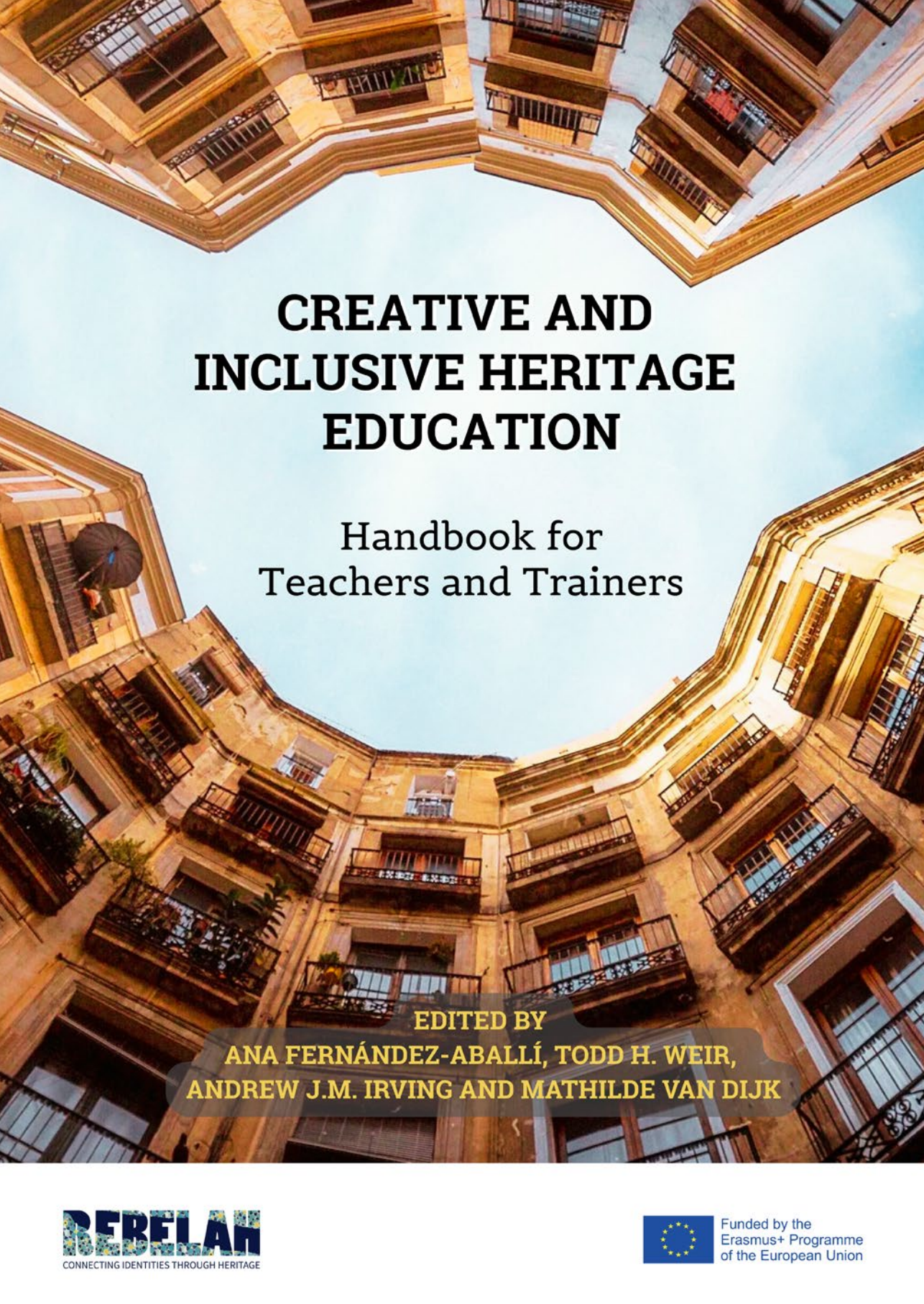


CREATIVE AND INCLUSIVE HERITAGE EDUCATION

Handbook for Teachers and Trainers

EDITED BY
ANA FERNÁNDEZ-ABALLÍ, TODD H. WEIR,
ANDREW J.M. IRVING AND MATHILDE VAN DIJK

REBELAH
CONNECTING IDENTITIES THROUGH HERITAGE

Funded by the
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CREATIVE AND INCLUSIVE HERITAGE EDUCATION
HANDBOOK FOR TEACHERS AND TRAINERS

