is for EDM to be included in their output options, which would mean that, once digitised items have been catalogued on the system, the metadata can be output in EDM ready for ingestion into Europeana.

Europeana's Governance

To help deliver the digital transformation of the cultural heritage sector, one of Europeana's core strategic roles is to facilitate information exchange and knowledge transfer throughout the memory institutions of every European member state. To help make sure that every different domain is in agreement with Europeana's policies, they are endorsed by the Europeana Foundation Board, which comprises presidents and chief representatives of Europe's cultural heritage associations. Bringing these players together at the strategic level is intended to ensure that there is consensus right across the cultural heritage sector and broad agreement on Europeana's approach.

At the more practical day-to-day level, Europeana is closely involved with its

⁴⁰ See http://pro.europeana.eu/web/guest/about/europeana-foundation/board.

network of partners, who in many cases work very closely with staff in the Europeana office. This informal cooperative activity is represented by a formal structure, the Europeana Network, a group of nearly 500 organisations who contribute data, technology and expertise to Europeana. The Network elects six officers who sit on the Europeana Foundation Board, and represent their particular sector's interests.⁴¹

This governance model promotes constant dialogue and consensus-building, and ensures that collaboration is consolidated and built upon. Europeana is the result of five years of cooperation across the cultural heritage sector. However the model is not without challenges: with such a large network it can sometimes be challenging to make people feel part of a network and contribute to it. Even when that contribution is secured there is always the risk that Europeana could be perceived narrowly as representing the Europeana Foundation and not its wider Europeana network. Ongoing efforts are required to make sure that the strength and reality of the network and its essential role in making Europeana successful are recognised. An organisation built on cooperation cannot be perceived to take its partners collaboration for granted.

Europeana's Collaboration with DPLA and a Virtual Exhibition on Migration

In October 2012, Europeana and the Digital Public Library of America (DPLA) announced their collaboration (Europeana 2012). The two networks are working together to make even more of the world's cultural heritage available to a larger part of the world's population. In particular, the DPLA, which will provide access to digital collections from libraries, museums, and archives in the United States, is designing its technical structure to promote interoperability with Europeana.

⁴¹ See http://pro.europeana.eu/web/guest/network.

The association between the DPLA and Europeana means that users everywhere will eventually have access to the combined collections of the two systems through a single access point. By this combined effort on two continents, Europeana and the DPLA hope to promote the creation of a global network with partners from around the world.

The Digital Public Library of America and Europeana share a common goal: to make the riches of libraries, museums, and archives available, free of charge, to everyone in the world. To achieve this goal they will as far as possible make their systems and data interoperable and promote open access through existing and new joint policies on content, data, and metadata. They plan to collaborate regularly on developing specific aspects of their systems, beginning with an interoperable data model, a shared source code and cooperative collection building.

One outcome of this collaboration is a virtual exhibition about the migration of Europeans to America launched in Europe in December 2012 ⁴² (Figure 6.1). The DPLA and Europeana will demonstrate the potential of their combined collections by digitising and making freely available material about the journey from the Old World to the New.

Figure 6.1 Emigrants at Ellis Island awaiting examination Source: French National Library - Bibliothèque Nationale de France, public domain rights.

This pilot project includes text and images illustrating the experience of migrants as they abandoned their homes to seek a new life thousands of miles across a treacherous ocean. Letters, photographs, and official records provide new insights into the harsh world inhabited by Europeans, from communities in Hungary to the peasant

^{42 (}http://exhibitions.europeana.eu/exhibits/show/europe-america-en).

villages of Ireland. Equally vivid testimonies illustrate the culture shock and hard lot of the immigrants after their arrival in the United States. Everyone in the United States, including Amerindians, is descended from immigrants and nearly everyone in Europe has some connection with migration, either within Europe itself or across the ocean. And everyone will be able to digitally visit this exhibition, which is available in several languages including English, French and German.

The migration exhibition does not aim to be comprehensive or to teach people what migration is. It does not pretend to capture people's attention and focus like a physical exhibition can. Online visitors cannot be compared to museum visitors: they have not made the time investment to come to the venue, nor have they invested money in a ticket. They are not in an attractive building, they are behind a screen. Countless alternative websites are just one mouse click away. The average time spent on virtual exhibitions is around three minutes. Online visitors are easily distracted and seldom willing to read texts that exceed the size of their screens.

Europeana's virtual exhibitions aim to inspire people to discover aspects of cultural heritage and to explore more by themselves, and hopefully to convince people that there is more they want to discover in the digital collections. The exhibitions also aim to engage. Visitors are encouraged to add their comments online and share objects or the complete exhibition on their own websites, blogs or social media channels.

In addition, people encourage each other to explore the rich digital sources, following their own interests, perhaps searching for objects that mark their personal history. And to a growing extent, people are encouraged to contribute their own stories and digitised objects.

Museums in an Age of Migration: a New Relationship between Curators, Content and Users

Europeana wants to encourage new ways for users to participate in their cultural heritage. Making heritage accessible online is one step; fostering interaction and discovery is the next one.

In this digital age, where people create and share digital content so easily, heritage organisations and their curators can develop new relations with their audiences. Online, audiences can browse through collections freely and curate their own selections, making their own connections and interpretations. They mix old and new, commercial and non-commercial content, institutional content with self-created content. Combinations can be created that would never be possible in the physical world.

Europeana is increasingly investing a share of its resources in initiatives that underline the value of user contribution. It works with the Wikimedia Foundation to develop opportunities for collaboration with heritage institutions. A growing number of museums have a Wikipedian-in-residence programme. Wikipedia's model of user involvement, multilingual content and co-editing offers strengths that are complementary to Europeana's and to that of heritage institutions.

Europeana also work with partners that specialise in user-generated content, such as the Great War Archive from University of Oxford (http://www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ww1lit/gwa), on models that allow it to work together with local libraries and the public, bringing in user content with appropriate levels of moderation.

Archivists, curators and librarians themselves show a growing interest in pioneering new methods of access and experimenting with content usage. They

recognise the digital space as an extension of their institution's boundaries, though with unlimited opening hours and unlimited geographical reach. Through services like application programming interfaces (APIs), they can extend their physical collections with much larger digital ones and digital objects can be embedded in interactive educational materials, offering richer information and encouraging visitors to share objects with their followers. They can invite the crowd to take part in cataloguing, curating, selecting content and adding context to it, even adding content. Virtual visitors can even create their own cabinet of curiosities, their own hybrid collections for example using websites such as Pinterest, in the twenty-first century such a thing is not the preserve of the rich man.

Conclusions

It is important to bear in mind that the digital heritage resources and experiences sit alongside the traditional, in fact they only exist because of it. Online experiences do not replace a physical visit to a museum, library or archive but they can enrich it, helping to strengthen the engagement of audiences with institutions and with their heritage.

Digital access to cultural heritage is still a new area, being explored both by user and professional, by public sector organisations and by commercial interests. The possibilities for access and engagement will be driven as much by the openness of cultural institutions to share content online as by the ability of developers to deliver that content in engaging ways.

For Europeana, a key factor has been collaboration with and between cultural heritage organisations. The stronger the cultural institutions' sense of shared vision and common purpose is, the more powerful the momentum towards digital innovation and delivery will be. That potential is considerable and inspiring and, if cultural institutions

choose to embrace it, it offers the possibility for them to build a new relationship with future generations and to underline their ongoing relevance in today's digital society.

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Chapter 7

Moving Through Time and Culture with the Biodiversity Heritage Library

Constance Rinaldo and Jane Smith

Introduction

Biodiversity is part of our cultural heritage. This paper aims to convey how the Biodiversity Heritage Library (BHL) moves through time in various contexts. BHL content spans historical and modern time, covering topics on evolution and geological time. It has been developed over a number of years through the efforts of many colleagues across the world working together and crossing different time zones. The paper also provides an overview of how BHL aims to unite the world's biodiversity library collections held in many institutions yet required by users of all kinds across the globe. The Council of Europe's Faro Convention on Cultural Heritage Article 8, 'Environment, Heritage and Quality of Life', notes the importance of integrating policies relating to cultural and biological heritage (Faro Convention, 2005).

All those involved in BHL share content knowledge and expertise freely. Social networking engages new audiences and is enjoyed by core users as well. From those with a casual interest in nature to serious scholars, BHL's Twitter, Facebook, Flickr and Pinterest accounts attract users and comments.

How BHL Started

In a 2005 satellite discussion to the Barcode of Life meeting that included scientists and librarians, it was clear that scientists, especially taxonomists, continued to struggle to accumulate the printed information they needed to complete their studies, in spite of the best efforts of libraries (Moritz 2005). After a smaller discussion among the librarians, it

was evident that, although current material had intellectual property rights issues to solve, much of the legacy literature was in the public domain and available for digitisation. Thus the seeds for the Biodiversity Heritage Library were sown. In 2007, E.O. Wilson, who coined the term 'biodiversity' as a shortcut for 'biological diversity', was awarded a TED⁴³ prize and in his acceptance speech made a plea for a website that would provide a web page for every species (Wilson 2007). Five cornerstone institutions came together and received funding to establish the Encyclopedia of Life (EOL, eol.org) and also finance a scanning and digitisation arm, the Biodiversity Heritage Library. EOL's ambition is to create a web page for every species on the planet. From those beginnings and early work by the initial group of ten UK and US institutions, the Biodiversity Heritage Library (BHL) was launched in 2007. The aim of BHL is to digitise the biodiversity literature and make it available through open access. Since its launch, BHL has evolved into a global virtual organisation with institutions working in every time zone creating the equivalent of a world-wide faculty library for biodiversity literature - and so much more (Gwinn and Rinaldo 2009, Norton 2008). 44

What is Taxonomy and what does BHL Contribute?

The scientific discipline known as taxonomy or systematic biology is the classification, naming and description of organisms. For their work, taxonomists must gather all of the literature and specimens, no matter how old or trivial, about their organisms. Before the

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⁴³ TED, 'Technology, Entertainment, Design', is a not-for-profit organisation devoted to 'Ideas Worth Spreading'. See http://www.ted.com/.

⁴⁴ BHL describes itself as is 'a consortium of natural history and botanical libraries that cooperate to digitize and make accessible the legacy literature of biodiversity held in their collections and to make that literature available for open access and responsible use as a part of a global "biodiversity commons." (BHL 2013. For 'biodiversity commons' see Moritz 2002)

age of digitisation, this meant travelling to or borrowing from all major museums and libraries across the globe where the organism was represented. The advent of digitisation has enabled these scientists to shorten their studies from a lifetime of work gathering specimens and literature to mere months (Minelli 2003, Gwinn and Rinaldo 2009). Since names can change over time and even refer to multiple organisms, it is not always easy to find information. The Universal Biological Indexer and Organizer (uBio) was developed at the Marine Biological Laboratory at Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute (MBL/WHOI) in the US to address this problem. Using a name thesaurus (a taxonomic name server) and a repository of approximately 11 million names along with a classification index, researchers at MBL/WHOI produced a taxonomic name authority file. BHL uses an algorithm developed by collaborators at uBio to extract likely scientific names from the text produced by optical character recognition software, thus enabling users to find all instances of a species across the different names and view them in BHL (Leary, et al. 2008). This is known as 'taxonomic intelligence' and is one key element of BHL that increases its value to the scientific community.

Species names are also the links that allow users of EOL to view BHL literature and vice versa. The partnership between EOL and BHL is important and of benefit to users of both. If searchers look at a species page in EOL, they see a bibliography that has been pulled from BHL - and the connection is via taxonomic intelligence. Although at the moment it is not possible to effectively search BHL by common names, this is possible in EOL. So, non-scientists can search EOL and still be directed to the scientific literature of interest available in BHL.

Scientists have used BHL to search for original species descriptions when building a database about a species of interest. Once species descriptions are found, the

OCR'd text can be copied into their database and OCR text corrected. But species descriptions can be difficult to find because they are often part of more general articles or in general serials. Current examples of how scientists are extracting data from BHL content include the website and web service BioStor (http://biostor.org/). Developed by Rod Page, an evolutionary biologist at the University of Glasgow, BioStor provides tools for extracting, annotating and visualising information literature from BHL. Another is Synynyms (http://synynyms.com/), developed by Ryan Shenk, a web developer at Woods Hole in Massachusetts, to identify how many publications there are or have been about a particular species.

BHL potentially has a much wider reach than scientists alone and is increasingly relevant for arts, humanities and social sciences researchers. New audiences are reached deliberately through social media, initiatives such as Flickr image collections, iTunes U collections, conferences, and projects such as The Art of Life which will liberate natural history illustrations for use by all. BHL is closely linked with other major natural and cultural heritage initiatives: it is the foundational literature component of the Encyclopedia of Life and BHL content is served through the cultural heritage portal Europeana.

The Europeana Foundation promotes collaboration between museums, archives, audiovisual collections and libraries to provide integrated access to their content through Europeana (www.europeana.eu/) and other services. Through the regional hub of BHL-Europe, content in BHL is being linked to Europeana and thereby exposing items of cultural and historical interest that may not have been seen before outside the scientific communities for which they were originally produced.

BHL is now a mature seven years old research resource comprising over 40

million pages of biodiversity literature and attracting a user base of 554,000 unique web visitors. As a research resource, BHL is extensive: its scope covers all aspects of the biodiversity literature from historical material to current literature. The earliest works included so far date back to 1450.

Feedback and direct communication with users is critical to ensure the continued relevance of BHL and the provision of dynamic collections and services. User feedback is a major component of BHL services (Costantino et al. 2011). The content alone is an important contribution to scientific enterprise, although rough estimates suggest this encompasses only about 30% of the public domain biodiversity literature and 7% of the total biodiversity literature - thus BHL is barely scratching the surface of what is available (Garnett 2010, Kalfatovic 2012).

The quotation below from a donation letter gives an indication of the impact BHL is having on the work of researchers and inspires the ongoing commitment of the contributing partners.

Regarding the Biodiversity Heritage Library.

This is a tremendous and extremely valuable resource. I work on the taxonomy and systematics of molluscs and frequently need to refer to the older literature. Before the advent of the internet and BHL, this was usually a very frustrating task because much of the relevant literature is not available in South Africa. This represented a considerable stumbling block and hindrance.

BHL has greatly alleviated this problem. Far more often than not, I am able to find what I need on the BHL. This resource has done an enormous amount to enhance the capacity of developing countries to undertake taxonomic research on their biota. I am extremely grateful those who set up and manage this resource. Keep up the good work!

Best wishes, Dai Herbert - December 11, 2012.

The Sun never Sets on BHL

BHL has expanded globally with contributions from institutions and colleagues working in every region of the world and users accessing and participating in BHL working in

every time zone. Between staff members adding content all over the world and users from 233 countries, the data are in use around the clock. In one recent quarter alone, BHL had 177,000 unique users.⁴⁵

BHL has become an effective and collaborative, multi-institutional virtual organisation by leveraging social networking tools and multiple strategies. There are no institutional mandates or hierarchical organisational structures. Governance is accomplished through regional hubs, each presenting BHL content and contributing data in ways that make sense in their local environment and in the preferred language for their regional portal (Figure 7.1). This organisational model, driven mostly from the ground up, has encouraged innovation and user engagement and relies on regional networks of dedicated staff members attached to a variety of institutions and projects around the world. Thus, BHL-Europe, BHL-Australia, BHL-China, BHL-Egypt and BHL-SciELO together form BHL Global (see Figure 7.2). BHL-Europe, for example, is formed by over 27 natural history museums and libraries, with funding support from the EU E-Content Programme to provide the technical framework to enable those individual institutions to feed in content already scanned. The newest initiative is BHL Africa. Building on a meeting with African biodiversity and information professionals at the 2011 Life and Literature Conference in Chicago, Illinois, and a follow-up meeting in South Africa in June 2012, this new hub will be launched in 2013.

Figure 7.1 BHL Europe: an example of a portal for a regional hub

Source: BHL Europe website (March 2013),

The global extent of BHL collaboration and its growing user base means that, except on holidays and high days, there will be someone contributing to or using BHL

⁴⁵ Google analytics for July-September 2012.

24 hours a day. In addition to being a network of people, there is a technical

infrastructure supporting the expansion of BHL content and storage, and developing

tools to exploit and find new ways of using the content. BHL participants form working

groups and committees to develop joint collection development policies and good

practice procedures and to share common approaches and standards for the different

stages of selecting and digitising materials. BHL also links into and feeds other

resources, networks and databases such as EOL and Europeana. Following a distributed

data architecture model, mirrored content is held in repositories in each of the regions.

Figure 7.2 BHL Global satellite map, 2011

Source: screenshot from BHL Blog (March 2013).

The Scope of BHL Content and Working with Users

BHL is extensive, with content representing biodiversity over time and continents and

works by or relating to the world's leading naturalists and explorers. It is also truly

open, with all content made available via the BHL site and guided by Creative

Commons principles (http://creativecommons.org/).

To develop and expand the content, BHL operates on a mixed funding model with

direct support by BHL partners and single and jointly awarded grants. Examples of this

approach include the JISC/NEH-funded Darwin's library project, NEH-funded The Art

of Life, and the Institute of Museum and Library Services funded field notebooks

project, Connecting Content. How can BHL share more and get more exposure? Artists

and teachers are a potential and growing audience. The more than 50,000 BHL images

on the BHL Flickr site (http://www.flickr.com/photos/biodivlibrary/) (Figure 7.3) have

received more than 2.5 million views: images are clearly important but still labour

intensive to extract.

Figure 7. 3 An example of the BHL image collections on Flickr

Source: G.B. Sowerby, Jun., A Conchological manual, London, 1839. Ernst Mayr Library of the MCZ, Harvard University, screenshot from BHL website (March 2013).

The Art of Life is funded by an NEH grant to the Missouri Botanical Garden and the Indiana University Museum to automate the extraction and description of illustrations locked up in books about biodiversity. It is expected that 2-3 million more images can be added to Flickr and then ported to Wikimedia once the tools have been built. Additionally, if images are tagged with common or species names, they can be ingested by EOL, thus increasing audiences. Images do not tag themselves, so EOL and BHL have held creative 'tagging' parties at the Smithsonian Institution, effectively crowdsourcing the activity of assigning species names to images. The current IMLS funded field notebooks project takes BHL data and puts it into context: Connecting Content is a collaboration to link field notes to specimens and published literature. Led by the California Academy of Science, nine institutions are working on unique projects and depositing the field notes into BHL (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Connecting content in BHL

Note: Connecting content in the Ernst Mayr Library and Museum of Comparative Zoology by digitising the specimens, field notes and other archives of William Brewster (Harvard ornithologist, nineteenth-twentieth century) and linking the content.

Source: Diaries of William Brewster, 1865-1919 (inclusive), Museum of Comparative Zoology, screenshot from the BHL website (March 2013).

These projects are examples of how data from BHL can be repurposed and mined,

how BHL engages users, how it reaches out beyond science and develops strategic partnerships.

Another way BHL contextualises its data is by selecting themes, identifying relevant items and putting them together into topical collections. An example is Charles Darwin's Library (Figure 7.5). Darwin's personal library was an essential resource for his research; it includes obscure texts and gives a sense of the breadth and depth of his reading. He annotated many of the items in his library and Darwin scholars have spent many years interpreting and transcribing those annotations. With JISC and NEH joint funding and the collaborative effort of Cambridge University Library, the Natural History Museum Library, American Museum of Natural History, Missouri Botanical Gardens and BHL, it is now possible to see the annotated papers, published texts and the interpretations of those annotation in one place. It is possible to follow Darwin's research and the development of his theories on natural selection.

Figure 7.5 Portrait of Charles Darwin (1868)

Note: 'The cultivation of natural science cannot be efficiently carried on without reference to an extensive library.' (Darwin 1847)

Source: Julia Margaret Cameron. Wikimedia Commons.

A further example of reusing content can been seen through the Biodiversity Library Exhibition (www.biodiversityexhibition.com), developed by BHL-Europe to allow the digital content from BHL to be drawn together to form virtual exhibitions on topical themes. This is a new way for the content to be presented together, when the physical items are held separately in libraries across Europe and elsewhere in the world. There are two topical exhibitions in place already. The first exhibition, *Expeditions*, brings to life through diaries and illustrations major historical explorations, including

expeditions such as the Voyage of the Beagle, the exploration of the North Pole and of North and South America. The second, *Spices*, features 52 plants used as spices (Figure 7.6). Virtual visitors to the exhibition see images, stories and trivia about each spice and can take away sweet and savoury recipes to try.

Figure 7.6 Coriander, *Spices* exhibition, Biodiversity Library Exhibition Source: *Spices* exhibition, screenshot from the Biodiversity Library Exhibition website (March 2013).

BHL has also extracted a small number of items and formed iTunes U collections. These generally comprise fewer than 30 items and are designed to be of interest to a more general audience, providing more digestible chunks of BHL. For instance, items have been selected for iTunes U collections such as the Rarest of the Rare (http://biodiversitylibrary.org/browse/collections). Not all of the iTunes collections can be viewed in BHL collections list. Some are only visible by searching in iTunes U.

Past and future copyright challenges

An example of how BHL responds to researcher needs and works with rights holders is the inclusion of the *Handbuch der Oologie* by Schönwetter and Meise (1960-92). This rare publication, which includes important egg measurements, is still in copyright and although heavily requested by egg curators around the world is very difficult to access. The UK's Natural History Museum Library is one of the few locations where you can view this item and, following due diligence, permission to scan the item was obtained. Thanks to the Meise family and current publisher rights holder Wiley-VH, this important text is now available on open access to the scientists who need it for their daily work.

While the Biodiversity Heritage Library has been extremely successful, the path

to success has not been problem free. Copyright laws are different across the world and this creates a dilemma when adding content from multiple countries. In some countries, copyrighted materials can be shared broadly within the country but not with the world but when these materials are deposited in the Internet Archive, BHL partner repository, they are open. Thus there is a need to track some items and prevent broad distribution. Maintaining BHL's sustainability has been discussed with concern because initial funding came through granting agencies. These discussions are ongoing and are being resolved regionally. For instance, in the United States BHL institutions pay membership fees to be part of BHL governance. In Europe BHL is a partner with Europeana. Other problems that require ongoing attention include interoperability, due to multiple kinds of technical and metadata requirements in different institutions. One of the consequences of interoperability is more duplication of content than is necessary. Currently when duplication happens, staff respond by consolidating duplicated records and ensuring that they are clear.

Conclusions

Considering that most of the literature in BHL is found in libraries in the United States and Europe but that most of the biodiversity is elsewhere, this project has been a great opportunity to redistribute the literature to the countries with the biodiversity. This redistribution enables scientists and others to do their work without extensive travel, thus reducing the resources needed to complete investigations of the biodiversity that is so quickly disappearing. The time, effort and passion of many colleagues in institutions all over the world who share their knowledge, expertise and time freely to create and maintain a truly global, open and extensive resource make BHL possible. Working in partnership has allowed the participating organisations to bring together and link their

collections in ways that provide a more complete research resource and negotiate with publishers and other rights holders to include material still in copyright. Collaboration on standards, best practice and infrastructure solutions has enabled higher quality images, metadata and support tools to be produced, long term digital storage solutions to be achieved and the sharing and cost reduction of scanning operations and best practices (Pilsk et al. 2010). While BHL is an extensive global virtual organization, it could not exist without the social networks and user feedback that keep the group motivated to move forward.

Acknowledgements

This paper reflects the work, commitment, creativity and expertise of many colleagues and the support of their institutions. The full list of BHL partner organisations and contributing institutions can been found on the BHL website at http://biodiversitylibrary.org/browse/contributors.

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Chapter 8

La Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration: a Central Venue and National Network - an On-going Challenge

Agnès Arquez Roth

Introduction

The Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration was part of the MeLa project research as a case study with a particular focus on networking (Innocenti 2012). This paper looks at three aspects of the project: its historical background, the challenging institutional and political contexts, and the deliberate choice of a collaborative process which placed networking at its heart.

To better understand the peculiar concept of partnerships and collaborations at the Cité we have to go back to a few features of the history of France that determined the composition of French society and the underlying concepts behind public policies.

France stands out among other nations in Europe as a country of voluntary and massive immigration since the nineteenth century. Every wave of immigration faces different conceptions of the nation and brings contradictory and complex behaviours. French singularity is expressed by the fact that, for two centuries, foreigners and immigrants have contributed politically, culturally, socially and economically to create the structure and diverse composition of French society today. One out of four French citizens has foreign grandparents. But France like all European countries faces more and more global immigration and identical problems of social and national cohesion. As Europe tries to define common policies on immigration, each society approaches the contemporary debate with its own history in mind. The precocious industrialisation of

France during the nineteenth century and the strong ties connecting the French people with the land it recently gained access to because of the Revolution created optimal conditions to welcome foreign populations.

At the same time French public policies developed a peculiar and strong concept of integration through the ideals of the French Republic concerning universal rights and laicism.

The Historical Background of the Project

Both the creation and the realisation of the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, an innovative national institution unique in Europe need to be regularly questioned (Arquez-Roth 2007; Hommes et Migrations 2007; Murphy 2007; Museum International 2007; Blanc-Chaleard 2006; Coroller 2010).

Having promoted scientific research, original interdisciplinary approaches and artistic and cultural initiatives, French associations and scholars have since 1992 been fierce supporters of a venue dedicated to immigration history and memory. In 2001 Driss El Yazami and Rémi Schwartz recommended the creation of a national centre linked to a network of partnerships (El Yazami, Schwartz and Zeggar 2001). In 2003 a government decision launched the concept of the institution under Jacques Toubon, then Minister of Culture and Garde des Sceaux - thus having the Republic recognise the diversity of the French population. Between 2003 and 2007, different phases in the design of the project allowed it to set its pedagogical, scientific, cultural, and civic objectives. At the end of 2006, the creation of the public establishment was key to the collaborative process of the project through partnerships with civil society.

⁴⁷Decree 2006-1388/11/16 for the creation of the public national organisation of the porte Dorée - Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration – art 2, http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-

numerique/documents/ext_media_fichier_295_joe_20061117_0266_0025.pdf.

⁴⁶ L'Association pour un musée de l'immigration was created in 1992.

The main missions of the Cité are to:

- change points of view on the representation of migrants and immigration
- recognise the participation of migrants to history of France
- improve knowledge of the sources and history of immigration
- coordinate a national network of partners and improve collaborations.

To achieve these, the Cité is administrated by four ministries: national education, research, culture and integration.

The fourth mission of the Cité is particularly relevant to the subject of networks and partnerships: 'to develop and coordinate a network of partners pursuing similar goals - be it with associations, local authorities, trade unions, companies or scientific and cultural institutions - all over France',48.

This network is placed at the heart of the project, being represented on the executive committee and sharing responsibility for co-producing the project through collaborations and partnerships throughout France.

The Challenging Institutional and Political Context

The original intentions of the project stemmed from the unacceptable gap between the Republic's principles of equality and the realities of life - be they social, political or economic - for a great number of French people with foreign origins (Noiriel 1996). The building process of the project took place in a very particular context following the 2002 presidential elections, in which the far-right party emerged unexpectedly strong. This situation made especially pressing the need to answer the main issues in French society around the tension between social cohesion and cultural diversity.

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⁴⁸ Translated from Decree 2006-1388/11/16 for the creation of the public national organisation of the porte Dorée - Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration - art 2, http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/ext media fichier 295 joe 20061117 0266 0025.pdf.

Acting on how immigration and immigrated populations are represented means changing views about the construction of French history. The network's partners were quickly convinced of the necessity to create processes for observing, analysing and valorising immigration history and memory. Therefore, the first project of the Cité was created as a response to the evolving political debate. The institution suggested raising contemporary debates outside the usual framework of public policies regarding integration and believed in using culture as a vector for transformation. This process of change would involve the whole of French society - thus justifying the recognition of the Cité as an institution of ordinary law rather than one specific to the integration of immigrated populations. The idea was to avoid confining the subject of immigration in an institution targeted to only that part of the population represented by immigrants. Therefore the Cité ensures that the institution addresses the specific subject of immigration while targeting the whole French society and its relationship to the subject.

The Reversal of the Situation at the Cité's Opening in 2007

Figure 8.1 Opening of the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in 2007

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c).

The context in which the Cité opened (Figure 8.1) changed the equilibrium in which it had been conceived and transformed the conditions of collaborations between the institution and its network. The Cité's origins in a social demand for migrant recognition were not acknowledged. Historians needed for knowledge of immigration history were dismissed after the creation of the Ministry of Immigration and National Identity. The state organisation supporting the initiatives of the network was substantially changed. Consequently, a few important associations disappeared and financial support for the network weakened. Immigration stories became a very important feature of the news.

The On-going Confusion about the Symbolism of the Cité

The question of recognition is based not only on collaborations and partnerships with the network but also on the symbolic choice of a central venue in Paris. The Palais de la Porte Dorée, built for the Paris Colonial Exhibition in 1931, was chosen to house the Cité. From the beginning the venue had been a controversial choice and introduced confusion between colonisation and immigration. But the challenge for the Cité is precisely to reverse the meaning of this palace of the Republic through its new directions and to develop both knowledge and recognition of migration through its cultural programming. The recognition of the participation of migrants in French society not only comes from the institution through its cultural programme but is sometimes reclaimed by migrants' movements themselves, as in 2011 with the Cité's occupation by sans papiers for four months. In 2012 an administrative decision introduced more confusion as regards to the audience with the creation of a new organisation, combining the tropical Aquarium and the Cité in the same institution with two inependent scientific and cultural objectives. The only understandable reason for this combination was historical: the Aquarium was built in 1931 at the opening of the Palais.

To attempt to overcome these problems, the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration therefore presents a prologue depicting the history of migrations in four periods: the turn of the twentieth century; the thirties; the so called *Trente Glorieuses* of 1945-1975; and the period up to the present day (Figure 8.2).

Figure 8.2 Panels with the history of migration at the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration *Source*: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c).

A permanent exhibition called *Repères* presents two centuries of immigration history in France in six themes and three focuses for each theme: contemporary art, an

ethnographic collection and a historical collection.

The strong characteristics of the Cité's cultural offer are the necessity of connecting history and the memory of immigration, acting between knowledge and recognition and being an institution dedicated to the whole of society and not only that part of the population represented by migrants.

Collaborations and Partnerships with the Network

At a national forum in 2007 the Cité's network, represented on the steering committee, asked for the creation of a department dedicated to the interaction between the Palais de la Porte Dorée and the network in order to build better collaborations. The new department for networking and partnerships represents, and is in charge of, the operational connectivity between the central venue and the network, at regional, national and European levels.

The objectives in mind during the coordination and development of the network were to build these collaborations through:

- a participative and collaborative process with the network
- an official role for civil society, through the network, to take part in the decisions
 of the steering committee
- an innovative set of cultural, educational and citizenship programmes
- a presentation of co-productions within the Palais de la Porte Dorée and/or in the regions.

From 2007 to 2010, the Cité tried to give visibility to both the highly symbolic venue of the Palais de la Porte Dorée and the network's partners in Paris and the regions.

Since the first national forum for the networking partners on January 13th

2007,⁴⁹ significantly diverse impelentations of these co-productions between the Cité and the different partners have put into question the very meaning of the project and the essential continuity of financial and political support. On what concepts should the network rely? What principles of connection and communication should be defined? The Cité attempts to find a balance between knowledge of immigration history, recognition of both the migrants' and the welcoming society's memory, and their relationship to the highly symbolic Palais de la Porte Dorée.

The intensively collaborative process between the partners in the Cité's network has brought both consensus and opposition - worrying at times but mostly allowing new opportunities for interregional initiatives (see Opale 2006).

First Phase of Collaborations

The first phase of collaboration included the formal recognition of the original nine expert associations that had been most active in the creation of the Cité. From 2007 on, the network expanded its partnership base beyond the original nine expert associations, becoming both more diverse and diffuse and a central structural element in the organisation.

A few examples of these collaborations were with:

- A national federation of Spanish emigrants' associations, FACEEF: an exhibition on a century of Spanish immigration in France; a film and a book on the commitment of Spanish women in French associations; and seminars on the history and memory of Spanish immigration (Figure 8.3).
- A photography collective AIDDA: reporting on the transformations of the Palais
 de la Porte Dorée over three years; three exhibitions at the Cité and in Brittany.

⁴⁹ Manifesto of the Cité's historical partners, 13 October 2007.

An association for the history and culture of Turkish immigration, Elele:

celebration of the Turkish year in France with a six-week cultural programme of

contemporary art exhibition (Figure 8.4), music, theatre, conferences and

debates, and the publication Revue Hommes et Migrations.

An association for history and memory of immigration in Aquitaine, Rahmi: a

symposium on education and immigration; a three-year programme of collecting

oral archives and two exhibitions; a programme on Portuguese immigration in

2013 (Figure 8.5).

Génériques, an association for private and public archives on immigration

history: a continuous collaboration for the permanent exhibition and temporary

exhibitions; an exhibition Générations on one century of the cultural history of

Maghreb people in France; artistic and cultural programming for *Générations*;

and a catalogue.

Figure 8.3 Collaboration with FACEEF

Note: poster of the Portraits de Migrations exhibition at the Cité nationale de

l'histoire de l'immigration, 2007

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c).

Figure 8.4 Collaboration with Elele

Note: contemporary art exhibition on Turkish art and culture at the Cité nationale

de l'histoire de l'immigration

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c)

Figure 8.5 Collaboration with Rahmi

Note: History and memory of immigration in Aquitaine, poster.

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c)

The constant debates on the form and nature of this network are evidence of the difficulty of rethinking and organising an ambitious project of this complexity, especially in light of the coexistence of different levels of geographical scale and expertise and the multiplicity of approaches among the participants. The deliberate and original choice of an institution formed of partnerships and cooperation systems challenges the professional practices of the Cité's interdisciplinary team and questions the continuity of political support, as well as the financial means of its regional actors. The network's partners participate and are represented in the Cité's committees and are particularly involved in the Direction Réseau et Partenariats (department for the network and partnerships).

This privileged position given to the nine original associations among the network had several different outcomes.

Co-productions between the network and every department of the Cité have only gradually been achieved. In the meantime, the department for the network and partnerships led almost all the projects of co-production with the network. Co-production and collaboration was concentrated in the hands of a few people and not included in the decision-making process and production of the different teams of the Cité. The network's representation inside and outside of the Cité was concentrated only in these nine associations. The opacity of criteria for choices in programming was often denounced.

The Cité's answer to improving collaboration with the network and assuming its national and regional mission was to develop more collective initiatives linked to the cultural programme of the Cité and to reinforce the coordination of the network in the regions by increasing information exchange.

The Cité decided to promote larger initiatives with the network in France and abroad.

