ZARZĄDZANIE W KULTURZE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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Svetlana Hristova

THE EUROPEAN MODEL OF CULTURAL HERITAGE POLICY

Abstract

In order to understand the specificity of the European model of cultural heritage policy, we shall first take account of the main changes in the late modern world which pre-determined the repositioning of culture and cultural heritage in the world economy; then we shall trace the reasons leading to the current reappraisal of cultural heritage in European public policies, and finally we shall reveal the main trends in the European policies for cultural heritage, which form a distinguishable, coherent long-term approach that presumably can be qualified as 'the European model'.

Living in a risk society

There are several fundamental changes which took place in the world since the second half of the twentieth century described as a shift to consumerist, postindustrial, postmodern, and even – posthuman society. Certainly, a new symbolic economy based on tourism, media and entertainment began to develop when "with the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crisis in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities."[1] This happened partially because the urban condition became ubiquitous – as it was prognosticated by Henri Lefebvre in his prominent work *Urban Revolution* originally published in 1970. Almost half century ago under the influence of the revolutionary events of 1968, Lefebvre advanced in his book the hypothesis that the perturbations we face and the changes they mark can be described as emerging 'urban society', characterised not simply

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[1] S. Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities*, Oxford and Malden MA 1995, p. 2.

by the concentration of population in cities, and even not by the extension of the *urban fabric* beyond its borders and corrosion of the *residue of agrarian life*, but by the total *dominance of the city over the country*, marking new social contradictions and growing inequalities which changed the whole paradigm of our living. From that moment on the crisis seemed to become our permanent condition.

One of the most overarching definitions of this changing reality was given by the German sociologist Ulrich Beck who in his homonymous book, originally published in 1986, gave a warning that humanity was entering into a *risk society*, *Risikogesellschaft*. With this notion he described a new stage of modernity when human civilization began to produce globally greater risks than wealth, unmanageable (ecological, economic, social, and military) risks questioning the existence of humanity itself.[2] This meant not only a new global scale of misbalances between the minorities who capitalise the exploitation of nature and the rest of the world left without prospects for future, but a deadlock situation when nobody can be a winner because nobody can hide from these risks, therefore ultimately all are losers, rich and poor, developed and developing countries.

The political respond to the threat of perishability of human civilization was given by a report, commissioned by the UNO, known today as the Brundtland report after the name of the chair of the entitled committee – Gro Harlem Brundtland. Symptomatically, the report was named *Our Common Future*,[3] addressing the *trends that the planet and its people cannot long bear*.

Our Common Future

Given the interrelatedness between all stakeholders – nation-states, huge corporations, cities and local governments, the only possible future, according to the report, is the shared one – not only in the redistribution of the economic gains and losses, but in all wide-ranging results and consequences of human deeds in order to prevent the ultimate destruction of the life on our planet. For a first time the necessity to take a new course of development – to sustainability was publicly declared.

This also determined *the new role of cities and their culture* in the revised developmental model in which cities were foreseen to become central arenas for tackling problems of sustainable development. Ultimately, the report suggested a *new developmental path*, by changing radically its main goal (human needs, and not pure profit), and by *resetting the direction of urbanization*, by "taking the pressure off the largest urban centres and building up smaller towns and cities, more closely integrating them with their rural hinterlands."[4] Certainly, this can be observed today in urban Eu-

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[2] U. Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, New Delhi 1992.

[3] World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), *Our Common Future. Report of the Brundtland Commission*, Oxford 1987.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 73.

rope where the small and medium-sized cities prevail not only in numbers, but they also constitute the backbone of European economy.[5]

The report also underlined the necessity of *good city management* closely related to the idea of *decentralisation of funds, political power, and personnel to local authorities, which are best placed to appreciate and manage local needs*.[6] There is also an implicit vision of what is called today *participative urban cultures* referring to new forms of urban governance: "the sustainable development of cities will depend on closer work with the majorities of urban poor who are the true city builders, tapping the skills, energies and resources of neighbourhood groups and those in the 'informal sector',"[7] in other words – the sector of non-governmental organizations and non-profit activities which canalize and organize the civic energy and will-power. This sector is sometimes called also *social and solidarity economy*, and it has a lot to do with the current needs of culture to be sustained using the resources of different forms of cooperation – cooperatives, mutual benefit societies, associations, foundations, social enterprises and networks.

Finally, although the report did not address explicitly the issues of culture, nevertheless it implied the vision of culture as value promoter, new pattern maker and mindset changer. In this far-reaching vision it suggested a whole system of *new values*, "to help individuals and nations cope with rapidly changing social, environmental, and development realities"[8] to limit consumption patterns, and to reconcile humans with nature. By implicitly recognising the power of culture to shape human thinking through implanting the new values of sustainability, it prepared the ground for new specific policies based on explicit conceptualisation of the role of culture and cultural heritage to sustainable development.

The European Path to Sustainable Cultural Heritage

Such clear political statement is made in the Faro Convention adopted by the Council of Europe in 2005, which introduced the broadest possible definition of cultural heritage as an ever growing entity, accentuating on its flexibility, based on a public consensus which evolves along the evolving values and changing symbolic orders of society:

> Cultural heritage is a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and an expression of their constantly evolving values,

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[5] S. Hristova, *We, Europea*n *cities and towns: the role of culture for the evolving European model of urban sustainability* [in:] Hristova et al. (Eds.), *Culture and Sustainability in European Cities: Imagining Europolis*, Lodon and NewYork 2015, pp. 47–50.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 74.

[7] *Ibidem*.

[8] *Ibidem*, pp. 44–45.

beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.[9]

On the other hand, the Convention opens also a door to inter-/trans-nationalisation of the national heritages through the enlarging community of connoisseurs and admirers, the transborder *heritage community*. The new philosophy forwarded in the Convention also stimulated the development of new approaches to cultural heritage, which is supposed not only to educate by giving evidence about the past, but also to create new social opportunities for local communities in terms of green jobs and businesses. Briefly, nowadays heritage is challenged to work for people as a public asset, and not to be just a public cost. In doing this, new anthropological approach to the past is adopted accentuating not so much on academic history but on places of memory, exemplifying different life facets of the past. There are two consequences following from this: (a) animation of the history, which has been turned into a 'living' past, and (b) discovering the plurality of the past: there are many pasts of different (sometimes contradictory) memory communities. This trend is also connected with the evolution of new museography, based on spectacle, narrativization and performativity.

In addition to these general trends, there are some specificities in Europe, which can be conceptualized as 'European model' of cultural heritage policies evolving in the framework of the European search for sustainable development.

The European Model of Cultural Heritage Policy

No doubts that the special place which cultural heritage occupies in the political agenda of the EU is determined by the master task given to Culture to turn the political union into a community by providing a common denominator of shared values as a ground for unified European identity. This is a fragile process of transformation of the European symbolic realm, a process of opening of the national political and personal ideational borders and still preserving a core of national identifications, accompanied by new uncertainties in front of the economic, social and migration challenges, and ongoing re-negotiations of the principles of the EU co-operation, at the same time. Thus the emerging European model of cultural heritage policy (CHP) is characterised by several specific features, namely: (1) *Europeanisation* of cultural heritage; (2) *heritagisation* of European culture(s); (3) development of *European urbactivism* as a fusion of top-down and bottom-up efforts; (4) connected with this process appearance of new *transnational stakeholders*; (5) emergence of various forms of *participatory governance*; (6) promoting and sustaining cultural heritage in Europe via special digital library *Europeana*.

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[9] Faro Convention, *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*, *Cultural Heritage*, Council of Europe Treaty Series 2005, No. 199, p. 2.

Europeanisation of cultural heritage

One of the leading features of the European model of cultural heritage policy is the process of its 'europeanisation'. Certainly, this is a neologism, absurd to some extent, because the emergence of the idea of cultural heritage itself is correlative with the establishment of nation-states and crystallisation of national cultures, and for this reason the concept is inseparable from the national framework.[10]

So, how to 'europeanise' the already existing heritages of different nations, with their deep imbeddedness in the national imagery, and their functioning – fixed to the national geographical and historical reference points? The answer of the European institutions is: by re-conceptualisation and highlighting *the common heritage of Europe* as "a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity."[11] By and large, this can happen by laying a new focus on the common roots and bringing to the fore all historical facts that exemplify co-operative spirit in Europe (from technologies and trade exchanges to religious, philosophical and artistic movements), and by backstaging everything that has once separated the Europeans: wars, rivalries and atrocities the evidences of which – if preserved – are exposed predominantly in the framework of the national historiographies.[12] Certainly, this is a process of intensive *time and space re-imagination*, to use Benedict Anderson's term, resulting in *broadening* (extending in the space) and *deepening* (getting back in the history) of the idea of common European past, i.e. what is recognized as common in the history of Europe. The dominance of one particular narration about the past is defined by Laurajane Smith as *authorized heritage discourse* (AHD), which although does not entirely exclude subaltern uses and visions of heritage, still promotes "a consensus version of history by state-sanctioned cultural institutions and elites to regulate cultural and social tensions in the present."[13]

Although the Article 3.3[14] of the Lisbon Treaty is considered to lay the present legal foundation for co-operative cultural policies in Europe, actually the process has started much earlier by the Council of Europe with the European Cultural Convention, opened for signing in Paris on 19th December 1954. The Convention refers to *common heritage* in two different ways: once, in the broadest possible ideational framework, outlined in the Preamble as the *ideals and principle*s which are *the common heritage* whose safeguarding and realising will enable the achievement of its

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[10] T. Lähdesmäki, *The EU'S Explicit and Implicit Heritage Politics*, "European Societies" 2014, Vol. 16 (3).

[11] Faro Convention, *Council of Europe...*, Article 3.

[12] A recent exception to this is a new cultural route revealing the actions of the Westen Allied Forces during the last phase of the Second World War – Liberation Route Europe, supported by the EU. Finally, the narrative of the route again accentuates on the historical lesson as a basis for present co-operation between European states thus finally suggesting a consensual vison of the dissonant past. See: http://liberationroute.com/liberation-route-europe [access: 10.10.2016].

[13] L. Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London and New York 2006, p. 4.

[14] It stipulates that the European Union "shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced."

main aim: a greater unity. In this meaning European cultural heritage is commensurable with European culture *per se*. But there is a second, more specific notion, employed in the Convention. As Article 1 points out, "Each Contracting Party shall take appropriate measures to safeguard and to encourage the development of its national contribution to the **common cultural heritage of Europe**," these ideas being further specified in Article 5: "Each Contracting Party shall regard the **objects of European cultural value** placed under its control as **integral parts of the common cultural heritage of Europe**, shall take appropriate measures to safeguard them and shall ensure reasonable access thereto."[15]

The following polical documents elaborated and adopted by the CoE regarding European cultural heritage are consistently entering into further specificities concerning different kinds of heritage and the politics for their sustainable future (see Table 1).

Although the Council of Europe – unlike the EU – cannot make binding laws, nevertheless its consistent policies in the field of cultural heritage contributed much for the development of a legal framework enabling the international scientific, technical, legal and administrative co-operation in different fields of joint concern,[16] which "remained firmly at the heart of European endeavours to find broadly applicable solutions to common problems."[17] Certainly, this has been a fertile soile for the growth of the so called *europeanisation* of cultural heritage, turned into a center of the *united-in-diversity* cultural policies of the European Union, gradually taking a lead in the field.

This trend is granted by the fact that while national cultures are still prerogative of nation-states, the subject of cultural heritage, its preservation and sustainable use and development allow/require transnational regulatory standards and based on this – true pan-European dimension, supported by a series of political documents and programs issued by the European Parliament (EP), the European Commission (EC), as well as by other Europe-wide intergovernmental and non-governmental stakeholders. This produced the effect of bringing to the fore the issues of heritage in different sectors of the European culture, society and economy, namely: Heritagisation of the European culture.

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[15] Council of Europe, *European Cultural Convention* (1954).

[16] In addition to the endorsement of legal instruments such as Conventions and Charters, the CoE has undertaken consequent initiatives like declaring 1975 for European Architectural Year; the adoption of resolutions and recommendations such as Resolution (76) 28, on 14 April 1976, concerning the adaptation of laws and regulations to the requirements of integrated conservation of the architectural heritage; Recommendation 880 (1979) of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on the conservation of the European architectural heritage; Recommendation No. R (80) 16 of the Committee of Ministers to member States on the specialised training of architects, town planners, civil engineers and landscape designers; Recommendation No. R (81) 13 of the Committee of Ministers, adopted on 1 July 1981, on action in aid of certain declining craft trades in the context of the craft activity. In 1987 the CoE launched the Cultural Routes Programme with the objective "to demonstrate, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage."

[17] J. Bold, *The documentation of the architectural heritage in Europe: A progress report*, Council of Europe 1992, p. 10.

Table 1. Main Legal Initiatives of the Council of Europe in the Field of Cultural Heritage

Name of the initiative	Date / place of adoption	Main contribution
European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage	6 May 1969, London	Raises the issues of authorization and control of excavations; raise public awareness of the historical and cultural value of the archaeological heritage and the necessity to preserve it.
European Charter of the Architectural Heritage	21–25 October 1975, Amsterdam	Underlines the multiple cultural, social and economic values represented by historic monuments, groups of old buildings and interesting sites
European Convention on Offences relating to Cultural Property	23 June 1985, Delphi	Creates the basis of international legal framework for protection of cultural property (including cultural heritage) and criminalization of the acts of offences of cultural property.
Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe	3 October 1985, Granada	Introduces the principles of integrated conservation; represents a next benchmark for a common European policy for the conservation and enhancement of the architectural heritage.
European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage	16 January 1992, Valletta	Raise public awareness about the necessity of protection of the archaeological heritage as a source of the European collective memory and as an instrument for historical and scientific study.
European Landscape Convention	20 October 2000, Florence	Introduces a new concept of cultural landscape as a cultural heritage, reflecting the European identity and diversity; promotes the protection, management and planning of European landscapes and organises European co-operation on landscape issues.
Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society	13 October 2005, Faro	Introduces new relational concept of cultural heritage and of 'heritage community', thus opening the option for their internationalization / Europeanisation.

Source: own research.

Heritagisation of the European culture

According to some authors the term *heritagisation*[18] was coined by Robert Hewison in 1987, by which he refers to the process of transformation of places to heritage sites[19]; others as Peter Jan Margry and Rodney Harrison claim that it was Kevin Walsh who first introduced the concept – in a derogatory sense as a process which reduces the past to few "acceptable national themes; real places – to tourist space,"[20] thus transforming objects and places from functional 'things' into objects of display and exhibition.[21]

Although the concept is dominated by spatial connotations, it has actually much broader coverage, including as suggested by Regina Bendix "the elevation of particular objects (art, monuments, landscapes, memorial sites) and practices (performances, music, rituals, and related cultural practices and memories) to the status of heritage as something to be consciously preserved for present and future generations."[22] This process is necessarily selective, as not all cultural memory will gain this status.[23] Although mobilized for different purposes, "the heritagization process carries an emotional resonance about underlying values that maintains social order, collective relationships and sense of belonging."[24] Being an aspect of the post-industrial experience economy, heritagisation is a global phenomenon,[25] but its scope and consistency, engaging different spheres of politics, economy, society and culture in Europe, is remarkable.

Among the political incentives, paving the road to shared European past, already visualized in the official EU imagery, such as in the design of the Euro currency, are the Raphael community action program (1997–2000), the European Heritage La-

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[18] C. Sánchez-Carretero points out that heritagization has been European term with French doublette – patrimonialisation. See: C. Sánchez-Carretero, *Significance and social value of cultural heritage: analyzing the fractures of heritage* [in:] M.A. Rogerio-Candelera, M. Lazzari (Eds.), *Science and Technology for the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*, London 2013, pp. 387–392.

[19] O. Salemnik, *Described, Inscribed, Written Off: Heritagisation as (Dis)connection* [in:] Ph. Taylor (Ed.), *Connected and Disconnected in Viet Nam: Remaking Social Relations in a Post-socialist Nation*, Canberra 2016, p. 316, http://press.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/ch093. pdf [access: 16.07.2016].

[20] K. Walsh, *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Postmodern World*, London 1992, p. 4.

[21] R. Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches*, London and New York 2013, p. 69.

[22] R. Bendix, *Heritage between economy and politics: an assessment from the perspective of cultural anthropology* [in:] L. Smith, N. Akagawa (Eds.), *Intangible Heritage*, London and New York 2009.

[23] O. Salemnik, *op.cit.*, p. 317.

[24] S. Ashley, *Re-telling, Re-cognition, Re-stitution: Sikh Heritagization in Canada, Cultura*, "International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology" 2014, Vol. 11 (2), p. 40, http://nrl. northumbria.ac.uk/18429/ [access: 12.08.2016].

[25] See for ex.: P.J. Margry, *Memorializing a Controversial Politician: The "Heritigization" of a Materialized Vox Populi* [in:] P.J. Margry, C. Sánches-Carretero (Eds.), *Grassroot Memorials: The Politics of memorializing Traumatic Death*, Berghahn Books 2011; S. Ashley, *op.cit.*, O. Salemnik, *op.cit.*

bel, European Capital of Culture, EU Prize for Contemporary Architecture, European Heritage Days, European Union prize for cultural heritage, operated as Europa Nostra Awards, Euromed Heritage programme, and the forthcoming in 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage.

An indicative example of the *heritagisation* of the European culture, i.e. growing importance of heritage in the long-term European cultural policies and practices, is the evolution of European Capital of Culture Program. Although the heritage was not initially (or at least not explicitly) among its priorities, it was gradually repositioned and recently it gained visibility – together with the requirement for the "European dimension." Thus in the Decision No. 445/2014/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014 establishing a Union action for the European Capitals of Culture for the years 2020 to 2033, articles 1 & 7 in the Preamble explicitly mention bringing common cultural heritage to the fore and promoting Europe's cultural heritage referring to the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

This trend is expressed also in the unification of the forces of various institutions and different sectors of society in their efforts to jointly reconstitute the vision of common European past, starting from the main stakeholders, the CoE and the EC, and ending with a multitude of newly founded pan-European NGOs and networks. For example, the European Heritage Days (EHD) launched by the Council of Europe (CoE) in 1991, since 1999 has been co-organized together with the European Commission (EC) concentrating on trans-national themes and cross-border activities. And vice versa, in 2002, the EC launched the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage as a part of the implementation of the Culture 2000 program. The pan-European federation for cultural heritage Europa Nostra with representatives from over 200 heritage NGOs throughout Europe, was selected to run the prize scheme.

To make it clear, the both processes – *europeanisation* of cultural heritages in Europe, and *heritagisation* of European culture – are mutually intertwined and permeate into different sectors of European society through diverse European programs. As reported in the official website of the EC, "Cultural heritage is eligible for significant EU funding from 2014–2020 – including for conservation, digitization, infrastructure, research and skills – from several EU programmes – including the European Structural & Investment Funds, Horizon 2020, Creative Europe, Erasmus+, Europe for Citizens. Policy collaboration on cultural heritage among EU member states continues to be pursued through the Council of Ministers for Education, Youth, Culture and Sports, and through the Open Method of Coordination."[26]

The climax of this process is the initiative "Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe."[27] It was prepared and opened for discussion in 2014 by

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[26] EC (European Commission), *Supporting the cultural heritage*, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/policy/culture-policies/cultural-heritage_en.htm [access: 15.08.2016].

[27] See: *Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage in Europe, final, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions*, COM (2014) 477, http://ec.europa.eu/culture/library/publications/2014-heritage-communication_en.pdf [access: 16.08.2016].

the Committee on Culture and Education, and consequently it aroused the opinions of the Committee of Regions and the Committee of Transport and Tourism, expressing interest in a concerted action in this field. As described in the Introduction of the conclusive Communication of the European Parliament (EP), it "presents the EU's approach to heritage across different policy areas [...] the tools available at EU level, complementing national and regional programmes [...], the measures available to strengthen policy cooperation at different levels, and projects being developed to support new models of heritage governance."[28] The overall aim is to help Member States and stakeholders make the most of the significant support for heritage available under EU instruments, progress towards "a more integrated approach at national and EU level, and ultimately make Europe a laboratory for heritage based innovation."[29]

The document acknowledges the transsectoral effects of cultural heritage which affects regional development, social cohesion, agriculture, maritime affairs, the environment, tourism, education, the digital agenda, external relations, customs cooperation and research and innovation, and therefore it is addressed in different EU policies, including those concerning above-mentioned sectors. In order to counter the fragmentation in this area, the Communication draws attention to the need to improve the statistics and research based on a holistic vision of cultural heritage.[30] While these are EU-led top-down processes, there is a simultaneous bottom-up movement, initiated by local communities and towns aiming at sustainable development with the means of culture. This shall be called with another neologism referring to specific 'bottom-up' movements, integrating art and social activism, and supported 'top-down' by different European programs.

European urbactivism

Urbactivism as specific urban *artivism*,[31] i.e. cultural and artistic activism for social purposes flourishing in cities, based on new 'green' values, is stemming from local communities but it is realised with the support of various European programs – URBAN, URBACT, JESSICA and JEREMIE, and other programmes at regional and national levels, including independent initiatives of groups of towns and cities as

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[28] See: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=REPORT&reference=A8-2015-0207&language=EN [access: 16.08.2016].

[29] *Ibidem*.

[30] The project "Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe: Towards a European Index for Valuing Cultural Heritage" (2015), can be regarded as a prompt respond to this information deficit. Available at: http://blogs.encatc.org/culturalheritagecountsforeurope//wp-content/uploads/2015/06/CH-CfE_FULL-REPORT_v2.pdf [access: 16.06.2016].

[31] The notion *artivism* is introduced by the Sloveniam sociologist Aldo Milohnić (2005) as a hybrid of art and activism. See more in: M. Dragićević Šešić, A. Brkić, J. Matejić, *Mobilizing urban neighbourhoods: Artivism, identity, and cultural sustainability* [in:] S. Hristova et al. (Eds.), *Culture and Sustainability in European Cities: Imagining Europolis*, Lodon–NewYork 2015, p. 193.

CENTROPE and the EuRegio Salzburg – Berchtesgadener Land – Traunstein (ES-PON 2013).

There are two interpretative clues to this issue: according to the first one, this phenomenon can be regarded as a part of a global trend to increased participatory public engagement which can be observed mainly in the developed West.[32] The second one suggests a critical interpretation, insisting that it is installed through different European programs, and for this reason, it is not authentic: it is described as politics of 'governmentality' of heritage, including "the rhetoric and practice through which the EU's top-down policies are made to look as bottom-up attempts."[33]

This paper offers a third perspective: the bottom-up urbactivism is based on much deeper concerns of European citisens – those of shared responsibility of risk society. Their efforts – whether in the field of culture or in any other concerted action – are aiming at more sustainable way of life. The co-operatives in Germany, recognized as bio-village movement, for example, are transcending their initial goals of renewable energy generation and re-distribution and act jointly in other cases as well. In addition, the bottom-up cooperation and association between Euroepan citizens is enabled by the development of social media and Internet, giving rise to the so called 'Culture 3.0'[34] where the boundaries between users and producers are definitely merging and all are *produsers*.

One of the brightest examples of such movement is the *Aalborg Charter of European Cities and Towns towards Sustainability* (1994) which in its opening declaration defines the founding value of culture and heritage for the European identity: "We, European cities and towns... guardians of culture, heritage and tradition."[35] The Charter regards sustainability as a creative, local, balance-seeking process, extending into all areas of local decision-making. Thus the management of a city is built around the information collected through such a process, in which citizens may make informed choices. Through a management process rooted in sustainability, decisions may be made which not only represent the interests of current stakeholders, but also of future generations.[36] This gives additional stimulus to different forms of *participatory governance* of cultural heritage as a meeting point between bottom-up processes and top-down politics, stimulating the social integration and economic vitality of cities.[37] In this perspective, cooperative management of cultural heritage is one of the earliest institutional forms of participatory governance, stemming from the end of the 19th century.