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Edited by Ana Fernández-Aballí · Todd H. Weir · Andrew J.M. Irving · Mathilde van Dijk

Authors Arjen Barel · Oumayma Bouamar · Adrián Crescini · Theo Dupont · Lune Culmann · Ana Fernández-Aballí · Klára Gulyás . Tharik Hussain · Andrew J.M. Irving · Eva Káplár · Inge Koks · Meritxell Martínez · Diego Prunera · Dora Szűcs · Mathilde van Dijk · Vera Varhegyi · Todd H. Weir

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Creative and Inclusive Heritage Education: A Handbook for Educators

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REBELAH Project Partners

- La Xixa Teatre (Spain): www.laxixa.org
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Introduction to this Handbook

Europe has a diverse cultural and religious heritage. Discovering the pluralism contained in this past can provide a valuable tool for educators as they seek to create more inclusive classrooms in the present. The 2005 Council of Europe 'Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society' (Faro Convention) saw a role for teachers, outreach workers and educators, when it stated that in order for 'cultural heritage' to serve 'as a resource to facilitate peaceful co-existence by promoting trust and mutual understanding with a view to resolution and prevention of conflicts' it has to be integrated 'into all aspects of lifelong education and training'.

Yet, exploring different histories in the classroom can be difficult. Despite good intentions, discriminatory attitudes and cultural shocks in the classroom frequently have a negative impact on the learning environment, not just for the person affected, but for the entire group. When teachers and trainers find themselves without tools to address these behaviours and situations (which may often be very subtle), they often simply let them pass. Sometimes, it is the teachers or trainers who feel uncomfortable with minority learners. Sometimes, minority teachers or trainers themselves may struggle with discriminatory attitudes of learners. Either way, the trainer has a responsibility to find the resources to assure an inclusive learning environment for all participants, as well as providing critical learning opportunities for the class.

To respond to these needs, we undertook the project *REBELAH – Religion, beliefs and laicity in cultural heritage to foster social inclusion in adult trainings.* This was a two-year Erasmus+ Strategic Partnership involving six organizations in four countries: the Storytelling Centre (NL); the University of Groningen (NL); the Elan Interculturel (FR); Kepes (HU); the Ibn Battuta Foundation (SP); and La Xixa Teatre (SP), which was project coordinator. As a result of the project, we created a toolkit for creative and inclusive heritage education, consisting of this handbook and an accompanying activity book.

Because of its participation in the Erasmus+ Adult Education Program, the first version of this handbook was originally designed for adult trainers in all fields to teach themselves or other adult trainers. However, due to the success of the initial online version of the handbook, we decided to edit it and work with the University of Groningen Press to create this current edition, which is aimed at a broader group of potential users: from teachers to heritage activists, community leaders, local minorities, policymakers,

researchers, university students of heritage and staff from heritage organizations. Teachers working with children and youth can adapt versions of the texts and activities of this handbook for younger learners.

Several of the partners of REBELAH have extended their collaboration in another Erasmus+ project designed to focus on the issue of minority heritage called: *MIRETAGE European Pathways to Minority Religious Heritage.* Drawing on this ongoing project, we have added new material to this handbook, including more reflection on the need to bring minority communities into the heritage-making process through creative education.

The overall aim of this handbook, *Creative and Inclusive Heritage Education*, and its accompanying activity book is to provide teachers with the necessary theoretical tools and practical exercises to foster a more inclusive teaching practice using heritage as a vehicle for self-awareness, collective meaning-making and conflict resolution in the learning space. By helping educators to identify and counter exclusionary narratives, by stimulating their interest in their own histories and those of their students, and by engaging in creative heritage work, the handbook and the activity book allow educators to make the best of the social and educational value of heritage.

The handbook acquaints trainers with various methods and heritage concepts, histories, contexts and practices through a set of *theoretical introductions* to relevant topics. These are presented in thirteen modules divided into four thematic sections related to the construction of heritage, heritage communities, cultural dynamics and inclusive heritage. Each module contains a theoretical introduction and a practical exercise related to the content proposed in the text. Because the handbook requires advanced language skills, it may not be accessible to all teachers or learners.