The first example in 2008 was an exhibition conceived by two schools of fine art in Berlin and in Paris with the collaboration of middle schools, associations and local authorities in France and Germany. The purpose was to create a vision of civic society on the theme of the temporary exhibition *Etranger- Fremde in France and Germany de 1870 à nos jours*, presented at the Deutsches Historisches Museum and the Cité. This presentation, called *Identités en chantier*, was exhibited at the Kreuzberg Museum in Berlin at the same time as the large temporary exhibition at the DHM (Figure 6). A second similar initiative was put in place around the related temporary exhibition at the Cité, *Allez la France - Football et Immigration* in 2009 (Figure 7).

Figure 8.6 Temporary exhibition *Etranger- Fremde in France and Germany de 1870* à nos jours

Note: The exhibition was presented at the DHM and the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in 2008.

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c).

Figure 8.7 Temporary exhibition Allez la France - Football et Immigration

Note: The exhibition was presented at the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in 2009.

Source: Musée des cultures et d'histoire de l'immigration (c).

Second Phase: New Modalities of Co-productions for the Whole Network

Finally at the end of this first phase, the Cité and the network had to face a new context for collaborations: decreasing financial support for the network, especially the associations but also the Cité, and the necessity for better communication on the cultural

programme to better express its general mission.

The issue of collaborations with the network stressed the need to elaborate methods of improving equality of treatment between the Cité, the network and the regions.

The Cité therefore began to:

- Clarify the decision process for new themes of programming
- Define transparent processes for choices of collaborations
- Develop a policy of encouraging events to complement the programming
- Reinforce coordination and consultation with the representative associations in the regions
- Create new thematic working groups or seminars in the network, such as regional art and history museums, in cooperation with associations and scholars
- Sign partnership agreements for three years with local authorities
 (Département of Seine-Saint-Denis, Nancy), a research group on intercultural practices (Gis Ipapic) and regional associations of history and memory of immigration
- Sign partnership agreements on specific projects.

As a result, the network has a clearer image of its role in promoting projects as much as producing new content. Collaborations with the network are meeting the priorities of all the departments of the Cité. These partnerships nevertheless continue to question the practices and concepts of co-production, valorisation, recognition and heritage of immigration.

Collaborations with the museum are reinforced through systematic calls for

collecting archives, testimonies and objects for each exhibition. The partners representing the network at the steering committee are proposing new themes relevant to the regions and ongoing initiatives within the network.

Two temporary exhibitions (on the themes of borders and Italian immigration) are being planned, of which the network will be at the centre from conception to realisation, being part of a consulting committee for the curators. The museum is also recognising the network as producers of new resources and welcomes every year one exhibition called *Focus*. The museum is collecting testimonies through objects selected for their symbolic meaning and the network is particularly involved in that process. The Gallery of Gifts is another way of giving recognition through the inclusion of donations to the national heritage collection.

Artistic and cultural programming is very regularly endorsing partners' initiatives through the proposals of the network and partnerships department and after the decision of a programming committee.

Collaborations between the Cité's departments for editing, multimedia and mediatheque are very natural, the network having been the main producer and user of these resources even before the creation of the Cité. Mediation activities are very important for issues of transmission and transformation of attitudes. The network is contributing to the public and educational services through agreements with academic institutions and federations and with associations of *education populaire*. The Cité and the network are involved in a permanent sharing process with all different kinds of audiences, to help the understanding of the project and its evolution, including training teachers and professionals. The Cité is developing its abilities to participate in European and international interdisciplinary programmes, such as the European Year for

Intercultural Dialogue in 2008, the International Year for Turkey in 2009, the European seminar on Narratives for Europe with the European Cultural Foundation in 2011 and last year an international cultural program called Zuhause-Anderswo with the Institute Français in Bremen, Germany.

This second phase of collaborations with the network had a few very positive outcomes. Interdisciplinary approaches are particularly relevant to the theme of migrations. Collaborations between organisations different in size and nature are questioning the Cité's practices and are very creative, allowing it to go further in terms of content. Collaboration between a national institution and a very large network requires regulation, equality of treatment and clear procedures from the decision-making to the realisation process.

It also brings awareness of the necessity of fair conditions between partners, to guarantee a balanced collaboration. The foundation for collaboration can of course be in agreement on economic equality but also on exchange of expertise. Projects between partners - different in size and nature - are dependent on the varying impacts of the regional dimension and differences in timescale, which could eventually become obstacles to collaboration.

The Cité needs to follow the earlier aim of the project: to collaborate with a strong network that it has to support. The context in which these collaborations are taking place is constantly changing through the effect of contingences which are also evolving, according to their own logic. These include the political context, the common representation of immigration exacerbated by current events and the media, regional and institutional transformations, changes in economic conditions, and the intellectual evolution of the concepts of recognition, heritage, narratives (UNESCO 2003), research

and issues of transmission and mediation.

The Cité is in the middle and will always be in the middle of these tensions. The complexity of this institution and its mission of collaboration with civic society through a network confirm the necessity of promoting history, knowledge and education. The Cité also has to be able to put distance between itself and current debates about immigration and therefore change the image and representation of migrants and of the whole of society in its diversity.

Conclusions

The issue of recognition is the backbone of the collaborations between the Cité and its network. These collaborations facilitate and allow discussion of an unspoken part of French history. More than anything, inclusion in national heritage gives the strongest symbolic sign of the recognition of migrants' participation in the history of France. Participation in, or collaboration with, civic society will never resolve on its own the invisibility of part of the nation's population and history, without the recognition that would bring about a transformation in attitudes. The Cité as a museum does not aim at recognising different communities separated from one another but to reveal a *common self* through the whole of society as its own testimony of diversity.

Six years after opening, the institution is very keen to disseminate a few ideas that have been confirmed through experience:

- Interdisciplinary approaches reveal intercultural practices and create innovation.
- Patrimonial cultural action as a wonderful vector for transformation, for contributing to a political issue and for participating in contemporary debate.
- It is a national project grounded in local territorial issues, open to European perspectives.

• It is an opportunity for experimental collaboration between a national institution and civic society through a network of partners, to experiment with new processes of collaboration and co-production at every step of a project.

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Chapter 9

On Their Own: Telling Child Migrant Stories in a Transnational Context

Kim Tao

Introduction

In 2010 the Australian National Maritime Museum (ANMM) collaborated with Merseyside Maritime Museum (MMM) at National Museums Liverpool (NML) to develop a travelling exhibition about British child migration schemes. This subject has been surveyed in a number of books and films over the past two decades but no museums have considered the schemes, their motivations or the conflicting experiences of child migrants, in an international context. This paper examines the use of transnational collaboration to explore shared local histories within a global framework.

It also reflects on the challenges of presenting marginalised histories in museums, the

power of personal stories to engage audiences and the role of exhibitions and new

technology in helping to tell these stories.

Both the ANMM and MMM are located in busy waterside venues. The MMM opened in 1980 in Liverpool's historic Albert Dock on the banks of the River Mersey. The museum's collections document the significance of Liverpool as a gateway to the world, particularly through its role in the transatlantic slave trade and mass emigration from Europe to the New World.

The ANMM opened in 1991 and is located in Darling Harbour, a lively leisure and tourist district near the centre of Sydney. The museum interprets Australia's links with the sea, through themes including indigenous culture, European exploration, sport, commerce, defence and immigration.

Telling migration stories is a key part of the ANMM's brief, as nearly all of

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Australia's migrants arrived by sea until the mid-1970s. The museum has more than 10,000 objects related to immigration in its collection and a 100-metre long bronze Welcome Wall engraved with the names of 20,000 migrants. Museum exhibitions have explored the major waves of migration to Australia, and also lesser-known stories.

A Hidden History

The travelling exhibition, *On Their Own - Britain's Child Migrants*, ⁵⁰ profiles a group who were an invisible part of Commonwealth history for decades. They were the lost children of the empire - the more than 100,000 British children sent to Canada, Australia, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and New Zealand between the 1860s and 1960s. Children did not travel with mothers or fathers, but alone, through schemes which removed them from their families, or from workhouses, orphanages and children's homes. It was believed that they would have a better life working in the clean expanses of the British Empire, where they were a source of much-needed labour.

Contrary to popular belief, few of these children were orphans. Many came from families who were unable to care for them. The lives of these children changed dramatically and their fortunes varied. Some succeeded in creating new futures, while others suffered lonely, brutal childhoods. Today many former child migrants are still coming to terms with their experiences.

Figure 9.1 *On Their Own* at the Australian National Maritime Museum, 2011 *Source*: Australian National Maritime Museum.

Child migration emerged as a solution to the deprivation and neglect that was endemic in early nineteenth-century Britain. During this period rapid social change resulted in a growing number of destitute and homeless children in cities like London,

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⁵⁰ See Australian National Maritime Museum and National Museums Liverpool (2010).

Liverpool and Glasgow. Organisations such as the Children's Friend Society and Ragged Schools Union began sending these children to new opportunities in Canada and Australia. However numbers remained small until the 1860s, when a group of philanthropists led by Maria Rye, Annie Macpherson, Thomas Barnardo and William Quarrier sought to remove deprived children from the evils of city life to the healthier environments of the British dominions. They also promoted the economic benefits of child migration; it cost £12 per year to maintain a child in an institution but only £15 to send them to the colonies.

Canada would receive 100,000 child migrants, or 'home children', as they came to be known. In 1925 shifting attitudes to child migration saw the Canadian Government introduce a temporary ban on unaccompanied children under 14 entering the country. This ban was made permanent in 1928 and Australia then became the main destination for Britain's child migrants.

The shift to Australia was spearheaded by the Fairbridge Society and Dr Barnardo's Homes, which sought 'good British stock' to populate, settle and ultimately maintain a white Australia. The Australian government actively pursued the child migration schemes in its post-World War II 'populate or perish' immigration policy, receiving more than 7,000 children until the schemes officially ended in the late 1960s.

Child migration was then no longer viable because of shifting social attitudes and changes to welfare practice in the United Kingdom, which favoured keeping children with their families, or placing them in foster care rather than institutions. With the end of the schemes, the institutions began to close from the 1970s.

The story of Britain's child migrants remained largely hidden until the late 1980s, when Nottingham social worker Margaret Humphreys formed the Child

Migrants Trust to help reunite families and raise awareness of the schemes. The story came to the attention of the media and general public with the release of the book (Bean and Melville 1989) and television documentary *Lost Children of the Empire* (1989) and the ABC-BBC mini-series *The Leaving of Liverpool* (1992) (see also Humphreys 1994).

After years of lobbying by former child migrants and their families, the issue also became part of the political agenda. Government inquiries held in the UK (Health Select Committee 1998) and Australia (Senate Community Affairs References Committee 2001) condemned the schemes as fundamentally flawed. Submissions and evidence given at the inquiries revealed horrific stories of abuse, neglect and deception. In 2009 then Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made an emotional apology to former child migrants and Forgotten Australians⁵¹ who suffered in institutional care. Rudd (2009) acknowledged the particular pain of child migrants who were 'robbed of your families, robbed of your homeland, regarded not as innocent children but regarded instead as a source of child labour.' In 2010 former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown apologised on behalf of the nation to vulnerable former child migrants who suffered hardship under misguided schemes.

Developing On Their Own

The ANMM began developing *On Their Own - Britain's Child Migrants* two years before these government apologies became a reality. The museum partnered with NML to situate the compelling story of child migration within its global and historical context. This was a very specific and important aim. Previous museum projects on child

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The Forgotten Australians are the 500,000 children who experienced life in an orphanage, children's home or other form of out-of-home care in Australia during the twentieth century (Senate Community Affairs References Committee 2004: xv). The Forgotten Australians include indigenous children, Australian-born children and child migrants from Britain and its former colony of Malta (Harrison 2008: 3).

migration have tended to articulate this story in either local or national terms. For instance, recent Australian exhibitions have concentrated on the local histories of the Fairbridge Farm School in Molong (Migration Heritage Centre New South Wales 2006) and the Dr Barnardo's Farm School at Mowbray Park (Lyon 2010), while *The Golden Bridge* exhibition at the Heatherbank Museum of Social Work covered child migration from Scotland to Canada (Glasgow Caledonian University 2007). With *On Their Own*, the ANNM and NML wanted to reposition these local and national stories in the broader landscape of transnational histories, and to reach international audiences through a travelling exhibition and associated web program.

The ANMM led the project, and was responsible for design, production, loan documentation, object conservation and tour management. NML looked after the audiovisuals, website and hardware. Research, content development and stakeholder consultation was undertaken by curators at both museums.

On Their Own was shown at the ANMM from November 2010 to May 2011. Since June 2011 the exhibition has toured to: the Migration Museum in Adelaide, South Australia; the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, Victoria; and the Western Australian Maritime Museum in Fremantle, Western Australia. It is currently (December 2012) at the National Archives in Australia's capital, Canberra.

The Exhibition

On Their Own is designed to take visitors on a journey, from the bustling dockside to the excitement of the ship voyage, the shock of arriving in a new land and the subsequent search for family and identity in adult life. It uses a mix of artefacts, films, interactives and oral testimonies. Objects were lent by former child migrants, as well as institutions such as Barnardo's, the Christian Brothers, Southampton City Archives and

Quarriers Village near Glasgow.

The exhibition also drew from rich photographic records, in particular the evocative group departure portraits that convey the sheer volume of children being sent from Britain for a century, but also tried to balance this sense of volume with the power of personal, individual, lived experiences.

Figure 9.2 Exhibition identity featuring Stewart Lee

Source: Australian National Maritime Museum.

An image of four-year-old Stewart Lee sailing to Australia on SS *Strathnaver* was chosen as the visual identity for the exhibition, as it was felt vital to put a human face to the past. Stewart and his three older brothers were sent to the Fairbridge Farm School in Molong, near Orange, New South Wales, in 1955. Their parents thought they would have a better life in Australia. Sadly they didn't. The image of Stewart, dressed in oversized shorts and clutching a deck quoit, was used on all the exhibition and marketing material. It gives a face to the mass of child migrants sent to Commonwealth countries. It is the first image that visitors see and it immediately sets the framework for the organisers' approach to the exhibition – to explore a major international movement through compelling personal stories and experiential narratives.

At the entrance to the exhibition visitors are invited to meet 12 child migrants in the Wall of Children. The wall includes portraits, poignant quotes about leaving Britain and a memento each child brought from home. Stewart Lee's memento is a little photograph his mother had carried in her purse. It is the only picture of them together.

The Wall of Children captures the emotional impact of departure and leaving the familiar. It is also the starting point for an interactive trail, where visitors can pick up one of four identification cards and follow the journey of their child through the

exhibition. The identification cards personalise the child migrant's journey. They allow visitors to interact with moving personal stories, identify with the child's experience and discover layers of information, such as the range of schemes, the complex family circumstances, the situations to which children were sent and the effect on their adult lives.

The identification card trail finishes at the Wall of Former Child Migrants at the end of the exhibition. This features 12 adults reflecting on the legacy of child migration, along with an item representing the impact of the schemes on their lives. Stewart Lee's item is a photograph of his family home in Manchester. It was 40 years before Stewart returned to Manchester and was reunited with his five other siblings, including a sister he never knew about.

Case Studies

The main part of the exhibition is New Lands, New Lives, which presents 15 case studies of child migrants in Canada and Australia. The case studies are designed to showcase an individual perspective. They provide an opportunity to be heard and believed, for those who were neither heard nor believed when they were powerless children.

Highlighted is one of the scheme's success stories - 14-year-old Frank Bray who was sent to Canada by the Liverpool Sheltering Homes in 1906. Frank was posted to a farm in North Clarendon, Quebec, and later wrote to his brothers and sister, who remained in Southampton, to say, 'I was sorry I came at first, but it soon passed off and now I am as happy as a lark.' Frank's master Mr Hodgins bought him a farm of his own to run when he turned 18.

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⁵² Frank Bray, letter, 7 April 1906, Southampton City Archives D/Z 591/1.

A comparison is made between the Australian cases of 12-year-old David Summerfield and eight-year-old Ian Bayliff. David had been placed in a Barnardo's home in Sussex after his mother died of tuberculosis during World War II. In 1950 he jumped at the chance to undertake agricultural training in Australia and set sail on SS *Maloja*, bound for the Barnardo's Farm School at Mowbray Park in Picton, south of Sydney. David says, 'I was happy at Picton. I loved the sunshine and farm work. I thank Barnardo's for sending me to Australia, away from the wet and cold of England.'53

Ian Bayliff was sent to the Fairbridge Farm School in Molong in 1955 with his three half-brothers Sydney, Graham and Stewart Lee. Fairbridge Molong was one of three Australian farm training schools established under the principles of Kingsley Fairbridge, a South African-born Rhodes scholar who sought to alleviate the plight of disadvantaged children by sending them to populate and farm the rural expanses of the British Empire. Fairbridge Farm Schools were virtually self-sufficient, with a dairy, bakery, vegetable garden, poultry, sheep and cattle. Children lived in small cottages, attended school until the age of 14 and then spent 12–18 months training in farm work on the property. However, unlike David Summerfield, Ian saw no future in farm work and ran away from Fairbridge in 1963.

Catholic migration is explored through the experiences of two child migrants who went to Western Australia in 1953: five-year-old Raymond Brand and ten-year-old Yvonne Radzevicius (née O'Donnell). Raymond's mother had signed him over for adoption in England, but instead he was sent to Australia by Father Hudson's Homes in Birmingham. Raymond's migration consent form, which he lent for display in the exhibition, notes he was 'suitable for migration' with 'average build, no visible defects,

⁵³ Summerfield, personal interview, 8 May 2009.

intelligence reaction favourable'.

Raymond was initially placed in the Christian Brothers' St Vincent's home in the Perth suburb of Wembley, before being moved to Castledare Junior Orphanage, where he was repeatedly physically and sexually abused by his carers. He was later transferred to Bindoon Boys Town north of Perth, and subjected to further brutality and humiliating verbal abuse. Raymond left Bindoon with a primary school education and bearing mental scars that remain to this day.

Yvonne Radzevicius only learned her real name when she was given an inscribed suitcase before leaving Glasgow in 1953. For ten years the nuns at Nazareth House in Cardonald had called her Marie. They also told her that her parents were dead and she had no siblings.

Yvonne grew up in a highly disciplined atmosphere at Nazareth House in Geraldton, Western Australia. After finishing her schooling she worked in the kitchen, preparing three meals a day for 200 residents.

In 1979 Yvonne returned to Scotland and was shocked to discover her mother was alive and she had three sisters and two brothers. Yvonne only met her mother once. Two weeks later she was identifying her body. As a result Yvonne had a breakdown and spent the next two years in psychiatric care.

Figure 9.3 Case study of Yvonne Radzevicius

Source: Australian National Maritime Museum.

One of Yvonne's few possessions from Glasgow was a photograph of the girls at Nazareth House in the 1940s, which she lent for the exhibition. When the exhibition was showing in Sydney the ANNM received a call from a museum visitor from France, Ita, who was also at Nazareth House in the 1940s. She had seen the photo in the

exhibition and wanted to get in touch with Yvonne. It turns out Ita is standing behind Yvonne in the photo. Yvonne later emailed the museum, saying:

You have opened another pathway to the past for me as I have tried, in vain, to find some of the girls that were in the convent in Glasgow with me. This must certainly be another feather in the cap of the museum as nobody else has been able to put me in touch with girls with whom I spent the first ten years of my life. I'm still getting over the pleasant shock of it all (Radzevicius, email, 2 March 2011).

This was a wonderful, but unexpected, outcome of the exhibition, which has shown ANMM and NML staff the value of telling people's stories and presenting living history. These stories, while intensely personal, also encompassed universal themes of family, identity and belonging - themes that resonated strongly with our visitors. It was a joy to wander through the exhibition and see visitors - strangers - engaging in conversation and sharing their stories. It is clear evidence of the power of people stories to move and inspire visitors.

Visitor Responses

There was a remarkably positive response to the exhibition, both in the visitor comments book and the online message board at www.britainschildmigrants.com. The comments revealed a powerful emotional and intellectual response, even from young children, and form a compelling archive of individual memories and social perspectives.

Figure 9.4 Visitor comment from Cory Carey, 2010

Source: Australian National Maritime Museum.

They also highlighted the enticing potential for museums, the internet and new technology to reunite families and friends around the world. For example, through the message board, we were able to reconnect two siblings who were sent to Australia after World War II, as well as an Australian man and an American man who had sheltered together as children during the Blitz. The message board created a sense of community

among those who often suffered alone and also facilitated an international dialogue on the legacy of child migration. Many of our visitors were surprised to learn of this forgotten chapter in history, remarking, 'How could I have grown up in the UK yet never heard of England's stolen generation' (anonymous, visitor comment, 17 October 2011), and, 'It's kind of ironic to come to Australia to learn so much about Canada' (Nicolette Kipling, visitor comment, 12 January 2011). Other visitors questioned the government policies that gave rise to the child migration schemes.

The Complex Historiography

The ANMM and NML developed *On Their Own* against a changing political landscape, which culminated with the Australian and British Governments apologising for their role in schemes that were once considered generous philanthropy, but are now widely condemned as flawed social policy. The exhibition development process raised fascinating questions about the construction - and deconstruction - of history, about changing perceptions of childhood and welfare, and the complex historiography of Britain's child migrants.

Dr Stephen Constantine from Lancaster University has examined shifting constructions of child migrant history and identity, particularly in Canada. He argues that the shame or stigma once associated with being a child migrant has now been replaced by a sense of pride (Constantine 2003: 154). Constantine links this to the reappraisal of child migrants as victims of oppression who, in spite of rough beginnings, have made positive contributions to society. This certainly creates a distinctive sense of self and collective belonging for many former child migrants and their descendants.

In Australia, over the past decade, there have been determined efforts to document and amplify this previously silent history before ageing migrants pass on.

Former child migrants have published their memoirs and taken part in oral history projects, and a number of memorials acknowledging child migrants have been unveiled across the country. The group referred to as the Forgotten Australians has now become the Remembered Australians. The ANMM and NML are proud that *On Their Own* has contributed to the body of work on child migrants and helped to validate their place in Commonwealth history.

In 2011 *On Their Own* won the IMAGinE Award for best exhibition from Museums & Galleries New South Wales and Museums Australia. The award recognised the value and impact of presenting marginalised histories, for both museums and audiences, as well as the fresh perspectives attained through international collaboration.

Challenges

Like all projects, the ANMM and NML collaboration was not without its challenges. Some of these were technical, such as difficulties with sending large files between the ANMM and NML, and disagreements over graphic design based on each institution's preferences, house style and understanding of its local market.

One of the biggest challenges was the change to the project budget following widespread cuts to museum funding in the UK in 2010. This impacted on the delivery of certain elements including an international schools learning program, which would have provided a valuable opportunity to connect school children in the UK and Australia, and potentially Canada, to explore current attitudes to child migration and children's welfare.

The Canadian perspective is an area that might have been developed further. It is estimated that 12 per cent of Canada's population - some four million people - are descended from British child migrants. While the ANMM and NML had initial

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discussions about the *On Their Own* programme with the Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21 in Halifax, Nova Scotia, we were not able to establish a partnership with them. Without a representative on the ground in Canada, the project was only able to refract the Canadian history, rather than engage in depth with the community of home child descendants to incorporate contemporary perspectives on child migration. One of the initiatives the ANMM would like to pursue in the near future is an international colloquium with speakers from all the nations affected by the child migration schemes - the sending countries in the UK (including its former colony of Malta), and the receiving countries Canada, Australia, Zimbabwe and New Zealand. The colloquium would provide a forum for academics, researchers, policy makers, curators, historians, authors, artists and former child migrants to participate in a multidisciplinary, transnational dialogue about the legacy of British child migration.

In terms of the exhibition, the greatest challenge has been the issue of representation. Some visitors were disappointed that their institution was not profiled in *On Their Own*. Due to space limitations it was not possible to include every organisation involved in child migration. Case studies were selected to provide a balance of experiences, time periods and locations, and also on the basis of the availability of objects, documentation and oral histories to construct a museum display. However attempts have been made to expand representation as *On Their Own* tours, by collaborating with local venues and communities to develop artistic responses, public programmes and web content that complement the themes of the exhibition while further interrogating this contested subject. Thus the exhibition and website have grown and evolved with the tour, befitting the living history approach that has been taken.

In 2011 the ANMM supported Melbourne's Immigration Museum to create a

small display, *Stolen Childhoods*, which focused on the experiences of child migrants in the states of Victoria and Tasmania. In 2012 the ANMM partnered with the arts organisation Community Arts Network Western Australia to capture the responses of former child migrants during a visit to the former Christian Brothers' Clontarf institution in Perth. The resulting film features a collection of oral histories and photographs that explore the intergenerational legacy of child migration. Both the Melbourne and Perth projects were shown alongside the main exhibition, giving a voice to marginalised groups in local and regional areas and drawing out their shared histories.

Conclusions

It is this concept of shared histories that has been the most rewarding outcome of the transnational collaboration between the ANMM and NML on the travelling exhibition *On Their Own - Britain's Child Migrants*. Many exhibition visitors were surprised to discover a hidden chapter in Commonwealth history and learn more about their local British or Canadian heritage while visiting an Australian museum. This demonstrates the wonderful possibilities, in this interconnected world, for exhibitions and personal stories to remind people of the significance of their local histories to broader international narratives. The powerful visitor responses to the exhibition, combined with the opportunities of reuniting families and friends around the world through new technology, also reveal the capacity for museums to have a very personal impact on a global scale. In bridging the local and the global, the personal and the universal, *On Their Own* has provided a unique opportunity to tell stories of British child migrants, from Cardonald to Clontarf, in a transnational context.

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Chapter 10

Roma Routes: Heritage as a Path to Dialogue

Patricia Reynolds

Introduction

This paper presents a case study of a project which permitted the exploration, in

practice, of many of the themes of the EU-funded collaborative research project

European Museums in an Age of Migrations (MeLa).

Roma Routes was a two year project (2010-2012) designed to create sustainable

networks of institutions and communities and to provide a platform for promotion of

Roma cultural heritage through a website related to activities, celebrations, festivals,

and heritage collections. The project was funded by the European Union's Culture

Programme.

Roma Routes was an opportunity for Roma communities (including those who

identify as Gypsies), who are the descendents of migrant populations that have been

distinct within other European populations since the Middle Ages, to explore their

heritage, and present it to non-Roma. Roma heritage is both rich and diverse and this

has been reflected in the sheer range of activities delivered as part of this project. It is a

heritage that is much misunderstood and often denigrated - it is also in many instances

and places invisible to non-Roma communities in any but the most negative of ways.

For non-English readers, it should be explained that in modern English, the term

'Gypsy' has been reclaimed, and is a term used by non-Gypsies with respect - unlike

some of its cognates in other languages, where it is a racist slur.

Unfortunately, there is no space here to present a detailed history of the Roma in

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Europe, which provides the essential context to the Roma Routes project. 'Who calls who what' is an important strand in the history of Europe and of the Roma in Europe in particular. It has been argued that Roma is a non-Roma construct. Questioning 'who are these people?' - and the pre-emptive answering of that question - stretches back to the Middle Ages (Council of Europe n.d.).

There is debate - from the perspectives of cultural anthropologists, historians and linguists - as to when the movement of the people who came to be called Roma began. Linguistically, genetically and culturally, there are links with India and this is usually given as their origin - but the exact place and condition of the ancestral groups is unknown. A recent genome study (Mendizabal et al. 2012) argues that there have been Romani (the ethnic group including Roma) in the Balkans since at least about 900 years ago, when migration began to other parts of Europe. This is supported by the recent discovery of a tenth-century Anglo-Saxon skeleton in Norwich with Romani mitochondrial DNA. The migration of people from India to Europe is thus much older than documentary evidence suggests - the first historical record of Roma in Europe is a Byzantine document of 1280, recording tax paid by 'Egyptians' (Ayers 2011, Council of Europe n.d.).

Heritage Practice and Roma Heritage

As a heritage practitioner, the author's work with Roma seems to have more similarities to working with the heritage of indigenous people than it does to working with migrant communities. For example, the more recent migrants of Europe - those who have crossed borders in the last 100 years say - tend to be moving from one settled community to another settled community. This is the case with many migrations of Roma within Europe during recent years. But while many Roma 'went to brick', as the

English Gypsies say, several groups remained nomads.

Nomads challenge our ideas of boundaries. While, as Rogers and Hammerstein observed, there is no reason why the cowboy and the farmer can't be friends, there are many reasons why the nomad and the settled person are not friends. One of these is land. Alongside the 'traditional idea of museums and libraries as places for consolidation, conservation and transmission of the identity of a dominant social group' (University of Glasgow n.d.), it is arguable that museums, libraries and particularly archives are places for the consolidation, conservation and transmission of knowledge about property ownership -and particularly land ownership. Work within the realm of cultural organisations to include narratives from communities with a different relationship to land is, therefore, one that challenges the nature of the historic record, as well as the scope, of the institution.

Much cultural work is place-specific. Collecting policies, for example, often refer to a locality. For publicly funded organisations, the principle seems to be that people within a given locality pay for the service and the heritage of the locality should therefore be the focus of the service. There is, of course, an alternative view that the organisation is there to bring the rest of the world into the locality, but this has diminished as this role has been taken over by mass media. Today, it is commonplace for international issues to be presented with a local context (e.g. Hooper-Greenhill et al. 2004).

The idea of curating the local has a parallel in attitudes to social responsibility. In England, one can see a shift from the medieval world, where hospitals and other means of social relief might typically be universal, or centred in a trade or family, to the early modern period, when we see increasing numbers of charities and civic institutions

with a local emphasis. The underlying assumption is that if you can make a person who troubles you someone else's problem, you no longer have to be part of a solution.

Roma also have different beliefs about material culture and different practices to the mainstream culture (Okely 2011, see also Figure 10.1). The written record of the Roma is almost always non-Roma authored and is at best from a tradition of benevolent antiquarianism, at worst from a tradition of racist suppression.

Figure 10.1 A family at the Derby, posed with their possessions

Source: by kind permission of Bourne Hall Museum

Partners and Actions

The Roma Routes partnership - between Surrey Heritage (Surrey County Council, UK), the Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma (Heidelberg, Germany), the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Athens, Greece), the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (Ljubljana, Slovenia) and the Asociatia Nationala de Turism Rural, Ecologic si Cultural (Maramures, Romania) - brought together five very different institutions, with different collections (or none), with different funding and different relationships with their Roma communities. A toolkit of lessons learned was compiled throughout the project based on reflections by the partners on the progress of the project, specific issues arising from activities and suggestions for the future. The partnership illustrated how nomadic and immigrant communities can be viewed by organisations, generations later than the migration itself.

The UK partner, Surrey Heritage, focussed on an archive with the kind of written record described above, but which has a growing relationship with a number of Gypsy communities and a collecting policy that has seen the inclusion of oral and video histories and photographs taken by community members. For Surrey Heritage, the

project included making better use of existing archival material: for example, a DVD that had been made previously recording aspects of Surrey Gypsy life and individual experience was re-mastered to make it accessible for a wider audience, particularly younger school children. Working beyond boundaries was perhaps easier in Surrey, as working with the fluidity of boundaries was already commonplace, since the county has been progressively diminishing - until 1889 it included land in London up to the Thames (see Surrey Heritage n.d.).

Surrey Heritage put on events at the Epsom Derby (a major horse race) which brought the history of British Roma and Gypsies to the attention of an enormous crowd. Members of the local Gypsy and Traveller communities were supported by Surrey Heritage staff in promoting the culture and longstanding history of Gypsies and Travellers at the Derby. There was a display of traditional vardos (horse-drawn wagons), modern trailers, Roma history and children's activities. Professional performances by English, Polish and French Roma artists were complemented by amateur performances, including entrants to the South East heat of the 'Travellers Got Talent' competition and the work of Rhythmix (a charity promoting musical participation).

Gypsy Day events at local museums allowed more intimate settings for members of each community to learn more about each other. These were organised collaboratively by the UK Roma representatives, Surrey Heritage, Bourne Hall Museum and the Old Kiln Museum. The days include traditional cooking on the campfire, exhibition of vardos, singing and musical performances by members of the local community and professionals, exhibitions, information on Gypsy family history and, most importantly, an opportunity to talk and learn about Gypsy heritage and culture.

The Documentation and Cultural Centre of German Sinti and Roma ran a

diverse series of engagement activities, including performances, an art café about the fairy tale culture of Sinti and Roma, film screenings, exhibitions, and lectures. The series was aimed at a range of audiences - from families to academics - and encompassed the lives of Sinti and Roma across Europe.

The Byzantine and Christian Museum (BXM) also put on a number of cultural events - including film screenings, concerts and story-telling - in collaboration with the museum's Roma representatives. One, *Roma at the Byzantine Museum: Historical routes and current searches*, took an interdisciplinary approach to the Roma historical presence and activity within the Hellenic geographical area, and was the occasion for a discussion about current issues concerning the Greek Roma. The events included a number of discussions, which used the 'safe space' of the museum to explore difficult subjects.

BXM mounted and hosted three exhibitions to encourage dialogue between Roma and non-Roma artists. There were two photographic exhibitions of work by young Roma in Athens and Crete. T.A.M.A. (Temporary Autonomous Museum for All) included an art installation *The Roma Coat*, by the non-Roma artist Maria Papadimitriou, which was subsequently presented at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. One highly innovative aspect of the work at the BXM was the training of 'cultural mediators': Roma were trained in the design, implementation and evaluation of educational activities for various audiences. The programme was intended to open up museological practice and mainstream Byzantine and post-Byzantine heritage to the Roma now living in Greece. In tandem with this, new interpretative activities were designed for the permanent exhibitions. The aim of the activities was to enable participants to explore elements that connect the past with the current lives of Roma. As

in the UK, the concept of boundary was important: activities took place in a framework which considered the Byzantine world as a dynamic space, connected with, influenced by, and influencing many different worlds. The piloting of these activities and other parts of the project were recorded and used as the basis of a DVD documentary.

Activities organised by the Slovene Ethnographic Museum (SEM) largely took place within the Romano Chon festival, which aims to engage the public in the fight against intolerance, prejudice and exclusion. Exhibitions included one by Zsuzsanna Ardo, a Hungarian-born, London-based photographer, who curated an exhibition of her own work. Other activities were performances of music, dance and poetry, and film, video, dance and music workshops for children and adults. Economic conditions forced SEM to significantly scale back its contribution to the Roma Routes activities.

