The Heritage Theatre

The Heritage Theatre:
Globalisation and Cultural Heritage

Edited by

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CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS

P U B L I S H I N G

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PREFACE

The chapters in this volume are based on papers presented at the conference "The Heritage Theatre", held in Rotterdam on 13-14 May 2009. The conference was the conclusion of the research programme "Globalisation and Cultural Heritage" of the Faculty of History and Arts, as it was called then, of the Erasmus University Rotterdam (now: Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication). We thank the Netherlandish Organisation for Scientific Research for funding our research programme and the ESHCC and the Erasmus Trustfonds for their support in organizing this conference.

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INTRODUCTION

MARLITE HALBERTSMA

In the spring of 2010 the Tourist Information Office in Valkenburg, in the Dutch province of Limburg, celebrated its 125th anniversary. The festivities were graced by the presence of Her Majesty Queen Beatrix at a concert by the violinist André Rieu, in the Roman area of the grottoes in this popular tourist destination. The Valkenburg tourist office is believed to be the oldest in Europe. As far back as 1853 Valkenburg was on the international rail line between Aachen (Germany) and Maastricht, while the Gothic-style station, built that same year, is the oldest station in the country still in use. Valkenburg itself has not always been part of the Netherlands: it was only in 1839 that it was officially declared Dutch territory. The town is still one of the most popular vacation destinations in the Netherlands. With its Roman remains, medieval stronghold, and hilly backdrop, it contrasts sharply with the rest of the country. For an experience of otherness, the Dutch need not venture beyond their own borders!

It is thanks to tourism that the heritage of southern Limburg is being preserved, according to an article in *Heemschut* (a periodical devoted to Dutch heritage). Anya Niewierra, director of the Valkenburg tourist office, believes that the conservation of the town's historic architecture and man-made landscapes is of vital importance for tourism: the one is conditional upon the other. "Monuments are immensely important as decor. They provide the atmosphere and the backdrop against which all the other tourist activities such as attractions, museums and historical buildings are highlighted. The atmosphere is both authentic and companionable: people feel at home here." (Bokhorst 2010, 19). The unusual setting, the exceptional cultural heritage, together with the authenticity and characteristic friendliness of the town, all combine to make visitors feel welcome.

The heritage theatre

The present volume is based on papers presented in Rotterdam in 2009, during a conference entitled "The Heritage Theatre. The Dynamics of

Cultural Heritage in a Global World". The term "heritage theatre", which encompasses presentation, public and performance, is part of a world-wide dynamic in such domains as political relations, economics, communication, and transport.

It is no coincidence that this introduction opens with tourism in Valkenburg. Tourism is the major source of heritage visitors, and heritage coincides largely with tourist activities. Indeed, half of all Dutch heritage consumption (such as visits to museums or monuments) takes place during vacations abroad. But this does not necessarily mean that *all* heritage visits are tourism-related. For many people in Holland – and no doubt abroad as well – heritage is part of everyday life. Some 10% of all Dutch citizens over the age of six are "museum friends", members of a heritage association, or heritage volunteers: one million individuals in all (Van den Broek 2005, 33; Huysmans and De Haan 2007, 17 ff).

Fig. 0-1: Valkenburg Railway Station, 1853

Heritage has various audiences, one of them consisting of tourists, and this particular audience can also be further subdivided. Thanks to revolutions in the media, ICT and transport, heritage has become both more familiar and more accessible to a larger and more varied public. The

members of these audiences all interpret heritage differently, depending on the social context within which it is produced and the manner in which it is presented. Just as a play comes to life when it is performed, heritage only becomes significant in a setting where the audience is taken into account: scripting and staging lend lustre to heritage. The role of the audience is anything but passive. Without an audience, heritage is lifeless. The audience anticipates and participates in the performance. Heritage theatre is literally a "black-box" performance, where actors and decor share space with the audience, and the "fourth wall" does not exist. The visitor enters and leaves the stage, is part of the performance, and combines viewing and enjoyment with other activities (Crang 1997). Each type of heritage has its own audience: some cater to a particular group, others appeal to a range of different types of audience. Heritage performances are seldom withdrawn from the repertoire, and the number of "first nights" continues to increase. Although not every individual heritage object can be preserved for all eternity, heritage as such is never exhausted (Graham et al. 2002, 22).

Tourism is arguably the largest industry in the world: in the course of 2010 an estimated 12.5% of the world population will travel as tourists: a total of one billion people (Urry 2002, 22; Graham et al. 2002, 20; Scheppe 2009, 513). A noteworthy aspect of this development is the prominent role which heritage plays in the tourist product. In the introduction to their collection *Touring Cultures*, Chris Rojek and John Urry emphasize that tourism is a cultural experience, a means of acquainting oneself with other cultures. The authors do not describe in detail the nature of those cultures. They appear to be more interested in the manner in which culture is experienced (Rojek and Urry 1997, 14). In their view, most tourists are aware that the past which they are experiencing is staged and thus not entirely authentic.

The omnipresence of images, together with the omnipresence and recognizability of heritage have not led to a decline in the number of people visiting heritage sites. In fact, the reverse is true. The familiarity of heritage entices people to travel, and also to visit the current exhibition in their local museums. Despite – or perhaps due to – globalisation, location is still important. This makes theatre a good metaphor for heritage because it is experienced physically, not virtually. Saskia Sassen has observed that physical locations continue to play a fundamental role in the process of globalisation, despite the degree to which "place" and "time" tend to merge as a result of that process. "National global markets, as well as globally integrated organisations, require central places where the work of globalisation gets done"(Sassen 2007, 108; Gerszonowitz 2009). But what is the "work of globalisation" that is carried out by means of heritage?

Heritage as such has no meanings except those that are attributed to it, it is "the contemporary use of the past" (Graham et.al. 2000, 2; see also Riegl 1929, 12). Cultural objects and practices have not always had significance as cultural heritage, and what one person regards as cultural heritage is for the other an expression of contemporary culture, or simply part of everyday life.

Cultural heritage cannot be equated with culture: it is a framework that collects, compares and classifies widely differing cultural manifestations from various periods and various geographical backgrounds. These interpretive frames are referred to as "metacultures". According to Francis Mulhern, "Metacultural discourse, then, is that in which culture, however defined, speaks of itself". Or in the words of Greg Urban: "metaculture, that is culture about culture" (Mulhern 2000, xiv; Urban 2001, 3). Roland Robertson sees metaculture as the link between culture and social structure on the one hand, and between culture, the individual, and social action on the other hand (Robertson 1992, 34). Robertson stresses the performative aspect of metaculture: as a "code" which regulates and restricts relationships between individuals, social structure, and culture (Robertson 1992, 34). He also sees metaculture as a system of implicit cultural codes governing the relationship between parts and whole, individuals and communities, communities and outsiders, as well as the relationship between communities and the world as a whole. Globalisation is the extent to which these relationships and systems converge (Robertson 1992, 41; Hopper 2007, 96).

One of those implicit cultural codes is cultural heritage. Individuals give themselves and their communities a place on the world stage by means of cultural heritage. The latter is the result of a "metacultural operation", by which culture "makes an exposition of itself" (Kirchenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 168).

Cultural heritage as metaculture

Cultural heritage, in the sense of a framework encompassing various cultural expressions, has gained importance in recent years, while the regard for modernism has declined. Today's global norms are no longer innovation, expansion, emancipation, and the maximisation of production and consumption, but rather identity, conservation, and sustainability. According to Robertson, globalisation is not the final phase of modernisation, but the post-industrial phase of world history, which compels individuals and societies to re-interpret their past, their identities, and their traditions, and "to sift the global scene for ideas and symbols

considered to be relevant to their own identities." (Robertson 1992, 46). This vision is at odds with the view that globalisation and modernisation are one, thus doing away with limitations of time and space (Giddens 1990). Time and place are actually gaining in importance. There is a yearning for the past, reflected in a growing interest in environmental issues, less tolerance for ethnic minorities, and the rise of religious fundamentalism (Delanty 2000).

In the process of globalisation, a crucial role is reserved for "images of the world", representations of how the world is or ought to be (Robertson 1992, 75). The concept of a globalised culture – and "globality" itself – precedes the development of global structures: "Globality refers to the circumstance of extensive awareness of the world as a whole." (Robertson 1992, 77). Robertson regards "images" and "maps" of the world, as fairly concrete representations of what the world is like. Appadurai, too, formulates various "cultural flows" (ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes; financescapes and ideoscapes) as "imaginised worlds" of collective aspirations which give rise to action. "The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, it is itself a social fact and the key component of the new global order." (Appadurai 1996, 31; Lechner and Boli 2005, 15 ff ; Calhoun 2006, 152).

Robertson's "images" and Appadurai's "cultural flows" place the primacy of worldwide agency in various cultural contexts, in which heritage does not occupy a separate position. In 2008 Michael Di Giovane came up with the well-chosen term "heritagescape", as a supplement to Appadurai's "-scapes". If we follow Robertson and Appadurai in their assertion that globalisation is the result rather than the source of cultural contexts entertained all over the world, then cultural heritage – in the form of metaculture – is a suitable instrument by which to examine the relationship between cultural heritage and the image of the world.

The collection, presentation and representation of cultural artifacts and descriptions of cultural practices have long been part of Western strategies designed to chart the world, to bring it literally within arm's reach. Shakespeare's notion that "all the world's a stage", which can be traced to earlier representations of the *theatrum mundi* and Comenius' schoolbook *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (*The Visible World in Pictures*, 1658), demonstrates how deep-rooted the wish is to explore the world by means of physical objects and the activities of others, and to do so as concretely as possible.

Fig.0-2: Johannes Comenius. 1658. *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*

From the sixteenth century well into the eighteenth, collections of *antiquaria*, *artificialia* en *naturalia* provided an insight into the nature of other societies, past and present, far away and close by (Bergvelt et al. 1992; MacGregor 2007). These collections were not created with a view to providing insight into the world by means of history. The objects were invariably *exempla*, examples of the splendour of God's creation: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth", as it says in the first sentence of the Bible. They were examples to learn from, to imitate, and to surpass. As a contemporary *exemplum,* cultural heritage alternates between example and paragon: it is a world stage, a *theatrum mundi*. This model is not flat, but multi-dimensional. Heritage can be experienced as a model of the diversity of the human condition, or its specificity, or its memory. These three aspects correspond to Robertson's definition of

metaculture as a body of implicit cultural codes governing the relationship between parts and whole. Diversity is linked to the image of the world as a whole, specificity stands for the relationship between communities and outsiders, while "memory" is bound up with the relationship between individuals and communities. Memory serves to place individual experiences within the larger context of the community to which one belongs, or wants to belong. Specificity lends the community an identity by virtue of the fact that it differs from other communities. Filled with admiration for the endless diversity of man's cultural forms, all the differences dissolve. Our experience of cultural heritage undergoes a dialectic process, from *belonging* to *difference* to a synthesis of the *sameness* of all mankind.

The theatre of diversity

In classical antiquity, there was a list of the most remarkable monuments to be found in the ancient world: the Seven Wonders of the World. The works were located relatively close to one another in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region: Greece, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. When the list was drawn up, in the second century B.C., they were already highlights of cultural heritage (although that term had yet to be invented), having been built between the sixth and the fourth century B.C. They were regarded by the antique society of the day as the high points of architectural and technical ingenuity. With two exceptions – the pyramids of Cheops and the Hanging Gardens of Babylon – they were all built by the Greeks: indeed, during this period world culture was primarily Greek culture. To know the world was to know its structures. It was in 1721 that the Austrian architect Johann Fischer von Erlach published his *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*, a series of historical examples for the modern architect. The illustrations include not only the architectural highlights produced by the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans, but also those of the Chinese, the Persians, the Indians and the Moslems.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the architectural primacy of the wonders of the world was relinquished, and the definition of what was historical shifted. Shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, for example, a list of Wonders of the World was drawn up by the cosmopolitan Austrian aristocrat Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg which included not only temples and cathedrals, but also the Statue of Liberty, the world's largest steamship, weather stations, waterfalls, and mountain formations (Von Hesse-Wartegg 1912-1913).
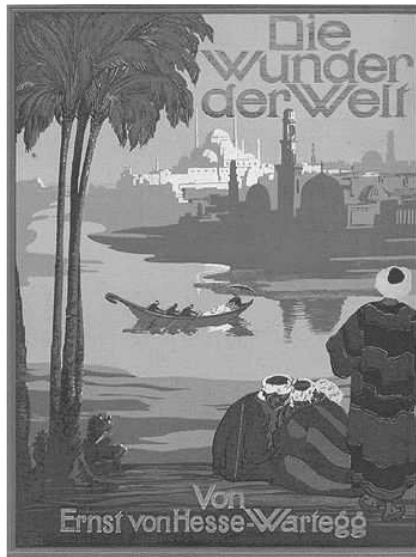
Fig.0-3 Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg. 1912-13. *Die Wunder der Welt. Hervorragende Naturschöpfungen und staunenswerte Menschenwerke aller Zeiten und Länder in Wort und Bild*

UNESCO's World Heritage Sites, the latest version of the wonders-of-the-world list, contains even more sites of a canonical nature than previous versions, so that the two have become more or less synonymous. The criteria employed by UNESCO are linked not so much to the heritage object as such, and to related local and historical facts, but rather to what it represents (Di Giovane 2008, 38 ff). The criteria are somewhat vague: the object must be a "masterpiece of human creative genius", an example of the "important interchange of human values", artistic and scientific developments and processes, as well as historical periods and events, and it must be associated with living traditions and ideas, and masterpieces "of outstanding universal significance." (Unesco Criteria).

Heritage is protected not by virtue of the function which it fulfils for a specific community, but rather the value which it represents for the world community. Recognition is only accorded to sites that meet the universal canonical standards for masterpieces. This does not mean that all world heritage objects are identical, but that the degree of difference lies within the narrow bandwidth of such traditional art-historical and cultural-historical concepts as beauty, innovation and originality. These aesthetics are based on classical norms and criteria which are applicable to widely

differing cultural expressions, whereby those expressions are stripped of their specific origin and significance (Halbertsma 2007). The norms on the list determine the world heritage goods, or as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it, all that keeps world heritage together is the list itself. "World heritage is first and foremost a list. Everything on the list, whatever its previous context, is now placed in a relationship with other masterpieces. The list is the context for everything on it." (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 170).

The placement of objects, sites and practices on the UNESCO World Heritage Lists of tangible and intangible cultural heritage takes place only after a proposal is put forward by the national state. The prestige of the UNESCO lists is such that governments go to considerable lengths to have their national heritage placed on the international list. An increasingly important role is played by local, regional and national lobbies, driven as they are by the desire for world status, the prospect of extra funds for conservation, and even more visitors, especially tourists (Van der Aa, 2005).

This competitive element was missing from the earlier UNESCO lists. It is comparable to the "sportscape" of the Olympic Games, where nations likewise compete against one another, and national and international elements become inextricably bound up with one another. In the case of the Olympic Games, it all starts with a race to secure the status of Olympic City, at a cost of millions. Then billions more are spent on the construction of the facilities, which will be in use only briefly during the opening ceremony, the parade of national teams, and the initial performances highlighting traditional cultural aspects of the host country. Following the closing ceremony, the medal-winners are received by the head of state in their respective countries. Since 1898 the Olympic Games have been dedicated to promoting understanding and peace among nations by means of sports competitions, in keeping with the objectives of UNESCO (Loland 1994; Roche 2000).

The objectives on the UNESCO World Heritage list were in turn borrowed from the points of departure formulated in 1942 by the United Nations, which was founded with the aim of promoting world peace. UNESCO, the cultural organ of the United Nations, was set up in 1945: its mission was "to build peace in the minds of men". According to UNESCO, there was no peace because of inadequate or incomplete schooling, failed science, a lack of understanding of each other"s culture, and poor communication. UNESCO"S declaration of intent corresponds to the Rights of Man, drawn up by the U.N. in 1948 (Human Rights).

In Mark Mazower's assessment, the historic background of the Declaration of the Rights of Man represents a break with the ideals of the

League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations. The U.N. had more or less resigned itself to the fact that minority rights could not be enforced; it seemed wiser to strive for ethnically homogeneous societies, since people were convinced that the existence of minorities was one of the causes of the Second World War. According to Mazower, the lack of political decisiveness – due in part to the enormous number of refugees after the war and the political situation during the Cold War – was masked by the call for individual human rights. To realise those rights, culture and science had to be marshalled (Mazower 2009, 23). Peaceful world citizenship would not be brought about by enforcing laws and sanctions, but by influencing public opinion: "Men had to be encouraged to see the world as a whole." (Mazower 2009, 83).

There is a tension between "the world as a whole" and individual citizens: we are all human beings, and yet we are all different. It is precisely this inherent difference that is so characteristic of human beings: recognition of the Rights of Man is recognition of the right to be different. "Unity in diversity" is what characterises world culture: we are "a culture of cultures" (Sahlins 2000, 493). Within world heritage, individuals identify with a worldwide "imagined community" which has outgrown national and ethnic limitations. Ideally, it is in the diversity of worldwide heritage that mankind recognises his own condition, and protects it by cherishing it (Anderson 1991).

However, the emphasis on heritage does limit our ability to recognise more recent and contemporary forms of culture as world culture. In a sense, there is no room in this "unity-in-diversity" viewpoint for culture as a continuous process of rise and fall, development, clashes and adaptation, exchanges, takeovers, and collaboration between individuals and communities. The World Heritage List consists of solidified cultural products and processes with a significant symbolic function for the state which brought forth that culture: only states can nominate heritage for the World Heritage List, not individuals or communities (again, as in the case of the Olympic Games). The consumption of this heritage culture is facilitated by the familiarity, accessibility, and well-conserved state of the object, thanks to the care bestowed on it by the State. However, constant references to the exalted status of heritage can also prevent people from realizing that it is more than world heritage.

In the chapter "Negotiating Heritage, The Wayang Puppet Theatre and the Dynamica of Heritage", Sadiah Boonstra describes how in 2008, on the initiative of the Indonesian authorities, Indonesian wayang culture was placed on the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Both inside and outside Indonesia, wayang enjoys an unassailable

status as the epitome of Indonesian heritage. In recent decades wayang has been revitalised, and the work of Enthus Susmono, in particular, displays borrowings and influences which range from Western pop culture to Arabian music. And yet traditional wayang is still the norm by which respect for Susmono is measured. From an Indonesian perspective, it is interesting to see how Susmono succeeds in melting tradition and contemporary world culture; abroad Susmono's work is presented within a heritage framework, where it is placed alongside traditional wayang. Worldwide his work and that of other modern wayang players is collected by ethnographic museums, thus reinforcing the heritage element.

Since 2003 there has been mounting pressure to designate immaterial heritage as world heritage, in order to save it from extinction. The status of the traditional wayang makes it difficult to see modern wayang, as performed by Susmono and others, as the modern, world-wide podium art which it actually is. Moreover, the urge to preserve the Indonesian wayang tradition is often questioned, given that that tradition is more alive than ever, despite the fact that the present style of play differs in various ways from the traditional version.

Just as within world heritage Indonesian heritage exemplifies global cultural diversity, on a national level "unity in diversity" is presented as the essence of Indonesian culture. In the chapter "Imagineering Cultural Heritage for Local-to-Global Audiences", Noel Salazar describes how since the seventies the heritage theme park Taman Mini Indonesia Indah in Jakarta has featured pavilions with objects and activities in the style of one of the Indonesian provinces. They include no authentic heritage objects, and the exhibits are designed to highlight the identity of that vast country via a standardised and highly commercialised presentation. Within that same time frame a similar approach was employed in Dar-Es-Salaam, where a village was erected in which each hut reflected the building style of one of the ethnic communities in Tanzania. But today's international tourist shuns these parks, opting for experienced-filled excursions to authentic locations, such as the "tourism villages" in Indonesia, which highlight the activities of the inhabitants. These are regarded as more authentic than the parks in the capital cities of Indonesia and Tanzania. On closer examination, however, it appears that the offerings of the tourism villages have likewise been reduced to a show filled with clichés and hampered by a lack of information from the guides (Tanzania), or a one-sided presentation limited to traditional practices (Indonesia). In both cases, everyday culture and the function of cultural heritage remain hidden from the tourist.

While historic city centres vie with one another as "unique sites", the texts and images designed to entice tourists are often quite similar, as are the design and decor of the local cities. In her chapter, "Urban Intervention and the Globalisation of Signs: Marketing World Heritage Towns", Anja Nelle describes the authentic city against a standard historical decor: the same authentic lampposts and cobblestones, and traditional means of transportation such as carriages. Residents, attired in the appropriate costumes, perform a "heritage theatre play". Anja Nelle explains how three different cities – Trinidad (Cuba), Guanajuata (Mexico) and Vigan (Philippines) – employ identical strategies to ensure that they will be acknowledged and experienced as world heritage cities. Heritage as metaculture has such a strong presence here that it almost obscures the authentic characteristics of the city.

While some cities opt for the same decor, identical locations sometimes choose to highlight specific local heritage, as Patricia van Ulzen shows in her chapter, "International airports as stages for national cultural heritage. The case of Schiphol Airport, the Netherlands". She examines how, despite the global preference for anonymous and interchangeable modernist architecture, some airports, many of them hubs of international transportation, give travellers a taste of the local culture. While some tend to fall back on heritage clichés, there are notable exceptions, like the airport in Madison (Wisconsin), which is housed in a building whose interior was designed in the local Frank Lloyd Wright style. Schiphol, the airport near Amsterdam, has put considerable effort in adding Dutchness to the departure areas. Noteworthy is the "Holland Boulevard", housing an annex of the Rijksmuseum. During its exhibitions, it shows sometimes real Rembrandts and van Goghs. The Rijksmuseum shop sells contemporary Dutch design products and in the "Airport Library" international passengers can read Dutch literature and books on Dutch culture in translation. Schiphol is the only airport in the world with a museum and a library.

The theatre of specificity

The canonical "toppers" as they appear on the World Heritage List is actually based on a classic Greek- and Roman-inspired vision of culture as a collective, ongoing process. All the contributions – whether from artists or scientists or anonymous artisans – are part of a cultural repertoire which in its entirety is to the benefit of mankind. In this vision, culture is the sum of all the great deeds of mankind, and the canon is a source of joy and inspiration for people of all times, regardless of where they live. Time

and place are of lesser importance: over the years, the Acropolis and the Taj Mahal, Machu Picchu and the historic city centre of Vigan have lost nothing of their appeal – or their significance – for mankind.

This classic canon is dynamic in nature, as witness the placement of younger - but not too recent - sites and monuments on the World Heritage List, and the growing interest in the heritage of non-Western countries. Obviously the list is not complete, for the simple reason that mankind is constantly developing, and new "masterpieces of human creative genius" and "important interchanges of human values" will regularly be added to the list. The classic canon is open to everyone; it is a world canon unhindered by limitations of place or time.

This homogenizing view has come in for criticism since the late eighteenth century. The "romantic canon", as I will refer to it here, began as a protest against the glorification of classical culture and the Renaissance culture which it inspired. Other nations, on or beyond the periphery of Europe, also have interesting cultures, which cannot be compared to those in antiquity. There is in fact no such thing as a world culture, which consists of various national cultures. Not only because those cultures differ widely in form and content, but also because they are all linked in quite different ways to the social environment and world view of the society in question (Halbertsma 2007 and Leerssen 2006). In the romantic canon, the category "art" plays quite a modest role: daily life, religion, material and immaterial cultural traditions, trades, and farming techniques are all of equal importance, because they give expression to the characteristic identity of that community.

According to Johann Gottfried von Herder and other romantic thinkers, cultures cannot be compared. The value and significance of a culture can only be understood by those who are themselves part of that culture. In their eyes, continuous change, the exchange of ideas and art forms, and ongoing progress – core values of classical culture – were not qualities. Cultures which have undergone little change and have cut themselves off from outside influences are by definition superior, because they have resisted the modernity and homogenisation that accompany those influences. Within the romantic concept of culture, the identity of a society is embodied by what is unchanged and incommensurable.

With respect to cultural heritage as metaculture, the two aspects of classic and romantic values stand in a dialectic relationship to one another. Cultural heritage can function in a setting of homogenous world heritage as well as in the heterogeneous setting of communal heritage. What has been placed on the World Heritage list by virtue of its quality can be cherished within the context of state and community (Halbertsma 2007,

23). The criteria of the UNESCO World Heritage List (1973), the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), and the so-called Faro Convention of the Council of Europe (Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, 2005) reflect how the centre of gravity has slowly shifted from classical values to romantic values. This is reflected in a growing recognition of immaterial cultural practices and low culture, a preference for non-Western cultures, and more emphasis on community cultures than on the heritage of national states. In the UNESCO Convention intangible cultural heritage is defined in clearly recognisable "romantic" terms, as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity." (Unesco Culture). Keywords here are the emphasis on the identity and continuity of communities, groups and individuals. The Convention keeps silent about about works of art and does not use artistic criteria.

Despite this shift, UNESCO regards world heritage as something of and for the world community. However, the Faro convention stresses that both individuals and communities are entitled to heritage as the basis of their identity. For the Council of Europe, cultural heritage is a raw material, "a group of resources inherited from the past", as stated in article 2 of that convention, and as such it contributes to their well-being. Just as communities have a right to ownership of their land, a healthy environment and natural resources, they are also entitled to cultural heritage (Council of Europe).

The recent discussions in the Council of Europe about minorities and their right on their own heritage, are part of the ongoing debates about minority rights inside the boundaries of the European Community. These debates tend to obdurate as time goes on and have lead to nearly implacable forms of discord on issues like the position of Roma, Muslim communities and illegal immigrants. New forms of conservatism and popular radicalism undermine the democratic foundations of the nation state, maybe a prefiguration of a total reshaping of the European political and social framework as we know it.

Gerard Delanty describes how, as a result of the global processes of capitalism and democratisation which have taken place in recent decades,

the concepts "state", and "nation" are no longer automatically synonymous, in the sense of a place where citizens feel secure. Processes of homogenisation and modernisation, initiated by the nation state, have been replaced by global processes of divergence and disengagement. In the past, the nation state had a unifying ideology, one that internally united its citizens, and externally protected them against other nations. Community borders are now more likely to lie within national borders, while national ideologies have been replaced by group identities. National societies disintegrate into multicultural groupings, which demand the political recognition of their rights on the basis of their identity (Delanty 2000, 81-93; 101-105).

It seems that the post-World War II optimism about a global community, doing away with differences or only seeing them as interesting – but no more than interesting – cultural extras, has been exchanged during the last decades for the right to be and to stay different. In this way, cultural heritage can serve as an instrument to exact one's rights. It is for good reason that in drawing up the Faro Convention, the Council of Europe took care to add an article (4c) which states that the right to cultural heritage is limited where it conflicts with the rules of democracy and the rights of others. Also article 1 the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage (2003) stresses that only consideration to intangible heritage will be given as is compatible with existing international human rights and the requirements of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals.

Conflicts over the meaning, value, and ownership of heritage are inevitable, for the simple reason that cultural heritage functions on various levels: world, nation, and community. Moreover, the participation of the heritage consumer is different on each of those levels. For example, the tourist and the heritage site he visits share a "thin identity", as opposed to the "thick identity" that links residents to the heritage within their own community (Calhoun 2002; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006, 185).

"Thin identies" are fragile. All too often good intentions must make way for rock-hard interests, while the **"**imagined community" functions well as an ideal, but has little power. In the chapter "Modern Trophy: Global Actors in the Heritage Valorisation of the *Maisons Tropicales*", Christoph Rausch shows how UNESCO has gradually rallied attention for Africa's colonial heritage, and is putting pressure on the former mother countries to actively support this shared heritage. However, such steps do not always lead to conservation on site. For example, a UNESCO study devoted to three *maisons tropicales* in Brazzaville (Congo) and Niamey (Niger), designed by the French modernist architect Jean Prouvé, put

gallery owners on the track of his work in the former French colonies in Africa. Despite protests from the UNESCO World Heritage Center, all three of Prouvé's houses (pre-fabricated aluminium constructions) were dismantled. At present they are to be found, respectively, in the Centre Pompidou in Paris, a private collection, and the stock of a gallerist. An interest in heritage is not passive but performative, involving various – often conflicting – parties, all operating in their own interests.

The argument underlying the decision to remove the three houses from their original site was that this was the last chance to preserve them, that the move would facilitate research, and that by their very nature the houses could easily be dismantled. These arguments, which are based on the status of Prouvé as a modernist artist – and a representative of France's contribution to world culture – also disregard the post-colonial situation, in which the objects had been on display for several decades, as well as the functions which they fulfilled in the later non-French context. For the gallery-holders, however, the houses remained French: once presented to her African colonies, they were later repatriated by the West as modern trophies, and restored to their original state (in 1949 and 1951). In this case, globalisation did not lead to an appreciation of each other's culture, but to the appropriation of what one party regarded as its property.

In the chapter "Globalisation, the community museum and the virtual community", Dorus Hoebink describes how a society which was stagnating as a result of global economic and technological processes rebelled against globalisation, and the resulting marginalisation, by re-inventing itself and presenting itself as heritage: the Le Creusot-Montceau Eco Museum Project. Here everything is heritage and, in the romantic tradition, no distinction is made between landscape and place of residence, houses and industrial buildings, material and immaterial heritage, audience and experts. Conservation of the past has become the raw material which guarantees a decent future, just as metal, mines and glass once did for the Le Creusot factories.

And conversely, according to Hoebink, an existing heritage collection can generate a new community, as in the case of The Brooklyn Museum in New York. Thanks to an attractive physical and virtual collection, it was possible to transform an informal group of museum visitors into a community with a shared interest. In this case modern techniques are not a threat to the community, as in Le Creusot, but an instrument for community-building. There are considerable differences between the two heritage communities – they can best be described as a "thick community" and a "thin community" – but in both cases cultural heritage is the glue that keeps them together.

In the recent past we have seen the worldwide rise of migration museums, in answer to a desire to provide the recent waves of migrants with an historic context. These museums were intended mainly as a means of promoting the process of integration and social cohesion, and generating understanding for the effects of migration. At the same time, the new migration museums with their spectacular architecture are "markers" which help to promote the city. In the chapter "The point of Departure. Migration Museums in Europe", Hélène Verreyke explains the choices that were made during the construction and decoration of these museums (not all of which actually call themselves museums), and how in some cases the authentic stature of the collection as *lieu de mémoire* is based largely on its location near a harbour area. Of course, it made a difference whether you were immigrating or emigrating. In countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada (and also France), museums tend to focus on the contribution of immigrants to the new society, whereas the European museums stress the reasons for leaving and what the emigrants left behind.

A notable aspect of all these museums is the emphasis on recounting stories, and the public-oriented nature of the exhibits. Migration museums cater to a varied audience, ranging from tourists to the descendants of migrants and everything in between. This means that the message is not always as clear as it might be. These days we are all in some sense of the word migrants, but not everyone experiences that role in the same way. In addition, while political issues can be disguised as attractive cultural heritage, that very fact prevents them from being translated to the present-day situation, and underscores the position of the migrant as an outsider.

The theatre of memory

It has previously been noted that heritage has three aspects: heritage as "diversity" is linked to a view of the world as a whole, heritage as "specificity" to the relationship between the community and outsiders, and heritage as "memory" to the relationship between the individual and communities.

Memory makes it possible for people to store, retain and recall information. In this context we are talking about "episodic memory", which is responsible for storing personal memories and events that took place at a particular time, in a particular place (Anderson 1976). This episodic memory is far from static: individuals are constantly re-writing their life story, retouching or omitting events to fit the "plot" of their lives.

We need memory to create continuity and thus identity: the life story which we compose serves to connect our past and our present.

Memory is quite selective as to what it retains. It does not preserve all the events that take place in our lives in the same way, nor does it focus exclusively on the pleasant memories. Draaisma has shown that what our memory retains dates mainly from adolescence and early adulthood, which represent the main dividing line in our biography. Earlier and later memories tend to be much less vivid. It also appears that memories of rejections and humiliations are sharper and are retained longer than positive moments (Draaisma 2004).

Fred Davis has pointed out that our thinking about the past is largely positive and nostalgically coloured. Nostalgia is a highly personal, rosy memory of a past which one has experienced at first hand. In principle, a person cannot feel nostalgia for a period or an event he has not experienced himself. Our nostalgic memory reassures us that our individual past was meaningful and imbedded within that of others. If someone is different from others, that can in retrospect be explained by developments in the spirit of the times, similar to what was experienced by other members of the same generation. Although as a rule nostalgia does not go back any further than our own past, it may include the personal memories of our parents. In addition, historical events reported by the media are endlessly recycled, so that they almost become personal memories (Davis 1979, 61-62).

Nostalgia plays a major role in heritage consumption. Rummage sales, internet collectors' sites, exhibitions focusing on the ordinary, everyday objects of daily life, CDs with Greatest Hits: all of these recall a moving and comforting past, as an alternative to the cynicism that comes with adulthood and the menace of the future. In the theatre of nostalgic reminiscences, the individual directs his own past. Nostalgia can be an excellent instrument to reach out to people, but most professional heritage organisations hesitate to use it, as in their opinion serious issues need to be discussed on a level transcending individual memory (Groeneveld and Sijmonsbergen 2010, 31; De Jong 2010).

But notwithstanding these reservations, a fusion of collective and individual stories has become quite the norm in the historical museum, by the introduction of individual stories in museum presentations or by opening museum sites on the internet for individuals to form an archive of personal memories around events or sites. And if one's biography has no links with dramatic historical events, a museum visitor can borrow an identity for the duration of his visit. Popular nowadays is the method used in emigration museums, war museums and Holocaust museums by giving

the individual visitor a ticket with the name of an emigrant, soldier or Holocaust victim on it, whose fate the visitor can follow up during his visit.

The far-reaching identification of the individual with the past can also take on other forms. In the recent past, events have occurred which we did not witness but which had an enormous impact on the world in which we live. No one visits Auschwitz because of the diversity of human culture (although it is a World Heritage Site). People go there because they want to experience from close-by the incomprehensible, unimaginable horror of the place, and to murmur "never again" (Lennon 2000). Here memory has a strongly performative character, evoking not identification or admiration, but rather action and discussion (Tilmans et al. 2010).

Fig. 0-4: Visitors lining up for the Anne Frankhuis in Amsterdam

In the last twenty or thirty years we have seen a considerable increase in what is referred to as "difficult heritage" (Logan and Reeves 2009; Macdonald 2009). Although two entire generations have grown up since the Second World War, the number of visitors to concentration camps and other memorial sites is not declining but increasing. The Anne Frank House in Amsterdam is one of the most visited heritage sites in Amsterdam, with close to a million visitors a year (as compared with 9000 in 1960; Van der Lans and Vuijsje 2010). Since the fall of the Berlin Wall,

similar museums and memorial sites have been established in Eastern Europe, in order to chronicle the terror under communist rule. All these places of horror have been preserved because they are part of a permanently relevant discussion about how something like this could happen: here the criteria are not the classic aesthetic or cultural-historical values, but rather the "conflict value" of the site (Dolff-Bonekämper 2008).

Thus the individual appropriation of the past ranges from the nostalgic equation of one's own biography with history, to an approach where cultural heritage is an ethical issue. Tracing one's family history in archives, culminating in a search for the roots of one's own population group in a totally different part of the world, is another version of the link between general and individual history.

In his chapter "Testing Roots. A heritage project of body and soul" Alex Van Stipriaan questions the importance of one of the key words in the contemporary discourse on diversity and identity, roots. Roots are literary, as he states, "heritage pur sang". The individual is linked to history by not only the traditions and culture he inherited from his ancestors, but by his DNA as well. Nowadays new techniques make it possible to trace one's origin beyond the confines of memory and written sources, although DNA technique is not as reliable and clear cut as it is often presented.

Van Stipriaan assembled a Dutch group of people of Surinam and Caribbean descent and presented them the outcome of DNA-research of their maternal line. It turned out that in their maternal line all of them had their origins in Africa, but not from the same regions. Subsequently, some of the group went with Van Stipriaan to Cameroon to look for their roots, while the others stayed in the Netherlands. The outcome of this trip was that most of this group felt "at home" in Africa and recognised or thought they recognised things also familiar to the Caribbean, c.q. Surinamese culture. Back in the Netherlands, the paternal DNA line was followed up as well and the roots of the group turned out to be far more global than only African. Later on none of the group felt it necessary to follow up their African roots, it was part of their history, but only one part. "Maybe even more important is that one of the main results of the quest for roots is the increasing awareness that there is a certain hierarchy in this kind of heritage," Van Stipriaan concludes. "Africa is a kind of 'deep' but distant roots, to which you can refer if necessary or wanted. Surinam or the Dutch Caribbean are maybe even deeper, because much closer roots, whereas the Netherlands are not even roots (yet), because too much part of daily lived reality. Actually, roots never seem to be – in time or place – where its descendants now find themselves."

In her chapter entitled "Virtual Identities and the Recapturing of Place: Heritage Play in Old-Town Jakarta", Yatun Sastramidjaja describes how public history can be experienced in private re-enactment. Alongside the official national heritage bodies in Indonesia, there are also various private foundations devoted to local heritage which found themselves in difficulty as a result of neglect and urban renewal. Often they did not fit into the official heritage policy, which focuses on the icons and high points of Indonesian culture, such as the Borobudur and the culture of Bali. Later on, a more light-hearted approach to the issue of local heritage emerged which was borrowed from youth culture: for example, participants dress up as Javanese princes and princesses, or Dutch colonials. This is not a true re-enactment, as it does not involve a "scripted" and artistically responsible acting-out of historical events (De Groot 2009, 103-109). Nor is it a kind of Mardi Gras, since the costumed participants in these highly popular performances in Jakarta and other large cities in Java combine their street activities with research, informative websites, and oral history. What we see here is a new approach to history, whereby one's appearance as an historical character is a condition for the acquisition of historical knowledge. Here subject and object coincide.

In the closing chapter "Meaning in Chaos? Experiencing Cultural Heritage and the Challenge of the Popular", Mike Robinson describes how alongside the official, exalted heritage propagated by UNESCO and the nation-state, popular heritage has undergone an enormous expansion. It is bound up with the emotions of visitors, and closer to their own lives. In recent decades this form of heritage has increased markedly, and more and more tourists are becoming involved in forms of heritage which are "more intimate and meaningful in the sense of the everyday, and, arguably with a heritage which carries utility in terms of being socially and politically relevant."

But how is it possible that everyday contemporary objects and events are now being presented as heritage, even by serious heritage institutions? Robinson believes that the nation state is no longer the sole body that decides what is or is not heritage, and that in addition to the official heritage bodies, more and more private businesses are entering the market with popular heritage "specials". At the same time, a visit to such temples of culture as the Louvre need not include a visit to the collection. With their spectacular edifices, complete with shops and restaurants, museums are also places of leisure, and the background for bestsellers and films, such as *The Da Vinci Code*.

In closing

André Rieu was born in 1949 in Maastricht, capital of the province of Limburg, where he still lives. He began his career with a salon orchestra that specialised in Strauss waltzes. Today Rieu is the highest-paid male performer in the world. The massive decors which accompany him on his world-wide tours were inspired by the façade of the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna, where he performed live in 2006. He is proud of his Limburg roots, and it was only natural that he was asked to perform in front of Queen Beatrix in the Roman grottoes of Valkenburg on 26 March 2010. On that day, Rieu's regional, national and world fame, built upon Austria's cultural heritage, merged with the origins of Valkenburg, the Dutch monarchy, and the celebration of 125 years of tourism. The *Theatrum mundi* of cultural heritage knows no bounds when it comes to size and genres: it is as large as the world is wide.

Fig. 0-5: André Rieu and Queen Beatrix in Valkenburg, 26 March 2010

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CHAPTER ONE

NEGOTIATING HERITAGE:
WAYANG PUPPET THEATRE
AND THE DYNAMICS OF HERITAGE
FORMATION

SADIAH BOONSTRA

Introduction

Generally, wayang refers to many kinds of traditional theatre in Java, Bali, Lombok, and some other parts of Indonesia and Southeast Asia. The word wayang can either mean a (wayang) performance, (wayang) puppet, or (wayang) character. *Wayang kulit* is played against a screen with flat shadow puppets, usually cut out of water buffalo hide and painted. This is the most widespread form of wayang.

Wayang golek is performed with wooden doll-like rod puppets without a screen (Mràzek 2002, 1). Wayang puppets in museum collections around the world together with the exotic sound of the gamelan have become icons of "authentic" Javanese culture with roots in a pre-Islamic past since colonial times. This connotation of authenticity was confirmed and reinforced by the Indonesian state within the context of the nation with the application of the wayang puppet theatre for the UNESCO List of Masterpieces of Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. In 2003 wayang puppet theatre was officially proclaimed as a UNESCO Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity, and five years later inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. An elaboration on the justification for the UNESCO Proclamation can be found on the UNESCO website: "The Wayang Puppet Theatre still enjoys great popularity. However, to compete successfully with modern forms of pastimes such as video, television or

karaoke, performers tend to accentuate comic scenes at the expense of the story line and to replace musical accompaniment with pop tunes, leading to the loss of some characteristic features."[1]

Fig. 1-1: Enthus Susmono performing in Teater Lingkar, Semarang, 30 July 2009. Photo: Sadiah Boonstra

In January 2009, the dalang (puppeteer) Ki (The Honourable) Enthus Susmono visited the Netherlands to be present at the opening of the exhibition "Wayang Superstar - the theatre world of Ki Enthus Susmono" in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam.

The exhibition focused on Enthus Susmono himself and his puppets. Later that year he performed in the Tropentheater which, like the Tropenmuseum, is a department of the Royal Tropical Institute. Various papers picked up the museum's press release and wrote: "Ki Enthus Susmono breathed new life into the authentic Indonesian wayang puppet."[2] "The controversial Javanese puppeteer and puppet maker Ki Enthus Susmono enjoys in his own country the status of "superstar". He is the most trendy, the most cheeky, and the most creative."[3] "His performances are innovative and keep the wayang theatre alive."[4] "Rough language, sexual allusions, a puppet that drinks beer. Until recently such brutalities were unthinkable of in Indonesian puppet play, the wayang. The work and performances of Ki Enthus Susmono changed that. […] In his home country Ki Enthus Susmono had to endure quite some abuse. He was called the Crazy Dalang, the Cowboy Dalang, and the Kasar Dalang, the 'rude' dalang."[5]

Fig. 1-2: Enthus Susmono at a press conference in his house, 22 July 2009. Photo: Sadiah Boonstra

These quotes suggest that key elements in the work of Enthus Susmono concern innovation and the enlivening of a tradition which had almost died out. The kind of wayang he creates is implicitly distinguished from another, contrasting sort of wayang which is authentic, not modern, not creative, but nearing extinction. Also, he is opposed to older dalang colleagues. However this "other" kind of wayang is not defined or elaborated on; it is looming in the background, assumed to be known by the readers of the (newspaper) articles. Various questions arise from the distinction that is being made in the way Enthus Susmono is described. If he is considered to be modern and innovative he is being measured against some kind of wayang standard that is referred to as "authentic" and "traditional". What then is the wayang that is being defined as the standard? How has this become the standard? How does Enthus Susmono differ from this other, "authentic" or "traditional" wayang? Who and what decides what this standard is and what does the use of it imply? How do local and global elements influence the process of standardisation and interaction? What does this tell us about the dynamics of heritage formation? Rather than giving answers this paper aims to open up a first exploration into this subject.[6]

"Traditional" wayang puppet theatre

A widely shared idea of wayang has already existed for a long time. Consequently, the specific sound of the gamelan together with the

delicately carved and painted wayang puppets have become icons of a culture that has become considered as "authentic" Javanese culture. Even though Indonesia nowadays contains the largest Islamic population of any nation in the world, this image of "authentic" Javanese culture is rooted in a pre-Islamic past. The American historian L.J. Sears observes in her influential study *Shadows of empire: colonial discourse and Javanese tales* (1996) that wayang and the gamelan sounds are appealing and nonthreatening signs of postcolonial Indonesia, particularly when viewed in the light of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the representation of the perceived threat of Islam in European and American media. Sears also points out that wayang is usually conflated with Java and Java with Indonesia; and that this coalescence is still used by orientalist scholars, Indonesian businesses, tourist promotion schemes and the political running elite in Jakarta (Sears 1996, 215). The conventional idea of wayang thus mirrors a static and ahistorical tradition. However, the contemporary wayang tradition is far from an ahistorical phenomenon. It is the result of a centuries long vital relationship between a performance practice and wayang scholarship by Western and Indonesian wayang enthusiasts, the influence of the Javanese courts on the tradition, as well as modernist and contemporary politics.

Although the earliest historical evidence of wayang dates back to the 9th century (Herbert 2002, 16), our knowledge of its history, performance practice and role in society starts with Dutch documentation in the late 18th and early 19th century (Sears 1996). The earliest scholars were mainly interested in wayang kulit in order to become acquainted with Javanese culture, but tended to discount wayang golek. Simultaneously with the documentation of the wayang tradition, guidelines were established for what was worth and what was not worth recording. This is illustrated by the accounts of the Dutch philologists J.A. Wilkens and C. Poensen. Wilkens is the first to document a wayang performance in Javanese with a Dutch translation in 1846 and wrote in his introduction: "The one who wants to judge [the] wayang play in comparison to our dramatic performance will not find anything that is worth viewing, but if one would want to become acquainted with the Javanese more closely, then we believe, that a wayang performance provides a suitable event, in which the people are characterised most excellently [...] The following *tjarang* [fiction of the dalang] Pregiwo, we wrote down from the mouth of the court dalang, Ki Redhi Soeto, with omission of the platitudes, which would not have been left out in the same performance."[7] (Wilkens 1846, 6-7).

Almost three decades later Poensen wrote: "But what is it? There is no development, no progress, in the art! Once one has got the hang of it, once

one has got the grasp of it, got the knack of it, one is done for the rest of his life. Henceforth, one knows neither of new parts nor repetitions. It is or does not become science, but rather a knack, a skill, and if one once hits a wrong tone, oh! It does not matter that much!" [8] (Poensen 1872, 220). And: "Let us learn what the dalang will recite […]. We chose the Lampahan Palasara. We will report this story initially literally and further in short features, omitting all, that seems to us somewhat hurting or less proper." [9] (Poensen 1872, 246).