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[32] N. Mahony, H.C. Stephansen, *The frontiers of participatory public engagement*, "European Journal of Cultural Studies" 2016, pp.1–15.

[33] T. Lähdesmäki, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

[34] See: P.-L. Sacco, *Culture 3.0 – a new perspective for the EU 2014-2020 structural funds programming*, 2011, http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/files/241/en/Sacco_culture-3-0_CCIs-Local-and-Regional-Development_final.pdf [access: 12.05.2016].

[35] *Aalborg Charter of European Cities and Towns towards Sustainability*, 1994, http://www.sustainablecities.eu/fileadmin/content/JOIN/Aalborg_Charter_english_1_.pdf [access: 08.07.2016].

[36] *Ibidem*.

[37] S. Hristova, *op.cit.*, pp. 45–47.

Enhancing participatory governance of cultural heritage is foreseen in the European Plan for Culture (2015–2018) with identification of innovative approaches to the multilevel governance of *tangible*, *intangible* and *digital* heritage which involve the public sector, private stakeholders and the civil society.[38]

New transnational stakeholders

The increasing number of European networks and associations in the field of cultural heritage can be described as continuous proliferation, as some of the organizations are stemming from others, thus constituting ever growing supra-network. Here we shall consider just few of them with already proved impact in the sector, with different regional and international scope of action and interests:

- *Europa Nostra* is a pan-European network for safeguarding of Europe's cultural and natural heritage, composed of 250 member organisations (heritage associations and foundations with a combined membership of more than 5 million people), 150 associated organisations (governmental bodies, local authorities and corporations) and 1,500 individual members. It was founded in 1963 in Paris, in the office of the CoE;[39]
- The *European Association of Historic Towns and Regions*, formed by the Council of Europe in 1999 as part of the initiative "Europe – A Common Heritage" consolidates over 1,000 historic and heritage towns, cities and regions in 30 European countries;[40]
- The *European Heritage Alliance 3.3*, an informal European sectoral platform composed of 33 European or international networks and organisations active in the wider field of cultural heritage, was launched in June 2011 on the occasion of the European Heritage Congress, organized by *Europa Nostra* in Amsterdam;[41]
- The *European Historic Houses Association*, an umbrella organisation gathering 22 national associations of historic houses and 1 observer country established in 1985 under Dutch Law, but consulted by the European Commission and the European Council;[42]
- *HEREIN*, a complex project of the CoE for observatory on policies of the European heritage. It is founded as intergovernmental establishment in 2010, promoting and fostering the exchange and collection of information related to financing mechanisms, legislations, documentation systems, integrated conservation strategies and awareness-raising actions. It combines the contribu-

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[38] *Work Plan for Culture 2015–2018*, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-16094-2014-INIT/en/pdf [access: 20.04.2016].

[39] See: http://www.europanostra.org/ [access: 20.04.2016].

[40] See: http://www.historic-towns.org/html/about.html [access: 20.04.2016].

[41] See: http://europeanheritagealliance.eu/ [access: 20.04.2016].

[42] See: http://www.europeanhistorichouses.eu/ [access: 20.04.2016].

tion of *HEREIN Network* formed by the public administrations from over 44 Member States responsible for national policies in the field of cultural heritage; and voluntary contributions from the International Association of the European Heritage Network (*HEREIN AISBL*), bringing together government representatives responsible for cultural heritage from Belgium (Wallonia), Finland, France, Greece, Slovenia, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.[43]

These networks work complementarily to the Council of Europe, the European Commission and the European Council, supported by the expertise of different thematic working groups, and by the specialized consultative body *European Heritage Heads Forum*.[44] Besides the process of enlargening of the pan-European networks there runs also a parallel process of organizing regional associations, i.e. *Centrope*, encompassing CEE-countries, or based on specific forms of co-operation, as the mentioned above *HEREIN AISBL*. If cultural heritage is a field also of manifestation of power (symbolic, political and economic), this could be a sign of power redistribution and interests re-grouping within the existing European framework.

Sustaining heritage through its digitization: Europeana

Sustaining the heritage is a process of maintainance, safeguarding and using it according to its own carrying capacity. This is a fragile balance where underuse of heritage is undesirable as it would be doomed to oblivion while overuse is threatening with destruction or at least with damage. Other difficult balances are how to make heritage work for the community but not to exploit it; and how to grant conservation and preservation of the spirit of the heritage site while adopting an acceptable degree of change and adaptive reuse.

Digitisation gives a promise for a second 'eternal' life to heritage and the *Europeana* cultural platform[45] is another distinct element of the European model of cultural heritage management. As noted in the Communication: *Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage in Europe*, it now provides on-line access to about 30 million cultural objects from more than 2,500 organisations: the resources of Europe's cultural institutions are now more internet-friendly and more widely re-usable. *Europeana* helps to develop and implement standards and interoperability in this area and provides a space where culture professionals share digital expertise. The *Europeana Regia* project includes more than 1,000 digitised rare manuscripts from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Others focus on the potential for creative re-use of digital cultural material, such as *Europeana Creative* and *Europeana Space*.

Although *Europeana* successfully demonstrates how the new technologies for digitization of European cultural heritage which leads to the extension of what was

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[43] See: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Herein/Default_en.asp [access: 20.04.2016].
[44] See: http://www.ehhf.eu/ [access: 20.04.2016].
[45] See: http://www.europeana.eu [access: 20.04.2016].

defined by Mauris Halbwachs as 'communicative memory' of Europe, and provides valuable opportunities for easy access, it cannot cancel the questions about the physical sustaining of the tangible and intangible heritage of Europe, nor it can blur the fact of the digital 'domination' of certain European cultures becoming representative of the digital memory of Europe itself.

European cultural heritage – source of identity, social cohesion and economic vitality?

The present review of the European policies towards cultural heritages of Europe – and more generally towards the European culture, reveal the raising political expectations which extend into all possible spheres of functional society, assuming heritage to solve the growing problems of economy, youth unemployment, social polarization and subversive anomia. Certainly, this is one of the most powerful economic and symbolic resources of Europe with huge emotional resonance, and for this reason, one of the most efficient tools for European integration, but how realistic are all these expectations finally?

Obviously, the efforts of European institutions tend towards mobilization and intertwining of heritage politics into different EU's policies and besides the cultural field, they extend in regional and urban development and regeneration, administered through European Social Fund (ESF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), and several recent EU-funded research projects (e.g., implemented as a part of the Joint Programming Initiative on Cultural Heritage), which have explored the issues of the preservation, meaning making, and use of cultural heritage as a source of European identity.

In this analysis however we did not make an account of the role of other global stakeholders in the field of cultural heritage as ICOMOS and UNESCO whose work preceded and pre-conditioned the political efforts focused entirely on Europe. On the other hand, they created multiple cultural and political resonance for the European thinkers, which also were collaborators in this process. The Venice Charter (1964), for example, setting the international standards for the conservation and restoration of monuments and sites,[46] was prepared by a committee dominated by Europeans with only four non-European members out of 23. This also reveals the global synergies in the field of cultural heritage based on the world-wide dissemination of European standards and visions.

Finally, all described trends leave open the question about the authenticity and the acceptable compromise in the process of re-imagination of cultural heritage of Europe where new symbolic power redistributions imperceptibly grow.

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[46] See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Venice_Charter [access: 20.04.2016].

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ROLE AND PLACE OF FIRMS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Case Studies of Contemporary Art Foundations François Pinault & Louis Vuitton in France

Abstract

This study is set in the French institutional and cultural context where the State and local authorities have strong and multiple roles and missions in the cultural field. Despite the declined Welfare State, France has experienced an important evolution of the legal and fiscal framework concerning patronage and non-profit organizations, giving a new role to citizens. We question the place and role of private sponsors in territorial management of cultural heritage. To do so, we analyze two cases: the project of the François Pinault Foundation to build a museum of contemporary art on Seguin Island, near Paris, and the project of the Louis Vuitton Foundation to launch a museum of contemporary art in The Bois de Boulogne inside Paris. The failure of the first project and the success of the second one will allow us to draw lessons for this kind of public-private initiatives.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: sztuka, kultura, polityka publiczna, zarządzanie terytorialne, mecenat kulturalny

KEY WORDS: arts, culture, public policies, territorial management, cultural patronage

Introduction

"Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun."[1] As underlined by André Malraux, French Minister of Culture from 1959 to 1969, *strengths of mind*, *powers of civilizations and religions* have played a founding role in the fate of the world. This strong dialectic tension between past and future creates a need to refer to a common past, common historical sources and ideas. Cultural heritage offers, thus, a possibility to refer to the past and to discover it; a means of understanding various civilizations; a path towards the understanding of others, to-

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[1] C. Geertz, *The interpretation of Cultures: selected essays*, New York 1973, p. 5.

wards open-mindedness. The stake is thus to share and develop this common memory to make it fruitful for the future.

To deal with this purpose, this research is anchored in the interplay of public management, arts, patronage and territory. More precisely, this study is embodied in the institutional and cultural French context where the State and local authorities have strong and multiple roles and missions in the cultural field such as producing arts and culture, financing and supporting artists and operators, buying works of art, organizing network and assuming support functions in the sector to structure and professionalize it. At the same time, as many countries, France is characterized, since the 80's, by a declined Welfare State and a progressive disengagement of public organizations from the cultural sector. In parallel, France has experienced an evolution of the legal and fiscal framework concerning patronage and non-profit organizations, giving a new place to citizens. Indeed, since 2003, the Aillagon Law has modified the French mindset of cultural patronage with a liberal law that offers many guarantees. So new actors deserve to be taken into account: cultural patrons.

Having taken note of these various observations, we question the place and role of private sponsors in territorial management of cultural heritage. To do so, we analyze two case studies. The first case is of the François Pinault Foundation and its project to build, in 2005, a new museum of contemporary art on Seguin Island, near Paris. The second case is of the CEO of the French luxury company LVMH, and his project of contemporary art museum in The Bois de Boulogne inside Paris. The first project has failed. The second one has succeed and the museum of Louis-Vuitton Foundation opened to the public in October 2014.

1. Territorial management of private contemporary art museums

1.1. Private contemporary art museums as pieces of heritage

Cultural heritage, as defined by UNESCO, is composed of tangible (movable, immovable and underwater cultural heritage) and intangible heritage (oral traditions, performing arts, rituals).

> Europe's cultural heritage, both tangible and intangible, is our common wealth – our inheritance from previous generations of Europeans and our legacy for those to come. It is an irreplaceable repository of knowledge and a valuable resource for economic growth, employment and social cohesion. It enriches the individual lives of hundreds of millions of people, is a source of inspiration for thinkers and artists, and a driver for our cultural and creative industries. Our cultural heritage and the way we preserve and value it is a major factor in defining Europe's place in the world and its attractiveness as a place to live, work, and visit.[2]

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[2] European Commission, *Towards an integrated approach to cultural heritage for Europe, Communication from the commission to the European parliament, the council, the European economic and social committee and the committee of the regions*, 2014, p. 2.

Considering this multiple added value of cultural heritage, the European States defend preservation, valuation and diffusion of this heritage and need to find modalities for collaborative management. In perpetual evolution, this heritage grows and is enriched by contemporary creation. At the level of the various European territories, cultural heritage can be used to develop multi-dimensional attractiveness. Territories lead strategies of development and attractiveness based in particular on the dynamism of the cultural and creative sector.[3]

This paper deals with the equipment "accumulated" over time, meaning historic monuments and museums[4] and more precisely private contemporary art museums. As explained by Bosseboeuf[5] a particular place is reserved for patrimonial institutions and especially for territorial museums to play a leading role in territorial attractiveness and cohesion. Private actors are these "benefactors" whose role is situated halfway between sharing their fortune by assuming public missions instead of government and being patrons of the arts in the style of Medici, Borgia or Peggy Guggenheim.[6] These private institutions represent both cultural heritage as an architectural project and an institution bringing an answer to the heritage management. "Since the cultural equipment is considered as a major instrument of territorial valuation, the museum became the central pattern of a new paradigm of urban action. This paradigm also involves an urban project, a renowned architect, an art lover who makes donation of its collection."[7] These projects enjoy the success of past numerous adventures, such as the Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, and emphasize "an understanding (even a fantasy) widely shared about the stakes and interests expected by such projects."[8] Heritage management at a territorial level incorporates, thus, cultural issues, but also economic, social and political dimensions.

1.2. Project management and governance

Considering the multiple added value of cultural heritage, collaborative management must be implemented at various territorial levels to ensure its creation, preservation, valuation and diffusion. Indeed, the management of cultural heritage concerns many various stakeholders from public, private and non-profit sectors. The territorial governance of the two studied projects is characterized by the combination of var-

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[3] E. Soldo, C. Arnaud, O. Keramidas, *Direct control of cultural events as a means of leveraging the sustainable attractiveness of the territory? Analysis of the managerial conditions for success*, "International Review of Administrative Sciences" 2013, Vol. 79, No 4.

[4] See: F. Lucchini, *La culture au service des Villes*, collection Villes, éd. Economica, Paris 2002.

[5] C. Bosseboeuf, *Les musées territoriaux: un enjeu de structuration et de développement des territoires?*, ASRDLF 2013, p. 3.

[6] N. Seni, *Le mécène, un acteur méconnu de la ville*, "Transcontinentales" 7/2009, document 6 [access: http://transcontinentales.revues.org/374].

[7] *Ibidem*.

[8] E. Vivant, *L'instrumentalisation de la culture dans les politiques urbaines: un modèle d'action transposable?*, "Espaces et sociétés" 2007, Vol. 4, p. 131.

ious institutional proximities that associate heterogeneous key actors: with different status (public / private), roles and interests, among which there are also organizations from the associative and cooperative world.[9] In a project of contemporary art museum, two main kinds of stakeholders defend their role, place and interest: public organizations and cultural patrons.

The Aillagon law is based on a strong idea: "citizens must be completely able to take an active part in the life of the City."[10] Concomitantly, the phenomena of corporate social responsibility and the development of patronage show that "the general interest also became the affair of the company."[11] So foundations participate in a mission of general interest and, actually, in a mission of public character. Beyond simple managerial rationality, these organizations also join social rationality in what they answer a social need not – or little – satisfied.[12] At the same time, foundations can be a cover for projects proposed by entrepreneurs-sponsors for whom to collect and to donate constitute major social markers that are imperative. The territorial competition is thus coupled with the competition between these "benefactors."[13] In addition, this law has created tax incentives to encourage cultural patronage and philanthropy, new conditions for creating firm foundation and enhance multiple managerial advantages: internal & external image, marketing, networks, etc.[14]

Public organizations try, through these projects, to strengthen territorial attractiveness on a globalized contemporary art marketplace. The presence of territorialized resources and assets (thus specific to the territory), is the key tool used in this new kind of competition which territories have to face.[15] Territories thus have to set up new forms of "local differentiated regulations" to propose an "offer of territorial specificities."[16] Indeed, the market of the contemporary art institutions establishes a real place of globalized and esthetic capitalism.[17] It requires, on behalf of territories, strategies to welcome and maintain cultural equipment of international level. "Globalization, far from any kind of standardization, shaping a hypothetical homogeneous world, constitutes a movement which finds its foundations in the assertion

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[9] G. Colletis, P. Gianfaldoni, N. Richez-Battesti, *Economie sociale et solidaire, territoires et proximité*, RECMA 2005, p. 13.

[10] B. Vial, *Mécénat, associations, fondations: la loi du 1er août 2003*, Regards sur l'actualité, La Documentation Française, 2004, p. 45.

[11] I. Petit, *Crise et prise en charge de l'intérêt général par l'entreprise: l'exemple des fondations d'entreprise*, Working Paper Series IPAG Business School, 2014, p. 1.

[12] D. Harrisson, *Analyser les théories pour comprendre l'innovation sociale. Pour Une Nouvelle Mondialisation: Le Défi D'innover*, 3ème colloque international du Crises, Montréal 2011.

[13] N. Seni, *op.cit.*, p. 127.

[14] S. Piquet, J.M. Tobelem, *Les enjeux du mécénat culturel et humanitaire*, "Revue française de gestion" 2006, Vol. 8.

[15] J. Longuépée, *Dynamiques territoriales et gestion des inondations: une approche en termes de «proximité»*, "Journées d'études «les territoires de l'eau»" 2004, 26 mars, Arras, p. 3.

[16] G. Colletis, B. Pecqueur, *Intégration des espaces et quasi intégration des firmes: vers de nouvelles logiques productives?*, "Revue d'Economie Régionale et Urbaine" 1993, 3, p. 490.

[17] J.M. Tobelem (dir.), *Les bulles de Bilbao. La mutation des musées depuis Frank Gehry. Collections B2*, 2015.

and valuation of the differences."[18] The aim is to build a common destiny between an organization and a territory and create the idea of a common construction, cofounded learning based on the coproduction of resources.[19] The difficulty appears when cultural patrons look mainly for the development of an international strategy even before having anchored locally their project.

To discuss the governance of these projects, we can refer to the following typology:[20]

1. Public or Institutional Governance: The key stakeholder in the territorial project coordination is a public organization / institution or a collection of public organizations.
2. Private Governance: The key stakeholder in the territorial project coordination is a private organization (firm, NGO, association, foundation…).
3. Mixed or Partnership Governance: A middle way between private and public governance.

Let us see how do these two firms deal with the missions of contemporary creation support, cultural heritage preservation, valuation and diffusion through the creation of a private contemporary art museum? How can they be anchored at the local and international levels? How can we describe their relations with public entities?

2. François Pinault & Louis Vuitton Foundations: Is Paris interesting for this kind of projects?

During the 2000s, two French collectors of contemporary art launched two projects. François Pinault on one side and François Arnault on another side wanted to build their own private museums to host their important collections of contemporary art.

2.1. The François Pinault Foundation project

Francois Pinault is a French industrialist and businessman, founder of Kering Group (a world leader company in the clothing sector, luxury and accessories). François Pinault is one of the leading collectors of contemporary art in the world. He is considered to be the first collector in France with a personal collection estimated at $ 1.4 billion.

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[18] J.B. Zimmermann, *Entreprises et territoires: entre nomadisme et ancrage territorial*, "La revue de l'IRES" 2005, Vol. 1, 47, p. 21.

[19] *Ibidem*, pp. 22–23.

[20] J.-P. Gilly, J. Perrat, «La dynamique institutionnelle des territoires: entre gouvernance locale et régulation globale», *Cahiers du GRES*, 2003-5, mai, 14 p.

In the early 2000s, François Pinault launched a project of a contemporary art foundation to install his personal collection. The building that was to host the foundation was planned to be built on the "Seguin Island." This Island, located near Paris, belonged to Renault Company and housed historic plants of the company. Since 1989, when Renault announced the closure of its historic factory, Seguin Island had been at the heart of a vast development project. Seguin Island is a major industrial and memorial heritage. The Renault factory located at Seguin Island is one of the most important symbols of the workers' struggles in France.

François Pinault negotiated directly with the CEO of Renault to acquire part of the Seguin Island. In 2001, following an international competition, François Pinault chose the architectural project made by a Japanese architect Ando. This architectural project was presented as a "big spaceship floating on the waters of the Seine."[21] The building was to be delivered in 2006 and its cost was estimated at € 150 million.

For François Pinault, this prestigious equipment had to welcome his important collection of contemporary art, consisting of a thousand pieces of paintings, sculptures, photographs and video records of major artists of the second half of the twentieth century. François Pinault said:

> I wanted a museum that transcends fashions and falls within the duration (...). I want both a cathedral and a Romanesque church, monumentality and recollection (...). This is to make the lighthouse museum in Europe with regard to contemporary art (...). The state has a role to play, but compared to a public museum, a collector may have significantly faster reactions when it comes to making a purchasing decision.[22]

The municipality of Boulogne-Billancourt (where Seguin Island is located) was not directly associated to the Pinault Foundation project. However, the municipality welcomed the project positively. The project of the foundation was seen as a "locomotive" for the entire development project of the Seguin Island. The municipality acquired the remaining land of the Island. An important urbanistic project was launched by the municipality with the concept of "Island of the two cultures": a section dedicated to art and another section dedicated to science with various public projects.

To speed up the Pinault Foundation project, the municipality of Boulogne-Billancourt accelerated the administrative procedures for the urbanistic development. The overall project required a new "local development plan" (PLU). The project also required important works to clean up the industrial site, and significant infrastructure (transport, bridges, roads...) which needed funding.

In 2002, some media echoed with rumors about the abandonment of the François Pinault project. The architectural project was lowered: to 32,000 m² instead of 40,000 m². In September 2004, The "Art Newspaper" entitled "Will the Pinault Foundation come?" François Pinault denied all these rumors. Meanwhile, many residents'

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[21] [Access: http://www.la-croix.com/Archives/2001-10-26/Tadao-Ando-construira-le-musee-d-Art-contemporain-de-Francois-Pinault-_NP_-2001-10-26-143876].

[22] "Le Monde", December 8, 2000.

associations were against the project of urbanistic development of the Seguin Island and its surroundings (but not the François Pinault museum project). Law actions were conducted against this project. However, in April 2005 an agreement was reached between the municipality and the associations. According to the mayor of Boulogne-Billancourt, the main barriers to the installation of the Pinault Foundation were removed. However, the other projects planned on the Seguin Island remained stalled and funding of these projects was still uncertain.

In April 2005, François Pinault announced that he had acquired the Palazzo Grassi in Venice. In May 2005, he announced that he abandoned the plan to install his foundation on the Seguin Island and that he chose Venice and Palazzo Grassi to install his collection of contemporary art. In an article published in the newspaper "Le Monde", François Pinault denounced "the administrative stalemate" and the uncertainties of the urbanistic plan. He then justified his decision to abandon the project:

> The time of administration is the time of procedures, the endless patience that accommodates inertia, questionings or budgetary policies, a resignation in the face of the burdens, the months in addition to semesters leading to years of delay, in short a consistency without passion. Eternity is the time of art, not the projects that want to serve it[23].

2.2. The Louis Vuitton Foundation project

In October 2006, Bernard Arnault, CEO of LVMH, the world leader of luxury goods, announced the launch of the Louis Vuitton Foundation. This Foundation was to house the contemporary art collection of Bernard Arnault, the richest man in France and a major collector of contemporary art. According to Bernard Arnault:

> This foundation aims to spread culture and to highlight France in the world; this is not yet another contemporary art foundation [...]. [It is] to provide all collections and the entire archive of all LVMH brands to attune art and its roots. Contemporary art will be connected with more modern and classical art[24].

The Foundation was planned to be installed on the site of the Garden of Acclimatization in the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. The announcement of the project was made in the presence of the French Minister of Culture, Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, and the Mayor of Paris, Bertrand Delanoë.

The design of the building that houses the foundation was entrusted to a Canadian architect Frank Gehry. Frank Gehry is known as the architect of the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. The architectural project of LVMH Foundation is monumental. On an area of 6,000 m², Frank Gehry envisioned a spectacular building of,

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[23] «Ile Seguin: je renonce», by François Pinault, Lemonde.fr, May 10, 2005. Le temps d'un entrepreneur, c'est celui de son existence, de son âge, de son impatience à concrétiser son rêve.

[24] AFP news, October 2, 2006.

a boat-like vessel with glass sails. The architectural project budget was estimated at € 100 million. The mayor of Paris warmly welcomed the project seen as a "huge gift to Paris."[25]

However, the project required the approval of the municipality of Paris, which owned the land on which the museum was to be built. To allow the construction of the museum, the municipality took several initiatives including a change of the "urbanistic local plan." The museum opening was scheduled for 2009, but it would only be launched in October 2014. The project faced technical constraints due to the originality of the shape of the building. The project also faced widespread opposition from several residents and environmental associations in the name of environmental preservation and historic heritage.