The Asociatia Nationala de Turism Rural, Ecologic si Cultural (ANTREC) organised a summer camp in August 2010. The objective was to address discrimination and negative stereotyping by promoting intercultural dialogue between 15 Roma and 15 non-Roma young people. They identified elements of Roma cultural heritage and explored how they could be a medium for constructive dialogue. Summer camp activities were presented on TV as an hour long talk show, which was repeated three times in a month as a result of viewer requests.

The summer camp had a particularly wide reach through dissemination to other heritage professionals: it was presented as an example of good practice to the National Museum Education Conference in Bucharest; at a conference in Rajasthan, India, and at the International Committee of Museums (ICOM) activities competition in February 2011 where ANTREC received the special ICOM prize.

ANTREC also commissioned a survey collecting a range of social and cultural

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information about the Roma living in Maramures in northern Romania. The research looked at Roma culture in transition between traditional and contemporary influences, comparing the cultural and socio-economic situation of Roma and non-Roma, and mapped existing Roma heritage. In the UK, too, a database of information was compiled on artefacts and archives held in institutions such as museums, archives and universities.

A primary legacy of the project is the Roma Routes website, which includes information about the project and its partners, news, events and contacts. The website has been made sustainable by an associate partner, the Rural Media Company. The interactive site continues, enabling a wide range of people to contribute by adding to the directory and events listings (see Roma Routes 2012).

A further objective was to develop dialogue between Roma and non-Roma groups in non-confrontational situations. The first way that this has been achieved was through the delivery of the project itself, which involved close collaboration between heritage organisations and representatives of Roma communities. Secondly, the project built a transnational network of heritage organisations with interests in Roma culture. This project has established lasting relationships and plans for future work. Thirdly, the project worked to develop a transnational network of Roma in order to create opportunities for understanding and exchange of ideas and knowledge about Roma cultural heritage at grass-roots level. We have assembled a core of actively engaged people who have been able to begin a dialogue concerning these issues, and through their further networks have been able to extend this conversation more widely. The project aimed to promote future action and to act as a catalyst for further transnational co-operation between Roma and heritage organisations and between Roma

communities. More broadly, the programme of events has enabled dialogue between many people for the first time, leading to better understanding and less prejudice. For example, in the UK Surrey Police and mental health teams are present at Gypsy Day events - professions whose relationships with Roma people are usually in situations of stress and conflict.

The European Context

The Roma Routes project took place under the third objective of the EU's Culture Programme (2007-2013), Intercultural Dialogue (European Commission 2013). It drew heavily upon the precepts set out in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue 2008 (European Commission 2008). These acknowledge, for example, that 'social exclusion is rooted in prejudice and discrimination against Roma people, based on common stereotypes' and go on to argue that 'effective policies for Roma inclusion require a solid understanding of Roma culture, history & traditions, language, values and perceptions' (European Commission 2012). Roma Routes directly addressed the first and was a delivery mechanism for the second. In all instances this project has been carefully constructed to bring out both what Roma and non-Roma heritage have in common and what differentiates them. During the life of Roma Routes, the intercultural dialogue approach has been developed and taken forward by the EU and been consolidated in the setting up of the Intercultural Dialogue and Roma Culture initiative.

In large part the activities supported the 'cross border mobility of those working in the cultural sector' (the first objective of the EU Culture programme) and delivered a series of artistic events with input from both professional and less formal performers and artists, as well as a number of renowned social commentators as conference speakers and similar. At the same time, by carefully integrating funded activities into

larger programmes of work, they were able to contribute to the process of highlighting and signposting the work of a large number of other groups and individuals working in the cultural field. This work in turn contributed to the 'transnational circulation of cultural and artistic output' (the second objective of the EU Culture programme).

Much of the work which was showcased during project events and many of the speaker contributions at project conferences highlighted the extent and effect of the abnormally high degrees of poverty and social exclusion faced by members of the Roma community. It was helpful to be able to set this in the context of the 2010 European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion, which served as a parallel means of raising awareness levels. 2011 was the European Year of Volunteering: volunteering as researchers, performers and heritage interpreters played an important part in key elements of the Roma Routes project.

Addressing the focus of EU Culture Programme funding on European integration was challenging. Issues of diversity and commonality were spontaneously raised from the first meeting and conference onward. The participants were exploring identities constructed and enacted very differently in different parts of Europe: in some, language was important; in others, experience of nomadism; in yet others, performance arts. For many Roma, ethnic identity offers protection, both in terms of providing a robust personal response to vilification and in terms of providing a legal challenge to discrimination. Considering identity within a wider European context could be difficult when it revealed the localised nature of the expression of that identity. In exploring the commonality of the Roma experience within Europe, there was also a danger that experiences of exclusion and prejudice might dominate, but fortunately more positive communalities were demonstrated, including entrepreneurship. In contrast to some non-

Roma approaches to heritage - where economic activity is seen as harmful or improper - for many Roma heritage has a commercial value, which they are happy to use. As a result, project activities included opportunities to sell books and musical CDs at BXM, to sell crafts and signed books in Surrey and to explore heritage work as an alternative to disappearing traditional occupations in Romania (ANTREC).

The involvement of a second European institution - the Council of Europe - also caused some tension, as one aim of the project was to build a platform for the submission of a formal application to the Council of Europe for the establishment of the Roma Route of Culture and Heritage. The partnership itself, it emerged, was not the right mechanism to take this forward, but a series of interconnections between the CoE and Roma Routes partners has been much strengthened over the two years of the project. Plans with regard to the further consolidation of an application for formal 'route' status have been firmed up over the last four months of the project in particular. This ongoing cooperation has brought project partners into new - and in some cases continued - contact with a further tranche of cultural organisations in various parts of Europe. It was agreed that the first joint activity after the project would be to further the application to the Council of Europe for certification of a 'Council of Europe Cultural Route of Roma Culture and Heritage'.

Challenges and Conclusions

For many of the participants, the project was their first opportunity to work in partnerships of this kind. This was true of both the Roma representatives and heritage representatives, leading to different expectations and types of communication. This was openly discussed at the first two project meetings, which led to much better understanding and trust and formed a strong basis for future relationships. While face-

to-face communication was good, virtual communication was more difficult to sustain. There were some members (Roma and non-Roma) who were less used to the forms of behaviour used in formal meeting situations and for whom project working, especially in an EU context, was a learning situation. It was important that the project allowed people to gain this experience and to learn new skills.

The current profile of Roma in heritage organisations was a challenge to both the project and ongoing work. Most of the Roma representatives were not employed within heritage organisations and this presented some practical problems in providing appropriate infrastructure to support them within both the governance of those institutions and EU funding constraints. All of the organisers were, however, able to find ways of providing some support according to local conditions and in most cases were also able to develop skills and opportunities within the Roma community. This process has developed through building on the knowledge gained by participating in meetings, understanding administrative and budgetary requirements, being involved in planning project activities and travelling to partner countries. The various Roma community representatives started with very different expectations and levels of knowledge, but in all cases they were able to take advantage of learning situations. Similarly, the capacity of staff of heritage organisations - not just those directly involved in delivering project activities - has been enhanced. While this may not be sustained for all of the participants and in many ways results are dependent on unpredictable factors, in some cases the effect has already been substantial and therefore sustainable. For example, both the Greek and UK representatives have been able to give considerable support to managing activities and projects. This capacity building, enabling the Roma representatives to participate more fully in project work and be present in the heritage

workforce at all levels, should be seen as a primary aim of future activity.

Related to this, some of the Roma representatives were not able to attend every meeting, and the development of the Roma network had mixed success. In some cases, there was excellent networking and strong relationships developed, but in other cases these meetings and relationships were more difficult to sustain. There was an area of tension between the Romanian partners and the rest of the partnership. The Romanian partners, while understanding and committed to the idea of integration, had only recently begun to think in this way, rather than from an assimilationist perspective. While the project activities were able to initiate communication and improve dialogue, it has to be recognised that these are long term aims affected by many factors external to the project.

The main problems, as is very often the case in project working, were caused by time constraints on the part of many of the participants, including the lead partner. Some difficulties were encountered in keeping the administrative aspects of the project up to date. Support was given wherever possible to encourage this, particularly in face-to-face meetings. It should be noted that the process of collating full and accurate records of expenditure in accordance with programme guidelines has been time-consuming and onerous despite all efforts to manage the process over the lifetime of the project.

We very much hope that there is scope for the project's work to be highlighted and developed further within the framework of the European Commission's Intercultural Dialogue and Roma Culture initiative. By harnessing our work and our achievements in this way to a larger vehicle we hope that the chance of having a sustainable impact is made far greater than might otherwise be the case.

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Chapter 11

City Museums Beyond the Museum: Networking as a Strategy for Twenty-First

Century European City Museums

Francesca Lanz

Introduction

Cities and their Museums: an Ongoing Change

Increasing attention has recently been focused on city museums, a phenomenon

that is attested to by the lively new debate which has developed around the subject, as

well as the significant economic investments made in them. If we consider the number

and characteristics of city museums that have been opened and renovated over the last

decade across Europe and further afield, we can easily affirm that this museum type is

currently undergoing an important change. The reasons for this change, as well as its

objectives and modalities, are both numerous and diverse (Lanz 2013).

In the wider context, this contemporary period of mass migrations, the Internet

and accelerated mobility of people, information and goods, and the process of the

creation of the European Union are challenging all contemporary museums. These

phenomena pose new questions and require a rethinking of the museums' role and

strategies in the creation, conservation and communication of knowledge and identities,

ultimately triggering a slow, yet significant change (Macdonald 2003, Basso Peressut

and Pozzi 2012, Ferrara 2012, Whitehead, Eckersley and Mason 2012, Basso Peressut,

Postiglione and Lanz 2013). As far as city museums are concerned, their current

transformation may, in turn, be related to the transformations engendered both by these

same dynamics and by their actual subject and context: the city itself.

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Extensive research studies as well as statistical surveys, have already pointed out how the new economic and cultural opportunities offered by globalisation, and current political, social, economic and cultural scenario, are deeply affecting the development of several European cities from a variety of perspectives, entailing also a reconfiguration of the urban system at a transnational level (Sassen 1991, Martinotti 1993, Sassen 1994, Amendola 1997). On one hand, cities are setting up transnational networks, enabling power and economic, as well as cultural relations that go beyond the nation-state organisation;54 on the other, they compete with each other for a larger share of the market, to generate tourism and attract economic investment and international events.

Furthermore, cities are undergoing intensive transformations from within. Many

It is not the purpose of this paper to explore issues related to recent urban political and economic organisation (e.g. Sassen 1991, 1994). It is however worth mentioning here a few ongoing cultural networking projects among European cities that specifically deal with some current issues concerning urban transformations in relation to social diversity, cultural encounters, globalisation, and migrations. Examples include EUROCITIES, a network of over 130 of Europe's largest cities that, between them, contain some 130 million citizens across 35 countries. Founded in 1986, the network engages in dialogue with the European institutions across a wide range of policy areas affecting cities including: culture, economic development, the environment, transport and mobility, social affairs, the information and knowledge society, and services of general interest (www.eurocities.eu). Another example is Intercultural Cities, a project that is striving to develop a model that supports intercultural integration within diverse urban communities. It was launched in 2008 as a joint pilot initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Commission and sets out to examine the impact of cultural diversity and migration from the perspective of Europe's cities. It identifies strategies and policies which could help cities work with diversity as a factor of development and implied a comparative analysis of 11 European cities, fostering dialogue and mutual confrontation among themselves and with other cities involved in the project.

major European cities are experiencing urban changes that are today faster than ever and that are related both to the cities' physical configuration and to their social structure. While the global economy is making the architecture of cities progressively less diverse and more homogeneous, the demolition of large industrial districts and the construction of new areas and buildings are reconfiguring their architectural features (Rykwert 2000, Boeri 2011). These cities are also facing a new demographic growth that is mostly related to migration flows and the population mobility that is occurring at European and international level and that is ultimately reconstituting cultural diversity inside them, while also producing a social and physical transformation of many of their historical neighbourhoods. Consequently, even if all these processes bring further energies to European cities, they pose exceptional new challenges and may foster a surge in new social issues and frictions (UN-HABITAT 2008).

It is widely believed that within this complex scenario, city museums, as institutions historically in charge of representing the city, recording its transformations and conserving its memory and history, should and could play an important role, not only registering these urban changes, but also acting as cultural tools capable of influencing and driving them (Galla 1995, Lohman 2006). The current repositioning and transformation processes that city museums are currently undergoing can be understood from this perspective and traced back to a shift in their role towards a more significant involvement in contemporary urban issues.

New Tools for New Roles

As many authors have already pointed out, it is very difficult to provide a unique definition of the 'city museum' (e.g. Galla 1995, Bertuglia, and Montaldo 2003, Kistemaker 2006: 5-6, Visser Travaglini 2008 and Postula 2012). It is a relatively recent

museum type, whose origins in Europe can be traced back to the second half of the nineteenth century, when the biggest cities - which were involved in the urban, economic and social transformations of the time - attempted to preserve documents, stories, and memories from the past and thus developed museums to conserve and display their history. Indeed, the term is usually identified with historical museums. Today, however, this is often not the case for many new and renewed city museums, whose mission and purpose go beyond the mere collection and display of the city's history towards a more active social role. The transformation that city museums are experiencing often means that their role is questioned and reconsidered; they are frequently asked to go beyond their traditional role of repository of city history and deal with contemporary urban and social issues, participate in the communication and promotion of the city (including tourism generation) and contribute to the creation of a pluralistic and intercultural civic community by fostering dialogue within different urban communities (Johnson 1993, UNESCO 1995, Kistemaker 2006, UNESCO 2006, Jones, MacDonald and McIntyre 2008).

City museums are in an excellent position to perform these new roles. However, in order to do so, they need to rethink their own identity and develop new working tools. Many of them are experimenting with new strategies aimed at reaching out beyond their walls in a conceptual, effective and physical sense. They are promoting new intercultural programmes, redesigning their spaces and galleries, reorganising their collections, broadening their activities, rethinking their narratives and communication approaches and developing new temporary exhibition programmes, expressly aimed at improving the museum's relevance to the city and its citizens.

Considering the scenario mentioned above and the current evolution of city

museums, networking can also be a specific and valuable working strategy for contemporary city museums that may have several strategic benefits. Some museums are starting to investigate this tool and some of their experiences provide interesting suggestions and indications for development, which should be more widely shared and debated.

Transnational Networking in City Museums: a Glocal Dimension

In 1993, the First International Symposium on City Museums was held at the Museum of London. 'The term 'city museum' made its big entrance into the public arena at that time, with the creation, at the end of the London symposium, of [...] the International Association of City Museums [...] Since then, this term [city museum] has been directly linked to the concept of a network of museums, and circulates exclusively within the museum community' (Postula 2012). From that time on, many city museums have joined together in several kinds of association and professional network aimed at exchanging ideas and promoting shared projects.55 However, only recently have city museums actually started to extensively develop projects based on international and interdisciplinary partnerships.

The Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg (Luxembourg City History Museum) is among them. The museum 'understands its mission of representing history 55 Such as the International Association of City Museums, in operation from 1993 to 2005, or CAMOC, the International Committee for Collections and Activities of Museums of Cities, one of the newest committees of ICOM. CAMOC was founded in 2005, 'in recognition of the special role and multiple values cities hold in the twenty first century'; it defines itself as a 'network of urban museums', a "think-tank" for ICOM on cities and city museums', and 'a project-based organization that seizes upon opportunities for partnerships with other International Committees of ICOM, museums and various social and urban actors' (personal communication).

as the visualization of the political, cultural and social development of the city, in order to stimulate the public to dialogue with its cultural heritage' (Jungblut 2008: 77). Since its opening in 1996, it has largely worked with temporary exhibitions conceived according to this vision (Jungblut 2001, 2008, 2011). Several exhibitions promoted by the museum have dealt with contemporary topics related to social urban transformations and issues, some of which have been put together in cooperation with other history and city museums around Europe and world-wide.

anywhere') (2003-2007) was a travelling exhibition funded mainly by the European Union and promoted by the Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in collaboration with eight other museum partners, including two city museums, the Helsinki City Museum and the Luxembourg City History Museum.56 It toured for a three-year period in both the eight countries of the partner-museums and further afield. Highlighting specific examples of migration from ancient times to the present day, the exhibition presented Europe as a 'transit-continent'. As described in its presentation, the exhibition was aimed at raising awareness about the fact that 'in all sorts of circumstances, the permanent influx of new population groups leaving their homes and finding a new home in Europe is a continuous process' and that, consequently, the European continent owes its distinct profile to this diversity, whereas what used to be 'foreign' is now often taken for granted. The exhibition presented migration as a

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⁵⁶ Exhibition Partners: Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Workers' Museum in Copenhagen (Arbejdermuseet), the Biblical Museum in Amsterdam (Bujbelsmuseum), the German Historical Museum in Berlin (Deutsches Historisches Museum, DHM), the Helsinki City Museum, the National Historical Museum in Athens, the Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg and the Swiss National Museum in Zurich.

European feature over time, focusing on recent centuries and on the period from the end of the Second World War to the present day. Each of the eight partners presented topics illustrating the issue of being a foreigner in a foreign land in everyday life as well as in the past. 57 The exhibition was designed to make its movement and customization as simple as possible, according to the needs of each host institution.58

Other examples include the exhibition *Watch out, gypsies! The story of a misunderstanding*, organised in 2007 by the Luxembourg City History Museum in cooperation with the Museum Astra in Sibiu (Romania) and subsequently adapted for Finland by the Helsinki City Museum in 2009. Its aim was to 'challenge conventional ways of presenting the Roma' and encourage visitors to 'reconsider their prejudices and stereotypes' (Haukkavaara 2011). Another earlier example is an exhibition put together by the Luxembourg City History Museum in collaboration with the Minnesota Historical Society, the Helsinki City Museum, the DASA Arbeitswelt Ausstellung, and implemented by the Koln International School of Design. This is a virtual exhibition

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The Swiss National Museum made a contribution to the history of Swiss mercenaries in foreign armies and Italian guest workers in Switzerland as well as, in collaboration with the German Historical Museum in Berlin, to the successful story of Huguenot refugees from France. The Haus Der Geschichte Museum in Bonn used the example of the mediaeval Hanseatic League to illustrate international exchange and economic integration. The Helsinki City Museum showed how the German architect Carl Ludwig Engel shaped the look of the Finnish capital. The Workers' Museum in Copenhagen commemorated Denmark's journeymen, the 'navers'. The Biblical Museum in Amsterdam told the story of the integration of the German Claus von Amberg as the spouse of the Dutch Queen Beatrix. The suffering of the Greek citizens who were driven out of Asia Minor was portrayed by the National Historical Museum in Athens.

⁵⁸ It is interesting to note how the exhibition programme and topics also influenced the exhibition design. The display cases, for example, were designed in a metaphorical and practical way as trunks, each containing several objects, pictures, videos and other kinds of media, such as excerpts from films and radio programmes.

called *Explore Poverty* whose goal is 'to show that poverty absolutely depends on your environmental circumstances; the user should recognize that poverty means something different in different places at different times' (Explore Poverty n.d.). The exhibition consists of a website, which gathers together several objects and documents from the collection of the institutions involved and many other museums. The exhibition's collection can be browsed and explored in different ways (generated by filters such as time or aspects affecting poverty - food, home and money' - or, for example, by sorting the documents according to cross-cutting questions). The exhibition is also implemented in some social media and an external page, which acts as a 'virtual space apart', displays the ongoing discussions on Twitter and Facebook.

Figure 11.1 The online exhibition "Explore poverty"

Note: "Explore Poverty" is a project by the Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg, in collaboration with DASA Dortmund, Helsinki City Museum, Minnesotta Historical Society and realized by the Köln International School of Design.

Source: Screen shot of the home page, an in-depth presentation of contents, and the social media web page (www.explore-poverty.org).

These examples provide food for thought concerning the possibilities offered by international partnership projects between city museums and other cultural institutions to deal with topics that may be difficult or even problematic, by framing them in a wider international scenario. Moreover, they are also able to work on the interferences between local and global, between history and contemporaneity, and investigate issues which have real local relevance but, at the same time, a wider transnational scope.

Local Networking for City Museum Engagement

As mentioned above, currently one of the main issues for many city museums is to find a way to become more relevant to their city and the communities living there and to develop increased involvement in the city's social and political life. In this sense the construction and implementation of local networks for the development of joint actions with the other cultural institutions and social realities of the city and the promotion of outreach projects involving the municipality, inhabitants and other local institutions can play a fundamental role.

City museums are experimenting widely in this field, building on a long tradition and experience of working locally with other cultural and social actors, such as schools, libraries, cultural centres and associations. Examples abound, including educational activities, participative projects, exhibitions and events. With these projects the museum seeks to go beyond its own walls and beyond its usual approaches to collecting, communicating and exhibiting, towards major involvement in the life of the city, developing a strengthened relationship between the museum, the city, its places and citizens.59

Among others, it is worth mentioning the Museum of Copenhagen, which in the

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In addition to the examples mentioned in this paragraph and among the many that could be presented, a telling experience demonstrating the benefit of local networking between cultural institutions and civic realities is the project *If this house could talk*. It is interesting to compare this project with the WALL because of their completely different communication approaches, budget and tools, and yet the similarity of one of their main aims to engage people in and within city places and their (hi)stories. *If this house could talk* was a project run at the Cambridgeport neighborhood of Cambridge, Mass, and part of a larger celebration of Cambridgeport history: Cambridgeport History Day. The Cambridgeport History Project, a consortium of neighborhoods, history, and arts organisations and interested individuals, supported it and this partnership made the event possible (Zusy 2011). The project, as Cathie Zusy confirmed to the author, proved to be very effective in connecting people and their places. More information can be found at http://ifhousecouldtalk.wordpress.com/.

last four years has devoted considerable energy in this area, experimenting widely up to and including the development of its latest major project, the WALL, a 12-metre long, 2-metre high interactive multimedia installation consisting of four multi-touch plasma screens. WALL will travel around the city for a 4-year period as a communicative tool for the museum, a way to increase accessibility to the museum's archive about the city's history and an experimental instrument to collect material about the contemporary city (Sandahl et al. 2011). Through an interface which consists of a mixture of historical documents from the museum's archives and collections and contemporary photographs of the city, users can explore the city's history and access information about its present. They can comment, download documents and add personal stories through different media and devices (e.g.: uploading private documents such as photos, videos, music or texts; voicing opinions in a video-blog; recording videos and pictures, etc.). The interest of this project is multi-faceted; for the purposes of the reflections contained here, its relevance lies in the attempt to engage with the city's inhabitants beyond the museum walls, in and through the city's places, which are the very roots of city museums.

Networking within the city and with the city's cultural institutions and urban communities may become a powerful starting point for the museum itself to help people rediscover the city and its places, the history of those who have lived and live them, the events which have taken, and still take, place there and the memories embedded in every corner, especially at a time when cities are undergoing rapid and dramatic change. This means giving a sense to places in order to better understand them and better live them, as well as deciding whether to preserve or change them, in the light of an awareness that this is the precondition for conscious choices concerning the future of the city and for a rise in an authentic and democratic idea of citizenship as a genuine

sense of belonging.

Figure 11.2 The WALL located in Copenhagen, at Frederiksberg Runddel, June

2012

Note: The WALL is the result of collaboration between: The Museum of

Copenhagen, The Gibson International production company from New Zealand,

The Danish graphic studio Spild af Tid, and the ProShop Europe installation

company.

Source: Photo by Francesca Lanz.

The Italian Tradition of the Museo Diffuso

This same idea was at the core of a new museographical model developed in

Italy during the 1980s, with the specific aim of empowering and fully exploiting the

social role of local and city museums. This model is known as museo diffuso (Emiliani

1974a, Emiliani 1974b, Drugman 1982, Emiliani 1985, Drugman 2010). It was

developed mainly by Andrea Emiliani and Fredi Drugman and today still characterises

many debates in the field of museum policies and strategies. The museo diffuso, a term

which is impossible to translate into English, is a kind of museum that aggregates

different places and complementary functions. It can be translated literally as

'widespread museum' or 'diffused museum' but probably the most accurate translation

would be 'network-museum'. Traditionally speaking, it has a main base and a

collection, but is not constrained by them; it is, in fact, the main nexus of a network of

local cultural resources. This network is not merely a partnership agreement but rather a

widespread cultural system of different cultural places that include not only other

museums, cultural services and institutions (such as libraries, schools, universities) but

also archaeological and historical sites, records and evidence of local material culture,

industrial remains and any kind of resource which is relevant to the cultural life and identity of the local area. Moreover, by implementing, exploiting and enhancing the local heritage as a rich, integrated network, the museum also performs the role of 'access portal' to the region, making the most of local resources (including both promotional and tourism perspectives) in a fruitful collaboration between public and private institutions.

Unfortunately - due to the organisational structure of Italian civic museums, which, at the time of the elaboration of this model, did not provide the necessary autonomy, economic cover and management support - this idea remained mostly theoretical speculation for a considerable period. However, recent years have seen the opening of new city museums that in different ways attempt to embody and implement some of the theories and ideas so far developed within the Italian museographic and museologic tradition, including the very concept of the *museo diffuso*. 60

One of these is Palazzo Pepoli. Museo della storia di Bologna (Museum of the History of the City of Bologna), inaugurated in 2012. Unusually for most city museums - especially in Italy - this is a private museum. The city museum is actually the final step in a wider project started in 2003 under the management of the CARISBO Bank Foundation and called Genus Bononiae - museums in the City. Genus Bononiae is a city cultural network, which includes several historic buildings which have been renovated and rehabilitated for public use. Beside those buildings directly involved in the project, Genus Bononiae exploits the existing system of civic and cultural institutions of the city, with the aim 'of telling the history of the city through a variety of instruments: direct

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⁶⁰ Meaningful examples are the Santa Giulia museum, in the city of Brescia (Tortelli and Frassoni 2009) and MuseoTorino, the virtual museum of the city of Turin (Jalla 2007).

acquaintance with the places of the city, permanent exhibitions and the integration of the physical witnesses of the past and the present, through a continuous and structured programme of activities'.61

The core of this network is the city museum hosted in Palazzo Pepoli, a medieval palace that has been re-developed and turned into the city museum.⁶² The museum tells the story of the development of the city and its culture, from the Etruscans to the present day. It is organised chronologically, through key episodes, symbolic figures, and anecdotes; the narration is then interrupted by some cross-cutting themes devoted to representing a particular feature of the city in a diachronic way. The presentation of these contents is through a combination of objects, images and multimedia elements. In fact, the museum collection only includes items already owned by the Bank Foundation, and is therefore not particularly large. Consequently, the curator made the choice to set up what he defines as a 'narrative museum', focusing on story-telling, rather than being collection-oriented. Thus, on the one hand, the exhibition display and the graphic design play a fundamental role, filling information gaps and contributing to building and conveying the contents, while on the other hand, the museum's collection is virtually enlarged by including the palace hosting the museum, the buildings of the Genus Bononiae network and the city as a whole with its cultural

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^{61 &#}x27;...di una **narrazione della storia della città** attraverso una pluralità di strumenti: la conoscenza diretta dei luoghi, la comunicazione delle esposizioni permanenti, l'integrazione delle testimonianze fisiche del passato e del presente in un programma di attività continuativo e strutturato...' (Genus Bononiae n.d.).

⁶² The restoration took seven years and was the project of Mario Bellini Architects, who designed and put in place the museum exhibition in partnership with the architect Italo Lupi, who curated the graphic design, the multimedia design studio Studio Base 2, and Massimo Negri, who was entrusted with the museological and scientific side of the project.

resources and physical places. Cultural links with the city are established in various ways, not only through educational activities carried out in cooperation with the various city museums, loans of works and finds and scientific cooperation initiatives launched by the many museums and cultural entities of the city of Bologna, but also through and by the exhibition itself. Here, particular attention has been paid to graphic communication, in order to create a link with the city. This has been done, for example, by including several references to places - such as with historical and contemporary city maps, and pictures - and establishing cross-references with other museums and cultural events of the city through 'video points' - which present those civic museums which are connected to a given theme of the exhibition - and 'balloons' - which highlight some temporary events that are relevant to the topics of the museum.

Figure 11.3 Networking, cross-references and place references at the Bologna city museum

Note: Photomontage with a map of the Genus Bonoiae Network, video point at the Palazzo Pepoli museum referring to the medieval civic museum, back-lighted panel in Palazzo Pepoli, referring to the geo-tagged blog percorsi emotivi (http://percorsiemotivi.com).

Source: Photo by Massimo Negri, courtesy of Genus Boniae and Massimo Negri.

The museum has the dual aim of creating a cultural system both for the people of Bologna and for the promotion of tourism in the city via beneficial partnership among various agencies - including private and public sectors -, different kinds of museums, and other local cultural institutions and resources. The museum's intent, its structure based on a local network and its communication strategies transform Palazzo Pepoli into a stimulating and highly suggestive example of the potential of local networking for

city museums.

Conclusions

Today it is assumed that networking at every level, be it local, national, European or even worldwide, is a fundamental strategy for all kinds of contemporary museums and cultural institutions (Innocenti 2012). As far as city museums are concerned, networking - either developed at transnational level, or locally based - if properly implemented, could be even more relevant and become a specific working strategy for this museum type in relation to its current redefinition and the broader urban political and cultural context.

The development of transnational cultural projects among European city museums and other cultural institutions may primarily have an important economic impact on the museums due to the possibility of sharing expenses related to the exhibition budget and can also help to enhance the visibility of the museum (and its host city), even at an international level. In addition, these international and interdisciplinary co-operations provide the museum staff with an important opportunity to improve their skills and establish contacts with other curators. But, above all, they offer the possibility of widening the exhibition contents, pushing them forward and exploring some difficult topics in a less restrained way,⁶³ ultimately contributing to the implementation of the museum's social role.

On the other hand, at a local level, city museums, owing to their potential for

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⁶³ It is the case for the example of the experiences carried out by the Musée d'Histoire de la Ville de Luxembourg, as the former deputy director Marie-Paule Jungblut recently pointed out both in an interview with the author (Lanz 2013) and in her speech to the conference Digital Urban History. La storia della citta' (raccontata) all'epoca della rivoluzione informatica, organised by the Department of Architecture and Design (DAD – Dipartimento Architettura e Design) of the Politecnico di Torino, Turin, 29 May 2012.

building privileged and enduring relationships with local communities within urban areas, can also contribute more than other museums to the reconfiguration and dissemination of a multifaceted sense of belonging and participation and to the identification of an active citizenship in and with the public space. Networking with other cultural institutions and actors from the city, as well as within the city places themselves and with their inhabitants, can enhance the city museum's social impact and make its actions more widespread and effective. In doing so, it can count on existing networks of civic cultural infrastructures that could be effectively exploited and enhanced, thus nurturing their local engagement and also contributing to the cultural, touristic and economic development of the city.

In both cases, the city museums and the city itself would benefit from these strategies. However, the questions of *to what extent* and *how* networking is actually changing the museum as whole are aspects that need to be explored further. On the one hand, it is evident that networking is influencing the museum from a programming point of view - including its collecting strategies, educational activities, and curatorial approaches - and offering new exhibition topics. On the other, it should be investigated further how this working strategy also affects, or may affect, the museum's communication, exhibition design, and spaces, and ultimately nurtures the development of new museographical models for contemporary city museums.

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Chapter 12

Turin – Earth: City and New Migrations. From Historical Reflection to Civil

Consciousness in the Present Day

Guido Vaglio

Introduction

The Characteristics of the Museum and its Mission: General Considerations

We are still accustomed to associating the term 'museum' with looking backwards into the past, through the display of significant memorabilia. It is not generally expected that a museum be concerned with current events, not offering an accepted and crystallised interpretation of the processes that have shaped our history but rather a reflection of the social and cultural processes in progress. An incursion on the part of the museum into the debate about the themes which characterise our present condition may still seem incongruous.

We are nevertheless convinced that the museum has a social role, as a place where knowledge and civic awareness can be acquired and developed, where the community which supports it should be allowed to get to know their own environment better.

Today we increasingly tend to define the identity of the museum as being a service for the public: less 'about something' and more 'for somebody', as Stephen Weil (1999) neatly put it.

The changeover from the private aspect of collecting to a public and permanent character leads to a transformation in the actual concept of a museum, so that the definition involves not only the display of the collection in a space: the objectives have changed, and so have the criteria for arranging and exhibiting.

The twentieth century has seen the peak in the process of museum expansion, but has also brought to the fore new criticisms and contradictions. The needs of a society that is on average richer and more cultured but also more complex and composite have raised the necessity of reconsidering museums' educational function. The models of presentation and communication conceived for a small user group, marked by strong cultural affinities, are now showing their limitations. There is therefore a need to experiment with new and original means of reaching an increasingly wider audience, in terms of geographical origin and social backgrounds.

Only towards the end of the 1990s did a debate which had already been lively in other countries begin to catch on in Italy, resulting in a number of important changes, which were also supported through significant amendments to the law. In our country it is therefore a relatively recent approach to culture that actively examines how to make best use of its cultural heritage for the benefit of all, without losing sight of the importance of conservation. This approach allows the coexistence of a heritage from the past with present-day vivacity, participation and the definition of an identity which not only tolerates but actually encourages diversity. Today, conservation requirements have to be integrated with social functions; the golden rules of keeping and acquiring are joined by a new brief - to educate and communicate, above all else.

Offering an active relationship between citizens and their cultural heritage supports the argument for a museum resembling a 'forum' where battles are fought rather than a 'temple' reserved for the victors, according to the dilemma suggested back in the seventies by Duncan Cameron (1971). A possible interpretation of this choice has been implemented in the activities and orientation of the museum under consideration here.

Figure 12.1 The permanent display of the Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c).

Turin's Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà was conceived in the first place as a project comprised of activities, which was to develop through time and was to use different means and forms of communication. It was to be a museum capable of establishing an active dialogue with present-day society, a meeting place between the spheres of research and education, which merge in the permanent exhibition in the evocation of a chronologically and geographically defined historical period. The field of reference is extended, with temporary exhibitions and activities, to Europe, the twentieth century and the present day.

Does it make sense to keep on remembering, after nearly seventy years have elapsed, the events that marked the end of the Second World War and the birth of our democratic republic? And above all, how can these events be remembered without this becoming rhetorical?

The decades gone by have profoundly changed our co-ordinates of reference - just think of the significance of the collapse of the Soviet bloc after 1989 and its consequences, internally and internationally. The changes include different sensitivities, languages and means of communication - a cultural as well as technological revolution, which we cannot ignore if we want that memory to be able to prompt a real occasion for reflection, for growth and awareness.

But no generation can feel independent from its past and free from the need to

remember: we have to know which history we are the product of, so that we can point out the differences and use memories as an antidote against oblivion, an aid to building up a full and conscious sense of citizenship.