The handbook goes hand in hand with a second set of resources that is also available open access in the activity book. The activity book contains:

- Twenty-nine activities for ice-breaking, teambuilding and intercultural empowerment for educators to use in the classroom, including a set of introductory readings to contextualize the activities, as well as self-reflection, and teaching tips. Some activities contain worksheets and instructions that are more easily adaptable to readers who are still learning the respective language.
- A heritage map offers an overview of 24 heritage elements from Spain, the Netherlands, France and Hungary, which are presented following a logic of: a) collective appropriation; b) critical understanding of history; c) questioning of expert roles in heritage; d) understanding of European culture as both contextual and relational within global interactions.

Although aimed at educators, we hope that students, heritage professionals and other people interested in either heritage in general or inclusive heritage in particular will profitably explore the contents of the following pages. We are convinced that creative methodologies bring new insights into the ways heritage can foster social inclusion in education.

Whoever you are, and whatever your connection to heritage is, we hope you find the reading of this text and experimenting with the activities as enriching a journey as it was for us when putting it together.

PART I
TEACHING WITH HERITAGE IN A DIVERSE CLASSROOM

We have Heritage, Therefore We Are: An Introduction to Heritage in a Diverse Europe

By Mathilde van Dijk, Andrew J. M. Irving and Todd H. Weir

The title to this chapter is a rephrasing of the French philosopher Descartes' famous dictum 'I think, therefore I am'. It sums up why heritage is not only important but also indispensable for a community to carve out its place in the contemporary world. A shared past – or rather, the narrative that people share about this past – defines individuals as members of a community: as Frisian, Catalan, or Roma; as Dutch, Spanish or European, for example. Here, we chose examples of minority and majority 'ethnicities', but the same would apply to people of different religious faiths, sexualities or gender identity. In each case, the question of the relation of minority and majority heritage and identity imposes itself on the issue of heritage and identity as such. The notion of a shared heritage not only anchors the members of each community in their own history but acknowledges that this is a part of a larger narrative about the past. This opens new directions for future understandings, whereas before the very existence of minority heritage may have been considered irrelevant. One concrete example is the creation of Muslim and Jewish heritage trails in the UK, which highlight the long presence of these minorities in a region that many may presume to be exclusively Christian.[1]

This chapter serves as an introduction to heritage, beginning with a history of the concept and how its definition has developed in recent decades. Changing concepts of heritage and its relation to religion will also be discussed in connection to recent developments in Europe, notably the changing attitude towards religion due to secularization, and the increasing ethnic and religious diversity of Europe. Changing policies and prac-

1 See for this the module on minority heritage.

tices around heritage will also be highlighted. Here, the impact of international organizations is important, specifically the agreements made by UNESCO and the European Community. Despite the fact that it has not yet been ratified by all member states, the Council of Europe's 2005 Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (known as the Faro Convention) exerts a great deal of influence on visions and practices of heritage. Arguably, the most important development is how access to and living one's heritage has come to be seen as a human right. All of this leads to a changed perspective on what heritage is, who has heritage and on the role of the heritage expert.

What is heritage?

Heritage is first and foremost a narrative: an ideological appropriation of a historical site, event, practice, concept, person, object, which recruits it as a symbol of a community's identity as well as an explanation of its current status.[2] Heritage is not only a story that is told, however. Heritage is lived. It is practised by maintaining rituals, such as going through the usual motions of a religious feast, wearing specific clothes at life events (e.g. black at a funeral), attending the commemoration of a seminal event in a community's history, or by restoring and adapting an ancient site or building.

Contrary to what is often supposed, heritage is not stable. Instead, practices and narratives evolve through creative processes of meaning-making by those claiming a site, event, practice, concept, person or object as their heritage. Such appropriations can also have a dark side to them. If one group claims a certain heritage, others may be excluded from it. Indeed, this can be a motivating factor in the heritage claim: the dispossession of others or the acquisition of other's cultural property as one's own.[3] In this way, heritage is also deeply political: its narrative defines who can be counted as belonging to our community and who cannot.