At the turn of the century the wayang tradition was elevated with the work of the Dutch historian G.A.J. Hazeu. He was convinced that wayang was originally Javanese with roots in primitive, religious ancestral ritual. "It can be said: the wayang performance was part of the ancestral ritual. […] If the shadow performance – as we tried to show above- was one of the constituent parts of the ancestral ritual, the performer, the dalang, was the priest of the cult…"[10] (Hazeu 1897, 54). His study was without criticism adopted by Western scholars and laymen, but also by educated as well as untrained Javanese. For almost one century Hazeu's analysis was influential, until the 1970s, when the Dutch philologist J.J. Ras concluded that the wayang theatre did not develop from an ancestral ritual, but that it evolved from a merging of two parallel traditions, the one rural and native Indonesian with roots in magic-religious events that also had an entertaining character; the other tradition aristocratic and imported from India (Ras 1976, 86-87).

A.B. Cohen Stuart, a Dutchman who specialised in Malay and Javanese language, was the first to pay attention to the differences between Indian Mahabharata and wayang stories in 1860. The interest for religious and philosophical elements of wayang was reinforced by the discovery of its Hindu-Buddhist roots in the 19th century and with this wayang's status was raised. According to Sears, the Dutch Theosophist Mrs. C. Van Hinloopen Labberton was one of the first, influenced by Theosophy, to no longer regarded wayang as a degenerated tradition, like the 19th century scholars. Van Hinloopen Labberton first wrote down her ideas in English in 1912 and published in Dutch in 1921 that she considered wayang as a vehicle of ancient Javanese contact with higher knowledge. To her wayang was a reflection of an old wisdom long gone that could be traced back to the great Shaivite and Buddhist kingdoms of the pre-Islamic period; a period in which Indian religious, cultural, legal, and textual traditions were imported to Java (Sears 1996, 129).

In 1922, the anthropologist H.W. Rassers, also a Dutchman, wrote *De Panji-roman*, a study of the tales of the legendary East-Javanese prince Panji. Like Hazeu, Rassers was convinced of wayang's roots in ancestral

ritual. He argued that wayang was a symbol of the ancestral marriage. It was the initiation ritual of a bride and groom into society performed in a dramatised form: "[…] the oldest core of the Panji-story is a myth, which […], tells the origin of the Javanese world with its exogamic arrangement of marriage and its initiation rite as an introduction to it." [11] (Rassers 1922, 369). A few years later, under influence of theosophical thoughts, Mangkunagara VII, ruler of the minor court in Surakarta (1916-1944), wrote *Over de wajang koelit (poerwa[12]) in het algemeen en over de daarin voorkomende symbolische en mystieke elementen* in which he emphasised the mystical element of wayang. It was written in Dutch in the 1930s, and at the time of its publication regarded as the key representation of wayang (Sears 1996, 15). Mangkunagara states that wayang is the essence of Javanese culture and every wayang story is a quest for mystical knowledge. "…the wayang is not just play and entertainment, but the reflex of a spiritual and inner life of a whole people. […] That is why the wayang stories […] are the testimonies of a very special and very high civilisation. […] But there is still something else. Many wayang lakons contain a lesson, which is based on a secret, derived from supernatural influence, knowledge concerning God, the world and nature." [13] (Mangkunagaran VII 1933, 88).

Every performance is a representation of an effort to establish a mystical relation with the higher powers within oneself; a spiritual search of mystical knowledge. The wayang puppet theatre is the essence of the Javanese people: "It is hoped that I have contributed with this lecture to the unravelling of the peculiar mystery, why the wayang already for centuries roots in the soul of the Javanese people and why it, even now, in modern times, is still loved, admired and honoured where the real Javanese national spirit in the positive meaning of the word, still rules." [14] (Mangkunagaran VII 1933, 89-95).

The studies briefly discussed above were all key publications in the construction of the understanding of "authentic" or "traditional" wayang. These publications focused on ritual, religious, and mystical elements of wayang and wayang's essence to Javanese culture is emphasised. These elements came to constitute the "authentic" wayang tradition which was taught and further developed at Javanese courts by the establishment of the dalang court schools in the beginning of the 20th century. The Pasinaon Dhalang ing Surakarta, or Padasuka in short, was the first dalang school to be opened in 1923 in Surakarta upon the instigation of Susuhunan (ruler of the main court of Surakarta) Paku Buwana X (1893-1939). In 1925 Habiranda was the second dalang course to be opened in Yogyakarta on the authority of Sultan Hamengku Buwana VIII (1912-1939) with the

support of the Java Institute. A few years later, in 1931 another dalang course was established at the princely court of Mangkunagara VII in Surakarta, the Pasinaon Dhalang ing Mangku-Nagaran, now known as PDMN (Pamulangan Dalang Mangkunagaran). At the court schools wayang practice was used as a standard and codified in rules that were widely recognised as ideal patterns (Arps 1985, 33-37). The dalang court schools emphasised the "correct" presentation: the practice of the norms and rules for the art of dalang were established at the Javanese courts. New developments in wayang performance were condemned as they deviated from the rules. The rational behind the establishment of these schools was the education of people who could preserve and pass on the court tradition in its purest form (Van Groenendael 1985, 37). The education provided at these dalang court schools could be regarded as an attempt to record and standardise the wayang tradition (Ras 1976, 103-104).

After Indonesia's independence (1949) the Dutch lost their pre-eminent position in the academic study of wayang. Mainly Indonesian scholars and American anthropologists continued to work in this academic field. However, colonial works on wayang continued to influence postcolonial wayang studies. The conventional view on wayang was prolonged by a few more decades with *The Religion of Java* (1960) by the American anthropologist C. Geertz. His work repeated the colonial view of wayang by describing it as an elite art and as the essence of the Javanese people: "…the "Alus [refined] Art" complex – is at once the most widely spread throughout the culture, the most deeply ingrained, and the most philosophically and religiously elaborated, this last largely by the prijajis [elite]. The center of the complex is the wayang, the world-famous Javanese shadow-play." (Geertz 1960, 262). He portrayed wayang as a classical, elite art form, distinct from rural and folk traditions with a religious connotation: "A wajang performance is at once a kind of elaborated abangan selamatan [traditional Javanese religious meal] and a refined art form subtly symbolic of the prijaji outlook and ethic." (Geertz 1960, 267).

But even after Geertz, the conventional view of wayang continued to exist. In it wayang is perceived as a high art containing teachings: "Wayang purwa is a form of theatre. It is ancient, for it originated in the days of primitive man; it is very beautiful, both to ear and eye, and it has a spell-binding effect upon millions of Indonesians. Wayang Purwa is a mine of ethical teaching inherent in Indonesian culture, and it is a medium of communication capable of acting as an agent of change in the fast-changing world of modern Indonesia." (Bondan 1984, 7). And it is a never changing tradition that for centuries has been passed over: "The stories

presented in these plays are imbued with moral and ethical education. Over and beyond everything else, Wayang Purwa is concerned essentially with ethics and education. Whatever the changes made in wayang over the centuries since its remote origins, its ethical heart remained unaltered." (Bondan 1984, 8).

In his discussion of Bondan's publication the anthropologist R. Curtis observes that "authentic" wayang is described in an ahistorical way, in which the emphasis focuses on both a Javanese/Indonesian essence and its Indian roots. Also philosophical, supernatural, religious, mystical and psychological elements in wayang are highlighted, elements that were already highlighted in publications written in colonial times. The function of wayang is described as educational, communicative, reinforcing morality and acceptable modes of behaviour for the individual and society (Curtis 1997, 173). The purity and authenticity of wayang as indigenous (rather than of Indian origin) and having undergone no fundamental change over thousands of years also implies a concern that it, as with other national cultural treasures, needs to be preserved. Conservative wayang lovers often fear that the quality of wayang is under continual threat from what is regarded as negative consequences of rapid social change and wayang's popularisation (Curtis 1997, 186-187). The conventional view on wayang still exists and still functions as a benchmark for many Indonesian and Western wayang scholars and enthusiasts, and as a basis of analysis (Curtis 1997, 182), even though work has been carried out to break through the barriers of this traditional approach and view of wayang by the anthropologist J. Mràzek by approaching the wayang puppet theatre purely as a performance practice (Mràzek 2005).

Concerns that wayang is threatened by the negative consequences of social change can also be found in contemporary heritage discourse in Indonesia. As noted earlier wayang puppet theatre was proclaimed a UNESCO Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity on 7 November 2003. In honour of this proclamation an exhibition was organised in Paris, and performances were given in France (in Paris, Angers, Niort, Rouen), Belgium (Strasbourg and Bruxelles), as well as in Austria and Hungary in 2004. A programme book and an exhibition catalogue entitled *The Development of Wayang Indonesia as a Humanistic Cultural Heritage* were published by the Indonesian national wayang organisations Sena Wangi and Pepadi in honour of the UNESCO Proclamation, the exhibition and the performances. Sulebar M. Soekarman, Chairman of Research and Development of Sena Wangi, wrote the introduction of the catalogue. In this introduction a traditional perspective of the wayang puppet theatre resonates.[15] "Wayang is a creative work of

the intelligence of the people of Indonesia and is an intangible heritage which contains extraordinary life values. Based on research, Indonesian experts have estimated that the culture of wayang has developed in Indonesia since prehistoric times, as long ago as 1500 BC." (Sri Mulyono 1975, 3, as quoted in Soekarman 2004, 4). "[…] this artistic presentation which is *adilung* and *edipeni* (noble and beautiful) indeed has a deep significance because of its conveying moral and philosophical messages of life in the direction of the formation of noble character. This noble character is for personal life as well as for the life of community, nation and state. Wayang is clearly not simply an interesting entertainment, but also contains guidance for life, those who love wayang even say: 'wewayangane ngaurip', wayang is a symbol or reflection of human life." (Soekarman 2004, 9).

Soekarman also mentions the religious elements, and its educational and communicating function: "From the 10th till the 15th Centuries, wayang developed as a part of religious rituals and education for the people […]. Wayang was able to develop as an instrument for religious preaching, education, information and mass communication. This role and function of wayang has continued till the present day." (Soekarman 2004, 5-7). And finally he points to an unchanging essence of wayang: "Whatever changes may take place, the identity of wayang will never be shaken, because of its strong foundation. The main foundation of wayang are the qualities of *hamot*, *hamong* and *hamemangkat* (Solichin 1999, 14 as quoted in Soekarman 2004, 7). *Hamot* is the quality of openness in accepting external influences. *Hamong* is the ability to filter new elements in accordance with existing values of wayang, to subsequently make values, which are in accord with wayang as its own capital to develop along with the development of society. *Hamemangkat* is a power to adapt an old value to become a new value in accordance with the challenges of the age." (Soekarman 2004, 7).

Innovative wayang puppet theatre

If the conventional view on wayang still resonates in contemporary heritage policy, what should be made of dalangs (puppeteers) who do not fit the conventional description? The kind of wayang Enthus Susmono creates contrasts with the aforementioned image of "authentic" or "traditional" wayang. Enthus Susmono (1966) was born and raised in a dalang family in Tegal on the north coast of Central Java. Since he was five years old he accompanied his father Ki Sumaryodihardjo (†1984) to wayang performances to watch and learn about both wayang kulit and

wayang golek. He loved to draw, cut, and colour wayang puppets. Most of his skills he learned from his father, but he often went to watch other dalangs perform such as Ki Bambang Suwarno and Ki Manteb Soedharsono (1948). He also often listened to the commercial cassettes of the late Ki Nartosabdho (1925-1985), famous for his innovations in wayang puppet theatre.

Nevertheless, Enthus Susmono's father did not want him to become a dalang as he was of opinion that being a dalang was a tough profession. He wanted Enthus Susmono to become a teacher in order to earn a good living. Despite his father's objections Enthus Susmono grabbed every chance to practice:[16] "I played wayang when my father was asleep, after a performance. When he would wake up, I would already have put back everything neatly." (Enthus Susmono 2009).[17] In 1983 Enthus Susmono performed for the first time at his school with his father's puppets. His friends played the gamelan. When his father passed away the next year, Enthus Susmono was forced to replace his father in wayang performances that were already booked. But this was not enough to provide a living for the whole family, therefore additional means had to be found. To this end, Enthus Susmono also worked as a radio dj at the local radio station Anita as well as in theatre, but he also continued to play wayang. When he won a wayang competition in 1988 his name became widely known in Central Java especially on the North coast. In the 1990s his fame increased as he regularly played in performances with two screens that were live broadcasted by TVRI Stasiun Semarang. (Exhibition Guide 2006). Nowadays Enthus Susmono still lives in Tegal where he runs the wayang studio Satria Laras and is one of Indonesia's superstar dalangs having acquired celebrity-like qualities.

Known as one of the dalangs changing and modernizing wayang, Enthus Susmono is widely regarded as a radical innovator. He is, therefore, as popular as he is controversial. His work is inspired by literature and his experience in modern theatre; his work as a radio dj brought him knowledge of experimental techniques and mass media. Enthus Susmono employs language influenced by modern theatre and media rehearsals. He talks about his performances as *konser* (concerts), tells his musicians to *demo* (demonstrate) when he wants to hear them play, to *cut* (cut) when he wants to stop them and refers to stage clothes (including his own puppeteer outfit) as *kostum* (costumes). Enthus Susmono is on intimate terms with puppeteers around Indonesia. Like other superstar dalangs, he works with a manager, scriptwriters, puppet makers, and musicians and vocalists from all over Java. What is considered non-traditional in his performances is the reduction of formal

interchanges and the maximisation of humour. In addition, Enthus Susmono uses flash backs, frame breaking, and autobiographical discourse, when he speaks unreservedly about his own experiences and views (Cohen 2007, 361; author's fieldwork 2009).

As innovative elements in his work, Enthus Susmono mentions his puppet creations, the musical compositions, his performance style, his language, and himself: "Yes, first, there are the wayang puppets, then the language, then the accompaniment of the music, then the dramaturgy, or storyline, then there is the appearance of a funky dalang. Say hello to the audience…Yes, funky, that's how Westerners call it."[18]

Dedek Wahyudi, stage name of Antonius Wahyudi Sutrisno a well-known composer of modern gamelan music, composes the gamelan compositions used by Enthus Susmono. Drums are added to his gamelan orchestra, violins, guitars, and synthesisers are also regularly included. Another notable aspect of Enthus Susmono's work is the integration of Islam in his work. *Qasidah*, religious chants in Arabic sung to the rhythm of a stringed, plucked instrument of Arabic origin, are regularly heard, and Islamic singers from time to time contribute to his performances. This implies that, contrary to most dalangs, Enthus Susmono does not restrict himself to high Javanese, but also employs languages that conventional dalangs might consider coarse. Besides occasional Arabic, he draws on colloquial Javanese, Tegal or Semarang dialect, Indonesian, or even slang (Author's fieldwork 2009).

Although he has a large puppet collection, Enthus Susmono also designs his own puppets. He created a set of futuristic looking shadow puppets in 1999 that he called *wayang planet*, and shadow puppets with human faces, instead of the traditional, highly stylised ones that he named *wayang rai wong*, Javanese for wayang with the human face. He has also created puppets that do not play a role in the wayang stories, like his shadow puppets of the Wali Sanga, the nine holy men who brought Islam to Java. Inspired by cartoon, film and television characters, as well as by political figures, Enthus Susmono made shadow puppets of Superman (1996), Batman (1996), the Teletubbies, George W. Bush (2001), Saddam Hussein (2001), Osama bin Laden (2001), and Hogwarts (Harry Potter's school of wizardry). He uses these internationally known characters in his performances to compare and contrast them to *wayang* superheroes such as Gatot Kaca, who has supernatural powers and can fly (Exhibition guide 2006). Other creations include a wayang golek caricature of himself and a life-size puppet of the demon Batara Kala.

Enthus Susmono made his debut on the international stage with the exhibition "Wayang Superstar. The theatre world of Ki Enthus Susmono"

in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. This exhibition was on display from 3 January 2009 until 8 August 2009 in the Parkzaal in the Tropenmuseum. The focus of the exhibition was on Enthus Susmono himself and his innovative puppet creations. Fifty-seven of his film and television characters, cartoon characters and political world leaders were on display of which forty-five were incorporated in the Tropenmuseum's collection afterwards. Although Enthus Susmono designs the puppets himself, they are carved and painted by his team of wayang puppet makers. To highlight his innovations and the modernising elements in Enthus Susmono's work his work was displayed alongside information on the more "traditional" or conventional wayang puppet theatre to demonstrate the contrast in styles. His innovative puppet creations were displayed next to and in contrast with "traditional" examples from the museum's collection. By means of texts on banners, the audience was guided through the "traditional" structure of a wayang performance, the "traditional" wayang stories and "traditional" wayang characters. The texts gave information about Enthus Susmono's performances and puppets in the context of the conventional wayang theatre.

Five interviews with Enthus Susmono were on display in which he voiced his views on his own work. Each interview covered a different topic: the person Enthus Susmono and his relation to wayang; innovation in his performances and gamelan compositions; new puppet creations; and Islam in Enthus Susmono's work. Since the exhibition focused on the innovative and modernising elements of Enthus Susmono's wayang, the questions asked in the interviews were all aimed at highlighting these elements in both his work and person. This means that other, less innovative or modern influences were left out of the interviews and exhibition. To get an impression of Enthus Sumono's performances video fragments of performances were also on show. The exhibition demonstrated that Enthus Susmono's work could only be fully understood and appreciated in relation to the conventional or "traditional" wayang theatre. The museum had to present a standardised form of wayang by giving textual information about the structure of a "traditional" performance, and by putting "traditional" puppets on display from the museum collection. What the exhibition thus implicitly and most certainly undesirably presented to the audience was a conventional and static image of wayang that could only be set in motion by the addition of contemporary and international elements. What also became apparent was that something considered "innovative" or "modernizing" can only be regarded "innovative" and "modernizing" in relation to something that is perceived "traditional" or "conventional".

As a spin-off of the "Wayang Superstar" exhibition Enthus Susmono performed for the first time ever in the global heritage theatre with two performances on 19 and 20 June 2009 in the Tropentheater. The wayang story "Dewa Ruci", relating the quest for perfect knowledge, was performed twice with an entourage that was adapted for a performance in The Netherlands. After the performances in the Tropentheater the group travelled to Dordrecht (The Netherlands) for one performance and to France for two more shows. In September 2009 Enthus Susmono travelled to Korea for another performance of the same story. For these international shows, the group of musicians was cut down from over twenty to eight for economic reasons, among them the composer Dedek Wahyudi, who also wrote new arrangements for the occasion. Both performances were a mix of wayang kulit and wayang golek.

In the Tropenmuseum, a questionnaire on wayang was spread among the audience by the author on both nights, to examine the existing general ideas of wayang among the audience.[19] The performances were attended well,[20] and can be considered a great success if measured against the satisfaction of the audience. Forty-nine from fifty-eight respondents on the first night indicated that they were satisfied. On June 20, sixty-four out of seventy-two respondents were pleased; eight others confessed that they were positively surprised since they had come without expectations. The questionnaire also revealed that most people regarded wayang in a conventional way. It became clear that wayang is mainly regarded as traditional, as art and as cultural heritage. Respondents were less convinced about classifying wayang as modern, popular, and contemporary, and were also hesitant about the entertainment aspect. Enthus Susmono´s performances were appealing enough to be appreciated and fully captivated the audience's attention even though the majority did not understand the Indonesian language. Many respondents left spontaneous positive reactions and two even called the performance spectacular.

Enthus Susmono is known for spectacular elements in his performances. As mentioned earlier his performances minimise the use of formal interchanges and maximise humour, frame breaking, and personal accounts (Cohen 2007, 361). These characteristics were maintained in his performances in the Tropentheater. Respondents to the questionnaire mentioned the "spectacular" and the "light show". In the first night the humorous elements were stretched to the limit and Enthus Susmono used everything he had at his disposal. He even tried to speak some English and Dutch words and sentences, instead of the Indonesian that he used during the whole performance, to really draw the audience into his performance. In the second performance Enthus Susmono got up to fight a demon, after

two wayang golek puppets that are his mirror images, did not succeed in conquering it. He is known to sometimes stand up to fight a life-size Batara Kala demon puppet[21], and has earlier cut open and burned a puppet screen in performances (Kicuk 2003).

Fig.1-3: Enthus Susmono fighting Batara Kala. Kebumen, 3 July 2009. Photo: Sadiah Boonstra

   He is also known to have slaughtered a puppet with a large knife after the audience shouted for the puppet's death. Enthus Susmono justifies these spectacular attractions (*atraksi*) as ways to reach new audiences but his critics speak of a "virus Enthus" (Enthus virus) that degrades Java's noble wayang heritage (Kicuk 2003).

   Enthus Susmono is not the first or only radical innovator in the tradition of wayang performance. In the 1950s and 1960s the dalang Abyor was criticised like Enthus for his outspoken social criticue, Islamic themes, and theatrical attractions, notably including the cutting open of screens (Weintraub 2004, 197). The same is true for Ki Nartosabdho, who was both the most famous and the most controversial dalang in Java in the 1970s. He introduced more humour, musical experimentation, and a new approach to narrative. He was known as the "destroyer" and was sharply condemned by conservative dalangs for his audacity to rework stories. Although Nartosabdho's innovations were radical at the time, they are nowadays commonplace and are even used by conservative dalangs (Petersen 2001, 106-107). The difference today is that innovative dalangs such as Enthus operate in a globalised world of ideas, techniques, and technologies. An innovator such as the wayang golek dalang Asep

Sunandar Sunarya has, like Susmono, incorporated influences from American cartoons into his puppet designs and used Chinese martial art films as inspiration for his puppet choreographies (Weintraub 2004, 197).

The globalizing world opens up great possibilities for dalangs. For example, before Enthus Susmono the above-mentioned Asep Sunandar toured Europe despite a net loss of income because of the prestige it brings at home (Weintraub 2004, 197). Ledjar Subroto, known for his Wayang Kancil, has a long term performance contract with the Tong Tong Fair (formerly Pasar Malam Besar) in The Hague in The Netherlands. Purbo Asmoro often performs in the United States. The international appreciation of dalangs opens up new markets, raises their prices and is used for their prestige and marketing strategies at home. According to Enthus Susmono, for example, the wayang documentation centre Pusat Wayang Data Indonesia that is part of the Wayang Museum in Jakarta was not interested in collecting his work until his trip to Europe. Thereafter he was asked to donate some of his puppets to their collection. This shows that international appreciation might have "heritagisation" as a consequence. Not only do Enthus Susmono's puppets end up in the canon of a museum collection in Europe (Tropenmuseum) but also in a national collection in Indonesia. International appreciation is very positive for domestic marketing strategies. In every performance by Enthus Susmono in July and August 2009 and still in 2010, he mentioned his trip to Europe, as well as the name that he was given there: Wayang Superstar and his performances were announced with the same title (Author's fieldwork 2009-2010).

Besides dalangs, contemporary wayang artists such as Heri Dono and Slamet Gundhono, also link themselves to a network of international patronage, benefit from professional development outside Indonesia and readily collaborate with artists from around the world. They create new work inspired by the wayang tradition that appeals to international audiences (Cohen 2007, 362). Work by Heri Dono was in 2010 exhibited in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam in the exhibition entitled "The Dono Code", and Slamet Gundhono received the prestigious Dutch Prince Claus Award in 2005. In that same year Enthus Susmono was given an honorary doctorate by the Institute of Business Management and Arts, affiliated with the International University Missouri, United States, and very recently, in May 2010 Manteb Soedharsono was awarded the Nikkei Asia Prize for Culture 2010, an award created and sponsored by Nikkei Inc. from Japan.

Dalangs and other wayang artists are inspired by international elements, but the globalizing world is also bringing international appreciation for

Indonesian artists such as the UNESCO Proclamation of the Wayang Puppet Theater as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. Thus, on the one hand, the UNESCO proclamation can be regarded as an international sign of recognition of the cultural value of wayang and of its vulnerability to extinction or change beyond recognition. But wayang is not quite the endangered art form that the UNESCO proclamation would indicate. One of the claims made in the application was that wayang was degraded by an overemphasis on humour and clowning, but as we have seen puppeteers have always been conducting performances in this manner (Cohen 2007). On the other hand, since it was the Indonesian nation-state which applied, the proclamation can also be considered instrumental to mark Indonesian identity on the global stage and as a token of prestige, in the same way that the World Heritage List functions (Van der Aa 2005). Consequently, international appreciation could lead to international standardisation as well, since the wayang puppet theatre had to meet certain criteria developed by UNESCO in order to be proclaimed a UNESCO Masterpiece. This brings us back to the questions posed in the introduction.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the wayang puppet theatre developed under mutual influence of external elements such as colonial and elitist ideas of the Dutch colonisers about wayang. Consequently, an inordinate attention on the mystical, philosophical and religious elements dominated for a long period the international view on wayang and it continues to do so as evident from the questionnaires handed out in the Tropentheater. However, it seems that the boundaries between the local and the global have always been blurred in the wayang puppet theatre. Contemporary, innovative dalangs incorporate international characters into their wayang to appeal to local audiences and to familiarise Indonesia's youngsters with wayang. They use international languages and develop their work in response to international networks and audiences. Cultural institutions and stages around the world play a role in this process. But international appreciation, such as the UNESCO Proclamation has the implication of framing the heritage into predefined structures. This means that some forms of the wayang puppet theatre and some dalangs smoothly fit this frame and others do not. Who does fit and who do not is the result of a constant negotiation about what this frame is, or should be. The outcome of this negotiation is decisive in defining what heritage is and whom it is for. Various groups, organisations and individuals compete in this negotiation

and all have different interests depending on differing cultural, personal, commercial, political, and economic grounds. How this negotiation evolves in the field of the wayang puppet theatre as a form of intangible heritage must be examined in further research.

Fig. 1-4: Announcement of wayang performance by "Wayang Superstar" Enthus Susmono. Semarang, 19 July 2009. Photo: Sadiah Boonstra

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Notes

[1] http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php#TOC1, 8 March 2010.

[2] "Ki Enthus Susmono blies de authentieke Indonesische wajangpop nieuw leven in", *Nouveau* February 2009.

[3] "De controversiële Javaanse poppenspeler en poppenmaker Ki Enthus Susmono heeft in eigen land de status van 'superstar'. Hij is de hipste, de brutaalste en meest creatieve", *De Echo* 10 June 2009.

[4] "Zijn voorstellingen zijn vernieuwend en houden het wajangtheater springlevend", *Friesch Dagblad* 10 January 2009.

[5] "Ruige taal, seksuele toespelingen, een pop die bier drinkt. Tot voor kort waren zulke brutaliteiten ondenkbaar in het Indonesische poppenspel, de wajang. Met het werk en het optreden van Ki Enthus Susmono is dat veranderd. […] In zijn thuisland heeft Ki Enthus Susmono heel wat scheldwoorden te verduren gehad. Hij werd de Crazy Dalang genoemd, de Cowboy dalang, de Kasar Dalang, de "grove" dalang", *NRC Handelsblad*, 19 June 2009.

[6] This subject is being further explored in the research programme "Sites, Bodies, Stories. The dynamics of heritage formation in colonial and postcolonial Indonesia and the Netherlands" of which the PhD research "Performing identity, shaping heritage. Wayang puppet theatre and the dynamics in contemporary Indonesia" forms the Stories part.

[7] "Die de waarde van het wajangspel naar onze dramatische voorstellingen wil beoordelen, zal er niets in vinden, dat de moeite der toeschouwing beloont, maar wil men den Javaan van naderbij leeren kennen, dan gelooven wij, dat eene wajangvertooning daartoe eene geschikte gelegenheid aanbiedt, waarin het volk op het uitstekendst wordt gekarakteriseerd [...] De hierop volgende *tjarang* Pregiwo, hebben wij uit den mond van den hof-dalang Ki Redhi Soeto opgeschreven, met weglating echter van de platitudes die bij derzelver vertooning niet achterwege zouden zijn gebleven." Wilkens 1846, 6-7.

[8] "Maar wat is 't? Er is geen ontwikkeling, geen vooruitgang, in de kunst! Eenmaal er achter, eenmaal het gevat, de slag beet hebbende, is men dan ook klaar voor zijn geheele leven. Men weet voortaan van nieuwe partijen noch repetities. 't Is of wordt geen wetenschap, maar veelmeer een slag, eene vaardigheid, en een enkele maal een' verkeerden toon aan te slaan, och! 't Hindert zoo heel veel niet!", Poensen 1872, 220.

[9] "Laat ons nu vernemen, wat de dalang zal voordragen....Wij kozen de Lampahan Palasara. Wij zullen dit verhaal aanvankelijk woordelijk en verder in korte trekken meedeelen, al datgene achterwege latende, wat ons eenigszins kwetsend of minder oorbaar voorkomt.", Poensen 1872, 246.

[10] "Men kan zeggen: de wayangvertooning maakte deel uit van den voorouderlijken eeredienst," Hazeu 1897: 45. "Was de schimmenvertooning – zoals we boven trachtten aan te toonen – een der bestanddelen van den voorvaderlijken eeredienst, de vertooner, de dalang, was de priester van dien eeredienst....", Hazeu 1897, 54.

[11] "Dit kader zelf, de indeling van den stam, bleek dan ook in eigenlijken zin de achtergrond van den roman, en in ons laatste hoofdstuk hebben wij aannemelijk pogen te maken, dat de oudste kern van het Pandji-verhaal een mythe is, die, op een alleen in een totemistische gedachtegang passende wijze, het ontstaan verhaalt der Javaansche wereld met haar exogame regeling van het huwelijk en haar initiatie-ritus als inleiding daartoe," Rassers 1922, 369.

[12] Wayang purwa consists of plays based on material from the Javanese version of the Indian epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata.

[13] "...de wajang niet louter spel en vermaak is, doch de reflex van het geestelijk en ziele-leven van heel een volk. [...] Daarom zijn de wajang-verhalen, [...] de getuigenissen van een zeer bijzondere en een zeer hooge beschaving.", Mangkunagara 1933:80. "Maar er is nog iets anders. Vele wajanglakons bevatten een leering, die op een geheime, aan bovennatuurlijken invloed ontleende kennis omtrent God, de wereld en de natuur berust." Mangkunagara 1933, 88.

[14] "Naar ik hoop heb ik met mijn lezing het mijne bijgedragen tot de oplossing van het wonderlijke raadsel, waarom de wajang reeds eeuwen wortelt in de ziel van het Javaansche volk en waarom zij ook nu, in den modernen tijd, nog overal wordt bemind, bewonderd en geëerd waar de echt-Javaansche nationale geest in den goeden zin des woords nog heerschende is.", Mangkunagara 1933, 89-95.

[15] http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001325/132540e.pdf

[16] "Ki Enthus Susmono, Kreativitas Tiada Henti" *Kompas* 27 February 2009.

[17] "Saya memainkan wayang kalau ayah saya sedang tidur, seusai pentas. Kalau beliau bangun, semua perlengkapan sudah saya rapikan lagi." *Kompas* 27 February 2009.

[18] In one of the interviews in the exhibtion "Wayang Superstar. The theatre world of Ki Enthus Susmono" in Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam. On the question: "Pertunjukan Ki Enthus juga sudah dianggap lain daripada konvensional. Dalam arti yang mana pertunjukan Ki Enthus lain?" Enthus Susmono answers: "Ya, pertama dalam boneka wayang, kemudian bahasa, kemudian iringan musik, kemudian dramaturgi, atau alur ceritera, dramaturgi dan penampilan seorang dalang yang fungky say hallo dengan penonontonnya cah cah cah …. lebih canggi, funky kata orang Barat."

[19] On both evenings 100 questionnaires were distributed among the audience. The response rate on June 19 was 58% and on June 20 it was 72%.

[20] The capacity of the Tropentheater was 512 seats of which 321 tickets were sold on June 19, and 354 on June 20 (information obtained from Tropentheater).

[21] For a demonstration of this phenonenon: http://www.youtube.com/watch?-v=QAqWnt2U5-Y, 18 May, 2010.

CHAPTER TWO

IMAGINEERING CULTURAL HERITAGE
FOR LOCAL-TO-GLOBAL AUDIENCES

NOEL B. SALAZAR

In 1994, the Walt Disney Company was taken by surprise when its plans to develop a lucrative American history park near Manassas, Virginia, the site of a major battle during the Civil War, was met by protests from various organisations, advocacy groups and thousands of concerned citizens (Synnott 1995). Part of the reason the plan was abandoned, according to the company, was that the people of Manassas and surrounding areas had fought the development of the theme park claiming that the "true" history of not only the Civil War, but of all of "America", would not be told there. These were some of the first public (i.e. non-academic) protests against Disney's alleged co-optation and perversion of heritage in the creation of its products. The company's department responsible for such reinventions of the past is aptly called Disney Imagineering, a neologism denoting the combination of creative imagination and technological engineering in the "theming" of goods, services and places, so that visitors develop memorable experiences of their visit (Imagineers 1996). A perfectly imagineered attraction makes you feel like you are on a journey that transports you to a different place or time and completely engulfs you in a new world. It makes a story convincing by engaging all senses and moving peoples' emotions within a fantasy environment in which, paradoxically, the fantasy feels completely real.

Disney's innovative methods have been successfully copied elsewhere. Some of the key elements of the imagineering process—easily consumable images, the presence of icons, spatial definition and coherence, and the management of traffic flows—have been applied across the globe to create attractive landscapes of leisure. Depending on the theme, the images, imaginaries and representations relied upon and manipulated differ. Interestingly, the myths, histories, and fantasies imagineers draw upon to

appeal to the visitor's desires and imaginations can be either ones associated with the locality where the attraction is based or others that are more widely circulating, from the most spectacular fantasies to the most mundane reveries. In the context of developing countries, for instance, the imaginaries or unspoken representational systems that enact and construct peoples and places draw upon colonial and postcolonial visions of Self and Other that circulate (both within and between cultures) through global entertainment media, (travel) literature, and academic writings in disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology and history (Salazar 2008, 2010a). Since such imaginaries are multi-scalar, themed environment developers can use any number of cultural representations at any scale to present a seemingly cogent image, no matter how inaccurate, that is attractive to visitors.

This chapter critically analyses the imaginaries at play in heritage and heritage-themed sites. What happens when imaginaries of the past are institutionalised, standardised or commoditised? Across the globe, sanitised versions of heritage are replicated and converted into sellable products. Such imagineering tends to be conservative, a flattening and faking that continues to serve the status quo. Rather than embodying culture and history, imagineering has the tendency to "signify and symbolise" (Teo 2003, 547). Simplified themed environments function as signifiers that enable tourists to identify quickly with attractions. Rather than explore and discover, visitors are given exciting and exotic, even if predetermined, images and imaginaries to consume. This chapter illustrates some of the issues at hand by way of ethnographic case studies from Indonesia and Tanzania, showing how heritage environments are cleverly used to (re)produce as well as contest currently dominant domestic and international imaginaries of postcolonial nations and their people. The spatial as well as temporal comparisons serve to highlight that, despite the different socio-cultural, geo-political and economic contexts (see Salazar 2010a), the processes and dynamics at work are strikingly similar (Salazar 2007).

Building modern postcolonial nations through historically themed parks

In his book *Imagined Communities*, Anderson (1991) describes how the popularisation of heritage plays a pivotal role in the forming of nations as imagined political communities. It is no coincidence that young countries around the world, especially postcolonial ones, have seen in national heritage parks a unique vehicle to build their nation, by portraying

it as simultaneously ethnically diverse, but unified in one national culture. A historically themed park serves to underline the message that the nation's foundation are its people, its different customs and cultures, held together by (often invented) common traditions. As Dahles notes, "[t]hese cultural displays provide … nations with the opportunity to come to terms with the rapid transformations brought about by modernisation." (2001, 12). By integrating minorities into a coherent visual narrative, a national heritage park promotes a sense of both nationalism and modernity. However, in multi-ethnic postcolonial nations such as Indonesia and Tanzania, this process unavoidably involves decisions "as to which cultures to privilege and which to ignore." (Stanley 1998, 59). Because imagineering simplifies peoples and places for easy consumption, themed environments inevitably become sites of struggle and the production of "unity in diversity" through multicultural displays opens up debates about whose heritage is being represented, promoted, narrated, and for whom. Consolidating the cohesion and the unity of the nation through heritage parks clearly comes at a price. The examples below from Indonesia and Tanzania illustrate the issues at stake.

Taman Mini Indonesia Indah

Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature) is a 160-hectare open-air park, situated on the southeastern edge of Indonesia's capital, Jakarta. It was conceived by Siti Hartinah, the spouse of General Suharto, after visits to an analogous project in Bangkok, Thailand and to Disneyland in 1971 (Pemberton 1994). The park was established in 1972 and officially inaugurated in 1975. Taman Mini is centred around a vast reflecting pond containing small artificial islands that form a large natural map of Indonesia, accessible by pedal boat but best viewed from the cable car or elevated train that pass overhead. From the air, one sees alongside the mini-archipelago twenty-six massive pavilions, one for each Indonesian province in existence at the time the park was built. These constructions form the heart of the national heritage park. The pavilions are dominated by traditional *rumah adat* (customary houses), containing sanitised permanent exhibits of arts and crafts and the customs and lifestyles of the peoples from the province, typically the costumes they might wear at a wedding, the furniture they use in their homes, and their jewellery. Sometimes it is possible to taste local food, browse through tourism brochures, or purchase souvenirs. During the weekends, there are often free traditional dance performances, films and cultural shows. Apart from a series of theme museums, there is also an orchid garden, a bird park

and a fauna museum, all examples of the country's rich natural heritage. It would take a week to visit everything. To make the park available to the Indonesian public, the entrance fee is low (9,000 IDR or less than 1 EUR, with only nominal extra fees to visit the gardens or museums). The additional recreational facilities (especially for children) make Taman Mini a fun place to visit and a popular destination for a day out with the family. Indonesian visitors far exceed the numbers of foreign tourists.

The rationale behind the national heritage section of the park was to give visitors a glimpse of the diversity of the Indonesian archipelago in a single location, as a symbol of the country's motto of *Bhinekka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity). Taman Mini is one of the most deliberate and overt efforts of the Indonesian government to make use of "local traditions" to display Indonesia as "a nation of cultures". Even before the park was opened, scholars were already analyzing the ways in which the project revealed state-imagineered conceptions of culture and power (Anderson 1973). Anthropologists too have, each in their own way, tried to make sense of Taman Mini (Pemberton 1994; Acciaioli 1996; Errington 1998, 188-227; Hitchcock 1998; Bruner 2005, 211-230). Many have focused on how the park represents the past as an integral part of the future, through a present which is continuously rendered as cultural icons of regional tradition and serves as a tangible expression of modernisation (Anderson 1991, 176-177). Major General Suharto's New Order government (1965-1998) sought to identify one single cultural type for each province, and to play down the extent and breathe of the actual ethnic diversity they had inherited from the Dutch colonial era (hereby erasing the difference between past, present, and future. [1]

The obsession with connecting the past and future in the form of the present finds prolific expression at Taman Mini through numerous so-called *monumen* (monuments): miniature replicas of ancient monuments, memorial monuments, and commemorative inscriptions (Pemberton 1994).

The name of the park is significant too, "as in it the cultures of Indonesia's constituent provinces have been extracted as objects of 'beauty'." (Yamashita 2003, 44). In the logic of Suharto's New Order (to distinguish his policies from those of his predecessor Sukarno), a flattening of both time and space, the simulacrum of Taman Mini actually exceeds the real Indonesia because it is less confusing, more ordered, and can be understood and experienced as a whole. [2]

Diversity is represented for the most part as differences between domesticated different-but-same administrative regions rather than between local cultures or societies. Taman Mini thus draws together ethnicity and reinvented locality so that each presupposes the other

(Boellstorff 2002). As Adams notes, "all of the regional exhibits display material from the same set of categories (weapons, dances, marriage garments, baskets, etc.), regardless of the relevance of these categories to the local groups in question." (Adams 1998, 85). Adherence to this uniform set of categories conveys the message that in spite of superficial differences, there is inherent commonality between the diverse ethnic groups (cf. Acciaioli 1996). In Boellstorff's words, "after all, what is Taman Mini if not model for a human zoo where ethnolocalities are habitats—cages for culture—and the state a zookeeper?" (Boellsdorff 2002, 31).

Fig. 2-1: Taman Mini Indonesia Indah (Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature)

From the very beginning, Taman Mini was envisioned as a twin project of raising national consciousness and developing tourism. Unfortunately, most scholars have focused on the former and neglected the study of the latter. Suharto himself strongly believed that tourism would increase (foreign) revenue, enhance the nation's international status and foster domestic unity. In the period that Taman Mini opened, his government allowed the Directorate-General of Tourism to play a more active role in the management of cultural heritage, including both historical monuments and traditional folk art (Dahles 2001). The link between domestic tourism and nationalism was clearly encoded in Indonesia's 1983 fourth Five Year Plan. As Adams points out, the fact that Indonesia did not have a Ministry

of Tourism, but rather a Ministry of Tourism, Post and Telecommunications, reflected "the premise that tourism is inseparable from communications and, hence, nation-building." (Adams 1998, 85).

While the park embodied the national identity constructed by the New Order during its glory days, its fate after Suharto's forced resignation in 1998 is symbolic of the wider crisis of the Indonesian national project. Since then, the park has faced declining attendance and general neglect. If Taman Mini was the New Order's imagined official version of an ahistorical and timeless Indonesia, fostering nation building and nationalism by displaying a limited cultural inventory, how is the park experienced by its visitors in the present day? The park is still promoted through school textbooks as the place to learn about all of Indonesia and to master the archipelago's cultural diversity. Today, Taman Mini is one of Jakarta's most popular recreational spots, crowded on weekends with families and groups of teenagers from the capital's growing middle class. The park still receives around four million visitors a year, the majority of which are domestic. Despite attempts to market the park internationally, overseas visitors have declined sharply.

Bruner (2005, 211-230) looks at alternative ways of interpreting Taman Mini, at how ethnic groups operating within an official state-sponsored site impose their own meanings and social practices, appropriate the place, and undermine the official interpretation of the site. He puts forward that the display and activities within the pavilions are sites of local production, instances of human agency and creativity within the limits of how it is possible to express ethnicity in the Indonesian state publicly. An indicative study conducted in 2005, suggests there is a clear mismatch between what is desired and expected by contemporary visitors and what were the original intentions of the founders of the park (Wulandari 2005). The main motivation to visit is recreational although two thirds of the visitors expect to learn something about Indonesian art and culture during the course of their visit. Like elsewhere in the world, young Indonesians are actually more interested in modern technology and fashionable products than outdated local traditions. Rather than being worried about the unity of their country, they prefer to dream about the world "out there", a theme that is central in Dunia Fantasi (Fantasy World), Jakarta's other major attraction park, with imagineered sections named Europe, America and Africa.[3] Taman Mini versus Dunia Fantasi, socialistic nationalism versus capitalistic internationalism (Jones and Shaw 2006).

While the nation-building project seems more and more difficult to realise, the link between Taman Mini and tourism is becoming more pronounced. During the New Order era, inhabitants of the provinces were

often notably absent in Taman Mini. Since the fall of Suharto in 1998, some provinces are bringing their people in because they now use their pavilion at Taman Mini to promote tourism to their region. Because seven new provinces have been created since 2000, Taman Mini needs some rethinking. The park does seem to have some adaptive capacity as is exemplified by the pavilion of the breakaway former province of East Timor, which has become the Museum of East Timor, a memorial to the period of Indonesian rule. Interestingly, one of the latest projects is the development of a Chinese Museum (Taman Budaya Tionghoa Indonesia), to document the cultural heritage of the Chinese diaspora, highlighting their lasting contribution to an ever-developing nation.[4]

Kijiji cha Makumbusho

Kijiji cha Makumbusho (Village Museum) is situated in the northwestern outskirts of Tanzania's economic capital, Dar es Salaam. The idea for this open-air park dates back to the colonial era, when Tanganyika was part of the British Empire.[5] Shortly before independence in 1961, the then Curator of Ethnography at the National Museum, a certain Mr. Wylie, envisioned the creation of an open-air museum to reflect the rich and diverse traditions of architecture. As a child of his time, he realised that "the increasing popularity of modern housing spelled doom for traditional styles and techniques, of which he hoped to preserve selected examples for both display and research purposes, including in each sample relevant household paraphernalia." (Masao 1993, 57). Mr. Wylie also planned for traditional handicraft activities, to breathe life into such a heritage-themed environment. It took time to convince the postcolonial Museum Board of the value of the proposal, but in 1965 some money was set aside to buy a modest plot of land (two hectares) and create the park (which, certainly when compared to the Indonesian example, looks more like a tiny hamlet than a village). Like other national heritage parks, it wants to be a place, as the website indicates, "Where you can see all Tanzania in one day." (Village Museum).

Similar to the core section of Taman Mini, but much smaller in scale, the centrepiece of the Village Museum is a collection of authentically constructed dwellings, meant to show "traditional" life in various parts of Tanzania. Thirteen units were built, representing the major varieties of vernacular architecture of mainland Tanzania (a modern, urban unit was added later for the sake of representativeness). Like in the Indonesian case, there is an assumed equivalence between peoples and places, although in Tanzania the selection happened not along administrative regions but

ethnic groups. The idea is one of a linear relation between ethnicity and architectural style: "Tanzania has more than 123 tribes, each of which builds its own type of house." (Mbughuni 1974, 35).

Fig. 2-2: Kijiji cha Makumbusho (Village Museum)

The park is expected to represent the various ethnic groups found within Tanzania. However, due to shortage of funding and space, only the following peoples are represented: Zaramo, Rundi, Chagga, Maasai, Haya, Hehe, Fipa, Nyakyusa, Nyamwezi, Gogo and Ngoni. Each group represented has a house typical of those found in the home area. Each of these dwellings is equipped with almost all the typical items and utensils normally used by the respective people, but the park is devoid of those same people. The museum offices, which form part of the entrance to the main compound, were constructed using modern architectural designs.