A lawsuit was conducted by the "Coordination for the Safeguarding of the Bois de Boulogne" to prevent the construction of the building. To avoid getting bogged down in legal terms, several members (from both left and right political parties) laid a parliamentary amendment that validated the building permit granted by the municipality to the Louis Vuitton Foundation. According to the deputy who launched this initiative, the amendment was motivated by the "enrichment of the national cultural heritage" allowed by this new museum.

Finally, the Louis Vuitton Foundation museum was inaugurated in October 2014, attended by the President of the French Republic, Francois Hollande. The President welcomed this "miracle of intelligence, creation and technology [...], the cathedral of light, [...] a growing cloud that is registered in the Paris sky" while claiming that "culture is a great democratic ambition [...] but it is also a powerful factor of attractiveness for our country." The President also paid tribute to Bernard Arnault and his donation program that "allows us to offer contemporary art for all to see."[26]

3. Lessons to be learned from these case studies

Seni emphases various dimensions of these projects: an urban project, a renowned architect and an art lover who is, at the same time, a cultural patron. Because of the fantasy widely shared about positive impacts of these projects[27] and considering these two private contemporary art museums as territorial projects, we discuss three dimensions as presented in the following figure.

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[25] *«Encore un super musée pour Paris»*, Leparisien.fr, October 3, 2006.
[26] «François Hollande inaugure la Fondation Louis Vuitton», LesEchos.fr, October 21, 2014.
[27] E. Vivant, *op.cit.*
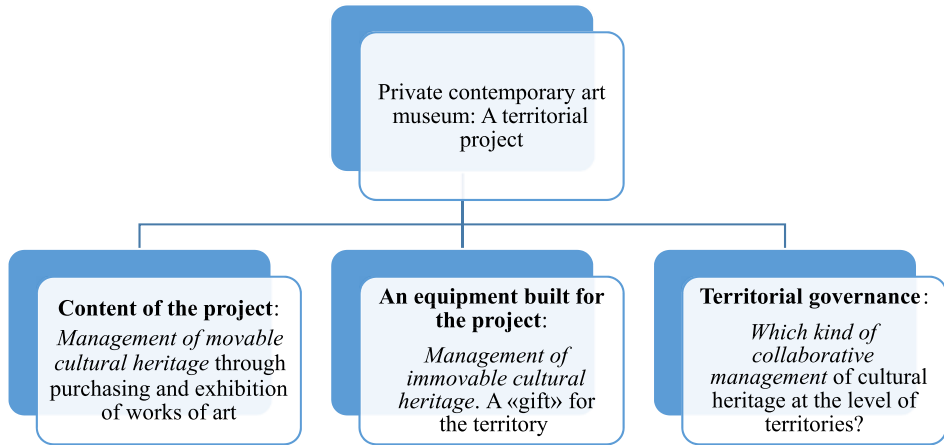
Figure 1.

Source: own research.

3.1. Content of the project

First, there is very little information about the works of art that composed the private collections. It means that movable cultural heritage that will be preserved and valued inside the foundation has not great importance in the elaboration of the project between cultural patrons and local authorities. The second point deals with the reconfiguration of cultural heritage. Thanks to these projects, personal heritage owned by patrons can become shared heritage, available for public. However, at the same time, these foundations, by the visibility that they give to certain artists and by the acquisitions of works, influence the coast of the artists and thus the evolution of the market. This market evolution can benefit directly to patrons during the resale of works of art from their collections and indirectly by valuing the value of their personal collections. In addition, we can consider that foundations become an additional shape of symbolic domination of the Establishment on a globalized contemporary art marketplace.

To conclude, the study also shows that there is no cooperation with other local institutions. These projects thus enhance competition instead of creating new territorial resources. These projects do not seem to be anchored on the territory: there is no collective dynamic with the others cultural operators to produce a territorial reflection on management of movable cultural heritage.

3.2. An architectural project

The architectural project appears as the key dimension of these two projects. The purpose is to build a modern architectural project to enhance the ancient cultural heritage in the case of the Seguin Island. The greatest contemporary architects are invited to conceive the projects that symbolize capitalism as well as sponsors' power and reputation. For public authorities, it appears as a tool for urban dynamism and a new set of local cultural heritage. There is a real paradox in speeches of the political elected representatives that consider Louis Vuitton Foundation as a «gift» to the territory. Indeed, it is partially payed by the State through the incentive taxes.

3.3. Territorial governance

Considering the two cases studies, territorial governance can be characterized as mixed governance of the project, with the domination of private interests. Indeed, on the one hand this is a public decision (public policy) which allows creation of foundation with public incentive. Beyond the national policy, we observed a real intervention of local authorities to make the projects successful.

However, in reality, these two projects are characterized by local public authorities without any real power because of the strong competition on a global market place. Considering these projects of private contemporary art museum as gifts, it is difficult to co-construct these territorial projects and to challenge, for example, the choice of implementation, the architectural project or the urban infrastructures... Individual interests seem more important than general interest: who speaks about cultural democratization, or territorial anchoring of the project (relevance in the existing cultural offer, partnerships)? Is it in line with a local social demand? Personal relations, political and economic power of patrons and their proximity with public elites constitute key factors of success.

Conclusion

We have demonstrated in these two case studies, that governance of a private project that has a territorial dimension is forced by the strong competition on the global market place. If the local authorities do not agree and/or do not support the project, the private entrepreneurs will go elsewhere to launch their project. There is no real co-construction. The decisions were not discussed with public organizations to enhance the positive impacts in this private project. Yet, it could be a chance for territorial innovation in a state that tries to define and implement a new mindset in the cultural field since the 80' (New Public Management). Producing territorialized knowledge has become a central stake, and expertise, one of the major support activ-

ities for public decision and implementation of policies.[28] These projects could lead to these positive impacts if mixed-governance is implemented to guarantee collaborative management at the territorial level and ensure roles and missions necessary to manage cultural heritage (protection, valuation, diffusion...). To conclude, the stake is to manage the tension between necessary territorial anchoring (to create specific resources, value the location and produce positive impacts) and a strategy of international development (helpful for the firm).

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[28] T. Berthet, *Les enjeux de l'évaluation territoriale des politiques publiques*, "Informations sociales" 2008, 6.

CULTURAL HERITAGE, CULTURAL POLICY

Alexandra Bounia

CULTURAL SOCIETIES AND LOCAL COMMUNITY MUSEUMS: A CASE STUDY OF A PARTICIPATIVE MUSEUM IN GREECE

Abstract

This paper focuses on the role of cultural societies in the establishment of regional museums in Greece. It uses as a case study the Museum of Refugee Memory on the island of Lesvos, a small local institution, created and supported entirely by a local cultural society; the museum, despite its size and professional shortcomings, has become a vehicle of social cohesion and an expression of a distinct local identity. This paper argues that this museum forms an example of a grass-roots museum initiative that deserves to be studied and even copied, since its operation provides an alternative model of cultural heritage and museum management that reaches to the local communities and resources instead of national or top-down ones. First, it presents in brief the development of the local cultural institutions policy in Greece and then it turns its attention to the case study and presents the information gathered through in situ research, multiple visits and interviews, in order to argue, in the final part, about the importance and role of such institutions.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: stowarzyszenia kulturalne, muzeum społeczności lokalnej, muzeum uczestniczące, Grecja, Muzeum Pamięci Uchodźców

KEY WORDS: cultural societies, local community museum, participative museum, Greece, Museum of Refugee Memory

I. Introduction: Local communities and resources

The cultural identity of regional and local communities is shaped according to a series of parameters that relate to the history and traditions of the region, contemporary creation taking place there, the natural environment, the civic or rural social stratification, and so on. Since identity is a major motive for the creation of heritage, it is no surprise that heritage is the principal instrument for shaping distinctive local

representations of place, "which can be exploited for external promotion as well as in strengthening the identification of inhabitants with their localities."[1]

The social, political and economic uses of heritage are all visible at the local scale. Local administrations need as much as national governments to justify their rule and to establish the historical continuity of their region as a form of legitimacy for the area, as well as for themselves. Indeed, the relation of local people with their local entities makes the difference between a successful devolved management system and an unsuccessful one. In order to achieve cohesion of local societies (or minimize conflict between them), regional authorities rely on the inclusiveness and representativeness of local heritage. Often, to this end different cultural groups or citizens' initiatives collaborate with regional authorities and ensure representation of interests and views.

Towns, villages and regions also use heritage elements within local economic strategies in various ways. It seems to be a common ground the fact that in order to promote a place, to make it 'desirable' and 'consumable' by both tourists and potential new inhabitants, and therefore develop economic activities, heritage is essential.[2] Every effort is made to create a distinct cultural identity, which will then be used for multiple reasons.

Museums are parts of such efforts. Therefore, they have been – and still are – in the center of many efforts to establish local identity and to provide means for promoting the 'locale', both internally – within the community – and externally. The study of these efforts is important for many reasons: it allows researchers to understand the relation of local communities to their past, the dynamics within communities, the main collective projections to the future. The role of the authorities, both national and regional is also important in understanding both the museums, and the relation of the communities with their past and present. On the other hand, from a museum perspective, it is possible by studying these institutions to understand how museums can become vehicles of social cohesion, of collaboration and identity formation.

Taking into account all the above, in this paper I will focus in particular on the role of cultural societies in the establishment of regional museums in Greece, an issue that has not been explored in depth so far. I will use as a case-study the Museum of Refugee Memory in Lesvos, since this is a small local museum created and supported entirely by a local cultural society and it has become a vehicle of social cohesion and an expression of a distinct local identity. I will argue that this museum forms an example of a grass-roots museum initiative that deserves to be studied, and copied, since its operation provides an alternative model of cultural heritage and museum management that reaches in the local communities and resources instead of in national or top-down ones. In the parts that follow, I will present in brief how this issue has been dealt with in Greece and then I will turn to the case study and present the infor-

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[1] B. Graham, G.J. Ashworth, J.E. Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage*: *Power, Culture and Economy*, London 2000, p. 204.
[2] *Ibidem*.

mation gathered by in situ research, multiple visits and interviews, in order to argue, in the final part, about the importance and role of such institutions.

II. Cultural Societies and Museums in Greece

In Greece, cultural societies, i.e. groups of people sharing similar cultural concerns and/or place of origin, have been active in various heritage projects, including museums since the last part of the 19th century. Some of the most important national museums today are the results of the initiative of cultural societies, as for instance the National Historical Museum of Athens, which was established and is still run by the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece,[3] or the Byzantine and Christian Museum, which is the result of the initiative of the Christian Archaeological Society.[4] On a local level also, cultural societies have been active in the creation of institutions, mainly local museums of ethnology, history or art.[5] The number of these societies and their involvement with the establishment of cultural institutions started to grow in the late 1970s. According to the information gathered in 1979 by the National Center of Social Research on behalf of the Ministry of Culture, until that year there were 169 local (ethnographic)[6] museums/collections recorded in Greece, whereas 20 years later, in the 1990s the number has doubled with almost 400 local institutions in place. Currently they are estimated to almost 800.[7] Most of these institutions are the result of the activity of local groups of people.

The reasons that were offered to explain why local communities, individuals and/ or local cultural organizations decided to pursue the creation of these museums are usually twofold: some researchers categorize the decision to create museums as a "reaction against industrialization and urbanization of life, the increasing transformation

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[3] For information see the museum's website: http://www.nhmuseum.gr/el/poioi-eimaste/i-istoriki-kai-ethnologiki-etaireia-tis-ellados/ [access: 2.01.2016].

[4] For the history of the Society see the website: http://www.chae.gr/101.html [access: 22.12.2015].

[5] See also: G. Gizelis, I. Antonakopoulou, O. Gardiki, E. Kalpoutzi, Ch. Laskaratou, *Organisation and Space Distribution of Greek Folklore Museums and Collections*, Report, 1979, Vol. 1, Athens 1979 (in Greek); Ch. Ntaflou, *Donateurs et musées dans la Grèce contemporaine* [in:] D. Poulot (Ed.), *Goûts privés et enjeux publics dans la patrimonialisation XVIIIe–XXIe siècle*, Sorbonne Publications/coll. Histo. Art – 4, 2012, pp. 139–160.

[6] According to the Greek legislation, all antiquities belong to the State; therefore, archaeological museums are always national – only two exceptions, the Benaki Museum and the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art – and they are created by the State. This is the reason, local institutions usually focus on history, ethnography, natural history and art. For the Greek legislation regarding antiquities and museums, see: D. Voudouri, *State and Museums: The institutional framework of archaeological museums*, Athens 2003 (in Greek).

[7] K. Bada, *Formation and promotion of locality as a characteristic of museums of traditional culture*, Paper presented in Scientific Conference "Research, Promotion and Management of small places. The example of the rural culture of Tzoumerka (15th–20th cent.)", Matsouki Ioanninon 2013 (in Greek).

of rural areas and the subsequent mobility of rural population towards the cities."[8] In other words, nostalgia of the traditional ways of life, along with a sense of loss of identity, fear of homogenization and probably estrangement in the large urban environments led to the decision to create local institutions that would allow for the construction of an "imagined community",[9] not of a national, but of a local character.

From another point of view, the establishment of local cultural institutions has been the result of nationalism, as they served the purpose of arguing for the importance of locality and of the "authentic" character of a group of people that would allow for differentiating them from "others."[10] In the Greek case in particular, the ethnographic remains of the recent past became understood as the last step in a long journey, since they were treated as material testimonies of the continuity of the Greek nation from antiquity to the present day.[11]

In most cases, local cultural institutions aim to address both identity issues and issues of local development, since they provide reasons for visiting this particular part of the country, and therefore a means of economic development.[12] These institutions have been thus considered an investment in the economic development of the region, since they are expected to become tourist destinations, to provide reasons for more prolonged stay in the area and, therefore, to increase the economic impact of tourism.

The role of the state cultural policy in this movement has been important. Already at the end of the 1970s, and with particular force after 1981, because of the then new socialist government, the Ministry of Culture encouraged and financed these efforts on a local and regional level.[13] On the one hand, such material and ethical encouragement was meant to empower the regions and to respond to a well-identified need[14] for a new cultural policy, more inclusive, that would allow for a complex and participatory model of cultural development. On the other hand, such efforts seemed to satisfy local communities, since they allowed for financing various cultural projects and provided means for touristic development. The institutions established locally were expected to be financed by the State and to be part of a state touristic policy. In other words, despite the fact that they were established by local cultural societies, these institutions were still part of a state policy, a top-down approach to culture and museums that were considered a vehicle of economic development, following the state plan. But, the plan did not work that well: the number alone of these institutions made it impossible for the State to support them and as a result most of

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[8] A. Economou, *Material Culture: Theory, methodology, valorization, Athens 2014*, p. 186 (in Greek).

[9] The term was coined by B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso 2006 (revised edition).

[10] See: G. Gizelis et al., *op.cit.*

[11] For discussion see: T. Hadjinikolaou, *Introduction* [in:] C. Gougouli, T. Hadjinikolaou (Eds.), *Special Volume: Museums and Folk Culture*, "Ethnographica" 2003, 12–13, pp. 11–26 (in Greek).

[12] See: note 7.

[13] See: note 10.

[14] E. Fessa-Emmanouil, *The problem of cultural policy in Greece*, "Issues of Space & Arts" 1978, 9, pp. 59–65 (in Greek).

these are either closed today because of lack of personnel or, literally, half-surviving, in the sense of being open for only part of the week or of the year. They rely mostly on volunteers and usually they lack in professional expertise. In addition, they have not managed to gain the support of their community in the sense of its actual involvement in them and to a large extent they remain alien to local people, who think of them as appropriate for visitors alone. So, it is necessary to re-examine this model of establishment and support of these institutions and to put their social and economic role into examination.

In this paper, I argue that there is another direction for these local institutions that emphasizes their role not as local touristic resources, alone, not as part of a state project to empower the regions, but as forces that encourage creativity, identity-building, community-enhancement, participatory creation, cultural sustainability. In this sense, their primary audience is not the tourists, but local communities, which participate in their creation and their development, which identify themselves through these institutions, which support local development in a more sustainable way and long-term perspective. I argue that instead of local museums, we should strive towards grassroots, local community, participative museums.

I will use as a case study the museums of the island of Lesvos, and in particular the Museum of Refugee Memory in the little village of Skala Loutron. Before I move on to the discussion of the case study, I will present in brief the island and its communities.

III. The island of Lesvos, its communities and institutions

The island of Lesvos is located in the north Aegean Sea; it has a population of almost 120,000 people and it is the third largest island of Greece (after Crete and Euboea). It is located just across the borders with Turkey, on the Asia Minor coast. In this coast a large Greek Orthodox population lived until 1922, when as a result of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and its replacement by the modern Turkish state (1923), they were forced to leave. The population of Lesvos today consists of a large number of descendants of those refugees, who came to the island during the violent events of expulsion in 1922 and formed their communities, as the one in Skala Loutron that forms the case study of this article. In some cases the newcomers found the new land unwelcoming, a fact that made these communities to form even stronger links between their members. In many ways, they still feel themselves as diasporic communities, in the sense of having experienced forced movement from their place of origin. These events are rarely one-sided though: Muslim inhabitants of the island were also forced to leave in the exchange of populations that took place in 1923, after the Lausanne Convention.[15]

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[15] The island of Lesvos became quite well-known internationally in 2015 as one of the islands that have been receiving large numbers of Syrian refugees. The personal experiences and family mem-

According to the most recent research,[16] there are 35 museums on the island.[17] Five of them have been established by the State and are run either directly or indirectly by the Ministry of Culture – although the initiative for the creation of two of them has been private, by a local man, Stratis Eleftheriadis-Teriade, who donated his collection to his home island and initiated the establishment of the homonymous museum,[18] today run under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, and the Theophilos Museum, currently run by the Municipality. Local authorities, i.e. the Municipality, have established and run six of the institutions; the Church has responsibility for seven museums, whereas five more are individual or corporate initiatives. This leaves 12 local museums which have been established and are run by some form of local cultural organization. These range from the Women's Society of the Village of Sykamia (in the north part of the island), to the cultural association "Archipelagos," which was established in 1977 by a group of intellectuals in order to contribute through culture and quality touristic development to "shielding off through culture the nationally sensitive Aegean sea area."[19]

Having set the framework, I will now turn to the Museum of Refugee Memory.

IV. The Museum of Refugee Memory

The Museum of Refugee Memory is housed in the Primary School Building of the village Skala Loutron, which was given by the regional authorities and the State to the Society of Asia Minor People of Skala Loutron, named "The Dolphin" in 2003, after the school was closed because there were not enough primary school pupils in the village anymore. There had been a debate between the Society and the then local authorities that also wanted the school building in order to turn it into a cultural centre. The Society had been established in 1990 and it was the initiative of local fishermen; it had been already very active organizing music and dance events, folkloric performances, theatre plays, memory nights and so on. All these activities, as well as the Museum, are part of the wish of the community "to retrace their roots and to en-

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ories of the inhabitants of the island have been very important in terms of defining the hospitality, empathy and compassion with which these waves of refugees have been, and are, received and aided.

[16] The research was carried out and published by Eolis – Company of the Cultural Development of Lesvos, Guide to the Museums of Lesvos. Museums, Collections, Exhibitions, Libraries, Galleries, Mytilene 2006.

[17] Just for reasons of comparison, in the 1979 research already mentioned above (G. Gizelis et. al., *op.cit.*) only 8 of those are mentioned. Of course, the 1979 research did not include the three archaeological institutions – the first of which (Old Archaeological Museum) was established in 1935, the second (New Archaeological Museum) was inaugurated in 1995, while the third (the Archaeological Collection of Eressos) has its roots in the Ottoman period of the island.

[18] Museum-Library Stratis Eleftheriadis-Teriade.

[19] V. Christidou, *Olive-Press-Museum: a journey in time*, "Emprosnet" 2009 (in Greek), http://www.emprosnet.gr/emprosnet-archive/619acdae-5dbb-46cc-af63-ef878c3f8555 [access: 22.12.2015].

courage/empower Asia Minor memories and identity ... now that there are 5–6 of the early refugees still around."[20]

In 1922, a group of refugees, mostly from the town of Focaea in the now Turkish coast, that arrived in Lesvos after the population exchange and the dramatic events in the cities of the coast, took refuge in the area of Loutra, some of them in the village, and some others – most of them – in old deserted commercial storage spaces and village houses in Skala Loutron, an uninhabited area, with very basic port facilities and two olive press workshops. This arrangement lasted for 8 years, until 1931, when each of the 25 refugee families was allocated a house of two rooms that had been built by the state in an open area nearby, called Vatsina. Thus, the little village known today as Skala Loutron was established. In 1931 there must have been 160 inhabitants; today there are 300 locals, there is a local council and the village is run by the Municipality of Lesvos. 80% of the population today are offspring of these first refugee inhabitants while "the fifth generation of refugees," as they call themselves, has been born. The strong impact of the refugee identity in the inhabitants, but also all members of the families in the area, becomes obvious from the above phrase.

The idea for the creation of the Museum belongs to Stavros Valachis, a school teacher, who was influenced, as he says, from his visit to the Museum of New Karvali in the area of Kavala (in the north of Greece).[21] There, a similar diasporic community has also established a local community museum. Valachis, along with the President of the Society, undertook the responsibility of establishing the Museum and of supervising all the works necessary for its creation, which lasted for 3 years. Financed by the Society, a group of local people, men and women, repaired and refurbished the building of the 130 square metres, working long hours in order to create the gallery where the collection is currently displayed. Those responsible describe the process as follows:

> Setting up the museum, the appraisal, the plans, the materials, the murals, were all the products of our own work and of the offerings of members of the Society. Apart from lower costs, the main reason this was so, has been that we wanted to feel the Museum as our own; we wanted to live the experience of setting up a museum and everything to be a product of love and offering. We did not want some stranger to be involved, somebody who would not feel the value of our Museum for us.[22]

The Museum was inaugurated in 2006 (Ill. 1 and 2) and since then it has a steady number of visitors, mainly local school groups, the people of the village and the tourists staying in a nearby touristic complex. They gather at the Museum and in the yard to enjoy cultural activities of all sorts, to bring something more for the museum collection that was found in the closet or in the storage, but also in order to continue offering their services, since the cases need to be repaired and completed, the space needs to be cleaned, the mural maps – which are the central exhibits – need additions to be made.

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[20] Interview to D. Psirras, 2008.
[21] S. Valachis, interview to the author, 2009.
[22] Interview to D. Psirras, 2008.

Ill. 1. Exhibition cases in front of a map. Museum of Refugee Memory. Photo by A. Bounia

Ill. 2. Personal objects exhibited in the Museum of Refugee Memory. Photo by A. Bounia

The exhibition consists of a collection of artefacts that belong to different categories; almost all objects are donated by the local people. Some other artefacts are loaned to the Museum for short-term or long-term periods. For every object, there is a label where the name of the owner, the name of the donor and the place this object comes from are mentioned... Thus, even in the cases that the object is donated, it remains, symbolically, the property of the donor, as a personal reminder – an "inalienable possession", in the term of Annette Weiner (1992).[23]

The basic axis of the exhibition though is the construction of two large-scale mural maps that decorate the main walls of the Museum: the larger one is a map of Greece and Anatolia, including present day Turkey to Kurdistan and Iraq. The smaller one is a map of the Aegean islands and the now Turkish coast. According to the designer of the maps, the local school-teacher, the map is the only visual aid that makes visible the extent of the events of dislocation and population exchange. On the small map are marked the first ancient Greek colonies up to the Byzantine era; on the larger one, all villages, towns and cities which once had Greek Orthodox population. The maps are "active", in the sense that they are constantly filled in with more names added by the villagers, every time they read or learn about a new place, or by visitors who have similar memories or experiences and share them with the museum people during their visit. Every piece of information is cross-checked with the Centre of Asia Minor Hellenism in Athens, before it finds its position on the maps.