This social and political nature of heritage is closely connected to the concept of '*lieu de mémoire*' (site of memory). This is defined by the French historian Pierre Nora as: 'A place, person or concept that summarises the identity of a group'.[4] The very character of heritage as a narrative means that the significance of such sites of memory can change over time: they are dynamic and not fixed. Moreover, even at a certain point in time, sites can mean different things to different people and have differently interpreted points of

2 Laurajane Smith, Uses of Heritage (London/New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis, 2006), 29–34.

3 Willem Frijhoff, 'Toeëigening; Van bezitsdrang tot betekenisgeving', Trajecta 6 (1997): 99–118.

4 Pierre Nora, 'Présentation', in Les lieux de mémoire, three vols., ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard 1984–1992), vol. 1, viii–xiii. The translation is by MvD.

reference. This is why Nora and his collaborators called the third part of their multi-volume work on French sites of memory *Les France*. By using the plural article (*les*) before the singular word *France*, the authors indicate the plurality of visions of what makes *France* French, what *France* actually means.

The current discussion around the monuments erected for colonial 'heroes' provides a good example of how heritage narratives change. In the Netherlands, the statue of Jan Pieterszoon Coen (1587–1629) is well known. The statue was erected in 1893 and was listed as a national monument (*Rijksmonument*) in 1965. It is located in the city of Hoorn, which used to host the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, known in Dutch as the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie), and Coen was the governor of the Company's colonies in present day Indonesia. His main claim to fame was how he secured a VOC monopoly on nutmeg, mace and cloves, in a military campaign against the Banda Islands, in which these crops were grown. In the process, he largely massacred the local Bandanese population. Belatedly, his actions have been identified as genocide.[5] Until very recently, Coen and the VOC were seen as hallmarks of the Dutch Golden Age in the seventeenth century, and thus as symbols of how the Dutch like to view themselves: entrepreneurial, adventurous, a benign global force to be reckoned with, bringing civilization through trade. In recent decades, however, the dark side of this narrative has been highlighted: colonialism, oppression, slavery and poverty for large sections of the population in Europe and the colonies. Increasingly, the removal of the Hoorn statue has been advocated by anti-colonialist activists and, at least as loudly, opposed by people insisting on the greatness of the Golden Age heritage and the immutability of Dutch identity. We may add that, in Coen's case, it is surprising that he kept his status as a hero for so long, given that his cruelty has long been acknowledged.

So, we see that heritage can signify different things to different people: the same thing can be used in different stories. In the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453), which is usually framed as a war between England and France, the leadership of Jeanne d' Arc (ca. 1412–1431) led to a turning point. The teenage daughter of a peasant, Jeanne led the dauphin's troops to a victory at Orléans and escorted him to Reims to be anointed king. After her capture by the Burgundians, however, she was extradited to the English, who staged an inquisition trial that led to her being burnt at the stake. She was already seen as a heroine, a witch, a saint and a heretic in her own day. Later, her use in narratives became still more complex. She became the national heroine of France in 1803, a canon-

5 Marjolein van Pagee, Banda: de genocide van Jan Pieterszoon Coen (Utrecht: Omniboek, 2021).

ized saint in 1920, a working class heroine for twentieth-century socialists and communists, a populist fighter against 'foreigners' for the Front National political party, a proto-feminist and, recently, a transgender person, who serves to prove that non-cis identity is not merely a fad that happens to be *en vogue*, but a part of a much longer history (and heritage) of the rich diversity of the human race.[6]

Changing narratives around heritage can in turn transform the self-image of communities that tell them. The Faro Convention defines Europe as a pluralist society, in which many voices can be heard and the heritage of many communities can be expressed, whether these communities define their identity in ethnic, religious, linguistic or other terms. This is a radical shift from the traditional vision of a Western Europe shaped by the early medieval Carolingian Empire, which both (briefly) unified much of Western Europe and, at the same time, defined it as essentially Christian. This heritage was how the creators of the European Community envisaged Europe: as a culturally and religiously coherent region that roughly followed the shape of Charlemagne's early medieval Christian empire.[7] This view ended up playing a very important role in arguing against Turkey's membership of Europe in the 1990s, despite the fact that that country's constitution has officially been secular since the creation of the Turkish state after the First World War. Interestingly, in 2002, the German historian Heinrich August Winkler opposed Turkey's membership of the European Union on the grounds of it not being a pluralist state, in view of its weak democracy, as well as what he saw as the lack of separation between secular and religious authorities. In a strange twist to the European heritage narrative, according to Winkler, this separation had been in place in Europe from the Middle Ages.[8] In the meantime, after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the implosion of the Soviet Union, the European community far exceeds the boundaries of Charlemagne's empire, including many countries much further east than Charlemagne or his immediate heirs could have hoped to dominate: Turkey's membership of the European Union, meanwhile, is no longer on the agenda.