The General Outline of the Project Turin - Earth

The permanent display of the museum takes the visitor on a virtual tour in Turin during the decade 1938-1948. That crucial period is explored, focusing on the places where events happened and the accounts of those who lived through them, up to the return to democratic life and the promulgation of the constitution.

It therefore seemed natural for the museum to echo this theme of the story of the city for the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Unification of Italy, focusing on changes that are linked to migrating foreign populations in the last thirty years. The idea that emerged was to reflect on the urban changes, the social and cultural effects which the most recent immigration has produced on the urban fabric, in a two-year project culminating in an exhibition in the spring of 2011.

Figure 12.2 The opening of *Turin - Earth* at the museum

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c).

The Structure of the Temporary Exhibition

In Turin today, after the waves of internal migration that characterised the years of the economic boom, one resident out of ten is foreign-born.

Figure 12.3 Timeline 1980 – 2011

Note: The transformations in the perception of immigration in Turin in the front pages of La Stampa.

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei

Diritti e della Libertà (c).

Migrants and their journeys, their exchanges of goods and ideas and their family ties formed between here and elsewhere have placed Turin at the centre of a network of contacts with hundreds of other countries and cities of the world. Presenting Turin as it is today means considering the role of the new residents, how they adjust to a place they can belong to, what meanings they attach to these spaces and how they change them (Figure 12.4).

The aerial views that opened the exhibition capture a city in motion. These images unhinge our landmarks, causing disorientation. This can be likened to the surprise and fear of the many travellers who arrive in an unknown city; at the same time they themselves may evoke equally uneasy feelings in those who see them coming.

Figure 12.4 Turin, Porta Nuova railway station, 1971

Source: Photographer Ph E. Martino. Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c)

The exhibition unfolded to explore that aerial view in more and more detail, in an approach that, like Google Earth, zoomed into levels of increasing detail, breaking it down into portions of the city, workplaces, study places and housing, down to the people themselves and the stories of their lives.

The display of maps, videos, and photographs was enriched by the words of the protagonists. All quotations presented in the exhibition came from thirty interviews that were conducted especially for this event, all interviewees being identified by pseudonyms to safeguard their privacy. An indication of age and country of origin was provided for each, and for how long they had lived in Turin.

Migratory flows have always characterised the history of the city, bringing to

Turin hundreds of thousands of people, first from the valleys and the fields of Piedmont, then from other Italian regions - particularly the south of Italy - and lastly from different countries in Europe and the wider world. Immigrants have been one of the most powerful engines of urban transformation.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, around 500,000 people arrived in Turin to take part in the economic boom. The city responded to this extraordinary influx of citizens by constructing new districts. A glance at images from that period compared to photos of the same places today highlights the striking similarity between the condition of internal and international migrants. From the 'factory-city' to the globalised economy, the risks of marginalisation and subservience are the same, as is the thrust towards transformation.

On the other hand, a very significant difference should be taken into account: while the internal immigration of the 1960s came about during a period of economic progress, the more recent international migration has coincided with a severe economic crisis, giving rise to incidents of xenophobia and rejection towards the newcomers, identified as potential threats to internal employment. In reality our economy could no longer function without the contribution of immigrants, on whom 11.5 per cent of our GNP depends.

Figure 12.5 *Turin - Earth*. The exhibition

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c).

There are many ways to experience a city. Each of us develops mental maps that do not always match a real scale or real distances. A section of the exhibition presented

several mental maps made by students of a Permanent Territorial Centre (CTP)⁶⁴ who were asked to draw a map of their own Turin. The same exercise could also be performed by exhibition visitors. Next to these there were statistical maps showing the figures for recent immigration in Turin.

The following section illustrated different aspects of the bond between migrants and the local territory: their arrival in the city, how they maintain ties with their country of origin, where they work, spend their free time, eat, go to school.

The journeys that brought immigrants to Turin differ greatly, depending on their origins, means of transport, and purpose of their stay. For some, Turin is only their first stop; others arrive here after living in other Italian cities. Some have followed difficult, even dramatic, paths; others have more straightforward, linear stories. There are people who were forced to flee their country because of war, persecution or humanitarian emergencies - in 2009 the Turin police received more than five hundred asylum applications. Besides the main points of entry into Turin, other more marginal routes have become associated with migrant arrivals: parking areas for buses heading for Eastern Europe and Morocco, and travel agents specialising in low cost solutions. In the exhibition, five emblematic stories highlighted important aspects of the journey of all immigrants: the reasons for departure; the cost of the journey; procuring visas and other documents; and the risks that these journeys entail. Migrant detention centres, known in Italy as CIE (Centres for Identification and Expulsion) exist all over the country, to detain migrants awaiting expulsion for having entered the country illegally or remaining

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⁶⁴ CTPs provide educational services for all citizens 15 years old and above: from elementary and middle school diplomas, to secondary education and vocational training; language courses; and work counselling through training and apprenticeships. In Turin in 2009 more than 7,000 people took advantage of these services.

illegally in the country after the expiry of their residence permit. Photographs by Paolo Soriani attested to daily life at the Milan CIE.

The main reason why migrants decide to arrive is to search for a job and better economic conditions. Finding a job is essential to achieve their goals and be accepted in Italian society. According to the law, immigrants have to find a job in order to be granted a residence permit. Immigrants without a residence permit have only one option, the 'black' market, particularly active in the building industry and home-care services. Immigrants' involvement in petty crime and other illegal activities often results from difficult economic and social conditions and lack of legitimate options. However, there are some immigrant groups who are actively involved in illegal activities. Prominent media exposure of these criminal activities generates anxiety in the population, giving rise to social tensions and a sense of insecurity among local residents.

Migrants, like native citizens, are plunged into a web of news and images from television, the internet, radio and newspapers, which help shape their perceptions of the city, Italy and the world. The image of immigrants in the news is often reduced to a matter of emergency or security. In national newscasts, immigrants make up around 60 per cent of all crime and judicial reports. The sequence of reports of RAI regional newscasts presented in the exhibition showed how sensitivity has increased in a city that is ever changing.

In Italy more than 150 'ethnic' newspapers and newscasts exist: these media inform immigrants about their country of origin, preserving their sense of belonging. Turin is home to more than twenty of these editorial offices, working in fifteen different languages. In the exhibition some of these newspapers were available for consultation

and renewed from time to time.

There are 26,000 foreign minors living in Turin today, of whom 15,000 were born in Italy. Referred to as 'second-generation' and the bearers of more flexible, hybrid cultural identities, they are unwilling to accept the same working conditions and exclusion suffered by their parents and demand the same rights as their Italian peers. International migration presents considerable challenges for schools; teachers strive to respond with an approach that actually builds on differences. In Turin schools, foreign nationals account for 30 per cent of all students.

Religion falls halfway between public space and private life. For migrants, religion holds a double significance, as both a spiritual experience and an affirmation of their identity. Establishing places of worship, occasionally the subject of heated debate, actually bears witness to a desire among immigrants to become part of the community. This process often stirs up friction and difficulties that have more to do with collective identity and a feeling of insecurity than with religion itself.

For many immigrants social advancement corresponds to a new house: from temporary lodgings or apartments shared with fellow countrymen or family members, to a house for themselves and their family. However, it is not easy to change for the better. Forty per cent of landlords are still unwilling to rent to immigrants. Domestic spaces represent a place of identity, stability and security for migrants. Furniture and personal touches throughout the house often show an ability to mix memories of the house that they left in their country of origin with the new tastes and necessities of Italy.

Typical culinary dishes provide a sense of belonging and identity, but also offer the chance to communicate across cultures, becoming an aid to dialogue. In a similar way, cultural differences become fully evident in people's care and adornment of their

bodies.

The body itself becomes a vehicle to convey messages like a sense of belonging or of escape, in a blend of traditional customs and fashion trends, a determination to look 'like the others' or an eagerness to stand out.

Behind every migrant there is a family, but there are different types of families: some immigrants depart alone, reuniting with their families later; whole families may migrate together; some immigrants meet their partners in the host country; others have families that are split between the country of origin and the adopted country. As different patterns come into contact, variations occur in social practices. The family trees presented in the exhibition were drawn up together with four contributors, showing different stories and family situations. A special section - family portraits of some Bosnian Romany taken in a camp in Turin - gave a glimpse into the complex reality of Romany families

After the city, the district and the house, the exhibition presented the most intimate and subjective level: the individual.

Figure 12.6 *Turin - Earth*. The exhibition

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c).

Stories of migration are above all stories of individuals, who share the same experience of leaving their homeland and plunging into a different reality. Four video interviews introduced the visitors to four migrants: Berthin, of Congolese origin, refugee; Mirela, of Rumanian origin, cultural mediator; Mustafa, born in Morocco, manager of a wine shop; Silvana, Romany born in Italy, socially active. By clicking on the keyboard next to the life-size screens the visitor could hear their voices and be

introduced to their world.

The Educational Programme: Get to Know the Constitution. From Visitors to Citizens

During the exhibition, the museum education service offered guided tours and workshops based on analyses of questions intrinsic to the migration phenomenon, as well as on historical comparisons between internal migration of the post-war era and contemporary foreign immigration. In addition, a teaching aid for the visit was prepared, providing a brief 'immigration glossary', analysing terms like 'clandestine', 'non-EC immigrant', 'refugee', etc, which have become part of our daily language but are often used inappropriately.

Within *Turin - Earth*, a specific educational programme – 'Get to know the Constitution. From visitors to citizens' - was carried out with groups of foreign citizens, promoting knowledge of the Italian constitution through the museum's permanent display. The stages of this activity included visits, meetings with experts, comparisons between the Italian constitution and those of the participants' countries of origin, and discussions around key-words highlighted by the group.

The programme aimed to show how the museum can be a place for addressing issues and discussing them openly and flexibly from many different viewpoints. It was also a chance for the museum and the new members of the community to be introduced to one another.

The starting point was the museum's permanent exhibition, *Turin 1938-1948*. From the Racial Laws to the Constitution, a multi-media itinerary through the city of Turin, showing places that mark the salient moments in the time span between the Racial Laws being passed in 1938 and the definition of the Republican Constitution

in 1948. It ended with a video-installation that invited visitors to reflect on the rights of citizenship and on their own exercising of those rights in contemporary life.

Figure 12.7 The permanent display of the museum

Source: Museo Diffuso della Resistenza, della Deportazione, della Guerra, dei Diritti e della Libertà (c).

The meetings were conducted by a facilitator, each dedicated to a specific theme, with continuous reference to the museum's permanent exhibition and explained in depth by specialists. Participants were invited to reflect on the ways the constitution was represented in the museum, and on making links between Italy's constitution and those of their countries of origin.

The initiative was first communicated through a 'call for people' launched through the museum's website, newsletter and Facebook page. In a second phase, direct contacts were made with potentially interested groups. A working group was thereby formed, with people who currently live in Turin and who come from Ecuador, Morocco, Peru and Romania.

The programme was then re-launched by the museum - at the request of the city council - as a training opportunity for young foreign residents who are carrying out voluntary work for the city.

Citizenship: a Reference Theme for Future Activities

The museum's curatorial committee has decided to adopt an overall reference theme for its future activities, which has been identified as the notion of citizenship, in its broadest sense. Many current issues and problems are centred on the various notions and implications of citizenship.

European citizenship (every citizen of one of the member states of the EU being also a citizen of the European Union) still has limited connotations. It is not given much consideration or taken as a fundamental historical, political and cultural fact. If European citizenship is to be fully enjoyed, it requires awareness of the historical, political and cultural reasons that justify the introduction of a 'citizenship' that is detached from state boundaries, and is defined by the supranational boundaries of the EU.

Asking what make this kind of 'citizenship' possible and plausible means examining the profound reasons for being a citizen, and for sharing the same 'citizenship' with others. It is natural and necessary to find a common frame of reference in history, culture and values.

The principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, along with the acceptance of dual citizenship, ideologically divide the methods adopted by the various states for the recognition of people as citizens. For European citizenship, the EU refers back to the laws of the single member states, transferring the heterogeneous national laws into the Union. These, however, express concepts that are unlikely to be compatible from cultural and political points of view.

The notion of European citizenship may be useful in throwing light on the major reasons for citizenship. Is it an administrative process, like getting a passport? Or is it sharing and believing in common cultural factors which are the basis of the society of the states and of the Union? Or is it both, since the one confirms and reinforces the other? ⁶⁵

⁶⁵ In Italian the expression 'extracomunitario', literally 'outside the EU', should define a citizen from, for example, the USA or from Switzerland. But in Italy, extracomunitario is adopted to refer to

In Italy there is much debate at the moment on the question of recognising the offspring of immigrants as citizens, if born in Italy and attending Italian schools. This undoubtedly raises many questions that are not easy to answer, and may be a useful stimulus to reflect on what is meant by a common Italian citizenship, what bases it rests on and what are its real implications.

The Italian citizen is a citizen of a multicultural society, not only because of the importance of immigration, but also, and especially, because the deeds, history and constitutional structure on which this society is based are characterised by features of liberty, secularism and pluralism.

Frequent reference to a national (or sub-national) 'identity', besides being extremely vague, risks coming into conflict with the fact that in Italy, as in Europe, we must accept that 'identity' is 'plural', and that toleration and respect for those who are 'different' are its very foundation.

Conclusions

Social and cultural pluralism, natural outcome of the city's changes, were the subjects and the protagonists of the *Turin - Earth* project. The museum took up the challenge of talking about migration with the intention of not only reporting on the unease and inevitable difficulties but also relating the changes - often silent and hidden, slow and constant - of a Turin which is evolving along with the rest of the world.

The exhibition was the outcome of a broader undertaking, which developed through a programme of meetings, spectacles, film-projections and educational

migrant, poor and non-European, and is widely used to talk about east-European migrants as well.

activities. One of the most important results of this operation was the bond with the local area, the capacity to involve numerous other projects and bodies. The project and the exhibition were able to create a network of more than fifty organisations that work in the city on migration and multicultural issues, urging them to collaborate.

With the conclusion of *Turin - Earth*, the museum was then able to count on the widespread involvement of agencies working on integration and multicultural activities. A relationship of continuing, meaningful collaborations has been established with some of these, to set up and promote future joint projects and activities.

From the outset, these opportunities for collaboration have drawn in a very varied and broad range of visitors. The more traditional users of the museum have thus been joined by young people, especially second-generation immigrants, as well as specialists in the field of social integration and volunteers from associations and cooperatives.

With *Turin - Earth*, the museum made an attempt to bring together museum operators, public bodies and administrators, associations and ordinary citizens, providing a place and occasion for listening to the stories told by many different voices in this new community - a place where the intentions, perceptions and expectations of the public and those of the museum organisers can meet and may even be in conflict.

Acknowledgements

The main sponsor of the project was the foundation Compagnia di San Paolo, which not only funded the exhibition but also the whole two-year-programme of happenings. Financial support has been also given from local administration: the Piedmont Region subsidised the educational programme Get to know the Constitution and the Province of Turin supported a specific programme of film screenings on migrations held in the

conference hall of the museum. The exhibition was curated by a panel of young cultural anthropologists chosen and recommended by the museum scientific committee.

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Chapter 13

Inclusive Collecting Strategies of City Museums in a Diverse Society: Thoughts on the Implementation of Multi-perspectivity beyond Group Categories

Frauke Miera and Lorraine Bluche

Introduction

How can the diversity of a European city of today be represented in a contemporary way in an urban history museum? What does the diversity of society mean for the treatment of the existing collections, in addition to collection practices which are relevant for the present day? How can German urban museums successfully overcome their deficits relating to the preservation of the heritage of migrants of the post-war period, as well as of their descendants?

The authors refer above all in this paper to the subject of migration and cultural diversity in collections because this was the focus of their most recent project.

Nevertheless, they would like to emphasise that their deliberations upon concepts of collections can be applied to other topics or to other marginalised groups in society.

This paper outlines some first answers to these questions. As independent curators the authors do not represent the viewpoint of a particular museum or its concept of collecting, but develop - free from institutional compulsion - ideas or pilot projects with regard to contemporary collection strategies in urban museums. Their overriding thesis is that collecting in a city museum should be guided by the principles of the inclusive museum and the participation of - as it is called here - the 'glocal community'.

In this regard the authors are inspired, on the one hand, by the German and also international debate on the museification of migration which they have followed

intensely for many years and which they actively support. On the other hand, they argue from practice. Their considerations are specifically based on the experiences gained as freelance curators on the project Migration macht Geschichte (Migration makes History) in the District Museum of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, Berlin during the period January 2010 to January 2012. First is a brief overview of the debate on the subject of migration and museums in Germany and then the concepts of the inclusive museum and the glocal community are briefly explained. In the next step, three possible conceptual approaches to the work of collecting in a pluralistic society are differentiated: the reexamination of existing collections; collecting specifically about migration; and inclusive collecting. Using the example of the exhibition Ortsgespräche. Stadt -Migration - Geschichte: vom Halleschen zum Frankfurter Tor (Local Chats. City -Migration - History: from Hallesches to Frankfurter Tor), which the authors curated within the framework of the project Migration macht Geschichte. 66 and the audioarchive which was created within this exhibition, the advantages of the third approach, that of inclusive collecting, are explained. Finally some possible future perspectives are outlined.

On the Museification of Migration in Germany

For a long time, historical exhibitions in German museums omitted the history of migrants. In accordance with the official policy, valid for decades in the Federal Republic, that Germany is not an immigration country and that the migrants living here only stayed in the country temporarily, they also had (almost) no place in the narratives created in museums.

Since the end of the 1990s, prompted by migrant initiatives, by the Network

⁶⁶ Funded by the Hauptstadtkulturfonds (Capital Cultural Fond), Berlin.

Migration in Europe,⁶⁷ by the activities of especially local and regional museums as well as international museological impulses,⁶⁸ and in the context of general political demands for an intercultural opening up of the cultural institutions, German museums have increasingly asked themselves how they can reflect the subject of migration more strongly in the work of exhibition, collection and communication.⁶⁹

During the last ten to fifteen years the number of conferences around the subject of migration and museum has definitely increased:⁷⁰ the Deutscher Museumsbund (German Museum Alliance) set up a working group on migration in 2010; meanwhile, special exhibitions have been presented on recent migration history in several German cities.⁷¹

⁶⁷ The Network Migration in Europe was founded in 2001 in order to, amongst other things, to establish a dialogue and network on the subject of migration between science, media, culture, politics and European political education. See Network Migration n.d.

For example the foundation in 2004 of an immigration museum in France, the Cité Internationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, was an inspiration for the debate in Germany.

⁶⁹ See Motte and Ohliger 2004 and Baur 2009.

⁷⁰ For example Das historische Erbe der Einwanderer sichern. Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland braucht ein Migrationsmuseum, Brühl 2002, organised by the Documentation Centre and Museum of Migration from Turkey (DOMiT - Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration aus der Türkei e.V.) and the Federal Agency for Civic Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung); Migration in Museums - Narratives of Diversity in Europe, Berlin 2008, organised by the Network Migration Europe in cooperation with International Council of Museums Europe and the Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines (Luxemburg); Kunstvermittlung in der Migrationsgesellschaft, Berlin 2011, organised by the Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (ifa), Berlin, Institute for Art Education, Zurich, and the Institute for Art in Context at the University of the Arts, Berlin.

⁷¹ See for example *Fremde Heimat – Yaban, Silan olur. Eine Geschichte der Einwanderung aus der Türkei*, DOMIT / Ruhrlandmuseum Essen, 1998; *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland. Migrationen 1500-2005*, Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 2005; *Gastarbeit in Hannover. Geschichten vom Kommen, Gehen und Bleiben*, Historisches Museum Hannover, 2011. The subject of immigration in Germany was depicted in a permanent exhibition for the first time

As much as it is to be welcomed that the subject of migration is now finding more of a place in historiography within museums, at the same time it must be noted critically that migration history is presented mostly as a 'special history'. The permanent exhibitions on general history and the special exhibitions on migration history stand side by side without connection; the spaces of reminiscence of the 'locals' and the 'migrants' are presented separately from each other. In the end, the migrants remain the 'others' who do not participate in the inclusive 'us'. Moreover, in many migration exhibitions, migrants and their descendants get a chance to speak primarily in their role as migrants: their reasons for migration, experiences of foreignness and their integration in the new community. In this sense, such exhibitions remain arrested, in the end, in the general discourse of 'difference'.

With regard to the collections of museums of urban history, the gaps concerning social pluralism seem to be even greater than those relating to exhibitions. These developments are further considered below.

The Inclusive Museum and the Glocal Community

According to our thesis formulated at the beginning of this paper, the collection work of museums of urban history in a plural und diverse society should be guided by the principles of the inclusive museum and take place with the participation of the glocal community.

Inclusion is understood here with reference to the British museologist Richard Sandell in terms of 'social inclusion' - as an eminently political category which is based on the triad of representation, participation and access (Dodd and Sandell 2001, Sandell 2007, Nightingale and Sandell 2012). The tasks of an inclusive museum are to reflect on

when the Deutsches Auswandererhaus (German Emigration Centre) in Bremerhaven was extended in early 2012.

the institutionalised structures by which limited, but dominant, knowledge is produced and preserved and to open itself for discourse with laypeople and experts from outside the museum - with the glocal community. By the glocal community is meant the people, groups and organisations in the catchment area of a museum of urban history who should, or in the ideal case would, be in communication or discourse with the museum, that is, regardless of social categories, education, ethnic or religious attribution, migrational background, gender or sexual orientation, physical or intellectual abilities.⁷²

Generally the criteria for collections are determined by museum staff - partially based on a definite concept, partially spontaneously or, when only donations are accepted, passively. By contrast, a case is made here for the involvement of the glocal community in the assessment of the existing collections as well as in the planning of new collections. So this implies a reassessment of the role of museum curators. They now increasingly take on the roles of presenters, attendants, mediators and also, repeatedly, that of learners.⁷³

Three Conceptual Approaches to Collection Work in a Pluralist Society

Regarding the implementation of the subjects of migration and cultural diversity in museum collection work, the authors distinguish between the revision of existing collections and the development of concepts for new collecting.

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The glocal community refers firstly to the geographically distinct area whose history is told by the museum. It is not only the people who live in the area that make up the glocal community, but also those who feel connected to the catchment area of the museum by their work, school, association, leisure activities or other personal relations. In the context of mobility, globalisation and transnationalism, the borders of the glocal community are in part fluid. On the expressions 'constituent community', 'user community', 'contemporary-', 'heritage-' or 'source-community' see van Mensch and Meijer-van Mensch 2011: 49-55, 97-98.

⁷³ On the reassessment of the role of the curator, also in connection with the discussion about participation in museums, see van Mensch and Meijer-van Mensch 2011.

In discussions with German museum staff it is often heard that there are no objects in the collections of their museums which relate to migration. However, it is assumed here that, regardless of the fact that large gaps undoubtedly do exist in this subject, previous inventory and documentation practices have blocked the perception of the migrational history potential of existing collections. So the examination of existing collections is proposed to see whether objects are concealed there which say something about the pluralism of society and which have not been appreciated as such before now. The aim is to reflect critically on the limitations of the knowledge documented in the museum and the ways of perception and systematisation which are institutionalised there. On the one hand, the museum staff is asked to 'go against the grain' with their objects, as it were. On the other hand, protagonists external to the museum - with or without migration background - are to be involved for the purposes of the inclusive museum, to be asked about their knowledge of and associations with the collection objects. In this approach the authors are not least inspired by the project Revisiting Collections, launched by the Museum, Libraries, Archives Council London in 2005, which has been implemented since in several British museums.

This approach was applied in 2010-11 in the cooperative project NeuZugänge: Migrationsgeschichten in Berliner Sammlungen - with the double meaning of New in Stock / New Accesses: Migration Stories in Berlin Collections - at the Kreuzberg Museum together with three other museums and a museological research project.⁷⁴

In a follow-up project of the Deutscher Museumsbund the authors are assisting four other museums to re-examine parts of their collections, with the involvement of

⁷⁴ On the project NeuZugänge see Bluche et al. 2013. The authors developed and realised *NeuZugänge* together with Christine Gerbich, Susan Kamel and Susanne Lanwerd (see the museological research project Experimentierfeld Museologie in the Technical University Berlin).

people external to the museum, and hope to further develop this method of reviewing collections.⁷⁵

Concerning new collecting with the aim of implementing migratory and cultural diversity, two different approaches are distinguished.

The most obvious approach is that of migration-specific collecting. This is intended to fill gaps in existing collections on the subjects of older and more recent migration history in the Federal Republic of today by targeted acquisitions, or to build up suitable new collection stock. In Germany in the past, it was above all migrants' initiatives which collected specifically on migration, outside of museum institutions. The migrants' organisation DOMiD (Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die Migration in Deutschland - the Documentation Centre and Museum of Migration in Germany)⁷⁶ began to collect objects concerned with post-war migration in the Federal Republic of Germany twenty years ago. In the course of time it has extended its focus to migration in the former German Democratic Republic and most recent migration history. The Cologne Migration Audio Archive has been collecting autobiographical interviews since 2004.⁷⁷ It has only been in the last few years that the subject has been found on a greater scale in the collection practices of museums: urban and regional museums, especially, usually collect within the scope of particular exhibition projects on single groups of migrants or themes. The city museum being founded in Stuttgart is actively collecting migration-specific exhibits with the involvement of the relevant communities for its new permanent exhibition, because a main focus of the museum

See DOMID

⁷⁵ See Deutscher Museumsbund n.d.

⁷⁶ See DOMiD n.d.

⁷⁷ See Migration-Audio-Archiv n.d.

will be the migrational history of the city.⁷⁸ In other museums, exhibits have been borrowed for particular exhibition projects on migrants and their descendants. However, these did not enter the collections of the museums in question long-term, but as a rule had to be returned to the lenders after the end of the exhibition.

Such long-term, as well as temporary, initiatives take place virtually of necessity with the involvement of those whose story is to be told: that is, in cooperation with migrants and their descendants, their organisations and associations. They are the ones who have the relevant objects and recollections available. This approach is definitely a step towards the representation of migration history.

However, this approach - the deliberate collection of migrational history - also has conceptual disadvantages. The danger of migration-specific collecting lies in the fact that here the history of migration is comprehended as a special history alongside 'general' history. Objects are deliberately collected which tell something about the experience of migration; the people who are looked at are investigated and can be experienced solely in their role as migrants. This is all the more problematic when a history-of-migration narrative becomes the guideline for the activity of new collecting which is then structured into categories such as causes of migration, routes of migration, the experience of foreignness, social, linguistic, professional integration, community education and the like; that is, a narrative that follows the dominant discourse of difference and the imperative of integration.⁷⁹

Without wanting to deny that it can be justified and necessary to collect 'migration' specifically, the authors advocate going beyond or complementing such an

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⁷⁸ See Stadtmuseum Stuttgart - Konzept n.d.,

⁷⁹ For Paul Mecheril's critique of the concept of integration and the discourse of difference see Mecheril 2004.

approach productively with other, more far-reaching ones. The aim of an alternative approach to collection work would be to overcome the dualism of 'us' and 'the others', rather than to reproduce it - even if that dualism is mostly well-meant. Such an approach should rather indicate a way beyond such categorisation. Specifically, this means questioning members of the glocal community - migrants and non-migrants alike - as much on general subjects as on those specific to migration.⁸⁰

Such an approach was tested in the exhibition *Ortsgespräche*. Although this project comprised an exhibition, it was also an ideal experimental field in which to view possible collection strategies, not least because new objects and stories were tracked down within this framework and the foundation for a new collection was also laid down

The Exhibition *Ortsgespräche*: an Inclusive and Multi-perspective Project on Urban History

In the period January 2010 to January 2012, the authors tried out a concept whereby the history of a city district was told as the history of all its inhabitants - as a history of migrants, their descendants, locals and the recently immigrated - as an inclusive and multi-perspective city history. The result of this project was the new permanent exhibition of the district museum of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg opened in January 2012: *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte: vom Halleschen zum Frankfurter Tor* (Local Chats. City - Migration - History: from Hallesches to Frankfurter Tor).

The aim of the exhibition was to overcome the dualism of 'general' history versus the history of the 'others' and to create, instead, a space in which the

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⁸⁰ See also Miera 2012. The City Laboratory of the Historical Museum of Frankfurt also follows an open concept that overlaps conventional categories in its participatory projects in locations in the district, understanding itself as learning from the experiential knowledge of the city inhabitants. See Stadtlabor unterwegs n.d.

recollections of migrants, their descendants and locals are interwoven with each other - complementing, contradicting or presented side by side. Migration history was to be told as an integral component of urban history and what was shown was to be understood as many-faceted, many-voiced and discursive.

In order to put this idea into practice, firstly, a topographical approach was decided on. Particular places in the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg were made into the main hubs or structuring elements of the exhibition. The linking of urban development and migrational processes can be especially well shown at specific places in the city. People meet at such places, they imprint and change these places in the course of decades and centuries. Different experiences and perceptions, common characteristics, conflicts and change come together there. The strength of this topographical approach lies in the fact that the various contributors speak on the same subjects in each case - namely their recollections, their associations with certain places. The interviewees are not thereby reduced to certain real or ascribed attributes. Migrants and non-migrants alike have the chance to speak on equal terms as agents in city life.

Secondly, members of the glocal community were involved in a variety of ways in the exhibition and collecting process. During the phase of exhibition preparation, dialogue was sought with a wide range of people who are politically, socially and culturally active in the district. At the beginning of the project a series of workshops were carried out, which gave rise to an exhibition advisory board that met every three months. In the workshops and the advisory board meetings the concept and each further sequence of the main steps of the work were brought up for discussion and developed in dialogue with those involved. The places chosen for the exhibition were decided in this way, for example. Furthermore, numerous Kreuzbergers and Friedrichshainers

contributed their voices to the exhibition, particularly regarding more recent district history. Supported by volunteer allies, interviews were conducted with more than one hundred people, which were added to the exhibition in the form of audio and video interviews, quotations etc. Some of the interview partners have contributed objects and, in addition, visitors have had a variety of opportunities to leave their own traces or perspectives in the exhibition since its opening. The opportunity for contributive participation⁸¹ during the period of the exhibition symbolises the importance of the idea of the non-exclusiveness and discursiveness of storytelling and the space created in the exhibition for reminiscence.

The Foundation of a New Collection: an Audio-archive of Place-related Stories from Individual and Multiple Perspectives

Within the exhibition *Ortsgespräche*, the foundation for a completely new collection has been laid: an audio-archive of the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is being created to offer place-related, multiple perspectives on everyday history.⁸²

For this part of the project about thirty local inhabitants were asked to give personal city tours. They were asked to identify places in the district where they enjoy or dislike being, which have particularly influenced them and which they see as typical for the district. Every interview partner described five to eight places in the district from their individual viewpoint. These are everyday, personal stories about their first flat, their first German course, places of individual politicisation, about places of refuge or

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⁸¹ On the categories of participation see Simon 2010. The authors have described elsewhere their systematic approach to forms of participation as curators in their project *Ortsgespräche*, see Bluche and Miera 2013.

The exhibition *Ortsgespräche* extends over two floors. On the first floor six places are shown in their historical depth in detail and the different perspectives of inhabitants on these places are presented, in particular concerning more recent history. This paper refers to the second floor.

threat, about places of spare time pleasure and personal meetings and stories in which events of overriding historical importance combine with subjective experience. While choosing interview partners - migrants and non-migrants - care was taken to illustrate not only a wide range of local people, but also to allow people whose voices are not usually heard in a museum to have a chance to speak. So, those who speak here include the illegalised or undocumented, children, youngsters, old people, one deaf person, homosexuals and of course people with the most varied migrational backgrounds. Some of the interviews were carried out in German, some in the respective native languages of the interviewees. All interviews were transcribed, translated if necessary and afterwards edited in order to generate stories which related to specific places. In addition, the stories were translated into English and recorded for listening. Altogether about 150 stories on about 120 places in Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg were collected.

In the exhibition, the visitors and guests enter an oversized city map of the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg, on which about 120 numbered and multi-coloured raised spots each mark a place. One or more stories from our interview partners are concealed at each place. The visitors receive an iPod, specially programmed for this purpose, which leads them around the city map and at the same time makes the respective local stories audible, readable and visible, that is, at each place you can hear the appropriate audio-track, read the transcript of that track and look at current photographs.⁸³

The multiplicity of perspectives on history and the city becomes clear in various ways. On the one hand, the visitors learn something about the varied, individual characters and biographies of those interviewed via the personal tours. On the other

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⁸³ Photographs by Ellen Röhner of the Kreuzberg Museum.

hand, the tours overlap at various points: here the visitors can hear several stories from different points of view relating to the same place. Taken as a whole, a sort of dense and yet at the same time differentiated description of the district is created by its inhabitants.

The reactions in the visitors' book and in discussions, together with observations of the visitors' behaviour on the audio-floor, show that the concept is accepted very positively. It was not least this feedback which confirmed the intention to further develop the concept tested here and to make the stories collected to date the foundation of a new, topical collection.

Conclusions

The experiences garnered with the exhibitions *NeuZugänge* and *Ortsgespräche* within the framework of the project Migration makes History encourage the authors in the thesis formulated at the start, that topical collecting in a city museum should be informed by the principles of the inclusive museum and the participation of the glocal community. It is now planned to further develop the approaches tested here and also to follow other experimental methods related to new collecting in a pluralistic society.⁸⁴

Firstly, it is intended to extend the collecting of multiple-perspective audiointerviews relating to the district of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg to encompass the whole of the city of Berlin, within the framework of the exhibition *Ortsgespräche*. At the same time, the authors want to make these collected local stories accessible in the urban space independent of, and beyond, exhibition rooms by using web-enabled mobile phones and smartphone apps.

Secondly, it is a matter of exploring further starting points analogous to the topographical starting point chosen for the exhibition, which could provide guiding

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⁸⁴ The realisation and scope of such projects are subject to funding.

principles for the concept of collections which run counter to group categories. Such a multi-perspective approach can be extended to any number of other subjects, such as the first day at school, work experiences or more general themes, like birth, death, love, hate, and so on.

Finally, an extension of the participation of the glocal community could be tested, even before questions are formulated or the systematics and concept of a collection is developed, namely during the definition of these and the choice of appropriate collection strategies. Then it can be determined through discursive processes which subjects are relevant to the museum and which objects should be collected.