Since its inception, the Village Museum has been state-funded and the Tanzania Tourist Corporation (now Tanzania Tourist Board) greatly aided in its establishment. It is managed as an extension of the Department of Ethnography of the National Museum, a parastatal organisation under the Antiquities Department. As such, the Village Museum helps providing information to communities, visitors, scholars and schoolchildren about cultural and natural heritage; conducting research; conserving and preserving the museum collection; and maintaining public museum services. The park

has a working relationship with *Nyumba ya Sanaa* (House of Art)—an arts-and-crafts workshop catering to tourists in the centre of Dar es Salaam)—in terms of basic sharing of information, database, tourist traffic and so on. As in Taman Mini, the Village Museum often hosts traditional music, especially *ngoma* (drumming), and dance performances. Some of the country's most famous wood-workers, coming from the Makonde and Zaramo ethnic groups, have worked under the museum's patronage and displayed their wares on its premises. Occasionally, there have been special festivals centred on live presentations of one particular ethnic group (e.g. the Ethnic Days Festival). During these festivities, there are not only performances, but visitors can also enjoy traditional cuisine. In an attempt to promote Tanzanian cultures and traditions, over twenty ethnic groups presented their cultures at the Village Museum.

The absence of people around the houses is striking and gives the park a rather desolate and very artificial feel. In fact, it was always the explicit aim not to exhibit exotic ethnicities. This goes back to President Nyerere, who was of the opinion that "human beings could not be preserved like animals in a zoo" (quoted in Schneider 2006, 114). At the same time, the first period of independent Tanzania in the 1960s was marked by "a general move to banish and segregate from lived experience 'traditions' that did not fit into an image of modernity" and move them to museums, places "where things rest outside the current of time and life" (Schneider 2006, 114). In the Village Museum one finds, physically taken out of everyday life, traditional housing designs, which the Tanzanian state was actively combating as outdated and to be overcome, not least through its grand project of villagisation (cf. Scott 1998). As Schneider points out, "the 'museumisation' of traditions, physically and rhetorically, was an exercise in boundary creation—and a statement that such traditions had no other place in modern life." (2006, 114).

Having to preserve and maintain vernacular architecture with extremely scarce resources has led to many financial and administrative challenges. (Masao 1993). Lack of money and well-trained staff pose a big problem for the general management of the Village Museum. Moreover, major and extensive repairs had to be undertaken on the house units, the climate of Dar es Salaam requiring a departure from original building materials and, in some cases, total reconstruction. As concerns interpretation, signposting at, and pathways among, the different house displays have been completely redone. Much of this was realised with the help of the Swedish African Museum Program, a network joining museums in Sweden and in African countries. In 1996, the program held a Conference on African Open Air Museums in the Village Museum, and it twinned the latter with

the Skansen Open-Air Museum in Stockholm.[6] Such twinning programmes reinforce the idea that the construction of national heritage parks follows globally diffused patterns.

Nowadays, the Village Museum attracts very few visitors. There are the occasional visits by expatriate families living in Tanzania or backpackers who landed in Dar and are waiting to travel elsewhere. International volunteers visit Makumbusho as part of their cultural immersion package. The park administration is convinced that taking Tanzanian people in the Village Museum back to their histories enables them to see what was good or useful in their (imagined) past and which is worth incorporating in contemporary life and living (Mwenesi 1998). However, there is only a very rudimentary culture of visiting museums among the Tanzanian public (and, honestly, most cannot afford to do so). The decision by the managers to allow the use of their premises for traditional performances such as initiation ceremonies and wedding dances, and for organising events to promote indigenous cuisine and traditional dances, seems to be a step in the right direction. Among locals, Makumbusho is particularly popular in the evenings as a place where they can have their *nyama choma* (roasted meat) and beer while enjoying some life music, often Congolese musicians playing Souk music.

From display to experience, from village museums to tourism village

While, to a certain extent, both Taman Mini and the Village Museum still fulfil their role in nation-building, through time this has become less of an urgent preoccupation of the respective governments. What is clear is that neither of the two national heritage parks ever brought in the expected foreign tourist dollars. Given the precarious economic situation in both Indonesia and Tanzania, other strategies were developed to reach this second goal. This happened in a rapidly changing national, regional and global context. In the 1990s, helped by the end of the Cold War, the world witnessed the rapid rise of the so-called "experience economy" (Pine and Gilmore 1999). Imaginaries became a key vehicle in what is now called experience tourism. Instead of promoting places to see—sightseeing—tourism shareholders across the globe started developing experiential packages, marketed in multi-sensorial languages. Museums and heritage parks were seen as old-fashioned. Instead, otherwise lived spaces were readied for easy tourism consumption. As developing nations such as Indonesia and Tanzania are going through a process of democratisation and the central governments have much less grip than before, shrewd

entrepreneurs have seized the opportunity to commoditise the nostalgic potential of daily rural life. The imagineering, i.e. the production of visions, of images and of representations of the villages and their inhabitants, was largely initialised by external actors. The focus on the power of imaginaries in the new economy is also linked to another field, that of storytelling (Löfgren 2003). Not simply showcasing national or ethnic heritage, but being able to narrate it has become an important asset (Salazar 2010a). In what follows, I describe how these general trends took shape in Indonesia and Tanzania.

Desa Wisata

"By Desa Wisata (Tourism Village) we mean a village which offers whole atmosphere of village seen from its socio cultural life, customs, which is potential to be developed into tourism components, such as: attraction, accommodation, food and beverages, and other tourist needs. The development of a tourism village does not mean to alter what already exist, but more of calling forth its potentials which already exist in the village and cannot be separated from the village itself. In general a village one which can be developed into tourism village is a village which has already good conditions in economy, social cultural, physical natural surroundings, non-urban, and possess uniqueness in tradition." (Suherman 2001, 105).

The economic crisis of 1997 and the fall of Suharto in 1998 radically changed Indonesia in many aspects. After more than three decades under a centralised (and autocratic) national government, the country embarked on a democratisation process that quickly gave rise to regional demands for decentralisation of power. In order to finance their new bureaucratic duties, local administrations needed money. Not surprisingly, many turned to tourism as an easy way to obtain the required funds. Although some of the *desa wisata* (tourism village) programmes were originally launched by the central government (which saw them as fundamental tools of national development: *Pariwisata Inti Rakyat* or Tourism for the People), local authorities were quick to appropriate the initiative. In central Java, for example, many tourism villages were launched around the same time in which the policies of regional autonomy became effective. Various villages jumped on the wagon, seeing the concept of a tourism village as an alternative to big-scale tourism developments over which they had virtually no control and from which they benefited little.

There is certainly a growing market for village tourism, especially among international tourists and those Indonesians and expatriates living in big urban centres. Tourism villages invite visitors to see and experience

the daily life of the villagers: the cycle of a rice field, the visit to home-industries who produce local food and medicine, and craftsmen who make souvenirs. By rethinking what counts as cultural heritage to include the everyday, the alternative, the intangible and that which has not yet been memorialised in guidebooks and official histories, another kind of Indonesian experience becomes available to the visitor. Different villages have different grades of tourism involvement, depending largely on physical and non-physical characteristics of the respective villages and their proximity to other tourism attractions. Some offer a home-stay experience, others are only places to stop over. A successful strategy seems to be to focus on the domestic market first. Below, I briefly discuss some of the old and new ways in which various shareholders have tried to implement the concept of a tourism village in central Java.

Fig. 3-3: Desa Wisata (Tourism Villages)

On World Tourism Day in 1999, the then Minister of Tourism, Arts and Culture, Marzuki Usman, inaugurated Tembi as model *desa wisata* (The Jakarta Post 1999). Over the years, this project received many national and international awards for sustainable tourism. The man behind tourism development in Tembi was an Australian entrepreneur who had chosen the picturesque village as the base of his lucrative export business of high-end handcrafted products (James 2003). His renovation of some of the village houses in Dutch colonial style had fascinated many of his visiting expatriate friends from Bali or Jakarta and this is how the idea developed to let (foreign) visitors stay overnight for 200/300 USD per

night. During the day, the guests could relax around the swimming pool, enjoy the local food, visit the nearby school for dancing and *gamelan* performances, pass by the craft workshop and buy souvenirs at the gallery. To guarantee the "authentic" view, the owner bought the rice paddies surrounding his houses. While many villagers benefited from the businessman's presence by producing crafts (at one point, his workshop employed 125 people), it is unclear what they gained from the tourism activities. Instead of community-based tourism, this is more an example of how a community is being used for tourism. Word-of-mouth led to a rapid increase in visitors and, after a couple of years, the foreigner finally decided to make his model house private again, hereby virtually stopping all tourism development.

Tanjung in Sleman is often mentioned by the Indonesian authorities as "best practice" tourism village (cf. Ardika 2006). Like its neighbours, Tanjung was a poor farming village, rice cultivation being the major source of income. National government officials introduced the idea of village tourism to local authorities and villagers in 1999 and, in 2001, the villagers officially declared their village as *desa wisata*. In 2003, representatives of the village signed a Village Tourism Charter and formed an official committee to oversee tourism development. The principal target market is (school) groups from larger cities (cf. Janarto 2006). Tanjung offers almost 25 programmes to learn cultural activities such as dancing, making traditional textiles, knowing more about Javanese architecture, or learning how to cultivate rice. These programmes are not only recreational in nature but also give knowledge and the experience of new skills. Importantly, youngsters are very proud of their village heritage and the rate of urban flight has dropped tremendously. They are usually the ones guiding visitors around and narrating the stories of the village (often without much training to do so). Interestingly, the present village life is represented as time-frozen and pre-modern.

A local NGO selected Candirejo in Magelang, nearby the heavily visited monument of Borobudur, as one of ten villages to develop so-called community-based tourism. The village was chosen for its original architecture and traditional daily life, beautiful rural scene and natural resources, all heritage deemed worthy to be preserved. Financially supported by the Japan International Cooperation Agency and UNDP, and expertise provided by UNESCO, Candirejo village was prepared to receive international tourists. This included the development of micro enterprises, such as the rental of bicycles and horse carts, and local accommodation structures. The whole process involved multiple workshops, panel discussions, and community group meetings. In 2003, Candirejo was

officially inaugurated as *desa wisata* by I Gde Ardika, the then Minister of Tourism and Culture. Given its proximity to a World Heritage Site, Candirejo has attracted far more international tourists than domestic visitors. It is noteworthy that the Minister chose Sambi, another village selected by the same NGO, to announce the start of Indonesia Heritage Year in 2003 (Wahyuni 2003). Here, too, the representational emphasis is more on the past than on the present or the future. Although the intentions are different, the work of cultural preservationists and the interests of government and private entrepreneurs clearly overlap in the development of village tourism.

Cultural Tourism Programme

> "Cultural tourism is a people tourism that enables tourists to experience authentic cultures combining nature, scenery, folklore, ceremonies, dances, rituals, tales, art, handicrafts and hospitality—giving a unique insight into the way of life of the people while offering a complementary product to wildlife and beach based tourism." (Tanzania Tourist Board 2007, 2).

The Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) was launched in 1995 by the Dutch aid agency Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (SNV). A pilot project near the Kenyan border showed the possibilities for local people to benefit from tourism. In co-operation with projects already started by German (GTZ) and Finnish (Finnida) aid agencies, CTP was set up as a network of local communities, mainly Maasai in northern Tanzania, operating independently from each other and offering individually developed tour packages. These include campsites, home-stays, traditional food and beverages, trained guides, and local tours involving natural heritage (forests, waterfalls, and caves) and cultural attractions (historical sites and visits to healers, story tellers, artisans, and cooking mamas). The name CTP refers to the involvement of local people in organizing the tours and in guiding tourists through their attractions while showing them their aspects of their daily life, culture and history. SNV financed the various CTP modules, controlled their expenditures, and organised some minimal training for local tour guides. The Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), on the other hand, was responsible for promoting CTP to both local and international travel agencies and tour operators (De Jong 1999).

Helped by the fact that experiential "meet the people" tourism was becoming in vogue, CTP experienced a great boom in its first years of existence. Tourists contribute to a village development fund for construction of schools or other development projects. The modules are visited by both tour operators and independent low budget tourists. Because SNV

published widely about the success of CTP, the project was nominated for various international awards. In 2002, the International Year of Ecotourism, CTP was heralded as Tanzania's good practice example of sustainable development by the World Tourism Organisation (2002, 237-240). The modules are also widely praised in guidebooks such as the Lonely Planet or the Rough Guide. Due to its perceived economic and institutional sustainability (and because it had been conceived as a five-year project from the very start), SNV withdrew from the project in 2001. Since then, there has been a declining cooperation between the different communities involved (van der Duim, Peters, and Wearing 2005). Each village seems to be only dealing with its own activities, and not everybody in the participating communities is happy with the presence of nosy tourists. In some places, the revenues are not distributed properly and there are escalating conflicts over land and natural resources.

As of 2009, CTP has 26 participating communities and many villages are waiting to join. However, the various modules offer very similar packages and, like in Indonesia, accessibility is a major factor determining success; villages nearby Arusha (Tanzania's "safari capital") or on the access roads to protected areas are far more popular than more remote ones. Because CTP as a whole badly needed professional management, the TTB assigned a full-time CTP coordinator to develop guidelines and quality standards and to address the many marketing problems that have arisen. In order not to lose face, SNV became involved again, this time by providing two tourism consultants. The organisation recognised that, since most villagers themselves have not travelled extensively, it is not possible for them to put the beauty or novelty of their environments into a wider tourism context.

Local tour guides are very important in CTP. They are often the only people in the villages with whom tourists spend more time than the average interaction with locals. Guiding therefore constitutes a strategic factor in the representation of a community, and in influencing the quality of the tourist experience, the length of stay, and the resulting economic benefits for the community (Salazar 2010a). Ideally, CTP tour guides are villagers with wide knowledge about the local natural and cultural heritage. Some communities, understanding the importance of guiding for the development of their tourism packages, invested heavily by sending promising villagers to tour guide schools in Arusha. However, these youngsters soon realised that they could earn more money by becoming safari driver-guides and often did not return to the communities that had sponsored their education. The ethnographic examples below illustrate the

importance of local guiding for the representation of the ethnic groups
visited.

The lack of cooperation and consultation between the various CTP
modules has a baleful influence on the way different ethnic groups
represent one another. More often than not, the Maasai, CTP's main
"attraction" are the ones who suffer most from stereotyping and
misrepresentation (cf. Salazar 2009).[7] During CTP tours in Tengeru, for
example, the local Meru guides clearly distinguish their ethnic group from
the Maasai by denigrating the latter and depicting them as backwards. The
Meru guides explain to foreign tourists that only the Maasai wear blankets;
the Meru wear clothes. They are proud to say that the Meru are more
developed compared to other "tribes" because they have adapted quicker
to modernity, and that the Maasai are certainly more primitive. Such
comments partly have their origins in the guides' frustration that
foreigners think all Tanzanians are Maasai. In the CTP of Il'kidinga, a
settlement of Arusha people, the village guides use the opposite strategy;
they capitalise on the perceived similarities with the Maasai to attract more
tourists.

Fig. 3-4: Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP)

In the Maasai CTP of Mkuru, one of the main tour guides is not a
Maasai but a Meru from a neighbouring village (although he does not

identify himself as such). His knowledge about Maasai culture is limited to the point that tourists sometimes become aware of it. I witnessed this on one of the tours I observed. One tourist was a general practitioner and very interested in knowing more about how the Maasai use local plants for medicinal purposes. The guide told her that the plants they (the Maasai) use have no real healing value but are just used because of tradition. When visiting a Maasai boma (homestead), he was unable to explain how the settlement is structurally organised. After a very brief introduction, he invited the group to "walk around and take pictures". The situation looked like a human zoo: Maasai and tourists staring at one another, without a cultural broker to facilitate communication and exchange between the two parties. The next day, the group went on a camel safari. At the start, the tour guide introduced all the camels by name. The accompanying Maasai men (one per camel), on the contrary, were never mentioned, let alone properly introduced. Because the tourists did not understand Swahili, they never noticed that their "local" guide was not a Maasai but a Meru. Of course, they also did not know there are growing tensions between Meru and Maasai people in the area because the land they share around Mt. Meru is becoming overcrowded and overstocked. The Maasai visited, on the other hand, had no clue about how they were being represented by the Meru guide because they do not understand English.

Conclusion

"The so-called 'museum' or 'culture park' view of heritage as something that has only to be preserved and tended, only to be kept pristine, isolated from the alterations going on all around it, is not only utopian, it is mischievous. In trying to freeze a living tradition in the name of authenticity you produce the worst sorts of inauthenticity—decadence, not purity." (Geertz 1997, 19).

Bruner notes that heritage-themed environments "are an excellent setting for anthropological inquiry as they are sites where the ethnic diversity of the nation or the region is represented for the visitors in a single locality in one panoptic sweep." (2005, 211). In this chapter, I have described how various periods have given rise to different tailor-made types of heritage environments for domestic and international visitors in Indonesia and Tanzania. Taman Mini and the Village Museum were built around the 1970s to develop a feeling of national unity and nationalism in young postcolonial states, though they were clearly inspired by earlier Western projects (as varied as Disneyland in the USA and Skansen in Sweden). To a certain extent, these hybrid open-air parks were an attempt

to make sense of the multi-ethnic reality with which colonialism had left these countries after independence. Selected aspects of diversity were exhibited, without really attempting to (re)present all ethnicities. Paradoxically, these national heritage parks visually display difference yet promote unity. Typical house types (reconstructions) are a dominant feature, along with ethnic costumes, aspects of indigenous arts and culture, dance performances, and, in some cases, regional food. While the parks are recreational, they are also seriously political. They symbolise, in a modern way, centralised power (cf. Anderson 1991). Cultural heritage heterogeneity is put in its place—fixed, aligned, domesticated—and turned into recreational exhibition (Bruner 2005, 212). Aimed at a multiplicity of audiences, such parks have been mainly successful in attracting domestic crowds.

Since both Indonesia and Tanzania gained their independence half a century ago, unity-in-diversity ideologies and practices are still in place but have become much less important – people have long understood the message. Nowadays, the logic of (neoliberal) globalisation is forcing both the public and private sector of these developing countries to look outward rather than inward. In this context, the tourismification of actually existing villages in Indonesia and Tanzania is both a consequence of the recent national decentralisation of power and a response to the increasing international demand for experiential tourism, often based on the temporal and spatial Othering of those living in rural areas (cf. Fabian 2002). In contrast with national heritage parks, where newly formed governments went through great efforts to show the modern side of their nation, in tourism villages quite the opposite is happening. The heritage theming of otherwise lived environments strategically makes use of three recurring imaginaries in tourism to developing countries: the myth of the unchanged, the myth of the unrestrained and the myth of the uncivilised (Echtner and Prasad 2003). A visit to the countryside is told and sold (often by the villagers themselves) as an exotic journey to the past, drawing on widely distributed imaginaries of Orientalism, colonialism and imperialism, to feed romantic and nostalgic tourist dreams (Salazar 2010a). Clearly, this type of tourism promotes local diversity rather than national unity.

Whereas ethnography reduces living peoples to writing and museums usually reduce them to artifacts, both national heritage parks and tourism villages continue the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century tradition of world fairs in that the objects on exhibit include real people. In both environments, peoples are presented as unique, separate and fixed, and, ironically, this is happening at the same time that the world (and

anthropology) is moving towards mobile subjects, border crossings and vast population movements (Bruner 2005, 212). Tailor-made imagineering in heritage tourism for domestic and international audiences is well worth more in-depth ethnographic studying, because its practices not only create an image of places and peoples, the imaginative power of shrewd imagineers can potentially steal people's own imaginations in and through invented experiences. The central role of imaginaries as a force of tourism production and consumption of the past, the present and the future calls for an urgent return to empirical studies of widely circulating dreams and popular flights of fantasy, in the context of heritage tourism and beyond.

As global tourism continues to expand, heritage sites and performances will be the source of historically unprecedented numbers of tourists. However, cultural heritage tourism is a double-edged sword. One the one hand, it can be a positive force to retain cultural values and to help mitigate threats. On the other hand, global tourism can become itself a menace to the sustainability of heritage. Those in charge of heritage management clearly need to pay closer attention to reconciling the needs of the various parties involved, each with their own interests (Porter and Salazar 2005). Instead of one universally accepted meaning, the significance of heritage—be it natural or cultural, tangible or intangible—is characterised by pluriversality. While the (re)shaping of cultural heritage used to be predominantly influenced by local and national actors, nowadays regional and global factors need to be taken into account as well. For cultural heritage tourism, the challenges of global (and, ever more, regional) standardisation and local differentiation will take on new dimensions (Salazar 2010b). While the management of heritage is usually the responsibility of a particular community or custodian group, the protection, conservation, interpretation and (re)presentation of the cultural diversity of any particular place or people are important challenges for us all…

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Notes

[1] The Dutch began to colonise the archipelago in the early seventeenth century and stayed until 1949.

[2] Contrast this with the highly conflictive programme of transmigration, equally aimed at creating imagined communities of a unified nation (Hoey 2003). Tanzania had a similar project of "villagisation" (Scott 1998).

[3] This is part of Taman Impian Jaya Ancol (Ancol Dreamland), a popular resort destination located along the capital's waterfront, which opened in 1966 and is currently the largest integrated tourism area in Southeast Asia, boasting an international championship golf course, world-class hotels and other recreational facilities.

[4] Indonesia is home to the world's largest population of Overseas Chinese (over seven million).

[5] From 1884 until 1918, Tanganyika was under German colonial rule as part of its East Africa Protectorate. Following Germany's defeat in the First World War, the country was handed over to the U.K. as a mandate territory by the League of Nations and, after 1946, a UN trust territory. Tanganyika became independent in

1961. Three years later, Tanganyika and Zanzibar merged to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

[6] This is a highly symbolic linkage, because Skansen was established in 1891 as the first open-air heritage park in the world, in an effort to save vernacular houses from different parts of Sweden that were quickly disappearing as the country became more urban and industrial.

[7] The Maasai, speakers of the Eastern Nilotic Maa tonal language, are a widely dispersed group of semi-nomadic pastoralists and small-scale subsistence agriculturists who occupy arid and semi-arid rangelands in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, collectively known as Maasailand. In Tanzania, they are said to have lived in the Serengeti plains and Ngorongoro highlands for some two centuries. The Meru people have traditionally been farmers, settled around the base of Mt. Meru in northern Tanzania. The Arusha people are originally from the foothills of Mt. Meru. Influenced by Maasai ancestry, they still use the Maasai age system and other elements of Maasai social organisation. However, they have different clans and abandoned livestock herding in favour of settled cultivation.

CHAPTER THREE

URBAN INTERVENTION AND THE GLOBALISATION OF SIGNS: MARKETING WORLD HERITAGE TOWNS

ANJA B. NELLE

Introduction

All over the world the tangible heritage of historically valuable built environments is recognised on local, regional, national and international levels. The intangible heritage of immaterial expression that has developed in the environment is another aspect of a town's heritage. Both are important for the increasing popularity of heritage towns as destinations for cultural tourism. Especially for internationally recognised World Heritage Towns, global competition on the international tourism market furthers the development of marketing strategies that promote the exceptionality of the place. Although heritage towns are promoted as unique places, the language and the images employed for marketing show global similarities. Related to the analogy in promotion material it can be noted that physical urban interventions also show resemblances: we see the same kind of "heritage lamp" installed in Marrakech, Oaxaca and Bath. They seem to be a globally recognised furnishing for the "heritage stage set" built up to entertain tourists. In a similar way promotion activities found in heritage towns frequently follow certain patterns: re-introduced horse-drawn carriages or locals in traditional attire posing for a photo may be considered performers in a "heritage theatre play" staged for visitors.

The subject of this paper is the relationship between signs, marketing materials and urban interventions in the urban realm of public spaces in World Heritage Towns. It refers to literature on urban icons (i.e. Ethington and Schwartz 2004) as well as on preservation debates about townscapes and town images (i.e. Huse 1996, Vinken 2008, Wohlleben 2003). The research on cultural and heritage tourism and the instrumentalisation and

contestation of heritage by authors such as Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) and Orbasli (2000) is as relevant to the subject as literature on heritage as a consumer product (i.e. Legewie 2003, Lowenthal 1996) and gentrification processes in historic quarters (i.e. Jones and Varley 1999, Morgensen 2000).

Fig. 3-1: Heritage lamps in Bath, Oaxaca and Marrakech (left to right)

The aim of this article is to generate an understanding of the presentation concepts that affect global heritage through additions to and modifications of built environments. It attempts to explain how the globalisation of management and marketing strategies for heritage cities promote the same urban interventions for towns with completely different backgrounds by applying a global "language of signs" that are associated with heritage. Presenting findings of field studies undertaken in three World Heritage Towns, the paper investigates and compares urban interventions that install "heritage signs".

The paper is structured into six sections. It opens with a quick overview of the context of the research[1] – the urban realm of World Heritage Towns. "Marketing" explores how marketing World Heritage Towns is related to features of the urban realm. "Signs" investigates how certain features form groups of signs and how they are associated with urban interventions. "Urban Interventions" reflects on the influence of rules and regulations in the installation or dismantling of signs. Section

five considers the use of signs in marketing and in urban interventions in three case studies. The "Conclusion" provides a brief explanation of distinct strategies and particularities of the featured cases in order to highlight key points. The conclusion also contains a set of explanations for the global assimilation of heritage towns.

Just like any protected urban zone in a city the listed core of a World Heritage Town is an "unintentional monument" because it was not planned as a monument but declared to be one (Riegl 1903/1988, 49[2]). Town centres that are nominated Cultural World Heritage by the United Nation's Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) usually fulfil (amongst others) the selection criteria iv, requesting "to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history" (UNESCO 2008, 20).

226 World Heritage Towns are members of the World Heritage Cities Organisation[3] and the majority of them are inhabited settlements that are (or are becoming) attractive cultural/heritage tourism destinations. This paper specifically investigates three case studies with some common features: they are all mid-sized towns in former Spanish colonies presently located in less developed countries: Guanajuato (Mexico), Trinidad (Cuba) and Vigan (Philippines).

Marketing World Heritage Towns

Depending on budget and organisation, marketing material for World Heritage Towns is produced by public or private entities. Potential clients for the heritage experience have the choice to obtain information and marketing material in travel centres, at tourism fairs, in guide books and on the internet where personal experiences by other travellers are an ever growing source. A web search for the three towns listed above gives us: seventeen million hits for Trinidad de Cuba, over four million for Guanajuato and almost 380.000 for Vigan.[4]

Considering that tourism in historic towns is predominantly an activity in the urban realm (Orbasli 2000, Urry 1990) marketing focuses on public spaces. Studying marketing material for (world) heritage towns we can identify three aspects in the texts' descriptions: marketing a "heritage experience", describing the "heritage atmosphere" and highlighting "heritage features". The "heritage experience" sought and sold is the "journey into the past". A visit to a heritage town not only promises a geographical change of location but "time-travel" satisfying a longing for nostalgia. The "journey into the past" permits the tourist to "experience"

the history and meaning of the place. The "heritage atmosphere" is linked to this experience. In marketing material it is frequently described by highlighting atmospheric characteristics employing attributes like "romantic, charming, picturesque". Finally, the "heritage features" reference "hardware": historic architecture, cobble-stone streets and horse-drawn carriages.

    The visual expectations stimulated by the marketing texts' descriptions of the first two more abstract aspects, "heritage experience" and "heritage atmosphere", combine well with photos presenting "heritage features". An image that shows a horse-drawn carriage rattling over cobble-stones in front of an historic (looking) façade illustrates the charming atmosphere that permits "time-travel". In contrast, other "contemporary looking features" like cars, neon signs or graffiti do not fit the expectations generated by the marketing texts.

Fig. 3-2: Urban setting that conveys a "charming, romantic atmosphere", Guanajuato, 2006

    Marketing material seeks to show views of the urban context of an historic town that represent the heritage experience. Selecting appropriate views leads to the exclusion of contemporary looking features and a focus on features that seem representative for the town's heritage. Marketing frequently makes use of photo-editing to eliminate unwanted contemporary looking features from images in promotion material. However, photo-

editing only works for consumers of marketing material. Other means of editing have to be found for visitors to the actual heritage site. As we will see later this is where urban interventions come in.

Ethington and Schwartz (2004) point out that over the course of the touristic twentieth century, advertising has established powerful conventions of commercial visual and verbal story-telling in which urban icons have become one of the key visual tools in the construction of branding. My research shows that, similarly, marketing heritage towns has established powerful conventions of visual and verbal story-telling in which "heritage features" that I call "Heritage Installation Signs" have become one of the key visual tools in the promotion of heritage towns.

Fig. 3-3: Urban setting that is not conductive to a "journey into the past", Vigan, 2004

Signs

Above we have seen that in marketing, certain signs (features) present in the urban realm of World Heritage Towns are selected as appropriate for promotion material, and that others are rejected as inappropriate. Broadly speaking we can distinguish between two groups of signs: one that is favourable for establishing a "heritage installation" promoting the "journey into the past" and the "heritage atmosphere"; and another that prohibits heritage associations because the signs are closely linked to

contemporary urban life. The group that is used in marketing material shall be called Heritage Installation Signs and the group that is unfit for representing the "journey into the past" shall be named "Contemporary Life Signs".[5]

Heritage Installation Signs include two sets of signs already mentioned in the introduction. Firstly those that install a (heritage theatre) setting such as historic looking street furniture, cobble-stones, reconstructed façades etc. The set design has a permanent character that modifies the appearance of urban contexts. In terms of street furniture, heritage lamps are distinct in that they are products that are employed globally with little differences in design. Other street furniture such as benches, traffic barriers and signage tend to draw from wider sources of design inspiration than the heritage lamp, although there are off-the-shelf products found amongst them too. Whilst street furniture is exclusively used in marketing images (not texts) the cobble-stone streets are frequently found in descriptions. Installations of a larger scale than street furniture include monuments, fountains, stages and kiosks, the designs of which are not globally standardised, although the design strategy of harmonious integration into the streetscape frequently results in applying historical references in the design.

The second set of *Heritage Installation Signs* are promotional activities that stage the "heritage theatre piece". They include historic (looking) transport, heritage plays and locals posing for photos, e.g. dressed up in traditional attire. Generally these activities are related to (tourism) services and have a temporary character because of their operating hours. Among the transport we can distinguish between original local carriages, busses or trams that are restored and standard tourism trams/buses that are available worldwide as sightseeing transport. Both types of vehicles "label" their users and communicate to other drivers that they will run slowly and stop frequently. In the first case the vehicles additionally enhance the experience of a journey into the past by evoking emotions of nostalgia.

Contemporary Life Signs on the other hand include contemporary street furniture or façades in contemporary design, motorised vehicles, advertising, bill boards, graffiti, satellite dishes, asphalt road surface, overhead cables etc. These signs can be designed objects reflecting the careful consideration of high quality interventions, or they can be improvised building materials, graffiti etc. reflecting poverty, negligence or decay. In any case they visually connect the urban context to the twenty-first century.

Methodologically it is important to establish these two groups of signs in order to explore if urban interventions such as building or promotional

activities lead to the presence of Heritage Installation Signs. By the same token we can examine if Contemporary Life Signs are prohibited or removed from urban contexts. This enables us to understand how urban intervention strategies influence the existence of signs in urban contexts and how they relate to marketing strategies. The following paragraphs examine how urban interventions influence the presence and distribution of both groups of signs in the urban context of World Heritage Towns.

Urban interventions

As we have seen in the section on marketing above, marketing selects specific signs to promote a historic image, avoiding the use of Contemporary Life Signs. It remains to be seen if urban interventions actually edit contexts favouring the installation of signs that help promote the heritage towns and removing those that undermine the promotion of a heritage atmosphere.

The legal background for urban interventions in World Heritage Towns is established by point IV.30 of the UNESCO "Recommendations concerning the safeguarding and contemporary role of historic areas". Usually local conservation regulations and urban planning laws copy the phrasing:

> "Historic areas [...] should be protected from the disfigurement caused by [...] poles, pylons and electricity or telephone cables and [...] large-scale advertising signs. Where these already exist appropriate measures should be taken for their removal." (UNESCO 1976, IV. 30).

This paragraph can be understood as an instruction for removing contemporary signs and indeed we find that many urban interventions involve the removal of Contemporary Life Signs.

> "Bill-posting, neon signs and other kinds of advertisement, commercial signs, street pavements and furniture, should be planned with the greatest care and controlled so that they fit harmoniously into the whole." (UNESCO 1976, IV. 30).

Although it is not explained further at this point in the recommendations there is a question around what is considered to "fit harmoniously into the whole", and this phrasing is used to justify the application of Heritage Installation Signs. Many interventions in World Heritage Towns involve the installation of such signs. Wohlleben (2008, 155) clarifies that an ensemble is defined as a group of buildings that

neither needs to be beautiful nor uniform to be considered a monument. In that sense the postulation of harmonious incorporation of new signs into an existing context is debatable. The installation of signs in the urban realm is associated with the design of the surroundings of monuments and often goes hand in hand with accentuation and complementation of monuments with the objective to intensify visual impact (Vinken 2008, 165).

The consequences of urban interventions can be positive, leading to a re-qualification of public spaces. However, many researchers have reported on the critical and negative effects of urban interventions in historic towns. One negative aspect links urban interventions to tourism and highlights problematic effects of cultural and heritage tourism on urban contexts (i.e. Graham, Ashworth, Tunbridge 2000, Orbasli 2000). Pointing out the dangers of heritage settings becoming consumer products (i.e. Legewie 2003, Lowenthal 1996), it refers to the modification of urban contexts as "theatre sets" for visitors. This may tie in with the implementation of Heritage Installation Signs pointed out above. The introduction of such signs as well as the dismantling of Contemporary Life Signs is related to gentrification processes in historic quarters by Jones and Varley (1999) as well as Mogensen (2000) and Tjoa-Bonatz (1999). Investigations into highly diverse cultural backgrounds all criticise the modification of physical contexts as being instrumentalised for political and economic purposes. They argue that the resident population is expelled from historical quarters as a consequence of activities labelled as heritage protection and promotion. This process seems to be a globally occurring tendency.

Another aspect of criticism that relates to the introduction of Heritage Installation Signs is the physical consequence of adaptive historicism (comp. the conservation debate led by i.e. Huse 1996, Lübbe 1987, Choay 1997). It is seen as producing a homogenisation of urban contexts. The result of architectural interventions – such as the reconstruction or restoration of individual buildings or urban landscapes – are described as going hand in hand with a selective view of history (Meier 2008, 12). This is condemned as unjust to the historical richness of manifold layers (including contemporary) that generate heterogeneous urban contexts. Although the above evaluation is shared by many authors, some hold a different view. Rodwell (2007, 213), for example, condemns the fact that "today, references to historical styles are dismissed by some as pastiche, a term that is used in a derogatory sense as the antithesis of *contemporary*". He views references to historical styles as inclusive approaches to creative continuity that were respected at the time of Robert Adam and Alexey

Viktorovich Schusev and only started to be dismissed in the intolerant twentieth century. In practice we find that many interventions follow this approach by employing references to historical styles.

Related to both the conservation debate and the criticism that heritage sites become consumer products is the discussion on authenticity. Authenticity itself is a term that has been discussed in depth in the context of World Heritage. Since the formulation of the Nara Document on Authenticity (UNESCO 1994, 11) it has been established that authenticity must be evaluated in its cultural context. In western culture the term authenticity is frequently applied to characterise tangible values of historic substance. Conservation professionals in these cultural contexts generally seek to conserve the material authenticity of built environments. Hence reconstruction and the installation of street furniture that a layperson mistakes for originally historic in substance (not only in design) are often criticised. To what extend visitors to heritage sites seek authenticity has been debated widely but can not be presented in depth in this article. Lowenthal (1996, 165) states that "Sites wilfully contrived often serve heritage better than those faithfully preserved." Some conservation experts hold the view that in order to create an understanding for a historic site and its heritage values it can help to permit building interventions that facilitate an intellectual as well as an emotional access for the visitor (Köstlin 2002, 40; Mörsch 1989, 139 f.).

To summarise, urban interventions that involve the introduction of Heritage Installation Signs and the dismantling of contemporary life signs are influenced by debates about the modification of urban contexts with the purpose of presenting and promoting heritage. In the section on marketing we have seen that the urban realm of a heritage town is the main asset for the promotion of tourism. Marketing material needs "adequate signs" to produce photos that promote heritage values. Urban interventions can be designed to enhance the production of these images. And vice versa, marketing material may set standards in verbal and visual story-telling to produce a specific city image. This may initiate urban interventions which comply to heritage expectations.

The following three cases show distinct strategies for urban intervention and marketing that may be representative for other towns.
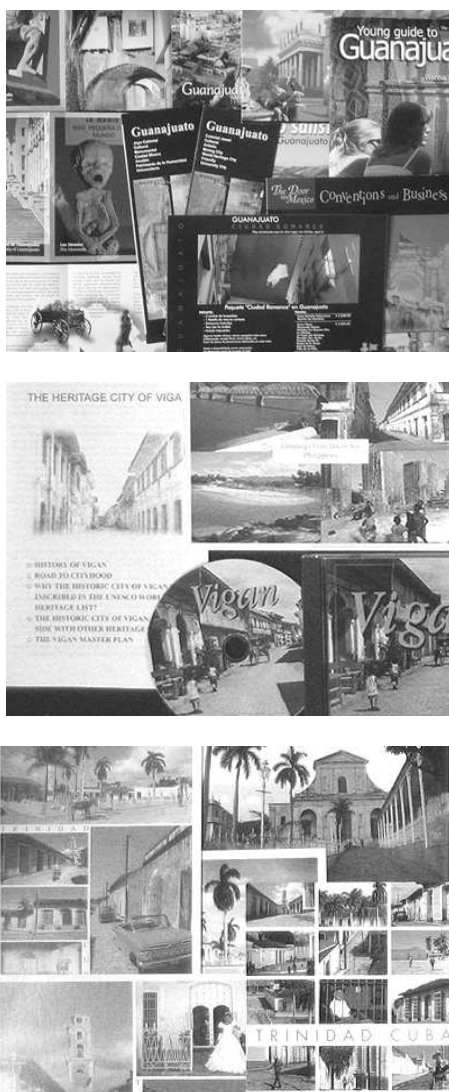
Fig. 3-4: Marketing material: Guanajuato, 2006; Vigan, 2004; Trinidad, 2006 (top to bottom)

Guanajuato: Clustering beautification interventions

Guanajuato in central Mexico was founded at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Its wealth, generated by the nearby silver mines, lasted up to the beginning of the nineteenth century and briefly re-emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Today Guanajuato has a population of 79.000. The town centre, along with the silver mines, became a World Heritage Site in 1988.

Urban interventions that involve the removal of Contemporary Life Signs and the introduction of Heritage Installation Signs are undertaken in thirteen clusters distributed over the inner city. The principle action is the hiding of electricity cables under new cobble-stone paving and the furnishing of the urban spaces with heritage lamps, traffic barriers and benches. Guanajuato's preservation regulations correspond with the UNESCO recommendations mentioned above and the interventions can be classified as re-qualification and beautification of streetscapes for both locals and visitors. Interestingly, some street furniture (i.e. waste-paper baskets, phone boxes) remains in a contemporary standard style. The prohibition of advertising signs is by-passed by businesses using portable signs that do not damage façades and that disappear when shops are closed. The coexistence of Heritage Installation Signs and Contemporary Life Signs can be witnessed in many of the thirteen intervention clusters. As Contemporary Life Signs remain present in the urban realm the considerable investment in introducing Heritage Installation Signs does not succeed in creating an atmosphere conductive to perfect "journey into the past"-marketing images.

Fig. 3-5: Signs in Guanajuato, 2006

Fig. 3-6: Mobile signs in Guanajuato, 2006

The local and regional marketing material available in Guanajuato's tourism offices, hotels, museums and shops is professional. Brochures and leaflets present architectural features and public spaces at night. The night-time photos may be associated with a "romantic" atmosphere. Additionally they succeed in not showing Contemporary Life Signs that only appear during daytime. The pedestrianised zone and a giant flower pot in the form of an historic mining cart (fig. 3-2) are the Heritage Installation Signs introduced in urban interventions that are featured in marketing material. From Guanajuato we can learn to consider the temporary aspect of signage and the consequences of co-existence of both groups of contradictory signs.

Vigan: Creating a heritage stage set in one street

Vigan, on the island of Luzon in the north of the Philippines, was founded in 1574 and prospered between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries as an important trading post between China and Mexico. Today, Vigan has 45.000 inhabitants. After a failed attempt in 1989 Vigan gained the title World Heritage Site in 1999.

Fig. 3-7: Crisologo Street, Vigan, 2004   Fig. 3-8: Street in the center of Vigan

Urban interventions in Vigan are focussed on a 350-meter stretch of one street (Crisologo Street, fig. 3-7). Here, a perfect heritage stage set was created by removing the asphalt road surface, hiding electricity cables under new cobble-stones, removing advertising signs and installing heritage street furniture. Restricting the street exclusively to pedestrian traffic except for re-introduced horse-drawn carriages puts Crisologo Street in distinct contrast to the surrounding streets in the historical centre. The fact that locals avoid the car-free street contributes to removing the setting from the context of contemporary every-day life. With relatively

little investment in comparison to Guanajuato, Vigan's authorities have created an island that adequately markets the heritage experience of a "journey into the past". However, whilst the intervention is perfect for marketing, the visitor may be disappointed that the street is not representative of the historic quarter, but an exception.

The very limited marketing material available in Vigan's tourist office, shops, museums and hotels consists only of leaflets and is of a rather poor print quality. The choice of postcards is limited to two. All images make full use of the "heritage atmosphere" created by urban intervention in Crisologo Street. The perfect match between the urban context pictured in marketing material and the urban interventions undertaken is striking. There has, however, been no achievement in the conservation of building stock along the stretch of urban intervention and social change in the appropriation of public spaces is not being analysed critically. The "heritage set" covers only a small area giving it the intervention-pattern of an island. Hence transformation has had little impact on the historic quarter as a whole. From the example of Vigan we can learn that it is extremely important to consider the consequences of the patterns of urban intervention. If the area was to be extended negative consequences such as gentrification are likely to emerge.

Trinidad: Doing nothing is the best intervention

Trinidad on the south coast of Cuba was founded in 1513 and prospered with the sugar industry in the nineteenth century. Today it has approximately 60.000 inhabitants. Trinidad and the nearby *Vale de los Ingenios* were declared a World Heritage Site in 1988.

Generally speaking Trinidad does not need urban intervention to produce marketing images. The cobble-stone roads in the core zone were never asphalted and the absence of advertising and satellite dishes comes with the political regime. Were it not for the entrance gates, the pedestrianised zone would hardly be recognisable because traffic numbers are very low. Trinidad's urban realm is a perfect heritage setting that does not need urban intervention. However, on its fringes some homes show use of inadequate materials and degradation. These signs of poverty are being removed along with modest interventions in architectural conservation.

The main project in terms of introducing Heritage Installation Signs is the construction of a giant staircase on a hill leading up to one of the historic mansions (today *Casa de la Música*) near the main square. Two bars were established on the stairs. Each of them is hidden behind

somewhat historical looking porticos and features heritage lamps out front. At night the stairs become a stage for concerts. Even tourists who stay at hotels on the beach eight kilometres away attend the shows. The interventions of Trinidad's authorities focus on creating establishments that generate a hard currency profit. Moreover, there is a preference to revitalise derelict buildings to install restaurants or souvenir shops, rather than spending money on urban interventions. It must be noted that any abandoned property already is or can easily become public property in Trinidad so that there are no legal limits for taking action. This situation is completely different in Guanajuato and Vigan and explains to a certain degree why the authorities' actions differ.

Fig. 3-9: Stairs in front of *Casa de la Música*, Trinidad, 2006

Fig. 3-10: Local posing for a photo, Trinidad, 2006

The marketing material available in Trinidad consists of guidebooks and a large selection of postcards that are for sale. Photos mainly feature the urban realm and museum interiors. Heritage Installation Signs are included only in the sense of the "heritage theatre piece" and they do not refer to its colonial heritage. In Cuba heritage nostalgia has different references. The heritage produced by more than fifty years of isolation, such as "Che Guevara" and "Buena Vista Social Club" play an important role. The latter is featured in promotion activities. Promoters are old men wearing straw hats and smoking large cigars posing professionally for photos with their donkeys or gamecocks. They have their business registered and pay taxes. Although they are not part of a public service strategy photographs of them are used in official promotion material.

Conclusion

The brief description of the relation between signs, urban interventions and marketing in the three case studies confirms that signs do play a related role in both marketing and urban intervention. The comparison of Vigan and Trinidad demonstrates that interventions are more significant for marketing locations with a lack of historical images. In Vigan, urban interventions are employed to produce heritage images (that are used) for marketing whilst in Trinidad there is an abundance of images without urban intervention. Likewise, the comparison between Vigan and Guanajuato shows that interventions have a stronger impact and relevance for marketing if they change contexts. The transformed street in Vigan has altered the context profoundly whilst the beautification interventions in Guanajuato never established a complete alteration of context.

As well as exploring the degree of contextual transformation, the case studies demonstrate that distinct strategies establish different spatial and temporary sign-patterns. Guanajuato invests heavily in urban interventions that establish spatial *clusters* where Heritage Installation Signs and Contemporary Life Signs co-exist. Vigan focuses on the perfect transformation of a limited area, creating the pattern of a spatial *island* within the core zone. Trinidad, in contrast, puts no focus on urban interventions that install or dismantle signs. Generally, it can be noted that patterns of urban intervention influence the appropriation of urban spaces by locals and by visitors.

The temporary aspect of signs became most obvious in Guanajuato, where the opening hours of shops coincide with the dominance of mobile advertising signs. Additionally, promoters also have their working hours and traffic its peak periods. Considering the temporary aspect of the presence of signs opens up new perspectives on interim urban interventions (such as establishment of temporary pedestrian zones) and consequently opportunities for heritage marketing. Taking temporary aspects in the planning of urban interventions into account enables the provision of heritage experiences without permanently altering contexts.

Returning to the initial question of the global validity of signs employed in marketing World Heritage Towns, it helps to distinguish between global products and global strategies. Both are related and can be found amongst the signs used in installing a heritage theatre setting as well as the signs used in staging a heritage theatre piece.