6 Gabrielle Bychowski, 'Were there Transgender People in the Middle Ages?', see https://www.publicmedievalist.com/transgender-middle-ages/; Alicia Spencer-Hall and Blake Gutt, eds., Trans- and Genderqueer Subjects in Medieval Hagiography (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021); Marina Warner, Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism (New York: Knopf, 1981).

7 Lennard Pater and Trineke Palm, 'Konrad Adenauers blauwdruk voor een verenigd Europa: De redding van het christelijke Avondland (1949-1963)', Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis 133 (2021): 255–277.

8 Heinrich August Winkler, 'Wir erweitern uns zu Tode', Die Zeit, 13 November 2002.

Cultural heritage: list-making and its implications

Heritage is a narrative, but who determines what is and what is not heritage? And how does this work in practice?

The 1972 UNESCO *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural Heritage and Natural Heritage* might seem like an obvious place to begin to chart the development of contemporary heritage practice. The Convention was drafted, as its preamble notes, in view of the 'magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening' cultural and natural heritage: by this somewhat vague phrasing the document alludes specifically to the threats of the 'changing social and economic conditions' of the mid-twentieth century. In this dynamic geo-political context, the Convention defined world cultural heritage in relatively straightforward, concrete and listable terms such as 'monuments', 'groups of buildings' and 'sites' having 'outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science'.[9]

The presence of *lists* in a Convention which also lays out just how a monument, group of buildings or site can come to be *listed* as 'world heritage' is not just a coincidence. In fact, this reflects a long tradition of inventorying treasured items that dates back to antiquity. Such lists of the valued objects and sites inherited (or appropriated) from the venerable past were sometimes drafted by the owners of the treasures themselves. Here, treasure lists serve as a means of communicating wealth and stability to their owners or to others, and, at the same time, as a record of what could be pawned or sold if need arose. In the Renaissance and early modern periods, collectors further developed techniques of list-making, using them to organize and to identify gaps in their encyclopaedic knowledge-oriented collections of valued objects.

Lists have also been drafted by people other than those who currently own the treasure. These inventories, produced with the efficiency of a tax office, have served to ascertain the number, nature, condition, value and whereabouts of the possessions of an individual, group or institution. If need or desire should arise, they could assist those in power in identifying and seizing the most valued objects and property of their subjects, dependents, or newly conquered groups. In these cases, the lists would be drafted by authorized experts such as art historians, archaeologists or cultural anthropologists.

9 United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural Heritage and Natural Heritage (1972), Article 1. Available online at: https://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/.

Laurajane Smith has defined this kind of list-making as the construction of an 'authorised heritage discourse', a monumentalized list of objects with narratives cast in stone.[10]

The State's instrumentalization of lists of valuable property during the dissolution of monasteries in Protestant lands in Europe in the sixteenth century, and especially in the wake of the French Revolution and secularization in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was both a development and a perfection of this list-making heritage technique. By means of heritage/treasure lists, valued property formerly in private hands or religious communities' possession was transferred to the patrimony of the State, which also employed the experts authorized to make these lists.

It is perhaps no surprise, then, that the world heritage lists employed by UNESCO arose out of nineteenth-century national and colonial practices of listing objects, sites and monuments to be acquired, preserved and restored, and then selectively, strategically displayed. The way in which these objects are presented provide an additional narrative for the collectors. For instance, in the large collection of Ancient Egyptian antiquities in the Louvre Museum in Paris, Egypt is portrayed as an empire, a kind of forerunner of the French colonial empire as it fought the English for domination of Egypt in the early nineteenth century. Moreover, Ancient Egypt is presented as a forerunner of 'world civilization' rather than as strictly localized Egyptian, let alone Middle Eastern or African heritage. In this, as in many other cases, 'world civilization' seems to be shorthand for Western civilization. Occasionally, the appreciation of Egyptian ancient heritage has gone hand in hand with blatant racism: inspired by the Egyptology of his day, the nineteenth-century Irish-American labour activist John Campbell ascribed Ancient Egypt's success as an empire to the whiteness of its people.[11] In the meanwhile, it has become clear that in certain dynasties the pharaohs must have been dark-skinned as are many Egyptians today.[12]

In this regard, what was new in the UNESCO Convention's definition of heritage was the idea that such things could not only be outstandingly valuable, but that their value could be 'universal'. The notion of 'universal value' remains controversial, however, for

10 Smith, Uses of Heritage, 11–43.

11 John Campbell, Negro-mania being an examination of the falsely assumed equality of the various races of men (Philadelphia: Campbell and Power, 1851), 12. On Campbell, see Andrew Heath, '"The producers on one side, and the capitalists on the other": Labor Reform, Slavery, and the Career of a Transatlantic Radical', American Nineteenth Century History 13 (2012): 199–227.