Despite the fact that the collection consists of many ethnographic objects, the ethnographic interest is limited. The aesthetic value of the objects is also secondary; primary importance has their historic value as heirlooms and their ability to trigger memory and storytelling by either visitors or donors.

Finally, a very important case in the Museum is the one devoted to Muslims that used to live in Greece, and in Lesvos in particular, and they were also forced to move to the other side of the coast (Turkey) because of the same events. They were also forced to leave their homes and become refugees. The Museum cases consist of objects that were accidentally found by the villagers, who then donated them to the Museum in order to make this addition that complements in the best possible way the historical spirit and the wish to energize memory; this case is also a tangible proof of the understanding and deep humanity of the people, mostly fishermen, housewives and craftsmen that comprise the population of the village.

Of course, there are many plans for the future: the collection grows; there are plans for acquiring on behalf of the Society the last surviving refugee house of the village, which is a listed building by the Ministry of Culture, in order to house there the library and the historical archive of the Museum. At the same time, the design of a new museum building is planned, funded by the Society. The new generation of the village consists of young well-educated people, who share the interest of their families for the Museum and also want to help. Despite the fact that they do not live in the village anymore, every summer or every time they visit, they go by the Museum, often to meet a member of the family who is there attending to something, or in order to join one of the events, concert, theatre, performance, music taking place in the yard.

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[23] A. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: the paradox of keeping-while giving*, Berkeley 1992.

V. Discussion and Conclusions

Up to this day, in Greece when we refer to small regional or local museums, created not by the State but by local societies, local authorities, the church, etc., we usually insist on their shortcomings: lack of professionalism, lack of special preservation conditions for their collections, need for further financing and other support by the state and so on. The small Museum of Refugee Memory in Skala Loutron invites us to focus not on the problems or the shortcomings, but on a very important advantage of these museums: their relation to local communities, the connection that makes ordinary people offer their heirlooms, their time, and their effort. This is a dynamic relationship, a relationship of inter-dependence that needs to be studied and copied. I argue that this is a relationship that creates social and cultural capital; it empowers societies; it leads to the creation of social responsibility, the wish to be involved in public life; it empowers and supports creativity, the sense of personal and communal value. The museum thus becomes a space of encouragement, where members of the community can acquire different categories of qualifications, mostly social, to acquire self-confidence, to take control and feel ready to contribute to the social and cultural life. Participation can thus become a lesson of democracy, since it makes the extent of social responsibility and personal involvement clear.

I believe that museums like the one I just described – and there are many like that in Greece, Europe and other parts of the world – offer a new model of local museums, the local community museum, which far from being a top-down institution, hoping to preserve what the state or even the local elites consider important and attract tourism and therefore new sources of income, are grassroots initiatives, that share the power to decide what is important for local heritage and what is not and focus on empowering the community before attracting tourism.

Community museums – in the European context as well as internationally – are important parameters of community sustainability since they allow for the creation of community capital.[24] Far from being peripheral in cultural policy development on a national and/or local level, these institutions are central in cultural policy planning. Natural, physical, economic, human, social and cultural forms of capital are included in and reinforced by these small, and often amateurish, institutions. Being grassroots initiatives, local community museums empower people and strengthen participation, which in turn encourages mutual respect for stories, resources, hopes and dreams. Besides being an expression of empathy for other people suffering the same pain, the Muslim refugees' case in the Museum of Skala Loutron is a clear example of such respect. Community museums are community-building tools that promote a sense of place, empowerment and public participation – all key components for a sustainable community development.

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[24] For the term, see: A. Morris, *Community capital: definition*, [n.d.], http://www.learningtogive. org/resources/community-capital [access: 2.01.2016].

As Appadurai has argued,[25] societies must do cultural work in order to create the local. Community museums encourage and are part of such cultural work, that creates a sense of locality and thus of belonging to a community. Rooting certain of their practices and locales to the past, helps the creation of legitimate claims for the present and the future.[26] Especially in the case of diasporic communities, the need to develop heritage practices that would bind them both to their homeland and to the new places they are settled in, is real and pressing.[27] The case of the small museum we discussed exemplifies in the most tangible manner this need, by offering to the community the framework within which to develop heritage practices that will afford them both social and cultural capital.

On another level, this small institution provides an alternative model to the one currently supported by Greek cultural policies, which are built on a top-down perspective, despite their often local descend. The reason of such a claim is the strong hegemony of the state, which by handling the financial resources and providing an academic supervision of these institutions has largely alienated the locals from their own resources, or marginalised their own interpretations. This is the reason that most of the local institutions of the country, even when they are open, are rarely visited during the winter – i.e. when tourists are not around.

Instead of thinking of them as amateurish attempts, a new cultural policy model should focus on the role and possibilities such museums offer, as they are more directly linked with a communal past instead of a constructed hegemonic vision of it.[28] They are very successful in their communication, in the creation of a new understanding of museums as community spaces, as public spaces, which are simultaneously an extension of home. Is there a better investment in citizenship education? Is there a better aim for a cultural organisation? Is there a better description of the essence of cultural sustainability? They do offer an alternative perspective on museum making and heritage management and thus can help towards developing a new model of cultural sustainability that would allow and ensure not only their survival but also the survival of their communities' ethos and spirit.

I believe that governments and local authorities should develop a greater understanding and collaboration with small institutions like the one I described. They should aim to a mutually beneficial exchange: share know-how to receive interest, share with humility and a generous spirit to receive enthusiasm and creativity. This is the only way that real networks offering sustainable participative development for the future can develop. Further research on how these institutions are established and

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[25] See: A. Appadurai, *The globalisation of archaeology and heritage: a discussion with Arjun Appadurai*, "Journal of Social Archaeology" 1999/2001, 1 (1), pp. 35–49.

[26] R. Harrison (Ed.), *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, Manchester 2010.

[27] P. Basu, *Object diasporas, resourcing communities: Sierra Leonean collections in the global museumscape*, "Museum Anthropology" 2011, 34 (1), pp. 28–42.

[28] E. Waterton, St. Watson, *Heritage as a focus of research: past, present and new directions* [in:] E. Waterton, St. Watson (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, London 2011.

operate will provide all stakeholders with precious information that will allow them to build new models of local institutions, new models of citizens' involvement in culture, heritage and tradition.

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Maria Kouri

OWNERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION: DEMOCRATISING THE GOVERNANCE OF ANTIQUITIES

Abstract

In Europe an increasing shift towards participatory cultural heritage governance is observed, opening the way to the meaningful inclusion of grassroots stakeholders in sharing heritage ownership and administration. In Greece, history politics and current cultural policies underline the symbolic and instrumental value of heritage, reinforcing a state-centric governance model, particularly concerning antiquities. By analysing state policies, rhetoric and projects on heritage between 1994–2013, we purport that state-centrism in antiquity governance is perpetuated, despite the constitutionally provided "complementarity of duties" between the State and citizens. Nonetheless, participatory practices concerning antiquities and contested heritage are growing. The paper explores some prominent cases in Greece, highlighting the expanding role of decentralised authorities and citizen associations. Concluding, it formulates explorative empirical propositions on the factors enabling or impeding participatory heritage governance, in order to serve as basis for the much needed in-depth, long-term research that is presently lacking.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: zarządzanie dziedzictwem kulturowym w Grecji, partycypacyjne zarządzanie dziedzictwem kulturowym, starożytności, sporne dziedzictwo, DIAZOMA, zdecentralizowana władza

KEY WORDS: Greek heritage policy, participatory cultural heritage governance, antiquities, contested heritage, DIAZOMA, decentralised authorities

Introduction

At European level the interest in researching and enabling participatory governance in cultural heritage is growing. Participatory governance "can be understood either as a process by which authority is released and empowerment ensured or as a process which allows for the adoption of management models whereby responsibility is shared and decisions are taken by communities rather than by individuals."[1] Central

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[1] M. Sani, B. Lynch, J. Visser, A. Gariboldi, *Mapping of practices in the EU Member States on Participatory governance of cultural heritage to support the OMC working group under the same name (Work Plan for Culture 2015–2018)*, EENC Short Analytical Report, 2015, p. 3.

elements of participatory cultural heritage governance are ownership, shared responsibility and active involvement of every tier of society in decision-making (e.g. central and decentralised authorities, non-profit and for profit entities, NGOs, networks, communities and citizens, etc.). This major shift concerns material and intangible heritage, including archaeology, even in countries where governance of antiquities has been traditionally state-centric. Still, participatory rhetoric is "not always coupled with a real ceding of authority, or with a real effort to assess the realities behind the phenomenon," and not every participatory practice can "be labelled as [...] 'participatory governance'."[2] Subsequently, further research on the topic, as well as the design and application of successful models and tools to promote the inclusion of grassroots stakeholders in cultural heritage governance are needed and called for.[3]

In Greece governance of antiquities remains the State's exclusive domain.[4] Through bibliographical research and analysis of policy rhetoric and heritage projects from 1994 to 2013 we support that history policy, in addition to the instrumentalisation of heritage, dictate heritage policy in Greece, maintaining the State's predominant role in the protection and accessibility of antiquities. Having said that, tentative steps towards the wider involvement of grassroots agents in antiquities management are gradually taken, but these are largely understudied and have an uncertain future. Accordingly, the main objective and contribution of this paper is to examine the most prominent of such existing participatory efforts in Greece and formulate explorative empirical propositions on the factors enabling or impeding participatory cultural heritage governance. These propositions intend to serve as basis for further systematic research, which is much needed but currently lacking.

1. History Policy and State-centrism in Greece

Antiquity administration in Greece has been state-centric ever since the dawn of the Modern Greek State due to the antiquities' ideological, political and symbolic charge. During the Hellenic Enlightenment and the subsequent War of Independence against Ottoman occupation, antiquities were a focal point of the identity and pride of the enslaved *Genos*. They were also testimony to Greece's liberty and territorial claims, and an affirmation of the country's right to be a legitimate part of the western world as the source of European civilisation.[5] Furthermore, the link of modern Greeks to

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[2] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

[3] European Commission, *Call: Participatory approaches and social innovation in culture. Research and Innovation*, 2015, European Commission website, https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/portal/desktop/en/opportunities/h2020/topics/cult-coop-06-2017.html [access: 19.10.2016].

[4] C. Dallas, *Country profile Greece* [in:] *Compendium Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe*, Council of Europe, 2013, p. 5.

[5] M. Herzfeld, *Ours once more. Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, University of Texas, 1982, pp. 13–15, 20–26; I. Morris, *Archaeologies of Greece* [in:] I. Morris (Ed.), *Classical Greece: ancient histories and modern archaeologies*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 8–47.

their ancient counterparts often mobilised international assistance for Greece in Europe and across the Atlantic,[6] which Hamilakis & Yalouri view as an "exchange of symbolic capital for economic capital";[7] still, arguments against the relation of ancient with modern Greeks usually proved more influential, especially when political and financial concerns were at stake.[8] Thus, antiquities came to enjoy complete protection by the Greek State, which has served as guarantor and guardian of this national and international treasure ever since the first archaeological law in 1832.[9]

The current archaeological law (3028/2002) offers varied definitions and degrees of ownership and protection of material and intangible cultural heritage. In addition to the territorial, a spherical criterion is assumed recognising as part of the country's heritage tangible and intangible vestiges by different civilisations that imprinted on Greek territory and history.[10] Four heritage categories are defined following a chronologic and genre typology.[11] The first two will concern us here:

1. **"Mnimeia"** or **Cultural objects**[12] encompass monuments from Prehistory to 1830 A.D.,[13] including prehistoric, ancient, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine vestiges (incl. Ottoman, Frankish and Venetian).
2. Similarly, **Archaeological Sites** range from Prehistory to 1830 A.D. Terrestrial or aquatic, they contain monuments or indications of having been residential, religious or burial sites. The joint protection and administration of monuments with their natural environment as a cohesive space is legally stressed, so that surviving monuments are viewed and studied in the context of a historic, aesthetic and functional complex.[14]

Heritage categories enjoy different degrees of protection according to their date of origin and significance. Especially ownership and possession of antiquities, as well as ownership of excavation finds belong to the People (State), and cannot be alienated by sale or adverse possession. Antiquities also receive full and augmented protection without need of state-issued classification acts.[15] These are demanded in varied degrees for heritage post 1453 A.D., the ownership right of which can be exer-

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[6] A. Repousis, *"The Cause of the Greeks": Philadelphia and the Greek War for Independence, 1821–1828*, "The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography" 1999, 123 (4), pp. 333–363.

[7] Y. Hamilakis, E. Yalouri, *Antiquities as symbolic capital in modern Greek society*, „Antiquity" 1996, 70, p. 119.

[8] M. Kouri, *Beyond the Atlantic... Ancient Greek ideals in Greek America*, "Platon" 2015, 60, Athens: Papazisis, p. 479.

[9] V. Petrakos, *Dokimio gia thn arxaiologiki nomothesia*, Athens 1982.

[10] D. Voudouri, *Law and the Politics of the past: legal protection of Cultural Heritage in Greece*, "International Journal of Cultural Property" 2010, 17, p. 553.

[11] L. 3028/2002.

[12] Another alternative to the Greek term used in legislation (deriving from the word memory) could be "Testaments of Memory."

[13] 1830 signifies the beginning of the recent era, when Greece was proclaimed a sovereign, independent state.

[14] D. Voudouri, *Law and the Politics...*, p. 554; D. Christophilopoulos, *Prostasia politistikon agathon*, Athens 2005, p. 13.

[15] L. 3028/2002.

cised by non-State agents under specific terms and conditions. Thus, the State bears the main weight of heritage protection, particularly regarding antiquities. It also assumes the authority to designate "which cultural objects are worthy of protection," applying choices that unavoidably have ideological and political dimensions.[16]

Anyhow, the present law supports the equal treatment of monuments calling for a move away from archaeo-centrism,[17] which emphasised almost exclusively the discovery and care of classical antiquities even to the detriment of vestiges from other eras and civilisations. Indeed, only gradually and influenced by the Romantic Movement did the First Kingdom of Greece exhibit a wider concern for Byzantine antiquities, folklore and recent heritage – a concern which was reflected in subsequent laws and established museums.[18] Today, the State's mission is to "support scientific research, preservation, protection and promotion of cultural heritage"[19] from antiquity to the present day.

2. Objectives of State Heritage Policy

2.1. Policy Axis 1: Safeguarding heritage

Aligned with international developments the State assumes protective, preventive, repressive and corrective measures aiming at the sustainable administration of heritage.[20] These are summarised in:
1. Identification, research, documentation and study of cultural heritage.
2. Conservation; prevention of destruction, deterioration or damage to heritage.
3. Maintenance and restoration.
4. Prevention of antiquity theft, illicit excavations and exportation.

Since 1994 state budgets have been supported by Community Structural Funds (CSF), enabling the implementation of numerous heritage projects. "Protection and preservation of cultural heritage" is a recurring objective in the Operational Programmes (OP) for culture,[21] leading to the revelation, research, conservation and restoration of heritage, as well as to the prevention of heritage deterioration by natural phenomena or manmade causes.[22]

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[16] D. Voudouri, *Law and the Politics...*, pp. 554–555.
[17] D. Christophilopoulos, *op.cit.*, pp. 34–36.
[18] D. Voudouri, *Law and the Politics...*, pp. 551–552.
[19] P.D. 104/2014.
[20] L. 3028/2002.
[21] HMoC, *CSF 2000–2006. Operational Programme "Culture". Full text*, 2005; EYTOP, Status of included Projects by Announcement, NSRF 2007–2013, 2014, http://ep.culture.gr/el/Pages/description.aspx [access: 9.10.0215]; L. Mendoni, *Culture as a strategic factor for development in the Programming Period 2014–2020*, General Secretariat for Culture, Ministry of Education and Religions, Culture and Sports, Athens [n.d.].
[22] HMoC, *Conservation, restoration, promotion. The scientific committees' work*, Ministry of Culture, Athens 2008.

An analysis of realised heritage projects indicates a persisting emphasis on Antiquities; Byzantine heritage is visibly represented, while Post-Byzantine heritage (including recent and "contested" – i.e. Ottoman heritage) features less. Additionally, renowned sites and museums are particularly favoured. Indeed, the OP "Tourism-Culture" (2nd CSF 1994–1999) was criticised for focusing on a small number of acclaimed national museums, sites and monuments, while "interventions in the museum sector covered a small part of the qualitative and quantitative needs, even those closely related to tourism."[23] Still, the OP "Culture" (3rd CSF 2000–2006) also prioritised the archaeological and byzantine/medieval "Museums of National Scope" situated "in urban centres or important tourism destinations," attempting to address low visitor numbers that did not reflect the destinations' large tourism share or the museums' unique content.[24]

The political spotlighting of antiquities, and of classical heritage in particular, can be explained by their attributed political and symbolic value. The aesthetics and the philosophical and political thought of Classical Greece are considered part of the European Union's shared "European Great Past"[25] and the basis of Western civilisation. Furthermore, the prioritised heritage resources are viewed by policy-makers as a means to reach non-cultural strategic aims, including tourism development, economy boosting and employment generation,[26] reflecting the economic and social instrumentalisation of culture.[27] Cultural heritage is considered Greece's "comparative" and "competitive advantage" and a "strategic factor for development" because of its international distinguishability and its potential to support economic development, social cohesion, and improve Greece's competitiveness by enriching and diversifying the country's products and services.[28]

Accordingly, the OP "Tourism-Culture" aimed to develop heritage infrastructure and services to enhance Greece's tourism offer and stimulate economic activity.[29] The OP "Culture" sought to diffuse projects and developmental benefits across all regions on an equity basis.[30] It included projects also for less-known, decentralised her-

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[23] EYTOP, *Operational Programme "Culture" – Additional Programming*, 2007, pp. 11–15, http://ep.culture.gr. [access: 9.10.2015].

[24] *Ibidem*, pp. 9–11, 18.

[25] K. Eder, *Citizenship and the Making of a European Society: from the Political to the Social Integration of Europe* [in:] K. Eder, B. Giesen (Eds.), *European Citizenship: Between National Legacies and Postnational Projects*, Oxford 2000, pp. 245–269.

[26] M. Kouri, *Merging Culture and Tourism in Greece: an Unholy Alliance or an Opportunity to Update the Country's Cultural Policy?*, "The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society" 2012, 42 (2), pp. 73–74.

[27] C. Gray, *Commodification and Instrumentality in Cultural Policy*, "International Journal of Cultural Policy" 2007, 13 (2), p. 211; G. Vestheim, *Cultural Policy and Democracy: Theoretical Reflections*, "International Journal of Cultural Policy" 2007, 13 (2), p. 233.

[28] HMoC, *CSF 2000–2006...*; P. Geroulanos, Speech of former Minister of Culture at the 20th Congress "The Time for the Greek Economy", HM of Culture and Tourism, press release, 1.12.2009; L. Mendoni, *op.cit*.

[29] EYTOP, *Operational Programme...*, pp. 11–12.

[30] HMoC, *CSF 2000–2006...*, pp. 4–6.

itage sites[31] to create new jobs, multiply the economic impact and improve quality of life also across Greek rural areas.[32] In the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF) 2007–2013 cultural projects were incorporated in other OPs[33] and aimed to stimulate cultural entrepreneurship, access to employment and sustainability.[34] This policy was compelled by austerity: valuable resources were allocated to safeguarding the country's invaluable heritage and generate regional employment outlets. With finances further deteriorating, for 2014–2020 special emphasis is given to the training of cultural practitioners and people; the continuous stimulation of cultural entrepreneurship; the extended application of new technologies; the reformation of the organisational structures of cultural institutions; and, the more consistent development of cultural tourism.[35]

2.2. Policy Axis 2: Accessibility

More than testimony to human existence, memory and identity, cultural heritage can improve quality of life. The State must "disseminate cultural products among citizens [...] [and] cultivate citizen awareness regarding the protection of cultural resources,"[36] stressing the social dimension of safeguarding heritage and making it accessible.[37] Observing sustainability, an anthropocentric and culture-oriented concept of development is endorsed: incorporating cultural heritage in the socioeconomic sphere becomes a primary consideration in urban, developmental and environmental planning.[38] Accordingly, central policy objectives that are balanced with protective measures are:

1. Facilitation of people's access to, and communication with cultural heritage.
2. Promotion and integration of heritage in contemporary social life.
3. Education, arts education and cultivation of civilian awareness regarding heritage.
4. Protection of heritage as part of developmental, environmental and urban planning.

Correspondingly, heritage projects include efforts to: create "readable," enjoyable, physically and intellectually accessible sites; update communication and exhibition ways to reach wider audiences and non-visitors; improve infrastructure to ad-

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[31] HMoC, *Conservation, restoration...*, p. 9.

[32] A. Samaras, *Introduction by former Minister of Culture* [in:] *Operational Programme 2000–2006 – Photographic Collection*, Managing Authority of Culture Section (EYTOP), Athens [n.d.], p. 3.

[33] "Improvement of the entrepreneurship environment" (axis 3), "Facilitation of access to employment" (axis 7), and "Sustainable development and improvement of the quality of life" (axis 2).

[34] L. Mendoni, *op.cit*.

[35] *Ibidem*.

[36] P.D. 104/2014.

[37] D. Christophilopoulos, *op.cit*., pp. 34–36.

[38] E.g. Laws 2742/1992; 2508/1997; 3028/2002.

dress people's physical, social and personal needs; and, "revitalise" heritage sites by involving them in community life through appropriate uses.

Particularly the OP "Culture" aimed to ameliorate infrastructure for heritage sites; enhance their services (e.g. update exhibitions; offer educational programmes, conferences, lectures, publications; exploit new technologies; organise museum shops and cafés, etc.); and, include them in international museum networks, signifying an extroverted cultural strategy.[39] Similarly, NSRF 2007–2013 supported projects to create and improve cultural infrastructure by upgrading museum exhibitions and services, the equipment of archaeological sites, and people's access to them.[40]

Indicating the State's intention to enable the inclusion of non-mainstream visitors and to fight social exclusion and racism, some projects focused on improving access "to the wide public and to special social groups,"[41] including disabled persons and the "Others." The latter are defined as: third countries (including EU member-states); neighbouring countries, with which Greece shares a long history with "ongoing tensions or residual tensions of the past, often causing feelings of mistrust, rivalry, even enmity;" and, ethnic, religious, refugee and immigrant groups co-existing in Greece (e.g. Muslim and Jewish communities, Roma, immigrants from the Balkans, Africa, Asia, the former Soviet bloc, etc.).[42]

Inclusion efforts in heritage are mainly undertaken by the Ephorates of Antiquities[43] and consist of educational and artistic events, and technological applications to reach a diverse public, fostering social sustainability.[44] These projects are mostly designed and offered through a top-down model, even though the need for bottom-up approaches often features in policy rhetoric[45] and small steps to this direction are being gradually undertaken. The Action *"With the Roma to the Museum"* (PROGRESS 2007–2013), coordinated by the Byzantine and Christian Museum, aimed "to foster the accessibility of the Roma populations to cultural heritage, to stimulate their historical self-knowledge, to communicate to broader strata of society features of the Greek Roma community that defy stereotypical views."[46] The "experimental character"[47] of this project (alternatively, the cultural democracy aspect of it) was the active cooperation of archaeologists with representatives of each participating

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[39] EYTOP, *Operational Programme "Culture"...*, pp. 19–21.

[40] EYTOP, *Status of included Projects by Announcement*, NSRF 2007–2013 (last update: 21.03.2014), 2014, http://ep.culture.gr. [access: 9.10.2015].