In order to further develop these three approaches, the authors will tie their projects to existing networks as well as enlarge these networks on three levels. First of all, cooperation with different local museums and other cultural, educational or social institutions and organisations in the city of Berlin is envisaged. The aim of this cooperation is the broad and in-depth embedding of the project into the city. The partners would act as professional experts as well as disseminators of the project within the neighbourhoods. Beyond that, the authors aim to incorporate their practical approaches into an acdemic context, especially in the fields of European ethnology, cultural anthropology, urban history and museology, to ground their ideas around the issues of contemporary collection strategies scientifically. Above all, the authors assume that it would be a great opportunity to benefit from the experience already gained in other European countries and abroad concerning inclusive contemporary collecting strategies. Projects like the aforementioned British Revisiting Collections project or the

Scandinavian project SAMDOK⁸⁵ would serve as great inspiration in this regard.

In the end, it is not only a matter of the implementation of diversity in the collection but also of the implementation of diversity in the development and realisation of collection concepts.

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Chapter 14

Post-Critical Museology: The Distributed Museum and the Crisis of European

Representation

Andrew Dewdney and Victoria Walsh

... museums are spaces where people can explore personal beliefs in amongst universal

Introduction

experiences of the present, and help create a sense of identity. Because cultural identity in the 21st century is not necessarily defined by national borders. (DCMS 2005) Tate Encounters: Britishness and Visual Cultures⁸⁶ was a three-year research project (2007-10) funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council's strategic programme, Diasporas, Migration and Identities and was a collaboration between Tate Britain (home to the National Collection of British Art), London South Bank University and Chelsea College of Art and Design. The project sought to address a number of questions relating to the relative absence of visitors to Tate Britain defined by the cultural policy category of 'black, minority and ethnic' (BME) and started from the

The objectives of the research were organised around three programme strands: the formation and impact of UK cultural diversity policy; narratives of Britishness and curatorial practices at Tate Britain; and the expanded field of contemporary visual

recognition that, despite over a decade of substantial government funding and cultural

programming defined by policies of 'cultural diversity' and 'social inclusion', there had

been no sustained significant increase in BME audiences across UK museums,

nationally, including Tate Britain.

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⁸⁶ http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/tate-encounters.

culture generated through new media. The research was evidence-based and during the fieldwork period the project enlisted the participation of over 600 first-year undergraduates from London South Bank University who visited both Tate Britain and Tate Modern and who responded to their encounter through questionnaires and essays. A further group of 12 students, with migrational family histories, took part in an indepth, two-year study, working with a visual anthropologist to explore their responses in encountering Tate Britain. The project embraced digital media technologies through which participants documented their experiences both within and outside the gallery. In parallel, the project conducted 42 interviews in an ethnographic, organisational study of the production of the Tate Britain exhibition The Lure of the East (2008), which formed the basis for an analysis of how culture diversity policy and audience engagement was practised at Tate Britain. In constructing a research methodology that embraced critical reflexivity and emergent practice, the project was keen to avoid the potential epistemological reification of the object of study in which volunteer participants would be in danger of becoming research subjects or statistics, to be drawn into a traditional sociological study defined by an overly scientising gaze. To extend the level of engagement into the wider public sphere, the project also held a four-week programme of public discussions, Research in Process, which involved 72 participants and included Tate staff, academics, cultural workers, policy makers and artists in responding to the questions posed by the research and fieldwork data.

The Limits of UK Cultural Diversity Policy and the Politics of Representation

For over a decade, from 1997 to 2007, the New Labour government's policies on cultural diversity aimed to address the unequal relationship between different sections of British society in terms of cultural access and entitlement. As the Tate Encounters

research revealed, the interpretation and management of these policies by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) and the government agency Arts Council England (ACE) revealed a conceptually reductive account of 'difference' with the unintended consequence of reproducing and reinforcing a model of British culture based upon a racialised policy which privileged 'black, minority and ethnic' categories. The promotion and implementation of cultural diversity policies and initiatives, alongside those aimed at social renewal and social inclusion, invariably conflated race (and to a lesser extent ethnicity) with economic and educational deprivation, producing an implicit model of 'deficit' culture. In line with many museums, the primary strategic outcome of cultural diversity thinking at Tate Britain was the adoption of targeting approaches primarily implemented across the Learning and Marketing departments, but also informing curatorial approaches in relation to special projects, often celebrating 'anniversary' events or externally funded by government agencies. Practices of targeting are inherently and exclusively based on a consumer- and demand-led model of audience, which, as the research identified in its organisational study, invariably reproduce the division between working concepts of 'core' and 'marginal' audiences within the museum. What the research also quickly identified was that the conflation of cultural diversity targeting with social demographic measurement provoked a needsbased approach in programming and encouraged data gathering and statistical auditing that demonstrated accessibility and inclusivity through an emphasis on the markers and status of difference between core and marginal audiences. Furthermore, New Labour's policy interest in aligning discussions of cultural access and social inclusion in national museums with discourses of Britishness and citizenship, when combined with racialised models of audience, further reinforced notions of difference explicitly focused upon and

engaged through the representational politics of identity. As a consequence of this deficit modelling, and in response to 'special' project funding, Learning department activities in the museum also perpetuated the practices of BME targeting through the development of dedicated programmes to comply with funding and policy agreements focused on cultural diversity, leaving the curatorship of collection displays and exhibition-making both removed and isolated from knowledge practices that centred on diverse cultures. In setting up this correlation between art and audiences based on racial similarities, cultural diversity is understood to rest predominantly within the confines of representational practices based on skin pigmentation rather than on cultural or social capital, which is inherently understood to be the normative currency of attendance for core audiences. In restricting the apparent interest of minority audiences to representations marked by racial difference, a further slippage is made into the working assumptions that such audiences can be characterised by comparatively fixed identities rooted in cultures outside of the national culture, however complex the latter is understood to be. While audiences of racial difference may indeed be interested in representations of difference, the point is that this is not their only area of interest, and is not necessarily of lesser or greater interest to them than to those not defined by markers of difference.

From the outset of the Tate Encounters project and throughout the fieldwork period, the student co-researchers not only readily identified and resisted this culture of targeting, primarily associated with Marketing and Learning, but assertively rejected being exclusively positioned by the museum in relation to identity categories constructed around race and ethnicity. This was clearly demonstrated through their own data generation and ethnographic films, which insisted on recognition of the fluidity of

identity and the primacy of subjectivity in relation to forging meaning in and through the visual. As the students' auto-ethnographic research also revealed, this emphasis on the fluidity of identity arose out of patterns of transmigration and greater movement within the expanded European Union that were distinct from the patterns of migration that essentially underpinned the formation of UK cultural diversity policy, i.e. that of post-war migration from the Caribbean and South Asia.

In contrast to what was in effect a policy and practice cul-de-sac in the attempt to implement a flawed conception of cultural diversity, the Tate Encounters research found that student participants who would be categorised as 'other' than white British rejected racialised categories and did not see their apparent 'race' or 'ethnicity' as representative of personal identity or cultural habitus. Further, in encountering the museum they actively resisted fixed notions of identity and embraced more fluid, complex and unresolved modes of subjectivity rooted in reflexive stances within their contemporary urban contexts. As a 'museum audience', what they demanded and expected was a more complex presentation of Britishness itself than was offered by Tate Britain and one which would match their own embrace of cultural hybridity and the transcultural, as well one which questioned the mono-cultural narratives of modernism.

Transmigration and Transvisuality: the Limits of Aesthetic Modernism

Occupying the policy category of 'museum non-attenders', the participant coresearchers consistently presented sophisticated readings of the Tate Britain displays and exhibitions that were continuous with their wider visual culture and that they cogently expressed through the use of new media documentation. They clearly and repeatedly understood the 'offer' of the art experience by the museum, but firmly rejected it in favour of wanting to question and engage with how and why that offer was

being made. Thus a de-essentialised notion of identity and a problematised notion of the art museum opened up the space to understand new subject positions in which migrational experience, not identity, could be explored. The reflexive practices of the research participants led to a concentrated enquiry into the practices of visual engagement with the museum though the co-production of a substantial body of visually based media artefacts and visual ethnographic material. Using this material as data, Tate Encounters undertook a detailed analysis of how conceptions of contemporary spectatorship played out in relationship to the key curatorial narratives and logic of aesthetic modernism, which was a defining discourse of curatorial practice at Tate.

Aesthetic modernism in the art museum is founded on two related principles: firstly, that art is a form of highly developed individual self-consciousness; and secondly, that there is a received body of knowledge about the formal rules and logics of art which can be acquired and which is held within the discipline of art history, the underlying knowledge domain of curatorship. Gallery education or, more recently, learning programmes are largely premised upon these twin principles, positioning the audience, through various forms of exposure and induction, as a body to be educated, trained or motivated. In contrast, the research pointed up that the application and currency of specialist knowledge in the organisation of exhibitions and displays does not take account of what can be termed the social reception of the museum. That is to say, neither professional nor specialist expertise explicitly engages in articulating its own organising rationale or the overall value system by and through which the curation of objects and ideas are made to do certain work in the museum. The central problem the research identified at Tate Britain is that curatorial knowledge and practice does not extend systematically or coherently beyond a modernist paradigm.

An early theoretical starting point for the research was provided by the concept of 'visuality', that is to say, the idea that the way in which we see is a learned behaviour. However, although the concept was a starting point, the importance assigned to transmigration within the research led the project to re-think its usefulness. If the context in which we learn to see is key, what happens when that context constantly changes? Transmigration suggests that there are populations that are constantly moving between and through different national contexts; this 'being on the move' has an effect on visuality. The way in which such populations see is directly affected by the fact that they look at things in different contexts. Being on the move leads to a 'seeing on the move'. The project termed this form of visuality, informed by different national contexts, 'transvisuality'. Transvisuality is the product of digital transmediation and the effects of transculturalism, which is impacting upon established visual culture and literacy and which has realigned and reconstituted the art object in the public realm as 'image', accumulating new distributed meanings and associations, not confined by notions of expert knowledge or national contexts of production.

Whilst the term transvisual has been adopted to characterise transmigrational cultural processes of seeing, it also needs to be located as part of the greater predominance of the visual in the reproductive means of global communication. There is a sense of critical urgency attached to this new delineation of the visual in culture, because, it is argued, visualisation is a locus of globalised cultural change, and it is here, precisely, that the larger and more general crisis of European/western historical culture meets. The overall urgency given to this 'visual crisis of the cultural' suggests that 'criticality' cannot be limited to defining new objects of interest and subject framing within the due process of academic scholarship, or to the traditional sites of the

collection and display of the visual, but is to be found in a much wider set of contexts, institutions and practices involved in the production, distribution and consumption of the visual.

The analysis of the transmedial encounters of the participants at Tate Britain sustains the reading of new migrational subject positions and led the research to see that the concept of transculturality, in which culture is progressively moving along new lines of distribution characterised by conditions of mobility and transition involving spatial, material and virtual dimensions, offered an explanatory framework for considering contemporary urban British experience. Such new lines of cultural development have been generated by global capital and labour flows creating transcultural experiences of migration together, which, along with new forms of transvisual experience of digital culture, now place every individual museum professional in exactly the same cultural space as that of every other individual subject in respect to the meaning of museum objects. The transvisual and transmedial are sophisticated and sustained modes of generating meaning, both in and outside of the museum. The highly developed transvisual practices of what the research defined as the atypical or non-museum visitor led to the recognition that the continuation of curatorial practices based upon Western modernism, with its aestheticing trope, limit Tate's exploration of ways in which the historical collection engages with the wider history of British visual culture.

In everyday life in Britain, and moreover globally, historical knowledge and information is being made accessible and available on a hitherto unprecedented scale through highly mediated and personalised computing and Internet services and devices. Museum collections and spaces are no exception to the march of digital culture. One of the noticeable effects on the art museum is that experience of the museum and

collection is being customised and historicised by individual members of the public at a pace that the museum cannot move with. Nor can it yet engage with one of the central consequences of digitisation, a challenge to the central authority and expertise of the museum. The imaginary audiences of the museum, cherished by museum professionals, are being outplayed by imaginary versions of the museum held by remote, online audiences. This is something of an unacknowledged role reversal of cultural traffic flow, in which the symbolic value of art perpetuated by the museum is being challenged by the cultural value of the public sphere.

Conclusions

The ethnographic studies undertaken by the Tate Encounters research point to the fact that valued material cultural artefacts, including works of art, are given meaning through subjective narratives arising from the life worlds of subjects. The research argues that there is much to gain by the museum in understanding works of art as part of a globally mediated circulation of images in print and digital forms. A promising avenue for further investigation lies in applying the concept of transmediation to studies of visitor experiences. Such understandings do not currently lie within the remit of the disciplines of art history and museology, which have so far provided inadequate means of accounting for contemporary spectatorial practices in an art museum. At Tate, for example, there is a clear line of tension between the continuation of the modernist curatorial paradigm and the 'contemporary audience', because the latter is constituted outside of the art historical account and if anything leans towards a cultural studies interpretative paradigm (see Figure 1). The consequence of this unresolved tension for Tate is that is reproduces yet another binary between contemporary lived culture and modernist art, which places learning/interpretation at the never-to-be-resolved public

interface between marketing ('edutainment') and curatorial (aesthetic) as the public translators.

Figure 14.1 Organisational development of the Art Museum

Source: Andrew Dewdney.

The research encouraged Tate to establish collaborative and embedded working groups to think about modes of spectatorship based upon multimodal and transmedial viewing strategies. By this we mean that the dominant aesthetic trope of Western European art be reinvestigated from the position of visitor and employee subjectivities. This could be a contribution to studies of future strategies of exhibitionary practices.

In its broadest and most conceptual conclusion, the research suggests that, instead of seeing the flow of cultural value and meaning as starting from the triumvirate of artist/work-of-art/museum and moving towards the audience, the art museum thinks of ways of opening up and developing a dialogic flow, which centrally includes the cultural authority of the public. The research has interestingly led to a wider programmatic call for more empirically-based and qualitative longitudinal research on how notions of cultural value in the public realm are produced and circulated and how the cultural authority of the museum can be bought into new relationships with the emergent authority conferred by transculturality and digital media.

In generating research data and its analysis, the project achieved a model form of embedded and collaborative research that operated to prefigure reflexive professional practices of 'audience'. In synthesising the three strands of enquiry, the research developed an interdisciplinary set of research practices that allowed for a transdisciplinary view of the art museum. Through such processes the research has illuminated the absence of a knowledge of audience and therefore the limits of art

museum practices focused upon audience development. The interrelationship and interrogations of the four strands of the research, cultural diversity policy, national art collection, visual spectatorship and new media practices, have opened up much larger questions for the art museum. These relate to the continuation of a modernist curatorial paradigm in modes of exhibition and display, which has historically been at odds with contingent everyday life, as noted originally by Pierre Bourdieu, but now possibly surpassed by a digital culture, in a period of what the transdisciplinary synthesis of the research acknowledged as a condition of hypermodernism.⁸⁷ The implications of this for Tate relate directly to Tate Online and Tate Media and, as for museums in general, to the wider role of the Internet as the default mode of visual communication. How are museums, which are fundamentally analogue systems, to relate to their present and future audiences through a digital mode of storage, transmission and reception? In posing this question, Tate Encounters has led its research out to a new and urgent agenda for museums, which forms the basis for its current and future research projects. The aims of this new work are fourfold. Firstly to develop and test sustainable models of embedded collaborative audience research, based upon constructing new interdisciplinary knowledge hybrids. Secondly, to establish a new theoretical account of the individual encounter with the art object in the light of the digital remediation of the visual field, as a basis for rethinking the socio-aesthetic reception of art. Thirdly, through such online encounters, to contribute to the development of new cultural taxonomies that can be used by museums in thinking about audience development. Finally, to further understand how social and cultural difference is entailed in the

⁸⁷ For an overview of the condition of hypermodernity see Lipovetsky and Charles 2005. For a detailed discussion of the analysis of the Tate Encounters research findings in relation to hypermodernity see Dewdney et al, 2012: 165-247.

apprehension and valuing of art objects in museums in relationship to the audience's digital cultural experience. Equally, the research has concluded that there is an urgency about developing an account of the ways in which audiences engage globally with the digital mediation of images in the Tate collection.

The modernist museum was conceived as the black box, or white cube in which it needed do nothing other than present an event. 88 What is left out of this account, and what the museum is missing today, is the means of dialogue in the engagement such that private consumption can be reconnected to a notion of public, a conduit that tradition once provided. In a hypermodern, post-traditional society, tradition cannot be revived, other than as heritage, but subjectivities can be made visible and shared and this is a necessary step in assembling new collectivities. The networks of the distributed museum, the cultural archives of the connected databases, together with the work undertaken by the consumer in fashioning subjectivities, provide the framework, or network, within which the process of identity formation can form a new commons and a replacement for representational systems that no longer connect with the hypermodern subject. From the perspective of the argument being made here, there still remains a need to see how a confrontation with the paradoxes of the hypermodern has been intellectually arrived at; tracing the outline of the way the argument has been constructed will be helpful.

Acknowledgments

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⁸⁸ For the most influential account of the modernist gallery as white cube see O'Doherty 2000.

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Chapter 15

The Issue of Repatriation for Natural History Museums in Europe: Attempts at the Sharing of Heritage between Science and Traditional Societies

Laurence Isnard and Fabienne Galangau-Quérat

Introduction

This paper discusses how the repatriation question is being addressed in the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (MNHN) and the wider challenges involved in sharing tangible and intangible cultural heritage. It deals with the policy of repatriation of human remains, connected to ethnic identity, and to contemporary debates on historical and cultural narratives, which currently lack a common European policy.

As museum professionals, the authors wish to give an account of MNHN's experiences over the past ten years because this subject is current and complex for many European museums, especially natural history museums. Historic collections are very much linked to nineteenth century scientific voyages of discovery and to the colonial history of the countries concerned.

Figure 15.1 External view of the Musée de l'Homme

Source: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle - Musée de l'Homme (c).

The Museum of Mankind, Musée de l'Homme, one of the sites of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, was founded by Paul Rivet and opened to the public in 1938. This was the first time that collections in the areas of prehistory, anthropology and ethnology were presented together to the public with the aim of proposing a global understanding of mankind. It was constructed around the Trocadero Museum of Ethnography, itself created for the 1878 Paris World Fair (Grognet 2009).

The Musée de l'Homme has been closed since 2009 and should reopen at the

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end of 2015. At the present time (2012), the museum is developing, for its reopening, a

new identity around the relationships between man, nature, and the environment both in

time and in space. To this end, a new museographical discourse as well as a new interior

design are in the process of development. This renovation is therefore an opportunity to

think about the societal issues associated with museum collections (Mohen 2004).

Figure 15.2 Musée de l'Homme under renovation

Source: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle - Musée de l'Homme (c).

A Sensitive, Complicated and Current Issue

The repatriation of human remains is a complicated and sensitive issue because it is

associated with identity claims. From the 1970s, political movements of native peoples,

for example the American Indians and the Australian or Tasmanian Aboriginals, began

to contest the way that the human remains of their ancestors were being treated in

museums. Campaigns looking for the restitution of these human remains started to be

organised in Australia, where the aboriginal people had been given full citizenship, but

also in the United States. Thus several legal provisions were promulgated in these

countries:

• In Australia, where repatriation began with the enactment of the 1984 Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act, with an extension of federal

law to the cultural property of the aboriginal people

• In the United States, where legal provisions were enacted concerning the

treatment of human remains in 1989 (National Museum of the American Indian

Act) and in 1990 (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act)

• In New Zealand the government set up the Karanga Aotearoa Repatriation

Programme in 2003

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• In Great Britain a long time decapitated aborigine deposited in the Liverpool City Museum, was given back in 1977. The Blair government set up a working group in 2001 to further study the question of human remains, the outcome of which was the enaction of the 2004 Human Tissue Act. This provided for greater scope of action to museum trustees in the areas of deaccessioning and restitution of human remains of less than 1,000 years old, the setting up of the Human Tissue Authority and the adoption of a Best Practices Guide for the treatment of human remains in museums.

Human remains repatriation is a complicated and sensitive issue because it can be seen as contrary to scientific and conservation positions. The role of natural history museums is to build up collections, to carry out research and to propagate knowledge. Since the nineteenth century, such museums have built up vast collections, precious historic references and tools indispensable for modern research in areas as varied as biodiversity and that of human societies. Attempts by native peoples to reappropriate their own cultural history and requests for the restitution of human remains have become a sensitive subject. Two arguments relating to the concept of heritage have thus come to confront one another: on the one hand, the globalisation concept stemming from the logic of traditional societies; on the other hand, the universality concept stemming from that of museums and scientists.

In February 2008 an international symposium on these questions was held in the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, entitled *Anatomical Collections and Cult Objects*. At the opening ceremony, Christine Albanel, the then Minister for Cultural Affairs, recognised the fact that French museums were receiving requests for the restitution or the repatriation of cultural heritage items, and more especially of items of human remains

[...] these requests being deemed to be all the more admissible in the eyes of the public in that they emanate from communities who would have been the victims of European colonial expansion and who would still be outcasts in their own countries (Albanel 2008).

Nevertheless she recalled the complex nature as well as the different status of each of these requests before arriving at the conclusion 'that despite the strength, the understanding behind, and the legitimacy of these heritage identity movements, they must not put into jeopardy the universality concept in French museums' 89.

Human remains repatriation is a complicated and sensitive issue because such remains cannot be treated in the same way as other cultural heritage items. They must be treated with dignity and decency as defined in the ICOM ethics code. It is essential that both the ethics involved and an introspective reflection on the history of natural sciences in the nineteenth century be taken into account, beyond any legal and diplomatic considerations, the latter already being very complex subjects.

Human remains repatriation is a complicated and sensitive issue because it carries with it, for most of the larger European countries, a political dimension given the link between the setting up of these collection items and colonial expansion.

Human remains repatriation is a complicated and sensitive issue because of the constraints of different national legal systems, despite the United Nations resolution of 2007 on native people's rights for human remains repatriation and the ICOM Ethics code of 2004, extolling respect for native peoples. For example, there is in Britain the 'no-property rule' and in France, the 'Heritage Code', with different interpretations.

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⁸⁹ English translation of 'La force actuelle des mouvements de patrimonialisation identitaire ne saurait, pour compréhensible et légitime qu'elle soit, évidemment, mettre en péril la vocation universaliste de nos musées (Albanel 2008, 8).

The Legal System in France and Europe

The French Heritage Code, promulgated in February 2004, has put together all the articles of French law concerned with museum heritage. This code is based on two fundamental principles.

The first is inalienability, which recognises that collection items in French museums cannot be sold, handed over, or exchanged, as they belong to a public body. Any deaccessioning can only be formalised after examination by a scientific commission, the rules to be applied laid down by a legal decree. This legal principle aims at guaranteeing the long lasting stability of the museum collections.

The second principle is called in French *imprescriptibilité*, similar to non-abrogation. This means that any collection item lost or stolen can be recovered by the museum with no time limit. An inventory is proof that the collection item belongs to the museum.

A study of comparative legislation (in Germany, Denmark, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and the United States) carried out by the French senate in 2009 (Richert 2009) revealed that even when it is explicitly recognised by law, the principle of the inalienability of public collections is never unreservedly absolute, and in cases where restitutions are not specifically prohibited by law, they are nonetheless supervised and of a limited number.

Two Recent MNHN Cases of Human Remains Repatriation

During the past ten years two major restitutions were important milestones for both the French state and the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle.

The first was the restitution of the remains of Saartje Baartman, better known as the 'Hottentot Venus'. These remains, symbolic of the humiliation and exploitation of

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colonial times, were returned to the state of South Africa in May 2002. The second was the restitution of Maori warrior heads in January 2012 to the Te Papa museum of New Zealand.

These matters were dealt with at the top levels of the French government. In fact, two specific laws were enacted to enable these actions to be carried out. They embodied the identity claims of different communities for the restitution of symbolic cultural heritage items. Both concerned human remains that were part of the anthropological collections of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle. In this context, the museum is the heritage institute most implicated in restitution in France today.

Saartje Baartman was a South African Khoikhoi slave publicly exhibited in both France and England from 1810. She became a popular exhibit partly on account of her steatopygous morphology. She died in Paris in 1815 and her remains became the subject of research carried out by the famous anatomist, Georges Cuvier, with a view to upholding the racist theories prevalent at that time.

Figure 15.3 Cast of the Hottentot Venus, Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris

Source: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (c).

Her human remains were preserved at the Musée de l'Homme and were exhibited until 1974. From 1994 the Khoisan community called on Nelson Mandela to intervene to obtain a decent grave for Saartje Baartman, a way to give her back her dignity. The French president, François Mitterrand, made such a promise but part of the scientific community opposed this repatriation on the grounds of the legal principle of inalienability. It only became possible, after eight years discussions, when the specific

law of 2002 allowed the restitution of the remains of Saartje Bartman to South Africa. 90

Ten years later her life story continued to raise the question of man's relationship with his fellow-man. Thus the film made by Abdelatif Kechiche, *The Black Venus* of 2010, and the success of *Exhibitions, the Invention of the Savage*, an exhibition held at the Musée de Quai Branly in 2011 are the most pregnant records of these racist theories. Theatre, comics and books continue to talk about this subject.

The most recent restitution, in January 2012, concerned Maori heads. They were dispersed during the last hundred years among various ethnographic collections and some were kept in the collections of the Muséum national d'histoire naturelle. Maori heads are the ambassadors of Maori culture throughout the world. In the long history of humanity, the conservation of human skulls represents an important step towards awareness of our place in nature.

Figure 15.4 Head of Maori warrior repatriated, Museum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris

Source: Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (c).

The restitution of the heads to the Te Papa museum of New Zealand after five years negotiations was the culmination of a prolonged political and legal battle in France.

The restitution scenario started in 2006 thanks to the director of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Rouen, Sébastien Minchin, with his willingness to return a Maori head deposited in the Rouen museum archive collection (Minchin 2008). After a drawn-out political debate, his cause, which was supported by the Rouen municipality, was brought before the French National Assembly. The French Heritage Code, in fact, by

 $^{^{90}\} www. assemble e-nationale. fr/ta/ta0808. asp$

legally declaring the 'inalienability of the state-owned collections of French museums', is in opposition to the French Civil Code which provides for the 'Unavailability of the human body' in its legal declaration stating that: 'The human body cannot be violated, and its composition and components cannot be the subject of heritage rights.'

Four years later, on 4 May 2010, a specific law was again enacted allowing the restitution of Maori heads retained in French museums.⁹¹

So, on 23 January 2012, an official ceremony was held in the presence of the French Minister for Cultural Affairs, Fréderic Mitterand, during which twenty Maori heads from several French museums were handed over to Maori representatives of the Te Papa museum of New Zealand.

A few days before, a seminar had been held at the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle in parallel with this official restitution ceremony. The discussions held during this seminar brought to the forefront the policies being put in place by the museum along with the positions of the scientific community concerning these sensitive questions, ten years after the emblematic restitution of the Hottentot Venus. These official events were certainly not over-publicised in the media. They were sober and respectful with respect to the Maori community members present but they also gave the scientific community members present (mainly anthropologists, ethnologists and geneticists) the opportunity to air their strong views on the need to preserve these remains in the interests of possible further scientific research. They presented several current studies. These exceptional events were a privileged moment for the two communities, the scientists on the one hand and the Maori community on the other, to share and air what could be taken to be opposite points of view.

 $^{^{91}\} www. assemblee-nationale.fr/13/pdf/ta/ta0455.pdf.$

About the MNHN Repatriation Policy

More details of the MNHN repatriation policy will help to better understand the scientific point of view.

The Scientific Head of the Anthropological Collections of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle, Dr. Alain Froment, defends the principle of 'universal scientific research' within a secular framework in conformity with French philosophical traditions, rather than giving in to ideological pressure.

He has the following to say about restitution requests: 'If an ethnic affiliation can be acknowledged but not a specific individual identity, we don't follow up on any such restitution request submitted. Exceptions are made however, in the event of the implication of political arbitrations at the highest government levels, terminating in special legislation or deaccessioning.' (Froment 2012).

Scientists are also endeavouring to involve communities in a constructive manner in studies connected with their ancestors. They are giving them access to items of interest and to the results of scientific research. They are encouraging them to get involved in the scientific aspect, by giving them access to learning and training programmes.

The anthropological collection consists of thirty thousand items and is principally a nineteenth century collection, connected with the founding of the French Anthropological Society and of modern anthropology. This collection is made up mostly of human remains: skeletons, bones, skulls, mummies and human fossils dating back to the Palaeolithic and Neolithic eras (the most famous are Cro-Magnon and Neanderthal from La Ferrassie and La Chapelle-aux-Saints). Such collections, in the eyes of anthropologists, represent the overall diversity of the *Homo sapiens* species, as it is

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understood today. In fact these archive collections are the means that allow the constant advancement of a better understanding of our species.

This is the reason why anthropologists defend the position of maintaining access to these collection items, on the grounds that they belong to our common heritage, as is already the case for older fossils. Alain Froment (2012) has added that:

'In the event of a restitution taking place, this must be done only if it carries with it, the guarantee that these remains will not be destroyed. The proper preservation of these items will therefore, ensure, for the future, the possibility of further study using any new technology, yet to be invented. Like in the case of encyclopaedias, scientific research on collections is a never ending process'.

Conclusions

The two examples above, among many others in Europe, are illustrations of repatriation processes in which natural history museums with human remains in their collections are engaged, in the name of scientific research. This brings into play the need for rethinking, for proper definitions to be made and limits to be drawn up with regard to heritage collections. Consideration must also be given to how and where they are to be preserved, not forgetting the rules to be applied with regard to their exhibition in the European context. The concept of 'universal scientific knowledge' will have to play a major part in the area of 'sharing heritage' and be more transparent. Museum professional communities, now operating more and more in networks, will, of course, play a determining role in the application of these concepts.

The points of view coming from the experiences of different European countries should be better known and shared. Far from limiting actions to either the conservation of whole collections or the unthinking restitution of items, what is at stake is ensuring the capacity to build together a true twenty-first century culture in this area.

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Chapter 16

'Critical Objects': Museums, Refugees and Intercultural Dialogue.

Domenico Sergi

Introduction

The case study analysed here is part of an on-going PhD project investigating how

museum-based activities can research and encourage refugees' integration in Britain. 92

This paper is particularly concerned with initial findings on how museums can inspire

intercultural dialogue, exploring the role of artefacts in stimulating discussions on

'critical incidents' resulting from encounters with another culture. The study analyses

the work done in the last four years by the Education and Research Department at the

Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts (University of East Anglia), with refugees from the

Democratic Republic of Congo resettled in Norwich as part of the Gateway Protection

Programme (GPP).⁹³

When refugees resettle in Britain, a constellation of consortia formed by local

councils, social service providers and non-governmental organisations are responsible

for supporting them in the process of integration in their new localities (Refugee

Council 2004). 94

92 Working title Understanding the role of museums in the resettlement of refugees in contemporary Britain.

Supervisors Dr. Veronica Sekules and Prof. John Mack.

93 GPP is a UK 'quota refugees' resettlement scheme operated by the Home Office and United Nation High

Commissioner for Refugees. The programme has resettled up to 750 refugees per year since 2004. Norwich has been

one of the destinations.

⁹⁴ A compelling visual account of the complexities involved in this process is offered in *Moving to Mars* (dir. Mat

Whitecross 2009), a documentary following the journey of two Karen families from a refugee camp on the

Thai/Burma border to their new homes in Sheffield.

The impact of the arts and cultural sector in facilitating refugees' integration has been acknowledged by a number of publications, which have emphasised the role of art practices in increasing social skills and confidence of refugees, breaking down stereotypes in receiving societies, promoting health and well-being and contributing to community cohesion (Refugee Action 2008: 4).95 Museums have entered this space through an extremely eclectic range of projects, primarily developed in the last decade under the aegis of the sector's social inclusion agenda. Exhibitions have been organised to celebrate the contribution of refugees to British society, as in the case of *Belonging*: Voices of London's Refugees at the Museum of London in 2006 (Museum of London 2006). Projects were set up to enable refugees to record their own heritage, as in the work of the Refugee Heritage Programme (2004-2008) of London Museums Hub (Davison and Orchard 2008). University museums have worked alongside academic departments to tackle social isolation and mental depression of refugees, as demonstrated by Telling Our Lives at the Manchester Museum (Lynch 2001, 2008). Partnerships were created across museums in north and central England, as in the Engaging Refugees and Asylum Seekers project (ERAAS 2011). 6 Civic museums have adopted integrated strategies to deliver services for forced migrants, as part of the social justice programme developed at the Gallery of Modern Art, Glasgow (Bruce, Harman, Hollows and Watsaon 2007) and the outreach projects delivered by the Open Museum

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⁹⁵ The arts sector in the UK has engaged with refugees since at least the 1970s. However, the development of a clearly articulated strand of arts and refugees practices gathered critical momentum in response to the new dispersal policies introduced in 2000 (Kidd, Zahir and Kahn 2008). Refugee Week, held annually in June since 1998, is probably the most well-known initiative, as well as more recent ventures such as Platforma, a nationwide arts and refugees network run by the Refugee Council and funded by The Baring Foundation and Arts Council of England.

⁹⁶ ERAAS was funded by the Department for Culture, Media and Sport across Salford Museum and Art Gallery, National Museums Liverpool, Tyne and Wear Archives and Museums and Leicester City Museums Service.

(Lane and Jamieson 2010) in Glasgow. In Liverpool it was even developed a best practice guide for engaging with refugees and asylum seekers (National Museums Liverpool 2005-2006).

Museums and Refugees, beyond ESOL

Intervention around the structural barriers that refugees encounter with respect to language, culture and the local environment (see Ager and Strang 2008, Strang and Ager 2010) has been a defining trend of much museum work in this area. Among the plethora of projects set up, museum practitioners have organised a number of ESOL programmes (English for Speakers of Other Languages) to encourage the development of refugees' linguistic competence.⁹⁷ In the work done by the Renaissance Learning Group across five London museums (MLA Renaissance London 2011), for instance most museumbased language learning has used artefacts as a stimulus for the development of linguistic skills, helping clients to improve working vocabulary. The ESOL programme organised for new arrivals by Tyne and Wear Museums in Sunderland has revealed how object-led ESOL sessions were often pushing the boundaries of language learning, helping migrants to become more familiar with local traditions and culture (ERAAS 2011). Similarly, the ESOL programme for refugees and asylum seekers developed by the City of Edinburgh Council Museums and Galleries service has shown how museumbased language learning can move beyond the functional level of language instructions to more idea-driven intellectual engagement, giving voice to learners' perceptions and experiences (Clarke 2010: 160). As demonstrated by museum visitor research, objects can play a determinant role in opening up spaces that go beyond the functional

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⁹⁷ ESOL courses are not a new phenomenon in museum practice. For a full account of ESOL programmes developed by museums and galleries in the UK and abroad see Clarke (2010: 165).

experience, activating emotional and cognitive associations and projections (Kavanagh 2000, Carnegie 2006). Artefacts can be a powerful trigger to stimulate forms of introspection and creative reflection on the self and other (Silverman 2010, Dudley 2010).