12 On the narratives about the connection between Egypt and Africa, see, for example: David B. O'Connor and Andrew Reid, eds., Egypt in Africa (London: UCL, 2003).

it tends to elide the question *for whom* exactly these objects and sites have such heritage value: in this case, it is argued, they are valuable *for all*. Seemingly avoiding the difficult question of for whom the heritage is more directly significant, of more pressing, identity-forming, or urgent value, it posits a universal pertinence for all that risks either being so vague as to suggest direct significance for no one, or submerging the particular needs, claims, and desires of specific stakeholders (in, for example, source community) in an imperial sea of general significance.

As the briefly sketched history of list-making teaches us, however, the question *for whom* is important because it focuses attention not only on who gets to decide what is valuable as 'heritage' and what counts as value in the first place, but also on who is benefitting from such a decision. In short, the qualification 'world' or 'universality' often seems to mask a Eurocentric (and Christian/secular-centric) approach to what counts, with consequent benefits for those peoples who identify with these alleged European values. Current maps of what has been acknowledged as UNESCO listed world heritage show, in fact, a preponderance of sites in Europe and, to a lesser extent, North America, almost as though comparatively little heritage of value (or at least of 'universal value') is to be found in other parts of the world.

Perhaps we might better say then that 'heritage' is not so much a definable list of sites and monuments but the *act of listing* itself. This is indeed what some contemporary scholars of heritage have argued. Laurajane Smith has gone so far as to state that: 'There is really no such thing as heritage' at all.[13] Behind her deliberate provocation lies a serious point. Instead of considering heritage as some kind of inherent, objective quality, or list of things, it is more useful to think of heritage as a kind of social practice (involving powerful language use) that both expresses and creates the values and meanings of what we retain of the past in the present. Moreover, heritage is also bound up with relations of power. We might say we should focus at least as much on the power in the act of *list-making* as on the items on the list themselves.

We noted above the ways individuals or groups can use the attribution of ongoing value to things from the past as a means of acquiring and boosting their own power. As political power shifted in Europe from kings and princes to nation-states and colonial powers in the nineteenth century, the heritage-listing of things from the past transformed from bolstering the central power of ruling individuals to being used to foster sentiments of identity and pride in the nation among its citizens. Heritage was at times explicitly used to instil reverence for select valued examples of the history and identity

13 Smith, The Uses of Heritage, 11.

of the nation (or city, or village, or other group) in ordinary women and men, and to discern and communicate to others what and who 'matters' – *and what/who does not 'matter'* – both at home and abroad.

Alongside this authorized, expert and disciplinary use of heritage, the listing of sites, monuments and objects has also served other ends. Neil Silberman has helpfully summarized these as follows.[14] Firstly, heritage-making serves as a means of putting us in touch with eternity: the listing of objects, landscapes and sites from the past that are of value to us in the present can answer a human quest for 'tangible contact' which satisfies what Silberman calls a 'transcendent metaphysical belief'; by which he means an occasion for communion with enduring 'patterns of human destiny' through the sites and objects of our forebears.

Secondly, Silberman argues that the listing of such objects and sites has, from the outset, stimulated visits by both pilgrims and tourists. It is often the experience of visiting these sites and landscapes (rather than expert or authorized knowledge about the value of the objects themselves) that is of primary importance to such visits. Heritage can provide the visitor and viewer with an important opportunity to escape from every-day present-oriented routines and demands, and to connect with something of more long-lived and broader significance for their identity. Of course, we should not romanticize this heritage experience too much. Both tourism and pilgrimage can be, and often are instrumentalized and monetized, and become just another opportunity for marketable entertainment, a political instrument, a new labour market or a chance for consumption.