[41] *Ibidem*.

[42] HMoC, *National Strategy for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008, p. 5, http://interculture.culture.gr/gr/strategy_greece.pdf. [access: 30.10.2015].

[43] Geographically decentralised agencies of the State Archaeological Service, under the jurisdiction of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture.

[44] M.X. Garezou, *Design and programming of the Ministry of Culture and Sports for the future of Greek museums* [in:] *The future is here. One-day conference at Benaki Museum, 4.12.2014*, 2014, http://www.blod.gr/lectures/Pages/viewlecture.aspx?LectureID=1297 [access: 9.10.2015].

[45] HMoC, *National Strategy...*, pp. 10–11.

[46] Byzantine and Christian Museum, *With the Roma to the museum*, HMoC & Sports – Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens 2014, p. 2.

[47] *Ibidem*, p. 4.

Roma community to design, apply and evaluate customised programmes. According to Roma constituents, the action was successful; still, one archaeologist acutely observed that an important prerequisite of "success" is long-term repetition, as the latter may lead "to future demand initiated by the Roma community, not just by the Ministry."[48]

3. Complementarity of duties: an open issue

Our analysis of Greece's main heritage policy objectives and projects leads to two questions: firstly, which aspects of participation are endorsed; and, secondly, to which kind, or rather to whose heritage. Starting with the first question, we would define the following aspects of Participation:

- **Receptive aspect:** breaking down physical, intellectual, practical and psychological barriers to allow people's reception and enjoyment of cultural resources.
- **Creative aspect:** people's involvement in cultural production in a professional or amateur capacity.
- **Operational aspect:** people's functional engagement in different stages of cultural management (e.g. safeguarding, running, promoting, advocating, etc.) on a professional or volunteer basis.
- **Political aspect:** stakeholders' participation in decision-making and policy planning concerning the administration of cultural resources.

We will focus on the two final aspects, since they describe the content of participatory heritage governance as inclusive partnerships involving diverse stakeholders, sharing responsibility in both the strategic planning and operational aspects of heritage administration.

The Greek Constitution defines the protection of the cultural environment as "state duty and everyone's right" (art. 24, §1), highlighting the complementarity of duties between State and citizens.[49] The State retains primary responsibility for preserving the public asset of cultural heritage on behalf of citizens, but the need for people's active involvement is also recognised, theoretically allowing participatory heritage governance.

To this day antiquity administration remains state-centric. Ancient vestiges are extremely valuable and vulnerable, and the State can guarantee scientific and professional ethics, offer infrastructure, organisational and institutional support, and secure funds and certified personnel towards the safeguarding and accessibility of Greece's irreplaceable heritage for public benefit. Furthermore, since heritage is linked with the national territory, state ownership expresses peoples' "collective right over ob-

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[48] M. Lychounas, *To the Byzantine monuments of Drama* [in:] Byzantine and Christian Museum, *With the Roma to the museum*, HMoC & Sports – Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens 2014, p. 9.

[49] D. Christophilopoulos, *op.cit.*, pp. 34–36.

jects lying still undiscovered and, in any case, judged too important to be at the mercy of purely private and coincidental interests."[50]

Nonetheless, the exclusion of non-state agents from treating, managing or administering antiquities (particularly up to 1453 A.D.) creates issues of constitutionality,[51] as it denies decentralised authorities, associations, other stakeholders or private individuals the right to be legitimately involved in heritage administration (such as the creation and operation of archaeological museums, which are virtually exclusively state-owned and run). State-centrism also questions the capacity of non-state agents to safeguard heritage through proper scientific methods by considering the State Archaeological Service as the only one capable of administering and promoting archaeological resources appropriately – "something which is neither self-evident nor obvious."[52] As we will explore below, promising participatory cultural heritage practices have begun emerging recently, potentially opening the way to implementing the constitutionally provided complementarity of duties.

3.1. Involving decentralised authorities

Since the 1980s regional and local authorities have been increasingly motivated to enrich the cultural life of their respective communities through: arts and folk culture projects; the creation and operation of cultural centres, libraries, museums, galleries, theatres, etc.; and, the repair and conservation of folk or historic buildings to establish social or cultural spaces (e.g. L. 165/1980; L. 1416/1984; P.D. 76/1985; L. 2218/1994). Still, decentralised authorities may not organise or run archaeological museums and sites, but they increasingly assume promotional activities of local heritage and seek to organise arts events in archaeological sites. These efforts always depend on the approval of the Archaeological Service, which prioritises the protection of sites sometimes even against local interests.

Cultural cooperation between the State and decentralised authorities occurs through Programming Contracts of Cultural Development. In 2006 the updated Codex of Municipalities and Communities extended the content of these Contracts to cooperative heritage projects on the protection, conservation and promotion of monuments (including antiquities); interventions on historic or traditional buildings and settlements; and, preservation and dissemination of heritage elements.[53] The Codex has led to an increasing involvement of decentralised authorities in safeguarding archaeological spaces, denoting the significance of the latter to local communities.

One of the first such Contracts on antiquities was signed by the Municipality of Megalopolis (the Peloponnese), the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Ar-

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[50] D. Voudouri, *Law and the Politics...*, p. 557.

[51] *Ibidem*, p. 555.

[52] D. Voudouri, *Kratos kai Mouseia. To thesmiko plaisio ton arxaiologikon mouseion*, Athens, Thessaloniki 2003, p. 439.

[53] L. 3463/2006.

chaeological Receipts Fund. The Municipality would contribute 500,000 Euros to the conservation, restoration, consolidation and promotion of a considerable part of the local ancient theatre, as well as of dispersed architectural fragments conforming to existing studies; additionally, it would finance necessary studies ensuing during the project's implementation.[54] Possibly due to administrative changes of the state agencies involved[55] this project was considerably delayed. Following two amendments concerning the contracting parties and the project's duration, in 2014 another two-year Contract for the same project was signed adding a new partner, the Region of the Peloponnese. The Municipality would contribute the remaining sum (425,839.60 euro) to the implementing state agent, namely the Ephorate of Antiquities of Arcadia. In all versions of the contract the Municipality's role was limited to funding the project and participating with one representative in a three-member Controlling Committee.

Since 2010 austerity and a growing shortage of public funds have led to an increase of such contracts. An overview of the latter reveals their scope gradually expanding: restoring, conserving and protecting heritage sites (e.g. PC Big Theatre of Gortyna[56]); cataloguing, digitizing and archiving archaeological finds (e.g. PC Theatre Ancient Makyneia[57]); continuing excavations (e.g. Municipality of Kalamata, 2011[58]); and, lately, even supporting accessibility and exhibition projects in archaeological museums (e.g. Municipality of Santorini[59]). The cooperation of University archaeology departments is at times also secured to assist in the projects' research aspects (e.g. PC Cephalonia and Ithaca[60]).

These synergies develop largely according to the Megalopolis legal model described above, consigning to decentralised authorities a 'financial supporter' role. Regions and Municipalities have vested interest in projects of unearthing, conserving, restoring, and studying local antiquities, which are a source of local identity, pride and quality of life, and an important developmental resource that can attract tourism,

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[54] Municipality of Megalopolis, 2010; 2011; 2013; 2014.

[55] Municipality of Megalopolis, 2013.

[56] Prefecture of Herakleion, *Programming Contract of Cultural Development: Excavation and Restoration of the Big Theatre of Gortyna*, 2010; Region of Crete, *2nd Amendment of the Programming Contract: Excavation and Restoration of the Big Theatre of Gortyna*, 2014.

[57] Municipality of Antirrion, *Programming Contract of Cultural Development: Protection-Promotion of the Theatre of Ancient Makyneia*, 2010.

[58] Kalamata.gr, *Programme Contract of Cultural Development*, 28.12.2011, http://www.kalamata.gr/assets/deltiatypou/20111229_programmatiki169.pdf [access: 26.10.2015].

[59] Aftodioikisinews.gr, *Programming contract between HMoC and the Municipality of Santorini for the promotion of antiquities*, 27.06.2015, http://www.aftodioikisinews.gr/%CE%B4% CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%BF%CE%B9/%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CE%B3%CF%81%CE %B1%CE%BC%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BA%CE%AE-%CF%83%CF% 8D%CE%BC%CE%B2%CE%B1%CF%83%CE%B7-%CF%85%CF%80%CF%80%CE%BF- %CE%B4%CE%AE%CE%BC%CE%BF%CF%85-%CF%83%CE%B1/ [access: 26.10.2015].

[60] Region of the Ionian Islands, *Amendment and Programming Contract between the Prefecture of Cephalonia and Ithaca, the University of Ioannina and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism*, Dec. no: 45ΒΣ7ΛΕ-ΞΛΔ, 2011 [access: 26.10.2015].

stimulate economic activity, enrich the local environment and retain/invite inhabitants. However, all projects are planned, implemented and supervised by the State. The weaker representation of the funder (i.e. the Municipality) in the Controlling Committee (usually 1 vs. 2 votes for the State) reveals interesting power-relations: safeguarding antiquities against potentially damaging arrangements are prioritised to funders' interests. Hence, the State defends its profile as guarantor of scientific ethics and protector of antiquities.

This relatively recent form of central-decentralised government cooperation sometimes stalls due to bureaucratic and cash flow issues, but projects get generally realised. The total number and sums of these Contracts are hard to establish, as an official database is lacking. Pertaining to ancient theatres, it would seem that 37 Contracts have been signed since 2010, pledging about 11 million Euros.[61]

Interestingly, an addendum to the Megalopolis 2014 Contract recognises "the decisive contribution of the citizens' association "Diazoma" in searching for resources, supporting the restoration of the Megalopolis Ancient Theatre, and promoting the programming text."[62] Similarly, "DIAZOMA" congratulated the local authorities' decision to fund the restoration of a significant monument as an act "carrying a high symbolism; namely, the importance and priority which our care and love for our monuments assume in conditions of crisis."[63]

3.2. Citizen Associations: A waking force

"DIAZOMA-Citizens for Ancient Theatres" is a non-profit citizen association founded in 2008. Its mission is to support the research, safeguarding and promotion of ancient "viewing/listening spaces" and incorporate them in contemporary life through appropriate uses.[64] DIAZOMA strives to raise awareness on the diachronic value of ancient theatres and disseminate knowledge concerning the theatres' protection, conservation and proper administration.

DIAZOMA's particular contribution is the consequent cultivation of a sense of personal responsibility and ownership of ancient heritage among civilians. Indeed, it has pioneered in creating motivated citizen networks and enabling synergies between state and public and private agents towards the joint conservation, promotion, study, and revitalisation of theatrical sites. To this end it rallies, organises and chan-

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[61] DIAZOMA, *Table of Funding*, 2016, http://www.diazoma.gr/GR/Page_05-01.asp. [access: 26.10.2015].

[62] Municipality of Megalopolis, Decision 487/2014, 17/12/2014, p. 9.

[63] Megalopoli FM, *Stavros Benos – DIAZOMA: Congratulations for the contract for the restoration of the Ancient Theatre of Megalopolis*, 29.07.2015, http://megalopolifm.blogspot.gr/2015/07/blog-post_306.html. [access: 26.10.2015].

[64] DIAZOMA, *Founding charter*, 2008, http://www.diazoma.gr/GR/Page_002-02-01.asp. [access: 26.10.2015].

nels funds[65] through sponsorships by enterprises, donations by foundations (e.g. the Stavros Niarchos Foundation[66]) and crowd-funding setting up "Money-Boxes" (bank accounts) for every ancient theatre under the slogan *"Adopt a Theatre"*. Secondly, DIAZOMA connects stakeholders in safeguarding ancient theatres. It has been instrumental in the ratification of the State-regions/municipalities Contracts and, in co-operation with various agents it pursues the incorporation of ancient theatres in the socioeconomic life of different regions in a sustainability framework by preparing and proposing studies to create Cultural Itineraries and Archaeological Parks. Finally, DIAZOMA organises awareness events involving schools and young people, local tourism businesses, local authorities, civil organisations and other groups to foster the sense of individual responsibility and ownership towards heritage. DIAZOMA also supports voluntary service efforts, which it guides and focuses through the assistance of specialised researchers.[67]

Continuously growing, DIAZOMA has become an important agent in antiquity safeguarding, supporting the State's work from a bottom-up perspective. Seeking the reasons behind its success we should look, firstly, to the people conceiving and participating in this original idea:[68] capitalising on their know-how and connections they present scientifically sound ideas, draw important supporters and gain public visibility. Secondly, DIAZOMA insists on transparency in funds administration posting every sum on its website, recognising each and every donor. Finally, DIAZOMA's web media enable individuals and agents everywhere to receive key information about specific theatres, become easily and effectively involved, and follow-up their contribution.

Looking at external success factors we purport that the enduring fiscal crisis has had two main effects: firstly, it gravely circumscribed the public sector's ability to support socio-cultural structures stressing the need to establish alternative methods and funding sources. Secondly, the crisis has affected people's mentality: it has led either to debilitating disillusionment or to dynamic mobilisation towards assuming personal responsibility for critical issues – including safeguarding heritage. DIAZOMA proposes an alternative approach to traditional state-centrism by promoting an

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[65] Amounting to about 4.9 million Euros (DIAZOMA, *Table of Funding*).

[66] In Greece, the acclaimed, private Stavros Niarchos Foundation has inaugurated a new form of public-private cultural partnership, by funding the construction of the SNF Cultural Center. Upon completion, the Centre will be donated to the Greek State "which will undertake its full control and operation, to be used and enjoyed by the Greek people" (Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center, *Vision*, [n.d.], http://www.snfcc.org/about/vision/ [access: 23.12.2015].). Similarly, the International Foundation for Greece has entered an agreement with the State to fund the study of a new bioclimatic museum in Delos and has also offered to fund its construction (A. Karatzapheris, *Delos will have the museum it deserves*, "Eleftheros Typos. Technes" 2015, 4). Thus a new form of public-private cooperation also in the field of ancient heritage has been very recently inaugurated, but only its realization will allow in-depth analysis and evaluation.

[67] Sani et al., *op.cit.*, p. 15.

[68] Among them Stavros Benos: a prolific public figure with an extensive career in local and national politics, has as Mayor of Kalamata and Minister of Culture. With extensive understanding of the politics of culture and of public administration, he is a respected figure in the cultural field.

CULTURAL HERITAGE, CULTURAL POLICY

understanding of heritage as a shared resource that requires the active, responsible involvement of everyone. It serves as a nexus pooling and channelling citizen initiative, enabling the individuals' self-directed financial (through donations) and socio-political (through advocacy, participation in activities etc.) participation in heritage preservation and promotion. Indeed, DIAZOMA's chairman underlines both the "maturity" of citizens, who now seek actively to cooperate with the State on protecting and owning ancient theatres, and DIAZOMA's contribution in expressing "a new way of thinking, dealing and managing issues that concern everyone."[69] By cultivating a civic mind-set of heritage ownership DIAZOMA promotes the time-honoured axiom of antiquities as a public asset perhaps more effectively than legislation or state policy, underpinning a shared, bottom-up approach that could offer a viable alternative to state-centrism.

Having said that, this bottom-up participation assumes mainly a financial or advocacy facet. Similarly to the Contracts the State remains the exclusive administering and implementing body. Consequently, partly the Operational but especially the Political aspects of "participation," which would enable the inclusion of non-state agents in antiquity governance, are not yet achieved. Another point of note is that DIAZOMA focuses on ancient theatrical spaces, namely a very distinctive heritage linked to the genesis and dissemination of Democracy. The question arises whether bottom-up mobilisation would be as strong, if other heritage resources were concerned (i.e. different types, eras, cultural expressions, contested heritage). Only the realisation of such ventures would offer reviewable data, but current indications are not promising.

Similar to DIAZOMA, the non-profit NGO "ELLINIKI ETAIRIA – Society for the Environment and Cultural Heritage" (est. 1972) rallies and channels support by different stakeholders. Its wider scope of action encompasses environmental issues, recent heritage, contemporary cultural creation, design and promotion of cultural routes, and lawsuits against decisions considered harmful to the natural and cultural environment.[70] According to the Society's website the organisation seems to gather smaller amounts and mobilise weaker civilian engagement. Reasons for this could be the Society's smaller visibility or the non-publication of donated sums. Moreover, the Society does not focus on antiquities but seeks to support recent heritage, which is less recognisable, and often has a local, rather than a national, character.

This observation leads to the second pertinent question posed earlier: to which kind of heritage – or, rather, to whose heritage- are participatory efforts endorsed? As this question is linked to ideological and history policy issues, our analysis will conclude with the case of Ottoman heritage.

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[69] S. Benos, *Association of rescuing Ancient Theatres – DIAZOMA*, Stavros Benos website, 2015, http://www.benos.gr/Diazoma.asp [access: 26.10.2015].

[70] ELLET, *ELLINIKI ETAIRIA – Society for the Environment and Cultural Heritage*, 2015, http://en.ellet.gr/ [access: 31.10.2015].

3.3. Contested heritage: whose heritage, which memories?

Spanning from the 14th to the 20th century A.D., Ottoman heritage in Greece is considered part ancient-part recent, and is legally governed by mixed clauses of protection and ownership. Ottoman heritage is burdened with symbolism and nuances of nationality, due to the turbulent history of Ottoman occupation, subsequent Greco-Turkish wars, exchange of populations, and the recent immigration of Muslim populations.

Ever since the first half of the 20th century Ottoman monuments in Greece have been systematically recorded, conserved and revitalised through original or compatible uses.[71] The 3rd CSF contained such projects,[72] including the publication of a bi-lingual volume with descriptive entries, historic documentation, preservation activities and the present state of 191 representative Ottoman religious and secular monuments in Greece.[73] In light of the National Strategy for the European Year of Inter-Cultural Dialogue the Ministry sought to address the scholars' increasing interest[74] and published "an aspect of our country's cultural heritage, which had not received enough attention in the past, but to whose protection and preservation the Greek state has devoted considerable effort."[75] Furthermore, the State cooperated with international foundations on restoring Ottoman heritage, as illustrated by the example of the Turkish Aga Khan Foundation which financed the study of the minaret of the Süleyman mosque in Rhodes (16th century A.D.).[76] The mosque was subsequently restored (1998–2005) to receive the Europa Nostra prize.[77]

As part of local developmental strategies decentralised authorities also increasingly seek to safeguard and promote local monuments, memory and identity, and build a distinct local image to draw inhabitants, investors and tourism. Exceptional is the case of Thessaloniki that is being branded as the crossroads of civilisations, by capitalising on its long-standing multicultural and cosmopolitan heritage as the centuries-old home of many different ethnic groups – Ottoman, Jewish, Armenians, who "alongside the native Greek population, they all left their characteristic mark on the city."[78] Nonetheless, local projects on contested heritage do not always

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[71] E. Brouskari, *Introduction* [in:] *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Athens 2009, p. 19.

[72] Hellenic Ministry of Finance, *Competition and Shipping, Final Report 3rd CSF 2000–2006. Operational Programme "Culture"*, Tables III.9 "Expenses by measure and code of field of intervention" and III.5 "Complete presentation of projects", HMFCS, 2010.

[73] HMoC, *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Athens 2009.

[74] E. Brouskari, *op.cit.*, p. 18.

[75] I. Koltsida-Makri, *Prologue* [in:] *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Athens 2009, p. 16.

[76] E. Brouskari, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

[77] This restoration together with reconstructions of the Gothic chapel of Santa Maria del Burgo and the Orthodox Monastery of Agios Georgios were considered "paradigmatic examples of the reconstruction of monuments from three different dogmas" (G. Dellas, *Süleyman Mosque* [in:] *Ottoman Architecture in Greece*, Hellenic Ministry of Culture, Athens 2009, pp. 360–363).

[78] City of Thessaloniki & Hellenic Society for the Environment and Culture Thessaloniki Section, *Heritage walks in Thessaloniki*, City of Thessaloniki & Hellenic Society, Thessaloniki 2009.

gain universal approval, as demonstrated by the case of Kavala, home to a Muslim minority. The Municipality's decision to restore an Ottoman madrasah caused some civic groups to counter-suggest the application of limited funds towards safeguarding Hellenic heritage.[79] Alternatively, the majority of Kavalans (65.8%), including the Association of Greek Refugees from Asia Minor, backed "without fear or favour" the project, which will house the Museum of Hellenic Refugees.[80]

There seems to be no citizen association of the visibility and nature of DIAZOMA to raise awareness and support for contested heritage. Traces of grassroots engagement is discerned in smaller associations of a wider socio-cultural scope, as for example the movement "Co-existence and Communication in the Aegean." In addition to its social and intercultural communication projects, the movement co-supported the organisation of a successful two-day conference on "Ottoman monuments in Mytilene" under the auspices of ICOMOS-Greece, inviting Greek and Turkish scientists to juxtapose Mytilene with Ayvalık.[81] Though sporadic, such grassroots activities quite possibly indicate the tentative but sincere wish of local communities still neighbouring to "Others" to re-examine and, perhaps, reconcile with their contested past.

Conclusions

Tentatively but surely significant changes take place in antiquities management in Greece. The organised bottom-up participation of various agents in safeguarding and advocating for antiquities is gaining ground and legislative support, highlighting the growing seeds of heritage ownership and potentially opening the way for the reconsideration of the existing state-centric model. Furthermore, the tendency to reconcile with contested heritage reflects a scientific and political maturity in line with the tolerance and diversity politics of the European Union, and translates into policies endorsing different parts of Greece's multi-faceted heritage.

However, as analysed in this paper, participatory approaches in antiquity administration in Greece are recent and slowly evolving. Despite the significance of this topic, at the time of writing this paper there is a certain shortage of relevant studies,

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[79] Patriotiki Kinisi Politon Kavalas, *Announcement: On the Madrasah*, 22.02.2012, http://patriotikikinisikavalas.blogspot.gr/2012/02/blog-post_1677.html [access: 31.12.2015].

[80] KavalaPress.gr, *The Association of refugees from Asia Minor in Kavala on the Madrasah, 4.11.2013*, 2013, http://www.kavalapress.gr/o-sillogos-mikrasiaton-kavalas-gia-ton-mentrese/ [access: 31.12.2015]; Nea Egnatia newspaper, *Kavalans say "Yes" to the restoration of the Madrasah*, 18.03.2014, p. 16 [access: 31.12.2015].

[81] S. Balaskas, *The "monuments of intolerance" drew experts and ordinary citizens. Two-day conference under the auspices of ICOMOS Greece*, "Archaeology & Arts" 12.04.2013, http://www.archaiologia.gr/blog/2013/04/12/%CF%84%CE%B1-%C2%AB%CE%BC%CE%BD%CE%B7%CE%BC%CE%B5%CF%AF%CE%B1-%CF%84%CE%B7%CF%82-%CE%BC%CE%B9%CF%83%CE%B1%CE%BB%CE%BB%CE%BF%CE%B4%CE%BF%CE%BE%CE%AF%CE%B1%CF%82%C2%BB-%CF%80%CF%81%CE%BF%CF%83%CE%AD/ [access: 31.12.2015].

empirical research and reliable data, underscoring the need for long-term research, also highlighted by Sani et al.[82] Concluding, we will draw from the cases presented to formulate explorative empirical propositions, in order to contribute an initial framework of factors enabling or impeding participatory antiquities governance, which can be further developed by future research.