The potential of object-led language learning in opening up spaces that transcend linguistic competence has been a rather unexpected outcome of the work done with local refugees at the Sainsbury Centre for Visual Arts.

Critical Incidents in Intercultural Communication

The Sainsbury Centre has worked for the past four years with refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo arriving from very different locations within the large central African state. Projects were designed in collaboration with a network of local health professionals, social service providers and Refugee Council representatives. The first two projects, Their Past, Your Future (2008-2009) and the Gateway Group Project (2009-2010), were developed by Dr Veronica Sekules and artist Dave Lewis to assist newly-arrived families settle into a new life in Norwich. The aim of this first phase was to contribute to the development of refugees' professional and communication skills and to explore the value of object-led working practices in encouraging the verbalisation of experiences (Sekules 2009).

In 2010-2011, the museum partnered with the local social services to launch English Language and Society, an outreach project aimed at the previous year's group and centred on the provision of ESOL classes for adults. Thirteen sessions were run at the social services' premises and jointly moderated by Karl, social worker at Norwich City Council, Brenda, a volunteer guide at the museum and former ESOL teacher, Dr. Veronica Sekules and the author. The museum's handling collection of central African

textiles was used alongside refugees' personal belongings as a stimulus to help build confidence in conversational English.

In these sessions the museum came to learn, through the means of language provision, that clients were interested in discussing a set of issues that had wider implications for their everyday life. The workshops were becoming a place where narratives around the process of integration were emerging on the surface. Our agenda of English grammar and phonetics had to be quickly adjusted to accommodate the telling and retelling of events, occurrences, shopping trips and journeys to the coast that were increasingly puzzling clients.

The vast majority of these narratives were 'critical incidents' (Sekules 2001, Cohen-Emerique 2011), circumstances that challenged people's understanding of British culture. They were events of some personal significance that made them stop and think, questioning aspects related to their beliefs, values, attitudes or behaviours:

The social services took us for a trip to the coast. Everybody was expecting us to put on swimming clothes and off to the sea...But where I come from I cannot swim half naked in front of my children! (participant, session 2)

I went to the doctor to ask for some advice and he was very helpful. However, when I next met him at the supermarket I said 'Hi' and he totally ignored me. What did I do wrong? (participant, session 4)

I have changed since I arrived. When I talk in public with friends I try to keep my tone of voice to a minimum because I think people would get annoyed otherwise... (participanton 3).

We decided to turn these powerful issues into a mutual learning opportunity, making them the backbone of our following project Intercultural Encounters (2011-2012).

Critical Objects for Intercultural Dialogue

Intercultural Encounters is a participatory action research project developed in

collaboration with a member of the previous year's group, referred to here as Jean-Paul. Jean-Paul and the author met regularly over three months to set up the project and to discuss objectives, methodologies and practicalities. We started from an analysis of the critical incidents emerged in past projects, looking for patterns that could inspire our practice. This exploratory phase revealed that the majority of occurrences related to issues concerned with taboos, communication and the expression of feelings and emotions.

Following these findings, we decided to adopt a thematic approach to the organisation of the sessions, exploring intercultural behaviours connected with the conceptual areas mentioned above. Six object-led workshops were run in the permanent collection of the Sainsbury Centre, which in addition to Congolese and African artefacts includes objects from Asia, the Americas and the Pacific regions and European Modernist masterpieces. The collection resulted particularly appropriate as a stimulus to foster intercultural dialogue over critical incidents, due to the cross-cultural principle inspiring the exhibition space and the juxtaposition of artefacts from different parts of the world, searching for aesthetic and conceptual relations between cultures (Figure 16.1). The in-gallery workshops were jointly moderated by Jean-Paul, Brenda and Dr. Veronica Sekules, who was asked to front the programme by Jean-Paul, in observance of Congolese protocols. The sessions were attended by an average of ten adult clients, both males and females, mainly proceeding from the previous year's projects. Various methodologies where used in the workshops, including projective techniques, creative writing tools and Widgit symbols, to accommodate the various linguistic abilities of the group.

Figure 16.1 Sainsbury Centre's Living Area. Fosters + Partners

Source: Photographer Neil Young.

Taboos

During these sessions, the meanings of taboos were explored and their presence across

cultures discussed. Clients were asked to debate their experience of taboos in relation to

the encounter with English culture. A number of responses came out, mostly connected

with the use of the body as a site of friction. The group identified naked sculptures in

the permanent collection and portraits exposing nude bodies, which caused

embarrassment in some of the clients. Most of the refugees argued about the difficulty

of walking around the gallery with their children asking to name parts of the body - an

undesirable conversation to have in Congolese contexts.

The performative role of artefacts in liberating narratives around nudity was

further unveiled when the group approached Fisherman's god (Figure 16.2), a statuette

from Rarotonga (Cook Islands) collected by Christian missionaries in the late eighteenth

century.

Figure 16.2 Male figure ('Fishermen's god'), Polynesia. UEA 189. Robert and Lisa

Sainsbury Collection, University of East Anglia

Source: Photographer James Austin.

Jean-Paul was familiar with the story behind the object and the genital mutilation

suffered by the statuette when taken to Britain. Once he revealed the story to the group,

the taboos carried by the object opened up an interesting discussion around taboos

associated with peoples' experience of nudity and the body in the UK. The lack of

clothing of the object instigated conversations around dress-codes and young women

'dressing sexy' on public streets, which led to discussions around the appropriateness of

sex education in schools, an issue of particular concern to the clients. These narratives

generated a fruitful exchange between staff involved in the sessions and refugees. Ethnocentric perspectives around the body emerging from both Congolese and British cultures were discussed in the context of the events evoked by the object.

The staff involved pointed out how dress-codes are used by young people to express their identities and discussed the role of sex education in school in reducing teenage pregnancies. This procedure helped the group to consider the body from an ethno-relative perspective, minimising the frustration that originated the discussion. On their side, museum personnel gained some valuable insights into how clients perceived museums and the array of politics surrounding the body in intercultural work.

Emotions

In the sessions dedicated to the expression of emotions, we began by identifying some pictures that could stimulate discussions around various feelings, from love and anger, to boredom, happiness and sadness. Clients associated the pictures with some of the artefacts in the collection, on the basis of the particular emotion aroused by the object. One of the most animated conversations originated from *Head of a Woman (Anna Zborowska)*, painted by Modigliani in 1918-19.⁹⁸

Luke noticed the pursed lips, the inclination of the eyes and the reclining posture of the woman. Everything seemed to reveal that *Anna* was angry at something or somebody. In front of the portrait he enacted the position of the woman several times. He imagined the context of the painting: the woman is somewhere private, in a room; it is daytime and she is alone thinking about something that makes her angry, but she doesn't know how to express her anger. We invited the group to reflect on various ways

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⁹⁸ Amedeo Modigliani, *Head of a Woman (Anna Zborowska)*, 1918-1919, UEA 13, Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection, University of East Anglia.

of conveying anger and a number of responses emerged, as varied as shouting and going to sleep. Sarah remarked that she felt restrained since moving to Britain, particularly when expressing emotions in public. Compared to the Congo, she felt that people in the UK were less keen to express feelings in public, let alone show anger.

Communication.

In this session we started with a discussion around different ways of communicating an idea, exploring both verbal and non-verbal languages. We specifically concentrated on issues of the use of the space (proxemics), touch (haptics), body movement (kinesics) and paralanguage (vocalics). We started with some exercises in body movement and gestures, debating cross-cultural differences and similarities in the use of non-verbal language: the same hand movements communicating diverging concepts and dissimilar gestures expressing the same idea. The group was then asked to choose an object from the collection that would reflect the conversations we had on non-verbal communication. Some of the women in the group directed their attention towards *Mother and Child*, sculpted by Henry Moore in 1932. 99 We discussed ideas of protection conveyed by the firm hug of the mother, which inspired a stimulating conversation on ways of showing love and affection across cultures. Looking at the sculpture, one of the clients was drawn towards the slightly tilted head of the figure, observing how little movements of the body can convey complex meanings.

The physicality expressed by the object animated discussions on the use of the body in space and issues of intimate, personal and social distance in everyday life. Some clients lamented the scarcity of physical contact between people in Britain, remarking on differences from their personal experiences in DCR. This shifted the focus

⁹⁹ Henry Moore, *Mother and Child*, 1932, UEA 82, Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection, University of East Anglia.

to conversations about rules of behaviours and their incidence in the process of integration in a new cultural environment. We moved on to discuss English politeness and the impact of both verbal and non-verbal language in decoding it. Jean-Paul observed how he tried a few times to stop and have a chat with his neighbours in the street, wondering if he had been polite enough in approaching them. Brenda, who was attentively listening, pointed out how politeness shouldn't be seen as a way of keeping distance from one another, but rather a form of respect for other people's privacy and personal space. Clients were quite surprised to hear that and recalled the different, more open approaches to showing friendship and deference towards people in the Congo.

Conclusions

The potential of museums as spaces of intercultural dialogue is a growing trend in current European museological thinking and practice (see Bodo 2012: 190). In Britain, the necessity of encouraging intercultural communication with culturally diverse groups is among the recommendations of an influential paper prepared by the Campaign for Learning through Museums and Galleries (CLMG 2006), which has inspired much work in this area.

The case study presented above aims to provide insights into this debate, discussing some initial findings of an ongoing research project. The work explored begins from a critique of earlier practice in object-led museum work with migrants and refugees in particular. So far, the majority of the work conducted in this area has been rooted in an essentialist notion of heritage, which led practitioners to develop culturally specific programming. The ethos underpinning this approach was that culturally relevant collections would resonate more effectively with their respective communities (see Lynch 2001, 2008, Davison and Orchard 2008). However, as provisionally found

none of the 'critical objects' that inspired our intercultural dialogues belonged to Congolese material culture. As discussed by Bodo (2012: 183), the idea that particular collections hold a specific significance for cultural groupings has not favoured crosscultural understanding between communities and it has in fact contributed to keep groups apart. Unsurprisingly this approach has infiltrated in the museum sector in Britain a very static picture of cultural diversity, an idea of society made of discrete, exclusive communities. If we want museums to nurture intercultural dialogue, practitioners should embrace a much more fluid notion of the significance of collections, shifting the focus from 'culture' to 'people' and the deeper connection of subjects with objects (see Miller 2008). As we are reminded by Mark O'Neill (2010:35), objects can act as an extension of ourselves and they are not simply functional instruments. The universal relationship people hold with objects shows the potential of museum artefacts to be transfigured as phenomena emancipated from cultural specificity.

In addition, the case study provides food for thought on the practice of language learning in museums. Following our work, clients have grown in confidence when expressing themselves in English, beginning to develop ways to articulate complex concepts and showing a sense of great personal achievement. They have also manifested appreciation for being able to discuss issues concerning their everyday life experience, an element claimed to be largely disregarded in the support received throughout the resettlement. The sessions have therefore shown a much wider scope for language learning, crossing the boundaries of linguistic competence. The stories enhanced by the artefacts were able to liberate personal narratives that revealed aspects of crucial importance for refugees' well-being in Britain. So far the lived experience of refugees

has received scarce attention by refugee scholars and practitioners, overtaken by policyoriented discussions on the legal and economic aspects of integration. However, a
growing body of literature is demonstrating how refugee narratives can have a strong
self-healing potential and empower individual refugee voices (see Eastmond 2007,
Gemignani 2011). The case study aims to participate to this discussion by exploring the
contribution museological work with artefacts can bring.

Finally, the research conducted so far argues to rethink methodological practices in work with culturally diverse communities. Intercultural dialogue can only be achieved if it is a transformative experience for all the parties involved and if programmes are effectively negotiated (Isar in Bodo 2008: 124). This implies being attentive to clients' necessities, co-developing projects that hold significance to people's everyday lives. The participatory action research model adopted in Intercultural Encounters has proved useful as a framework to embed the needs of refugees into museum practice. The thematic approach chosen for the sessions has also facilitated the exploration of a wide range of cross-cultural references. The intimacy created in the sessions has opened the way for what can be described as a 'humanistic' outcome of the project, where through the means of dialogue a new space beyond polarised conversations about 'self' and 'other' was created.

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Chapter 17

A Curious Case Study: Creating Inter-cultural Dialogue through Objects

Aileen Strachan

Introduction

Curious was a three year Glasgow Museums project to support and celebrate the London Olympic Games in 2012, and prepare for the city's role as host of the Commonwealth Games in 2014. It was part of the Scottish Project, funded by Legacy Trust UK, which aimed to create a lasting impact from the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games by funding ideas and local talent to inspire creativity across the UK, and by the National Lottery through Creative Scotland.

The project had four strands:

- A community-led exhibition in St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art in Glasgow, running from August 2011 to December 2012
- A collections-based learning programme focused on cultural awareness and strategies for intercultural dialogue
- A schools programme reflecting the approach of the Curriculum for Excellence¹⁰⁰
- A symposium reflecting on learning from Curious by interrogating approaches to intercultural dialogue and participation.

This article will focus on the exhibition and learning programme.

100 'A Curriculum for Excellence ... embraces a wider definition of how and what children and young people should learn and experience in their journey through their education, and the need to recognise a broader range of achievements' (Scottish Executive 2006: 1). One innovative aspect of the Curious schools programme was extensive topic-based work with local schools, encouraging in-depth learning from one museum object or a very small collection of objects.

The two main aims of the Curious project were to 'celebrate the diverse populations of the city' and 'create intercultural dialogue and a legacy of increased understanding of each other, the city and [Glasgow Museums'] collections'. ¹⁰¹ Intrinsic to the aim of increasing understanding were two of the key aspects of the project - the centrality of museum collections, and a commitment that the institution would be a partner in dialogue, prepared, indeed expecting, to learn from the project. We understand intercultural dialogue as an on-going process of open exchange in which all parties are respectful of the differing perspectives and backgrounds of each individual. ¹⁰² The museum therefore had to temper any notions of its own authority; as one exhibition development participant put it, 'What I liked about the project, why I got involved, is that it isn't curators telling us what is right. We're doing this, we're making it, and that's very special.'

As well as the catalyst of the London Olympic Games, the project built on two local factors - the increasing diversity of Glasgow's population¹⁰³ and the foundations in interfaith dialogue of St Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art.

St Mungo Museum opened in 1993 with an explicitly stated aim 'to encourage mutual respect and understanding among people of different faiths, and of none' (O'Neill

101 Glasgow Museums 2008. Let Glasgow Flourish was the previous name for the Curious project.

102 This is akin to the European Commission definition which underpinned the European project Museums as Places for Intercultural Dialogue. The project staff has also been influenced by Alison Phipps, Professor of Languages and Intercultural Studies at Glasgow University. Phipps describes intercultural communication as 'an education of attention that does not change who we are, but expands our horizons and enskills us to dwell in different worlds ... It is embedded in everyday life. ... It is not ... a set of skills' (Phipps 2007: 19).

103 Glasgow is home to the largest number of dispersed asylum seekers in the UK. In 2008, 110 different languages were spoken by Glasgow schools pupils (Glasgow City Council Pupil census results). Around 5.5 per cent of the population are from ethnic minority groups (http://www.glasgow.gov.uk/index.aspx?articleid=3969).

1996: 195). The museum was - and continues to be - unusual in embracing this multi-faith approach. Its focus is on lived faith; permanent displays are supplemented with a wide range of temporary exhibitions and learning programmes. Interfaith work has always been a key part of the museum's work; the project's focus on intercultural dialogue developed the skills, contacts and collections of the museum.

One Thousand Curious Conversations: One Curious Exhibition

One hundred people chose and interpreted thirty objects for the *Curious* exhibition. The project curators had to be very flexible and work with a wide range of participants employing a variety of approaches. They did not know which objects would be chosen, set no theme and few restrictions. As a result, the exhibition is an eclectic mix of objects spanning various collections. They included, for example, paintings, a wedding chest, a feasting bowl and a tea set. ¹⁰⁴ Throughout the project the organisers tried to balance a satisfactory exhibition development experience for participants with the creation of an engaging exhibition, aiming to create intercultural dialogue in both the exhibition development and delivery phases.

In 2009, community engagement and consultation sessions with a broad range of contacts led to positive responses, good-will and interest, but few committed participants. It may be that in attempting to be open and responsive, the project curators were not clear enough about the role of participants. It was perhaps not surprising then that the few people who committed to the project at this time were confident museum visitors. It had not recruited the diversity of participants needed to achieve the project aim of creating intercultural dialogue and increased understanding.

¹⁰⁴ All objects are listed on the project blog http://www.curiousglasgow.wordpress.com.

While working with the small number of individuals gathered from those

community engagement events - including individuals and a Sharing of Faiths group -

the project also began to target and recruit additional groups. It worked with all the

groups in a variety of different ways, depending on their skills and contexts, while

continuing to focus on the creation of the exhibition itself. Some participants followed

the process through from beginning to end, working with one or two specific objects.

Others joined at different stages of the process and were involved in either the object

selection or interpretation. The project team endeavoured to take all the participants to

the open storage facilities, Glasgow Museums Resource Centre (GMRC), to see the

objects themselves.

This flexible and participatory approach generated a number of benefits:

audience development; new and personal perspectives on objects; participants acting as

audience advocates; research into audience meaning-making; the establishment of

dialogue as part of the exhibition development and in the exhibition after opening.

Audience Development - Groups of Young People and a Granary Door

Many of the final group of participants were not regular attendees of museums and

significant numbers had not previously visited museums in Glasgow. For example, the

project worked with two groups of young people to select objects and explore the

responses they generated. These two groups were probably the least focused on the

exhibition as an end point, instead concentrating on the process of creating films and art

works inspired by the collections. This may have been partly because the groups did all

their work at GMRC, and therefore felt less connection with St Mungo Museum.

Figure 17.1 Door, *Curious* exhibition

Source: CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection (c).

Two of the objects chosen by the young people were featured in the exhibition. One, a granary door, was interpreted by a mind map created by one of the young people. It was one of only two objects (both interpreted with an artistic response) which also had a curatorial label. On reflection, it is now felt that these labels should have been attributed to specific named curators, as all other interpretation was attributed to named groups or individual participants.

New Perspectives and Unusual Juxtapositions - Warri Board and Water Bottle

Participants brought new perspectives and unusual juxtapositions to the exhibition, creating connections that museum staff would have been unlikely to make. One participant's chosen objects - an Algerian water bottle and a *warri* board (a strategic board game for two players) from Sierra Leone - are from different collections, and different areas of the stores. Her personal perspective on the objects arose from her work as a ceramicist. Distinct finger marks can be seen on the surface of the bottle, and the *warri* board had been visibly worn down by fingers scooping out counters as part of playing the game. The participant chose two interpretive methods, both of which worked well to prompt visitors to look at the objects. She made a ceramic *warri* board, and created a film of that process. What is more, she expressed a desire to learn to play the game so she was introduced to another participant, from Nigeria, to teach her *warri*.

Participants as Audience Advocates - Tinga Tinga

Participants also sometimes functioned as audience advocates, for example a women's social group from the YWCA¹⁰⁵ focused on interpretation for young children. Most of the women attended so they could improve their English through informal conversation.

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¹⁰⁵ A diverse group of different faiths and ethnicities supported by the Young Women's Christian Association. See http://www.ywcaglasgow.org.

Some women from the group participated in the object selection whilst others contributed solely to the interpretation. The project worked with the whole group to create an artistic interpretive response, a 'Scottish Tinga Tinga painting'. ¹⁰⁶

Figure 17.2 Scottish Tinga Tinga painting created within the Curious Project

Source: CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection (c).

Staff later worked with the group and the BBC's The L.A.B. Scotland¹⁰⁷ to storyboard and create a short animated film inspired by the painting. It was gratifying to observe the women's twin focus throughout that process - the object itself and their chosen target audience of young children. Many of the women had children under five and, throughout the interpretation development process, they created content specifically aimed at this group. Their approach may partly have resulted from workshop sessions in which they discussed how they felt about visiting museums with their families, including the reasons why they found some museums unwelcoming.

Research into Audience Meaning-making - Necklace

Working with such a large number of participants also functioned as a method of informal formative evaluation, allowing project staff to develop a good understanding of how different people made meaning from specific different objects. So, for instance, when an ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) student wrote text that related a Punjabi necklace to weddings, it was known that that connection resonated with a large number of other participants with whom the project had worked, especially

¹⁰⁶ Tinga Tinga paintings are named after Edward Saidi Tingatinga who started the tradition of using bicycle enamels and recycled materials to make brightly coloured paintings of African wildlife to sell to tourists in Tanzania, East Africa.

¹⁰⁷ The L.A.B. Scotland is a BBC outreach project designed to develop digital media literacy within Scotland, working with a diverse range of groups to create their own content.

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many from South-East Asia.

Creation of Dialogue - Radio and Butter Churn

The organisers were continually impressed by the potential of objects to create intercultural dialogue. One participant chose a radiogram; it reminded her of listening to a very similar model in her Glasgow tenement kitchen in the 1960s, and specifically of the night she heard about John F. Kennedy's assassination. She chose audio as the interpretive method. The radiogram was also discussed with other participants, individually and in groups. The intercultural dialogue that was generated fed into audio interpretation of the object, which was thus able to include stories of listening to the radiogram in India, Nigeria and Iran. One participant's comment, 'radio is freedom to me', highlighted the power of objects to hold meaning and evoke memories.

One of the least aesthetically striking objects in the exhibition was a butter churn from the Shetland Islands. It was picked by a young woman from Libya who talked about her memories of making butter. Again a range of participants was introduced to the object and used it to inspire a variety of conversations (as well as making butter together). From those sessions the group developed a filmed interpretation, which included memories from Pakistan and Iran. Working songs that accompany butter making were a feature of those memories and therefore of the interpretation. Throughout the learning programme, there was a huge breadth of discussion about the churn and the way it was used in different places to make different food and even wine. Volunteers connected the object with fairy tales and folklore. It prompted one of the project's intercultural events - an afternoon of working songs, which featured a range of performers, including volunteers who sang and recited poetry. The afternoon culminated in one of the team's project highlights - a spontaneous intercultural conga.

Ongoing Dialogue - Tours, Responses

The opening of the exhibition was not viewed as an end point, rather as a platform for further dialogue. Responses were encouraged within the exhibition through a response space, a typewriter interactive, and a Flickr-based interactive. One of the most successful methods of creating dialogue in the exhibition was the programme of *Curious* tours. Volunteers were trained to lead facilitative tours of the exhibition, encouraged to tell stories and garner responses to the objects. The guides were able to deliver tours in French, Urdu, Russian, Arabic and Polish; however a great many of the tours were in English.

Having generated many responses to the objects, project curators are now working to integrate them into documentation in ways that are ethical and useful and reflect various types of learning, about objects, about visitors and participants and about their meaning-making.

Learning Programme: Cultural Awareness and Strategies for Intercultural Dialogue

The learning programme has evolved throughout the project; there have been important changes in approach since the original conception of a training programme for volunteers assisting with Olympic events in Glasgow. Staff came to the conclusion that they could not - and should not seek to - deliver training in a set of skills, 'correct' vocabulary or 'right' answers that claimed to equip participants for intercultural dialogue. Instead the aim was to facilitate a process of self-reflection and discovery. These changes in approach developed for a number of reasons. Experienced and gifted facilitators were appointed to research, develop and deliver the programme. At the same time action research was carried out with students from a local college. City of Glasgow College ESOL and Event Management students worked extensively together to explore

questions around identity and the city. Working with the students was an extremely useful research process and began to cement one of the strong relationships with colleges that have been a key feature of the Curious project. Curators later partnered with the college to host a monthly drop-in afternoon for ESOL students at the museum. Through working with the college, staff came to trust increasingly in the potential of museum collections to prompt dialogue.

Partnerships also shaped the practical aspects of the project. It was felt that the optimum way to undertake the learning programme was as a full day (or two half days) at the museum, in groups of about fifteen participants. However it was possible to deliver the programme for much larger groups, as well as in taster sessions and versions off-site, for example in community venues, hospital wards and student unions. The approach was always facilitative, participatory and tailored to the audience, including both service users and service providers. A key audience for the programme continued to be ESOL students as well as a large number of colleagues from Glasgow Life and from other public sector, corporate and community groups.

The programme was intended for adults, but was successfully adapted for school pupils. Pupils were also involved in developing a film that shows a scenario of intercultural misunderstanding. Over the lifetime of the project there were around 3,300 participations in the learning programme itself, with approximately the same number of participants at learning programme related events.

Each version of the programme encouraged a process of self-reflection, exploration, discovery and practice. Self-reflection was encouraged in a number of ways. Groups often began by exploring the meaning of their names, and undertook a mapping exercise which highlighted their journeys to Glasgow and links across the

world. Participants identified and used cultural markers, such as food and music, to examine the complexity of their own individual and group cultural identities.

Discussing and handling objects underpinned the learning programme. Participants visited the exhibition to explore their connections with, and responses to, the objects on display. There are also a few objects which the whole group could explore together.

One painting, One Man Band Outside the Fish and Chip Shop, was used throughout the project, in a variety of ways. It is the only object in the exhibition which was selected by museum staff, and was used frequently in the development of the exhibition and learning programme, initially by asking participants to reflect on the way the scene might be different if it depicted contemporary Glasgow. The learning programme explored assumptions and the migrant experience through the painting. Participants were asked to discuss the place and period the painting depicts before being offered the information that it was painted by Hans Jackson, a Jewish man who came to Glasgow in the 1930s from Berlin. Jackson painted One Man Band outside the Fish and Chip Shop in the 1970s; it shows his memory of Glasgow in the 1950s. Participants were asked to speculate on whether Jackson might have depicted himself in the painting and, if so, which figure they identified with him. The most frequent answers reflected both positive and negative experiences and views of migration. Participants regularly surmised that Jackson could be the man in the shadows - detached, apart, watching - or that he is the musician, taking on multiple identities represented by musical instruments from different cultures and traditions, performing for the viewers. These discussions built on the cultural markers that the group had collectively identified.

Figure 17.3 Veil discussion

Source: CSG CIC Glasgow Museums Collection (c).

A veil was selected for the exhibition by one of the young people with whom the project worked. She chose it because 'it was really eye-catching ... it looks like something [pop star] Cheryl Cole would wear on her wedding day'. Her response was thought engaging, but staff chose to supplement it through filmed interpretation based on discussions with a range of other participants, including work with a group of women from the Muslim Women's Resource Centre (MWRC). 108 The resulting interpretive film includes a range of voices and sometimes divergent perspectives. The Learning Assistants encouraged the learning programme participants to explore the object, which again prompted a range of perspectives and views. Staff could also supplement these discussions with their knowledge of previous dialogues inspired by the object in other previous learning programmes, during the exhibition development process and in subsequent talks by the artist and work with the MWRC around veiling in Islam. Through all these conversations, the Learning Assistants were able to highlight the cultural lenses and perspectives which affect our interpretation of objects. The figurative aspects of the object were used to begin to explore the barriers to intercultural dialogue that individuals can face.

In the final exercise of the programme, groups were asked to plan an event to provide a platform for intercultural dialogue. It was gratifying to see the ways that groups embraced objects as a way to prompt dialogue within their events. Even more satisfyingly, some participants went on to develop and deliver these events themselves. ESOL students from City of Glasgow College, for example, developed a student-led

MWRC, also called Amina, provides direct helping services and community development for Muslim women, see

http://www.mwrc.org.uk.

event that used objects to prompt intercultural dialogue between staff and students from different departments. They estimate that 1,000 students participated in or viewed the outcomes of their work. A group of young unaccompanied asylum seekers learning English at Anniesland College created their own exhibition inspired by the learning programme.

Museum staff ran a wide range of events, from doodle days and tea parties to activities marking the Day of the Dead and the spring equinox. They also worked with a group of volunteers over a period of six months to develop intercultural events around the museum. The group had eighteen members, who between them spoke fifteen languages. They undertook an extended version of the learning programme and developed ideas and plans for events around the Festival of Museums (May 2012) and Scottish Refugee Week (June 2012). In doing so, they again drew inspiration from objects: they learnt and taught the game of warri; explored storytelling around the butter churn and its links with Russian and Polish folklore; learned to play instruments inspired by the kissar on display, and the working songs associated with the butter churn. The events were immensely lively and enjoyable and brought in new visitors. The volunteer events team also created a largely photographic temporary exhibition documenting and reflecting on their experiences.

This group of volunteers has now evolved into a group selecting and interpreting objects to create two object-handling kits. It has nineteen volunteers from twelve countries, who between them speak 23 languages. The two kits will create legacies beyond the lifetime of the project. One kit, centred on celebrations, will be available for community groups to borrow and explore. The second kit will be used by museum staff and community partners to support the continued delivery of versions of the learning

programme.

Conclusions

To fulfil the aim of creating 'intercultural dialogue and a legacy of increased understanding of each other, the city and [Glasgow Museums'] collections', impact had to be created beyond small groups of participants and beyond the three-year term of the project itself. Attempts to do so shaped the approach to the exhibition and the learning programme.

Throughout the community-led exhibition development, the aim was to balance an inclusive process with the creation of a high-quality exhibition, to ensure that both the exhibition development and the completed exhibition would generate intercultural dialogue. This paper cites various ways in which this approach enriched the exhibition and its development, for example by inspiring new perspectives and unusual juxtapositions, and through participants advocating for specific audience groups.

Rather than co-producing the exhibition with a smaller group of participants (perhaps 12 - 15 people), around one hundred participants contributed to the exhibition in a variety of different ways. The scale of work meant some participants had only fleeting involvement and felt little connection to the final exhibition. More importantly, the museum retained a high degree of control over the final exhibition.

Conversely, the decision not to impose a theme gave a great deal of freedom to participants, and their varied selections contributed to vibrant on-going dialogue within the exhibition space.

Although some visitors found the eclectic nature of the objects appealing, for many it was a significant barrier to their understanding and enjoyment of the exhibition.

Moreover, there were visitors who struggled to make sense of how the exhibition related

been alleviated by clearer introductory interpretation and signage within and outside the exhibition space. More high profile marketing would also have been valuable, but the lack of a simple theme made marketing the exhibition difficult. Evaluation indicates that only a small number of visitors knew about the *Curious* exhibition prior to visiting. As well as contextualising visitors' responses to the exhibition, this also suggests that the exhibition itself had limited direct impact in terms of diversifying our audience. There is however strong evidence that new visitors were brought in by the exhibition development process, learning programme, volunteering opportunities and events.

Curators aimed to create legacies beyond the life of the project, especially by developing an increased understanding of their objects and the ways in which visitors make meaning from them. They worked with an audience consultant to analyse the object-related responses generated through the project and are also working to feed responses into the collection information database. However in doing so, they need to reflect the context of the conversations and the types of responses. Participants had a variety of motivations for object selection; many picked objects about which they were simply curious. They occasionally passed on factual information but more often told stories or recounted memories. These are interesting, valid and useful for planning future work, but they do not fit easily within the categorisation-driven databases in which collections are documented.

It is relatively recently that the museum sector has attempted to systematically capture user generated content on a large scale. It was only in the latter stages of the project that curators have found other relevant examples of feeding similar community content into collections information.

It is also the case that staff had to be sensitive in their attempts to capture information. They did not want, for example, any recordings to impede sessions by limiting or preventing participation. So, while there may have been opportunities to create more robust long term research outcomes, the priority aim was to be inclusive and to create an engaging exhibition.

As with the exhibition, the flexibility, adaptability and complexity of the learning programme created a marketing challenge. It was necessary to undertake targeted marketing to specific groups. Taster sessions were run; it was more effective to show the programme than to explain it. Both approaches were resource intensive and it is unlikely they will be continued in the same way once the project team have finished. However, positive evaluation findings and word of mouth contacts will continue to help with marketing. On-going contact with colleges, including through an ESOL language café - which now meets monthly at the museum - continue to be vital.

The strength of some legacies cannot yet be measured. However, one clear piece of learning has been the even greater than expected potential of museum objects to create intercultural dialogue.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 18

Project Blickwinkel: Rediscovering, Reinventing and Reinterpreting Collections

at the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, Cologne

Sandra Vacca

Introduction

Blickwinkel is an audio guide that was created in 2011 by the Kölnisches Stadtmuseum

(Cologne City Museum), as part of the Zweite Heimat Köln initiative (Cologne, Second

Homeland), sponsored by the RheinEnergie Stiftung Kultur and the Friends of the

Kölnisches Stadtmuseum. Up to then, thematic days had been organised (Italian or

Turkish days) and free visits had been offered to 'immigrant' groups, either in their own

language or in German (for 'Integration', or 'German as Foreign Language' classes).

Projekt Blickwinkel (the 'Perspective(s) Project') explores new ways of addressing the

topic of migration. It is not aimed at and designed for only migrants - it addresses the

population at large. Realised in six months by a team formed for the occasion (a cultural

communication specialist, two history students and a PhD student), the audio guide was

launched in April 2012. It can be picked up free of charge at the museum or downloaded

from the museum's homepage.

Conception of the Project

Blickwinkel was not the first project to deal with the topic of migration in Cologne: in

2001, the migrants' association DOMiT (Dokumentationszentrum und Museum über die

Migration aus der Türkei) organised the exhibition 40 Jahre Fremde Heimat ('40 Years

a Foreign Homeland'), which presented the history of Turkish migration to Cologne

since the recruitment of the so-called 'guest-workers' in 1961. 109 A bigger exhibition, Projekt Migration, was organised in 2005 by DOMiT, the Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie (Goethe Universität, Frankfurt/Main), the Institut für Theorie der Gestaltung und Kunst (Zürich), and the Kölnischer Kunstverein. Sponsored by the Kulturstiftung des Bundes, it approached the topic from a much broader perspective, presenting migrations as complex transnational processes. 110 These exhibitions were highly political, since they gave voice to migrants through oral history and testimonies, and discussed the discriminations and difficulties they faced over the years. Both projects were essential for the recognition of the contribution of migrants to the German society.

Blickwinkel chose a completely different perspective: although the project also gave voice to migrants, it was developed around Kölsch¹¹¹ terminology and the city's mythology. The team wanted to analyse the concept of *Imi*, which does not mean 'immigrant' but, according to the Dictionary of the Akademie för uns kölsche Sproch, 'imitated, incomer' (Akademie för uns kölsche Sproch n.d). The word describes migrants to Cologne and their descendants: someone coming from Berlin is also considered an Imi. The audio guide was developed with eleven Imis, because the number eleven is part of Cologne's mythology. It is a reference to the city's patron saint (Ursula), who was, according to legend, one of the eleven thousand virgins massacred by Huns in Cologne. Eleven is also a reference to the Cologne carnival, which officially starts on the 11th of November, at 11:11 a.m.