Among the group of temporary signs used in staging a heritage theatre piece, global products are less common. One example is the internationally available tourist bus that is camouflaged as a train or a tram. There are

companies who produce these vehicles and sell them to different towns. Guanajuato bought such a bus "off-the-shelf". Within the other group of signs (those used in installing a heritage theatre setting) global products are more common. The most prominent example is the heritage lamp. There is an industry that specialises in creating the designs that we see in highly diverging heritage contexts such as Marrakech, Oaxaca and Bath mentioned at the beginning of this article. Indeed, in all of the case studies, urban interventions involved the installation of heritage lamps. Another example for a global product is cobble-stone paving. The paving industry offers cobbles that are often transported over large distances to fit harmoniously into a variety of heritage contexts. In Vigan and Guanajuato the substitution of asphalt with cobble-stones formed part of the urban interventions.

Global strategies are related to global products because the products are introduced on the basis of design or promotion strategies. The reason why we see similar products in different contexts is the assimilation of strategies. In terms of transport the re-introduction of antique vehicles (horse-drawn carriages, trams, buses or underground trains) has become a globally applied strategy. Vigan applies this strategy and even Berlin has done this recently. On a visit in May 2009 I was surprised to find horse-drawn carriages with coachmen dressed up in attire at the rebuilt Pariser Platz in front of the Brandenburg Gate[6]. The coachmen are representative of the fact that locals dressed up in traditional attire often pose for photos in addition to offering services like sightseeing, carriage rides, reading palms/laying cards or acting in heritage plays. The "theatre piece" services differ from town to town and usually relate to the specific heritage of the place. However, they do show strategic similarities that demonstrate global trends in the heritage tourism industry. The activities produce temporary signs that are presented in marketing material promoting heritage towns. Global strategies for the use of signs in installing a heritage theatre setting are led by considerations of promoting the "heritage atmosphere" of urban contexts.

As we have seen in the section on urban intervention, the installation of heritage products is frequently explained as following a globally applied design strategy for urban intervention that requires new buildings and street furniture to fit harmoniously into an existing heritage context. There is, indeed, a choice to introduce new street lighting in the form of heritage lamps or in a contemporary lighting design. If the heritage lamp is chosen urban interventions work hand in hand with marketing strategies by producing settings that are considered "charming" according to international heritage marketing. Noell (2008, 80) points out, that the

reproduction of the same city images is responsible for the continuous assimilation of the towns themselves. Heritage theatre stage sets and heritage theatre pieces performed in the urban realm are undergoing a global homogenisation because they apply similar design and marketing strategies. The strategies involve the use of a limited set of signs that promote an historical image. As a consequence the urban realm of World Heritage Towns tends to undergo a continuous global assimilation.

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Notes

[1] The research presented is based on the author's doctoral thesis on "Musealisation in the urban context" (Nelle, 2007).

[2] Alois Riegl (1858-1905) published his theory in 1903 under the title "Der moderne Denkmalkultus" (The Modern Cult of Monuments). He introduced a value system for listed buildings differentiating between memory-value/ commemorative-value (Erinnerungswert) and present-day-value (Gegenwartswert).

[3] The Organisation of World Heritage Cities publishes the list of members on http://www.ovpm.org (March 2010).

[4] Google search engine, 20th March 2009.

[5] Nelle, 2006, 88 ff and Nelle, 2009 195 use the terms "signs of promoting an historical image" and "signs of contemporary life" in the same sense as translations of the German terms "Inszenierungszeichen" and "Gegenwartszeichen" (Nelle, 2007, 55 ff).

[6] Needless to say that heritage lamps were also installed all around the square.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS AS STAGES FOR NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE: THE CASE OF SCHIPHOL AIRPORT, THE NETHERLANDS

PATRICIA VAN ULZEN

Introduction

Airports connect people, villages, towns, metropolises, nations and continents. In the global village they can be considered as the market place or the café, the place where everybody meets. Indeed nowadays airports do function as market places or cafés. Present-day airports are not just machines to get passengers as quickly as possible to their planes. Their passengers have plenty of time for a shop or a drink and the airports are eager to offer them retail and catering.

But whereas in a traditional village the marketplace and the café are also the spots where information is interchanged and cultural events take place, at the airport most of the time the social and cultural potentialities are not yet fully exploited. However, worldwide there are some developments though, which show that airports are beginning to develop a new vision of their own functioning. In this article I trace the origins of this development. The case I will discuss more extensively, namely Schiphol Airport in the Netherlands, is a pioneer in using the airport in a new way. Schiphol increasingly uses the airport as a stage to present Dutch cultural heritage, and does so in a manner that could be considered exemplary.

Airports as non-places

In the 2008 introduction to the second edition of his renowned book *Non-places*, the French philosopher Marc Augé writes: "to cross international borders brings no more profound variety than is found walking between theatres on Broadway or rides at Disneyland." (Augé 2008, XII). This observation is especially true of air terminals. Flying from, let's say, Flughafen München to Malaga Airport we arrive in a hall with grossly the same characteristics as the one we left 1129 miles behind us: a large, high vault, shiny, high tech materials and an overload of informational and commercial signs. Even if we fly from one continent to another the transition is smooth; the signs are similar, the entourage is unmistakably airterminalish (figs. 4-1 and 4-2).

Fig. 4-1: Malaga Airport, 2010 (top). Fig. 4-2: Bangkok Airport, 2009 (bottom)

This is partly intentional, aimed at comforting the passengers. Partly though, it is the unintentional outcome of the worldwide advertising by multinational firms. One of the most persistent commercials that is printed on the gangways to the airplanes around the world, is the HSBC bank's slogan "The world's local bank" (figs. 4-3 and 4-4).

Fig. 4-3: London Heathrow with HSBC advertising

Fig. 4-4: Bangkok Airport with HSBC advertising

This slogan is often the first thing you see (though seldom notice) when arriving in a country or city by airplane. It is money that makes the world go around. Then all the other global brands come into sight. This unintentional, commercial alikeness of all air terminals also has a calming effect on the passenger, a phenomenon Augé describes: "For him [a foreigner lost in a country he does not know], an oil company logo is a reassuring landmark; among the supermarket shelves he falls with relief on sanitary, household or food products validated by mulitnational brand names." (Augé 2008, 86).

Augé indeed includes air terminals in his summary of "non-places": "all the air, rail and motorway routes, the mobile cabins called 'means of transports' (aircraft, trains and road vehicles), the airports and railway stations, hotel chains, leisure parks, large retail outlets, and finally the complex skein of cable and wireless networks." (Augé 2008, 64). When we take a closer look at Augé's general definition of a non-place, most airports fit in very well. Augé's definition is as negative as the term "non-place" itself: "If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place." (Augé 2008, 63).

In general, couleur locale is hard to be found at airports and often only noticeable in the details, like the typical British homely patterned carpet which welcomes the passenger at Stansted Airport long before the famous functionalist main hall comes into sight where the floor is made of shiny

stone. The carpet, however insignificant it might seem to most passengers, in a way relates to British history and identity, whereas Stansted Airport as a whole is a classic (and much-praised) example of an international architectural airport terminal style. Indeed, the applied architectural style is more or less derived from what American architect Philip Johnson in 1931 baptised "The International Style", i.e. modernism, but without the modernist ideologies and ideals, just a style. Roughly the style is characterised by the use of lots of glass, large, minimally supported vaults, and high-tech material.

As Alastair Gordon describes in his 2008 publication *Naked Airport*, it was in Europe in the mid 1930s that modernist architecture was discovered as the most appropriate architectural style for airports, not per se because of its functionality, but because of the illusion of lightness and the technological appearance, by which a symbolic relationship is created with the airplanes and the process of flying, in short "the relationship between form and flight". As an early example of the expression of this symbolic relationship he points out Kastrup Airport in Denmark by the Danish modernist architect Vilhelm Lauritzen (figs. 4-5 and 4-6): "it was more than just a machine for processing passengers. Lauritzen had managed to design a place that celebrated the transitory nature of modern life." (Gordon 2008, 87).

Fig. 4-5: Kastrup Airport, 1939, entrance

Fig. 4-6: Kastrup Airport, 1939, hall

Kastrup Airport already in a rudimental form and on a small scale shows the characteristics of present-day airport architecture: the shinyness, the cleanness, the large open space, which all together create an atmosphere of freedom of movement. Not all pre-war airports had this transitory, lightweight quality, as is illustrated by this photo of the airport of Little Rock, Arkansas, which looks like a ponderous city hall (fig. 4-7).
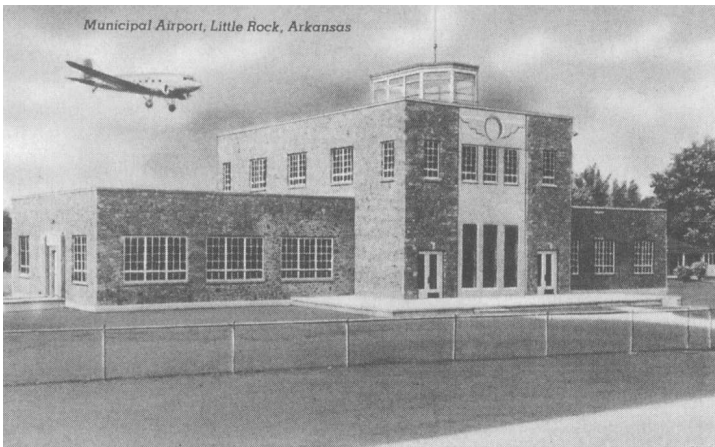
Fig. 4-7: Municipal Airport, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1930s

Today's high-tech air terminals surpass Kastrup Airport in symbolizing the transitory nature of modern life. They are light and transparent in every sense of the word, and they suggest smoothness (for example fig. 4-8). In a

wider sense they symbolise a world without borders. Once a passenger is inside the terminal, and has passed the security checks, he or she is given the illusion of a world without barriers in which he or she can travel from one place to the other. Already in 1970 sociologist Alvin Toffler baptised the ever growing masses of air traveller the "new nomads": "Never has man's relationship with place been more numerous, fragile and temporary [...] We are breeding a new race of nomads." (Gordon 2008, 214-215).

Fig. 4-8: Bangkok Airport

Countermovement: a sense of place

But whereas in the 1930s people still were excited about experiencing the transitory nature of modern life, present-day people are tired of the constant flow they live in. On airports this is expressed by the popularity of lounges, where passengers who can afford it, retreat from the transience of the terminal. These lounges are often decorated in a way that suggests homeliness. Sometimes they allude to the characteristics of the terminal's city or country. In this way, airports meet people's need to *be* somewhere, instead of being carried away all the time. This is a paradox, because the very essence of air terminals is speed, flow and efficiency.

Fig. 4-9: Liverpool John Lennon Airport

Also in the architecture and the decoration of the terminals we see a countermovement. The "unsettlling sense of sameness" (Gordon 2008, 214) of every airport around the world is countered in various ways. Some examples: Liverpool Airport is decorated with images referring to The Beatles, including a mediocre bronze sculpture of John Lennon (fig. 4-9) and a yellow submarine in front of the terminal with clownesque puppets representing the illustrous musicians. Muenchen Airport has a Biergarten. Many airports have kiosks where national products are sold, like the

Swedish handicraft on Stockholm Arlanda Airport. Arlanda moreover welcomes passengers with large portraits of national celebrities. In the Immigration Hall of JFK International Airport's new Terminal 4 hangs a large frieze with painted reliefs depicting New York street scenes (fig. 4-10).

Fig. 4-10: Deborah Masters, *Walking New York*, 2001, painted relief, 8' x 350', Terminal 4, Immigration Hall, JFK International Airport, New York

In some, rare cases, we see that the overall architecture of the terminal gives a sense of place. King Abdul Aziz Airport for example, in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, looks like a camp of tents in the desert (fig. 4-11). Also Dane County Regional Airport in Madison, Wisconsin, USA, is designed to offer a sense of place. Its interior and exterior refer explicitly to the famous local architectural movement of the Prairie School, which was developed from the 1890s to circa 1920, and whose most celebrated exponent was Frank Lloyd Wright (fig. 4-12). The sense of place is also expressed in other ways: people who work at this airport are obliged to live within one hundred kilometers from the airport, and the work of regional artists and craftsmen is on display or is integrated in the decoration of the interior. In his book 2007 *Airport Interiors* Steve Thomas-Emberson writes that this airport "has the possibility of becoming an iconic airport for this new genre of design." (Thomas-Emberson 2007, 68).

Fig. 4-11: King Abdul Aziz Airport, Jeddah

Fig. 4-12: Dane County Regional Airport, Madison

So now let us turn our attention to our Dutch case, Schiphol Airport near Amsterdam. How does it let the passengers know they are in Amsterdam, the Netherlands? Does the architecture refer to the Netherlands' culture, as is the case in Jeddah and Madison? Are there images which show what kind of culture has its origins in the Netherlands, like in Liverpool? Or is there a demonstration of national crafts, like in Stockholm?

Schiphol Airport in 1967

Let us start with having a look at the original architecture and interior design of the air terminal, which has been in use since 1967, but since then was adapted in many ways. When the terminal was completed in 1967, it was a showpiece of the heydays of Dutch modernist design, especially the original interior design from 1967 by Nel Verschuuren and Kho Liang Ie and the graphic design by Benno Wissing of Total Design. The basis of the Schiphol design is a regular grid with a module of a fixed size. The sizes of all the elements are derived from this module, including the floors, the walls, the ceilings, the furniture, the kiosks, etc. Even the bins were especially designed. The colours were restrained, mainly white, black and grey, for the sake of calmness, but also to make the intensely yellow and green signposting even more eye-catching.

This original interior design of Schiphol was a typical example of the dominant Dutch public visual culture of the 1960s and 1970s. In these years modernist, rationalist design was taking over the Dutch public domain. Not just the national airport, but also the national railways, municipal public transport, the national bank, the Postal Services and many more public services commissioned modernist Dutch designers to restyle their corporate identity (Simon Thomas 2008, 166).This visual culture is still very much alive, and it is rooted in a Dutch geometric tradition. The products of De Stijl and other Dutch contributions to abstract art fit into this tradition, as well as the church interiors Saenredam painted in the 17th century. More well-known to the general public is the analogy with the Dutch landscape; especially when seen from an air plane, Holland looks as if it is designed by a mathematician. In 1927 the American journalist Lowell Thomas saw the Netherlands from an airplane and noted in his travel diary that it looked like a "gigantic garden laid out by landscape artists with a passion for geometrical designs." (Gordon 2008, 18).

Fig. 4-13: Original interior Schiphol Airport, design by Nel Verschuuren and Kho
Liang Ie, 1967

Seen from this perspective, the original Schiphol interior was a show-
case of the national cultural identity. The average passenger may not have
been aware of Dutch design trends, but the strict geometrical, rectangular
basis of the interior design may have come across as typically Dutch, as
well as the white cleanliness.

Present-day Schiphol Airport and the Holland Boulevard

This Dutchness on a meta-level nowadays is hardly noticeable
anymore. This is because of four developments. Firstly, the austerity of the

original terminal is mitigated by newly added furniture, shops, kiosks, bars and the like. Secondly, as we saw above, the modernist style has become the international style for airports. Thirdly, the graphic design of Schiphol has been sold to several other airports around the world, including mainports like JFK, New York (fig. 4-14). And fourthly, there are more shops at Schiphol than in 1967 and the shops sell the same brands as every other airport in the world. Because of these developments Schiphol nowadays looks more or less like any other airport in the world.

Fig. 4-14: Signposting at JFK Airport, New York

So how do jet lagged, arriving passengers know they are in Amsterdam, the Netherlands? Are they heartily welcomed, like in Copenhagen, where a large skyblue neon sign says "Welcome To Wonderful Copenhagen"? I am afraid not.[1] Only the Royal Bank of Scotland (!) welcomes the passengers with a sign on a fence, decorated with some images of Amsterdam (fig. 4-15).

Fig. 4-15: "Welcome to Amsterdam"-sign at Schiphol Airport by the Royal Bank of Scotland

Outside the airport there is another welcoming text placed underneath a large Royal Bank of Scotland logo. Along the route from the plane to the customs there aren't any other indicators of place. All the advertisements are international. In the hall with the baggage conveyer belts it is global brand Master Card that gives a sense of place: above each belt there is a Master Card advertisement with an image of cyclists crossing the Amsterdam canals. The only non-commercial welcoming sign shows up from time to time on the display with the flight schedules.

Yet, Schiphol puts considerable effort into "adding" Dutchness to the departure areas. There is a "Holland boulevard" (fig. 4-16) with several facilities, amongst which the most remarkable is an annex to the national art museum, the prestigious Rijksmuseum (fig. 4-17). Since December 2002, some seventeen exhibitions have been held here all of which represented a well known feature of the Netherlands' cultural heritage, for example: "Dutch Skies", "Maritime Power", "Mondrian & De Stijl", "Dutch Windmills, Art and Industry", "Holland and Japan" and "Dutch Cows". According to the Rijksmuseum's website, it is the only museum worldwide with an airport-annex.

Fig. 4-16: Entrance of the "Holland Boulevard", 2009

Fig. 4-17: The Rijksmuseum at Schiphol Airport, 2009. In the suspended, golden "box" the artworks are on display; the room below with the red carpet is the shop. Not all visitors go all the way up to the actual exhibition room

With some 170,000 visitors a year one cannot but conclude that The Rijksmuseum initiative is a success (Hoog Antink 2008, 7-8; Rijksmuseum eindejaarscijfers 2007). And the quality of the exhibitions is undisputable.

But on the other hand the concept has it weaknesses. Firstly, the Rijksmuseum annex is located behind the passport control for the E and F piers, i.e. the piers for intercontinental passengers. This means that other passengers have access, but getting there takes a lot of time and a lot of bother, because you have to pass passport control twice. Secondly, the annex is an anomaly in the context of the terminal. The immediate surroundings communicate on a completely different level: people are encouraged to shop, to eat, to drink, not to contemplate. Also literally the museum is an isolated entity, rising above the crowd: the actual exhibition pavilion is suspended (fig. 4-17). This pavilion moreover looks like a golden jewellery box, which enhances its aura of exclusivity. Maybe this is the reason why many people don't even go up to the exhibition space, but only visit the shop below, which is much more approachable. It is even conceivable that some visitors mistake the shop for the museum. One visitor confessed to me that she had the impression that the exhibition room, where all artworks are on display behind glass because of safety reasons, was the shopping window for the commodities in the shop. But the products for sale downstairs are, with rare exceptions, artistically worthless, mostly copies of the real artworks, sometimes printed on canvas, sometimes on umbrellas or coffee cups.

The Rijksmuseum is not the only attraction at the so called Holland Boulevard, but at the time I did my initial research it was a high culture oasis amidst clichéd tourist representations of the Netherlands. I write *was*, because in 2010 the Holland Boulevard was restyled and new, high quality amenities were added.

The Holland Boulevard restyled

August 2010 saw the opening of the renewed and enlarged Holland Boulevard. Whereas the old version of the Boulevard made a messy impression and lacked unity, in appearance as well as in concept, in the new version all attractions are styled in the same manner - except for the Holland Casino which still is a gloomy gambling den and only nominally is Dutch. In general, the representation of Dutch identity now has more depth and the inevitable stereotypes like Delft Blue and tulips are presented in an up-to-date fashion.

The Rijksmuseum shop now sells more than only copies and kitsch: there is a supply of contemporary Dutch design products of a high quality, for example from the famous Droog Design label (fig. 4-18). In this way national heritage and commerce amalgamate. The culture is not commercialised, but the objects for sale *are* the culture.

Fig. 4-18: Dutch contemporary design for sale in the Schiphol Museum Shop, 2010

But the most interesting new feature in the context of this article is the Airport Library. Like the Rijksmuseum annex, this is a world premiere, Schiphol being the first airport in the world with a library for passengers (Press release 25 August 2010, fig. 4-19). The main aim of the library is to give an overview of Dutch culture to passengers, not just Dutch literature, which is available in 29 languages, but also Dutch music, films and

photography. Books can be read on the spot, in one of the 11 "active" seats or one of the 14 lounge chairs. A text on one of the white bookcases says, in English:

> "Welcome to the Airport Library at Schiphol. We invite you to watch, read, listen to, download and enjoy Dutch culture. Please leave the books in the library area so other visitors can also enjoy them. Feel free to sit and relax here. On the upper floor is a sleeping area for your convenience."

The actual library contains some 1100 books, but iPads and a "download column" enlarge the assortment (Factsheet Airport Library). These new media also enable the viewing of films or listening to music. Temporary exhibitions of photographs add the finishing touch to this Dutch cultural cluster.

Fig. 4-19: A passenger at a table with an iPad in the Schiphol Airport Library, 2010

Fig. 4-20: A passenger in one of the lounges at the Holland Boulevard, reading a book from the Schiphol Airport Library by the (fake) fire. Left in the background: a detail from a large airbrush painting by Dutch artist Hugo Kaagman. The painting has a Delft Blue appearance and depicts typically Dutch subjects, such as the windmill's sail on this photograph.

Conclusion

At the beginning of the 21st century, passengers expect airports to offer more services than just herding them towards the planes. Even without delays, travelling by airplane means many hours of waiting. There is enough time to look around or to relax. The traditional pastime, tax free shopping, is only attractive for people who intend to spend a lot of (black) money.[2] Moreover, it is a well known fact that, in the present-day globalised world people only more intensely feel the need to know where on earth they are. If the airport shops only sell the global brands which can be purchased anywhere, this need is not satisfied. The newest challenge for airports therefore is to offer a sense of place. Above we discussed some answers to this challenge: airports let passengers know where they are by means of architecture, by means of displaying national features, by offering regional or national commodities.

Schiphol Airport's answer to this challenge is the Holland Boulevard. The new version of this Boulevard, especially the Airport Library, is a praiseworthy initiative. It is a nice service to the passengers and it adds a

cultural as well as a social function to the terminal. But it is also a very clever understanding of the potential of the airport to function as a stage for national heritage. It is only logical that the library is funded by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. If only ten percent of the millions of visitors a year make use of the Airport Library, it already is a mega success. Like with all really good ideas, it makes you wonder why nobody came up with this before.

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Notes

[1] The initial research for this paper, including "field work" at Schiphol Airport, I did in the first half of 2009. I started this research as part of a commission by the Dutch Ministry of Transport, Public Works and Watermanagement to write an essay about the cultural history and identity of the Netherlands' Mainports (Van Ulzen 2010). Since the publication of my essay Schiphol Airport changed some of the features I describe in this chapter. At the closing of my text I give attention to these changes.

[2] A former employee of a tax free shop told me that in the period she worked at Schiphol Airport it was not unusual that purchases were paid with impressive piles of dollar bills.

CHAPTER FIVE

MODERN TROPHY:
GLOBAL ACTORS IN THE HERITAGE
VALORISATION OF THE *MAISONS TROPICALES*

CHRISTOPH RAUSCH

Introduction

The global "heritage theater" is directed by governmental and intergovernmental organisations. Branches of national ministries of culture as well as international institutions such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) exercise legislative and executive control, governing the heritage world based on powerful claims to scientific expertise. The UNESCO World Heritage program is a good case in point. Today, the UNESCO World Heritage convention has been ratified by 186 state parties, more than any other international treaty. Since 1972 the program has resulted in an extensive list of World Heritage sites and the issuing of binding preservation regulations. In fact, it is on the advisory bodies to UNESCO that prominent experts debate dominant understandings of heritage. However, despite the influence and authority of governmental and intergovernmental heritage actors, the global impact of other actors is increasing. In this article I analyze the recent translocation, commoditisation and display of the so-called *maisons tropicales* by private, corporate and institutional actors from the contemporary art world, as well as interventions from the established heritage world.

The *maisons tropicales* are a set of three prototype houses for colonial officials conceived by the industrial designer Jean Prouvé and assembled from pre-fabricated aluminum modules in the French Niger and Congo during the late 1940's and early 1950's. As such, the *maisons tropicales* belong to the category of modern architectural heritage in Africa, which the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has

identified in its 2004 advisory report to UNESCO *Filling the Gaps: An Action Plan for the Future* as combining both thematic and regional shortcomings of the World Heritage list (Jokilehto 2005). In fact, regarding the inventory and preservation of modern, that is colonial and post-colonial built heritage of the early to mid 20th century, Africa is currently referred to as a blank spot on the map of the world (Tournikiotis 2007). Governmental and intergovernmental cultural heritage organisations are urging the inventory and the protection of significant instances of modern architecture there. Notably, ICOMOS refers to early modern architecture in Africa as a "shared colonial heritage," suggesting joint responsibilities for the national governments representing former colonisers and colonised alike (ICOMOS 2001).

But, in the case of the *maisons tropicales* an official inventory of colonial built heritage in the Republic of the Congo has lead independent private actors to search for modern architecture and industrial design suitable for sale on the art market. In the mid 1990's the French government financed research and two publications on the modern architectural inheritance of Brazzaville, the capital of the Republic of the Congo. Based on these publications, which feature photographs of two *maisons tropicales*, an American collector commissioned a Parisian gallery owner to track down the houses for acquisition, dismantling and shipment out of Africa. In 2000, all three of *the maisons tropicales* were indeed removed from Brazzaville, Congo and Niamey, Niger to France, despite authoritative emergency calls from the UNESCO World Heritage Center lobbying for the preservation of the structures in situ. In 2007 Christie's in New York auctioned one of the houses for several million US Dollars. The buyer is now planning to turn it into a luxury retreat in the Caribbean. Currently another of the *maisons tropicales* is on permanent loan to the Centre Pompidou in Paris, while the remaining third house is still in the possession of the facilitating Paris gallery.

The case of the *maisons tropicales* briefly sketched above is illustrative of conflicting roles and agendas of different global actors in the heritage valorisation of modern architecture in Africa. Understanding heritage as a cultural practice, as something that is being done, in this article I aim to analyze the way heritage value is constructed and legitimised today by asking who does what, how and why in the particular case of the *maisons tropicales* (Smith 2006; Appadurai 1986). For this purpose I draw on multi-sited ethnographic research and in-depth interviews conducted in the context of my larger PhD research project *Rescuing Modernity: Global Actors in the Heritage Valorisation of Modern Architecture in Africa*.

From *Maisons Coloniales* for Africa to *Maisons Tropicales* out of Africa

The former African colonies have constituted significant fields of experimentation for the development of modern architecture (Crinson 1996 & 2003; Heynen 2005). During colonialism, modern building construction was a means to appropriate territory and to effectively rule over and "civilise" the indigenous population (AlSayyad 1992; Crinson 1996; Fuller 2007; King 1976, 1991 & 2004; Rabinow 1989). The examples of Jean Prouvé's so-called *maisons tropicales* are no exception. These innovative pre-fabricated houses were assembled from standardised modules of aluminum, which were intended for the mass production of colonial buildings ranging from expeditionary shelters to school complexes (Cinqualbre 2009; Touchaleaume 2006). In France, Jean Prouvé had been experimenting with designs of modular techniques of building construction since the 1920's. In fact, he quickly turned to the African periphery, competing for military contracts to build huts for the French colonial troops in the late 1930's and for the corps of engineers in the early 1940's. Subsequently, Prouvé was asked by the responsible colonial officials in the French territory of Niger to plan a college, the government building and law courts in Niamey. He took the opportunity to develop a series of generic designs, many of which he called *maisons coloniales* (Cinqualbre 2009).

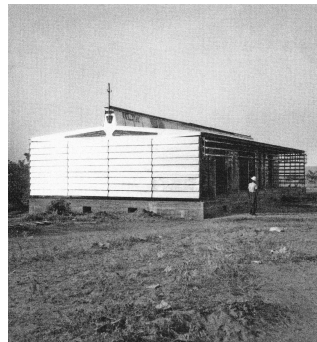Fig. 5-1: Design for a maison coloniale   Fig.5-2:The Niamey House

Prouvé engaged in a classical colonial project, indeed. This is a fact hardly disguised by the issue of alternative names such as *maisons equatoriales*, *maisons africaines*, or the term most widely used in

description of the project, today, *maisons tropicales*.[1] Early on, Prouvé saw an opportunity to exploit the potentially profitable market in prefabricated housing for the colonies. The modular parts for his buildings were to be industrially produced in the metropolis, and easily transported to and assembled by unskilled labor in the periphery. However, despite lobbying for the realisation of the larger scale commissions in Niamey, only one demonstration house was built there in 1949. The installation of a set of two more prototypes in the Congolese city of Brazzaville in 195 on account of the *Aluminum Francais* corporation and in view of further advertisement, could not boost production either (Cinqualbre 2009). Apparently, although the design of the modules was well suited for the specific climatic conditions in "the tropics" they proved to be too expensive for broader implementation (Bergdoll and Christensen 2008; Touchaleaume 2006; Vegesack 2005). Moreover, the French were soon to leave their sub-Saharan territories.

Fig. 5-3: The Brazzaville Houses

After the retreat of the colonial authorities and political independence in the Niger and the Congo respectively in 1957 and 1960, just as most of

Jean Prouvé's work, the prototype *maisons tropicales* remained unmentioned in the historiography of modern architecture. In fact, while they were continuously used for accommodation and business by local inhabitants after the French colonial occupation had ended, the structures are said to have been "forgotten" until their "rediscovery" in the wake of the French heritage mission, which lasted from 1993 until 1995 (Rose 2008a).

Financed by the French ministries of foreign cooperation and culture this mission was led by Bernard Toulier, a senior expert on 20th century built heritage employed by the latter institution. When I interviewed Bernard Toulier in his office at the ministry of culture in Paris in 2009, he explained that besides a generally increasing interest in modern architectural heritage since the late 1980's, a reason for the French government funding of an inventory of modern heritage in the former French Congo was an upcoming interest in "shared colonial heritage" in the 1990's.[2]

Toulier's research on colonial heritage in the Congo yielded two booklets featuring photographs of architecture by Jean Prouvé: the brochures *Brazzaville Decouvertes* and *Brazzaville la Verte*: *Inventaire Général Des Monuments Et Richesses Artistiques De La France*, both appearing in the context of the official series on French heritage Inventaire Général des Monuments et Richesses Artistiques de la France in 1996 (Tolier 1996a & 1996b). Interestingly, the appearance of photographs of the *maisons tropicales* as well as of an Air France building designed and furnished by Jean Prouvé in these publications coincided with an increasing acknowledgment of Prouvé's oeuvre as historically significant. The publications also generated considerable attention in the art world because of the development of hype around Prouvé's industrial design on the art market in the 1990's. As a result, the Parisian gallerists Phillippe Jousse and Patrick Seguin embarked on a private expedition to post-colonial Brazzaville, publishing more photographs of the *maisons tropicales* in their 1998 gallery catalog entitled *Jean Prouvé* (Jousee and Seguin 1998).

However, Joussee and Seguin did not only bring pictures. Their trip also resulted in what is called "the repatriation" (Rubin 2009, 117) of large quantities of Prouvé furniture and other items of industrial design from the Air France building such as solar protection panels, which were taken to and sold in Paris. And with Prouvé furniture and fixtures yielding exorbitant prices on the market for modern design, it did not take long before the American collector Robert Rubin had "the idea of perhaps repatriating the houses themselves," calling it "a daunting prospect for both political and financial reasons, but nonetheless an idea whose time would eventually come." (Rubin 2009, 117).   Actually, Rubin soon

proceeded to commission the French art dealer Eric Touchaleaume to launch a mission to find and buy the three *maisons tropicales* in Brazzaville and Niamey (Touchaleaume 2006).

Robert Rubin is a financial investor of means and as such a collector of vintage cars, as well as modern architecture. In 2009 I interviewed him about the *maisons tropicales* in Paris, where he owns the 1932 maison de verre by Pierre Chareau, another celebrated instance of modern architecture, tucked into the backyard of a wealthy left bank residential complex. Rubin certainly takes his collections seriously, a fact that is also indicated by his long-time enrollment at Columbia University as a doctoral candidate of architectural history. Indeed, he accredits his initiative to get the *maisons tropicales* out of Africa as much to his impulses as a collector as to his realisation of the historical significance of Jean Prouvé's pre-fabricated architecture.[3]

Eric Touchaleaume, Rubin's collaborator in the eventual translocation of the *maisons tropicales*, owns the Gallerie 54 in Paris where he deals in modern furniture and industrial design. The British Guardian has called him "the Indiana Jones" of furniture collecting, referring to his expeditions to the former French colony of Algeria where he "salvaged" (Rose 2008a) tables and chairs before engaging with the *maisons tropicales*. Encouraged and financed by Rubin, Touchaleaume embarked for Brazzaville in order to find the *maisons tropicales* in 1999. In fact, he enthusiastically claims that it was always his dream to search for "those mythical houses" (Touchaleaume 2006). However, officials at governmental and intergovernmental heritage organisations were critical about the prospect of a translocation of the *maisons tropicales*. In the end, the *maisons tropicales* were broken up in pieces and removed from Africa in defiance of protests by national authorities and UNESCO, who pleaded for their stay and protection in site.

In 2009 I spoke to Lazare Eloundo Assomo, chief of the Africa section at the World Heritage Center in Paris. Eloundo Assomo said that it was Bernard Toulier, who first alerted him of the imminent translocation of the houses. Eloundo Assomo in turn alerted national authorities in Brazzaville of the "risk to lose the *maisons tropicales* because of collectors in the process of removing the houses from the Congo, and that they should remain there." But, according to Eloundo Assomo, the Congolese ministry of culture was not aware of such a risk, nor did it seem to be aware of any heritage significance of the *maisons tropicales*. In fact, it became clear that no steps could be taken at ministerial level because no appropriate heritage legislation was in place. Even though Eloundo Assomo tried to intervene at the "last minute", the translocation was eventually authorised by "other

people" at another Congolese government institution, "who didn't know of the value of the houses" but merely saw "pieces of metal."[4]

Eric Touchaleaume has described the process leading to the dismantling and transport of the *maisons tropicales* to France as

> "six months of endless talks, joys, disappointments, dirty tricks, meetings with some amazing people and some vile ones… and lastly, our heads filled with fabulous memories and the tropical houses, all spruced up, displayed in Paris, just like in my dream." (Touchaleaume 2006).

He says to have paid a number of proclaimed proprietors of the houses, bribed government officials, and leveraged "patrimonial claims" (Gentleman 2004). Actually, Touchaleaume's story mirrors that of Eloundou Assomo in urgency:

> "We packed the pieces in Banana leaves, in 15 shipping containers, and took them by rail to the port with armed guards. At the last minute the government stopped us for one more 'petit cadeau'." (Rose 2008a).

This "little gift" is reported to have been 35000 US Dollars. However, in the light of the subsequent commoditisation and display of the *maisons tropicales*, Rubin's and Touchaleaume's expenses proved to be a well-made investment.

Robert Rubin kept one of the houses for a reported 1 million US Dollars (Gordon 2004). From 2002 until 2004 he had this house restored and he later launched a well orchestrated campaign of exhibitions and publications focusing on Prouvé's techniques of pre-fabricated constructions. In fact, endorsed with the credentials of Columbia University and the support of its prominent staff, Rubin has fashioned himself as the prime expert on the *maisons tropicales*, publishing articles and lecturing widely about his collectors' item. In response to the critiques of the translocation of the *maisons tropicales*, Rubin emphasises what he claims to be their non site-specific and "nomadic" or "itinerant" character and focuses on the "pedagogic" value of his house as an early example of a sustainable or "green" "building system" (Rubin 2005).

In 2005 Rubin had his *maison* shown to architecture students at Yale University and at the University of California (Rubin 2009). Another notable exhibition featuring information on the *maisons tropicales* was the 2008 "Home Delivery" show on pre-fabricated architecture by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, for which Rubin wrote a catalogue entry (Rubin 2008). Actually, at the MoMA the house was not physically
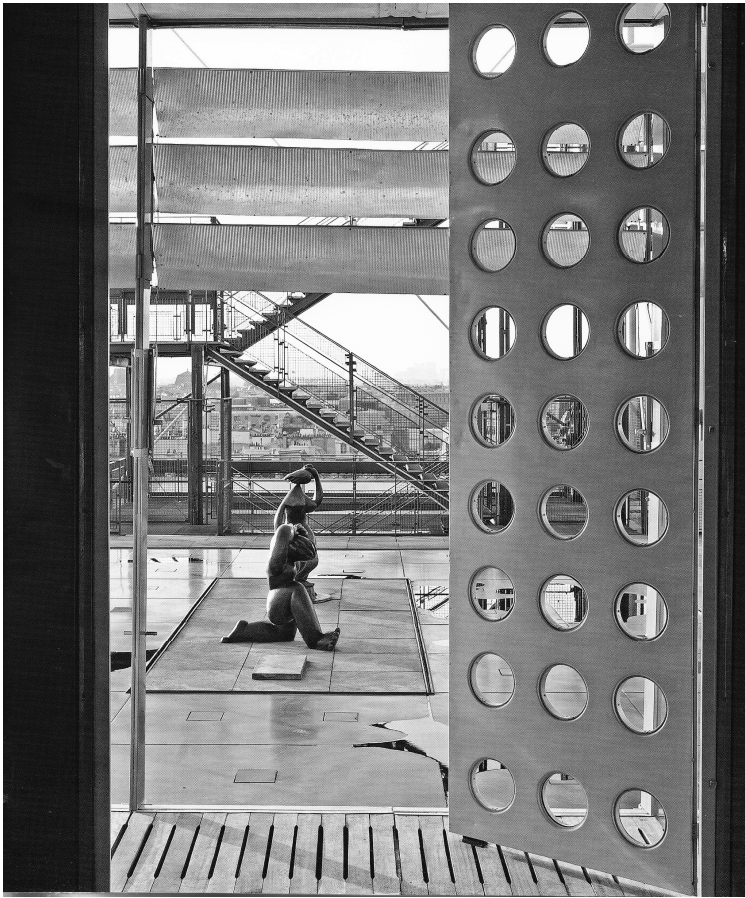
Fig. 5-4: Display of Robert Rubin's *maison tropicale* on the roof terrace of the Centre Pompidou, Paris

displayed because Rubin had placed it on permanent loan to the Centre Pompidou earlier, in 2007. This loan was executed through the American-based Centre Pompidou foundation, which Rubin revived for this purpose and which he currently presides (Cinqualbre 2009). Now resting on the balcony of the fifth floor of the Parisian museum, the house is displayed as significant French heritage. The Pompidou exhibition has a clear focus on the mastership and the aesthetics of Jean Prouvé's industrial design and on what is called the "frank modernity" of his architecture (Centre Pompidou).

However, the display lacks contextualisation regarding colonial and post-colonial histories. In any case, the interpretation of the *maisons tropicales* at the Centre Pompidou as French heritage very much conforms to Rubin's talk of a "repatriation" of the *maisons tropicales*.

Eric Touchaleaume too had one of *his maisons tropicales* restored. Based on Prouvé's credentials in the art world and raising considerable media attention, the house was auctioned through Christie's in New York in 2007. Press reports of the auction included articles in Vogue Interior, as well as various other architectural magazines, the New York Times, and even a piece in the Guardian spectacularly entitled "Bullet Holes Extra: A Classic of Modern Design Has Been Saved From Squatters, Snipers, and the Congolese Jungle" (Hamilton 2007; Alexander 2008). Moreover, the International Heritage Tribune posted a "Style Alert" on the house calling it "the biggest trophy in modern and contemporary design" (International Herald Tribune 2007).

Eventually, Touchaleaume's *maison* was bought on auction for 4.97 million US Dollars by the real estate and hotel magnate André Balasz, who immediately lent it for display in front of the Tate Modern in London. There, the exhibition of the house as "a modernist gem" (Hamilton 2007) was supported by the furniture company Vitra, which holds license rights to Prouvé's furniture designs. In fact, Vitra's own corporate museum curated an accompanying Prouvé retrospective in the neighboring Design Museum (Vegesack 2005). Initial plans to relocate the house to Miami in time for the Art Basel Miami Beach fair failed, but Balasz is now planning to turn his exemplar of the *maisons tropicales* into a luxury hotel in the Caribbean to be run by his Balasz Properties. Already, Balasz's company is promoting eventual art tourism to the *maisons tropicales* by means of a visually sophisticated website (Balasz Properties).

Eric Touchaleaume intends to eventually turn his remaining *maisons tropicale*, which he says is "stored in our warehouse, patiently awaiting its hour of glory," into a Prouvé documentation centre (Rose 2008a & 2008b). He told the Guardian that his "main passion is to be a kind of private curator, to make my contribution to save the heritage of the 20th century," adding that

> "in a perfect world, we would keep the *Maisons tropicales* in situ. But in Congo, they can't afford to maintain or restore them and they would be lost. The important thing is to protect the artwork." (Rose 2008a)

Robert Rubin represents a similar opinion emphasizing that the private "rescue" of the *maisons tropicales* came just in time since "public money for French modernism is becoming scarce."[5]

    Nonetheless, while Rubin and Touchaleaume stress the inevitability of
their private engagement with the *maisons tropicales*, in the immediate
aftermath of the affair revolving around the translocation of the houses the

Fig. 5-5: Display of Eric Touchaleaume's maison tropicale for auction in New
York

Congolese ministry of culture drafted heritage legislation, which was
adopted recently in 2009.[6] Moreover, Bernard Toulier reports that the
original French heritage inventory is now the basis of a Congolese motion
to list the modern architecture of Brazzaville as UNESCO World Heritage.[7]

Ambiguous appreciations

    I contend that the case of the recent translocation, commoditisation and
display of the *maisons tropicales* by private and corporate actors of the
contemporary art world is reminiscent of colonial exchanges of culture.
Indeed, the history of colonialism is intertwined with appropriations of
"other" cultures by the colonisers (Said 1995 & 1994; Thomas 1991). One
of the dominant forms that such appropriations took was trophy. Material
culture from the colonies was collected on a large scale and exotic items of
culture were displayed out of time and out of cultural context in the
metropolis. There, ethnographic museums exhibited colonial collections of
"tribal" culture as proof of the backward state of native cultural
development while art museums fascinated by showing a decontextualised

"primitive aesthetic" (Price 1989; Clifford 1988; Fabian 1983; Marcus and Myers 1995).

Today, the *maisons tropicales* are presented as collector's items in their own right. Like the artifacts of "primitive" culture before them the *maisons tropicales* are considered out of time and appreciated out of context, denoting a problematic attitude towards colonial heritage in Africa as modern trophy. But, whereas established heritage professionals complain that the *maisons tropicales* have been stolen in bright daylight, what I consider especially problematic about the valorisation of the houses as modern trophy is the fact that they are treated as a noble gift of modernity spurned by the Africans.

Indeed, the colonisers introduced modern regimes of building construction in exchange for and justification of their scientific and aesthetic collections of indigenous material culture (AlSayyad 1992). As Benedict Anderson puts it, modern architecture effectively suggested to the natives that "our very presence shows you that you have always been, or have long become, incapable of either greatness or self-rule." (Anderson 2006). Thus, while collectors of primitive objects arrogated themselves as rightful custodians of native culture, modern architecture was regarded by the colonisers as an effective development tool and as such instrumental in their civilizing mission. In a utopian vein it was assumed that the progressiveness of the built environment would emancipate the population in due course, as if living in a modern house would make a "civilised" person.[8]

Today, the translocation of the *maisons tropicales* is heralded as their "resurrection" from decay and misuse in Africa (Rubin 2009). Arguably, such discourse elevates the utopias of civilisation and progress implied by colonial architecture, suggesting that the formerly colonised have not learned well to appreciate modernity as introduced by their colonisers. Moreover, the legitimacy of post-colonial appropriations of the houses is denied. Opposed to their relatively short colonial past, the *maisons tropicales* have a significantly longer post-colonial history of inhabitation and pragmatic alteration according to local needs (Touchaleaume 2006). This very history of meaningful indigenous appropriations of the coloniser's culture is disengaged by the recent translocation, commoditisation and display of the houses.

Admittedly, the *maisons tropicales* were not locally appreciated as cultural heritage before their removal from Brazzaville and Niamey. But, changed according to practical needs, they fulfilled significant business and accommodation functions for their inhabitants. For example, one of the Brazzaville *maisons* served as a copy shop, and the Niamey house

provided needed shelter for poor neighboring residents. Obviously, seen in this light the *maisons tropicales* were not lost colonial treasures waiting for their "rediscovery". Nevertheless, the heritage narratives constructed around the *maisons tropicales* by their collectors ignore any local situations other than those favorable to claims of the imminent danger to the houses constituted by their existence in Africa. In this respect it is emblematic that after restoration of the *maisons tropicales* to their "original condition" the only traces proudly claimed to have been preserved of their African habitat are the "bullet holes made by Kalashnikovs" (Gordon 2004).

In addition to the ignorance of the post-colonial past of the *maisons tropicales*, the dominant art world authentication of the houses also sanitises their problematic colonial histories. The publications about and displays of the *maisons tropicales* fail even explicitly to refer to alternative names such as the *maisons coloniales* and reduce heritage value primarily to the aesthetics of modern architecture. Above all else the structures are celebrated as beautiful icons of Jean Prouvé's functional modern design, whereas the colonial relationships of domination, expropriation and exploitation, which these prototypes of a larger building construction project represent, are hardly reflected upon. Therefore, in dismissing the postcolonial African modernity of the *maisons tropicales* and disregarding their colonial origins, the appropriation of the houses as modern trophy implies an appreciation out of time and out of context reminiscent of colonial exchanges of culture.

There is criticism of this one-sided treatment of the *maisons tropicales* from within the art world, the most visible being Angela Ferreira's artwork *Maison Tropicale*. Her sculptural work, which models the dismantled *maisons tropicales* in transit, was exhibited at the 2007 Venice Biennale where it was augmented by photographic material at the Portugese Pavillion, curated by Jürgen Bock Bock 2007). Though successful, this exhibit received considerably less public attention than the Christie's auction of Eric Touchaleaume's house, which was coincidently staged in New York at the same time.

For years, Angela Ferreira's oeuvre has dealt with the intertwining of histories of modern architecture and colonialism. In 2009 I met Ferreira in Lisbon in order to discuss her recent Venice show revolving around the translocation of the *maisons tropicales*. Ferreira disagrees with Robert Rubin on the alleged non-site specificity of the *maisons tropicales*. Therefore, she went to Brazzaville and Niamey to record what has been left of the *maisons tropicales* in Africa. While she found the concrete foundations of the houses, which were designed by Prouvé but obviously

unmovable and therefore uninteresting to and left behind by the collectors, Ferreira also talked about the *maisons tropicales* with previous inhabitants and the local population.[9]

The voices on the case of the *maisons tropicales* heard by Angela Ferreira but otherwise ignored are represented in a documentary movie that records the work process leading to the artist's Biennale exhibition. Directed by Manthia Diawara, this movie reveals how on the one hand, Artonnor Ibriahine who had used the Niamey house for protection from the rains, expresses feelings of powerlessness and resignation in the face of its removal. On the other hand, we learn about Mireille Ngatsé, the owner of the Brazzaville houses, who successfully fought in court against European claimants for her right to sell her property. Ngatsé used the revenues from the sale to redevelop the muddy land left vacant and start a successful business, a remarkable achievement for a single woman "without 'contacts' in the government" (Diawara 2008).