Enabling factors include the ideological and political guidelines promoted both on a national and an international level, which emphasise the obligation to safeguard heritage in its totality and diversity adhering to sustainability guidelines. The involvement of a wide range of stakeholders is a way to establish alternative funding sources for heritage, endorse ownership and effectively incorporate cultural heritage in community life. As demonstrated by the DIAZOMA and ELLET cases, communication technologies can facilitate dissemination of information and grassroots mobilisation, but issues of trust can affect the establishment and outcome of synergies. Transparency in fund management and in decision-making processes, as well as the public profile of people and agents involved are very important in inspiring trust and raising support. Still, an exclusive dependence on charismatic personalities or renowned agents cannot guarantee the future of organisations or of synergetic relations. Solid, transparent, inclusive and efficient mentoring, management and legislative structures are needed, to capitalise on the public profile of leaders without depending exclusively on them. Finally, partners need to establish grounds of cooperation jointly aiming at mutually beneficial relationships.

On the other hand, history policy, traditional mentalities, outdated legal frameworks, and established *modi operandi* can preserve state-centric models, barring the wider inclusion of diverse stakeholders in heritage governance. As our analysis revealed, the role of decentralised authorities and of grassroots agents in Greece is limited mostly to financial support and, perhaps, advocacy, and does not extend to the Operational and, particularly, the Political aspects of participation, which remain the exclusive domain of the State. Furthermore, state and grassroots initiatives alike focus primarily on prominent heritage of national and European/international symbolism and of greater economic and marketing potential (e.g. ancient theatres, renowned archaeological sites, etc.). Other aspects of heritage draw weaker support, while contested heritage generates opposing attitudes, particularly among civilians as the Kavala case shows.

Subsequently two challenging issues persist. The first concerns equity in the protection of heritage resources: prominent aspects of heritage may inspire wider mobilisation and ownership but an exclusive focus on them can lead to limited or non-existent awareness and support for less-prominent or contested heritage. Care of heritage should be disassociated from popularity, social or economic value; the supportive mobilisation of communities in favour of their local heritage can act as a considerable balancing force to this direction. To avoid the commercialisation, commodification and endangerment of heritage and to protect its public character, a sustainable balance among economic, cultural, social and environmental values needs to be upheld.

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[82] Sani et al., *op.cit.*, p. 4.

Secondly, equity in participation has to be more actively pursued. Motivators and barriers to grassroots participation in heritage governance need to be thoroughly explored, and new, successful and viable participatory models of heritage governance should be designed and tested. At its core this is a cultural democracy issue, which has to question hegemonic models and counter-propose political decentralisation in heritage governance, allowing the inclusion of various stakeholders (including minorities) in decision-making, administrative and managerial processes concerning their heritage. Only thus will these stakeholders be motivated to pursue actual ownership of their past, present, and future.

Acknowledgements

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Weronika Pokojska

BREAKING DEFINITIONAL BOUNDARIES – MUSEUMS IN ICELAND

Abstract

The article presents the results of a research on Icelandic museums and their specifics. The analysis is based on the traditional concept of 'land, nation and language,' which form the core of the Icelandic culture and national identity. The first section of the paper describes the definitional problems which occurred during the research. Then the methodology is explained, also taking into consideration the difficulties in examining Icelandic museums using standard tools and guidelines. The last section is devoted to the results of the research, presenting a few examples of different Icelandic museums and their approach to heritage through the prism of the abovementioned trinity.

Introduction

The aim of the article is to present some thoughts resulting from an on-site observation on Icelandic museums proceeded during a research project named "Icelandic Museums: Between Tradition and Today," conducted at Háskóllinn á Bifröst. The research was about the specifics of Icelandic museums and similar activities. I examined how the image of the country is created through its approach to heritage and exhibiting in chosen museums. Into consideration were taken over twenty museums all across the country, which I visited, among others:

- Reykjavík: Árbær Open Air Museum, *Ásmundur* Sveinsson Museum, Einar Jónsson Museum, National Museum of Iceland, National Gallery of Iceland, Reykjavík Art Museum (Hafnarhús), Reykjavík Museum of Photography, Saga Museum, The Icelandic Phallological Museum, The Settlement Exhibition Reykjavík 871±2, V*í*kin Maritime Museum, Volcano House;

- South-East Iceland: Eldheimar – the Pompeii of the North on Westman Island, Icelandic Wartime Museum in Reyðarfjordur, Skógar Museum, The Museum Transport and Communication in Skógar;
- Westfjords and West Iceland: Bjarnarhöfn Shark Museum, Borgarnes Museum, Eiríksstaðir – Living Museum, The Museum of Icelandic Sorcery & Witchcraft in Hólmavík, The Settlement Center in Borgarnes.

The data has been collected through field study in the mentioned above institutions and in-depth questionnaire interviews with representatives of the cultural sector in Iceland – from the University of Iceland, the Icelandic Museum Council, the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, from the National Museum of Iceland, and the Reykjavík City Museum. A part of the interviews were meant to clarify how the Icelandic culture functions, what is specific about it, and helped me to gather some general background information about museums and heritage in Iceland. Others were more focused on particular exhibitions, practical information or personal impressions of the respondents.

As a base for this analysis I used the concept of 'land, nation and language' described by Gísli Sigurðsson.[1] Aspects like museum strategy, exposition design, usage of modern technology, the message from the museum to the visitors also were analyzed during the visits in the chosen institutions.

Generally the subject of Icelandic culture and heritage is well investigated, especially in terms of medieval history and literature. There is also a variety of English publications examining more current issues (e.g. Hafsteinsson,[2] Árnadóttir,[3] Sigurðsson,[4] Sigurðardóttir and Young,[5] van Hoof and van Dijken;[6] various reports and official documents). Unfortunately many valuable publications and papers are being published only in Icelandic. Elements of culture and heritage management also appear in the context of tourism and natural heritage,[7] or in terms of a more general Scandinavian characteristic.[8] An interesting, recent topic worth following are all ini-

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[1] G. Sigurðsson, *Icelandic National Identity. From Romanticism to Tourism* [in:] P. Anttonen (Ed.), *Making Europe in Nordic Contexts*, Nordic Institute of Folklore, University of Turku, Turku 1996.

[2] E.g.: S.B. Hafsteinsson, *Museum politics and turf-house heritage*, Reykjavík 2010.

[3] B. Árnadóttir, *Iceland country report – Storytelling at the Settlement Centre of Iceland*, Akureyri 2010.

[4] G. Sigurðsson, *op.cit.*

[5] M.S. Sigurðardóttir, T. Young, *Towards Creative Iceland: building local, going global. Quantitative and qualitative mapping of the cultural and creative sectors in Iceland. Raport*, 2011.

[6] J. van Hoof, F. van Dijken, *The historical turf farms of Iceland: Architecture, building technology and the indoor environment*, "Building and Environment" 2008, 43.

[7] E.g.: C. Halewood, K. Hannam, *Viking Heritage Tourism. Autheniticity and Commodification*, "Annals of Tourism Research" 2001, Vol. 28, No. 3, Great Britain: Pergamon; D. Alessio, A.L. Jóhannsdóttir, *Geysers and 'girls': Gender, power and colonialism in Icelandic tourist imagery*, "European Journal of Women's Studies" 2011, 18 (I); U.B. Karlsdóttir, *Nature worth seeing! The tourist gaze as a factor in shaping views on nature in Iceland*, "Tourist Studies" 2013, 13 (2).

[8] M. Booth, *Skandynawski raj. O ludziach prawie idealnych*, Kraków 2015; P. Duelund (Ed.), *The Nordic Cultural Model*, Nordic Cultural Institute, 2003.

tiatives concerning memory and lost places in Iceland (e.g. *Dalir og hólar – Art Exhibition*; *Eyðibýli á* Íslandi. *The research in abandoned farms in Iceland*) which may fit into the popular urban exploration trend, although the investigated areas hardly can be interpreted as 'urban.'

Museums in Iceland: The Definitional Problem

Museums are generally understood in the way The International Council of Museums defines these types of institutions. They are non-profit, permanent, in the service of society and society's development, and available to the public. These institutions also acquire, conserve, research, communicate and exhibit "the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."[9]

In my research I had to undertake also the study of institutions like 'centers' (e.g. The Settlement Center in Borgarnes) or 'exhibitions' (e.g. The Settlement Exhibition Reykjavík 871±2) which are not 'museums' according to the official guidelines. Although 'museums' are usually understood as in the above definition, the main feature of the Icelandic heritage is that it does not confirm to the material artifacts usually found in typical museums. Museums have difficulties working in the same way as in other European countries because of the lack of artifacts – not many things survived hundreds of years in the Icelandic weather conditions.

Another problem results from the immense role of storytelling and Sagas in the Icelandic history, which makes it hard to divide what is a fact and what is just a legend while analyzing historical texts. According to *Iceland country report*:

> [...] culture, in the broadest sense, shall be one of the foundations of tourism in Iceland. [...] In recent years there has been a marked increase in all manners of small exhibitions and centers [...]. The remarkable thing is that most of these revolve around telling stories, using either the Sagas or folk beliefs so rich in Icelandic culture.[10]

This is why the commercial or less scientific institutions also had to be described, analyzed, and included in the research subject.

Apart from museums being accredited and supervised by the Museum Council of Iceland, some organizations call themselves 'museums' even though, they hardly have any artifacts or scientific background (e.g. Saga Museum). Another, quite confusing issue, are institutions pretending to be real 'museums.' They actually exhibit artifacts, do research, have archives but still they treat the visitor with a big dose of humor, and show things as real which are in fact fake or a part of the fantasy world from Icelandic legends (e.g. The Icelandic Phallological Museum, The Museum of

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[9] ICOM, *Museum Definition*, 2007, http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/ [access: 27.10.2015].
[10] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*, pp. 24–25.

Icelandic Sorcery & Witchcraft in Hólmavík, Sea Monster Museum in Bildudalur). The problem of what can be called a 'museum' in the general meaning is very difficult to solve, especially when you consider that fantasy creatures and Sagas can be treated as, or even are, a part of the Icelandic intangible heritage.

This might be confusing at the first moment, but it is the result of the Icelandic cultural policy and heritage management in practice.

The New Icelandic *National Cultural Policy*

In 2013 the new Icelandic cultural policy was introduced – a document being the result of a long process. The government, seeing the importance of culture, creative sectors, and tourism for the development and economy of the country, encouraged the citizens to be more active in these areas:

> The government considers a diverse cultural scene to be an important part of the national economy, and one which is likely to carry even further weight in the future. The cultural life in Iceland has a wide-reaching derivative economic impact, including in the tourism [...].[11]

As a result, in all parts of the country, even in remote villages, private people or communities established cultural institutions. In contrast to museums in other countries, Icelandic museums often go beyond the standard museum subjects like natural history or art, which of course are necessary to "enrich and deepen our understanding of who we are and where we are heading."[12] The museums offer a wide variety of exhibitions on different, less typical subjects (e.g. The Museum of Icelandic Sorcery & Witchcraft in Hólmavík, Bjarnarhöfn Shark Museum, Sea Monster Museum in Bildudalur, Nonsense Museum in Flateyri). As Sigurjón Hafsteinsson says:

> The new policy also emphasized that it would be important for the cultural sector to enhance the entertainment value of its practices in order to improve its relations with the public and bridge the alleged cultural division between popular and official culture.[13]

Now over a million visitors come every year to see 162 museums and exhibitions[14] – these statistics show the wide scope of the role of museums and similar institutions in the Icelandic cultural landscape and tourism, and proves that the new policy worked out well.

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[11] Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, *Culture Policy, Iceland*, Reykjavík 2013, http://eng.menntamalaraduneyti.is/media/MRN-pdf/Menningarstefna_ENSKA_LOKAutgafa.pdf [access: 27.10.2015].

[12] Icelandic Export Information Centre, *Museums in Iceland*, 2014, http://export.is/pages/en/museum.html [access: 15.05.2014].

[13] S.B. Hafsteinsson, *The Phallological Museum of Iceland*, Münster 2014, p. 24.

[14] S.M. Ólafsdóttir, *Preface by the chairman of the Association of Museums and Museum Staff in Iceland* [in:] *The Iceland Museum Guide*, Reykjavik 2013, p. 10.

The focus on grass-root activities meant also a reduced role of the government. This in turn forced institutions, even the National Museum, to rethink their concept, to find new ways of attracting visitors, to work more financially efficient and independent. After introducing the new cultural policy, as Hafsteinsson says, the National Museum had to "reinvent itself in every aspect."[15] This means, not only the exhibitions were redesigned, but new management practices and outsourcing were implemented as well.

Another important aspect of the policy was the emphasis on cooperation between different organizations – also with entities: "The government works to facilitate the cooperation of the different participants in cultural life [...]. The government encourages the cooperation and participation of individuals and companies in cultural life."[16]

The cooperation seems to work out remarkably good especially with fishing and logistic companies. For example the Víkin Maritime Museum is being supported by Eimskip, the Icelandic Steamship Company. Also fishing companies support the Sea Fest in Reykjavík by providing fish for exhibition and educational purposes, and catering of course.

Museums: Portraying a Nation

Museums are focused on preserving the memory and artifacts representing the past which is a part of the identity and which shaped the current state of it. In the way they show artifacts, how they describe the exhibitions, and how they introduce the subject to the visitor, they have the power to create a certain picture of the nation and the country. In the case of Iceland this task is even more interesting than in other countries, due to the lack of material heritage – the exhibition and its 'story' often has to be created around a non material core. It seems to be rather difficult to deal with history and to show it to the visitors in a reliable way, because of the uncertainty about the historical truth. In other countries legends are treated mostly as an additional source of information for historians, but even here Iceland is unique: "Sagas written in the early stage have customarily been regarded as reliable historical sources, almost to the present day. It is in fact evident that they are written as a history – according to the standards of the time."[17]

Museums appear to be one of the most important creators of identity, as they show the created picture to foreign visitors who spread the experienced vision abroad. For most tourists and foreigners the museums, especially the national ones, might be the only place where they gain a picture of the nation and the country. The institutions should be aware of the responsibility they bear and act accordingly within a framework of honesty and non prejudice.

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[15] S.B. Hafsteinsson, *Museum politics...,* p. 268.
[16] Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, *Culture Policy...*
[17] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

The Icelandic identity used to be described[18] as a trinity based on: 'land, nation and language' and this might be helpful to find a key to the research subject. The land determined the settlement of the first people coming to Iceland. The lives of the first settlers are described in Sagas, which took place in locations unchanged for centuries. The nation can trace back its ancestors and the history of different families sometimes to the very beginning of the settlement. The language has not changed much for the last 500 years. For many countries their nation, language and land make them unique and shape their identity. In Iceland, however, we experience the same aspects in a much more coherent and deeper relationship than anywhere else. Being a quite small society on a remote island intensifies this phenomena.

The importance of the last aspect, the language, might be surprising for foreigners but the Icelandic nation still has an extraordinarily strong affection for its language. Gestur Guðmundsson explains several reasons for this situation:

> The distance from the centres of power in Europe was one of the reasons why scholars were able to liberate themselves from Latin [...]. Language was a crucial identifier during its separation from Denmark, and when Iceland came under the American sphere of influence with the building of a military base during World War II [...]. Iceland is, for example, the only country in the world where legislation stipulates that designations have to be found in the local language for all IT hardware and software concepts.[19]

The following description reveals how the threefold perspective of 'land, nation and language' is still present in modern museums and whether this trinity is changing. The topics of the museums determine which features of the trinity will dominate and to what degree. A national museum emphasizes other moments of history and from a different angle than an art museum, for example.

Breaking Definitional Boundaries and Living Up Creativity

Björg Árnadóttir, referring to other researchers, explains that there is a difference between how natives and foreigners view museums: "Foreigners focus rather on the presentation of an exhibition, but locals have opinions on their subject matter."[20] This statement shows the problematic of managing an exhibition in a way satisfying all visitors. Especially in case of exhibitions based rather on Sagas and archeological interpretations than on scientific research, it might be difficult to free them from excessive imagination. For example, "The Anglo-American stereotypical representation of Viking heritage is of sea-faring, sexist, and blood thirsty men raping and pillaging"[21] – and this is a picture, which might be expected by foreigners coming to Iceland, but

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[18] G. Sigurðsson, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
[19] G. Guðmundsson G., *Cultural Policy in Iceland* [in:] P. Duelund (Ed.), *The Nordic Cultural Model*, Nordic Cultural Institute, 2003, p. 113.
[20] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*, p. 26.
[21] C. Halewood, K. Hannam, *op.cit.*, p. 566.

natives in Scandinavia see their ancestors in a different light. Björg Árnadóttir[22] mentions that Icelanders would probably not describe their ancestors as predators, rather as fighters who were dangerous abroad but peaceful and ordinary citizens at home.[23] So how can we depict history in a fascinating, but still reliable way?

Because of the fact, that the 'Icelandic trinity' has its roots in the very beginning of the country and the nation, it is easy to recognize all three elements especially in exhibitions dealing with the settlement era.

The Settlement Center in Borgarnes tells:

> The story of the settlement in Iceland which was first permanently settled by people of Norse descent under the ninth century. It also tells the story of the Viking and Iceland's first poet Egill Skallagrímsson as told in Egill's Saga [...] both through the complicated visual and interactive mediums of today and the simple methods of a storyteller who captures his audience without the help of any tools.[24]

Although the Center does not have any artifacts and is not a scientific institution, the owners worked out a balance between explaining history (or information treated as facts) using modern technology in a sensible way, without exaggeration and a Disneyland-effect.

The exhibition shows the visitors how land, nation and language are related with and influence each other. On an interactive map, for example, the visitor can see in which fjords, the first settlers decided to live. It is amazing, how few inhabitants the country had and how courageous these people must have been to start a new life in the middle of nowhere. After being introduced to the settlers' stories, we understand the distribution of population centers in Iceland today. The stories also reveal the specifics of the people's characters which enabled them to survive the unfriendly and hard conditions. Graphs showing the relationship of contemporary Icelanders with legendary settlers present two aspects. The first aspect is the pride of being a descendant of strong, independent and brave people. The second being a nation which is small and hermetic. A description of the surrounding nature makes the visitor understand the decisions of the first settlers – basically the natural conditions determined a good place to settle down. The reasons were usually similar: hunting and fishing possibilities, access to fresh water etc. This information as well as stories about the relations between the first inhabitants can be obtained from stories and Sagas.

The Settlement Exhibition Reykjavík 871±2 is built around archeological excavations found in 2001 on Aðalstræti, which are considered to be the "oldest relics of human habitation in Reykjavík."[25] The exhibition is, although the name 'exhibition' would suggest being less scientific, the most research-based institution dealing with the settlement era of all those mentioned in this article. Unfortunately, there are not

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[22] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*
[23] C. Halewood, K. Hannam, *op.cit.*
[24] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*, p. 5.
[25] Borgarsögusafn Reykjavíkur, *The Reykjavik City Museum*, 2014, http://borgarsogusafn.is/en/ [access: 6.07.2014].

many artifacts to see, except the unique walls from the 9th century. Therefore, the curators decided to arrange the exhibition in a modern way – using touch screens and visualizations they try to portray everyday life hundreds years ago. Not all of those modern items seem to be necessary. Perhaps the visitors would be more interested just in the excavation process itself. How is the trinity-approach realized in the Exhibition? Definitely, the aspects of nation and land are emphasized. The language is treated less in terms of Sagas – it is regarded more as an important and specific characteristic of the Icelandic society.

The Saga Museum in Reykjavík deals with the same subject as the institutions mentioned above, but there the focus is set exclusively on Sagas. Because of that the 'museum' should be rather treated as an artistic exhibition or even a wax figure cabinet. The Sagas, which of course also tell stories and are said to be Icelandic history, show how adventurous the life of the first settlers and their descendants must have been. As explained before, that exhibition as well shows clearly how the trinity functions. In general, as a form of entertainment and an easy way to get into the Sagas, this institution is really remarkable, however, the word 'museum' seems to be used due to the lack of a more adequate term.

Another category of museum is generally based on the Icelandic trinity too, but the three elements are reinterpreted and adjusted to the main subject of the museum. The main difference is visible in the 'nation' aspect. Whereas in the settlement museums nation was understood as the first settlers, here it has a more narrow meaning.. Nation is represented by a specified group of real people's stories living in the 19th and 20th century, whose memories are the cornerstone for the exhibition. Additionally, the museums of this type are quite often supported by private people who have contributed historical items or artifacts belonging to their families and want to share them with the public.

The Víkin Maritime Museum is located in a quite new building in the harbor of Reykjavík but a part of the exhibition is allocated to the famous Coast Guard Vessel Óðinn. The museum tells about fishermen and the sea, the development of the fishing industry and the harbor in Reykjavík. The exposure is based on 'traditional' artifacts, but the way they are arranged in the exhibition areas is modern and pleasant to watch. The subject of the museum is quite important for the country and in terms of identity it closes a gap in heritage management, because "Iceland´s past, present and future are intimately tied to seafaring. This activity defines the nation's character, making it difficult indeed to know Iceland and Icelanders without knowing its maritime history."[26]

Of course, it is impossible to analyze a museum like the Víkin Maritime using the same strict outlines describing the 'Icelandic trinity' as in the settlement museums. But still it is possible to use the trinity as a base for further analysis. The sea and the shore stand for the 'land.' The 'nation' is represented by real stories of fishermen and their families. Especially emotional are boards with the names of all fish-

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[26] Sjóminjasafnið í Reykjavík, The *Reykjavík Maritime Museum*, 2014, http://www.maritimemuseum.is/english/exhibitions/ [access: 15.07.2014].

ermen who lost their lives on the sea – thus, the visitor understands that those are not only names, those lists mirror dramas of families who lost their beloved ones. Such boards can be found all over Iceland in harbors or in remote places near the shore. This shows the depth the exhibition is related to real life and the Icelandic landscape. Problematic is the aspect of 'language,' which is understood here in a very different way compared to the settlement museums. The language focuses mainly on the memories of the presented persons and on the specific slang of this professional group.

Analogically constructed is the exhibition in The Icelandic Wartime Museum in Reyðarfjörður. The subject of the museum is truly interesting, because Iceland has never been armed and has never had soldiers but was still involved, more passively than actively, in the World War II conflict. This makes the museum important, especially from the perspective of visitors coming from the continent, who usually know only 'their' part of history. The 'land' is understood here as the territory of the country, which hosted allied forces. The 'nation' is represented by people who had to be hosts for soldiers coming in numbers exceeding those of the inhabitants and who were confronted with a totally new culture, whose elements they surprisingly quickly adopted. The nation is also represented, maybe in a less visible way, by locals who donated their own artifacts to the museum. The 'language' is, as in the Víkin Maritime Museum, present in the form of memories and reports of witnesses of that time period.

At first sight it might seem controversial, that art museums such as The Einar Jónsson Museum and the Ásmundur Sveinsson Sculpture Museum, both located in Reykjavík, are included in this 'memory museum' group. The reason for this inclusion can be found in the subjects the artists worked on. Ásmundur Sveinsson is said to "praise the Icelandic common people, folk-tales and nature"[27] through his art and Einar Jónsson "drew inspiration from the Icelandic folklore heritage".[28] They both reinterpreted Icelandic Sagas, saw the radical and enormously fast changes in society, and contemplated the surrounding nature – all those things formed the basis, the 'Icelandic trinity' for their works. The mentioned museums rely on memories about the artists and the 'old' Iceland.

The 'ironic' museum is quite a specific type of museum. It is mainly devoted to an unusual subject and tries to confuse the visitor either by showing him artifacts which cannot be treated as scientifically correct, or by displaying the exhibits in such a way that they may be more likely understood as an art installation than a museum item. Museums of this kind can be found all over Iceland. This is partly the result of the Icelandic cultural policy which was supposed to motivate inhabitants to more creativity towards tourism and the generation of more touristic attractions.

Definitely representative for this group is The Icelandic Phallological Museum in Reykjavík. The museum offers the visitors a great view into the Icelandic fauna

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[27] Listasafn Reykjavíkur, *Ásmundur Sveinsson*, 2014, http://www.artmuseum.is/desktopdefault. aspx/tabid-2187/3385_read-6288/ [access: 10.07.2014].