Aims of the Project

See the catalogue DOMiT 2001.

¹¹⁰ See the catalogue Frangenberg 2005.

¹¹¹ The Cologne dialect.

The most important aim of the project was to include the topic of migration in the permanent, traditional collections of the museum. Cologne museums made little to no allusion to migration in their permanent exhibitions, despite the city's long migration history. Deconstructing the concept of *Imi* and fighting prejudices were also essential to the project: through the individualised experiences told by the *Imis*, the project aimed at showing diversity. By not focusing on migration itself, but on the experiencing of Cologne instead, the objective was to de-dramatise the topic and put it into perspective. Blickwinkel tried to propose a different understanding of the concept of migration, which shifts the focus from migration and mobility to migrants (and their descendants) and their understanding of their surroundings.

Elaboration of the Project

Eleven *Imis* were selected according to their background (based on the city's demographic statistics), their ease at expressing themselves and a more or less balanced gender and age representation.¹¹² The project team tried to avoid reproducing stereotypes by including new types of migration (e.g. an academic migrant from Italy). Very different types of (non-)mobility were represented: people who came out of necessity, who were born in Cologne, who had other life expectations or simply wished to discover another city or country. The only condition was to be resident in Cologne. The eleven participants were asked to choose up to five museum objects each, to which they could relate and which triggered anecdotes (their vision of the city, positive, funny and negative or traumatic stories). The anecdotes told by the *Imis* were taped and edited

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¹¹² The participants originated from Italy, Germany (Bavaria), India, Cologne (Turkish parents, Greek parents), Russia, Iran, Brazil, USA, Congo and China (now with a German passport).

by a professional audio-guide maker and combined with an introductory historical text for each object. The stories were then organised into an itinerary, which tried to avoid museum fatigue by being coherently planned spatially.

Successes and Problems

The audio guide offers a variety of stories to the visitors. The Cologne carnival inspired *Imis* a lot, particularly the participants from Brazil and Italy (the latter lived in Venice). Less predictable were the choices of the Russian and Chinese participants. The former focussed on a gas mask, reminding her of the ones she had to test-wear at school to prepare for chemical attack. The latter compared old German ration tickets to the ones used in China during her childhood (she is 27).

The audio guide deconstructs stereotypes by presenting different forms of mobility and life trajectories, which can be discovered when the *Imis* introduce themselves and present their reason for being in Cologne.

Blickwinkel is a participative project, but only to a certain extent: people still had to be *selected* and because of time pressure could not be involved in the decision processes. The eleven *Imis* accepted that they had to follow the format that had already been decided on

The team felt a certain frustration while selecting the participants, some being very easy to find, other relying on the construction of a network, particularly through cultural associations and the team members' own contacts. That meant that artists and university members tended to be over-represented. Moreover, participants themselves sometimes had trouble not falling into the trap of clichés: some chose to tell stereotypical anecdotes because they thought it was what visitors wanted to hear, resulting in self-exoticisation.

The audio guide encourages the user to realise that migrants' experiences of the city, its culture and museum collections are not necessarily linked to their migrating experience but often bear another kind of biographical tone (childhood memories, association of an object with work, studies) and are not different to a non-migrant's.

Blickwinkel presents some similarities with the *Curious* exhibition which was presented in St Mungo Museum, Glasgow, in 2012.¹¹³ People from different communities were also invited to choose and interpret museum objects, with the same outcome: both projects demonstrate that museum collections are polyphonic. They carry several stories and multiple perspectives, which can be both inherent to or suggested by the museum visitor.

Conclusions

Now that the audio guide is running, the biggest difficulty is that of sustainability: as soon as the display changes, the audio guide becomes obsolete. It is only through a complete change in the nature, construction and understanding of the collections that the topic of migration will find a permanent place in the museum and its narrative. Some topics (women's, workers' or LGBT history to name a few) tend to be represented as separated, special issues, instead of being integrated in the 'big historical narrative'. This has to change if museums want to become representative of the society they are trying to reflect.

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Chapter 19

The Reggiane Factory and New Immigrants: Memory and Local History to Strengthen

Integration

Michele Bellelli and Federico Zannoni

Introduction

Reggio Emilia, Italy: during the twentieth century the opening of a big factory producing planes, trains and tractors attracted workers from everywhere and led to the building of new workers' and immigrants' slums. Nowadays immigrants that live in the former Reggiane workers' slums study the history of their new city, learning from people's accounts and visiting places around the old factory.

The Past of the Factory and the Present of the District

In 1904 in the city of Reggio Emilia took place the opening of the Reggiane factory, created for the production of railway equipment. In order to accommodate the workers, the district of Santa Croce arose, which became the first working-class area of the city (Spreafico 1968, Canovi 1990).

During the Second World War, the Reggiane became one of the most important Italian factories, employing about 12,000 people and producing warplanes. On 28th July 1943, workers called a strike demanding the end of the war. The army crushed the strike by opening fire on protesters, killing nine of them and wounding dozens (Magnanini 1999). Despite varying fortunes and the several changes of ownership, after the war the factory still produced rail and port equipment until its closure in 2009. The district of Santa Croce partly followed the fortunes of Reggiane: local workers gradually decreased and were replaced by foreign immigrants both as workers in the factory and

as residents of the neighborhood. The current inhabitants of Santa Croce largely ignore the history of the city where they live and of its old big factory.

From the Past to the Future, through the Present: the Project

In 2010 the Istituto per la Storia della Resistenza e della Società contemporanea of the Reggio Emilia Province and the Centro Territoriale Permanente (education department) of Reggio Emilia carried out a project which had been devised expressly for the foreign residents in the city of Reggio Emilia, especially for those in the district of Santa Croce. Nineteen people (20-40 years old) from Algeria, Austria, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, China, Egypt, Georgia, Ghana, Morocco, Nigeria, Russia and Sri Lanka took part in the activities. Some of them had already participated to previous projects aimed to promote the knowledge of the Italian Constitution and to improve the language skills.

The project had been set up in three phases:

- 1) A guided tour through the historical and artistic sites of Reggio Emilia city.
- 2) Some lessons about the Reggiane factory's history. To explain the importance of the factory in the history of the city, the project manager and the archivist of the institute have shown to the participants some documents kept in the public archives: photographs, statistics on the labor force and testimonies about the strikes of 1943 by eyewitnesses.
- 3) The renovation and the following opening of the memorial stone dedicated to the butchery of the nine workers on 28th July 1943.

The project aimed to offer to the neighborhood's new residents the chance to learn, remember and celebrate the history of the old Reggiane factory and its workers, in order to let them develop comparisons between the past and their current life.

Conclusions

I think it is right that Reggio Emilia city offers this kind of opportunity to get to know the history of this place. After this initiative I went home and I talked to my housemates, they did not know anything about these stories... I mean I was the one who - as a foreigner - was telling them the history of their own homeplace! (Olga from Russia, 28 years old).

The project participants shared their new experiences in their families and communities; some of them organised meetings, events and lessons on the project within immigrant associations.

A documentary *Non vogliamo lavorare per la guerra* has been produced to disseminate the project and the testimonies of the participants. The square where the new monument is placed has become a meeting point between old and new residents of the neighborhood, due also to the opening of an alcohol free bar run by immigrants. The project has contributed to improving the knowledge of the history of the city and of the Reggiane factory among locals. Despite these achievements, the number of project participants was lower than expected, considering the high immigrant population of the district.

The project organisers questioned themselves about the low number of participants. In addition to some clear difficulties such as the knowledge of Italian, some newly arrived immigrants are still strongly connected to their own culture and they do not feel it a priority to learn about the past of their new country and city.

The crises, fears and conflicts that now characterise our cities lead people to lose interest in the past, to not imagine the future and to limit their perspectives to the present time. The past is no longer thought as a source from which to draw in order to enrich the present; in the same way, the present does not feed on future prospects (Augé 2007). Today in our cities, the residents of whole neighborhoods have little sense of belonging and feel estranged; they suffer the stigma of being immigrants, diverse and

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often marginalised.

On the other hand, people's roots are not only in personal history and family life,

but also in the collective memory of the neighborhood in which they live, where they

grew up or where at a certain time began to dwell. Knowledge of history allows the

development of a better understanding of the present and the planning of a firm and

successful future for the whole community. History is thus a vehicle for integration,

meeting and communication. It is therefore an essential element for political, social and

educational projects which wants to address the needs and the challenges of our

increasingly multiethnic neighborhoods.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 20

Separate Workings: Exploring Hidden Histories by Examining the Racially Biased

Policies in the Transport Systems of South Africa and the Display of a

South African Railways Locomotive at the Riverside Museum, Glasgow

John Messner

Introduction

Some topics are rarely found in museum displays. Some histories are hidden or not deemed worthy of display. Yet these histories are important, and should be examined by museum professionals.

In 2007 Glasgow Museums purchased a Glasgow-built steam locomotive that had been exported to South Africa in 1945. This locomotive was to be a centrepiece of the new Riverside Museum, highlighting Glasgow's global legacy of heavy engineering. It is also a symbol of the oppression of the apartheid era policies in South Africa. Operation and usage of the railways was dictated by this policy. Skilled jobs were reserved for whites, while separate carriages, waiting rooms and even platforms were mandated for the different race groups. Although the apartheid policy dictated almost all aspects of railway operations, the topic is hardly, if ever, mentioned in railway histories or museum displays related to South Africa.

This paper focuses on how museum professionals can and should tackle sensitive topics within historical themes. It lays out how information was collected from historical material that generally avoided the subject and how this was then used to create a display within the Riverside Museum. It also looks at some of the reactions to the display that have been recorded, both positive and negative.

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The Riverside Museum

The Riverside Museum opened on 21 June 2011 after almost ten years of planning and construction. It is one of nine museums under the umbrella of Glasgow Museums, which display the collections held by Glasgow City Council. The displays at the Riverside have a focus on transport and technology but also feature objects from the wider Glasgow Museums' collection, including fine art, natural history and social history. The building is the third home of the transport and technology collections, the first being opened in 1964 after the closure of the city's tram system and the second opening in 1988 in Kelvin Hall, a former exhibition centre.

The transport and technology collection includes objects such as trams, buses, motorcars, bicycles, ship models and steam locomotives. Unlike a traditional transport museum, the displays at Riverside are not grouped by industrial theme or technological type. A different approach was taken by the planners of the museum, placing the focus of the visitor experience on the role that transport has had in people's lives, placing the user of the object at the centre of the interpretation.

When developing the plans for the new museum, staff at Glasgow Museums conducted extensive visitor research. Visitors were asked what they liked about the current museum and what they would like to see in any new displays at the Riverside Museum. One of the top requests was for more people stories to be featured in the displays. They wanted to learn more how the objects changed people's lives, both for the good and bad. This was taken on board by the design team and whenever possible people were placed in the interpretation, as photographs, videos showing people using the transport objects, quotes and voices from historic records. For comparison, the old Museum of Transport featured 100 people named within the displays while Riverside

has 550. There are 4,000 images in Riverside compared to 100 at the old museum and there are 93 interviews with people who used the transport objects compared to just two in the Museum of Transport. These aspects create an intense and powerful focus on users and their own personal stories.

The History of the South African Railways Locomotive 3007

The South African Railways locomotive number 3007 was built in Glasgow by the North British Locomotive Company and was exported to South Africa in 1945. The company was the largest locomotive builder in Europe and employed thousands of men and women in its three Glasgow factories. Locomotive 3007 is an example of the almost 20,000 locomotives exported from Glasgow to almost all parts of the globe. This fact made Glasgow one of the most influential cities in terms of railway development anywhere in the world. Locomotive 3007 was in use in South Africa from 1945 until 1988 and is known to have worked across the country. In 1988 it was placed in the scrap line and was purchased by Glasgow Museums in 2006 for inclusion in the Riverside Museum. The reason for purchase was that it filled a gap in the railway collection, in that no export locomotive had yet been acquired to display the importance of Glasgow engineering to the global railway industry. All the locomotives in the collection at the time of purchase were built in Glasgow and used in the United Kingdom.

Locomotive 3007's working life in South Africa mirrors the time that the apartheid policy was in place and its operation was dictated by those laws, enacted in order to separate the races with the country.

Figure 20.1 Locomotive 3007 in use in South Africa in 1970.

Note: Locomotives of its type were known as 'maids of all work', meaning they could be used in almost all areas and duties throughout the country.

Source: Courtesy of Glasgow Museums/David Guelpa.

Researching Apartheid and Rail Transport in South Africa

Along with researching the history of railway development and the use of locomotive

3007 in South Africa, attention also turned to discovering how the racial policies of the

National Party government impacted on rail transport.

Researching the impact of the racial policies proved to be difficult as mention of

apartheid or previous racially-based discrimination is almost never mentioned in

transport histories of the country. Prolific railway author O.S. Nock (1971), in his

introduction to Railways of Southern Africa, states, 'In studying the railways of any

country, or group of countries, one cannot go very far without dipping into history.'

However he makes no mention in his book of the apartheid policy, previous

racially based laws governing the railways or passenger accommodation other than that

of affluent, white only, prestige services. More recent books such as Steam Passion by

Paul Hloben (2007) are nostalgic publications highlighting what was lost when steam

locomotion was finally ended in South Africa in the 1990s. Its 160 pages are full of

photographs of steam locomotives in use, yet nowhere is there discussion of how the

railways were used by the National Party government as part of the apartheid system.

But readers, if they look closely, can see in the historic photos of the locomotives how

the policies worked. They would notice no black South Africans working as locomotive

drivers or fireman or engineers. These occupations were reserved for white (also known

as 'European') South Africans under the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act (see Horrell

1971). In fact restrictions on black South African working on the railways had existed

since the 1890s, when the South African Republic (also known as the Transvaal) passed

the Transvaal Boilers and Machinery Act (1898), prohibiting black South Africans from

becoming locomotive drivers. Although restricted in their roles, black South Africans were employed in large numbers by the South African Railways. In 1946, according to an official publication (South African Railways 1947), 71,000 of the 175,000 employees were black South Africans (listed last in the text, although second in total number, and derogatorily named as 'Bantus'). White South Africans, listed as 'Europeans', numbered 93,000. In addition, the railways relied on black ridership for revenue. In 1968, 94 per cent of rail journeys were suburban and 71 per cent were third class suburban journeys (Horrell 1970). Given that apartheid laws prohibited people of colour from first class accommodation, this number means that the majority of traffic was made up of black South Africans.

Additionally there are very few academic sources relating to the history of racial policies in regards to transport in South Africa. This subject receives very little coverage compared to the political, social and wider economic impacts of transport. Some academics have strived to cover the issue, such as Gordon Pirie (1992), who investigated the implementation of apartheid restrictions from 1948-1953, but this would appear to be an exception rather than the norm. References to South African Railways or apartheid policies in regards to railway station design or passenger accommodation are rare, and, for example, are only mentioned once by Terreblanche (2002) in his history of inequality in South Africa.

With this impediment as background, information was obtained using official sources such as South African Acts of Parliament. After the election of 1948, the National Party-led government pushed forward in proposing and passing laws that implemented their policies. These laws had direct implications for the railways and led to the separation of the races on platforms, in waiting rooms and in telegraph offices

(see Union of South Africa 1953).

Figure 20.2 Apartheid era signs on display at Roodepoort station, located west of

Johannesburg

Note: The Separate Amenities Act of 1953 required stations to have separate

waiting rooms, ticket offices, track crossing, etc. It was specifically stated that these

separate accommodations need not be of the same quality.

Source: Courtesy of Glasgow Museums.

Eventually, a picture of the effects of the apartheid policy of railway usage and accommodation was formed using a combination of these sources. It was this research that allowed for the design and installation of a museum display on the impact of these

policies next to locomotive 3007.

Locomotive 3007 Compared to Other South African Railways Locomotives on

Display in the United Kingdom

There are four display panels located around locomotive 3007 at the Riverside Museum.

Visitors can explore the locomotive's history, hear from some of the people who built it

through a video, explore the interesting aspects of its design and learn about the policies

of racial division in South Africa and how this impacted on people's lives. The inclusion

of the display panel on the apartheid policy was considered important for the museum

and is unique amongst displays related to South African Railway locomotives in the

United Kingdom.

There are several British-built South African Railways locomotives on display in

the United Kingdom, including examples at the National Railway Museum in York, the

Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester and the Summerlee Museum of

Scottish Industrial Life in Coatbridge, near Glasgow. Some of these locomotives came

to the museums in the 1980s and 1990s directly from service in South Africa, while others were purchased from the scrap line after years of retirement. There are no displays at any of these museums relating to the history of racial discrimination on the railways. This makes the apartheid display at the Riverside Museum unique in the UK. The only mention that can be found in the public domain relates to the locomotive at the Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester, which was included in a project developed in 2007 to mark the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire. The Revealing Histories website (Revealing Histories 2012) features it and other museum objects that relate to slavery and continued racial discrimination, many which have a hidden history not usually discussed in museums.

It can be said that the Riverside Museum's approach of identifying and presenting people stories rather than more traditional engineering-based themes made the inclusion of a story on apartheid easier to incorporate. However, the visibility of the political struggles in South Africa should have made possible the inclusion of at least a mention of the apartheid policies in these other locomotive displays. This makes the social history of the railways in South Africa even more important to the display at Riverside.

In addition to British built examples, the South African Railways also purchased steam locomotives from companies in Germany and the United States. These were mainly delivered before the start of the Second World War, but many were used until the 1980s and thus during the apartheid era. There are four examples of South African Railways locomotives preserved by European or American museums, but any reference to the racial laws imposed on the populace within displays associated with the locomotives is not known. As an example of the display of hidden histories in railway

collections, the Deutsches Tecknikmuseum in Berlin does feature a display about the role of the railways in the deportation and killing of Jews in Germany during the Second World War. The display, in the main hall of the railway area, features a rail wagon used in this process. The Deutsches Tecknikmuseum website (2012) also has a dedicated page on this display and the history of the deportation of the Jewish population during the Nazi period.

The apartheid display at the Riverside Museum is a simple two-sided graphic panel. Apart from locomotive 3007 itself there are no other associated objects. The focus of the panel is the policies in South African that restricted the lives of sections of the society, in terms of both the railways and wider transport and societal contexts. Photographs of railway stations and other transport systems illustrate the divisions created by the apartheid laws. Visitors are introduced to the history of racial discrimination on the railways, and learn who could drive the locomotive and how the system finally ended in the 1990s. The display is meant to be objective, giving visitors an introduction to the system, but at the same time exploring an important aspect of the usage of this object. The text is not judgemental of the individuals involved in the introduction of the system or in its implementation and was not intended to be a political statement. The basic story itself was deemed important, and the fact that this aspect of the history of this type of object has rarely, if ever, been discussed publically within transport museums in the UK makes its inclusion even more necessary. The history of racial discrimination on the railways in South Africa is inherent to the history of the object through its usage, and deserves not to be hidden in yet another museum display.

Figure 20.3 A single image conveys the separation of the races on the railways in

South Africa

Note: This side of the display focuses on rail transport and encourages visitors to

look at the other side to learn more.

Source: Courtesy of Glasgow Museums.

Visitor Reactions

Since opening in June 2011, the Riverside Museum has attracted over 2 million visitors

and is now the most visited transport museum in the United Kingdom. Visitors are

encouraged to let museum staff know through comment cards and feedback touch

screens what aspects of the museum they would like improved or changed. The overall

opinion regarding the South African Railways locomotive has been positive but since

opening several visitors have registered negative comments on the apartheid display.

Two examples of such comments are:

...it is with great sadness that I see the Management deemed it necessary to drag up the

Apartheid situation in South Africa next to the SA train. As a South African I feel that this

was quite incongruous and unnecessary and did not fit in with the general theme of

transport. Can they justify the reason for this? It spoilt a great morning out (September

2011)

The South African Railways engine exhibit storyboard spelt out that government's

apartheid policy. Whist in no way condoning that policy, we felt a TRANSPORT [visitor's

emphasis] museum was not the appropriate place to air political statements, and in no way

enhanced the exhibit (October 2011)

In proportion to the number of visitors since opening, several negative

comments should be seen as a very minor complaint. However, it is clear that there is a

feeling expressed by some visitors that transport objects such as locomotives are, or

should be, apolitical and that they should exist in a bubble of testament to engineering

innovation and that context of use beyond that achievement is not important. This view

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represents almost the polar opposite of the reasoning behind the development of the displays at the Riverside Museum. The impact of transport objects on the lives of people and communities lives was at the heart of all the research and final display solutions. These solutions were based on research with visitors on what they wanted from a new museum and highlight the fact that these objects exist within a wider context of human history.

Conclusions

Museum curators should not be afraid to explore hidden histories within their collections. Traditional focuses in displays should be challenged and if new information is uncovered then this should be taken into account when designing new museums and galleries.

When presented with the South African Railways locomotive, the Riverside Museum project team identified a hidden history that had previously not been explored through displays at UK based museums. The extent of racially-based policies in transport systems in South Africa touched almost every aspect of the operation and usage of the railways, yet it was rarely presented in the academic record or museum interpretation. The display that was created to highlight these policies went to the heart of the matter, that people were affected by these policies and that the object itself was part of this system. Although a few visitors have commented negatively on the display, it fits within the wider exploration of people stories within the Riverside Museum and explores both the positive and negative sides of the development of transport systems.

This display is one of several in the Riverside Museum which lift the lid on hidden histories. All displays in the new facility have been designed to be flexible and easily changed. Future changes will reflect visitor comments, new historical research or

work with various community groups within Glasgow. Previously under-represented groups, such as women, the disabled and ethnic minorities form a major part of several displays at Riverside and their stories will continue to be explored. The apartheid display itself can be enhanced further with the inclusion of oral history reminiscences or archival film. New additions for the collection can be sought which would illustrate the role of racial policies on the railways. These could include signs from railway stations, tickets or ephemera from when the locomotive was in use.

Exploring hidden histories should be encouraged as it opens new ways to exhibit and interpret objects. To misquote a popular saying, each object tells a thousand stories. Many of these have heavily featured in museums for years and some have lain neglected. Some will be popular, others challenging, but all can find a place in the modern museum which seeks to explore wider histories.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter 21

Intercultural Dialogue as the Mission of a Museum: the Officina Multimediale di Papa Giovanni XXIII in Sotto il Monte, Bergamo, Italy

Rita Capurro

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to analyse the proposal for a local museum, in a small Italian village, that has the ambition to become a pilot experience for confessional museums. In Italy there are almost 1,000 museums that can be defined as religious museums and the majority of them are Catholic. Among them, there are many museums of sacred art, art and archaeology, but there are also examples of other collection types (Capurro 2010). In general they are traditional museums, not very innovative in their narratives and in their use of technologies.¹¹⁴

The case analysed here is the Officina multimediale di Papa Giovanni XXIII in Sotto il Monte Giovanni XXIII, Bergamo, Italy, a project in progress, whose estimated completion date will be the summer of 2013. It is an example of a new museum that is working through technologies and collaborations with various institutions, in order to spread, in a place of Catholic pilgrimage, the universal messages of peace and tolerance. It is a project that aims, on one hand, to involve and develop a territory and, on the other hand, to create a welcoming cultural centre for new citizens and visitors.

The project is managed by the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions (PIME), which inherited the birthplace of Pope John XXIII in Sotto il Monte. It aims to create, close to the old house, an innovative museum whose narratives are designed through a

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¹¹⁴ There are a few ecclesiastical museums that use technologies for their narratives, one being the Museo Missionario Indio in Assisi.

multimedia project that will connect memorabilia, images and documents relating to the life of Pope John. Its goal is to make known the message of the Pope and its meanings for the present time.

A Pope, a Territory and a Museum

Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, named John XXIII, was the Catholic Pope between 1958 and 1963. In his ecclesiastical career, among other things, he was President of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Apostolic Delegate in Turkey and Greece and Patriarch of Venice. During the Second World War he was very active in defending persecuted people: he facilitated communications between prisoners and their families and helped many Jews to escape, giving visas through the Apostolic Delegation.

As pope of the Roman Church, John XXIII left an important legacy, not only in the Second Vatican Council (Melloni 2009), but also in his ability to initiate dialogue within the Roman Church and to foster the opening of the Church to the world. Moreover, his message is characterised by the promotion of peace and legality as the principles of human actions. Thus he created in the Roman Catholic Church a new idea of dialogue between cultures and religions (Ratzinger 2005).

The encyclical *Pacem in Terris*,¹¹⁵ written by John XXIII in 1963, is a milestone in this sense because it outlines the theoretical structure for the opening of the Catholic Church to dialogue with different cultures and religions based not only on tolerance¹¹⁶ but on respect. This idea was developed in the Second Vatican Council with the declaration on religious freedom *Dignitatis Humanae* (Vatican 1965).

In Pacem in Terris, respect is based on the acknowledgement that everyone is

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¹¹⁵ All the letters, documents and speeches of John XXIII can be found in Vatican n.d..

¹¹⁶ For the idea of tolerance in the Catholic Church before John XXIII see Vatican 1954.

part of the human family, therefore the safeguarding of personal freedom and dignity has to be guaranteed in all their expressions and activities.

John XXIII was a pope much beloved by Catholic worshippers, in particular, for his placid and fatherly style. For that he is popularly known as 'the good Pope'. After his death in 1963, many worshippers began to visit his birthplace, which, in his honour, changed its name to Sotto il Monte Giovanni XXIII. He was beatified in 2000. 118

Sotto il Monte Giovanni XXIII is Pope John XXIII's native village, located in the region of Lombardy, specifically, in the geographical and cultural area called Isola Bergamasca. The village is about 19 km from Bergamo and 55 km from Milan.

The birthplace of Pope John XXIII is a typical local farmhouse, which has become a house-museum. Until now, the house has welcomed pilgrims who want to experience the space lived in by the pope and the objects owned by his family. Visitors are essentially pilgrims and there is not any specific museum activity except its opening and the conservation of the building and the objects.

This situation is certainly inadequate as a museum experience; for the local community the house is only a monument, a document of a famous fellow citizen. Furthermore, traditional pilgrimage is increasingly juxtaposed with religious tourism (Mazza 2007), a modern form of tourism that joins worship with an interest in the natural and cultural environment and with the experience of leisure. So, even for worshippers, the visit to the house and the prayers in the local church is often not completely satisfying.

At the same time, the area of the Isola Bergamasca is a territory that has a

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¹¹⁷ DPR n. 1996, 8th November 1963

¹¹⁸ A complete report of the process of canonisation can be found in Alberigo 1995.

population density of almost 1,200 per km² and, within the context of the Province of Bergamo, a cultural centre in the Isola Bergamasca could be attractive for an area with 700,000 inhabitants (of whom 13% are immigrants) (Bergamo 2012). In this situation, the Officina multimediale could be the keystone for the development of a cultural plan for the territory.

The new museum in Sotto il Monte should become the place for the development of the educational mission of PIME, based on peace, intercultural dialogue and legality, through the teaching of Pope John XXIII.

The name 'Officina' (workshop) stresses the idea of a place where education is at the centre of all its activities. The project is articulated in the refurbishment of the building (started in the autumn of 2012), in the creation of a new museum design based on multimedia and, above all, in an educational project addressed to the schools of the territory on the theme of peace.

One of the most important characteristics of the Officina project is the creation of a network with other local cultural institutions, ecclesiastical and not, with the goal of generating awareness in, and the participation of, the local community.

Conclusions

The model of the Officina Multimediale could be an example for the development of church museums and other confessional museums. In fact the museum will not exclude the pastoral function characteristic of ecclesiastical museums (Santi 2012) but is primarily focussed on developing all possible educational conditions to facilitate intercultural dialogue. Moreover, it is the first place where a pilgrimage destination is being transformed into a welcoming place for pilgrims and religious tourists as well as a reference point for the local community through a museum strongly focussed on

education in universal values.

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Chapter 22

Self-promotion or Cultural and Ideological Infiltration? Foreign Donations and Acquisition Suggestions in the British Library: a Russian Case Study

Ekaterina Rogatchevskaia

Introduction

The analysis of a routine stream of donations of material in foreign languages presented mainly by foreign nationals to the national library of a different country can help to understand ways of preserving cultural heritage in migrant communities and the role of a library in cultural dialogue. Having studied the topic, the author found that some specific issues that were of interest have been definitely overlooked, and will be addressed in this paper. Until now, most authors who wrote on donations come from academic, public or specialised libraries, and therefore the specific issues around donating to a national library were not identified. Secondly, very few authors discuss donations of materials in foreign languages and made by foreigners, and those who do so primarily describe big 'success stories' of receiving valuable material from prominent researchers, collectors or authors (SEEIR 2001, Schaffner 2011). Thirdly, the vast majority of donations made by foreigners are of a self-promoting nature, which also presents an opportunity to look at differences and similarities in cultural values and reflect on approaches to serving multicultural audiences.

Traditionally, gifts of materials from individuals or organisations to libraries were seen as follows: 'a sizeable proportion of the material added to every library, large and small, comes without cash outlay and thereby increases the size of the collection without depleting the book budget.' (Wulfekoetter 1961: 13)

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Despite the need to manage donations, librarians praised large and small gifts in theory and rarely rejected or disposed of them in practice. However, this perception has been reviewed over the last 25-30 years, as librarians started to see and analyse hidden costs of receiving donations that could put a lot of pressure on staff time, space and public relations (Gardner 1981, Volkersz 1984, DeWitt 1988, Evans 1995, Dickinson 1997, Carrico 1999, Drummond, Holman and Monroe 1999). A review of the current library literature reveals a great number of works that deal with various aspects of accepting and processing donations and gifts, such as: relations between donors and beneficiaries; gift and collection development policies; legal, communication and organisational components of accepting donations; evaluation of donations; estimation of costs involved in dealing with donations; practicalities of processing, preserving, shelving and disposing of donations; donation and exchange programmes to support libraries in lesser well-off regions and countries, etc. Practical guides (Korolev 2002, Rosi 2005, Lietaer 2008, Cooper 2010), case studies and analysis of sizable donations (Ballestro and Howze 2006, Sibley 2009), as well as research into the history of collections (Stauffer 2007, Schnaffner2011) present an interesting picture of how librarians treat donations and what donations mean to various libraries. While ways of treating donations are examined at length in many works, the reasons for donating materials to libraries are discussed only in passing. The authors who scrutinise problems that libraries face when offered donations, and recommend how to mitigate the negative impact of unfavourable gifts on the library routine, inevitably stress that free gifts may easily turn a library into a 'books graveyard' and point out that 'Donors often have as their sole goal to get rid of books and other materials and find it hard to understand why librarians refuse to accept the materials offered.' (Strnad 1995)

This is, of course, true in many cases for small hand-to-hand donations, ¹¹⁹ although the majority of donors would not admit it. In countries where tax legislation allows claiming tax relief even on small gifts, the financial benefit of making an in-kind donation might also be considered, as discussed by Lietaer (2008: 37-38). Certainly, we would like to believe that a genuine wish 'to make a difference' or 'show appreciation and gratitude' (Rogers 2000), as well as to promote education in the community (Stauffer 2007), to share one's passion for a certain subject, and support research and scholarship (Schaffner 2011) are among the main motives for bringing or sending material to libraries.

Foreign Donations to the British Library

The British Museum Library was founded in 1753 and was based on private foundation collections previously owned by Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Hans Sloane, and Robert Harley. 120 The Old Royal Library was donated to the British Museum by King George II, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Library was presented with the library of King George III. During more than 250 years of its history, the British Library (of which the British Museum Library became part in 1973) accommodated a great number of donated collections¹²¹ and small one-off gifts. Donations can be identified by the Library stamps and records about them can be found in donation registers (British Library n.d.c). The systematic acquisitions of foreign materials started at the British Museum Library in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Anthony Panizzi, an Italian émigré, secured a government grant for purchasing books and periodicals (Paisey 1997, Thomas and Henderson 1997). From the early days donations

The term used by Lietaer (2008).A comprehensive history of the British Museum Library was written by Harris (1998).

¹²¹ Some of these collections are listed on the BL website (British Library n.d.b).

were valued, encouraged and acknowledged with gratitude, although contemporary foreign books offered as donations were exceptions rather than routine. In the nineteenth century the British Museum Library had not yet established itself as a centre for research in modern languages and cultures. The only big donation of foreign materials had a political agenda behind it, when 'Prince Czartoryski offered a collection of Polish books in 1832' (Harris 1998: 69) straight after the unsuccessful November Uprising (1830-31). The offer also coincided with Czartoryski's other initiative: a Literary Association of the Friends of Poland was founded in Britain in the same year. Until the second half of the twentieth century the general tendencies regarding foreign donations could be summarised as follows: foreign authors rarely made direct contact with the British Museum Library offering their own works; foreign learned societies and later other organisations started to promote their activities via donations from the late nineteenth century; foreign books were offered as part of private libraries presented by British scholars and bibliophiles. Nowadays authors and bibliophiles still make the majority of in-kind contributions to the collections. Non-commercial publishing bodies and authors donate to promote their publications; bibliophiles (and, more often than not, their heirs) and other libraries donate to find a good home for their collections. Donations cannot be planned but could be encouraged and negotiated through cultural organisations and publishers. For a legal deposit library, encouraging foreign donations becomes important at times of financial constraints when lack of acquisition funds forces curators to look for alternatives.

The British Library always accepted gifts in accordance with its collection development policy but at the same time implemented the policy quite broadly, rarely rejecting unsolicited gifts that were not duplicates. A similar approach is officially

adopted by the British Library at present (British Library n.d.d).

Donations: a Russian Case Study

There are no accumulative statistics of current donations at the British Library. Statistics are kept within individual departments and it is difficult to compare numbers. However, preliminary analysis shows that the amount of donations from foreign countries depends on several factors: the richness of collections in a certain language; the level of prestige associated with the Library in various countries; the status of the language of the original publication, promotional activities of individual curators; organisational links; and the amount of material produced in the countries of origin. The Russian collections of the British Library are one of the richest in the European Union and are well known in Russia. The Library itself has an aura of prestige for Russians (not least due to the fact that Lenin and other public figures studied there). At the same time, this makes the British Library more attractive as a depository for potential donors of Russian material. Moreover, Russian authors are very keen to be known 'in the West', compensating for years of artificial isolation by the Iron Curtain, and they share this feature with their colleagues from other countries of the former Soviet bloc. As Russia has lost its status of super-power and the language is losing its status as the regional lingua franca, research written in Russian has less influence outside Russia now than it had in the time of the Soviet Union. For donors, this is another reason to deposit material in a leading English-language library to supplement its already large collections.