Generally, the local protagonists of Diawara's film show little awareness of the evaluation of the *maisons tropicales* as heritage and are surprised when presented with information of the current fate of the houses. Only the artist Besongo angrily requests the return of the *maisons tropicales* and their valorisation as Congolese national heritage. He says that

> "As a nationalist, I can say I'd like to see that house come back here and then that wealth would become a tourist attraction that people could visit. It also brings in money. I wish it were in my country, the expatriates would come back. Things would be more interesting. I am not happy to see the houses back in France, you see." (Diawara 2008).

Besongo's criticism of the translocation and commoditisation of the *maisons tropicales* echoes those of the established heritage world. Official arguments for a protection of colonial heritage in situ also emphasise the possibility of generating development, for instance through tourism (Clark 2008).

Paradoxically, the need for the preservation of architecture that represents failed ideologies of modernisation and colonial welfare is thus legitimised by repeated appeal to the developmental potential of the modern built environment, this time as heritage. But, as stated before, the African continent has not seen much action concerning the identification and preservation of colonial architectural heritage. Therefore, it remains to be seen whether and how modern heritage in Africa can contribute to economic development. In any case, bearing in mind the case of the *maisons tropicales*, what clearly is an issue in need of consideration when

it comes to the valorisation of modern heritage in Africa is the matter of agency.

Indeed, the case of the *maisons tropicales* shows that different global actors from the contemporary art world and the heritage world have conflicting assumptions taken for granted about what the significant heritage of the houses is, how they should best be preserved, and by whom. The private collectors Robert Rubin and Eric Touchalleaume defend their translocation and subsequent commoditisation of the *maisons tropicales* as necessary and as the only viable option given the circumstances. They are convinced that their mediation and display of the *maisons tropicales* do full justice to what they consider the prime heritage values of the houses; the modern design aesthetic and technological innovations underwritten by the Master architect Jean Prouvé.

On the contrary, recognizing modern architecture in Africa for its value as "shared colonial heritage," Lazare Eloundou Assomo from the UNESCO World Heritage Center heavily criticises this line of reasoning. He says that when it comes to the colonial built environment in Africa any acceptance of the notion of a "shared heritage" means that one is "supposed to act in the sense of protection, not exploitation."[10] For Eloundo Assomo the translocation, commoditisation and display of the *maisons tropicales* by actors of the contemporary art world is unacceptable, not the least because he believes that the profits made on the *maisons tropicales* are above all made at the expense of stakeholders in Brazzaville. He also claims that the affair has set a negative precedent regarding international efforts to engage in the protection of cultural heritage in the Congo in particular and generally in Africa.[11]

However, private, corporate and institutional art world actors could engage with the *maisons tropicales* the way they did because governmental and intergovernmental heritage organisations were hesitant and apparently not prepared to initiate preservation in situ and to prevent the buy off of the houses. I contend that this hesitation and unpreparedness was also due to the fact that the ideal of an internationally shared responsibility for colonial heritage as formulated by ICOMOS defies the realities of the established heritage world, which is very much about national politics. The issue of a "shared colonial heritage" is not urgently raised by the exhibition of one of the *maisons tropicales* at the Centre Pompidou, certainly one of the most prestigious national showcases of culture in France, either. Here, one seems to be quite comfortable with the idea of a "repatriation" of the *maisons tropicales* to France and unaware of a missed chance to critically reflect on the country's colonial history.

Now, a possible listing of the modern architectural inheritance of Brazzaville as national Congolese heritage and perhaps even a Congolese inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage list based on the original French inventory would imply a certain acknowledgement of the concept of a "shared colonial heritage." However, it is ironic that the Congolese government only passed legislation allowing the legal protection of modern architectural heritage in reaction to the translocation and commoditisation of the *maisons tropicales*, the heritage significance of which was not locally recognised beforehand.

On being asked by Angela Ferreira whether he doesn't "think it's a shame they bought and took the houses," Amadou Ousmane, one of the artist's contacts in Niamey, denies and reminds her that the only reason why he is being interviewed on the houses in the first place is their prominent display out of Africa. He says that the Niamey house was not previously regarded as of heritage value, let alone of much value otherwise; "people wanted to get rid of it" (Diawara 2008). Mireille Ngatsé confirms this estimation for the Brazzaville location. She thinks that even if there had been a local awareness of the *maisons tropicales* as heritage, there probably had been no resources made available to issue priority care for the houses. While Ngatsé herself was unable to execute necessary repairs, she doubts the willingness and ability of the government to engage in any such work. She emphasises that "Africa isn't Europe. […] We couldn't have kept it. It would never have become what it is now." Prompted by Manthia Diawara, who says that as an African he would like to see those houses back in Africa, Ngatsé responds that

> "Yes, it would be nice if they came back to Africa. But, who would look after them, that is the problem. […] They can't look after things [here]. I prefer that the house stays where it is now. It's better off there. They'll take better care of it and love it more. Here it would be abandoned and run-down." (Diawara 2008).

Such voices seem to question ideas of a sharing a colonial heritage when it comes to the maisons tropciales. But, does the fact that the *maisons tropicales* were not initially regarded as heritage locally, and that there is an apparent lack of capacity and expertise to engage in historic preservation works in Africa justify the valorisation of the houses as modern trophy and the outright denial of African agency in dealing with the houses? Contrary to what legitimisations of the translocation, commoditisation and display of the *maisons tropicales* limited to the tale of modernity spurned by the Africans imply, there are many other stories of relevant post-colonial appropriations and re-appropriations that deserve

to be told about the *maisons tropicales*. For instance, the presentation of the *maisons tropicales* as modern trophy fails to tell Mireille Ngatsé's story of taking her fate into her own hands by selling the two Brazzaville houses and successfully redeveloping the vacant plot created by their removal.

In the same vein, criticism issued by members of the heritage world that the translocation, commoditisation and display of the *maisons tropicales* is exploitative and only disadvantageous to stakeholders on the ground does not take Mireille Ngatsé's self determination into account. Actually, when Manthia Diawara informs Ngatsé of the auction of her house for close to 5 million US Dollars she is left speechless only for a short moment. It is quickly that she goes on to say that

> "this value of the house, it pleases me. I wish I could have sold it for its current price, but since it didn't work out, I am happy because at least it proves I wasn't sleeping in a shanty. It's one of those things that will become a story to tell. For me it's one of those jokes that turn against themselves." (Diawara 2008).

Conclusion

The case of the *maisons tropicales* illustrates the dynamics of cultural heritage in a globalizing world. While governmental and intergovernmental organisations are beginning to engage with modern architectural heritage in Africa and there is talk of a "shared colonial heritage," still there seems to be a lack of capacity to attend to such heritage on the ground. At the same time, the impact of other actors is increasing. While criticizing the translocation, commoditisation and display of the houses in the context of the contemporary art world, established actors from the heritage world are left to regret that they were unable to ensure the in situ preservation of the *maisons tropicales*. Yet, despite all criticism, the case of the *maisons tropicales* also tells Mireille Ngatsé's personal story of emancipation and development. In the end, even the translocation and commoditisation, and display of the *maisons tropicales* bears potential for a self-reflexive documentation of relevant histories of appropriation and for authentications which remain open for critical debate. At any rate, my analysis of the treatment of the *maisons tropicales* as modern trophy indicates the clear need for a critical interest in colonial, as well as post-colonial legacies when it comes to the valorisation of modern heritage in Africa.

In this article I have shown that actors from the art and the heritage world engage competitively with modern heritage today. Actually, the appropriation of the *maisons tropicales* as modern trophy is not at all an

isolated example. Rather, private and corporate actors from the art world are systematically appropriating modern heritage globally, with governmental and intergovernmental actors standing by watching. For instance, in addition to being active in Africa, Eric Touchaleaume has also collected large quantities of modern furniture in the Indian city of Chandigarh. In 2007 Touchaleaume put a collection of daybeds, stools, armchairs, bookcases and even a manhole cover molded with the map of the city for sale at Christie's in New York. All this despite the fact that earlier in 2006 Chandigarh had been added to the tentative UNESCO World Heritage list because of the significance of its comprehensive modern urban and architectural design by Le Corbusier.

In conclusion, the example of the *maisons tropicales* reveals that the valorisation of modern heritage in Africa is an emergent yet disputed global practice. My analysis indicates that when it comes to the construction and legitimisation of modern heritage values in Africa an open debate of conflicting evaluations among different global actors is wanting. In addition to that, rivaling interpretations of modern heritage from both the art and the heritage world are in obvious need of reconciliation with the demands of other stakeholders on the ground.

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Notes

[1] Compare the captions of the original designs reproduced in Cinqualbre 2009 and Touchaleaume 2006.

[2] Interview of the author with Bernard Toulier, Paris, 27.08.2009.

[3] Interview of the author with Robert Rubin, Paris, 19.06.2009.

[4] Interview of the author with Lazare Eloundo Assomo, Paris, 27.08.2009.

[5] Interview of the author with Robert Rubin, Paris, 19.06.2009.

[6] Interview of the author with Lazare Eloundo Assomo, Paris, 27.08.2009.

[7] Interview of the author with Bernard Toulier, Paris, 27.08.2009.

[8] For an anthropological critique of the developmental ideologies of modern architecture and urban planning and an explanation of the concept of "inverted development" see James Holston 1989.

[9] Interview of the author with Angela Ferreira, Lisbon, 18.08.2009.

[10] Interview of the author with Lazare Eloundo Assomo, Paris, 27.08.2009.

[11] Idem.

CHAPTER SIX

GLOBALISATION, THE COMMUNITY MUSEUM AND THE VIRTUAL COMMUNITY

DORUS HOEBINK

Introduction

At first sight globalisation and community seem to be at odds with each other. The rapidly expanding cultural and economic globalisation of the last decades is often seen as a main cause of the disruption of local social structures and the "disembedding" of stable long-term relations between people and their histories, their local economies and their surroundings. Labour intensive industries are transferred to low-wage countries, supranational political institutions - such as the European Union - gain major influence on local regulations and policies and a global industry of mass media and popular culture invades local cultures and traditions, depriving them of their distinctive local characteristics. As Dutch sociologist Abram de Swaan puts it: "The variety of supply of goods increases worldwide, but that supply of goods - in all its variety - tends to be the same everywhere. That is the law of globalisation." (De Swaan 1989).

Following on these observations, it is often assumed that globalisation is a threat to local communities, especially when we understand globalisation as part of modernity. Moreover, communities would be reactive to globalisation and its intimidating manifestations of individualisation and differentiation (Castells 1997). In that case, the attempt to preserve communities could be seen as a reaction to the "break-up of stable social institutions and continuity of the life-world" (Delanty 2003, 164).

On the other hand it is assumed that globalisation stimulates the formation of various new sorts of communities. As globalisation is understood as the transformation of time and space (Delanty 2000), removing obstacles of distance and time, new opportunities for "community

without propinquity" arise (Calhoun 1998). One recent development in the world of interpersonal communication linked to globalisation is the increase of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), which manifests itself in the rise of the Internet and other digital technologies. The rise of CMC is both a result of globalisation, particularly the influence of multinational corporations and transnational computer networks, as well as a stimulator of globalisation. The influence of CMC on national and international social interaction and communication patterns is considered to be so strong that some have begun to talk about "virtual communities" (cf. Rheingold 2000), or about "culture of real virtuality" (Castells 2002), or even about "convergence culture" (Jenkins 2006). The development of the so-called "social web", has particularly entailed numerous new ways of communication corresponding to the idea(l) of community.

However, community tends to be interpreted in many different ways and there is a lack ofclarity about what communities are exactly. Are the communities that are said to be endangered by globalisation the same communities as those that are said to be created by it? Or, are there different community types that respond differently to macro-sociological and -economic development? One way to answer these questions is to look at the ways in which cultural institutions – which are often inclined to function in the interest of communities – serve their communities and how they react to a grand phenomenon such as globalisation. An analysis of community policies of museums is an effective means to achieving this goal, as museums are increasingly attentive to the well-being of all kinds of communities.

Since the emergence of the New Museology in the nineteen seventies numerous museums have shown a particular interest in representing and serving the needs of local communities, resulting in the birth of the concept of the community museum. Nowadays the term community has gained much popularity in the museum sector, it has even become a "buzzword", according to museologist Elizabeth Crooke (Crooke 2006, 170) Museums appoint community managers, community curators and community communication professionals. Strengthening community bonds seems to be a fitting strategy for museums to fulfill governmental demands for greater social relevance on the one hand; while on the other hand community policy is a means to keep up with competition in the culture and leisure industry, creating loyal audiences who identify with the museum.

It is interesting to compare two examples of best practice in museum-community relations in which different concepts of community are practiced and in which the effects of globalisation are differently perceived.

The first case is the Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum (France), which was developed in the nineteen seventies and eighties and which was a good example of a museum that interpreted community as threatened by globalisation.

The contrasting example of the formation of a CMC community presented here, is the virtual community of the Brooklyn Museum in New York. This community has come into being only recently and has been already lauded in the museum world as a fine example of online community building. By comparing these two different types of museum-community relations I will examine the responses of these museums to the effects of globalisation and their understanding of the position of their communities in a globalised world.

Le Creusot-Montceau - a local community?

In 1976 the French museologist and retiring director of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) Hugues de Varine, wrote in UNESCO's *MUSEUM International*: "Instead of being there for the objects, museums should be there for people." (de Varine 1976, 131). According to de Varine the traditional museum had become too elitist and/or had got too much involved in the commercial tourist market. The concept of the museum had to be revised in order to reposition it in the midst of society. To achieve this goal de Varine proposed a new kind of museum, or more precisely, introduced a new vision of a museum capable of serving the whole population of a nation, region, city or town. This new museum would be a non-discriminatory, democratic and relevant information centre and public meeting place, in which all members of a certain social community could participate and in which they would feel represented. The most important purpose of the museum's work would be to "communicate", or to engage in "community activities" (de Varine 1976).

The collection of the new museum should be universal and of interest to the "general public" and "the community". So, the museum's exhibited objects should "[r]elate to real life and introduce all the objects and elements of information necessary." (de Varine 1976, 138). A community could not be served by one large museum in the centre of the community's biggest town. That would be an obstacle to the socio-economically marginalised groups in society to come and visit the museum. De Varine's proposal, therefore, was to install a network of decentralised local museums or to organise museum activities close to the people in various community centers. Moreover, the museum and all its activities should be free of charge, as people should not have to pay for the exhibition of their

own culture (de Varine 1976, 139). De Varine's museum would be an open-minded, client-centered and receptive community institution. He envisioned his museum "[a]s an intelligent instrument which provides us with answers to our questions and problems." (de Varine 1976, 141). These questions and problems would be real-life questions and problems of "common" people. That is why de Varine's museum could be described as an object bank in which all relevant objects of everyday life would be collected, researched and exhibited: "[a] question is asked and the bank replies." (de Varine 1976, 141). The community museum had to be regarded as a network in which different museum disciplines and museum types would be integrated. The influence of the museum curator would decrease, because the people themselves had to be in control of their cultural centers in which new cultural forms would be created, social relations would be stimulated and solutions would be provided to everyday problems (de Varine 1976, 141-143).

De Varine's ideas were more or less realised in Le Creusot-Montceau Eco Museum Project in the late nineteen seventies. In those years the region of Le Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines in the east of France, had to deal with severe economic and social changes that were part of a declining rural Europe and the moving away of heavy industry as a consequence of an economically globalizing world. The region's economy and social life had depended on steel-industry, coal-mining and stock-breading since the eighteenth century and was one of France's biggest industrial centers. The collapse of the manufacturing empire led by the powerful Schneider family, which started with the untimely death of the last male descendant, Charles Schneider, in 1960 meant the end of the rule of the Schneider dynasty. The new management conducted several reforms in 1970 which included the passing of Schneider's possessions to the Le Creusot municipality. Among these were schools, churches, houses and the Château de la Verrerie, which had been the Schneider residence since the nineteenth century. In order to harmonise this icon of industrial paternalism with a new civic function, the local government decided to turn it into a museum thus offering the Le Creusot population ownership of the power base of their former rulers. Museologist and art collector Marcel Evrard, was appointed the museum's first curator. Evrard's first attempts to build a conventional museum proved to be impossible since the remaining Schneider family members took all their possessions with them when leaving the chateau. It was then decided to adopt the idea of the ecomuseum, which was on the rise in that time. The many ecomuseums emerging in France during the nineteen seventies mainly focused on rural areas and, – inspired by nineteenth-century open-air museums – considered

a large array of objects, buildings, natural environment, folklore and traditional crafts to be part of the museum.

Evrard asked for the assistance of Hugue de Varine in launching an ecomuseum which was to be regarded as "[a] means for development for the population", which would enable them to cope with economic, social and cultural change. (Debary 2004, 125-126; Evrard 1980, 227). In 1993 de Varine would summarise the motivating force behind the museum as follows: "The aim of the museum was clear. There was serious unemployment in the region and morale was very low. Something was needed to make it possible for the local people to achieve some kind of common purpose and to use the past, with its successes and its disasters, as a way of discovering a new future." (de Varine 1993, 3).

Although the museum was named Ecomuseé de la Communauté Urbaine de Le Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines, Evrard and de Varine would later admit that the term ecomuseum was mainly adopted to fit in with recent museological developments and governmental policy (Debary 2004, 128). De Varine c.s. declared the museum to be a community museum, which implied in their vision that the museum would cover the whole of the Le Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines area and that all its inhabitants, apart from being the museum's visitors, would function as curators and critics, with the help of some professional museum employees and researchers. The museum professionals were expected to "[l]ive in symbiosis with the population" and to "[n]aturally be as discreet, modest and approachable as possible" (de Varine 1973, 246). The museum's collection would consist of all the objects within the community's perimeter. Naturally, in practice it proved to be impossible to actually collect and preserve objects of all 150,000 inhabitants. However, the basic principle was that it considered "[a]n object simply as part of a whole, as part of a human social, cultural or natural unit", and the idea of the museum artifact enshrined in an aura of geniality and uniqueness was rejected (de Varine 1973, 245). The museum should be there for its people and not for its objects (de Varine 1976).

Following these intentions the objects and stories on display reflected everyday life in an industrial urban region and the relation of its inhabitants with their natural environment and economic and cultural history. Exhibitions covered themes such as "memories of industry and technological culture", "workers", and "men and birds" (Evrard 1980, 230).

As part of making exhibitions about the community's history and researching the social processes going on in the region, the museum staff started seeking interaction and contact with the population, because the true purpose of the museum was to communicate and to initiate

community activities (de Varine 1976, 138). Decentralised committees, the museum's antennae and out-stations throughout the whole region, had the task of gathering information about community life in order to be able to organise local exhibitions in co-operation with the local population. Several work teams initiated community gatherings during which local people talked about their daily life and their worries, memories and hopes. Then, the work team asked them to collect stories and objects that related to the topics discussed and prepare a local exhibition about these. Finally, the exhibition , which lasted for a month during the summer of 1974, was realised by the museum staff and numerous people from the community and was visited by local inhabitants and people from nearby villages (Jeannot-Vignes 1976). In this way the museum staff not only initiated "[e]xhibitions on important themes concerning the life of the community and its environment", they also carried out "[a] survey of the whole community""(de Varine 1973, 247). These "important themes" consisted of memories of daily life in the Le Creusot area in the past, visions on the area's future, the practice of and relation between old crafts and industrial work, folk art and local traditions (Jeannot Vignes 1976). Besides, exhibitions such as the one described above, were a means to make visitors aware of the balance between industry and its natural surroundings. Moreover, the museum tried to bring people themselves together, "[i]n the midst of things belonging to them, for a sort of festival whose theme was their own history" hoping "[t]o change the owner's attitude to his property" (Jeannot-Vignes 1976, 167; de Varine 1973, 246).

The Le Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum proved to be very influential in the museum world. Artists and museologists form all over the world visited Le Creusot to examine the museum's daily practice. The museum's methods are said to have been revolutionary, the active involvement of the local population in the exhibition process unique. Through the specific aim on the current and acute needs of the Le Creusot community and the straightforward social agenda the museum was – and still is – an important source of inspiration for museum professionals worldwide (Davis 1999, 67).

A victim of modernity

The community of Le Creusot played an essential role in de Varine's and Evrard's ecomuseum. But how did they define the Le Creusot community? What kind of community did they think Le Creusot was? The answer to that must be that they saw the Le Creusot community as a victim of modernity and its globalizing dimensions. The people of Le Creusot had

relied economically, socially, maybe even psychologically on an industrial imperium that had defined the region's identity since the eighteenth century. The downfall of this regional superpower set in motion the social-economic decline of the whole region. De Varine and Evrard spoke of an economic paternalism that had to be overcome. And although de Varine stated that he wanted the Le Creusot community to "[m]ove from paternalism to modernity" (Debary 2004, 126), it is safe to say the economic dominance of the Schneider industrial dynasty itself was a prime example of modernity. The sudden step from a dynasty-led still early modern, parochial world into new social and economic structures dependent on all kinds of global developments, was a shift, to use Anthony Giddens' terminology, from maybe not even high modernity to late modernity, (Giddens 1991).

In his influential writings on the effects of modernity on social life, Giddens understands globalisation as part of modernity, stating that modernity is largely defined by the interconnections between the two extremes of the global and the local (Giddens 1991). Although other scholars like Gerard Delanty – who has written on both community and globalisation (2008) criticise Giddens for this vision on globalisation and claim that modernity is a result of ever expanding globe encompassing processes and trends – thus ending up in a "chicken-or-the-egg-dilemma" –, many common elements in-between globalisation and modernity may be observed here: both have a disrupting influence on local social structures and transform conceptions of space and time. Delanty states that next to causing a transnationalisetion of the world market, "globalisation is as much about the search for community" (Delanty 2000, 82). Moreover Delanty and Giddens agree on the fact that globalisation - whether globalisation is part of modernity or the other way around - increases feelings of uncertainty and that the world has become paradoxical and directionless. The processes of change that modernity and globalisation entail produce feelings of insecurity and anxiety. Because modernity and globalisation cause social and economic structures to become very fluid and open to continuous change, the danger of crises often loom on the social horizon (Giddens 1991, 184) . This constant possibility of crisis gives rise to general feelings of uncertainty that can not be stowed away as far as possible, not even on an individual level (Giddens 1991, 184).

These feelings of insecurity caused by the effects of modernity are often linked to the concept (and lack) of community. Since the birth of modernity social thinkers have been worried about the decline of community. The fast pace in which modern developments took place and the emergence of a rationalised and individualised society would have

entailed a disruption of the continuity of the daily life of traditional (pre-modern) communities (Delanty 2003). Feelings of insecurity are associated with this decline of community, as communal life would provide people with clear daily routines, heavily embedded in long-lasting socio-cultural traditions and attached to a fixed identity. Community, therefore, is about "[s]eeking safety in an insecure world" as Zygmunt Bauman shows (Bauman 2001).

Providing a sense of safety, that is what the Le Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum project is about. The Le Creusot community had to be safeguarded from the excesses of modernity and the Le Creusot-Montceau Ecomuseum attempted to counteract the social-economic void caused by the sudden de-industrialisetion of the area. In order to cope with the challenges of a modern, globalised society the Le Creusot community had to be empowered by using the past, "with its successes and its disasters, as a way of discovering a new future" (de Varine 1993). A return to the region's history and its traditions would provide the community with the tools and the identity needed to be secure in an insecure world.

It is hard to tell whether the Le Creusot museum experiment succeeded in reaching those goals. Most of the credit de Varine and Evrard received from other museum professionals, applauding their success at involving the local community in the museum's organisetion (Davis 1999, 66-67). It remains unclear, however, whether the museum actually succeded in fundamentally improving the region's morale and preparing the community for a post-industrial economy. Anthropologist Octave Debary claims that the museum's main influence was felt in the collective mourning process following the disintegration of the industrial economy. The museum assisted in that mourning process, which is exemplified by the 27,400 visitors of the grand Schneider exhibition in 1990: finally the Schneider family itself became a museum exhibit, symbolizing a past that would never return and that now could be forgotten – literally: nowadays the museum is a more or less conventional ecomuseum that seems to have stood still in time and has become a museum of itself. "This may be the museum's real success: it has succeeded in becoming useless and deserted. The museum ended up being abandoned in turn, leaving only the objects behind as sole keepers of the remains of history." (Debary 2004, 131).

Brooklyn Museum - a global community?

In 2005 the influential internet entrepreneur Tim O'Reilly wrote a seminal article called "What is Web 2.0?" (O'Reilly 2005). In this article O'Reilly observed that a change was taking place in the organisetion of the world wide web and in the way producers and consumers were relating to each other. In the words of the renowned sociologist Manuel Castells: the balance of the interacting and the interacted was restructured (Castells 2002, 406).) Instead of the traditional one sender-to-many-receivers communication - where the one sender normally would be a multinational corporation, a national government or a large broadcaster - users and consumers were now able to speak back to senders, let them know their personal preferences and inform other users and consumers about their experiences and opinions. With the arrival of Google, eBay, Wikipedia and Amazon an "architecture of user participation" was designed in which "users added value" to the product or the experience (O'Reilly 2005). Moreover, many users started communicating with each other, ignoring the traditional senders of information by starting their own information networks such as blogs, facebooks and peer2peer networks. In short, web 2.0, also called the social web, can be characterised as egalitarian, participative, democratic and social. The web functions as a democratic platform where anyone can create, criticise and consume their own and each others content. It is a non-authoritarian virtual environment, non-local, and potentially even global, by and for people who want to share, and therefore a virtual community. The social web makes it possible for people, due to its technological design, to initiate and participate in conversations about any chosen topic. Instead of just consuming content, people are able to actively participate in the production, distribution and reception of content, with the result that an astronomical number of virtual communities have emerged around any thinkable topic.

Nina Simon, a now very influential museum consultant, has embraced web 2.0 ideology, began her own weblog "Museum 2.0" and has become a much sought-after keynote speaker. Simons goal is to use the typical web 2.0 elements, such as user participation and interaction on a open-source platform, in both virtual and non-virtual museum setting in order to stimulate visitor participation to encourage active discourse amongst visitors (Simon 2007, 257). To achieve this goal museums could obviously begin to use all the digital and virtual applications the social web offers. However, Simon's advices is to implement the organisetional principles of the social web into the museum itself. What people can do on the website, they can do on site in the physical museum too, seems to be her credo. The

potentials of web 2.0 can be applied in real life, she says (Simon 2007, 262).
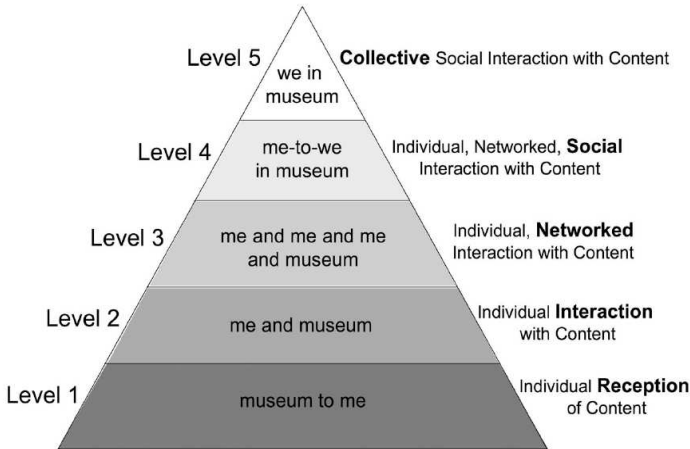
Figure 6-1: A Hierarchy of Social Participation Based on Web 2.0.
As seen on www.museumtwo.blogspot.com

Simon advocates user participation in exhibition design by letting visitors exhibit their own objects, letting them directly comment on exhibited objects (through new media or simple bloc-notes) and stimulating social interaction among visitors and museum professionals. To reach substantial user participation, Simon proposes a hierarchy of social participation that a museum could follow in order to reach a higher level of visitor involvement (see figure 1). Level 1 is the traditional museum model, in which the museum speaks to the visitor and the visitor cannot speak back. The following levels represent increasing possibilities for visitors to interact with the exhibited content and each other about the exhibited content, until level 5 "we in museum": visitors are regarded and behave themselves as a collective reflecting on the exhibits, communicating with museum professionals and interacting with other museum visitors. For this, both online as well as on site technologies can be used, resulting in a museum community that interacts in a virtual environment, as well as in a physical museum.

There are several examples of museums that have succeeded in creating their own museum community consisting of people from all around the world. One of the most well known examples is the virtual community of the Brooklyn Museum in New York. As an art museum the Brooklyn Museums mission is to be a community and visitor centered museum, acting as a bridge between the collection and each visitor's unique experience and "[a]ims to serve its diverse public as a dynamic, innovative, and welcoming center for learning through the visual arts" (Caruth & Bernstein 2007). Observing social developments on the internet, the museum decided to extend its online activities and to build an online community within and around the museum walls, embracing social web technologies and applications.

The museum manages to include its audience in the museum's exhibitions and activities by integrating Facebook, Flickr, Twitter, Wikipedia, blogs and podcasts in its online communication. The Brooklyn Museum Facebook group counted 26,000 members in November 2010 and in the same month the Brooklyn Museum had 2,500 Flickr contacts, next to 128,000 followers on Twitter. Recently the museum won three "Museum and the Web 2009 Best of the Web Awards" in the categories Best Overall, On-line Community and Exhibitions (Museums and the Web 2009). Moreover, with these web 2.0 applications the Brooklyn enables online visitors to interact with the museums collection and exhibitions, to share personal photos and artworks with others and to give direct feedback to the museum activities. The museum tries to respond to its members as much as possible and stimulates active participation of its audience. "The museum must fully commit to being in the community and offer content that people care about. When creating a platform for discussion, it must be sure to listen to what visitors have to say and respond when necessary", according to the Brooklyn's Chief of Technology Shelley Bernstein (Bernstein 2008).

An important aspect of the Brooklyn Museum's virtual community are its 1stfans. 1stfans pay $20,- per year after which they are able to participate in special events held at First Saturdays. At these events 1stfans get to meet artists, museum employees and they can co-create exhibitions and works of art with them. Another important element of the 1stfans project is that people get the chance of meeting other people with similar interests. As Nina Simon expresses during an interview with Brooklyn employees Will Cary and Shelly Bernstein: "1st fans is an attempt to turn the impersonal engine of museum membership into a relationship-based, community-centered interaction for two specific museum audiences." (Simon 2009). These two audiences consist of the people actually attending

at the First Saturdays and members of the online social media outreach, the Brooklyn's virtual community.

Le Creusot's and the Brooklyn's communities compared

As a virtual community, the Brooklyn's online community differs at certain points from Le Creusot's community. The first obvious difference is that a visitor's contact with the museum's collection for the great part takes place on the internet. Hence the physical object plays a less important role and the boundary between "real" and "virtual" diminishes. Where de Varine states that the object, the "real thing", provides an antidote which enables "the man in the street" to put up with "economic, social, political and cultural alienation" caused by "a two-dimensional world of comic strips and television" (de Varine 1976, 134), Castells argues that all real reality is virtually perceived and that there is no separation between "reality" and symbolic representation (Castells 2002, 401-403). "Thus, when critics of electronic media argue that the new symbolic environment does not represent 'reality,' they implicitly refer to an absurdly primitive notion of 'uncoded' real experience that never existed." (Castells 2002, 404).

Another difference is that at Le Creusot's community the preservation of the collective was the first imperative. De Varine started at the needs of the community and then figured out what was best for the individual. The Brooklyn, on the other hand, takes its first community steps in a globalised and virtually mediated world consisting of numerous individuals and then proceeds towards the formation of a community. This corresponds with Simon's model of social participation. Simon starts with "Me" and only on the last level "Me" is totally replaced by "We" (Simon 2007). When O'Reilly reaches his most communitarian position when praising the "architecture of participation", he continues emphasizing that collective value and knowledge is an automatic byproduct of "selfish" interests. Sharing of knowledge is a result of the design of web 2.0 software and web applications - hence architecture of participation - and not a result of community volunteerism.

The difference between the two types of communities might be understood by the dichotomous distinction between "thin" and "thick" communities (Delanty 2003, 171; Turner 2001, 29). De Varine's museum community can be seen as a thick community in which the members share much with each other, often on a face-to-face basis, for a very long time. The Brooklyn's virtual community, on the other hand, can be seen as a thin community, based on loosely organised networks of numerous

individuals, who can be separated form each other in space and time. The sense of belonging is based on shared interests and modes of communication and due to "[t]he strong emphasis on the self […] there is a weakening of a commitment to others" (Delanty 2003, 184). On the one hand these virtual communities stimulate inhibited discussion between multiple strangers who have multiple weak ties with other strangers. The cost, on the other hand, is the "[h]igh mortality rate of on-line friendships, as an unhappy sentence may be sanctioned by clicking away the connection - for ever." (Castells 2002, 389).

The thick-versus-thin distinction enables us to understand the differing stances on the effects of globalisation. A thick community, as Le Creusot's, is referred to by Zygmunt Bauman as a "closely knit community" (Bauman 2001). Closely knit, or thick communities, consist of members sharing a long mutual history and intense interaction. Its members are born and will die in the same place and expect to live their lives in the proximity of more or less the same people. It is these communities that are mostly suffering from the disrupting influences of globalisation and modernity. In such a context "decline, "demise" or "eclipse" of community are often heard phrases (Bauman 2001, 48). The Brooklyn's community, however, amongst other virtual communities, emerged from an already globalised reality and instead of attempting to secure it from globalisation's influences, it makes use of it apparatuses and technologies to bring people together. In contrast with the Le Creusot community, these people freely choose or leave the Brooklyn community and the decision to join the community is motivated by specific interests that were developed beforehand: interests in social media and art. This can also explain the striking difference between the attitudes toward commercialism and modern marketing techniques. De Varine, for example, adopts a more or less socialistic position when stating that the community museum "[s]hould not at any price be party to the treatment of culture as a market commodity;... it must refrain from commercial practices and from collusion with the world of finance." (de Varine 1976, 143). O'Reilly on the other hand judges the world of commerce more mildly and even incorporates business models in his system, just as the Brooklyn Museum. Although it states that community is much more important than marketing (Caruth&Bernstein 2007), it embraces novel marketing techniques in order to construct a community. In other words, for de Varine commerce and marketing are by-products of modern globalisation, but they enable the Brooklyn Museum to dynamically fulfill its mission.

In conclusion, we have to nuance the distinction made between the Le Creusot community - thick and reactive to globalisation - and the

Brooklyn's community - thin and a result of and therefore embracing globalisation. The Le Creusot-Montceau ecomuseum itself was related to an international movement of initiating community development. De Varine argues that the development of the Le Creusot-Montceau community museum took place in an international network of museum professionals (de Varine 1993). Also the statement that the Brooklyn's virtual community is a result of globalisation can be nuanced. Of course, the international digital network around the Brooklyn Museum would not have been possible without the internet and its social media, but at the same time the Brooklyn's virtual community is merely directed at the local population of Brooklyn itself. Most of the virtual community's members come from Brooklyn and use the museums virtual community as a means to come into contact with other art lovers or to be involved in the museums activities (Bernstein 2008). The transformation of a globalizing medium in a stimulator of local can supplement face-to-face contact and encourage organizing around common agendas for action. "It can provide a powerful new channel for connections among people already linked by residence or engagement in a common organisetional framework..." (Calhoun 1998, 381).

Conclusion: Constants of community

In the above I stress the main differences between the Le Creusot and the Brooklyn community in order to exemplify the different stances toward globalisation. What should not be forgotten here, of course, is that Le Creusot started in an era when the web did not exist yet. The difference is that de Varine's concern was the well being of the community with the museum as means to that end. For the Brooklyn the community is a means to promote its own well being, to put it a bit cynically. However, it should be added here that there are a few common characteristics that can be observed when people use the term "community".

Firstly, although he stresses that communities exist in many forms, Delanty also mentions that all communities have one common concern: belonging. People become part of a community as a means to become part of a greater collective or to come into contact with other people who share the same interests. With Le Creusot this concern with belonging is clearly visible. De Varine and Evrard initiated the community museum in order to boost the regions confidence, by making clear that its inhabitants not only lived in an economy but also in a culture with a unique history. And although the sense of belonging is less obvious with the Brooklyn's virtual community -a cynic might even say that it is all about modern marketing

(Caruth & Bernstein 2007)- a post-modern and individual version of belonging can be ascribed to the Brooklyn's community members. "In this case what is stressed is less community consisting of ties and obligations than community in terms of constructing identities." (Delanty 2003, 182). The Brooklyn's community members use this membership to exhibit their own personal tastes and maybe even their identities by gathering round the Brooklyn Museum.

Another similarity is that "community" is often referred to as something that has been lost, and that has to be recovered. Besides that "community" is often used in opposition to the authority of a central power, like the nation state, or to modern social phenomena like industrialisetion, individualisetion, commercialisetion or globalisation.

These notions of community can be seen at both thick and thin (virtual) communities. The community museum of Le Creusot opposed the traditional authoritative power of the all-powerful curator and the elitist, exclusive art museum. Initially a sense of loss of community due to industrialisation and individualisation is embedded. Virtual communities, in their turn, oppose to all-powerful website moderators and commercial software corporations like Microsoft. "...a single monolithic approach, is no longer a solution, it's a problem." (O'Reilly 2005). We might say that people in virtual communities try to recover some sense of community that is lost in everyday life, or as an antidote to the anonymous, individual character of the Internet. Communities also provide a feeling of belonging to a larger collective. Also in this case the de Varine's community museum and O'Reilly's web 2.0 show some similarities. As de Varine thought that the community museum had the task of improving the sense of collectivity among the people living in a community, he also was aware that it should imply something more and deeper than a group of people who happen to be living in the same place (de Varine 1993). And, as O'Reilly has it, that an essential part of the social web, on the other hand is "harnessing collective intelligence, turning the web into a kind of global brain..." (O'Reilly 2005).

The third constant of community can be found in the fact that participation, democratisation and egalitarian relations play important roles. At Le Creusot, for example, inhabitants of the region were invited to actively participate in the museum's activities. They were able to "co-curate" exhibitions, their own personal possessions became part of the museum collection and the museum curators had to do away with their traditional cultural authority. The same can be observed in the Brooklyn Museum. Visitors are invited to let themselves be heard; museum employees, using social media applications, try to be as accessible as

possible and the organisetional aspects of curating an exhibition and preserving a collection are made transparent.

A striking fact is that all these common elements might be perceived as positive. Despite increasing individualism "community" is good. As Bauman says: "Words have meanings: some words, however, also have a 'feel'. The word 'community' is one of them. It feels good: whatever the word 'community' may mean, it is good 'to have a community', 'to be in a community'." (Bauman 2001, 1). This may be one of the main explanations why community practice and policy have gained so much popularity in the museum world over the last few decades. Communities offer museums convenient target groups and at the same time it is convenient for museums to call their target groups communities. On the whole, its seems that "community" could become a "feel-good" synonym for any kind of group that exists inside the museums reach. Community is the ultimate concept to unify a museums mission with its market, especially in a globalizing world, in which fears of alienation and anonymity still prevail.

However, it remains important to clearly define what a cultural institution as a museum understands as a community. Different concepts of community may result in different museum policies and different stances towards influential phenomena as globalisation. In the above we have encountered two museums that are lauded for their community approach and are deemed to be leading examples of good community policy. However, when confronted by globalisation, it turns out that there are fundamental differences between their respective interpretations of community.

What can be learned form these examples is that it is not enough just to claim that a museum is involved in community development and community policy. Especially in the case of such an influential phenomenon as globalisation, museums have to be aware of the profound differences between various community interpretations. And, obviously, different community types may and do have contrasting reactions to globalisation. Finally, museum community policies turn out to be seriously determined by the choice of definitions and interpretations of the concept of community that are used. "Thick" community definitions may lead to a policy of safeguarding a community form from what De Varine considered the disrupting effects of globalisation. "Thin" community definitions, on the other hand, tend to more loose community approaches and a more relaxed attitude toward the effects of global information technologies.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE POINT OF DEPARTURE:
MIGRATION MUSEUMS IN EUROPE

HÉLÈNE VERREYKE

Introduction

With the growing number of people moving across borders and the related social issues on integration and national identity, there has also been an increasing interest in migration processes in general and also for migration heritage. An interest not only in the suitcases and personal belongings of Europeans leaving for new destinations, but also for the heritage of the immigrants who have settled into Europe. New migration museums and related research centres have been set up, where people can learn about migration history, about the motivations which drive people to leave their homes for new destinations or track their wandering ancestors. Immigration museums in North America, Canada and Australia were recently joined by new counterparts in Europe, like the Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven and Ballinstadt Das Auswandermuseum Hamburg in Germany and in 2012 the Red Star Line - People on the Move museum will open its doors in the harbour of Antwerp, Belgium.

In 2007 an issue of *Museum International* was devoted entirely to migration museums, in the light of the upcoming opening of the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration (National Centre for Immigration History) in Paris, France. In the editorial of this issue Isabelle Vinson remarked that the assembly of this research on migration museums has shown that these museums can help to deconstruct negative perceptions about the role of migrants in contemporary societies. She states that because of this interaction with society these museums and research centres on migration are dynamic institutions. In other words, migration museums have the opportunity to act as a forum within society, where contemporary issues related to migration can be discussed.

In this contribution, I would like to take a closer look at these migration museums or centres and reflect on the role they can play in creating understanding of the difficult issue of migration and moreover, what this migration heritage on display might convey for the different visitors. This heritage will mean one thing to the tourist interested in tracing his or her wandering ancestors and have another meaning for local people or immigrant communities. It is a useful exercise to deconstruct the concept of the migration museum, because although at first glance they might all look the same, simply museums focussing on migration movements, they can take on many forms.

Fig. 7-1: Ellis Island Immigration Museum

On the one hand, there are the immigration and emigration museums, which are dedicated to the transatlantic migratory movements of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. These museums are often located at heritage sites, set up within restored storage rooms of former shipping companies or in a new building but located at the docks where once the ships departed for new destinations. On the other hand, there are the migration centres, focused on past, recent and present-day migration in general, which are not necessarily located at memorial sites and are - like

in the case of the Cité national de l'histoire de l'immigration in Paris- not even called museums as such. Moreover, the perspective of migration museums naturally depends upon whether the country in question was a point of departure or a destination. The emigration museums in Europe highlight European emigrations of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and focus on the reasons why people left their home countries and house the heritage of the former migrants, whose ancestors now live in faraway destinations. Migration museums in destination countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, on the other hand focus on immigration in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, thus telling the story of the diversity of their own present-day population. A migration museum like the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration focuses particularly on the immigration history of France, up to present times, also tackling current issues related to immigration, integration and even national identity. It is clear that the location and focus of the migration museum determines the types of stories that can be told, which influences the possible civic role of the museum and also determines the meanings such a museum can have for its visitors, whether transnational or local.

Past migration at places of memory

In the type of migration museum which is linked to a heritage site, migration is commemorated at tangible *lieux de mémoires*. This direct relationship to place adds a unique dimension to the migration museum, as most museums are repositories of objects far removed from their original setting. These "sites of memory" focus on this connection between heritage and place. The sites embody the tangible remains of the past, as well as the non-material heritage. These migration museums linked to a place of memory are in the first place memorials of migration for the million of emigrants who set out for a new life. The primary objective of these museums is to tell the stories of people on the move and to house migration research centres, where visitors can track their wandering ancestors.

History is always a part of our present, so these museums naturally tell something about present-day society as well. When the Ellis Island Immigration Museum was set up in 1989 in New York, they wanted to convey the site-specific story of Ellis Island in the broader context of immigration history (Pardue 2004, 25). In a way, Ellis Island has become a symbol for the melting pot that is American society today. This symbolic function has raised some eyebrows since the strict Immigration Laws were very selective and not everybody passed through Ellis Island. Barbara

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, 177-187) remarked that eventually more tourists will pass through Ellis Island than have ever passed immigrants. But setting aside the scepticism on the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, its popularity has initiated the development of new emigration museums in Europe, which are proud to be the counterpart of this museum in New York.

The Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven (or German Emigration Center) opened in 2005. The formula proved to be successful, resulting in the European Museum of the Year award in 2007. Their approach is to let present-day visitors literally relive the journeys of the emigrants of more than a century ago through a real experience, making use of reconstructions of the docks, the ships, mannequins and the offices of the Ellis Island Immigration Station. To make the testimonies of migration more personal, biographies of real emigrants make up the core of the exhibit. All information is based on real facts and is set in the historical, social and economic context of emigration from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century.

Fig. 7-2: Deutsches Auswanderer Haus, Bremerhaven, Germany

The visitors start their journey in the waiting hall, just as the emigrants did before departure. Then, they are guided along the wharf, where "passengers" are waiting to aboard the ship and say farewell to their family and friends. While wandering through the groups of mannequins, visitors hear different languages, becoming aware of the international

character of the travellers. After walking up the gangway into the ship, the visitor comes into The Gallery of the 7 million, a sort of an archive, where the motives for emigration, like economic misfortune and upcoming nationalism, are elaborately explained. Here, the visitor can meet their alter ego for the trip, a real life character who has made the journey him or herself, their personal remarks can be tracked through the magnetic card each visitor gets at the beginning of the museum visit. After the historical background given in the archive, the visitor is taken on board, to the cabins of the third class passengers. The ship is in itself a sort of a time machine, as with each cabin the visitor is taken a chronological step further, from a sailing ship to a steamship, to the most recent model with more luxurious features like running water. The final stage in this theatrical setting is the arrival at Ellis Island, where the visitor passes through the offices of the immigration station, answering the standard questions an immigrant would have had to answer at arrival, through the use of the magnetic card. After being processed at Ellis Island, the visitors are led into a room where the live stories of the former passengers in the New world, and their descendants, are put on display. The endpoint of the voyage is a cinema, where Ciro Cappellari's "Welcome Home" is on show, a documentary about six generations of emigrants, their hopes, dreams and experiences. These final two rooms draw the stories of the past into the present.