[28] Listasafn Einars Jónssonar, *Einar Jónsson*, 2014, http://www.lej.is/en/einar-jonsson/carreer/ [access: 10.07.2014].

in a unique and entertaining way. The immense effort applied by the owners while establishing the exhibition is obvious with every detail – starting with the preservation process of all artifacts, inventing the science of 'phallology', up to writing funny and clever descriptions, even very museum-like in Latin. Sigurjón Hafsteinsson describes the artistic aspect of the exhibition as follows:

> The institutional critique of the museum is manifested in the curatorship of its founder. He has been unafraid to introduce into his collection his own imaginative creation [...] the museum can be compared to an artistic happening or a performance that employs multi-disciplinary techniques and demands active participation on behalf of its audiences.[29]

At first sight the museum resembles a classical natural history museum, but the visitors soon realize, that it is not only about nature. The museum makes the visitors rethink their attitude towards manhood, what is seen as natural and why some subjects are still treated too embarrassing or inelegant to talk about them in public. It also shows how obviously we treat parts of animal bodies in museums, but how different our relation to humans and their bodies is:

> The museum also collapses established categories of the classical division between human and animal worlds into one representational space, as the quest for human specimens for the collection exemplifies. The museum practices institutional critique and ridicules established discourse, whether it is scientific discourse in general or the ways in which museums have thematically specialized and, consequently, divided up the natural world.[30]

One part of the Museum is devoted to the Icelandic culture – to fantasy creatures and legends. This makes it hard to classify it as a real 'museum.' Usually, in a museum there is no place for 'artifacts' connected with unreal creatures. But what if these creatures, even if they are imaginary, are an indigenous part of the society's heritage? Many of the objects presented in the Museum appear to be artistic items only after a deeper research in other sources. For example, in scientific books, they appear to be false. As long as the visitors do not expect anything better and treat the museum with a pinch of salt there is no problem. But the situation gets deteriorating as soon as the beholder looks for information which may verify the presented truth as there is no fair access to it.

Another example of such a museum is The Museum of Icelandic Sorcery & Witchcraft in Hólmavík, in the Westfjords. Generally, the Museum explains to visitors that part of the Icelandic history and heritage which deals with magic, unexplainable phenomena and people practicing socially not accepted rites to achieve their goals. Witches and their burning in medieval Europe is a subject well known and scientifically researched, but in Iceland the matter was different. First, witchcraft was a domain of men. Only one woman lost her life accused of using black magic. Second, because of a quite small community, the total number of victims of the anti-

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[29] S.B. Hafsteinsson, *The Phallological Museum...*, p.15.
[30] *Ibidem*.

witchcraft movement was, compared to continental Europe, insignificant and all cases are described with names and background.[31] These recordings make it possible to follow all the stories of the particular examples of witchcraft and, what is also interesting, to analyze the relations between the victims. The visitor may get the impression, that in some years the problem of witchcraft was rather a problem of a few families accusing each other, than a subject of making agreements with the devil. The third aspect is, that in comparison to other countries, in Iceland it is even more understandable that their ancestors reached for magic forces trying to explain the devilish-looking phenomena happening outside – lava, hot springs, geysers etc.

Why is the Museum considered an 'ironic' one? Because of the subject of course, which will not pass any scientific scrutiny, especially keeping in mind the Icelandic characteristic of not having enough physical evidence except texts and sagas. The other aspect is, similar to the Phallological Museum, that the visitor is uncertain whether the few artifacts in the Museum are real or whether they are just visual interpretations of what is described in the texts.

In these museums the 'trinity' is treated less literally than in the first two types. The nation is shown from an unusual perspective, through artifacts and subjects which present its uniqueness and specificity with a big dose of humor and irony. The land is represented by objects coming from different places in the country. The landscape itself serves as the background and as the context to explain and distinguish particular artifacts or phenomena. The language in turn functions as a tool for creating a story about the exposed artifacts.

Conclusions

Even though the legal regulations were meant to order and define the differences between museums, centers and exhibitions, reality proves that there are still inaccuracies, for example, in the names of the institutions. Professionals and people working in the culture sector know and/or recognize what kind of institution they are visiting, but it might be confusing for tourists who expect to get some 'true' information in a museum, which in fact is rather an art installation.

Which feature of the Icelandic museum landscape is definitely unique and worth adopting? It is the prominence of creativity apparent in the museums. Not only the individual items are important, but also the concepts of their presentation and the way the exhibitions are laid out. In Icelandic museums the visitor feels the pride of the Icelandic people without being oppressed by unnecessary nationalism. These are two aspects of museums exhibitions which other countries would do well to emulate.

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[31] Galdrasýning á Ströndum, *The persons executed for Witchcraft*, 2014, http://www.galdrasyning.is/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=27&Itemid=67&layout=default&lang=en [access: 14.06.2014].

As it was mentioned before, Iceland's problem of authenticity is much bigger than that of other nations. It is hard to build a credible and scientifically correct depiction of the past having nearly no proof except Sagas and legends. Of course, the fantasy elements can be regarded as a part of the intangible heritage as well – then they defy the definition of a museum. Connected with the issue of the Icelandic intangible heritage is also the problem of how to present that which cannot be seen and the question how to create exhibitions including elements of the past, which are only conveyed orally? This is a difficult topic which is not foreign to museums in continental Europe. Often the problem is solved by creating a modern museum with a lot of technical solutions – a triumph of form over content.

Another positive feature of Icelandic museums are the various child-oriented attractions and the numerous hand-on stations which make even traditionally arranged institutions more attractive and gripping. For example there are special companion books for children explaining the exhibitions, interactive games on screens or just coloring papers and riddles, all animating to follow the story of the exhibition.

The 'Icelandic trinity' seems to be still present in museums and in heritage management, but first of all as a basis for reinterpretations of the three elements. This is positive in a general sense. We have a cornerstone defining what makes the nation, even though these three elements are treated in a much broader sense today. I think it would be interesting for many museums in other countries, especially the national ones, to define their interpretation of 'what makes us a nation' and make this the core of their exhibition, because the visitor often has the impression of a thoroughly chronological presentation about the nation's past without any connectivity to the artifacts and the role they played for the national identity.

The discussions during the interviews, resulted in some interesting conclusions and ideas concerning that subject. Overall, everyone agreed that the trinity-principle is a bit outdated and that it should be transformed or extended through new elements in future. There are several issues to be taken into account.

Iceland is no longer a homogeneous nation – more and more immigrants are living on the island. It is a popular tourist destination and the Icelanders themselves have become a nation of travelers. All that influences the society and should be reflected in discussions to define the national identity today. The National Museum in Reykjavík solved this problem excellently in the *Making of a Nation* exhibition. The whole exhibition is devoted to the Icelandic history – it underlines that through hundreds of years nothing really changed in the way people lived. In the last section, the curators show that the fast and big changes happened in the 20th century – on a conveyor belt, similar to a luggage claim area at the airport, there are artifacts representing the last decades. The arrangement shows perfectly how Iceland has caught up with other 'civilized' countries only in a few years.

Furthermore, there are some visible changes in terms of language. Of course, the Icelandic language is unique and the Icelanders are proud of the fact that they have managed to preserve it in an unchanged form. For example, in Germany with its different dialects it would be difficult to pick the one which represents the nation best. Concerning the trinity, the language was represented mainly by Sagas, but my

CULTURAL HERITAGE, CULTURAL POLICY

interlocutors mentioned that that element should also be broadened. The language is no longer merely about the Sagas: it is likewise about literature, especially crime stories which are actually a very popular genre in Iceland. It is – not to forget – about lyrics, because music is quite a new but significant element of the Icelandic cultural life and should therefore in future be regarded when discussing the national identity.

What makes Iceland special, comparing to other countries, is the fact that the original understanding of the trinity can be helpful to describe the nation's identity from its very beginning until present, also in terms of the land. For example, for Central European citizens it would be even hard to define clearly what 'the land' means to them – is it the land of the first warriors which are said to be the founders of their country, or is it also the territory which got lost during military conflicts in the last 100 years, or is it just the land which comprises the respective country now?

The transformation of the proposed threefold perspective is a recent process which started just after World War II. It leads the 'old' version of the trinity into a globalized, less hermetic interpretation of 'land' replacing it by 'space' and including all people living on the island. It is no longer a strictly understood 'nation.' It is no longer 'only' 'language,' rather communication. That process took place in other European countries through hundreds of years and mostly in a chaotic way as the result of military conflicts. In Iceland there is the unprecedented opportunity to see it happening now, peacefully but immensely fast.

"Historical sites in Iceland are filled with memories instead of buildings"[32] – in my opinion this sentence is the best description of the characteristic of Icelandic heritage in general. It is, similarly to memories, based on facts, but they are embedded in good stories, which make them more beautiful and interesting. Memories are selective, but they define us and make us who we are. The Icelandic heritage is difficult to describe or capture using standard outlines, but that is why it should be treated even more carefully because it makes this small nation as intriguing as their landscape and language. The Icelandic museums are obligated to this task and are fully aware of it.

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[32] B. Árnadóttir, *op.cit.*, p.13.

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Katarzyna Jagodzińska

FROM A VISITOR TO PARTICIPANT. STRATEGIES FOR PARTICIPATION IN MUSEUMS

Abstract

The aim of this article is to reflect on the new position of the audience in museums which has been evolving from a passive to a more active role. The context for this reflection is Nina Simon's concept of the participatory museum. I discuss the issue using the examples of four museums in Poland where the changing attitude towards the visitor is a part of the general transformation of museums after the political transition of 1989. Selected case studies are: the project "Anything Goes" (2016) realised by the National Museum in Warsaw, the "Selfservice Museum" (since 2012) realised by the Contemporary Museum Wrocław, the "ms3 Re:action" (2009) conducted by the Museum of Art in Łódź, and the "Free Museum in Wolnica Square. Kazimierz Collective" (since 2013) realised by the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. My thesis is that although visitors are encouraged to engage and participate in museum programmes, they are involved or seemingly involved to a limited extent.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: muzeum partycypacyjne, uczestniczyć, angażować się, Nina Simon

KEY WORDS: participatory museum, participate, engage, Nina Simon

Introduction

The turn of the 21ˢᵗ century marks the period of intensified changes in museums all over the world. The number of newly established museums is greater than ever, and also old museums expand their spaces and redevelop programme strategies. Education, audiences, participation and inclusion have become the keywords of the 'museum age' that started around 1980s. Although the development, protection and research of collections are still the core of interests of museums, visitors are gaining an equally key position. Dorota Folga-Januszewska concluded her recent book that – contrary to previous decades and centuries – contemporary museums are meant for individuals, not for groups or masses. She writes:

The museology came full circle. After almost two thousand years of the history of museums as meeting places and spaces of intellectual inspiration, after two centuries of activities for "citizens," museums again look for individual visitors.[1]

Museums have to change to keep/gain/regain their topical place in societies. Graham Black argues that "If museums do not change to respond flexibly and rapidly to changing public demand, that public will go elsewhere."[2] And he adds: "people today increasingly refuse to be passive recipients of whatever governments, companies or cultural institutions such as museums offer."[3] Learning through engagement and through entertainment that requires involvement is the recipe (at least one of them) for successful contemporary museums. As Black puts it, museums should aim at

> [...] engaging with users as active participants, contributors and collaborators on a learning journey together, rather than as passive recipients of museum wisdom; reaching out to build relationships and partner their communities; continuing to change and take on new meanings and roles as society continues to transform itself.[4]

Engaging audiences in museum programmes and involving them as co-creators has been a strategy eagerly employed in Western museums since at least 1990s, and in Poland since the coming of the new century, where it coincides with the museum building boom and 'educational turn.'

The offer of educational and public programmes in Polish museums, following the worldwide trend, has been expanding and diversifying to attract various audiences. Change postulated by Black is in Polish museological discourse identified with opening the museums up to participatory programmes and projects that – among other aims – serve to create inviting and engaging institutions that are meaningful and bring social change.

Aim and structure of the article

The aim of this article is to reflect on the new position of the audience in museums which has been evolving from a passive to more active role. The context for this reflection will be Nina Simon's[5] concept of the participatory museum. I will discuss the issue using the example of museums in Poland where the changing attitude towards the visitor is a part of the general transformation of museums after the political transition of 1989. My hypothesis is that although visitors are encouraged to engage and participate in museum programmes, they are seemingly involved or involved to a limited extent.

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[1] D. Folga-Januszewska, *Muzeum: fenomeny i problemy*, Kraków 2015, p. 136.
[2] G. Black, *Transforming Museums in the Twenty-first Century*, London and New York 2012, p. 7.
[3] *Ibidem*, p. 3.
[4] *Ibidem*, p. 10.
[5] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, Santa Cruz 2010.

Cross-sectional research of museum audiences is missing in Poland and its urgency has been voiced by museum specialists.[6] Museum audiences are a part of the discussion on the role of education in museums which was initiated by the Forum of Museum Educators. In 2009–2010 the Forum conducted an in-depth research project in this field and published the report "Edukacja muzealna w Polsce. Sytuacja, kontekst, perspektywy rozwoju" [Museum education in Poland. Situation, context and perspectives for development], however, only the perspective of museums was researched, an analysis of the audiences was not included. Discussion on museum audiences and education was continued in further publications by Marcin Szeląg,[7] it was also raised at the 1st Congress of Polish Museologists (2015 in Łódź). Moreover, concrete participatory projects were discussed in several articles.[8] The present study signals the subject matter with regard to participatory programmes and previews my research project on young audiences in museums as an essential area of research.

Programmes of various scope and character conducted by Polish art museums demonstrate two major strategies for engagement: 1) Visitors as creators of the concept, 2) Visitors as creative users of the content. These strategies will be discussed using four case studies. They will be preceded by discussion of the context of museum boom in Poland at the turn of the 21st century and an overview of perceptions of museum participation in Polish museums.

Context of the museum boom in Poland

Since the 1990s, and especially since the 2000s, Polish museums have been making up for the time lost during the period of communism when investments in museum infrastructure were rather scarce. New institutions have flourished – among them museums devoted to contemporary art and of history are most numerous.[9] Four new

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[6] M. Szeląg, *Rekomendacje. Główne kierunki rozwoju edukacji muzealnej w Polsce w opracowaniu uczestników seminariów z cyklu „Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej w Polsce. Suplement"* [in:] M. Szeląg (Ed.), *Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej. Suplement. Część 1*, Kraków 2014, p. 29; M. Niezabitowski, *Zwiedzający – widz czy aktor współtworzący doświadczenie muzealne? Uwagi na temat zmian determinujących recepcję muzeum* [in:] M. Wysocki (Ed.), *I Kongres Muzealników Polskich*, Warszawa 2015, p. 124.

[7] M. Szeląg (Ed.), *Raport... Część 1*; idem, *Raport o stanie edukacji muzealnej. Suplement. Część 2*, Kraków 2014.

[8] E.g. L. Karczewski, *Sztuka czy zupa. Społeczna odpowiedzialność edukacji muzealnej*, "Muzealnictwo" 2015, No. 56, pp. 152–162; A. Knapek, *W muzeum wszystko wolno, czyli pięć zmysłów partycypacji*, "Muzealnictwo" 2016, No. 57, pp. 139–148.

[9] This issue was discussed in: K. Jagodzińska, *Czas muzeów w Europie Środkowej. Muzea i centra sztuki współczesnej (1989–2014)*, Kraków 2014. It was also signaled in: K. Jagodzińska, *Museum boom continues: on the phenomenon of museums of contemporary art from a Central European perspective*, "Zarządzanie w kulturze" 2016, Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 9–29.

art museums have been established,[10] and several museums gained new buildings or went through major redevelopments.[11] National museums encompassing cross-section of art have been remodelled, some await major investments, and new branches of national museums were opened.[12] At the same time, existing national, regional and local museums have been modernised and extended. Not only museums are being created, also art centres constitute an important part of the panorama of contemporary culture in Poland, with five major new institutions.[13] The year of 2004 when Poland joined the European Union brought an impetus of architectural commissions and of newly created public art collections.[14] Once the most burning issues of transition period were dealt with, there came a period of prosperity for investments in culture, which were largely made possible thank to the EU funding.

New infrastructure that meets contemporary standards of cultural institutions, offers not only much needed new exhibition and storage space, but also introduces education rooms and facilities providing comfort to visitors – enlarged reception areas with comfy seating, open reading and computer rooms to explore museum's collections, cafes, and specialised bookshops.

Context of participation in museums

Historically museums were focused on safeguarding their collections and access for visitors was limited. Creation of public museums in 18th-century France and Great Britain did not abolish limitations – some museums were open on specific days for specific groups (e.g. Louvre), it was necessary to apply for a ticket to enter (e.g. British Museum). The notion of the "temple of art" (coined to represent architecture of museums following the patterns of Greek and Roman temples) attributed to art museums summarises the character of an institution (noble, prestigious, isolated from the outside world and ordinary matters) and position of a visitor (an intimidated guest).

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[10] The Manggha Museum of Japanese Art and Technology (2004), the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw (2008) – in a temporary building, the Museum of Contemporary Art MOCAK in Kraków (2010), the Contemporary Museum Wrocław (2011) – in a temporary building.

[11] Among them the Museum of Art in Łódź (2008), the Modern Art Gallery – Red Granary – branch of the Leon Wyczółkowski District Museum in Bydgoszcz (2009), the Centre for the Documentation of the Art of Tadeusz Kantor CRICOTEKA (2014), the Silesian Museum in Katowice (2015).

[12] Branches of the National Museum in Krakow: the Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace (2007), the Feliks Jasieński Szołayski House (2012), the Hutten-Czapski Museum (2013), EUROPEUM – European Culture Center (2013), the Józef Czapski Pavilion (2016). New branch of the National Museum in Wrocław: the Four Domes Pavilion (2016).

[13] The Łaźnia Centre for Contemporary Art in Gdańsk (1997), the Wyspa Institute of Art in Gdańsk (2004), the "Signs of the Time" Centre for Contemporary Art in Toruń (2008), the Centre for Contemporary Art TRAFO in Szczecin (2013), Mazovian Centre of Contemporary Art "Elektrownia" in Radom (2014).

[14] 15 regional contemporary art collections in the regions were created within the "Signs of the Time" programme introduced by the Minister of Culture in 2004.

From a Visitor to Participant. Strategies for Participation in Museums

79

CULTURAL HERITAGE, CULTURAL POLICY

This label is up-to-date in many cases even today as it is associated with philosophy of a given museum. In the 20th century also new categories of museums have entered the museum practice – museum-as-entertainment and museum-as forum.[15] They can be discussed on many levels, referring to social and political roles, programming, as well as the position of a visitor within an institution. While museum-as-temple represents a conservative model and museum-as-entertainment has populist character,[16] Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius and Piotr Piotrowski argue that "the museum-as-forum is a democratic project which aims to grant space and voice to minorities and social critics."[17]

When he held a position of director of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW) in 2009–2010, Piotrowski attempted to bring the formula of a critical museum – which is directly related to the category of the museum-as-forum – to the MNW.[18] According to his definition:

> [...] a critical museum as a museum-forum [is] engaged in public debate, undertaking important and often also controversial problems of a given community, regarding both past and the present. A critical museum is an institution working for democracy based on argument, but also an autocratic institution reviewing its own tradition, taking issue with its own authority and the historical and artistic canon it has shaped.[19]

He failed, but turmoil around new concepts and programmes of the museum sparked a heated debate in Poland on the role of the contemporary museum. Meanwhile other museums in Warsaw successfully adopted the critical model, especially the Museum of Modern Art and the Museum of the History of Polish Jews.

The formula of the museum-as-forum enhances critical thinking and participation. The word "participation" was adopted for the museum practice quite recently. The term is most commonly used in social and political sciences where it addresses processes of democratisation and aims to minimise distance between the state and citizen, increase public trust towards formal institutions, develop interest of citizens in public matters and build conviction that their actions may lead to desired change.[20] In museums participation is most often associated with education, learning, and public programmes. Not coincidentally participatory programmes are usually run by education departments – this is the case of all case studies presented in this article.

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[15] K. Murawska-Muthesius, P. Piotrowski, *Introduction: From Museum Critique to the Critical Museum* [in:] K. Murawska-Muthesius, P. Piotrowski (Eds.), *From Museum Critique to the Critical Museum*, Farnham–Burlington 2015, p. 6.

[16] *Ibidem*, p. 7.

[17] *Ibidem*.

[18] More on this concept in: P. Piotrowski, *Muzeum krytyczne*, Poznań 2011; *idem*, *Making the National Museum Critical* [in:] K. Murawska-Muthesius, P. Piotrowski (Eds.), *op.cit.*, Farnham–Burlington 2015.

[19] P. Piotrowski, *op.cit.*, p. 9.

[20] P. Poławski, *Technologie partycypacji* [in:] A. Przybylska, A. Giza (Eds.), *Partycypacja obywatelska. Od teorii do praktyki społecznej*, Warszawa 2014, p. 30.

Short questionnaire surveys were administered in March-April 2016 among directors of 46 museums (covering cross-section of museums in Poland concerning the character of collections, location, size and formula of management are concerned)[21] demonstrated that they have a good understanding of what a participatory museum is. The directors usually linked participatory museum to: 1) active involvement of visitors, 2) engagement, and 3) co-creation of the programme. Some respondents indicated that such a museum is a partner for local community and co-participant of the public sphere. An argument given by one of the respondents provides a very accurate definition:

> A museum should be a place of true meeting of various points of view and sensivity, as well as a place that invites to take up an initiative. If a museum is to play a lively role in contemporary life, it cannot remain an institution distributing knowledge ex cathedra, but it has to participate in the public sphere and stimulate development of an individual visitor. These functions can only be realised through partnership.[22]

Nina Simon, author of the book *The Participatory Museum* and director of the Museum of Art and History in Santa Cruz, USA (which she managed to save from closing down thank to participatory programmes for local communities), is an internationally known advocate of the participatory museum. She argues that a participatory cultural institution

> [...] is a place where visitors can create, share, and connect with each other around content. *Create* means that visitors contribute their own ideas, objects, and creative expression to the institution and to each other. *Share* means that people discuss, take home, remix, and redistribute both what they see and what they make during their visit. *Connect* means that visitors socialize with other people – staff and visitors – who share their particular interests. *Around content* means that visitors' conversations and creations focus on the evidence, objects, and ideas most important to the institution in question.[23]

Simon defined four models of public participation in cultural institutions: contribution, collaboration, co-creation and hosted. Their common denominator is engagement of visitors, however, dimension and scale of one's involvement to the project is different. Contributory projects are least laborious for institutions and involve incorporating simple tools. Simon argues that in this model

> visitors are solicited to provide limited and specified objects, actions, or ideas to an institutionally controlled process. Comment boards and story-sharing kiosks are both common platforms for contributory activities.[24]

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[21] The sample was not representative. Survey was sent out and filled by only a handful of museum directors, but it illustrates a tendency. More in: K. Jagodzińska, *Granice partycypacji w muzeum?*, "Muzealnictwo" 2016, No. 57, pp. 112–121.

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 114.

[23] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: *Preface*, http://www.participatory-museum.org/preface/ [access: 29.08.2016].

[24] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: Chapter 5: *Defining Participation at Your Institution*, http://www.participatorymuseum.org/chapter5/ [access: 29.08.2016].