The first patrons who donated Russian books to the British Museum Library were Russian political émigrés. By the time they made London a centre of their revolutionary activities in the second half of the nineteenth century, the British Museum

Library had brought together an impressive working collection of materials in Russian, which included not only monographs but also a significant number of current periodicals. Russian émigré scholars could work not only with materials in major European languages but also follow recent developments in Russian political and cultural life directly from the Round Reading Room. Close personal connections (Slatter 1984, Johnson 1989, Henderson 1991, Slatter 1998, Vernitski 2005) also helped Russians identify the British Museum Library as their community space. The Russian revolutionaries who lived in, or visited, London in the second half of the nineteenth century made numerous attempts to influence collection development at the British Museum, although their activities almost never stretched beyond the Russian collections. Revolutionary literature that was banned or heavily censored in Russia was freely published in London and other parts of Europe. Uncensored publications produced outside Russia and underground literature from Russia were acquired by the British Museum Library as legal deposit copies required by law, donations and even purchased material. 122 The Russian Free Press Fund established itself as a trade agent that specialised in providing this type of literature, but other vendors, such as Mikhail Elpidine, were not so successful. 23 On the other hand, there are examples of publications that were deposited by their publishers, although they operated outside Britain and were not legally obliged to do so. Lenin and the famous anarchist Prince Petr Kropotkin were also registered as donors in the British Museum Library donation

¹²² The author has already written on the repertoire of uncensored publications and the variety of ways they ended up in the British Museum collections (Rogatchevskaia 2006).

For more details of this story based on the documents from the British Library corporate archives see (Rogatchevskaia 2008).

register. They mainly donated the books they wrote and newspapers they edited.¹²⁴ When Kropotkin was leaving London for revolutionary Russia in 1917, he presented the Museum with his personal collection of press cuttings and his own handwritten notes and annotations on the emancipation of women in Russia. Kropotkin did not think that his material could be of high value to other researchers, but he could not bear to dispose of it himself, as is often the case with donors. Over the years this unique volume became one of the most cherished items in the Russian collections of the British Library. With regard to material that they created, the Russians revolutionaries were mainly concerned about preserving it outside Russia and to a lesser extent about promoting it, as their propaganda was primarily aimed at the Russian language audience. Russian revolutionaries saw their publishing activities as their political and cultural heritage, which should be preserved in a safe place. Having said that, Russian revolutionaries' attempts to reach Western intellectuals should not be overlooked. For example, Kropotkin was very concerned about the distribution and affordability of his books published in European languages (Slatter 1998: 34). Personal interest in Russian marginal publications shown by some members of staff and by Keeper of Printed Books Richard Garnett in particular created a reputation for the British Museum Library as a place where rare and peculiar publications could be safely kept. During and shortly after the 1905 revolution, the British Museum Library was approached several times with offers to send ephemeral or marginal publications to it. By that time the management had changed and the decision on one such offer, made by the British historian, translator and author of Leo Tolstoy's biography Robert Nisbet Bain (1854–1909), who worked at the British Museum as Library Assistant, was as follows: 'From VI. Kunin of Nijniy

¹²⁴ On Lenin's donations see Henderson (1990) and the British Library website (British Library n.d.a).

Novgorod, Russia. Offering for sale a collection of revolutionary and anarchist literature, [...], papers, etc. We have a fair amount of this sort of rubbish (presented to us from time to time) already. R.N.B.' (Resolution 1906).

Audiences and Readers

Apart from physically adding materials to the Russian collections, some Russians - regular readers at the British Museum - also were in correspondence with Library staff suggesting the acquisition of publications that were 'new and [...] most necessary for every student of Russia' (Kropotkin 1888) or of the most importance 'to me in my present work' (Burtsev 1896, 228). Interestingly, when suggesting the acquisition of certain material a legendary Russian revolutionary Vladimir Burtsev¹²⁵ referred to his fellow émigrés:

> All these books are of absolute necessity to every Russian for frequent references, and in giving them a little room amongst the 20,000 volumes that adorn the Reading Room you will confer a real boon on every one of us: when I say this, I'm speaking not only in my own name, but also in that of my friends working in the Museum: Mr Volkhonsky¹²⁶, Rothstein¹²⁷, Litvinoff¹²⁸ and others (Burtsev 1896).

Neither before nor after has the Library had such a community-type audience, unified by their research interests and political views and taking a collection of literature in a foreign language so close to their heart. Russian émigré communities of later

¹²⁵ For the most recent research on Burtsev see Henderson (2010).

¹²⁶ Feliks Vadimovich Volkhovskii (1846-1914), a Russian revolutionary émigré, arrived in London in 1890, was Constance Garnett's mentor in Russian and helped her with her first literary translations.

¹²⁷ Theodore Rothstein (Fedor Aronovich Rotstein) (1871-1953), a Russian revolutionary, diplomat and member of the British left wing movement, was also in Britain from 1890.

¹²⁸ Maksim Maksimovich Litvinov (Meer-Genokh Moiseevich Vallakh or Ballakh) (1876-1951), also a prominent Russian revolutionary and diplomat and Rothstein's friend. All Russian names in notes 8-10 are given in the Library of Congress transliteration as standard for reference purposes and might differ from the forms used by Burtsey.

periods did not have any special links to or interest in the Library and its collections, unlike, for example, the Polish émigré community which still foster relations with the Library through the Polish library in London and other organisations, facilitating donations among their other activities.

In-kind Gifts of Books and Ideologies

In-kind gifts of books by their nature could be tokens of good will, respect or signs of good relations. From early times lavishly produced books served as gift exchange between royalty and governments. The British Museum Library from time to time acted as a depository for such gifts. The number of such donations made by government organisations and embassies grew significantly before World War I and even more so in the post-war years. Before and during the war notable donations included: a present from the Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III of the book *Kovrovye izdeliia Srednei Azii* ('Carpets of Central Asia'), compiled by A.A.Bogoliubov, St. Petersburg, 1908 (Report 1910); a full set of *Svod zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii* ('Legislations of the Russian Empire, seventeenth century to the present day') donated by the Russian government in 1916 (Report 1916); and *Marché Financier Russe for 1908-1912* donated by the Commercial Agent of the Imperial Russian Government in 1914 (Report 1914). In each case the gifts were of fairly high monetary value and were given to the Library not so much for the benefit of researchers but to promote Russian cultural heritage and its political and business agendas.

In the period 1918-1922, after the demarcation of new borders within Europe, many newly established states donated publications produced in their countries. In a situation of civil war and with terminated diplomatic relations, Soviet Russia was not in a position to promote itself in this way. However, in May 1921 the British Museum

Library faced a difficult situation when F. G. Kenyon, Director of the Library, submitted to the trustees a confidential letter:

...from Sir Basil Thomson [Director of Intelligence at the Home Office at that time], [of] April 19 and 26th in regard of a large sack of Bolshevik literature stated to be en route from Helsingfors addressed to the British Museum, which he would arrange to go direct from port to the Museum. He suggests, however, that the literature should not be made accessible to the public for the present, adding that he understands that such literature is being sent to the great libraries with a view to propaganda among students (Report 1921).

After Sir Basil Thomson's resignation from the Home Office later that year, Keeper of Printed Books A. Pollard submitted a report in which he questioned the recommendation given by the Home Office to keep readers away from the Bolshevik literature. The trustees decided to seek advice from General Childs of Scotland Yard. A thorough examination of the material led to the conclusion that certain works did not appear to be harmful, but many of them (including the Communist International, the translation of which was forbidden by the Home Office) were of a character 'undesirable that a Government institution should foster' (Report 1922). However, the Library authorities and the trustees were generally against heavy censorship in the reading rooms and tried to defend their case. Therefore, in January 1923, they got permission from the Home Office to provide access to this literature in the reading rooms. From the archival reports it can be concluded that most of the propaganda literature in question was in English and behind this donation were both the British Communist Party and the Soviet government. This example provides us with an interesting picture of differences in opinion. The Library as a cultural institution did not support the argument that free expression of thought should be banned from public view and promoted access to any publication for its potential research value.

The governments of the Soviet Union, and later of other countries of the Eastern bloc, took control not only over publishing but also over all kinds of distribution of all printed material originating in their countries, and the issue of donations of propaganda publications became almost irrelevant, as there was hardly any material that would not have propaganda value at least to some extent. Direct contacts between cultural organisations in the West and Soviet citizens were extremely limited and individual in-kind donations of literature in Russian did not play a significant role in the structure of the Library acquisitions. Perestroika and the later collapse of the communist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe marked a new period in Library-patron relations.

Current Status of Russian Foreign Donations

Nowadays the Library receives a steady stream of donation offers (mainly from British friends of Russian authors) and unsolicited donations sent by post by authors based in Russia, or Russian authors who live in diaspora. The British Library is still considered a prestigious place to deposit works and the vast majority of these gifts are examples of self-publishing and self-promotion. Slavonic and East European collections (consisting of eighteen language areas) receive on average five hundred monographs and three hundred periodical issues a year, and Russian donations constitute 20% of the total annual intake. The subjects on which the Library receives the main bulk of publications are memoirs, poetry, social theories based on science, and local history. Unfortunately, Russian authors have very little knowledge of the kind of research on Russia being done abroad. If the Library tries to reject a gift, authors will not accept the argument that in the British Library there is no readership for science research written in Russian and that there is very limited interest in such topics as, for example, Russia's 'special mission' in the history of the world based on the analysis of the recent trends in

cosmology. Donors not only want their works to be kept in perpetuity in a foreign depository, but are also interested in the readers' reaction. The standard requests received by the Library from Russian donors are to send them links to the catalogue entries, to provide information on how many people cited the donated book, to write thank you letters to the sponsors of their publication, to deposit the book in other libraries, to find a researcher who is interested in the same topic and to present a second copy to this researcher. Most of the works given as self-promoting donations advocate a picture of the world with Russia at the centre of it and it is almost inevitable that any questioning of the value of such a picture for readers outside Russia generates an accusation of undermining the role of Russian culture and Russian values.

Conclusions

Libraries all over the world recognise the importance of donations as well as the importance of managing them. It is not necessary in practice to separate foreign donations and donations in the native languages. The two main principles of any library donation policy should be its alignment with the collection development policy that is already in place and the library's right to reject and dispose of unsolicited donations. However, as shown in this brief overview of the theory, history and practices of managing in-kind donations made to the British Library, a library at various points can accept (willingly or by chance) a number of roles as a mediator between its patrons and collections, donors and readers' communities, officials and the general public. Up to now there seems to be very little awareness of these roles, but the author would argue that a further analysis of them could be beneficial to a library or any cultural institution and will help to shape its public relations.

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Chapter 23

Library and Museum Hybridisation: Ultimate Spatial Forms of Institutional

Collaboration in the Process of Identity Representation

Jacopo Leveratto

Introduction

Collaboration between cultural institutions is an essential strategy to improve their offer and to preserve the heritage of a community. During the last ten years, architectural design has sometimes been a tool for this kind of collaboration through the hybridisation of museums' and libraries' spatial typologies. This is not a new phenomenon but just the last phase of their historical co-evolution, which started with the cabinets of curiosities and was partially interrupted by the functional specialisation of the nineteenth century (Dilevko and Gottlieb 2004). But even though it is not new, today it is particularly relevant.

Digitisation and Hybridisation

In 2005, a research project initiated at Loughborough University to investigate the links between libraries and museums highlighted how the institutional relationships between museums and libraries are more balanced and effective when they share the same space (Gibson, Morris and Cleeve 2007: 63). This is not only related to shared expenditure and to better co-ordination but mainly responds to a new way of approaching the information that digital technologies have introduced. The almost unlimited possibility of access to any information that digitisation makes possible is quickly promoting a strong indifference to the physical support of such information (Martin 2003: 4). Texts and images are constantly accessible on the Internet in the same format, regardless of the physical location and type of institution which makes them available. This tends to

blur the boundaries that distinguish museums, libraries and archives in the digital arena, suggesting similar forms of hybridisation also in the physical environment.

Library Musealisation

In fact, if the document content has already migrated to a virtual dimension, 'the printed book today ... belongs to the museum, not to the library' (Ugričić 2012: 116). For this reason, today, direct interface with the document support becomes of unprecedentedly exploitable value to libraries, not only in respect of rare book collections but also of the common book ones. During the last ten years, a series of hybrid institutions has been born, combining the functions of museums and libraries. Such libraries are characterised by an integrated space and a museum display, giving them the possibility of providing unmediated access to the collection and enhancing the essence of the book as artefact.

Figure 23.1 Contemporary musealised libraries

Source: Jacopo Leveratto.

The Biblioteca Ambrosiana

This dual identity marked what is probably the first case of intentional musealisation of the library space. Begun in 1603 to designs by Lelio Buzzi, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan was commissioned by the cardinal Federico Borromeo as a symbolic bulwark against the advance in southern Europe of the Lutheran Church (De Poli 2002: 24). The cardinal, thinking about public access to the cultural orthodoxy of the time, wanted to establish a library open to everyone and able, as well, to represent the relevance of Counter-Reformation knowledge. Two essential features of this library space are its architectural form and the display method: a single hall bounded by open stacks from ground to roof, accessible via suspended galleries; the books, for the first time the subject of display as well as consultation, defined a place both easily accessible for all users and gifted with an overwhelming authority.

The Bidoun Library

The Ambrosiana, in this way, set a modality for representing the act of constructing knowledge, thus planting the seeds for symbolically enhancing the processes of collective self-representation. In fact, one of the latest examples of library musealisation, the Bidoun Library (http://www.bidoun.org/bidoun-projects/bidoun-library/), also deals with a transnational and jeopardised identity. Funded by the Bidoun Foundation, this is a mobile library project that has, since 2009, displayed and given access to a collection of texts about the Middle East and the diaspora, moving from the New Museum in New York to a garage in Beirut. The whole meaning of the intervention lies in the fact that it presents books in a way that recalls the exhibition of a graphic product, able to aesthetically enhance otherwise unappealing texts and attract even reluctant audiences.

Conclusions

If the paucity of musealised libraries does not allow us to define a clear statistical trend, it is a clue to a contemporary revival of historical forms of functional hybridisation. This revival takes the form of new typologies of museum display, allowing the library to maintain its traditional role linked to the care of the written memory and to acquire the tools for its symbolic valorisation. The new display defines a spatial model that, merging in one place the activities of knowledge selection, access and exhibition, could represent a possible tool for institutional collaboration between museums and libraries. Moreover these new spaces, as suggested by the case studies, exhibiting the building of intangible cultural heritage, could be privileged places for the representation of a transnational cultural identity under construction, as the European one is.

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Chapter 24

Re-collecting and Connecting: Public Art, Migrating Heritage and the Relocation of Cultural Memory

Celeste Ianniciello

The elsewhere is a constituent of the here, and vice-versa. There is no longer an 'inside' cut off from an 'outside', a past cut off from the present. There is a time, that of the encounter with the other, which unfolds constantly and which consists not of scission but of contraction, winding and joining. (Mbembe 2008)

Introduction

Like the nation-state, the museum as the safe abode of an institutional memory is facing an inexorable process of decline: it is becoming mobile and global. Contemporary art, in particular postcolonial art, which emerges from experiences of migration, interconnection, hybridisation, becoming, plays a leading role in the transformation of the museum, both on a cultural and institutional level. Postcolonial artistic practices of archiving and displaying memory have transformed the museum from the traditional European place of construction and affirmation of national identity and superiority into a transcultural and multifunctional web, a dynamic space of both aesthetic experimentation and direct contact with the multiple and migrant realities of the modern world.

This paper will be focused on some transnational public artworks based on collective and participatory processes of 're-collection' (i.e. memory work as creation), which can be considered as examples of a living archive of migrant memories, questioning institutionalised notions of 'heritage' and 'belonging'. In this sense, the nation, and Europe as well, can be rethought in terms of complexity and variability

within an emerging critical connectivity. Through postcolonial art, the Western archive can be analysed 'contrapuntally', as Edward W. Said understood (1994), taking into account simultaneously both the dominant historiography and the other histories that are negated and repressed. Cultural forms need to be taken out of traditional enclosures and considered in a global process. This is to acknowledge an ever-changing world, crossed by 'overlapping territories' with less rigid barriers and 'intertwined histories' of productive relations.

We start from the analysis of an example of participatory art focused on memorialisation, the installation *Memorial* (2001), a project of the Palestinian artist Emily Jacir, highlighting the possibility of people re-appropriating the museum/gallery and the public sphere as common spaces wherein to declare, claim, remember, produce and share one's own 'being-there'. An alternative meaning of 'migrating heritage' and 'cultural memory' is also inscribed in other examples of public art considered as 'migrant living archive', which are not based on participation but similarly enhance the sense of a shared, border-crossing heritage. In particular, the paper will analyse the installation *The Tomb of Qara Koz* (2011), by the Bangladeshi artists Ebadur Rahman and Ronni Ahmed, and the phenomenon of the *harraga* rap produced in North Africa. In the light of these artistic examples of migrating heritage, is a final reflection on the post-territoriality of the museum, introducing the project of the Palestinian Museum as an evident example of multiple belongings.

Emphasising the possibility of disengaging ourselves from the opportunistic distinctions between state citizens and migrant inhabitants, the paper will reflect on the way such aesthetic experiences can be defined as 'postcolonial encounters', inasmuch they may develop a new awareness about belonging and citizenship. This implies a

critical questioning of any rigid imposition of cultural and institutional borders concerning the space and time of community, heritage, cultural memory and identity.

In this sense, it will underline how these artistic experiences can promote a creative contamination between diverse cultural, artistic and institutional perspectives, a new idea of 'network' and a problematic understanding of 'cooperation', suggesting new political and social 'guidelines' for more sustainable museum practices.

Living Archives: Artworking and Networking

At the Townhouse Gallery, in Cairo, the viewer is caught by a riddling image of monumental ruins, that produced by the Egyptian artist Tarek Zaki's Monument X (2007). Pieces of human and animal members lie on the floor, among other apparently abandoned architectural remains: columns, stairs, capitals, marble or concrete blocks seemingly waiting to be forged or, like other pieces, classified and labelled for museum display. This dismembered and unnamed monument seems to play with an impossibility of geographical and historical identification, yet *Monument X* readily recalls any monument we are used to seeing in our cities. Monuments stand in plazas and public spaces, marking out territory in space and time, delimiting the contours of historical heritage and cultural memory. Tangible aesthetic signs of official historiography conveyed publicly, they usually pay direct tribute to statesmen or even to revolutions, independence movements, new political orders. They persist for the purpose of inspiring civic pride and to remind all who pass that history was made there. They demand a measure of respect - unless, of course, they are knocked down and destroyed to mark the end of an era and the negation of its history. In these monuments, a leader, typically male, is represented, he is either standing or astride a horse, with arm

and index finger extended either up or over, pointing the way forward, indicating the path of progress.

Figure 24.1 Tarek Zaki, *Monument X*, installation, 2007

Source: Courtesy of Tarek Zaki.

A totally different direction seems to be evoked by Tarek Zaki's *Monument X*, stripped, as it is of any markers of identity and history (which history does it recollect? which geography or country does it belong to? which people does it concern? which progress does it indicate? for whom?). What remains is a riddle, one with no solution and instead multiplying the questions. The critical ambiguity with which Tarek Zaki's installation explores notions of history, memory, memorial, ruin and belonging is emblematic of how contemporary art is able to lay claim to the inconsistence, the partiality and deception of the memorialising function articulated by the phenomenology of the monument. For example, Achille Mbembe observes how in Western societies the discourse of power has affected the politics of memory and the practices of memorialisation. Funeral monuments, memorials, public commemorations are all products of nationalist disciplinary power, aimed at reproducing itself and its homogenising narrative though a necropolitics, which is incapable of transformation and 'takes death for life and life for death' (Mbembe 2008).

Some examples of contemporary art offer alternative modes of conveying memories that sharply oppose the heritage of necropolitics, because through them the act of recollecting produces an act of connecting and transformation. Memory is not monumentalised but mobilised, and culturally relocated through the routes and processes of art. Borrowing from Judith Butler's definition of the citizenship emerging from below and in public space, the author would define this aesthetic as 'extra-muros'

(Butler and Spivak 2007) - meaning both 'public,' and 'beyond institutional legitimacy' - for its migrant nature, for its public modality, articulated both in the form of participation and display/circulation, and for its implicit invitation to overcome the logic of museification and colonial notions of heritage.

In 2001 the Palestinian artist Emily Jacir invited people to her studio in New York to help her compose her Memorial to 418 Palestinian Villages that were Destroyed, Depopulated and Occupied by Israel in 1948, inspired by Walid Khalidi's detailed book, All That Remains: the Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948. Opposed to the official rhetoric and the exuberant architecture of typical memorials, Jacir's Memorial consists of a refugee tent (like those distributed by UNRWA and the Red Cross), thus presenting itself rather as a counter-memorial. Onto its sides and roof, Jacir pencilled the names of four hundred and eighteen Palestinian villages, leaving a blank space around the door, a blind spot in this architecture of losses, a poignant reminder that there are many more names of villages, destroyed, depopulated and occupied since 1948 that could be added. People participated in this exercise of recollection by sewing each pencilled name onto the tent with thick black thread, perforating the fabric with the feeling of their own memories. Here the act of remembering coincides with an exercise of rewriting the history of the forsaken and recollecting the pieces of an uprooted geography by multiple hands. In fact, over a hundred and forty 'stitchers' participated, many of whom were Palestinians from these very villages or Israelis who had grown up in their remains. Others were from Syria, Morocco, Tunisia and Lebanon, forming what Jacir calls 'a sort of Arab collective'. Some came - from various other nations - with little knowledge of or direct personal connection with the history of Israel, but wanting nevertheless to partake in this

collective process of remembrance, transforming the artist's private space into a public space of appropriation and sharing of memories, and of contestation of history.

The experience of memory is processed in the creativity of both the encounter and displacement, as the tent here represents not just a pacifying place of shelter, comfort and sharing, but also a space where a problematic repositioning of memory is made possible. In this sense, the experience of Jacir's *Memorial* responds to what the French philosopher Jacques Rancière defines as 'the politics of the collage', based on 'le partage du sensible', the sharing/division of the sensible between politics and aesthetics, understood as a 'third way between the opposed paradigms of art becoming life and art as resistant form' (Rancière 2006: 86).

The reconstruction of what has been forsaken, lost and repressed enfolds through a *living archive*, through a present event that institutes a direct relationship between memories and their 'unarchivability', an archive where, as Jacques Derrida reminds us, 'the archivization produces as much as it records the event' (Derrida 1996: 31). Here, the displacing, living processes of art-working, memory-working and networking overlap.

A similar sense of a shared memory came to my mind when, last year, during the Venice Biennale, the author 'visited' the *Tomb of Qara Koz* (2011), bumping into the diverse histories connected to it. Placed in a central spot of the Lido, this installation by the Bengali artists Ebadur Rahman and Ronni Ahmed, came to be part of the urban environment. It was a transitory presence, an impermanent monument, yet deeply rooted in that place, and evoking visually the invisible histories of ancient global connections. The pyramidal architecture recalled ancient funeral monuments, but the multiple narratives of which it was composed instead transposed the viewer into the polyphonic

flux of life.

Figure 24.2 Ebadur Rahman, Ronni Ahmed, Tomb of Qara Koz, sculpture, 2011

Source: Courtesy of Ebadur Rahman.

The Tomb of Qara Köz recalls the campaign - from the maternal matrix/womb to entropic little deaths/tomb, at tangents and accords with transformative desire - of the Mughal princess Qara Köz, who exerted powerful influence in the Florence of the Medici. The Tomb is organized in three planes: the multifarious narrative of Qara Köz, established in the collective imagination, by Salman Rushdie's *The Enchantress of Florence* and by the films Mughal-e-Azam (1960) and Jodha Akbar (2008), is (trans)located between realities in form of a per-formative architecture to activate an open network - and commons of emotion and memory - of Bengali (illegal) immigrants who are impacting the psycho-geographical tapestry of Venice; the second plane springs from the shifting layer of associations - e.g. the main body of the pyramid consisting of more than one thousand glasses recalls Calvino's Marco Polo - invoking the tales of fluid Venice(s); the cartoonish drawings on each egg employ fragments of Jacopo Bassano, Veronese, Jacopo Tintoretto, Paolo Farinati, to recount the tale of Robert Coover's Pinocchio's adventures, Thomas Mann's Aschenbach in search of purity, Mahler reading Li Tai-Po. The Tomb's third plane pays homage to Ai Weiwei's Documenta 12's project, Fairytale, where 101 Bengalis were invited to records/transmits their secret desires as these new immigrants pay alms and prays to the Tomb of Qara Köz to make their wishes come true. The Tomb of Qara Köz, in an uninhibited polyphenomenality of display, evidences lived live(s) - in transformation, in polyphony; its synthetic/syncretic approach, rooted in Opera Aperta, like traditional Bengali theatre, attempts to stage a conceptual mise en abyme. (Rahman, 2011)

The artist's description makes clear how, by reversing the necropolitics inscribed in funeral monuments, the Tomb itself may become a creative tool for memory, an instrument that is able to highlight the complexity of the cultural dimension of memory. The act of remembering inscribes, as in Jacir's *Memorial*, a re-membrance, an exercise in composition and reconstitution, where gathering and reassembling do not correspond

exclusively to unifying and depositing, but rather to reframing and transforming. Significantly, during the Bienniale, the *Tomb*, with its thousand eggs provocatively 'offered' to the public, was repeatedly vandalised and then promptly reconstructed. Thus, the unconscious involvement of people in the process of construction, destruction and reconstruction of the pyramid attests to the potential for a continuing regeneration enabled by the artwork.

Figure 24.3 Ebadur Rahman, Ronni Ahmed, detail of *Tomb of Qara Koz*, sculpture, 2011

Source: Courtesy of Ebadur Rahman.

In the collective memorial organised by Jacir, the colonial heritage of force, division, possession, rule and distance is told and subverted through the recollection of a lost geography and at same time through the construction of a solidarity network, built not only by transplanted Palestinians but also by local inhabitants, tourists, immigrants, indistinctly regular and irregular citizens, who invent an alternative community with their memory-work. This is an example of how, on the one hand, the work of art turns into an 'artworking', according to the definition elaborated by Bracha Ettinger to indicate the constitution of art as a process in time and space, or as an event-encounter, both pre- and post-individual (Ettinger 2006). On the other hand, this 'artworking' can also produce a new relational frame/paradigm at multiple levels: the social, historical, geographical, and even the democratic. Artworking interlaces here with a kind of 'post-institutional' networking.

In the *Tomb of Qara Koz*, the different narratives of the pyramid's three planes attempt to retrace the artistic, mythic, historical and geographical syncretism between East and West, past and present, life and death, recalling a migrating patrimony, both

tangible and intangible. The former is constituted by the westward flows, determined by global capital, of poor migrants mostly from the south of the world, like Bengali people. The latter consists of old, often repressed, intercultural connections whose narrative consistency, as *The Tomb of Qara Koz* suggests, seems to be constantly questioned by an errant, uncontainable tangle of fragments. Here, there is no leader with his finger indicating progress, as this singular memorial questions the very possibility of a linear traceability of 'our' history, the possibility to possess history in transparent, exclusivist and opportunistic terms. This is a modality dear to the diverse Occidental racialised accounts of history and cultural memory, and radically criticised by Michel Foucault in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969). Similarly to the *Tomb*'s narrative, that is, against the continuity of history, Foucault 'conceptualizes an opposing network of constant change: a system of relations, connecting different sites and conflicting subjects, in a vision of contemporary society based on heterogeneity and heterotopias' (Curti 2012: 188).

These artworks, then, open us to a different possibility. In a Deleuzian sense, they show us a 'becoming network' of the archive, that is, the possibility of a 'living archive' that moves between continents and bears witness to a defiant memory able to propel us beyond the narratives of Western power and its ruins. What, ultimately, this artistic production is able to enhance is the relationship between making network and *becoming migrant*, understood in a postcolonial sense, as the move towards a radical questioning, a problematic breach of the boundaries delimiting the 'proper', or the 'same', to put it in feminist terms.

Burning the Frontier

The aesthetic discussed here is based on a methodology of border-crossing, which also

involves an ethics, a politics, an epistemology of border-crossing, an aesthetic here, therefore, defined as postcolonial. In this sense, a vibrant contribution to the assemblage of an artistic network drawing on a transcultural heritage also comes from the *harraga* music created by the North-African migrant rappers, which probably would not be included in orthodox definitions of public art or of cultural heritage and memory. *Harraga* is an Arabic word that means literally 'burning' and stands for 'travelling without documents'; what its rap lyrics are about is a desire for life that translates into a challenge to burn the frontier. In fact, this is a Mediterranean rap, as it circulates in the suburbs of Tunis, Algiers, Tangier, as well as in the Italian island Lampedusa, the first landing place for the southern migrants' passage to Europe. Emblematic of this music is the lyric *Partir Loin* by the Algerian rapper Reda Taliani, 'the Italian', where the boat is addressed as 'my love'. ¹²⁹

Emerging from experiences of migration and engendering processes of hybridisation, *harraga* music has border-crossing as its constitutive trait. Significantly, this music is also known as Lampedusa rap, composed as it is from a mixture and conflation of different Mediterranean sounds and languages. In a way, *harraga* music reconnects to the tales of transit and cultural interlacing that have historically characterised the Mediterranean region as well as the construction of our modernity. But it also reminds us of how in today's 'Fortress Europe', as in the past imperialism of the West, the desire for border-crossing often turns into an experience of exclusion, or even death. The bodies, the voices, the languages and the histories of the migrants

The extracts from the lyrics and their translation into English are available from Gabriele Del Grande's blog *Fortress Europe*: http://fortresseurope.blogspot.co.uk/2011/04/partir-loin-music-lets-go_05.html (accessed 19 March 2013).

immediately transpose us to an unexpected recognition of other spaces and times, of a common, often silenced, history of migration, of the fact that 'migration is *the* story of modernity' (Chambers 2012: 15).

If this music - which ultimately breaks up the discomforting continuity between the violence of past and present colonialisms - can contribute to rewriting (the aesthetics and ethics of) the frontier, in the form of chants of desire, it also may function as a cultural reminder not only of past but also of present and future narratives of border-crossings and transmissions. It thus contributes to reconceptualise institutionalised notions of both heritage and archive. A memory of the future is announced by these yearning chants, which can undermine past-oriented, conservative, or even defensive, paradigms and apparatuses - including the institutional community of 'experts' - that sustain 'our' heritage. Hence they solicit the question 'whose heritage?', and unsettle inherited pretensions of legitimate authorship and ownership (Hall 2002).

When thinking about innovative projects concerning heritage, the injunction to burn the frontier, coming from subaltern voices, translates into a rejection of the Western legacy of force, rule, division, and of the limits themselves as a cultural inheritance - a rejection that brings with it openness to an epistemological revolution. We cannot deal with the question of heritage and think about new ways of implementing its migrant status unless we interrogate the existing regimes of power, both past and present, Western and globalised (from individualism to masculism, from nationalism and ethnocentrism to anthropocentrism, from colonialism to neo-liberalism) - unless we question their notions of property and appropriation, their versions of belonging and community, their *dispositifs* (Deleuze, 1992) of social recognition and inclusion, and political participation, their accounts of history, their management of memories.

For instance, these artworks can be considered as diffused traces of a shared, but

often repressed, migrant heritage. Their migrant aesthetic transposes us into an

alternative cartography that not only stretches the geographical horizons drawn by

museology, but also exceeds the space and time of the museum itself and rewrites its

ontology. The process of networking can be understood as a form of relationality that is

fed by disconnections, a mode of continuity that learns from ruptures.

Conclusions

Post-territoriality: Towards Postcolonial Encounters

The artworks discussed above ontologically reconfigure the museum through processes

of erosion and reconnection, disaggregation and aggregation. The project of the

Palestinian Museum is another and perhaps more direct example of this reconfiguration

(once again from the South). We return to Palestine because in a discourse about

cultural memory and migrating heritage it is fundamental to recall the Palestinian

experience, as it has become deeply symbolic of the dark side of modernity. The

museum, which will be directed by the Palestinian scholar Beshara Doumani, looks at

'the deterritorialised models of belonging which have emerged through the networked

matrix of the widely dispersed Palestinian community, thus turning into a powerful

resource what is usually perceived only as a deficit' (Biemann 2010), a source of

despair and powerlessness. In fact, the project assumes the Palestinian people (but not

exclusively) as its producing agents thanks to different modalities of interconnection.

One is a virtual platform through which users should be able to find resources that can

help interrogate their past, ask critical questions about their present, and participate in

the making of their future. Users will also be able to upload their own archives and

experiences, and share them with other users. Another mode of connection is enabled by

satellite museums in dispersed Palestinian communities - Lebanon, the United States, Jordan - with site specific programmes, and portals for accessing museum content and for connecting with other communities, as a network of transnational centres that mirror the Palestinian condition. The desire to narrate and recollect one's own story shapes the process of collective knowledge production and representation, without, as Doumani affirms, 'pre-determining the content or homogenising the image' (Biemann 2010).

The public sphere of social action, historical narration and re-membrance emerges with the constitution of a living archive of fragmented memories, reconnected in a post-territorial space, in the face of the brutal, ongoing material and discursive colonisation. Moreover, precisely at the heart of a necropolitical system of negation and dispossession there opens up the space of a post-institutional and sustainable citizenship. Here, the vulnerability of 'out-of-place' existences turns into a deviating force of affirmation and constitution, which confronts the colonial community with the limits of its power and legitimacy.

In this sense, the Palestinian Museum enables us to speak of a 'critical regionalism', in the feminist sense elaborated by the Chinese postcolonial scholar Rey Chow (1992), that is, the production of a web of strategic alliances as a response to hegemonic regimes of power. Similarly, all the artworks discussed here can be considered as different zones of a critical regionalism of multiple belonging, where the boundary between points of connections and lines of flight remains irreducibly porous.

If we ask ourselves how institutions like museums, traditionally responsible for the preservation of cultural memory and patrimony, could take care of a post-territorial heritage composed of migrant memories, and enhance processes of networking, then an initial move may lie in the possibility of cultivating the connective fecundity of

postcolonial encounters and in their willingness to commit to the cultural and political challenge they represent as memories of the future. These artworks, then, suggest to us where the encounter can ultimately take place: in a 'third space', in the words of Homi Bhabha (1994), on the fragile yet powerful threshold of new unpredictable 'nows' ... with the only guarantee that 'the sand will never grow old' (Reda Taliani).

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