Fig. 7-3: "Scattered all over the world". Part of the display at the Deutsches Auswanderer Haus, Bremerhaven, Germany

With clever evocations of the quay, the cabins and the Immigration Centre at Ellis Island and clear but personal information about the emigrants and the conditions of migration, the Auswandererhaus succeeds to raise awareness on the phenomenon migration. After passing through the

experience, the visitor gets the general idea that people migrate for
different, sometimes pressing reasons caused by the difficult economic or
political climate in their home countries. The hardship paired with leaving
home, the ordeal of the journey and the harsh circumstances of starting a
new life in the place of destination are all illustrated. The visitor gets this
message without having to make too much of an effort, without having to
read too much text. Much of the information is given by audio fragments
and the reconstruction of the quay, the ship and the immigration station
gives additional visual information on the journey. In the compartments of
the ship for instance, sounds and visuals are added to make the experience
as real as possible, such as the video's of the rolling waves of the ocean
behind the port holes, which gives the illusion of really being at sea. As
Hermann Schäfer (News Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven 2004,
6), president of the Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland
and chairman of the board of the German Emigration Center puts it: "We
want to arouse their personal feelings and make history exiting." The
judging committee of the European Museum of the Year Award of 2007
praised the emotional conveyance of historical facts by means of a
theatrical layout, and the scientific adaptation and presentation of the topic
(News Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven 2007, 3).

Fig. 7-4: The future Red Star Line museum in Antwerp as designed by Beyer
Blinder Belle architects

In 2012 Red Star Line - People on the Move will open in the harbour of Antwerp, a new museum incorporating the three remaining warehouses of the Red Star Line transatlantic shipping company. The goal is to bring a multilayered story about human migration, from the nineteenth century up to present times. By reviving the migration story of the emigrants who passed through Antwerp, the museum hopes the visitor will learn more about why people migrate and about the complexity of hospitality and exclusion (Vanhautte 2008, 18). So the aim is to not only to show the migration history related to the Red Star Line shipping company in Antwerp, but to expand the story to issues related to migration as a whole and to create an understanding of the complexity of migration.

Migration heritage as a means of civic action?

Here we touch upon the possibilities of the migration museum to have a civic role, to raise awareness on cultural diversity, to enable communities to feel an integral part of the nation, to help people to understand more about migration today and to explore the significance of the migration experience and the resulting cultural diversity of their country or continent. In the last few decades, a lot has been said on enhancing the civic role of the museum in general, on the way in which heritage symbolises community and the role of museums in community development (Crooke 2006, 170). When browsing through museum discourse of the past fifty years, from international museum organisations like the AAM and ICOM, it is clear that the focus has shifted gradually from the object towards the visitor. Storing, studying and showing objects is no longer a means in itself, the museum has an obligation towards the community, to serve society. In other words, there is a strong belief in the museum as an institution to resolve some of the difficult social issues of present day society.

In the cosmopolitan cities in Europe, where multi-ethnic communities live together, there has been a pressure to give greater recognition to local and community histories of immigrants. Migration centres focused on recent immigration groups have taken up the challenge and try to use heritage and museum activity as a vehicle for integration. In relation to the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in Paris the historian Gérard Noiriel (2007, 13) stated: "In fact the CNHI has devoted itself to the task of altering attitudes towards immigrants, all the while contributing to their integration within French society. In other words, this memorial project hinges on a wager that culture can be a means of civic action."

In destination countries the link between migration history and raising awareness of the complexity of migration issues is obvious, since the

present population is in large part the result of past immigration. As Diana Pardue (2004, 23) of the Ellis Island Immigration Museum puts it: "Museums and cultural organisations are in a unique position to facilitate political change – it may not be immediate, but we can engage people to consider diverse viewpoints and affect political change." Padmini Sebastian (2007, 153) of the Australian Immigration Museum is of the opinion that: "museums must play a proactive role to foster respect and understanding, and to educate and inform citizens about the benefits of diversity and difference." To realise this inclusive participatory and collaborative model the Australian Immigration Museum brings the migrant communities into the museum through its Community Connections program, an annual program of exhibitions and festivals by and for the community (Sebastian 2007, 158).

In Europe, where difficult social issues related to recent immigration are increasingly at the top of the agenda, the link between migration museums and their possible civic role in raising understanding for migration processes has been made. In the Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven the visitor can visit the Forum Migration exhibition room, where the focus is set on the topic of current global migratory movements in general and immigration in Germany in particular. At the forum, people can also search the database of Ancestors.com for emigrated relatives and view the original scanned-in documents on the website. Behind the Forum Migration is a team of researchers, with which the museum wants to establish itself as Europe's leading centre on European migration (News Deutsches Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven 2004, 3). The Forum Migration exhibition room in the museum has a very clean design, with computers to trace your ancestors at one side and some figures and facts on recent immigration on the other side, in the form of playful games and quizzes. However, after the "real life" experience on the docks, on board the ship and at Ellis Island, the clean Forum Migration exhibition room has difficulties evoking the same emotions and personal involvement.

In the temporary exhibition space more contemporary stories about migration can be told, like "The flight after the flood. New Orleans. The city left behind", an exhibition on inland migration caused by the events after hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans. Part of the exhibition was Jana Napoli's installation Floodwall, showing a wall of drawers the artist collected in the abandoned houses of New Orleans. The German Emigration Center also interviewed people from New Orleans about their lives before and after Katrina. In the exhibition "Escape. Seven paths into Germany 1980-2010", the focus was set on the personal portraits of refugees from Dagestan, Togo, Iran, Cameroon, Turkey and Sri Lankawho

all live in Bremerhaven today. By focussing on why they left and how they ended up in Germany, the German Emigration Center wants to draw a parallel between the emigration of the seven million people who departed from Bremerhaven between 1830 and 1974 and the stories of the present refugees in Germany. In BallinStadt Das Auswanderermuseum Hamburg a link with the neighbourhood was made by organizing an exhibition on the Eastern European and Turkish immigrants from the Veddel quarter, where the museum is located. The future Red Star Line – People on the Move museum wants to reserve place for the more contemporary stories of migration as well: "It will be a place of remembrance, experience, debate and research into international mobility, both past and present." (http://www.redstarline.be). So, emigration museums take up the challenge of tackling issues related to recent immigration.

Migration heritage and tourism

Now we have to consider the economic motives and the possible return from tourism attached to the heritage migration centres that focus on migration in the West in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When the Auswandererhaus Bremerhaven opened in 2005, the museum was promoted as a new and interesting tourist destination for Americans. To announce the new museum an introductory exhibition about German Migration was held at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum. The aim was to create a new facility for cultural tourism, aiming at attracting over 200.000 visitors per year (Storhaug 2005, 8). The market is as important to take into consideration as the ideological mission of the museum. As Stephen Weil states (Weil 1995, xvii):

> "Whereas almost everybody understands that the museum that wholly ignores market considerations may lose the means to survive, it ought be equally well understood that the museum that turns completely away from considerations of mission may no longer have any reason to survive. Market and mission are the two ends of a spectrum."

But in the case of the migration museum, the target audiences for the mission and market end of the spectrum can be very diverse.

Tourists, visitors, communities?

Now, what do these different types of migration museums mean for the various visitors? How do the tourist, the local visitor, the ancestor or the member of the transnational community relate to migration heritage? First,

let us consider the immigration and emigration museums that focus on past transatlantic migration. As already mentioned, the immigration museums commemorating past population influx into their own country tell a story which many of their visitors can relate to. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998, 180) remarked on the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, all Americans are incorporated into the "master narrative of immigration". The museum addresses not only the descendants of the immigrants, but all Americans who have experienced the American dream.

The place of memory and the personal stories help us to relate to the immigrants, almost creating a link between two continents, creating one transatlantic community. As Delanty (2003, 2) says, communities can be based on ethnicity, religion, class or politics. "Thin" or "thick" attachments may bind the communities, which can be local as well as global. The migration museums call upon our sense of global community, based on only a few shared characteristics. Within migration museums located at heritage sites, visitors are invited to place their individual family history in the larger context of migration. At Ellis Island, people are encouraged to participate in the Ellis Island Oral History Project. The American Family Immigration History Center provides computers whereby visitors can trace their family arrival history through the New York harbour passenger list database. The Wall of Honor, in which family names can be engraved, is another invitation for visitors to see themselves as part of the historic site (Pardue 2004, 26). By telling the story of past migration movements, the migration museum relates all visitors to migration heritage and tries to create an understanding of the reasons why people moved away from their home country, and more importantly, why they settled elsewhere.

Migration museums that focus on more recent immigration history, like the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, have a very different emphasis. Although this institution also tells the history of the very diverse groups who entered into France for different reasons, it is less a story of people on the move, than a story of the destination and the outcome of the integration of these new groups into society. The past and recent history of people moving into France naturally raises questions about the multicultural society and national identity. But what really sets this type of national migration museum apart from the migration museums on transatlantic migration, is the question of representation. A national immigration museum exhibiting the heritage of immigrant groups creates a place for their heritage, but at the same time sets it apart from what is considered national history in general. By telling immigration history through the personal stories and belonging of immigrants, the museum wants to "alter attitudes towards immigrants and contribute to integration", as Gérard

Noiriel said (Noiriel 2007), but unwillingly it sets the immigrants' heritage apart. In this way, the heritage of immigrant groups is used for the civic goal of creating mutual understanding in a multicultural society, but by putting the immigrant heritage on display, it is isolated from the general national history.

Through the stories of past migration movements, migration museums try to create awareness of the often difficult circumstances related to migration, thus fulfilling a civic role. Migration museums which handle immigrant heritage have a second dimension, namely of exhibiting the culture of immigrants and of their descendants, raising questions of national and community identity, of representation and of in- or exclusion. An even more complex situation is when emigration museums in Europe want to address questions on more recent immigration influx. Besides the story of the emigration of one group, which can create a general understanding of migration as a phenomenon, also the immigration history of other groups into the country is to be told, which introduces questions of representation, national and community identity. In sum, it is important that at the point of departure, all migration museums must evaluate their position. Which migration stories are going to be told, what questions are raised by the migration heritage and what goals are set for which public, tourists, the general public, or immigrant groups?

Conclusion

The interest in migration processes and migration heritage have resulted in new research centres and migration museums in Europe. The objectives for starting a migration museum can be very diverse, from telling the stories of past migration movements to marketing strategies to attract American tourists in search of their ancestors. City development can also be an additional motive to start up a museum in a harbour quarter. Finally, ideological goals such as raising awareness of the complexity of migration processes, creating mutual understanding among citizens in an increasingly multicultural society and putting migration on the cultural agenda are important factors in the development of migration museums.

In the editorial of the Migration Museum issue of Museum International Isabelle Vinson rightfully remarks

> "does the plethora of museum projects on migration reflect an attempt on the part of the public authorities to bypass the issue under the guise of culture and so ignore it politically, or is it an encouraging sign that the mission of museums are being reviewed to include social sciences and history?" (Vinson 2007, 1).

This question arises when we take into account the very diverse motives of starting up migration museums on the one hand and on the other hand the often very disparate stories of past emigration and recent immigration, as they need different approaches and do have various meanings for a mixed set of visitors. However, regardless of the sometimes very disparate motives for setting up a migration museum or centre, once started up, the migration museum has the potential of being a dynamic place and to be an example of a museum that indeed succeeds in taking a relevant position in society, tackling some of the social issues related to migration. Firstly, by narrating migration history in a clever way, so that visitors of all sorts, not only ancestors of migrants, can relate to the complexity of migration processes, museums can create understanding of the reasons why people left their homes and resettled elsewhere and can illustrate the difficulties accompanied by starting a new life in an unknown country. Secondly, the combination of a migration museum with a migration research centre, like the Deutsches Auswanderer Haus Bremerhaven, adds to the dynamism to the migration museum, as the emigration story is supplemented with present-day stories on migration, including recent immigration into Germany. Nevertheless, it remains a challenge to make an appealing exhibit of more recent migration heritage, which inherently seems to be less attractive than the story of Europeans leaving for new destinations. Further examination is needed how immigrant culture is represented, to what extent immigrant communities or their descendants find it appealing to have their heritage displayed in a migration museum, separating it from general national history.

In sum, what is important in the development of new migration museums, is an evaluation of its own point of departure. What history is to be told, at what location, what are the goals and the means and finally, how can visitors relate to migration heritage. With a careful consideration of these elements, the migration museum can be an example of a dynamic institution, which plays an active role in present-day society.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

TESTING ROOTS:
A HERITAGE PROJECT OF BODY AND SOUL[1]

ALEX VAN STIPRIAAN

Introduction

In contemporary discourses of (post-)multiculturalism, diversity and identity politics, one of the key words seems to be roots. Increasingly people refer to this heritage phenomenon, particularly in relation to feelings of being uprooted. Others use it as proof of their authenticity and of genuinely "belonging". Roots are referred to with a geographical and/or ethnic connotation, but might also be ideological, religious, cultural in general or even more culturally specific such as musical, culinary or related to fashion design.

Roots are part of what heritage is all about. It seems to refer to a dear, or maybe even a nostalgic past from which at least the basics have been inherited by the descendants of that past. Furthermore, roots often seem to refer to places where people or their ancestors once originated from, but from which they have moved away. Still, descendants feel attached to these places of roots. Therefore, roots are hardly ever in the here and now of those who cherish them, but they do inspire in the present. Roots form part of people's identities, and, to a certain extent, people might even try to reproduce these roots. Roots, in this way seem to be strongly connected to, or even intertwined with those other diversity related phenomena, migration and diaspora, and are a fine example of what has been termed "glocalisation", the interplay of the global and the local (cf. Robertson 1995). And although roots might have tangible dimensions, such as a physical location, the whole phenomenon itself seems to be more about an intangible cultural heritage starting with the virtual tangibility of music

and stories to the utmost intangibility of feelings, emotions, world views, norms, values etc.

The Roots Debate

It all started with the publication of Alex Haley's million selling book *Roots* (1976) and the immensely popular television series derived from it. Haley had done what so many other descendants of enslaved Africans in the Americas had done; find out where their enslaved ancestors had come from. He used stories and archives and all kinds of other tangible and intangible cultural heritage evidence to find his way back to the Mandinka family of royal blood in Gambia that he eventually found to be his forefathers. Since that time the concept of "roots" has become more or less synonymous to African roots. Since the late 1970s many African Americans followed suit by trying to trace their own African roots too. Many even traveled on a pilgrimage to West Africa. This may seem rather contrived to outsiders, yet for people who until the 1960s were basically ignored in the history books of their own country and who had for centuries been treated literally as second-rate citizens, African roots were a new way to (re)write their own history. Their preoccupation with roots became a focus for the search for identity, self-awareness and spirituality.

However, roots became part of scientific discourse too, particularly in social science and cultural studies. Paul Gilroy (1993), Stuart Hall (1996) and James Clifford (1997) belonged to the first generation of scholars who since the 1990s have worked on the interplay of roots and diaspora. They made it part of their discourse of cultural identity, and introduced the juxtaposed pair of roots and routes. Cultural identities, they said, and particularly diasporic cultural identities, are a continuous dialogue between *roots*, which is a state of being tied to a specific place, and *routes*, which is a state of displacement.

Since that time the concept of identity is strongly connected with the concept of roots. You can only know who you are, if you know where you come from, is a widely accepted assumption. It is even the basis of popular emo-shows on tv about adopted children looking for their biological parents. However, in anthropology it is widely accepted that identity is a multi-dimensional work-in-progress-construction dependant on its context, rather than something one-dimensional you culturally inherit (cf. Eriksen 2002).

Therefore, cultural identities are not only firmly rooted in histories, language and culture of a particular place, they are also, or maybe even more so, in a process of becoming. Identities are not only "who we are" or

"where we came from", they may be even more about what we might become (cf. Isar 2009). People therefore seem to be at least as much involved in the unpredictability of routes as in the security of roots.

Uprootedness, so it seems, is almost celebrated in some of these post modern from-roots-to-routes approaches.This is, of course, a sign of the times in which globalising processes have inspired a lively debate on the position and importance of the hybrid, the Creole and the métissage, as might be observed in the highly acclaimed and globalised works of, for example, Homi Bhabha, Ulf Hannerz or Nikos Papastergiadis.

However, that is academia. In social and cultural activist discourse a contrary voice is as much in evidence. Here, the security of roots seems to be much more sought after than the insecurity of routes. This goes for all kinds of fundamentalist approaches by people who seek to return to-, or hang on to a supposedly authentic and pure cultural, ideological, or even ethnic core. But this searching for cultural authenticity and purity is not only limited to the cultural and religious activists, it can also be found among people, generally migrants, whose lives make them aware on an almost daily basis that they are *en route* and therefore feel a need or desire for rootedness, for belonging. From routes-to-roots, therefore, is as much part of diasporic discourse as the inverse approach of roots-to-routes.

Particularly in popular multicultural discourse today there is no doubt about the importance of roots which should be fostered or re-appropriated. Roots are even used as a new kind of cultural essentialism in identity politics. The hotly debated institutional integration into mainstream society while at the same time maintaining one's own cultural identity, is actually referring to a hardcore cultural essence that can be claimed as indivisible and unchangeable. However, not only migrants and their descendants lay claim to these ideas, dominant social groups do too.

Roots have become part of everyone's natural existence. Like plants and trees, roots are attributed to humans too. And the more people feel uprooted the more they seem to refer to these roots. This can give the impression that some people have more substantial roots than others. However, this is only the logical difference between the naturalness of roots one knows perfectly well, and therefore does not speak or even think of so much, and roots one is in doubt or confused about and which are therefore referred to continuously.

At the same time, precisely as a consequence of migration and globalisation, hybridity and creolisation are cherished and celebrated too. More inclusive forms of (shared) heritage based on different cultural sources – the process of becoming – is conquering a substantial place next to the exclusive authenticity of how it once was, or where we once came

from. Obviously, the question what exactly are we referring to when talking about roots – for example, a single taproot or a myriad of multilateral roots? – is becoming more and more pressing and relevant.

DNA and roots

Since the late 1970s Alex Haley and his work have become severely discredited. He is even been considered a fraud by some (cf. Sowell 2002; Cashill 2005). At the same time research on the slavery past, as well as intense debates on its present day effects have only heightened the longing for historical empowerment by looking for roots. And now this debate has globalised from the USA to the rest of the African diaspora, including the former European slave holding powers like the Netherlands (cf. Van Stipriaan a.o. 2007).

The main difference from Alex Haley's time is that now we have a new, yet very old type of cultural heritage at our disposal, which might even be considered the most globalised form of cultural heritage. It can be found in the most universal, yet most personal kind of archive or museum there is: the human body. It is the storehouse for hereditary material holding information going back millennia, as well as for our physical and mental memory. The larger part of this historical content and information, however, can only be deciphered recently by means of DNA analysis, i.e. the tangible part of it. Of course, the intangible part is still safely stored in our brains and can not be studied yet without our own personal "translation".

DNA can be used to understand the evolution of modern humans, trace migrations of people, differentiate and identify individuals, and determine the origins of domestic plants and animals. DNA analysis, as one scholar put it, is "the greatest archaeological excavation of all time" (cited in Hamilton 2005). DNA analysis traced human ancestry back to an African "Eve", setting off debate about how modern humans evolved (cf. Fein 1993; Powledge 1996; Sykes 2001).

As a result in the late 1990s, DNA technology came into view as an instrument for tracking down individual lineages. And it was no coincidence that African-Americans in the USA were among the first to consider it a great tool for bridging the gap with Africa. Soon scientists made this technology available to the public at large, increasingly on a commercial basis. Underlying the DNA tests is the idea, accepted by most scientists, that modern humans evolved in Africa some 100,000 years ago and then spread out across the globe, developing genetic mutations along the way. Genetic genealogists track these mutations and compare them

with a database of DNA markers culled from thousands of people with deep roots in specific regions of the world. If an individual's genetic mutations match those of an indigenous group, a link may be established. Lines of heritage can thus be followed by tracing back the development over time of very small mutations occurring in the composition of some DNA codes. In this way it is claimed by, what hereafter will be termed "roots firms" that offer these tests and who work with large DNA databases and established laboratories, that DNA analysis can link a person of African descent to his ethnic group of origin in Africa. By learning more about that group's culture and perhaps even visiting the country, it is possible for people of the African diaspora to fill in a hitherto largely blank page of their individual pasts and identifications, thus rendering it more concrete. Eventually this technology was going to make it possible to uncover everyone's roots. Or at least, that was everyone's hope.

Going back to the roots

When we started our project Back to the Roots, in 2006, we were not yet aware of the two comparable, large scale projects starting almost simultaneously: *The African American Lives*[2] project by Louis Henry Gates Jr. on Public Television (PBS) in the USA and the *Genographics* Project of National Geographic[3]. However, we did know and were inspired by the BBC documentary *Motherland, A Genetic Journey* which was aired in 2003. In this documentary three Afro-Britons did a DNA test and traveled to their African "countries of origin". The documentary was part of a larger project, the most comprehensive attempt so far to investigate the specific roots of descendants of enslaved Africans in the diaspora, which took anonymous DNA samples from 229 volunteers. "Armed by science, people have for the first time reconnected themselves to their lost ancestry in ways that, 25 years ago, Alex Haley [...] could scarcely have imagined would ever be possible", commented director Baron.[4]

Our Back to the Roots project, however, started from a different angle. Although we also wanted to know about the African origins of people in the "Dutch African Diaspora", at the core of this project was a simple question that until then, and even now, has been hardly posed at all, namely: what exactly ARE roots and what do they look like? To find out, we put together a group of two established artists and six artistically and otherwise talented young adults, all having an Afro-Caribbean background, who were living or even born in the Netherlands. The artistic dimension was needed to give substance and expression to the quest and particularly

to the conceptual roots that we intended to find. Furthermore, it was a requirement by the sponsors to present the results to a larger audience. And finally participants were not supposed to be afraid to go public, because from the beginning the whole process was filmed.

The two established artists, actress and comedian Jetty Mathurin and artist Marcel Pinas, whose selection was based on their age and artistic status, already had a history of their own behind them and therefore they perhaps had a more substantial image of what (their) roots were like. The young adults Kwinsie Cruden, Gwen Denswil, Charissa Doelwijt, Stacey Esajas, Herby Goedhard and Verno Romney had already proved themselves in their respective artistic field(s) by moving beyond amateur status, but none of them had a very specific sense of their further career yet, and most were still busy with their education. Their frame of reference was rather the context of urban popular culture than that of the established art world, while their age kept them from being attached to fixed jargon or conventions. Although they did not have much of a past yet, they had a lot of future and fresh and open minds.

The participants in the project had never been to Africa and were currently residing in the Netherlands. This was not just convenient in terms of organizing the project, but it also allowed for the possibility to link the participants' sense of roots to another place, the Caribbean, where their parents originated from. When the group was put together, none of the candidates hesitated to participate. No matter how differently the participants addressed roots as a phenomenon - ranging from "surely, mine are in Africa" to "I have never really thought about it" - everyone wanted to join in. The exciting aspect of a DNA test and the possible bonus of a trip to Africa also contributed to this eagerness.

However, besides from the "adventure", everyone turned out to have very personal motives to search for roots. For example, Marcel dearly wanted to know about his past to understand "certain things" as well as his position in the present. And Jetty, completely in accord with that, added that she needed this also "to justify my right to be here", meaning in the Netherlands. Even Stacey, who was born in the Netherlands stated that her roots quest actually started the day she got a black Barbie doll for her birthday, which made her realise "…that although I lived in the Netherlands I was also a Black person living in the Netherlands". Gwen had always been fascinated by the question how Africans, and thereby her ancestors, had lived before the times of slavery, because she had always known that "life did not start with slavery, with that short paragraph in the history books. Before slavery Africans led normal lives... and that's what interests me."

For Herby the roots trip was almost something of a sacred obligation: "I have always said that once in my life I have to go to Africa. It is like Muslims who once in their life go to Mecca and when they return they're supposed to be cleansed and pure. So when I got the chance to go to the country of my roots, Cameroon, that in itself was already enough for me. [...] I really feel that when I'll return [to the Netherlands] I'll have made my journey to Mecca. I'll be complete."

The African ancestors were also part of the motivation. Like Jetty said: "we want to look for and to know who were the people before us, because we want to pay them respect. If we do not respect them we can not respect ourselves. The more we do that, the more authentic we'll become, the stronger it 'll make us." And eventually, from the most unexpected person in this respect, biogeneticist Leon de Windt, with an Antillean as well as (southern) Dutch parentage an a guest at one of our meetings, presented the group with the intriguing statement: "…maybe it is not we in search of our ancestors, but our ancestors calling for us."

The idea was that everyone was going to search for their roots in as many as possible different ways. So part of the personal quest was based on genealogy, interviews with family members, and study of literature and archival sources, but also through introspection and tracing ancestry via DNA. Next, some would actually further pursue the DNA track by going to Africa, while others would not. This would make it possible to compare the difference between actual experience of a hitherto unknown country of roots and knowledge of such country that was exclusively based on images and descriptions. From the start, it was a prevailing concern to explore whether people actually have roots or whether they merely construct them, an issue that is generally not explored.

The various implications of inborn or constructed roots were encountered repeatedly in decisions we made during our quest. For one, we assumed that Africa was at least part of all participants' historical roots. This was tied not just to the Caribbean history of slavery, but also to the fact that the group members merely had to look at each other to suspect some African origin. Still, appearances can be deceptive. In this respect biogeneticist Leon de Windt told us that "race" or phenotype is one of the worst categories for tracing shared background: Genetic differences among relatives are probably larger than between them and an Aboriginal in Australia. We find that hard to believe because we pay so much attention to outer appearance, but appearance is virtually the only parameter for distinguishing the term "race" because beyond that it has no biological basis.[5] This is not to say that in our group the mirror did point to Africa rather than to a white group. But it is important to keep in mind that race is

a social construction, not a biological fact. In other words, it was merely a decision, albeit a calculated one, to look for roots in that direction. Or, like Herby put it: "When I look in the mirror, it obviously tells me that I"m from Africa. But where in Africa, that was the big question."

Our next step, the decision to begin examining the DNA in the maternal line, equally pointed to Africa. Earlier studies had established that in Afro-Caribbeans the maternal DNA line ended in Africa in about 98% of the cases. This meant that all participants were likely to have roots in Africa. It was only natural, then, that aside from studying the aspect of roots in their own (family) environment they would also look toward Africa. But it was a choice. After all, we might also have decided to first pursue the paternal line.

Identifications and roots, or: What is home?

Before the (maternal) DNA results became known, all our participants talked about their feelings about the possible outcome. Stacey and Gwen expressed the feelings of most participants when they stated that they actually knew that their ancestors came from the region of present day Ghana. And most also had thereby images in mind of a martial and colorful people with a long history, such as the Ashanti. This was also something that had been told to them when growing up: "Surinamese and Antilleans originally come from Ghana." And out on the streets of Amsterdam some were several times even identified as Ghanaian, by ... Ghanaians. Only Jetty had a strong guess that her ancestors were from Cameroon, an assessment where she may have been influenced by the fact that she has a foster daughter from that country.

When eventually our participants were one by one opening the letters with the DNA results that had come in the mail, they took some time to take in the news. From that moment all discretion and reserve seemed to evaporate, and the participants started talking in terms of "I'm from ... " or "my ancestors are from..." or even "I am a ...". As it turned out, the ancestral track of none of our participants led to Ghana, nor did Jetty's ancestral mothers come from Cameroon. Instead, three of our participants proved to have roots in Cameroon, but in different ethnic groups. Furthermore, one was linked to the Mandinka in Senegal, one to groups in Guinea-Bissau, three to populations in Sierra Leone and/or Liberia, and one to groups in both Guinea-Bissau and Senegal. In no time our "Cameroonese" replaced their long internalised idea of Ghana with Cameroon. One of the participants referred to Guinea-Bissau as vague but interesting. The Mandinka were Kunta Kinte's people from Alex Haley's

Roots, so this was quite good news for our participant "from Senegal", but those whose roots were traced back to "Sierra Leone" and "Liberia" could hardly hide their disappointment. They did not get a roots country to be proud of, but immediately revisited the news footage in their mind of civil war, bloodshed, child soldiers, and dismembered people. To them, the outcome of the DNA test did not coincide with their roots country of choice, which is an indication that one does not (only) have roots, but that you also construct them as more or less likable.

Subsequently we decided to travel to Cameroon with our "Cameroonese" participants plus our artists Jetty and Marcel, whose pasts led to Liberia and Sierra Leone - countries that were hard to travel then, but that were most able to give substance to the idea of roots. The aim was to further explore each one's roots experience. Charissa, Verno, and Kwinsie stayed "at home" and would pursue their roots research from there. "Home" is of course an ambiguous word in this context as well. Among the youngsters in our project, no one seemed to have plans to go and live elsewhere and leave the Netherlands at some point. And yet roots experiences may add to another specific sense of "home". Stacey, for example, could barely imagine herself to be living somewhere else but in the Netherlands. Despite her certainty about this, however, the issue is a little more intricate. As she elaborated: "At age 18 I went to Suriname and there I got a feeling I had never had in the Netherlands. Now I absolutely have to go to Suriname every year."

To Verno, born in the Dutch northern town of Hoogeveen, it had always been an enigma whether he and his younger brother were actually Antillean Dutch or Dutch Antilleans? "To this day I still don't know; but I always felt at ease [in the Netherlands]". And Kwinsie added: "I feel Surinamese and Amsterdammer. You can tell from the color of my skin that I'm not of Dutch origin, but I'm an Amsterdammer at heart. There have been instances that I was told to "piss off to my own country", you know, but where do I go?", he states in the film. However, shortly after the film was made he went to Suriname for the first time and confessed he would phrase it differently now. Maybe Amsterdammer at heart, but Suriname felt like home, he now said.

Marcel, who actually was only temporarily in the Netherlands and for whom Suriname is his self evident home base expressed his feelings in Cameroon clearly when he exclaimed "Yes, this is home". And Stacey agreed that she really felt at home in Cameroon, as if she had been living there for years already. Still, the feelings of home were not feelings of wanting to stay there. As Gwen said, after visiting a village of "her" Bamileke people: "This is where I really come from. ... I will certainly

come back... in like a year or so, to see how you have been doing". She wants to know, but she has no intention to become one again with her roots. And that applied tor the whole group.

Testing roots

Although the DNA dimension was only part of the project, it was and still is the most intriguing as well as the most problematic part of it. Therefore, it is necessary to go into the problems we encountered with DNA and roots. Most of these problems we only became aware of during the whole process of looking for roots, and everyone responded differently to it.

These days DNA is considered and experienced by many as the ultimate scientific truth, however, one could ask: is it really truthfully? We first did mitochondrial, or maternal DNA tests with our participants, i.e. the DNA traces going from mother to daughter, to daughter to daughter etc. The outcome of these tests was that everyone of our group was linked historically and genetically to a specific ethnic group in a specific West-African country, or a small number of groups in a few countries. But then one of the participants started to wonder about the period in time, or which ancestral generation these DNA traces were leading to. Maybe by going back many more generations, the roots might turn up in another part of Africa. Which is, of course, not at all illusionary, as there have always been massive migration movements in Africa, particularly if we remind ourselves that all of modern humankind (homo sapiens) originates from East-Africa. So, in finding roots it is us, now, who select how many generations back in time is what we call roots. Or rather, in this case, it is the laboratory which analyses the tests who decides on that.

African migration also poses another problem, because although one might be able to trace the DNA line back to a specific ethnic group, it is not at all certain that this group has lived in the same place for ever. On the contrary, people in Africa have been moving, and splitting up constantly, and probably at an extended pace during the past centuries as a consequence of slave raiding and colonialism. Therefore, having roots feelings for a country in which genetically linked people live today might be a mistake, particularly considering the fact that these countries are quite recent colonial creations, whose borders rather artificially cut through the territories of specific ethnic groups, or which ethnic groups were no united entities and have come into being only quite recently.

Later, after our trip to Cameroon, we also did the paternal DNA test.[6] Maybe because this test came second, or maybe because the mother and

matrilinearity is so strongly based in Afro-Caribbean cultures, these paternal origins did not trigger the same emotions as the mother line did. The complication was that now everyone had at least two countries and two or more ethnic groups to refer to as the basis of their roots. For Marcel this meant a combination of Mende in Sierra Leone and Balanta and Fula in Guinea Bissau; Jetty, suddenly combined Temne of Sierra Leone in both mother and father line with Liberian Kru and Guinea Bissauan Balanta; and for the first time Ghana came into the picture when Verno was told that his maternal line of Temne, Kru, Jula, Fula, Balanta and Senegalese Mandinka ancestors were combined with paternal Fante ancestors from Ghana. The question now became, of course, whether all of these ethnic groups and countries constituted (the home of) one's roots, or just one of these. Biologically there was no reason to differentiate, however, there certainly was emotionally. Particularly those who had made the trip to Cameroon, now considered this country and "their" people there to be their roots country. For example, after a night spent in the home of the *fon's* (main) wife near the town of Baham, which we had chosen because it was easy to travel to and stay there with the group Gwen adopted this towns as hers and stated: "this is where I really come from". And Stacey, who had no Bamileke origins[7], but who had joined Gwen in the house of the fon's wife added: "I could have lived here if it hadn't been for the slave trade. This could have been my village, she could have been my mother. I don't have that with anyone else in the world, only here in Africa... or Suriname, but that's different. It's the thought of what could have been that's what makes it so special."

It became more complicated when it turned out that three out of eight of our participants were eventually linked by their paternal DNA heritage trail to a European forefather. Now roots became even more of a difficult as well as an emotional concept. Some simply did not want to have European forefathers and one participant even said: "I don't want to know, because I don"t want to be linked to a white male rapist..." Again, this was a matter of personal choice dictated by a traumatic history, making once more the maternal line much more important than the paternal line. Biologically, however, there is no such choice.

Even the laboratories' claim, that these maternal and paternal ancestors link a person to his or her ethnic and geographical origins can be hardly sustained. Both trails are only a minor part of all forefathers who have influenced one"s present day DNA profile. The direct mother line (mother, her mother, her mother...) and the direct father line (father, his father, his father...) are only the outside lines of an inverse pyramid of ancestors numbering 2,046 in total when going back ten generations. And if we take

into consideration that this inverse pyramid is itself linked to other inverse pyramids too, the number of ancestors becomes almost astronomical. This became obvious also in our own group by way of the genealogies the participants had constructed of their families. For example, Verno discovered, that despite his West African ancestors that both his maternal as well as his maternal line had shown his mother's family name Brown originally was written Braun and belonged to a German ship's captain Willy who had come to the Dutch Antillean island of Statia four generations back. Kwinsie's appearance shows that there must have been Hindustani people among his forebears too, which is actually the case, despite maternal African ancestors and a paternal line ending up in Europe. And Charissa, whose DNA tests had linked her to the Fula and Djola in Guinea Bissau, as well as to the Nigerian Yoruba knew from her own family history that she also had Amerindian and Indonesian ancestors.

Therefore, the biological descendance is much more laterally extended than the DNA roots firms or laboratories want their clients to know (Fig. 08-1). And maybe they are right, because most roots seekers are looking for clear and undoubtable answers of origins. However, should they point their clients to their subjective choice, and, of course, this knowledge then confuses the idea of roots as "authentic" heritage. The authenticity of this heritage, therefore, seems to be much more in the specific hybrid mix, than in clear and straight historical origins.

Fig. 8-1: Stacey Esajas" maternal great grandparents in Suriname 1960s, only one of them is included in the DNA analysis

Fig. 8-2: Stacey performing "To My Mothers", 2007

Finally questions might be posed to the representativeness of the samples in the DNA databases of the Roots firms for the whole of present day ethnic groups? Recent research among the major ethnic groups of Sierra Leone showed that no significant genetic variation could be seen between the Mende, Temne and Loko. This indicates that it is hard

distinguishing genetic differences among ethnic groups residing in historically close proximity to one another (Jackson a.o. 2005, 186). Nevertheless, some DNA material unique for this West African region alone was identified as well. Markers like these may prove valuable in identifying the ethnic origins of American and Caribbean descendants of enslaved Africans, says Dr. Bruce Jackson, a geneticist at the University of Massachusetts and co-director of the non-profit African-American DNA Roots Project, that is excavating the genetic history of African Americans. However, it still is too early to draw definite conclusions. Much larger sample sizes will be needed and more research has to be done to characterise genetic differences in the maternal DNA of the many ethnic groups of Africa that were the sources of slaves (Jackson 2005, 162). Nevertheless, roots firms claim that the outcome of their tests link their clients– often with 90-100 % certainty –to specific ethnic groups in West- and Central Africa. It is exactly this kind of precision and the supposedly representativeness of the DNA samples in the laboratories' databases that make critics like Bruce Jackson fuming. "I think it is a disgraceful thing to try to tell an African American that you can match them to any group in Africa now [...] making such classifications is premature because not enough people have been tested to establish distinct markers for each group. Every ethnic group in Africa is a mix that we don't understand yet," he states (Hamilton 2005).

We could have used another DNA method offered by other institutes, which are less specific and only provide one's ethnic genealogical profile. When we discovered that, we were struck by the fact that although it shows that almost everyone is a mix, it also shows that DNA provides geographical specific markers, that can be discriminated. So the outcome of such tests will tell you that for example you are 50 % African, 25 % Amerindian and 25 % European (Cf. Harris 2007). However, eventually these markers might also be called ... RACE markers. This means that through these DNA categories we are bringing race, as a biological categorisation back in, two generations after having done away with it. The only positive thing about it is that large scale DNA research among the American population shows that a substantial proportion of self-identified whites or blacks actually are a "racial" mix.[8] Still, we should be very careful, because it also shows that in the U.S. most of the whites are extremely European and most of the blacks are still quite African. Thus, despite the notorious arbitrariness of the "one drop" rule, the actual American population conforms to its strictures surprisingly closely (Sailer 2002). This realisation about the danger of DNA markers as a newly accepted instrument of racialisation only came to us slowly, and it still

feels rather futile in the context of all these highly successful DNA genealogy programs like African American Lives or AfricanAncestry.com (see also M'charek 2005).

The further we went, the more problems with DNA turned up. We started wondering how these laboratories or roots firms had actually gathered so many DNA samples all over (West- and Central-) Africa. Did all African donors know what they were contributing to and did they know what happened with their DNA sample afterwards? Is their privacy assured and waterproof? Was this actually colonial anthropometrics all over again in a new dress but still including all kinds of inequality? (cf. Van Duuren 2007, 12-36). For our test we had worked with the eldest commercial roots firm with the (claimed) largest database of African DNA samples to match with, African Ancestry. However, the most clear statement by its founder, Chicago University based geneticist dr. Rick Kittles about the origins of his approximately 25,000 samples from about 400 different ethnic groups was that he had purchased them over some 10 years "in cooperation with researchers in hospitals in West and Central Africa. They send me", he said, "genetic material which was voluntarily offered by indigenous patients" (Vlasblom 2008). This, however, sounds a lot vaguer than the scientific justification dr. Jackson and his team give about their sampling method with "166 unrelated individuals from the Mende [...], Temne [...], Loko and Limba ethnic groups in Sierra Leone", asking the collaboration of local traditional authorities and using university approved informed consent forms for all participants (Jackson a.o. 2005, 158).

Despite all the difficulties, problems and criticisms we gradually discovered during our project, most of our participants still clung quite dearly to their new found peoples or countries of origin, particularly the maternal ones. They had, of course, volunteered for this project themselves and despite everything they felt –and still feel– that by participating new dimensions were added to their identities. But again, this was a matter of personal choice and of circumstances. For example, those who stayed home were happy to know about their places and peoples of origin, but there was no sign that they developed a strong emotional bond with these roots. The group members with whom we went to Cameroon, on the other hand, easily adopted it as their roots country. Of course, being welcomed by people who sometimes emotionally expressed their feelings of being honored to be visited by people looking for their (Cameroonean) roots did help. Our guide in Baham said "we are really excited to know that there are people in the world who think about us." Moreover, our participants constantly recognised familiar cultural elements that added to their home

feelings even to the point of recognizing familiar faces resembling people they know back home. Therefore, it seems to make a lot of difference, if one actually makes physical contact with the supposed roots territory or not. But even then, it stayed a matter of choice, because, as it turned out roots can also turn you down.

Fig. 8-3: Herby Goedhard meeting "his" Fulani people in Cameroon, 2007

Jetty and Marcel already had the experience of disappointment when their maternal line ended up in countries with which they did not very easily identify because of their bloody recent history (see above). Maybe their ancestors were calling them, but they were not very eager to respond. Even more telling was what happened to Herby when we visited "his" Fulani people. (Fig. 8-3) Contrary to the hearty welcome we had just experienced in a village "of Gwen's" Bamileke people, the Fulani of this village much more kept their distance. And Herby, while looking around, observed that most villagers looked differently from him "more like Somali with smooth hair and a lighter skin. My hair is frizzy and my skin is dark". Nevertheless he introduced himself to the village elder as "a boy from Holland who has only recently discovered his roots and now has the chance to visit my Fulani people." And then there was this profound silence. Because they probably considered Herby speaking about "my Fulani people" rather odd as long as he was not a Muslim like them. So they asked him if he wanted to convert to Islam. He still was welcome, and in a certain way also belonging, but certainly no more than just a little bit. And that was also how Herby felt. Without turning down their request of

converting to Islam he made it clear that this was quite hard for him to answer and actually to deal with at all. Herby's confused feelings increased when walking through the village as we got the impression that the lighter skinned Fulani were the dominant group, whereas the also present darker skinned Fulani, looking more like Herby himself, seemed to be poorer and doing the dirty jobs. It reminded us that there has also been internal slavery in Africa, that there still is enormous inequality and that there is ethnic discrimination too. This, therefore, can be part of one's roots too. Herby decided not to stay the night in the village, and we moved on.

Meaning and contents of roots

Obviously, roots is more intangible than tangible, more emotion than rational fact, more personal choice than law of nature. Probably Jetty expressed it best when she stated that making a trip like this, and in her case not even to her genetically appointed roots country, was a way of coming to peace with one's self, one's ancestors and therefore with history. In a sacred place amongst pre-historic Cameroonian rocks, where local people say that the ancestors live, Jetty had spontaneously addressed the ancestors and, almost in trance, had begged them to clear the way for us in the present, to be no longer victims of a traumatic history, "to let it go", as she put it. This was one of the crucial roots experiences for Jetty, shared by the others present, of which she later stated: "I know exactly what happened, but it also went beyond me. There are no words for it, it's only feeling."

Herby later stated that when arriving at this sacred ancestral place, he had the feeling that the people present, who were doing their ritual things, were already expecting us. "Coincidence is not the case here", he said, "everything falls into place."

This feeling of predisposition as well as recognition was, together with the homely feelings, the core of the roots experience. Everywhere we went in Cameroon our group members recognised things that reminded them of "home", in most cases meaning Suriname or the Afro-Surinamese culture with which they were brought up.[9] Music, rhythm, food, clothing, smells even language and spirituality were all part of this. At the same time these roots feelings were probably not specifically tied to their roots countries. Cameroon, for example, was not the genetically appointed roots country of Jetty nor Marcel. Still they had the same feelings as the others, although they were more inclined to refer to "Africa" in these instances than to the specificity of Cameroon. Probably everyone would have had the same feelings while travelling to other countries the enslaved once had been

forced to leave. The pan-African genetic mix, quite obviously, is accompanied by a pan-African cultural mix, which enables recognition of certain cultural elements and world views relatively easily. And it works both ways. Herby observed, for example, that Cameroonians easily adopted the Afro-Surinamese songs and rhythms he performed to them, and our guide in Baham even exclaimed: "I am sure that actually you are all from Cameroon; when I look at you I see Cameroonean faces."

At the same time the feeling of roots is not only affirmed by things from the past that can still be recognised, but also, or maybe even more so by parallel developments from a partly common past. For instance, at times we were confronted with some linguistical resemblances with the general – Creole – language of Suriname which developed during slavery, *Sranan*. However, on closer scrutiny it often turned out to be a resemblance of creolised European words. The intriguing part, of course, is the resemblance of the creolisation process. When Gwen stated "this is where I really come from", she illustrated this by saying: "The women here look exactly like in Suriname, nothing's changed." Stacey felt the same when she felt her Africanness confirmed by this feeling of "all of us being the same."

Fig. 8-4: Marcel Pinas" "Roots on the Move"; universal shopping bags with in built audiovisuals showing Cameroon women carrying goods on their heads, 2007-2008

Fig. 8-5: Jetty Mathurin in her show "7", sitting on a throne of overseized carrots (in Dutch literally: roots), 2007-2008

On the other hand, when some participants found the resemblance between the modern houses in Cameroon and Suriname quite striking, that probably is merely a resemblance of a more general tropical architecture which can be found in many tropical countries not only in Africa. Actually roots are for a large part resemblances of things you already know in the present, and almost by definition that is probably true for every kind of

heritage. In a way this is expressed wonderfully in the "Roots on the move" installation by Marcel. (Fig. 8-4)

Finally, when the quest for roots was over every one of the group, whether having been in Africa or not, was asked to give substance to his or her idea of roots in an artistic way.[10] Jetty produced a one woman's theatre show, called 7, which toured the country quite successfully. (Fig. 8-5) In the show, which is at times hilarious, she explains how her quest for roots has made her become serene after a life of always having been mad at everything and everyone. However, "it is not necessary anymore. Enough is enough. I now determine on my own what I want to take along... and what I want to let go." This statement of emancipation of an historical burden also resonated in Stacey's poetic performance called "To my mothers" (Fig. 8-2). After addressing all her foremothers one by one, meanwhile pulling off skirt after skirt she ends by saying: "this daughter has returned because she is free [...] I will not call them slaves no more, they were my mothers before." And Gwen, who produced a puppet play of a white boy and a black girl, hilariously discussing family origins, after her show concluded: "I'm at peace with the Cameroon result; I've done my research, my quest is over now," which obviously has an emancipatory ring to it.