Collaborative projects regard collaboration as taking place within strictly defined frames set by museums. Simon observed that in this model "visitors are invited to serve as active partners in the creation of institutional projects that are originated and ultimately controlled by the institution."[25]

Co-creative projects are the most demanding and time consuming for museums. Co-production of a project with visitors requires more time and workload for museum staff than the same project conducted without outside collaborators. In this model:

> [...] community members work together with institutional staff members from the beginning to define the project's goals and to generate the program or exhibit based on community interests. [...] The staff partners with visitors to co-produce exhibits and programs based on community members' interests and the institution's collections.[26]

Unlike co-creative projects, hosted projects are least demanding – the role of institution is limited to offer space and basic services. In this case:

> [...] the institution turns over a portion of its facilities and/or resources to present programs developed and implemented by public groups or casual visitors. [...] Institutions share space and/or tools with community groups with a wide range of interests [...] Hosted projects allow participants to use institutions to satisfy their own needs with minimal institutional involvement.[27]

This classification is very broad – from limited interaction of the visitor, through more time-consuming involvement, towards full engagement. All those strategies open up museums to various audiences. They are complementary to each other, can be applied simultaneously for various projects of one museum, and are also open for modifications and intermingling.

Only recently have these types of projects been more frequently tested by Polish museums. But it does not mean that before such collaborative models of working with audiences were completely absent from museum practice. The Laboratory of Creative Education founded in 1989 within the institutional frame of the Centre for Contemporary Art Ujazdowski Castle in Warsaw has realised numerous participatory projects ever since, on-site and outside the Centre.[28]

Even though contributory projects are the easiest to realise, they are still not very common. I have selected four participatory projects to discuss in the present article. They can be classified as collaborative and co-creative. The project "Anything Goes" realised by the National Museum in Warsaw is discussed in the category 'Visitors as

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[25] *Ibidem*.

[26] *Ibidem*.

[27] *Ibidem*.

[28] Selected books accompanying the projects: J. Byszewski, M. Parczewska, *Projektowanie sytuacji twórczych / Designing creative situations*, Warszawa 2004; *iidem* (Eds.), *Dom, moje centrum świata: relacja z relacji: projekt artystyczny, społeczny, edukacyjny, Supraśl 2003*, Warszawa 2005; *iidem, Muzeum jako rzeźba społeczna*, Warszawa 2012.

creators of the concept', while the "Selfservice Museum" realised by the Contemporary Museum Wrocław, the "ms3 Re:action" conducted by the Museum of Art in Łódź, and the "Free Museum in Wolnica Square. Kazimierz Collective" realised by the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków are discussed in the category 'Visitors as creative users of the content.'

Visitors as creators of the concept

In 2015 director of the National Museum in Warsaw, Dr Agnieszka Morawińska conceived the idea to invite children to the Museum and inspire them to create the concept of a temporary exhibition. The project entitled "Anything Goes" (Ill. 1–2) was produced by the education department. Sixty-nine children at the age between 6 and 14 attended the programme and regularly participated in weekly three-four hour long meetings held from June 2015 until February 2016 (only with holidays breaks). Divided into six groups, supervised by museum educators, children became familiar with the specificity of various aspects of museum work. The first major step was visiting the storage areas to select artworks for the exhibition. Young curators not only watched and listened to museum keepers presenting objects from various collections, but they also had a chance to hold them in their hands. This way a barrier between an exhibit and visitor disappeared and children discovered the museum in a way that is normally inaccessible. In the course of the project children also met employees of various departments – keepers, conservators, graphic designers, arrangers, and got familiar with all stages of production of an exhibition. The fruit of the project was the professionally prepared exhibition (held from February to May 2016) comprising six rooms, each conceived by a different group of curators. In total, 300 artworks from Museum's collection were on view, framed by an appealing exhibition design.

The title of the project was supposed to emphasise the openness of the museum – for all audiences, for unconventional ideas, and for individual interpretations. Young curators were encouraged to use their imagination and build an exhibition that they themselves would like to visit in a museum and at the same time an exhibition they would like to invite their peers and adults to. The project can be discussed from many perspectives. For visitors it was a refreshing experiment showing how non-art historians look at museum collections. For museum staff – keepers, curators, educators – it demonstrated how a group normally staying outside processes taking place behind the "staff door" of the museum, now learned about those processes and tested them in practice. And finally for young curators it was one of a kind experience related to getting to know the museum institution, and most of all a programme that enabled them to develop creativity, learn how to discuss, argue, speak up, reach compromises, work in a team and gain many other skills.

The project recalls programmes implemented in the Anglo-Saxon countries where museums collaborate on regular basis with concrete segments of audiences (e.g. young audiences), which work on conceiving museum programme and also act

From a Visitor to Participant. Strategies for Participation in Museums

83

Ill. 1. Project "Anything Goes" – young curators in the museum storage of ceramics, 2015–2016, National Museum in Warsaw. Photo by Patryk Grochowalski, courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

Ill. 2. Project "Anything Goes" – group photo of young curators, 2015–2016, National Museum in Warsaw. Photo by Katarzyna Jagodzińska

as advisory bodies. The Young Tate, renamed as Tate Collectives, run by the Tate Gallery in the UK, is a good example of such programme.[29]

The project was conceived as exemplary on Polish ground and meant to serve as an inspiration for other museums. Extensive documentation of the project is easily available: videos and recordings used in the audioguides and recorded seminar for museum educators are available on-line, there was published a book presenting the making of the project; the project was evaluated by a group of researchers and the final report is also available on museum website. It gives a good insight into both positive and negative aspects of the project, and investigates changes brought for all its actors: children curators, their parents, tutors working with children, museum staff and visitors of the exhibition, as well as discusses reception of the project.

Visitors as creative users of the content

Almost since its opening in a temporary building in 2012, the Contemporary Museum Wrocław has launched an ongoing project, the "Self-service Museum" (Ill. 3). The museum occupies an anti-raid shelter built during the World War II, is circular in shape with exhibition rooms arranged around the central staircase, and the project is situated on the second floor of the five-floor massive edifice. The "Self-service Museum" is a living work of art developed by Patrycja Mastej. Until the end of 2016 eight parts of the project were realised, each one devoted to different subject, but all of them based on activity of a visitor. Magdalena Skowrońska, curator of educational programme, remarks that:

> It is a place where a visitor can forget about the outside world and rules normally followed in museums. One is allowed to touch everything, to laugh, to roll on the ground, to dance ("Uzewnętrzniacz" project, 2014/2015), to relax and even to fall asleep ("W Ziemi" project, 2015/2016). Visitors can also actively co-create the space that is left over by other visitors.[30]

The space is composed as an artistic playground, open for modifications, rearrangements, and freedom of expression. It is targeted to general audience, the only requirement is willingness to play. But it can also be considered as a work of art to look at by those reluctant to engage.

Also the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków (MEK) stands out as the organiser of long term participatory projects. In 2013 the museum in collaboration with the Centre of Prevention and Social Education PARASOL launched the project "Wolne muzeum na Wolnicy. Kolektyw Kazimierz" [Free Museum in Wolnica Square. Kazimierz Collective – the name in Polish is based on the play of words][31] (Ill. 4) which was con-

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[29] More about the Young Tate in: K. Jagodzińska, *Granice partycypacji*..., pp. 112–121.

[30] E-mail interview with Magdalena Skowrońska, curator of educational programme in the Contemporary Museum Wrocław, 31 August 2016.

[31] In 2013–2016 it was a part of the "Rakowicka 10" project lead by PARASOL. Since 2016 it is again run by the MEK.

From a Visitor to Participant. Strategies for Participation in Museums

85

Ill. 3. Patrycja Mastej, "Uzewnętrzniacz" (part of the "Self-service Museum"), 2014, interactive exhibition in the Contemporary Museum Wrocław. Photo by Patrycja Mastej

Ill. 4. "Natural Play Garden" initiated in 2015 (part of the project "Free Museum in Wolnica Square. Kazimierz Collective"), Ethnographic Museum in Kraków. Photo by Marcin Wąsik from the archive of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków

ceived as building connections with the neighbourhood of the museum located in the Jewish district, Kazimierz, and work with its history and identity. Children and youth living in the area were a target group of the project. Together with museum staff they explored the district and took up activities that were supposed to bring social change. The framework of the project allowed some autonomy for participants who became authors and organisers of particular actions. In the course of the project a rundown backyard, selected by children themselves, was regenerated. Organisers of the project explained: "We help developing a new perspective on the area, we arrange meetings with people from various backgrounds, we support individual discoveries. This experience enhances sense of self-confidence for project participants and opens them up to opportunities which are within reach."[32]

In 2015 the MEK initiated the creation of the "Natural Play Garden." Inhabitants of the district indicated in questionnaires and interviews that well-arranged green spaces where one could rest, meet neighbours and escape, as well as where children could play, were missing in the area.[33] This is how the idea to provide such a place was developed. The design of the garden was constructed with natural materials: wood, gravel, sand, cones, wicker and vegetation, and was based on children's ideas voiced during special workshops. In 2016 a series of workshops were held with the goal to create an archive of the Kazimierz district. Current observations of participants were juxtaposed with historic documents from museum's archive and thus allowed the visitor to grasp changes taking place in the district over the years. Dr Antoni Bartosz, director of the MEK, concluded:

> This project allows us to get to know a piece of real world from the nearest vicinity of the Museum. We are learning not only about particular groups of people, but also about their conditions of life, and about individual people. We get to know fantastic organisations that work here and with whom we create common language.[34]

On the other hand, the Museum of Art in Łódź organised several short- term projects with a participatory component. Shortly after the opening of the ms² – new branch of the Museum of Art in Łódź with permanent exhibition of the collection of modern and contemporary art – the two-month-long project "ms3 Re:akcja" [Re:action] (Ill. 5) was launched in 2009. Its central element was the "living" exhibition realised in the main room for temporary exhibitions. It was based on the idea to embolden visitors to contemporary art and engage them in the museum processes, spanning from creation of the works of art, through collecting and exhibiting, leading to interpretation.[35] Visitors took on the roles of artists (following the slogan of Joseph Beuys that "everybody is an artist") and of curators. These art and curatorial con-

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[32] *Raport*, p. 23.

[33] Press release: *Niezwyczajny OGRÓD ZABAW przy ul. Piekarskiej*, Muzeum Etnograficzne im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie, 29 October 2015.

[34] E-mail interview with Dr Antoni Bartosz, director of the Ethnographic Museum in Kraków, 28 July 2016.

[35] RE:AKCJA, http://msl.org.pl/pl/program/archiwum/re-akcja.html [access: 8.08.2016].

From a Visitor to Participant. Strategies for Participation in Museums　　87

CULTURAL HERITAGE, CULTURAL POLICY

Ill. 5. Exhibition "ms3 Re:akcja" [Re:action], 2009, Museum of Art in Łódź. Photograph by the Museum of Art in Łódź

cepts also referred to the historic collection of modern art assembled by Władysław Strzemiński, on view on the upper floors of the museum. Visitors-participants were offered paint, crayons, brushes and painting rolls, and encouraged to follow a simple instruction: add, deduct, switch and replace. Visitors could also bring their own objects to the gallery, and in this way exhibition was growing daily.

The project was an experiment conceived to open the museum up to new audiences (special attention was given to people living in the vicinity of the Museum) and find out how relevant the museum of contemporary art can be. Museum staff only initiated creative process and provided tools of expression, while visitors were offered freedom in the gallery.[36] The general rule was that the slogans, paintings, drawings, and pieces of art would not be censored because every interaction with the museum inspired reactions of other visitors. It was pointed out in a newspaper published regularly at the occasion of the project that "It is a game and no one knows the result. Only one thing is certain: the result of the two-month-long socio-artistic action will be a surprise to everybody."[37]

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[36] M. Ludwisiak, *Skuteczność jest gdzie indziej. Od konfliktu do afektywnej* wspólnoty [in:] T. Załuski (Ed.), *Skuteczność sztuki*, Muzeum Sztuki w Łodzi, 2014, p. 422.

[37] M. Bohdanowicz, *Proszę nie niszczyć*, "ms3 | Re:akcja akcja społeczno-artystyczna" 10.04.2009, No. 2/8, p. 4.

Who benefits and what is the gain?

The four projects presented above regard very different character and degree of involvement of museum audiences. They are illustrative of the changing role of a museum visitor in Polish museums, however, they are not representative. Although the idea of participation has been employed by various types of cultural institutions in Poland, and it has generally positive connotations, but not all museums are eager to adopt it in their daily practice. What is interesting, most of museum directors who answered my questionnaire survey (mentioned earlier in this article) conceived the museum they lead as participatory, while an overview of educational programmes organised by Polish museums demonstrates that only a small number of them can be classified as such. It should be noted here that organisation of a single participatory project/programme does not qualify a museum to a label "participatory." Nevertheless, museums pay more and more attention to their audiences what is indeed visible in professional discussions in museum forums.

Expectations of people are changing, models of using culture are evolving, and thus museums respond to them accordingly. Magdalena Skowrońska rightly points out that "in composing their programmes institutions changed their attitude towards the relationship between an institution and its visitor: the institution is for the visitor, not a visitor for the institution."[38] Selected case studies demonstrate that museums adopt various strategies to become meaningful and relevant (as Nina Simon put it in her recent book[39]) to visitors. These projects are not just accidental whims of educational teams or tools for building up attendance numbers, but they are all grounded in the identity of institutions and realise their (new?) philosophy. In the case of the MEK its director explains:

> On the one hand, less and less depend on us, as globalisation processes are growing and pressure of financial, political and ideological interests have had increasing influence on our lives. On the other hand, more and more things depend on us [...]. Museums can greatly support this direction towards identity, which can be realised not through unilateral communique, but through building partnerships, inviting people to participate in building the content and activities, enabling valuable reflection and inscribing it in today's horizon.[40]

Programmes allowing participation are beneficial for both sides – visitors gain knowledge, skills, experience, satisfaction, enjoyment, and on the other side museums learn about people they address and about neighbourhoods where they operate. Researchers who conducted evaluation of the MNW project[41] identified three groups of results that the project had in the group of young curators:

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[38] E-mail interview with Magdalena Skowrońska...
[39] N. Simon, *The Art of Relevance*, Museum 2.0, 2016.
[40] E-mail interview with Dr Antoni Bartosz...
[41] The aims of the project were not defined by the organisers in the first place.

1) in the social sphere results encompassed democratisation, sense of self-worth, sense of agency, increase of the authority in family and at school, ability to negotiate, courage, openness towards adults, skill of self-presentation;
2) in the educative sphere results encompassed knowledge of how an exhibition is constructed, knowledge of the character of work in the museum, respect for the work of art, sense of competences, knowledge of the promotion;
3) in the artistic sphere results encompassed ability to create, sense of freedom, ability to discern details of the exhibits and to see art through the prism of emotions.[42]

The Contemporary Museum Wrocław treats its participatory project as an introduction to contemporary art exhibitions presented in other rooms of the museum. Magdalena Skowrońska remarks that by "using the 'Self-service Museum' visitors can react in more open and spontaneous way to contemporary art, which normally requires engagement and reflection, not only looking at."[43]

Also museums gain in the process of realisation of participatory projects. Participants of projects realised by the MEK are in some sense councillors to the museum. Projects following ideas of participants enable museums to learn about their interests and expectations in the most straightforward way: simply by asking and providing space to realise people's ideas. Bożena Pysiewicz, deputy head of the Education Department in the MNW and coordinator of the "Anything Goes" project argues that people who engage in museum activities (in various forms):

> [...] are not one time visitors treating the Museum as one of many tourist attractions, but they are active audience that has an impact on the shape of the institution. By filling out evaluation questionnaires they suggest topics for meetings, lectures, workshops. They also often recommend visiting the Museum to their families and friends, what makes them our ambassadors.[44]

Those people identify with the institution. Realisation of participatory projects often engages cross-institutional cooperation and thus breaks the daily routine of museum practice encouraging staff to learn about other domains of the institution, outside their duties. In the case of the MNW project Pysiewicz admitted that "joint work on this special exhibition allowed staff regularly preparing exhibitions to understand the nature of work of museum educators, and reverse – educators learned about new areas of museum work with which they did not have contact before."[45]

Participatory projects are not the only ones where a visitor occupies central position in a museum, however, here engagement is of key importance – without it a project does not make sense. Engagement can be long-term and in-depth, like in Warsaw and Kraków, it can also be one-time, involving a visitor just for a moment, like in

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[42] See: M. Szostakowska, I. Pogoda, *Ewaluacja projektu "W Muzeum wszystko wolno". Raport*, [2016], p. 13.

[43] E-mail interview with Magdalena Skowrońska...

[44] E-mail interview with Bożena Pysiewicz, deputy head of the Education Department in the National Museum in Warsaw and coordinator of the "Anything Goes" project, 23 August 2016.

[45] *Ibidem*.

Katarzyna Jagodzińska

Wroclaw and Łódź. Many museums remain either conservative or follow other strategies for opening up. Nina Simon asks: "does every visitor really want to participate in this manner in cultural institutions?" and realistically answers:

> No. Just as there are visitors who will never pull the lever on an interactive and those who prefer to ignore the labels, there are many visitors who will not choose to share their story, talk with a stranger, or consume visitor-generated content. There will always be visitors who enjoy static exhibitions conferring authoritative knowledge. There will always be visitors who enjoy interactive programs that allow them to test that knowledge for themselves. And there will increasingly be visitors – perhaps new ones – who enjoy the opportunity to add their own voices to ongoing discussions about the knowledge presented.[46]

This observation is supported by one of the exhibition guards in the ms[2] who described various models of engaging in the "ms3 Re:action" project, including people who only come to look at, not to participate in creation:

> [visitors-participants] Asked for help, for crayons, for paint, for a ladder, asked whom they can talk to and whether they are really allowed to paint over the walls. There were people who wanted to arrange a group visit. There were people who came to the ms3 only to have a look. And people who in the beginning did not plan to paint anything, but when it turned out that it is possible, they decided to take this opportunity. There were also people who came well prepared, they even had their own paint and brushes, and covered fragments of walls according to designs they previously made. Sometimes walls were even especially prepared beforehand.[47]

There are always those who eagerly take up new opportunities and those who consider daring actions as inappropriate for a noble museum. But it is up to a museum how much participation there will be. It is usually selected programmes offered in this framework, while the other ones available simultaneously in a museum are more traditional. Just as Simon points out: "participation is an *and*, not an *or*."[48]

My observation is that museums are largely reluctant to give away their power. This issue leads to the question: How much freedom are museum leaders ready to hand over to visitors and how much do they actually give away? If statistics were made among Polish museums regarding participatory aspect of museum programmes, they would surely demonstrate that not much freedom is offered to visitors. Projects presented in this article prove that museums indeed share power with visitors, however, in a limited way and within the frame they constitute. In my view it is museum leaders and staff anxiety whether visitors would be able to benefit from a visit without competent guidance and some sort of surveillance that stops museums from fully opening up to participatory strategies. Simon writes that "Supporting participation means trusting visitors' abilities as creators, remixers, and redistributors of content. It

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[46] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: Chapter 1: *Principles of Participation*, http://www.participatorymuseum.org/chapter1/ [access: 29.08.2016].

[47] E. Kamińska-Podkówka, *Lubię, jak coś się zmienia*, "ms3 | Re:akcja akcja społeczno-artystyczna" 22.05.2009, No. 8/8, p. 2.

[48] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: *What's Next? Imagining the Participatory Museum*, http://www.participatorymuseum.org/imagining/ [access: 29.08.2016].

means being open to the possibility that a project can grow and change post-launch beyond the institution's original intent."[49]

In the already mentioned questionnaire survey the majority of museum directors indicated that museums have to set frames of participatory projects. There were opinions that participants need to be controlled or consulted, and that full freedom is not possible.[50] This suggests that relation between a museum and visitor is not based on partnership and a visitor occupies an inferior position. Moreover, museums seem to be afraid that institutional gain will not be spectacular when compared to the workload contributed to realisation of the project.

None of the projects presented in this article is based on extensive freedom. Leszek Karczewski, head of the Education Department in the Museum of Art in Łódź, argues that a museum is not a space of freedom at all, in contrary – it is a space of exclusion. According to him decisions 'what', 'how' and 'for whom' is presented excludes objects and people in the first place. What is more:

> We cannot say that we realise democratic education processes when we know everything, when we know the script, when we know what can potentially be created within the project (or at least, what surely cannot be created).[51]

Boundaries within which visitors operate in participatory projects are clearly visible in four case studies. Paradoxically the MNW project promised much more in its title than was actually offered as the "anything goes" philosophy was applied only on the ground of curatorship of the exhibition. And even here it had strictly defined rules. For many people the title was misleading, what was demonstrated in the evaluation report. One of young curators asked "What is allowed in the Museum?" replied: "It depends to whom, e.g. visitors can see the exhibitions, while museum staff can enter various areas, storages and other places. We are permitted similar things to the staff. However, we cannot run and shout."[52]

According to museum employees the title suggested space for activity and anarchy, while both children curators and visitors had to follow the rules and thus could not test themselves the "anything goes" philosophy.[53] Also visitors noticed that they could not experience more freedom at the exhibition comparing to other exhibitions.[54] Children worked on the concept of the exhibition, but they did not have much contribution to the final presentation of the works of art. The report indicates that in one case it even led to disappointment when one group saw their part of the exhibition mounted, as it did not fully follow their expectations.[55] Still, it does not diminish the

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[49] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: Chapter 1...
[50] K. Jagodzińska, *Granice*..., p. 115.
[51] Interview with Leszek Karczewski, head of the Education Department in the Museum of Art in Łódź held on 27 September 2013 by K. Jagodzińska in connection with unpublished manuscript: K. Jagodzińska, J. Strycharz (Eds.), *W poszukiwaniu nowej roli muzeum*.
[52] M. Szostakowska, I. Pogoda, *op.cit.*, p. 16.
[53] *Ibidem*, p. 44.
[54] *Ibidem*, p. 57.
[55] *Ibidem*, p. 14.

significance of the project to its participants and to the museum practice. The "Self-service Museum" offers freedom but within strict frames and with the use of tools and instruments provided by the museum. In this sense the "ms3 Re:action" went a step further as it encouraged visitors to free their imagination, and although instruments were provided, visitors could choose to bring their own objects and tools. In the case of the MEK there has been a scenario of each action, but some of them were open and allowed participants to make decisions that were followed afterwards.

Looking forward

Indeed, the activity of visitors regarding participation in museum programmes and their daily practice is limited in Poland. The number of institutions that decided to employ this model is scarce (however, not limited to museums discussed in this article), but most importantly it is growing and successful projects only encourage other institutions to follow. Bożena Pysiewicz remarks, that the "Anything Goes" project in the MNW "built the prestige of the Museum. It allowed the Museum to function as the innovative institution on an international scale, the one realising a project that did not have an equivalent in the museum practice before."[56] Also an active role played by visitors in these projects is limited – they have often seeming impact on the course of the projects, nevertheless they offer interaction which fosters learning and – most of all – attachment to the institution. It should be noted that participatory projects are not dominating in museums across the globe, Poland is not an exception.

Discussion about engaging or participatory museums and the museum-as-forum is linked to another hot issue of museological debates – a museum resembling a community house. There is a fear that the merit of a museum would be diminished and that entertainment would replace education and learning. Simon brought a comparison that future museums following participatory practice "may look more like a coffee shop or a community arts center."[57] This vision is something museum leaders and staff are afraid of. But it is already happening. Certainly providing that a coffee shop is not just a place where one drops in to quickly drink a coffee and go, but a 'third place' as defined by Ray Oldenburg[58] where social meetings are held, where people spend their leisure time and during interactions – widen horizons and develop their intellectual capital. Division between coffee shops, community centres, museums and other types of formal and informal institutions is not sharp anymore, especially when similar strategies and tools are used. All of them can provide simultaneously entertainment and knowledge granting the visitor the central position, however the nature and the boundaries of participation are always defined by organisers of the project.

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[56] E-mail interview with Bożena Pysiewicz...
[57] N. Simon, *The Participatory Museum*, on-line version: *What's Next?...*
[58] R. Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*, New York 1989.

From a Visitor to Participant. Strategies for Participation in Museums

93

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