Thirdly, despite the instrumentalization of heritage by dominant powers and ideologies, and despite the authority of the experts, it has become clear that they can also serve as a means of resistance. As Silberman notes, diverse groups excluded from the power structures that favour the élite – whether they be marginalized because of ethnicity, gender identity, religion, occupation, legal status, place of origin, physical ability, language – have successfully marshalled heritage listing as a means not only of preserving their own past and present identity but also claiming public space and a voice. Heritage practices help these groups to communicate to others what matters to them, and to reinterpret or contest the monuments valued by the majority.

14 The following three paragraphs are based on Neil A. Silberman, 'Heritage Places. Evolving Conceptions and Changing Forms', in A Companion to Heritage Studies, ed. William Logan, Máiréad Nic Craith and Ullrich Kockel (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 29–40, 32.

Again, the appropriation of Ancient Egypt as heritage provides a rich example of how this can work. Recently, controversy regarding the status of this heritage exploded under the influence of increasing Egyptian national self-confidence, African-American appropriations and recent developments in Egyptology that criticize the colonial origins of this discipline.[15] In relation to the former, the lavish celebration for the official opening of the new National Museum of Egyptian Civilization in Cairo in 2021, in which 22 royal mummies were transported from the colonial-era Museum of Egyptian Antiquities (1901) to their brand new venue in an extravaganza entitled 'The Pharaohs' Golden Parade', is an example of how the current government of Egypt is claiming Ancient Egypt for its own.

In 2023, two events acted as proverbial sparks that ignited a powder keg. Firstly, the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities (Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, Leiden) organized an exhibition entitled *Kemet: Egypt in hip-hop, jazz, soul & funk*, about the appropriation of Ancient Egyptian themes and visual culture in popular music genres, as performed by world famous Afro-American artists and featuring images of singers such as Beyoncé and Rihanna in the garb of famous Egyptian queens. Such actions were seen as connected to a desire to appropriate the great civilizations of Ancient Egypt as African by definition and therefore as a part of African-American heritage. Ancient Egyptian heritage was thereby used as a means to resist the marginalization and under estimation of African Americans to the present day. Such Afrocentrism has itself been described as a mirror image of the Eurocentric colonial appropriations of Ancient Egypt, which long determined visions of Egypt and African civilizations. Instead of 'civilization' being deemed as coming out of Europe, it now originates in Africa.[16]

Secondly, in the same year as the Leiden exhibition, Netflix aired the docudrama *Queen Cleopatra* (USA: Jada Pinkett Smith 2023), in which the Afro-British actress Adele James played the protagonist. This mini-series both stressed the blackness of Cleopatra's supposed skin colour, and profiled her as a feminist heroine, whose story 'resonates with

15 Danielle Candelora, Nadia Ben-Marzouk and Kara Cooney, eds., Ancient Egyptian society: challenging assumptions, exploring approaches (Abingdon, Oxon/New York, NY: Routledge, 2023); the following articles in this volume are of special relevance: Danielle Candelpra, 'The Egyptianization of Egypt and Egyptology', 103–110; S. O. Y. Keitza, 'Ancient Egyptian "Origins" and "Identity"', 111–121; Jordan Galczynski, 'Orientalizing the Ancient Egyptian Woman', 153–162.

16 One of several critical perspectives on Afrocentric visions of Egypt is offered by the American historian Clarence E. Walker, We Can't Go Home Again: An Argument About Afrocentrism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). See also Tunde Akeleke, The case against Afrocentrism (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009).

every woman', as Shelley Haley, professor emerita of Classics at Hamilton College, New York, posited.[17]

The Egyptian government reacted furiously in both instances. As far as the antiquities museum in Leiden was concerned, it was punished by a withdrawal of their excavation rights at Saqqara. In no way would the Egyptian State condone a vision of Egyptian culture as African and therefore black.[18] Their rejection of an exhibition about the Afro-American appropriation and use Ancient Egyptian visual culture, as well as their insistence on a light-coloured Cleopatra instead of the dark-coloured rendition in the Netflix series showed how the Egyptian State wished to distinguish itself from Africa, thus echoing, perhaps unconsciously, former colonial framing of Ancient Egyptian heritage.

But are state actors and museum professionals the only ones who can make and use heritage lists? The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage radically expanded the range of list-able heritage items to include oral traditions, social practices, rituals, festivals, arts and the knowledge needed to maintain them. More significantly, however, it also afforded visibility to and recognized the integrity of groups that do not have the stability, resources or political power to produce or maintain their objects and sites of 'outstanding' value. In short, the 2003 Convention allows for the listing of heritage by communities irrespective of whether it is possible to 'own' the heritage as a piece of property.