For Marcel, roots particularly were the things that show a clear bond between Africa and Suriname, and particularly the most African population group of Suriname, the Maroons, to which he and his family belong. At the same time roots for Marcel also express a feeling of nostalgia for a disappearing, or threatened past. To express this he made an installation of the most globalised kind of shopping bag in which he placed videos showing Cameroon women carrying all kinds of goods on their heads. (Fig. 8-4) "They take me back again to the pleasant moments of my childhood in the interior of Suriname; just like how we used to transport produce from our plots of land to the village and way up to town." Marcel's roots, although seemingly more part of a (nostalgic) past uses the universal and contemporary shopping bag to show it is also part of his present luggage. Moreover he adds, that "Africa has strengthened me as an artist," which seems to have an emancipating tone to it too. This feeling seems to be shared in the rap lyrics by Verno (Fig. 8-6). He shows his new found strength by combining the seriousness of a roots quest with the fun of its results: "Because I'm black you would say my family couldn't be white / all my searches changed my view, it changed my insight / ... / A German sailor, captain Willie Braun, visited the isle of Statia's vibrant town / he found love, on a night of fun / hence the Caribbean Brown's of which I'm one!" (Fig. 8-7).

Fig. 8-6: Verno Romney performing his
Family Brown rap, 2007

Fig. 8-7: Verno's great grandfather
Brown near Saint Eustatius (Statia), 1920s

Charissa, Herby and Kwinsie, take this stance a step further by
presenting their roots feelings as the ultimate mix of past and present,
there and here. The latter two, both musicians, put together an occasional
ensemble which performed an Afro-Surinamese winti-song accompanied
by African percussion for the right rhythm and in addition a European
electric bass, because, as Herby explained: "thus I know how to strike the
right note when singing."And Charissa, a wonderful dancer, expressed her
roots in a performance which combined all the dance traditions, including
the accompanying dresses, of the cultures she could trace among her
ancestors: Native American, Asian and African, all held together in a
contemporary (global) dance frame. "Because I'm a hotchpotch myself,
this suits me perfectly," she said, concluding with her roots motto as an
ultimate form of presentism: "Create your own heart beat."

Finally Jetty added something about the importance of the Surinamese
background. "I was born in a still colonial Suriname, I carry that history
with me." Marcel even still lives in Suriname and carries the recent history
of civil war in Suriname too. But the youngsters in the group, says Jetty,
"do not know that Suriname. This project has empowered their being black
in the Netherlands, that is where their true home is. Now they can say: my
history might be different from yours, and I might look different from you,
but here is where I belong, whatever is said to the contrary."

Conclusion

The number of scientific, socio-political and cultural debates that have
been touched upon in this project are too many to mention, let alone
explore in detail. They range from "nature or nurture" to cultural
essentialism, racialism, diversity, politics of exclusion, and many others. It

is, therefore, better to focus on the question we started this contribution with: what exactly is roots, what does it look like and what kind of heritage is it?

In museums items are collected and presented which are of value to a specific theme and discipline, like history, art, anthropology, or nature. Thus, the museum also houses histories of observation, classification, scientific knowledge and the ways they have been presented. We now often smile, albeit a little uncomfortably, about the scientific naivety of our predecessors, but we are deadly serious about our present day state of the art knowledge. Classifying by measuring species, particularly humans, is something of the past, classifying based on DNA technology is deadly serious, globalised business (!). To reflect upon this is the task of the joined forces of science, museums, art, and popular culture. And that's what we did in Back to the Roots.

At the start of the project we undertook traditional almost simple historical research on the genealogical backgrounds of the project participants. In the light of what was coming, high tech DNA research leading us to specific ancestral groups in Africa, the first looked almost backward and amateurish. The new technique, on the other hand, seemed to be hard core, sacrosanct state of the art science and (therefore) able to dig up roots and answer our questions. Popular DNA heritage projects like BBC's *Motherland*, PBS' *African American Lives*, and National Geographic's *Etnographics* only stressed this feeling. It took some time therefore to realise that DNA "evidence" in this case is shown to be (still) very soft and questionable. The main thing revealed was how looking for roots is a matter of a series of personal choices. In the end you'll find and cherish things, that may be unexpected in a way, but which also suit you and even empower you in your present life. But isn't that what heritage is all about?

It certainly is about what people choose to preserve from the past; it is about - supposed or claimed - authenticity, the real thing; it is about identity i.e. identifying, sharing and belonging, which means it is as much about "we" as it is about "me". And there is a growing consensus that heritage is "the result of a dynamic process of selection of a past we now produce and which we now consider of value for our identity, which we want to pass on to the future, but the meaning of which will almost certainly change." (Frijhoff 2006, 39). David Lowenthal (2006) adds to that "the farther back in time the more mixed is every ancestry." And that is exactly what we eventually found out, by becoming increasingly critical about the techniques offered to us as well as by relying (again) on old fashioned archival and, substantially, oral history as well.

At the same time the newly offered links to "your own people" in Africa had become quite precious to our group members. They were added to their personal histories as something almost tangible to refer to. However, after that, none of the participants did any more substantial research into the history or culture of "their" respective African roots peoples. And until now no one has visited them (again) or been in touch with them (anymore). Obviously the present level of knowledge suffices and is clear enough to be added to the multitude of identifications we refer to as identity. Maybe even more important is that one of the main results of the quest for roots is the increasing awareness that there is a certain hierarchy in this kind of heritage. Africa is a kind of "deep" but distant roots, to which you can refer if necessary or wanted. Suriname or the Dutch Caribbean are maybe even deeper, because much closer roots, whereas the Netherlands are not even considered roots, because too much part of daily lived reality. Only Jetty, because of having experienced many life events during her several decades long stay now in the Netherlands, sometimes refers to her younger years in the Southeast of the country as her roots too.

So, what are roots? They are an emotionally laden subjective product of the selection made in one"s personal history as well as the history of the groups one identifies with. What do they look like? Any shape and content one likes or feels attached to as long as it is related to the former. Is it heritage? Absolutely.

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Notes

[1] "Back to the Roots" was a joint project of the Tropenmuseum Amsterdam and the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Audiovisuals and other outcome of the project can be seen at www.mijnroots.nl. A short version of the film is permanently shown in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, next to an installation by Marcel Pinas: "Reconnecting Africa".

[2] Two tv series (2006 and 2008) in which Gates traced his own ancestral lineage as well as those of a number of famous African Americans, among whom Oprah Winfrey.

[3] The project is on its way collecting more than 100,000 DNA samples from indigenous people all over the world to learn about the migratory paths of *homo sapiens*.

[4] http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2003/02_february/05/moth erland.shtml#top (15/05/2007).

[5] On July 18 1950 UNESCO issued a statement in which the 14th point asserted that: "The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished. For all practical social purposes, 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth" which has "created an enormous amount of human and social damage."

[6] For the female participants this meant using a sample of a brother, uncle, or cousin, because the Y chromosome is only passed on to males.

[7] Her Cameroonean origins in the mother line were Mafa, Masa and Kotoko.

[8] A study of 3,000 DNA samples from 25 places in the U.S. showed that 30 per cent of whites have black ancestors. However, the average black admixture is only 2.3 percent, which is the equivalent of having among 128 great-great-great-great-great-grandparents (seven generations), about 127 whites and one black. African-Americans turned out to be much more racially mixed, but even they have only 22 Europeans as opposed to 106 Africans among seven generations of ancestors (Sailer 2002).

[9] Unfortunately no group members of Antillean background were part of the travellers.

[10] Part of this can be seen at www.mijnroots.nl.

CHAPTER NINE

VIRTUAL IDENTITIES AND THE RECAPTURING OF PLACE:
HERITAGE PLAY IN OLD TOWN JAKARTA[1]

YATUN SASTRAMIDJAJA

Introduction

A young woman, aged around twenty, stands proudly in the doorway of the Jakarta History Museum. In her daily life she is a typical metropolitan student, who wears t-shirts and jeans and hangs out in malls. But now, she is dressed in fine traditional *batik* costume befitting a Javanese princess, to greet participants of today's heritage event in style. Outside, night has fallen over Fatahillah Square—the central square in Jakarta's colonial quarters or Old Town (Kota Tua), the city's main international tourist draw—and all foreign tourists are long gone. Inside, the Museum is bustling with activity and filled with excitement, as several dozens of predominantly *young* Jakartans gather there to relive a bygone colonial era—an era popularly referred to as *tempo doeloe* ('old times')—in an event combining history lessons with *tempo doeloe* films and food, a city tour by night, costumed re-enactment and plain fun. It is not the first time that young people gather in Old Town or other historical places for this sort of event. Heritage events in distinctly youthful style—organised *by* and *for* cosmopolitan students and typically coordinated through virtual communities—have become all the rage in Jakarta and other major cities in Indonesia. Relocating their leisure space from air-conditioned shopping malls to dilapidated city quarters, they perform their own heritage trails to rediscover the hidden stories and subjected histories of the city; sometimes dressed up in carnivalesque fashion in the costume of "Javanese princess," "colonial master," or other *tempo doeloe* characters.

Figure 9-1: Models dress up in "VOC"-style at the official launch of Jakarta's Old Town redevelopment project. The slogan reads: "Legacy of the past, hope for the future"

This remarkable trend raises several questions. What drives these young people to exchange the comfort zone of their modern leisure spaces (usually located in the upmarket southern parts of Jakarta) for the rundown places of the past (Old Town, in the north, being among the worst)? What is the attraction of colonial heritage to postcolonial youths at least two generations later? How do their playful, ostensibly *postmodern* engagements with the past relate to conventional forms of engaging with heritage? What *narratives* are produced in their play; to what extent do these digress from, or transgress, the dominant narrative of national history and identity? And what are the effects on the meanings of Old Town as tourist destination? In an attempt to answer these questions, this chapter discusses the youth heritage trend in the context of national and global processes, related to shifts of balance in politics of place, postmodern tourism and urban regeneration; processes of which the youth trend is part yet which it simultaneously eludes. I will argue that this youth heritage trend represents a novel, praxis-oriented form of engagement with places and their pasts, which I will call heritage *touring*; a practice arising in contrast to mainstream heritage *tourism* and orthodox national heritage *tuition*. This *touring* has significant implications for the reimagination of history's

relationship to place, for it entails a rediscovery of *histories*-in-heritage and identities-in-*place*—i.e. historical plurality and local specificity— hence signifying a politics of belonging that is shifting away from the generic unitary framework of the nation-state. Yet the heritage touring of postmodern youth involves a strong element of *re-nationalisation* too. Above all, it represents a collective route to collective roots; a collective effort to reconnect with and reclaim the manifold heritages and complex histories comprising *their* nation, in a manner not accommodated by either the state or the heritage industry. This rediscovery of roots is one of the hallmarks of globalisation.

Memory and place in global postmodernity

Although globalisation is associated with mobility and fluidity, it is as much about the rediscovery and re-appreciation of a rooted self and past, whether or not from a desire to sustain old values as anchors in times of rapid change. Robertson (1990) argues that a "revival of the past" is part and parcel of globalisation. He discerns "a new phase of accelerated, nostalgia-producing globalisation," in which people and institutions increasingly draw on place and memory to delineate a distinct identity in a globalising world. In the wake of global fluidity *heritage* thus assumes a more prominent role in private and public life. Although heritage is certainly not a new phenomenon, the nature of its recent renaissance is all the more striking, because it involves a global proliferation of a range of new memory discourses and practices that overflow the parameters of established heritage institutions (Lowenthal 1998; Huyssen 2000). "Contemporary nostalgia," as Robertson argues, differs profoundly from the "politically-motivated wilful nostalgia" that accompanied the institutional nationalisms of the late nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, and that continue to exist in museums and other heritage institutions established in that era.

The *national*, as the key modernist category, is readily bypassed in the present-day global-local nexus. Accordingly the new memory discourses and practices are more concerned with the "micronarratives" of particular places rather than the "macronarratives" of the nation-state (Appadurai 1996). To borrow metaphors from Crang (1994), while the nation-state formerly controlled the organisation of place and memory through the creation of totalising Maps of National Identity and History (corresponding to Enlightenment Mappings of the World), it finds growing competition from various new kinds of Journeys through time and space, which give rise to new visions of identity and history. In these Journeys, subjected

place-memories are rediscovered and thereby *re-appropriated* from the state. A tension thus arises between Map and Journey, as manifested in the increasing diversification and contestation of heritage meanings in the contemporary world. But whether this process also results in new Maps that replace the National Map is another question.

In my research on the global-local dynamics of what I call the heritage-scape in Indonesia, I encountered many instances of re-appropriation of memory and place by various groups in society, as testified by the phenomenal rise of all kinds of new heritage movements across the country, notably since the end of former President Suharto's New Order regime in 1998 (Sastramidjaja forthcoming). Resonating with global processes, a shifting global-local nexus affects the balance of power and meaning in Indonesia's heritage-scape, so that heritage is recharged as a contested, political issue in public consciousness. Nevertheless, the particular postcolonial-nationalist heritage paradigm in Indonesia remains pervasive, to a large extent preventing new heritage movements from decidedly moving beyond the Map of National Identity and History. This illustrates the tension between Map and Journey, which is partly also a tension of translation, as I demonstrate below.

The politics of heritage in Indonesia

From Dutch colonial times till the recent present, the definition and organisation of heritage in Indonesia was firmly controlled by the state. Colonial and postcolonial governments alike, notably during Suharto's rule, attempted to pacify Indonesia's manifold cultures by subjecting them to rigorous technologies of conservation and representation, resulting in the museumification, folklorisation and touristification of selected elements of living cultures and their pasts, which were reconfigured and frozen into a timeless, static and fixed Map of heritage *signs* to serve as the official icons of national identity. Euphemistically called the "cultural peaks" of the nation, these icons—e.g., the Borobudur, the *gamelan*, wayang puppetry, Balinese temples and dances, the Javanese *kratons* (palaces), customary houses and costumes, and traditional arts and crafts— are the stock of official national heritage tuition, and as such they are meticulously reproduced in schools, museums, theme parks, or other educational institutions. In addition, they are packaged, marketed, branded and sold as tourist commodities for both domestic and international tourist markets, through the official doctrine of Cultural Tourism. One of the effects of this heritage policy, besides the sheer distortion of the cultures which were remodelled to fit the Map of National Heritage, is the neglect

and silencing of heritage that did *not* make it to the official Map. Another effect is the suppression of subjective histories as well as subjective engagements with history, which were seen to pose a potential threat to the official script of National History. This is not to say that the state had unlimited power in imposing its Map on society. As my research shows, there have always been local criticisms against the heritage policies of the state. Yet it was only in the final decade of the twentieth century, specifically in the context of globalisation, that these criticisms became more pronounced and organised.

In the post-Cold War era, state hegemony in Indonesia has been increasingly challenged in a critical conjuncture of international pressures for liberalisation and domestic calls for democratisation, which in 1998 led to Suharto's downfall and a new era of reforms. A wind of change has accordingly been blowing in the field of heritage too, particularly as manifested in the public appearance of a new brand of highly dedicated and articulate heritage professionals, who have shown themselves to be more in tune with the international discourses of heritage expertise (many had received their professional training abroad, mostly in civil engineering, architecture and related fields) than with the cultural dictates of the state. Assuming the role of public heritage custodians, these professionals have long expressed concerns about the government's neglect of heritage, particularly urban heritage, which has come under increasing pressure from the government's thrust to facilitate construction of ever more malls, skyscrapers, superhighways and other symbols of high-modernity at the expense of anything old. To offer counter-weight, many professionals have drawn on the *Zeitgeist* of reforms to found heritage societies, aimed to raise public awareness and influence policies through high-profile campaigns, advisory service, assertive lobbying and other strategies. For Indonesia the rise and rapid expansion of these heritage societies signifies a groundbreaking event, attesting that heritage is no longer the exclusive domain of the state.

These new heritage societies are largely modelled on professional organisations in Australia, the US and Europe (where they have been well-established since the nineteenth century), with which Indonesian professionals have long been in contact through such international platforms as ICOM (International Council on Museums) or ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites). This is reflected in their names too. For example, the *Bandung* Society for Heritage Conservation—which was founded by local architecture and anthropology lecturers in 1987, as the forerunner of the recent heritage movement—is mainly concerned with preserving and promoting the heritage of the city of

Bandung. More recently founded heritage societies are similarly named after place—for example, the Jogja Heritage Society for Yogyakarta, or the Bali Kuna (Old Bali) society—and are likewise particularly concerned with the *local* reality of deteriorating *local* environments. As a founding member of the Bandung Society argued: "The truth is that I don't really care about the Borobudur and all that; I care about the streets outside my office, I deeply care about the bridge near my house, and I struggle for the recognition of the interests of the Bandung people and their culture because this is my home."[2] (Interestingly, this founding member is an American citizen who has lived in Bandung with her Bandung-born spouse for over two decades, now calling this city home.)

Nevertheless, recognising the expanding scope of their bargaining position vis-à-vis the government, these local heritage societies have soon decided to cooperate on the national level, which in 2003 led to the founding of the Indonesian Heritage Trust, BPPI (*Badan Pelestarian Pusaka Indonesia*).[3] Besides usual growing pains, on a deeper level the BPPI faces the problem of the very *definition* of heritage in Indonesia. For how is it possible to claim to struggle in the name of heritage in a context where its definition has always been claimed by the state? This problem of definition has tended to trap the BPPI in a restraining dependency on the government's discourse of heritage, which has changed little in the era of reforms. The imagery used in the BPPI's leaflets and website heavily borrows from the official canon of heritage, drawing on images of the same heritage icons used by the government to promote national identity and tourist destinations. The use of familiar images might be necessary for purposes of public profiling, and reproducing official discourse might be strategic to secure the government's consent and cooperation. But it also exposes the problem of how to *translate* international professional paradigms into a national context where models inherited from colonial times remain dominant.

The problem of translation is less critical in local contexts, where the cause for heritage is easily conveyed as a matter of preserving the "culture" or "character" of Bandung, for example; even the simple phrase "preserving Bandung" is adequately convincing. But once the local heritage societies operate on the national level some consensus has to be reached about the common meaning of what is to be preserved in different places nationwide. The problem is further reflected in the fact that there is no proper Indonesian translation for the word heritage. The BPPI has settled on the closest term available, *pusaka* (also used in its name). But this literally means heirloom, denoting a customary concept with strong spiritual connotations, which makes it quite sensitive and problematic to

apply in the context of modern heritage conservation. Even some BPPI members therefore object to using this term, and it has been suggested that they might as well use the English term and Indonesianise it, like other modern loan words, for the sake of neutrality. In fact, concurrent with the rise of the heritage societies, the English term has already become widely used in national media and popular culture, including television shows and fashion store names. It is thus familiar among the Indonesian public, who are now accustomed to using the foreign concept to designate what is theirs. This is another instance of the "global-local" nexus, and it illustrates that debates about translation and definition are more or less bypassed in the public sphere at large and can no longer be subjected to the control of any cultural or institutional gatekeeper.

Yet the heritage societies have made significant contributions to this process. In that regard, their most important achievement is the demonstration of *emotional* re-engagement with and collective *passion* for heritage, which formerly suffered from a dry and dull image but is now enthusiastically embraced by the general public. It is thus fitting that they often refer to their common cause as "spreading the heritage virus," first in one's local surroundings, then throughout the nation, and ultimately within the state. The idea is that people will get "infected" with the "heritage virus" and come to share the passion for heritage conservation once they get the chance to personally experience its inner value. This idea is also expressed in the promotion of "Archipelago Trails," which is one of the spearheads of the BPPI's programme. As the website explains, these trails are for "students, researchers and tourists with a special interest in heritage, or those who would like to study traditional dance and music or local culture," offering them a chance "to meet experts and stay with local people in modest accommodation." For Indonesia, again, this is a groundbreaking initiative. However, the quoted explanation of this heritage trail reveals two criteria that limit the scope of what it intends to accomplish. First, it is intended for special interest groups, who are already well-disposed to heritage; second, the emphasis is again on traditional "archipelagic" cultures, in the sense as is already exploited by the government for purposes of national identity tuition and tourism promotion. So long as the format of this heritage trail remains faithful to official Maps of heritage, it remains to be seen how far the "virus," at least through this medium, can spread among larger and more diverse publics.

In contrast, in the youth trend of heritage *touring* the Maps of heritage tuition as well as heritage tourism are radically inverted, as I will show below. Yet it should be stressed that the youth trend is not unrelated to the rise of the heritage societies; in fact, some of its organisers are also

involved in the BPPI and other professional heritage platforms. Likewise, the youth trend is not totally unrelated to mainstream heritage tourism either. For what I refer to as "mainstream" is itself a postmodern phenomenon, part of a contemporary global "heritage boom."

From Jayakarta to Batavia: (Re)Mapping Jakarta's Old Town

As the seat of the VOC (United East Indies Company) and then Dutch East Indies administration, Jakarta's Old Town used to be known as "Queen of the East." But even in its colonial heydays this swampy district was soon abandoned by elites for healthier areas to the south. After decolonisation it was completely left to crumble. Indonesian leaders were keen to forget the colonial past and focused on building the new nation, for which the capital city Jakarta was redesigned to symbolise the postcolonial course of "modernisation-rooted-in-tradition." First President Sukarno filled the city with magnificent monuments depicting national struggle, often with reference to a precolonial "golden age" of powerful indigenous empires, as well as internationally oriented buildings such as the grand Hotel Indonesia. His successor, Suharto, added superhighways, skyscrapers and shopping malls to the cityscape, as well as a national theme park, Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature, where the national motto, Unity in Diversity, is depicted through the display of the nation's "cultural peaks." This new cityscape was mostly constructed southwards, ever further away from Old Town in the north, which consequently became a rundown district for the urban poor, a ghost town at night.

Yet while the Old Town was not included in the postcolonial cityscape, neither did the authorities bulldoze it to erase the memory of colonial rule once and for all. The authorities were rather unsure of what to do with this place, which is indicative of the discomfort of the New Order memory discourse vis-à-vis the colonial past. According to Stoler and Strassler, "the reticence about the Dutch colonial regime" had much to do with "the New Order state's own eerie resemblance to it" (2000, 12), which was not something the government wished to emphasise. Yet while the colonial past was thus downplayed domestically, the government recognised its use value in the burgeoning global industry of heritage tourism, seeing the success of other postcolonial nations, such as Singapore, in exploiting their colonial heritage. Hence, in 1972, Jakarta's Old Town was officially designated as tourist destination and conservation zone, largely owing to Governor Sadikin, who ordered restoration of the Dutch City Hall on Fatahillah Square which then became the Jakarta History Museum.

Thereafter, however, little else happened. It should be remembered that Indonesia already exploited a rich stock of successful tourist destinations through the official doctrine of Cultural Tourism, each signifying "cultural peaks" on the Map of National Heritage, which had no place for the colonial past.

Yet with or without official promotion, it was inevitable for colonial *nostalgia* tourism to occur, considering the sentimental links between the former colony and coloniser. If Indonesia was reticent, in the Netherlands there was less hesitancy to reminisce the past in the "emerald girdle," as the former colony is fondly recalled, and a rich nostalgia industry has flourished since the moment of Dutch retreat from the Indies till the present. This nostalgia did not simply hark back to mourning over a "lost empire," as some critics suggest. Rather, it drew, and continues to draw, on personal memories and mementos of the "good life" overseas, as captured in photo albums, family belongings such as tropical furniture and art collections, old family recipes of tropical dishes, and so on. And while "colonial chic," as part of current "retro-chic" fashions (Samuel 1994), is exploited by designers and other industries to feed into consumerist desires, this is not what drives the unique type of tourist who visits a former colony to take a trip down memory lane or retrace the traces of parents or grandparents in a personal genealogical quest. This personal dimension explains why colonial nostalgia occupies a relatively small niche in the market of heritage tourism. In Indonesia, it is mostly confined to the city of Bandung, 180 km south from Jakarta, which used to attract the colonial elite for its cooler climate and bustling cultural high-life, which gained it the name "Paris of Java".[4] Tourists who visit Bandung for its colonial traces are usually also inclined to visit Jakarta's Old Town while on transit in the capital city; thus Old Town has always seen scattered tourists, notably from Dutch descent, wandering around the area. With any tourism infrastructure lacking, however, these tourists are left to their own devices.

Official steps to create a tourism infrastructure for Old Town materialised only in 1991, when a masterplan was issued for development of the Jayakarta Heritage Park.[5] Interestingly, this refers to the town's precolonial name, reflecting the state's policy to highlight the precolonial "golden age" and silence the colonial past, even though the planned Park was centred in the colonial district. Colonial heritage was absent in the masterplan, which rather focused on *indigenous* sites. However, the Jayakarta Heritage Park was never realised.

Over ten masterplans for the Old Town have since been issued, mostly focusing on practical problems such as traffic congestion, pollution and

crime control, while evading conceptualisation of the district's historical-cultural significance. Each of the plans also failed due to bureaucratic red tape and lack of consultation with local stakeholders. Frustrated by the slow developments, in 2004 local property owners and heritage experts founded Jakarta Old Town Kotaku (My City), an organisation striving for the revitalisation and preservation of the area in a responsible manner. Since then there have been numerous meetings on this issue. The name Jayakarta was replaced in the official tourism discourse by the colonial name Batavia to highlight Jakarta's cosmopolitan origins. Clearly, by now, the *Zeitgeist* of reforms neatly combined with global models of "visitable" cityscapes, which typically include a historical-colonial quarter and an ethnic quarter to boot.

A bold plan in that direction comes from Jakarta's new Governor, Fauzi Bowo, who actually grew up in the area and moreover holds a degree in city planning, so that many hold high hopes that this time the plans are for real. His plan proposes a historical conservation and economic revitalisation project for an 845-hectare area divided into five zones—Fatahillah Square, Sunda Kelapa, Chinatown, the Arabic district, and a residential/office area—envisioning tree-lined pedestrian streets and small parks, boutique hotels and shops, wine bars, apartments in restored Dutch-era buildings and office space in renovated Chinese-style warehouses. To kick-start the project, in 2007 "antique" streetlamps and cobble stone pavements were installed at Fatahillah Square and adjacent alleys, and a new two-day "Old Town Tourism Attraction Festival" was initiated, with traditional performances and parades from various ethnic groups, including Chinese *barongsai* and a living display of models in Dutch colonial costume.[6] In 2008 a traditional cooking contest was added to the festival, in which contestants prepare one out of a list of ten "local" recipes, which among Indonesian dishes included Dutch *bestek* (beefsteak) and Japanese *sukiyaki*. Antique bicycles and cars were also on display, offering visitors a ride around the square; all meant "to ignite a sense of nostalgia through all the senses; through the sight of the old buildings and old cars, and the taste of traditional and increasingly rare foods."[7] Interestingly, a "sense of nostalgia" was achieved by highlighting the *hybrid* nature of Jakarta's past. From postcolonial glorification of a precolonial age the formula thus shifts to postmodern display of cultural mixture and diversity; the perfect image for the global "gaze" of tourists and investors.

Yet there is also criticism. Members of Jakarta Old Town Kotaku complain that the project ignores basic infrastructural problems (such as lacking public facilities, parking and public transportation problems, and

poor waste management), and that clear guidelines for the maintenance and development of the 283 buildings listed in the conservation zone are lacking, while the physical structures keep deteriorating to the extent that some walls have already collapsed, killing passers-by.[8] A more fundamental problem concerns the lack of involvement of local communities. The city council takes pride in its policy of free admission to all the Old Town festivals, implying that they are meant for local audiences as well as foreign tourists, but this puts "locals" (mostly coming from outside the area) in the role of spectators at best. Any community rhetoric in the planning has been largely gestural. As Dicks argues, urban redevelopments aimed at "producing visitability" often rely on the neoliberal notion "that community benefits are produced through the trickle-down effect of make-overs, but there is little concrete evidence that this occurs." (2003, 74). In contrast, such redevelopments usually lead to gentrification and hence eviction of poorer residents from historical districts. Jakarta's Old Town has not reached the gentrification stage *yet*, and for now local businesses appear to profit from growing visitor numbers. For example, bicycle taxi riders who usually serve local residents cheaply now rent out their old "antique-style" vehicles for Rp. 20,000 an hour to middle-class Jakartans (notably wedding couples on their photo shoot) who enjoy a "historical European" sensation in "stark contrast to the outside world of malls, high-rise buildings and busy traffic."[9] But it remains to be seen how the bicycle taxi riders will fare once they are regulated. The official plan is to limit their numbers (now swelling to fifty on weekends) and to create a pool station where licensed riders queue up for passengers, as in a regular fairground attraction. Regulation is part of a process that transforms everyday spaces into capital assets, and this has seldom led to local community participation. At some point in the Old Town's redevelopment, again resonating with global processes, rising popularity is not unlikely to herald the decline of the actual *locale*.

Touring and play: Remapping memory, recapturing locality

For a significant part, the Old Town's rising popularity can be attributed to the new phenomenon of youthful heritage touring, which has put the place on the "map" of metropolitan leisure (*and* learning) spaces rather than merely that of official tourist destinations. At the same time, youthful Journeys partly wrest control of the place from the official tourist Map, by challenging its thematised spatial organisation of the past through *play*. Indeed, tourist-historic city planning and youthful heritage touring

represent "opposing tendencies" in global postmodernity's heritage culture, the one replicating tried and tested "techniques of interpretation and theming," the other bringing into play "techniques of collage, pastiche, irony and fragmentation," to paraphrase Dicks (2003, 12). Youthful heritage touring partly fits Urry's (1990) analysis of the "post-tourist" who plays at various roles during travels and engages in ludic manipulation of commodified signs as suits personal desires, rather than following official tourist scripts. It also fits Nuryanti's (1996, 250-251) description of "postmodern tourists," whose travels represent "journeys of self-discovery" in creative manners, using "the power of their intellect and imagination" to construct "their own sense of historic places." Between ludic manipulation and creative self-discovery, heritage touring is now, above all, immensely popular in Jakarta.

The young people at issue are mostly (upper) middle-class students and young professionals, who organise themselves in informal, largely *virtual* communities of "history and heritage lovers," as they call themselves. Through virtual media (i.e., weblogs, webzines, mailinglists and social networking sites such as Facebook) they share the latest news in recent heritage matters and controversies, and inform each other of the less familiar and silenced stories of the (colonial, postcolonial and pre-colonial) past, notably stories related to particular *places*. This concern with places of course relates to their principal activity which is conducted in the real, material world of historical locales, where they frequently go out on semi-organised trails to rediscover both familiar destinations and forgotten or hidden memory sites. What I call heritage *touring* refers to the virtual and spatial practices combined. It is about exploration, adventure, pursuit of "DIY knowledge" and self-discovery. Above all, it is about play, both in Urry's sense of ludic manipulation of signs and in the sense of pure collective fun, which also explains these communities' phenomenal growth among youth. However, this is not to say that they lack "serious" elements; they do espouse a serious vision and mission for the future of the past.

Youthful heritage touring covers a broad spectrum between "serious play" and "playful seriousness," as is illustrated by two of its leading exponents. A "learning through *fun*" approach is the foundation of the first community of this kind, called Museum's Best Friend (*Sahabat Museum*), also known by its abbreviation Batmus (as the comic book character Batman, so members explain), which was founded in 2002 by a Dutch letters and history student at the University of Indonesia (Jakarta) as a way of doing what he likes to do best, exploring the city's colonial history, and spreading this interest among "mall-addicted friends."[10] A slightly different

"fun in *learning*" approach characterises the Indonesian History Community (*Komunitas Historia Indonesia*), or KHI, which was founded in 2003 by a history student at the Jakarta National University, to combat the general lack of interest in history among youth who often consider it to be boring. The KHI's mission is to convince them of the opposite: that history is exciting, inspiring and fun, and to that aim it organises various activities—besides heritage trails, these include workshops, film gatherings and book discussions—that are both "recreational, educational and entertaining," so as to make history "easier to digest and remember" and to create "an atmosphere where history sticks to the heart." The objective is self-education, so as to "nurture critical minds with regard to national matters."[11] The difference between "learning through fun" and "fun in learning" is mostly semantic, however. Both communities achieve the same thing; creating new avenues for history and heritage appreciation among younger generations in a manner not provided for by formal institutions. In that regard it is interesting to note that the founders of both Batmus and KHI were previously involved in the official heritage trail of the Jakarta History Museum, the Old Village Trail (*Wisata Kampoeng Tua*), which was organised between 2002 and 2005 as part of the Old Town redevelopment project. The approach of this trail was considered too "government-style," however, and therefore the students decided to organise heritage trails in their "own style". Now, both communities boast a loose membership of two to three thousand "history and heritage lovers" (registered on mailinglists and social networking sites), and their trails usually attract one to three hundred, sometimes more, participants.

Over the years, many similar youth heritage communities have been initiated in Jakarta and other cities throughout Indonesia, such as Bandung and Medan. There is much interaction and cooperation among the various groups, but each plays up its own style of heritage events and thus attracts its own, though often overlapping, following. Prominent groups such as Batmus and KHI often take leading historians or other experts with them to serve as casual guides, especially experts in local and controversial histories, such as the leading authority on Christian-Muslim relations in Jakarta, Alwi Shahab. The KHI is also known for its "Old Town night trails and sleepovers". In 2009 it hosted "the world's first museum sleepover" in the Mandiri Bank Museum near Fatahillah Square, and in 2010 it organised a sleepover in VOC warehouses, including a midnight trail across Old Town and early morning cinema (with the Dutch feature films *Max Havelaar* and *Oeroeg*, about different aspects of tense colonial relations in the Dutch East Indies). Batmus is known for the highly casual atmosphere of its heritage trails, which are fittingly named *Plesiran Tempo*

Doeloe, thereby appropriating the Dutch word for "fun," *plezier*, as well as playing up the irony of the term *tempo doeloe* as the key term in Dutch colonial nostalgia discourse. Batmus is also known for its trails beyond the city borders, to museums, historical places and memory sites across the country and abroad (e.g., Singapore, with plans for colonial heritage trails to the Netherlands). Other groups are known for their Dutch-era costumed re-enactments, thereby serving as the stock provider of colonial costumes and paraphernalia for other groups. There are numerous other variations, but the quintessential common characteristic is that these youth heritage communities play up a sense of youthful open-mindedness, enthusiasm and fun in their various interactions with history and heritage, which is how they, confidently, distinguish themselves from other (commercial, institutional, "government-style") types of heritage tourism and heritage promotion.

In a typical youth-style heritage trail, participants first gather in an old, unused building in the Old Town for registration,[12] after which they receive a badge and a package of *tempo doeloe* food inspired on the eclectic Indies *rijsttafel* (rice table).[13] While enjoying this meal in a casual atmosphere, often seated on the floor, a *tempo doeloe* film or documentary is shown, such as old footage of colonial street scenes, which is commented upon by an invited guest expert or knowledgeable community member. Then they head out on the streets. This is a groundbreaking phenomenon in itself, considering that the (upper) middle classes in Indonesia are conditioned to avoid the streets—with its dirt, heat and manifold dangers—and move through the city in air-conditioned cars. But as true history and heritage lovers they are willing to brave the streets now and walk amidst the Old Town's chaotic traffic and waste stench. Along the trail they take video shoots and snap shots of the locale, at times wandering off in smaller groups, exploring alleys and crawling in buildings to get a better feel of the place, while listening to the stories, asking questions and arguing about occurrences at certain buildings, street corners, squares, bridges, or any other location passed along the way. These stories might be told by the invited expert but also by local residents such as old shop keepers, who can narrate their subjective experiences and convey local knowledges which the participants could never learn from conventional sources, be it national education, conventional heritage trails, or even the internet.

Figure 9-2: Organisers of a *tempo doeloe* trail in Old Town dressed as Dutch-colonial *meneer* and soldier, on antique bicycles borrowed from the Mandiri Bank Museum. Photo: Yatun Sastramidjaja

This emphasis on local particularities and appreciation of local voices resonates with global trends for "local history," as the authority of National History, with its abstract spaces, is rapidly dwindling. As De Groot notes: "Key to local history is a sense of place, and a desire to understand the narrative of that place: 'Every house has a tale to tell'," while this desire to understand is vitally underpinned by direct experience and a sense of discovering the place by oneself, without "imposition of historical meaning by cultural and institutional gatekeepers" (2009, 63-64). One of the consequences of this quest for local history is that it overflows the parameters of official "visitable" sites, which are clearly demarcated by physical markers that serve to narrate the official interpretation. The youth heritage communities do also visit official sites—e.g., the Old Town's famous Intan Bridge, Sunda Kelapa port, archaeological sites, museums, etcetera—but they bypass the official markers by bringing along their own stories and their own expectations of stories from experts and community members consulted on the spot. Moreover, the intent is not to visit a site in order to strike it off a preset list

of "places-to-see" ("been there, done that, and have pictures to prove it"), but rather to instil awareness of the place as part of their own heritage, territory and identity, thus inscribing a new sense of belonging into the various places. By also touring places off the Map of "visitable" sites, they cross the boundaries of official national heritage, territory and identity as well.

A good example is the rediscovery of local Chinese history and heritage, which has long been suppressed as "alien" to the Map of Indonesian nationhood. This has formally changed in the era of reforms through the efforts of President Wahid, who finally granted the Indo-Chinese (so-called *peranakan*) community full Indonesian citizenship status. From then on Chinese identity has become remarkably visible in urban space, yet this "visual emancipation" is mostly stylistic and festive in nature. This is reflected, as noted above, in the ample use of Chinese heritage signs such as the *barongsai* lion dance in the Old Town festivals. It is also reflected in shopping malls, with the rise of stores specialising in chinoiserie, and notably during Chinese New Year, when malls are copiously decorated with red ribbons, Chinese lanterns and gold-foil wrapped gifts, reflecting postmodern desires for "ethno-chic." But the youth heritage communities refuse to accept the commercialisation. As KHI stated in a recent newspaper article: "If most people went to malls and other fancy places to celebrate the Chinese New Year then we want to do something different… to see a side of Chinese-Indonesian culture that most people never experience."[14] Hence, they went to visit "rarely seen Chinese culture in Tangerang," a town near Jakarta, proving their objection to the commercial rush by taking public transport, to get "a sense of the everyday lives of those living and working in and around Tangerang." In addition to visiting old Buddhist and Hindu temples, as examples of historically-rooted religious pluralism in this predominantly Muslim town, they visited farming villages; talking with local residents while tracing the villages' colonial history and etymology, and lastly meeting a Chinese-Indonesian artist who related local stories from his unique point of view. For most of the participants this was an eye-opening experience. Likewise, Batmus frequently tours historical Chinese-Indonesian sites in Jakarta, such as graves of colonial-era Chinese officers, to highlight the silenced contributions of Chinese-Indonesians in "building Batavia" and making their city into what it is today. Rather than fashionable items, the local Chinese history and culture are thus recognised and appreciated as part of *theirs*.

Although in a different manner, a similar process of recognition also befalls the Dutch-colonial legacy. Indeed, the most eye-catching element

of the youth heritage trails in Jakarta's Old Town is colonial heritage play, especially the costumed part. Besides the earlier mentioned costumes of "Javanese princess" and "Dutch colonial *meneer*" ("mister," always dressed in white suit and hat), another popular costume is that of "Dutch soldiers" (who always come in numbers), complete with rifles and trumpet horns. Also, occasionally a participant plays the miserable *koelie* or slave, complete in loincloth and chains. As mentioned, some groups specialise in colonial role-play; they keep costumes and paraphernalia in stock and frequently engage in historical re-enactment, *tableaux vivants*, or simply costumed parties. Is this a case of the postmodern "dramatised society," of sensationalist events that strip the past of its historical and emotional significance; or is this an instance of DIY, grassroots enfranchisement? I argue that it is neither of both. What complicates matters in this case—compared to scripted re-enactment of historical battle in Europe or the U.S., for example—is that the play with signs of the former colonial ruler is conducted by descendants of the formerly colonised (which is, to put it bluntly, like "Indians" playing "cowboys"), yet without specific attempts to either appropriate the colonial power by association (to briefly "be" those in power), or to rewrite history so that the subjected come out as history's winners. Indeed, the play is *unscripted*.

Rather than reproducing familiar narratives, as in the West-European historical re-enactments referred to by De Groot, the colonial role-play of postcolonial youth has the effect of disclosing and reclaiming what Stoler and Strassler call "subjected knowledge" of colonial rule; knowledge not yet moulded into established narrative form. As Stoler and Strassler (2000, 15) argue, the New Order-raised children and grandchildren of formerly colonised Indonesians not only knew little about but also seemed to care little about the older generations' stories of colonial rule, because there was "no common script … no audience and no forum for their telling." Such a forum has not been provided by the recent marketing of colonial heritage in the Old Town tourism redevelopment either. Now, though, through their own mode of heritage touring, the post-New Order-grown grandchildren and great grandchildren are beginning to rediscover this subjected knowledge, and as their play reveals they do this on their own terms. Play enables them to reclaim this subjected knowledge, first, before accepting its narrative. It enables them to recover untold stories before their official utterance, before they are moulded into a narrative appropriate to the Map of National History. The play thus also reflects a deep distrust of the totalising claims of History. In contrast, as De Groot (2009, 108-109) notes, "the postmodern play involved in re-enactment" does "not claim total understanding" but articulates "awareness of historical

contingency and multiplicity" and "rejection of a positivist 'whole' identity." Indeed, a striking effect of the colonial role-play is that official identity-categories are completely turned upside down, and the boundaries between "our" Indonesian-postcolonial and "their" Dutch-colonial past are jumbled with. It reflects Urry's notion of ludic manipulation of signs, yet more is at stake here than irony and pastiche. Beyond the sheer fun of dressing up as a colonial soldier and waving a rifle, the role-play articulates that they do care about the colonial past. In fact, often the main "attraction" of the event is that they approach members of the older generations to discuss their subjected experiences of that past with them. The colonial dress and paraphernalia brought along may thereby also serve to clear up the reticence and trigger more stories.

Figure 9-3: A Dutch-colonial soldier braves the chaotic streets of Jakarta's Old Town. Photo: Yatun Sastramidjaja

Whether it is Chinese, colonial or other subjected histories, their rediscovery of *multiple* histories within the same cityscape—or more significantly within the same nationscape—entails a remapping of the memories existing within this territory and hence a disruption of the official spatial organisation of Nationhood. With its stress on lively story-telling and multi-vocality, youthful heritage touring is predicated on a rejection of totalising grand narratives, simply because these do not

resonate with their own metropolitan lifeworlds and sense of belonging in a complex city. In that regard, colonial heritage may not even be of specific interest to most participants as a strictly colonial—or even strictly historical—category as such, but most of all as part of the uncharted terrains of the urban space in which they feel they belong and wish to root themselves by getting to know it better in its full dimensions. This re-engagement with the multiple heritages and histories of their city not only entails a renewed attachment with place but also a more subjective experience of the past, which has now become part of their lifeworlds.

Figure 9-4: A final group photo at the famous Intan Bridge at the end of the trail; with almost 500 participants, several photos are needed to capture the whole group. Photo: Yatun Sastramidjaja

Cybercommunity looking for place:
Fad or trend with a future?

The youth heritage communities are quite well-aware that they represent a *different* movement. As noted above, many organisers are also involved in official heritage platforms, yet at the same time they prefer to keep themselves detached. It is often felt that formal institutions or professional

organisations are "totally stuck in elitist, bureaucratic discourse," as one organiser put it. In explaining to me the difference of his approach, he also made an interesting comparison with heritage societies in Europe and the U.S., which he had recently visited.

> "What struck me there was that they're all really old, mostly over the pension age. To say it disrespectfully, it's like they have too much time on their hands. You can see it in the way they operate too, far too slow. Westerners talk too much. They have all the funds at their disposal and still there's no action. But it's the same in Indonesia; all talk and no action. People are stuck in a discourse of 'ah, the government should do this' and 'oh, the government has to do that'. But I prefer J.F. Kennedy's saying, 'don't ask what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country'. So I *do* something for my country, by making the kids aware of history and making them like museums. The difference between [official programmes] and us, is that we 'Just *do* it', like the Nike slogan! I can hold meetings and launch campaigns all the time, or I can mobilise the people out into the streets, and do that fast; I use my cell phone or email and the rest goes word to mouth, I can make them go out and explore for themselves what the fuss is all about. … I create a group, someone else creates a group, and the participants keep flowing in."

This attitude has proven its worth; participants "keep flowing in," and the heritage trails have also become popular with foreign tourists and expatriates looking for an "insider experience" off the beaten track, as well as with parents "infected" by their children's enthusiasm. The youthful, non-"government-style" practice of touring is evidently an effective medium for the rapid spread of the "heritage virus." And the success has not gone by unnoticed to the lifestyle industry. The local branch of the American coffee-chain Starbucks has offered some youth heritage communities its sponsorship, and considers setting up shop in the Old Town itself. Other businesses also appear to be eager to establish themselves in the new "place-to-be," and more and more pop music video-clips and TV-shows are shot in the Old Town and other historical districts. In addition, the founders of Batmus, KHI and other prominent communities have appeared in popular media such as MTV, Cosmopolitan Radio and various popular youth magazines, as well as in leading intellectual newspapers and magazines. In short, both the historical cityscape and its young re-discoverers have become a real phenomenon.

But the success has also gained them much scepticism. Many critics (including professionals in the new heritage societies) argue that it is "just a fad" for a "bunch of rich kids playing a lifestyle game." It is undeniable that this movement is mostly confined to a highly mobile class of

culturally literate "cosmopolitans," who easily move between virtual space and material places, and that this necessarily excludes the large majority of young Indonesians who lack the means and cultural capital to participate in this cyber-community. It is also undeniable that the youths concerned are highly sensitive to fashions, making critics wonder which fad for costumes will replace this one next year. However, the costume play and emphasis on fun should not be mistaken for signs of the superficiality and sensationalism that characterises postmodern heritage culture at large. As I have tried to explain above, much more significant issues are at stake. As the founder of Batmus stated, "Yes, we are trend-*setters* in the sense that we have initiated *something* that has become popular, even beyond my wildest imagination, but, no, that doesn't mean that this *something* is a *trend* in the sense of something fleeting; I truly believe that we're trend-setters of a new movement of awareness." This statement suggests that there is also an element of activism involved. Indeed, many groups engage in *social* action in those places which they regularly tour, such as Old Town, helping to empower local residents in historical districts through various projects, including setting up small businesses to profit from the growing stream of tourists. In addition, contrary to the charges of exclusivism, there are special occasions for youth from urban poor communities to participate. For example, during last year's fasting month, KHI organised a special heritage trail for a group of some 100 street children in Jakarta, leading through the Arabic district and old mosques; not only to educate the children and entertain (and afterwards feed) them, but also to give them a sense of being included in the social atmosphere of the Ramadan month. This type of action is a clear example of their hands-on approach ("Just do it"), but the element of activism lies deeper than that. It lies in their sense of being trend-setters in social change indeed.

Yet critics still wonder about the lasting impact of the youth heritage activities, either in terms of expanding understanding of history and heritage for society as a whole, or in terms of lasting effects in these young people's own life as future adult members of society. Although it is not my place or intent to "defend" the praxis of heritage touring and play against (partly valid) criticism, it is important to reiterate that it is more consequential than is often assumed. As for the contribution made to "society" (one may ask, then, which and whose society; the society of the state, the society of the heritage societies, the society of themselves, or the society of local communities?), I will not repeat the points already touched upon in the discussion above in which various valid contributions may be recognised, not least of which is genuine re-engagement with, and disclosure of, subjected knowledges. Here, I wish to emphasise that the

(decidedly modernist) notion of "service to society" is quite evident in the idea of "doing something for my country"—not "government-style," though, but "JFK-style"!—as articulated in various ways. Indeed, what struck me most about this youthful movement is that the emphasis on historical plurality and local specificity, and rejection of a totalising Map of National Identity and History, actually breeds a *stronger sense of nationalism* among them, increasing their sense of *national pride*. This is not only attested in the growing popularity of the heritage trails, but also in the passion with which they discuss public controversies related to historical sites on internet forums.[15] As they learn and experience more histories about their city and country—particularly complicated and contested stories as told by multiple voices, and played with by themselves—and as subjected knowledges hence become subjective knowledge, their sense of belonging is also expanded. In turn, this may, and does, increase their support for, or stimulate active participation in, (non-exploitative) conservation efforts, oral history projects, local community programmes, and so on. In fact, the effects are precisely what the BPPI is striving for, with the difference that the problem of translation, and the dependency on the official discourse and Map, is easily bypassed in these young people's emphasis on their "own style."

Finally, as for their future trajectories—and the implicit claim that their playful activities are passing, and will come to an end once they reach a "serious" age and have to do "serious" work—it should be stressed that many of the organisers and participants are university graduates and young intellectual professionals already (in fact, some are part-time university lecturers), who are accustomed to "serious" work and research. Organisers often spend weeks in archives preparing for a trail, rummaging through old newspapers and manuscripts, mulling over different points of view, and sharing thoughts with leading authorities. Yet at night they go out and socialise. As one organiser exclaimed, "Why can't I do archival research *and* play football games on my Playstation with friends? Why can't I love history *and* spend time in malls? This kind of division is so passé." Indeed, "playful seriousness" and "serious play" illustrate that the division between the modernist notions of learning and work and postmodern play dissolves in the practice of heritage touring. If this is a trend with a future, it is a future made in practice.

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Notes

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[2] Interview, 20 February 2008, Bandung.

[3] See Sastramidjaja 2010 (chapter 6) for a more detailed discussion on the BPPI's activities.

[4] Today its main attractions include Braga Street, where many shop fronts from the colonial era (including their Dutch names), have remained intact, and the many vestiges of colonial "tropical art deco" architecture that have survived the thrust of modernisation, largely owing to the efforts of local architects who then founded the Bandung heritage society.

[5] The following citations are taken from the official publication of the masterplan (Yuwono and Rachman 1992).

[6] Other featured performances include the *ondel-ondel* dance from the local Betawi culture, *kuda ronggeng* dance from West-Java, *reog ponorogo* dance from East-Java, Portuguese-inspired *keroncong tugu* music, and *zapin* and *gambus* music from the Arabic community.

[7] 'Old Town festival offers visitors rare recipes', *Jakarta Post*, 7 November 1998; 'Jakartans cook up old traditional recipes', *Jakarta Post*, 9 November 2008.

[8] 'Owners want their say in Old Town development', *Jakarta Post*, 4 August 2008.

[9] 'Antique-style bikes find new life in Old Town', *Jakarta Post*, 13 December 2008.

[10] Interview January 2008, Jakarta.

[11] Quotes are from their website, www.komunitashistoria.org, and personal conversations.

[12] Participation in these heritage trails is usually not confined to members; anyone can join, provided that they are prepared to intermingle with the group. As non-

profit endeavours, the cost of participation is deliberately low (Rp 30,000-50,000, or less than US$5,-, for a trail in Old Town, including lunch and refreshments), mostly covering expenses only, although this is still far beyond the reach of the majority of poorer residents.

[13] This *tempo doeloe* meal also relates to a broader revival of traditional food in Indonesia, which is replacing McDonalds and Kentucky Fried Chicken as the favourite cuisine of the (upper) middle classes; previously traditional food was mostly associated with lower classes.

[14] 'Dear Jakarta: forget shopping, and live history!', *Jakarta Globe*, 21 February 2010.

[15] See Sastramidjaja (2010, esp. chapter 7) for examples of recent heritage controversies and conflicts which also triggered much discussion among these youth heritage communities.

CHAPTER TEN

MEANING IN CHAOS?
EXPERIENCING CULTURAL HERITAGE
AND THE CHALLENGE OF THE POPULAR[1]

MIKE D. ROBINSON

Introduction

Matthew Arnold's seminal book *Culture and Anarchy* (1971), first published in 1869 has long been identified as promulgating an idea of culture as form of human ideal. In an era of rapid social and economic change and growing commercialism, Arnold mobilised classical Hellenic and Roman notions of culture as the pursuit of perfection and the obligation towards wider society defined by standards and the aesthetic, intellectual, and moral capacities upon which such standards were founded. For Arnold, surrounded by the rapid expansion of the middle and lower classes, culture, tradition and education were held to be essential to the maintenance of an ordered society. The alternative was disorder; a form of anarchy which Arnold suggested would flow from the increasingly powerful but under-educated, materialistic and vulgar middle classes. Such arguments have displayed a remarkable resilience over the years. They have morphed and melded with post enlightenment elements, neo-romantic yearnings for, and re-workings of, the classical traditions of Greece and Rome, and have been exported via the hegemonic discourses of colonial conquest and imperial control. For many - though I cannot pretend to know what is meant by 'many' – the term culture is still interpreted as an ideal; a state of being educated in a long, ostensibly European, tradition which privileges the historic, historical continuity, an aesthetic sensibility geared to the romantic and the "extra-ordinary".

Arguably, the notion of heritage as the "inherited" has emerged in part to perpetuate such a tradition.

In this chapter I explore what I consider to be a re-imagining and a resemanti-cisation of heritage in the public realm. I discuss the idea that "traditional" notions of cultural heritage are constantly being challenged by a re-drawing of boundaries which are increasingly inclusive and accessible both physically and intellectually. As such meanings of heritage are being re-worked as is the role of heritage in its wider socio-cultural context. Effectively "heritage", at least from the perspective of the developed world, is expanding at a dramatic rate. Of course, beneath this observation lies a complex web of questions regarding how we *choose* to define heritage and how such definitions are driven by shifting social, political and economic landscapes. At the same time the audience for heritage is also expanding in the form of increasing numbers of tourists, now from all corners of the globe. Following the work of Dean MacCannell (1976), I see the tourist as providing an ethnography of modernity; a means through which we can observe and understand everyday life and practice. As MacCannell reminds us "The thing he [the tourist] goes to see is society and its works." (MacCannell 1976, 55). In seeking to understand the meanings of heritage and its dynamic role as a critical category in societies we need to not only observe tourists and their behaviours at heritage sites as respondents, but also examine how tourists and the structures of the tourism sector are active in the construction and inscription of heritage.

As a dominant force of contemporary global mobility tourism provides us with a useful framework to understand the changing forms and formats of heritage. Tourist encounters with, and experiences of, the "past", allows us to interrogate the values and meanings which are given to it. I suggest that in observing and reflecting upon the realities of tourism we can identify a rupture in the longstanding position of cultural heritage as something universal, "traditional", even moral, to the point where the guardians of the past – policy makers, curators, managers etc. – are having to re-evaluate their roles. Tourists provide an undeniable and potent market for the past, but the shifts in the ways that heritage is being re-conceptualised are symptomatic of something far more significant than simple responses to market pressure. Tourism as a phenomenon of a modernity (merging into "hypermodernity"), provides insights into the wider condition of culture and society and, the place of "heritage" within this. I argue that for many within the developed world, tourism, through the modes of both production and consumption, provides us with a critical means of exploring and negotiating the past; a means which cannot be

easily denounced as representing a minority of interest, or, in the portrayal of tourists as some non-reflexive "mass" and somehow lacking in "taste". I also suggest that the enlargement of heritage and the shifts towards a popular form is reflective of hypermodernity.

Cultural heritage morphs into cultural tourism

What we normally refer to as "cultural heritage" is widely taken to mean something elevated. Indeed, the vast category of cultural heritage occupies a privileged role within civil society. The discourses of heritage permeate, more or less, a majority of practices in urban and rural planning. They resonate with on-going debates about the function of museums in societies and, within museums, discussions on heritage play out in curatorial policy and development. The meanings and values of cultural heritage are central in social policy debates regarding multi-culturalism and how changing demographics are shaping notions of social, cultural, even national identity (Ashworth a.o. 2007). And in a stark economic vein, choices relating to what aspects of cultural heritage should be protected and conserved (or not), are increasingly under scrutiny in terms of public accountability. In all such debates tourism is increasingly an important consideration, given that aside from its visible economic role, less visibly it can be instrumental in the expression and shaping of identities and as a means of generating reflection on, and understanding of, the contemporary world scripted as it is through the past. If we accept heritage as a socially coded process of representation and (generally) public display then the future of heritage is closely tied to the future of tourism and, to a significant extent, vice versa; the site increasingly bound to the "sight".

In the midst of the above, the actors and processes of designating heritage maintain claims to be largely outside of public caprice and economic considerations. For instance, the calculus of "World Universal Value" as employed by UNESCO in the inscribing of world heritage draws upon Kantian notions of aesthetic universality independently of the utility/economic value a site may have and irrespective of its "power" to attract tourists. However, the sort of "heritagescape" such processes produce globally, reflect artistic sensibilities rooted in pervasive European histories and romantic vision and, as such there is an observable consistency in a type of heritage which is tangible, monumental and site specific. This is the heritage which is prioritised in policies of preservation, restoration and protection and interestingly, it is also the type of heritage that perpetually seems to attract tourists by virtue of its being designated as being "out-of-the ordinary" but still within a framework

which draws upon established conventions of order, beauty and craft. Visually "dramatic", "spectacular" and "impressive" heritage sites are, not surprisingly, privileged in the narratives which direct and inform tourists. However, as part of the normative process of highlighting heritage in the form of distinct sites, there is a danger that the richness, complexities and contestabilities of histories and local, contemporary cultures are reduced to an over-simplified set of signs and signifiers (MacCannell 1976). The process of heritage designation through institutions such as UNESCO, and mirrored by various national governmental agencies is, as Michael Di Giovine (2009, 187) points out, essentially a "museological ritual" of "converting local spaces to heritage places."

The majority of what we may term both heritage studies and heritage policy demonstrates Eurocentric and ethnocentric values and in the crude compressing of the past into a select number of valued buildings, there will always remain a danger that a more inclusive, though decidedly messy, heritage, is accorded less value. However, not only does this fail to account for a more pluralistic understanding of heritage as it is negotiated, produced and managed but it also this fails to account for the ways in which it is imagined and experienced by locals and tourists. Contemporary guidebooks demonstrate this via a trend to highlight the "'top-ten" or "must-see" attractions in a destination in a way that fulfils the prescient views of Roland Barthes (1993, 76) that guidebooks (and, by implication, the tourism industry) are complicit in "reducing geography to the description of an uninhabited world of monuments."

It is important to distinguish between heritage as it is managed and presented to tourists and heritage as it is *experienced* by tourists. In the same vein we need to consider heritage as produced and managed by destinations and the heritage that is shared and experienced by local communities. Such distinctions are of course seldom very clear cut, nor are they static, and moreover, the dynamic and multi-cultural contexts of an urbanised world only serves to increase the complexities and contested nature of heritage around central questions such as ownership, responsibility, interpretation and meaning. Furthermore, in using the term "experience" we enter a realm, which while known and practiced, does not translate well into the context of policy.

The past is arguably the most important resource in tourism; certainly in relation to what has come to be known in common parlance as "cultural tourism". The quest for the remains of the past, particularly the more distant and exotic pasts, fuelled the early travel of the elite and the beginnings of early "mass", packaged tourism (cf. Lofgren 1999). The rise of heritage as a serious social category has grown alongside the development

of tourism to the point where the great physical markers of heritage - the iconic sites of the Taj Mahal, the Acropolis, the Pyramids, the Great Wall of China, the leaning tower of Pisa, etc. etc. - are almost instinctively read as tourist sites / sights. Even the most enclavic form of beach tourism usually provides an opportunity to visit an archaeological site or heritage building or landscape. Clearly in the sort of examples as given above, the original working functions of these edifices have been supplanted by their heritage function, which invariably has a powerful touristic dimension. But even in cases where buildings such as cathedrals, largely retain their original function, they now also carry powerful an inseparable touristic utility.

The idea of cultural tourism is largely understood to be a blend (often an uneasy blend) of recreational experience, education and aesthetic appreciation involving chiefly, but not exclusively, material culture (though festivals, for instance, are an increasingly important and more intangible dimension to what is on offer to the tourist).[2] From the perspective of destinations, be they countries, regions or cities, a good "stock" of heritage sites has become almost a necessity in what is essentially a competitive endeavour to attract tourists. While there are clearly reasons for the official, state sanctioned, denotation of heritage which relate to the likes of community engagement, education, identity projection and notions of 'tradition' and artistic/aesthetic value, the competitive nature of tourism has played a key role in the production and, arguably, the over-production of heritage. The UK during the 1980s witnessed a great surge in the creation of museums, heritage centres and restoration projects (cf. Boniface and Fowler 1993). Not unrelated this was tied into a period of major economic restructuring and de-industrialisation (cf. Robinson 1999). Similar experiences were felt in other parts of Europe with a net effect of producing more heritage resources. Though the rate of change may have slowed in the past decade or so, the overall trajectory - crudely conceived as a "stock" of heritage - has increased. This poses a plethora of interesting questions regarding the ways by which some societies deal with the *accumulated* past. Is the past inevitably an accumulation of materiality growing ever larger? What are the implications of this in terms of what is prioritised for display and within multi-ethnic, multi-cultural societies, whose heritage is selected for display? At a curatorial level, what objects of the present and recent past should be collected? How do societies pay for the preservation and management of their pasts?

To address these questions fully is outside of the scope of this chapter but three initial reflections emerge. The first is that on the surface it would

seem that there exists a conventional and apparently rational approach to heritage which is enshrined in both public culture and in the administrative structures of most developed societies. Thus there are generally accepted, almost unquestioned, *norms* of what elements of the past carry value and, as a consequence, there are structures in place to manage/regulate heritage. At national level such norms are upheld by the likes of Ministries of Culture, National Museums, various Heritage Trusts and Preservation Agencies etc., and at international level by organisations such as UNESCO and ICCROM. Implicit, if not explicit, in such structures is the notion of some form of consensus regarding what "heritage" is and what sort of heritage is "good" for society/societies.

In 2009, in the UK, an emergency fund-raising appeal was launched by a number of heritage organisations (including the National Galleries of England and Scotland and the Monument Trust), to purchase "for the nation", Titian's Diana and Actaeon. The painting which had been in the ownership of the Duke of Sutherland, was bought for fifty million pounds and is now jointly owned by the National Galleries of Scotland and the National Gallery in London. The acquisition is the largest public purchase of a single work of art in the UK ever, and was widely discussed in the British media (cf. Carrell 2009). Not withstanding the unquestioned aesthetic / artistic value of the painting, this case highlights the persistence of a paternalistic ethos played out in the public realm. It is interesting to note that in the discourse surrounding the purchasing process, the potential of the Titian to attract tourists was frequently used as an argument in attempts to legitimatise the spending public money. This leads me on to a second reflection regarding the way by which societies deal with their pasts. Tourism is a powerful and frequent referent for cultural heritage. Tourists provide transitory audiences, curious for their own pasts and those of others, or more precisely, their curosity tends to be fixed upon visibile relics of the past. In the European context, conventional conceptions of what we understand to be cultural heritage have largely been dictated by our post-enlightenment sensibilities regarding the romantic, the beautiful, the educational, and also, by extension, the moral. It is not surprising that in what is now heralded as "cultural tourism" broadly mimics the patterns of the "grand tour" of the eighteenth and nineteenth century indulged in by the then social elite. Motivating factors of education, social betterment and basic human curiosity remain, but have been complemented by a range of other factors which have assisted in the on-going development of cultural tourist centres. Importantly, the rise of the low cost airlines across Europe has played a key role in stimulating tourism within more recently acknowledged cultural centres such as

Budapest, Krakow and Ljubljana. Though well established cities of culture such as Paris, Rome, Venice, and Athens maintain their primacy from the early days of tourism, cheap flights have created new opportunities for people to experience heritage and the arts, particularly in some smaller cities of Europe such as Girona, Bratislava and Riga. This apparent democratisation of cultural tourism has also been helped along by highly competitive and increasingly sophisticated marketing campaigns, mainly within urban contexts. The European Cities/Capitals of Culture campaign, with its strong emphasis on destination branding, has been partially successful in this way and has acted to endorse a tripartite idea that culture, heritage and the arts are highly "moral", yet accessible, products and also, through their ability to attract tourists, economically beneficial.

In this vein, the concept of cultural tourism seems to be taking hold everywhere. Former heavily industrial centres have moved from being economies of production to economies of symbolic cultural consumption, art galleries have developed rapidly, the number of festivals and cultural events has increased exponentially over recent years and there has also been substantive growth in the number of museums and heritage attractions as destinations have sought to compete for the growing markets of culture hungry tourists. But the on-going ferment and frenzy to create new displays of cultural capital and to attract the "cultural tourist" – widely characterised as the well-educated, largely white, high spending, middle class tourist (Richards 2007) – raises a number of longstanding issues relating to how we use culture to make sense of, and gain meaning from, a rapidly changing world.

A third reflection then relates to the ways in which social understandings of cultural heritage are changing. On the one hand, the past as presented and interpreted to us as (cultural) tourists, and as indeed as hosts, would seem to be stable, displaying a continuity which parallels the very development of tourism from its early indulgences in the moral rectitude of Matthew Arnold's view of "the best that has been thought and said in the world", to mass consumption of the artefacts of culture by the swarms of tourists over, for instance, the Acropolis in Athens (Arnold 1969). On the other hand, we are continuously being presented with different pasts; hybrid, exotic and dissonant heritages which are far more recent and free from any strictures of "high culture". I argue that we are engaged in a dramatic re-evaluation not only of what heritage means but also *where* it is located in both time and space. Tensions between continuity and change, between tradition and innovation and between various interpretations of "culture" are being played out within tourism. In

a sense tourism presents itself as a way of testing our relationships with heritage. This goes beyond any notion of "market evaluation" or popularity - a benchmark which is swiftly rejected by many within the cultural sector. Rather than attempt to locate tourism as part of an ideological position as articulated by Enzensberger (1996) or within that spectrum of cultural production and thus somehow complicit in the sort of manipulation of the masses as argued by Adorno and Horkheimer (1972), tourists are increasingly engaged with heritage as something which is more intimate and meaningful in the sense of the everyday and, arguably with a heritage which carries utility in terms of being socially and politically relevant.

Encroaching "popular" heritage

The expansion of cultural tourism as interpreted as a learning process embedded into the world of "high" culture would appear to fit with the agenda of education and enlightenment as advocated by Matthew Arnold. Then again, cultural tourism as a set of practices extending into the populist sphere where cultural heritage is questioned, experienced and interpreted on a more individual level would, in Arnold's terms, appear to problematise order and lead to social chaos. Heritage has become popular and the popular has become heritage. And to complicate matters further even the once *unpopular* (at least envisioned with hindsight) has become popular and embraced as heritage. To take an example: Prague is noted as a city which blends both medieval charm and belle époque grandeur and there is no doubt that its architectural heritage and the continuities this demonstrates provides much of its touristic appeal. However, in addition, Prague, as with a number of post-communist capital cities, also contains a Museum of Communism. An initial reading of this small museum, its objects and displays, provides an important insight into a relatively short but critical period of the history of the Czech people. The museum is particularly popular with tourists from the West of Europe, in part highlighting a voyeuristic fascination with a time whereby the East of Europe was essentially closed to view and yet occupied a powerful place in the West's imagination. With some unforeseen irony the Museum is located above a busy MacDonalds restaurant (Fig. 10-1) providing visitors with a very real sense of the dramatic changes which have taken place in less than twenty years. This provides a clue to the deeper significance of the museum which lies in the way that the "past" - in this case a recent past with all the uneasiness of repression within close memory - has been mobilised and packaged for international tourists and locals, in a way

which allows visitors to make sense of the change process.[3] The packaging and the presentation is important as it openly, symbolically, and not without distortions, transposes history into heritage. Heritage is an outcome of a social process of denotation; the selective transposition of the contemporary upon the past, or, as Lowenthal (1985, xvi) puts it: the past is "an artefact of the present". This process, which is effectively structured around notions of curating and exhibiting the world, is a key marker of modernity. It works on the idea of "framing" as a means of capture and display. In Prague the communist period is framed through the museum and a narrative which both educates and entertains. Also in places such as Budapest or Riga, the vast Soviet statues are collected and framed within landscaped parks and gardens as if rare species of trees in some vast aboretum (cf. James 1999). Whilst still very much a contested past, the communist heritage as exhibited in Prague nonetheless takes its place alongside more "traditional" heritage sites of the Czech Republic.

Fig. 10-1: The Museum of Communism, Prague. Located above MacDonald's Restaurant. Copyright CTCC, 2008

The above example demonstrates several things. First it highlights how the inevitabilities of change are captured in a material sense and re-evaluated through the prism of "living memory". Second, it provides Prague with another tourist resource and a dimension of meaning which extends beyond the silence of its architecture. And third, it demonstrates

how heritage has meaning and utility beyond the immediate society from which it emerges; the small museum in Prague communicates deep seated and meaningful histories to a wide variety of visitors. In this way it engages with popular understandings of history where the emotional experience of the site is as important, if not more important, than the facts. Importantly, the Museum of Communism and its healthy numbers of visitors, signifies a break from the idea that heritage in some way has to demonstrate continuity or link to the idea of social acceptability. It also breaks with the idea of cultural heritage as only being manifest in the built form; for while there are clearly objects in the Museum from the Communist period, meaning would seem to lie in the intangibilities of memory and the discourses generated.

Using the criteria of the number of visitors to sites where cultural heritage is "on display", we can refer to heritage as being *popular*. The great national museums and galleries of the world representing the history of the nation, if no longer the idea of the nation, remain popular heritage attractions by virtue of the sheer numbers of visitors they attract. Clearly, such places were specifically designed to attract attention in a paternalistic and educational way, but sites whose functions have dramatically changed such as well preserved archaeological sites, castles and, in some cases, cathedrals and monasteries, are also deemed to be popular in terms of their capacity to attract tourists. But popularity, as defined through the calculus of tourist visits, tends to assume that there is something innate in heritage which makes it somehow automatically aesthetically appealing and hence attractive. While not to deny the power, persistence and continuities of the narratives of eighteenth century neo-romanticism with their privileging of the visual running through contemporary cultural discourse and spilling over into the world of tourism, there has been little in the way of empirical investigation of the actual experience of heritage and what it *means* to those who encounter it (Adler 1989).

Whatever the quality of heritage in terms of its beauty (and in many cases *because* of its beauty), and in terms of its historical and educational significance, sites of cultural heritage have long been reproduced and disseminated to a mass audience. Today, images of the past are instantly circulated through cyberspace in addition to the established flows of brochures, postcards and souvenirs. Arguably, any auratic quality of heritage is long lost to the inevitabilities of reproduction and circulation. Any attempt to reify heritage is doomed to failure. Whatever problems and protests are raised by those who seek to protect heritage sites from the masses, there can be no return to a state of elitism whereby, in the vein of Matthew Arnold, cultural heritage is equated to some ideal or perfect state.

The role of heritage has changed, slipping from (or rather actively removed from) its long perceived status as a signifier of "high" culture to the realms of the popular and "mass culture". The concept of the popular and the idea of "mass culture" are inextricably linked. It is widely held that the notion of popular culture within the developed world was fed by the phenomena of "mass" production, "mass" consumption and "mass" distribution associated with the industrial and technological developments of the late nineteenth century.[4]

Fig. 10-2: The Costumes of Kylie Minogue - Star Attractions at the Victoria and Albert Museum London. Copyright CTCC, 2007

Heritage is popular not only in the sense of its mass exposure to tourists but because it now embraces popular culture which deals with the immediate, the imminent and the contemporary, brought together and widely distributed by, and through, the mass media. Instinctively popular culture appears to refer to that which is "of the people"; an implicit acceptance of a kind of "folk" culture encompassing notions of everyday life and the "ordinary" world. Petracca and Sorapure (1998, 3) neatly summarise the location and essence of the popular: "If the Metropolitan Opera House represents high culture, then Madison Square Gardens represents 'pop'. If the carefully crafted knives used in Asian cooking rely on a folk tradition, then the Veg-O-Matic is their pop counterpart."

Notably, the Veg-O-Matic (a device used to chop vegetables) is on display
at the Chicago History Museum as part of their well visited collection of
decorative and industrial arts.

In 2007, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London staged its most
successful exhibition to date focusing upon popular Australian singer
Kylie Minogue. The exhibition featured performance costumes (Fig.10-2),
accessories and photographs and was contextualised by streams of her
video and music. The chronology of the exhibition took the visitor from
1988 when she was a star in the Australian "soap" drama Neighbours.
Amongst the exhibits it featured Minogue''s gold lamé hotpants worn for
the music video "Spinning Around" and, a replica of the star's dressing
room from a tour, including a message from her celebrity sister Danni
Minogue written in lipstick on the mirror. The reactions to the exhibition
highlighted the inherent tension in the term popular culture (Akbar and
Jury 2007). The Director of the Museum Mark Jones came under attack
from critics who took the exhibition to signal a "dumbing down" process
and "pandering to pop culture". Jones responded by aligning the exhibition
with the mission of the Museum; to showcase the best of British design
and to broaden its visitor base. Jones was supported in his defence by the
record numbers of visitors to the exhibition.

The above example raises a number of questions relating to the notion
of popular heritage. First, how can something apparently so *ephemeral* and
mediated be presented *and* read as heritage? Second, how can something
so *recent* fall into the category of heritage? And third, does that fact that
something is *popular* entail that is inscribed as heritage? The material
objects which belonged to Kylie Minogue were not presented in any sense
as art but in the spirit of the Museum as objects of design and of cultural
significance and were exhibited within a now historical period.
Notwithstanding the significance of the exhibition to the fans of Kylie
Minogue, and whatever one's attitude to her music and performances, the
impact of her work (including beyond the anglophone world) permeated
social life and discourse amongst many populations; dominantly, but not
exclusively the younger generations. The legacy of Miss Minogue is her
work, the remembrances of her spectacular performances and the ways in
which all has been respresented and globally circulated. Focusing upon
heritage as representation, critics point to the ways in which the undoubted
populism and popularity of authors such as, for instance, Mark Twain,
Walter Scott and Charles Dickens in the nineteenth century have given
way to their occupying more elite positions as present day icons of literary
heritage. Thus is it argued that the works of J.K. Rowling or Stephen King

may one day move to occupy positions of "high" culture and the places and objects associated with them be inscribed as heritage.

Such shifts are in part related to the playing out of positions of power (with dominant power usually seen to reside in the maintenance of high cultural practices by the socially privileged) and associated trends in aesthetic value linked to the influence and perpetuation of a social elite. But the notion of movement along some cultural scale is also a function of normative demographic change as each generation connects with its own cultural values, not least through the media, and the values of former generations become contested ground.[5] In the example of the Kylie exhibition, a person watching and enjoying her performances, let us say in 1992, would have been at an impressionable fourteen years old and would be visiting the exhibition at the age of nearly thirty. This generational dynamic has been occluded from many characterisations of heritage (and indeed tourism) which still seems to be dominated by the romanticised view which positions the material resources of tourism as somehow unchanging, untouchable icons and, unyielding, immutable traditions. That younger generations respond differently to edifices of culture constructed before they came along, and indeed generate their own heritage landscapes from, and through, the media they are most familiar with, is a fact recognised by some cultural institutions more than others.

Producing value in cultural heritage

The term popular heritage does not only refer to a kind of democratic consumption of the past and its multiplicity of readings but also to its production. It is still the case that heritage is inscribed by the nation state and its offices. Thus, in England, English Heritage is the body which formally denotes heritage sites according them a blue plaque to indicate their significance. For some the acknowledgement through a blue plaque of the former home of the novelist Charles Dickens at 48 Doughty Street, Camden, London as part of the cultural heritage of the nation is self evident. For many more, so too is a small, ordinary house (21 Menlove Avenue) in the suburbs of the City of Liverpool which was the home of John Lennon for some eighteen years and now owned and managed by the National Trust. Over the years, and in a context of quiet conservatism, both English Heritage and the National Trust have been active in the production of a more recent and popular heritage to sit beside the more traditional houses and castles of the nobility.

The nation state is no longer the sole arbiter of what heritage is, or should be. The rise in private museums, privately funded heritage attractions

and, such developments as virtual museums which are quickly assembled, all reflect a shift from a formal and public process of heritage designation, to something which is far more informal and fluid. The reasons for this shift are complex, but in a number of instances relate to issues of an "over-burdened" official system unable to cope with the demands for heritage recognition. There are clearly economic reasons driving some of the production of heritage in acknowledgement that heritage has a market. In the USA the private sector has been critical both to the preservation and, the production of, a wide diversity of heritage sites and attractions either through initial donations from private foundations and companies and also via a commerical model which is widely accepted in civil society. The USA, as a nation with a relatively recent history (excluding of course its First Nations peoples), takes the heritage of the more recent past very seriously. While of course marking its revolutionary and civil war battle sites, together with the built heritage of its pioneers across various time lines, the USA also displays a diversity in its heritage which reflects its cultural diversity (Native American Sites, African American sites, Jewish American sites, Chinese American sites etc.), its place as world and political power (presidential sites and space/military heritage sites etc.), and its role in the development of popular global culture (sites relating to popular music, film and television etc.).

While the essence of the cultural heritage of the USA may apparently stand outside that traditions of Europe, the processes of informal and rapid heritage production are now implanted in a Europe that is much more fluid and multi-cultural than ever before posing similar sorts of questions relating to whose heritage is being represented in whose state? The British Museum would, in the main, seem to be British by virtue of the fact that it is located in London (cf. Morris 2003). Many of the objects it displays represent the appropriations of colonial times and many of its visitors now come from outside of the country. Other national collections have similar sort of issues and would appear to be struggling with their own identities in the universe of cultural heritage and with the dynamics of multicultural populations.

Outside of the state, heritage is being produced on a daily basis by communities who seek to utilise the past to build social relations. In a number of cases both spontaneous and manipulated engagement between symbolic heritage sites and tourists (as outsiders) is cited as a mechanism for coming to terms with the legacies of conflict and division. In Northern Ireland in the City of Belfast, the sectarian struggles between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Loyalists are physically marked by a series of murals, painted on the sides of ordinary homes, representing the people

and historic moments of each groups' political cause (Fig. 10-3). While still demarcating political division the murals become part of a wider exhibitory process of a recent past through which communities can tell their stories and the appropriated tourists can begin to understand the nature of conflict (McDowell 2008). The transformation of what is a relatively recent and destructive history of Belfast into heritage, replete with structured itineraries, souvenirs and dual, competing narratives was, not surprisingly, assembled outside of the local governance of the City authorities and with a very real demand from visitors who were aware of the conflicts. Examples of recent, contested, even traumatic heritage constructed or evolving somewhat organically amongst a politically and emotionally aware public are many. Further examples would include: the development of the Cu Chi Tunnels in Vietnam, used by the Viet Cong to hide from American soldiers during the Vietnam war (Laderman 2009; see also Schwenkel 2006 and 2009) and now popular with American tourists and so called "township tourism" in South Africa where through visits to the black townships, the heritage of apartheid is actively performed by the communities who live there (cf. Hughes 2007). Such examples clearly have a commercial dimension and are instances of societies applying genuine creativity to meet much needed economic goals through the production of heritage.

Fig. 10-3: Loyalist Para-Military Mural on the Side of a House in Belfast, Northern Ireland.Part of the Tourist Circuit. Copyright CTCC, 2006

Commercialism accompanying the construction of heritage is of course nothing new. Heritage works on the commodification of the past

and even the most sublime and significant art work carries an insurance value. There is nothing inherently vulgar in the production of heritage, nor I would suggest, in there being a *market* for the past. The world of the past is also a world of enthusiasts, volunteers, art dealers, collectors and inevitably, tourists. It is, by definition a revealed and represented piece of history and thus is open to all. Heritage is being constructed on the website of ebay, in collector's magazines, at fleamarkets, specialist conventions, in film and television, and through family geneologicial research and "roots tourism". Public inscriptions of heritage are increasingly mediated at the private level and given new intertextual readings and interpretations based upon a mulititude of influences. It is not that established understandings of "high" culture have evaporated, nor that aesthetic preferences have undergone wholesale revolution. However, they have been supplanted with additional, layered meanings more readily accessible to younger and more diverse audiences. Hence, the Louvre is no longer merely a repository of fine art for the education and moral betterment of its visitors but, for some (and it is a significant number of visitors), it is also a site of the best-selling novel and film "The Da Vinci Code". For some this would seem to be a grand and terrifying example of the very "shattering of tradition" as Benjamin (1968) would have it and yet, as also suggested by Benjamin, it also marks a catharsis and the opening up of new possibilities.[6]

Conclusion

The category of heritage continues to expand at an explosive rate and in doing so is inextricably linked to the increasing mobilities and persistent curiosities of tourists. The latter, which is an ever expanding and complex category of people, not only consume heritage but are active in its production, both directly and indirectly through a range of mediators. This expansion of heritage, pregnant with further possibilities, its growing inclusivity, the uncovering of its multiplicity of meanings by an increasingly diverse and mobile audience, all point to the democratisation of the past whereby cultural heritage has become decidedly accessible. This is not the disintegration of society and a separation from order that Matthew Arnold feared so much, but rather a process whereby we can become better connected to one another and connected to the past through the richness of everyday objects and the ordinariness of daily life. In part this linking to the past is symptomatic of the modern condition: what Benjamin (1968, 223) refers to when he notes the desire of the modern subject to "bring things closer". The pretentious past does not disappear but is complemented by its popular counterpart.

The concept of "hypermodernity" is as useful as any to communicate the notion of the compression or intensification of the modern project.[7] While the prefix of "hyper" undoubtedly speaks to us of technological and consumerist excesses and extremes, the term would seem to imply more focus, more in the way of individualism than modernity would seem to allow and, more in the way of connections between past, present and future. Rather than moving to some absolute present, the realities of hypermodernity consist of an endless flow of re-defined, re-worked and re-structured pasts moving seamlessly towards the inevitable future; a realisation of the temporary as a condition of social life. This is not the relativism and messiness of postmodernity which points to a meaningless world, but rather a condition of deeper meanings and closer individual attachment to the world. I am not taking any moral or political directions with the idea of hypermodernity here but suggest that it acknowledges both change *and* continuity.

The changes we can observe relate to three key themes in the discourse of the hypermodern. The first is that of a shift from the public to the private. At one level this relates to a political shift from the power of the state and the apparatus of public authority to that of the individual, to inscribe what heritage is, or should be. The "pilgrims" which visit Gracelands in Memphis, USA, the home of Elvis Presley, or who follow the much represented "Route 66" transcontinental highway across the USA, together with the enterprises and organisations who are involved in the production of such heritage, are largely working outside of any national or state authority though interestingly, both cases could be seen to occupy significant positions in any understanding of the nation (Alderman 2002; Caton and Santos 2007). At another level, the shift from public to private represents the connections to the past which have become important to the individual so that national narratives of war or social upheaval are interpreted by one's father or grandfather, or through someone we know. Connections through generations and across space and national boundaries are articulated through people, and in such a way heritage is given meaning in terms of relations shared by networks of individuals, whether they are family members or members of the Star Trek Appreciation Society.

A second theme relates to the apparent shrinking of time, a closing of the critical distance we *feel* between a historical moment, or object, and our own lived experience. In the 1980s Hermann Lübbe, wrote of "accelerated change" and how linked to this notion of a sense of speed, is the expansion in the numbers of museums and the wider process of

"museumifciation", which, for him, is indicative of a social need to be reassured by the past and our ties with it (Lübbe 1983).

This sense of an acceleration of life and that time is somehow "running out" is illustrated by the plethora of books which have appeared over recent years with titles such as "101 Places to See Before You Die". The rapidity of change is both imagined and felt, and in this condition, our cultural appreciation of the flow of time is emphasised to a point where we feel that the rapidity of change is so intense as to make things feel immediate; described by Tomlinson (2007) as "cultural immediacy". Certainly, technology allows us to get closer to the past than ever before, and in some detail, with family records, national historical documents and close-up perspectives of ancient art all readily available in our living rooms.

Related to this sense of closeness to the past is the condition of nostalgia. It comes into play when we engage with objects and events with which we feel some meaningful connection to and which, in Proustian fashion of *mémoire involontaire*, catalyse memory. The term "living memory" (i.e. what is memorable within one's own life) and, what Robert Burgoyne (2003) refers to as "consensual memory" (which emphasises common sociabilities and the generally consensual nature of society) increasingly would seem to work through the heritage of the popular, the recent, and the highly mediatised. However, as Christopher Lasch (1991) has pointed out, in a formal sense, if we see nostalgia as an idealisation of the past then memory is not exercised. But while Lasch identifies that there is a difference between nostalgia and memory, the two are nonetheless linked. Our personal memories are those which are shaped through everyday life and popular culture and are embedded within a reciprocal relationship with a heritage which can be remembered.[8] They provide entry points, not only into specific moments of time, but *periods* of time and recollections of place, in the way that we can project our thoughts backwards on hearing a particular song.

Nostalgia is a term frequently mobilised as a critique which points to an over emotional and sentimental vision of the past and as symptom of a society's failure to deal with history and indeed, to deal with the present and future. For critics such as Frederic Jameson (1991), Linda Hutcheon (2000) and Patrick Wright (1985), nostalgia is taken to be regressive, stagnant and subversive and representative of society dissatisfied with its present. Popular heritage is fed by nostalgia but not in the way that critics might suggest. In her discussions on nostalgia, Sventlana Boym recognises a sense of shrinking time and the related shrinking of space, as a form of "chronophobia". Boym considers this condition as, in part, generative for

the wave of nostalgia which washes over the heritage worlds we have inscribed and which move with us into the future. She writes: "…nostalgia, as a historical emotion, is a longing for that shrinking 'space of experience' that no longer fits the new horizon of expectations. Nostalgic manifestations are side effects of the teleology of progress. Progress was not only a narrative of temporal progression but also of spatial expansion." (Boym 2001,10). Boym invokes a reverse interpretation of Kant, who broadly speaking, took space to be public and time to be private, so that now we view *time* as an outer experience to be shared. She also provides a more nuanced interpretation of nostalgia; referred to as "reflective nostalgia" which she counters against the more regressive "restorative nostalgia". Reflective nostalgia is a mourning for the past but is not lacking in critique, nor in any sense of judgement. Rather it is a sort of critical tool, a form of social commentary, which is used to negotiate loss and in doing so also deals with the present and future. The experience of tourists at those heritage sites which can induce living memory is far from being a regressive, naïve mourning but rather is more akin to the celebration of the very construction of heritage.

A third theme of hypermodernity of relevance to the discussion of heritage, is that of utility. What I mean by utility is a pragmatic engagement with the world in the knowledge of its liquidity where identity and belonging are no longer rooted in the absolute but are accompaniments to individualism, are short-lived and continuously open to negotiation. It would seem that intrinsic value is not enough and that things in the world increasingly have to provide a service for us; solve a problem, entertain or educate us. In this vein, heritage would appear to have shifted its position dramatically away from occupying a reified, decorative role as something which we should automatically acknowledge as possessing status and value in itself. Of course, even the most gracious and sacred forms of heritage through exhibition and public exaltation have a functionality; to promote, impress and occasionally, repress. In using the term utility, I am not seeking to diminish the aesthetic values of heritage, but I suggest that heritage has also taken on a more instrumental and pragmatic role in social life. Increasingly we seek to engage with heritage which allows us to negotiate and better understand conflictual situations, which allows for greater social inclusion within a context of multiculturalism and, which integrates other normative functions such as eating and shopping. Tourists appear to find real meaning in heritage sites which practically deal with recent wars and conflicts, and with sites which seek to come to terms with the legacies of colonial pasts.

The heritage of hypermodernity is popular and pluralistic and far from simplifying pasts, acknowledges a degree of complexity. Heritage as experienced by, and through, contemporary culture is complex (even hyper-complex; cf. Ury 2003), and while we may imagine that the tourist experience of the past is passive and superficial we are in danger of conflating the ways it is presented with the ways it is performed and experienced. Heritage as represented in the grand palaces of Europe is led by our learned understandings of form and beauty and our affection for the spectacular. But such edifices offer nothing in the way of personal meaning and connection; they perform a different function and our visits to such places can no longer be explained with reference *only* to the appreciation of art, beauty and to a passion for education. To these factors we also need to add notions of sociability, play, curiosity (at various levels), mimesis, and a range of psychological drives behind self-realisation.

The heritage of the popular and the everyday allows for deeper and more immediate emotional connections. Encounters with living, everyday, heritage work more with notions of memory, nostalgia, a recognition of personal interpretation and shared experiences and, the possibilities of embodied performances; avenues which are normally closed off in relation to more "traditional" forms of heritage. Whatever maybe issues of "taste" and aesthetic preference, cultural heritage now includes sites (and sights) built around the markers of popular culture and observing tourists over a period of time reveals that they actually spend considerably less time than we think in formal cultural settings such as galleries, museums and historic buildings. Rather more time is spent in restaurants, cafes, bars, shops, the airport and the hotel. Indeed, tourists spend large amounts of time "walking around" and "people watching", and in the process, observing and encountering aspects of the host's culture in the form of everyday practices and behaviours. Far from being culture proof, it is particularly these aspects of ordinary life that tourists absorb and on their return home constitute their narratives of memory of experience. From the point of view of the host community, and indeed the host tourist authorities, this aspect of culture is easily overlooked as not being of any significance. It is informal, ad hoc, difficult, maybe impossible, to manage and control and yet it is of critical importance in shaping the tourist experience. But it is easy to forget that what is considered to be ordinary in one cultural setting is exotic to another. As a normative part of the touristic process, people encounter the cultures of others, through shopping, eating and drinking etc., but this in itself can become an "out-of-the-ordinary" experience. In Britain, for example, the still popular local activities of going to a pub, or of eating fish and chips, are transformed into special activities for many

overseas tourists. Ordinary as they may be, these are authentic activities in themselves and can be said to be close to the heart of British culture, however they seldom appear on the cover of promotional brochures.

Heritage, as a way of shaping and prioritising the past – or what Bommes and Wright (1982) have referred to as a "public structuring of consciuousness" – has always relied upon an audience. In discussions of heritage, and in policy decisions regarding its inscription, its curation and management, we cannot fail to ignore the fact that tourists now provide a significantly large, diverse and active audience. Nor can we ignore that popular heritage, forged in the promises, threats and ambiguities of the hypermodern, increasingly works outside of, and in addition to more "traditional" heritage forms. Here too the relationships with tourists are central, becoming more intimate, more intense and more meaningful.

In essence, what I have been discussing in this chapter is the tension which so unnerved Matthew Arnold in the nineteenth century; an apparent erosion of tradition, the end of order and the emergence of chaos. The ongoing convergence of personal memoria, public commemoration, opportunities for spectacle, new technologies, the interpretation and re-interpretation of local and national narratives, the unpacking of the colonial world, the loose mobilities of multi-ethnic and multi-cultural populations, masks yet another layer of explanations and interconnections for what we conceive of as cultural heritage. It is chaotic, messy, and in terms of the problems it presents with regard to its management and governance, it challenges the conventions and practices that have carried over from another time.

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Notes

[1] This chapter is an extended version of a conference paper originally presented at the Conference Erb.gut? Kulturelles Erbe in Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft, University of Innsbruck, 2007.

[2] The concept of Intangible Cultural Heritage is increasingly stimulating debate, particularly after the 2003 *UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, Paris, 17 October, UNESCO.

[3] The growth of European 'communist tourism' in states now able to openly and playfully critique the regimes of 1945-1990 is also open to 'western' tourists who previously would have only experienced communism through novels and film. See, for instance, studies undertaken by Jozwiak, and Mermann (2006), Light (2000), or Enns (2007).

[4] In most historical periods, and in most societies, there have been versions of popular culture (cf. Schroeder 1980:1-9).

[5] As Raphael Samuel (1994:x) argues, memory is more than a storage system but is in the collective and individual rather "an active, shaping force". What one generation throws away, another reconceptualises as retro chic.

[6] The impact of modernity for Benjamin is also related to the dematerialisation of objects. In the context of a re-thinking of the space of the Louvre, not as a home for objects but as a space of imagining (in this case related to a work of fiction), the gallery becomes an ambiguous site with its immaterial qualities foregrounded.

[7] The notion of hypermodernity is close to the notion of supermodernity as explored by Marc Auge (1995) but is closer aligned to the ideas set out by Gilles Lipovetsky (2006). Lipovetsky articulates a view on the condition of the hypermodern which does cynically accept a devaluation of values in the face of extremes but rather their re-inscription as a source of meaning as pasts, presents and futures merge.

[8] As opposed to heritage that cannot be remembered. Heritage which captures some element of the 1970s, for instance, can be remembered and has the capacity to stimulate a sense of nostalgia, while heritage in the form of a castle, or an exhibition of armour is unable to produce nostalgic feelings of itself (although we may become nostalgic about a previous visit to such a site). Within this frame there is still room for the selective forgetting which Paul Ricoeur (2004) refers to, but

there are definitive boundaries of memory which can only seem to exist beyond one's life through collective memory and the various textual apparatus that implies.

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