This shift constitutes a radical democratization of heritage. It has facilitated and supported bottom-up heritage claims from minority and marginalized groups as they seek to identify and defend sites, objects, knowledge systems and practices of importance to them as a means of claiming a right to exist, to resist and to have and be part of a history. Since material heritage is now integrated into immaterial practices in the vision of heritage, the power of property owners (whether they be the state or individuals) is relativized, and the importance of small-scale, non-elite, non-majoritarian heritage practices is foregrounded.

In another sense, heritage sites and objects that address dark histories (the sites of atrocities, mass graves, incarceration, etc.) have also served to resist the temptation to forget the traumas of the past, to cover up mistakes and misdeeds, or to hear only the

17 Queen Cleopatra (Netflix USA: Tina Garavi, 2023), Episode 4 (at 41.16).

18 We thank Daniel Soliman, curator in the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, for his update. The Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden is banned, but their partner in the Saqqara excavation, the Museo Egizio in Turin, is still working the site.

conciliatory stories of the victors. Such resistance to oblivion is, of course, not without its own contestation and counter-reactions.

Heritage and Religion: Connecting and Dividing

A large part of what is now regarded as heritage is connected to religion: a monumental church, a religious feast, as well as ideologies and practices rooted in religion. Heritage and religion are linked because of their connection to memory and tradition.[19] The way in which a religion is lived is often rooted in the deep past, and in some historical religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam, tradition is supposed to prescribe how they should be practised now, or may even be considered to be part of divine revelation. Despite their claim of providing universal truths, religious traditions are themselves narratives as much as heritage is; narratives which can and do change according to contemporary concerns. Under the aegis of Christian theology, for example, slavery has been both defended and opposed; the oppression of women approved and condemned.

Religion can act both as a connecting and a divisive force. Organized religions such as Christianity share a long history of schisms, in which those who ended up outside the dominant fold were often severely persecuted by those in power. Although, in Europe, people are no longer tortured or burned at the stake for their faith, it is striking how, during the COVID-19 pandemic, for example, those orthodox Protestant believers who opposed vaccination were increasingly othered as remnants of a primitive religious past. Such assessments neither took into account the participation of these groups in present day society nor the fact that other groups not considered 'primitive' opposed vaccination on other grounds, unconnected to a Christian identity. Another example is how, frequently, after several terrorist attacks in Europe and the United States, Islam itself is connected in the media and in political discourse to violence and as a natural Other versus European and Western civilization. This denies both the plurality of Muslim ideologies and practices and the long history of Muslims living in Europe as Europeans.

Religion continues to inspire strong emotions even in predominantly secular countries. Despite the fact that many Europeans now profess not to be involved in any religion or have any faith, it is striking how much they care about religious artefacts. This is why the French-Portuguese team of researchers Isnart and Cereales posit that religious heritage retains a certain sacredness despite the fact that it is no longer being used

19 Danièle Hervieu-Léger, La Religion pour mémoire (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1993); Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales, eds., The Religious Heritage Complex: Legacy, Conservation, and Christianity (London/New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).

for its original purpose by the majority of users.[20] While the medievalist and novelist Umberto Eco does not use the word heritage, he explains the attraction of medieval heritage in particular, by asserting that Europeans still 'dwell' in the Middle Ages, inasmuch as they may still enter the local medieval cathedral, either for prayer, if they are believers, or to stroll around and satisfy their historical curiosity as tourists.[21] The response to the 2019 burning of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame de Paris shows how many people felt connected to this medieval religious building. Its destruction led to a worldwide, emotional response, as have other fires in churches on a more local scale. Churches were the scenes of life events and social and political events of importance: where one's ancestors were baptized, married and buried, where important figures were crowned, oaths sworn and legal agreements made. Moreover, monumental religious buildings are often iconic hallmarks of cities and villages: objects seen from afar, meaning 'home'. As for Notre-Dame, before the fire, it received over twelve million visitors per year, thus becoming a part of the life experiences of tourists and believers from all around the world. Yet, the mere relegation of a religious building to the status of heritage monument may be hurtful to believers, as it could appear to imply that this community's beliefs and practices are a thing of the past, instead of a living tradition. While some religious groups may be keen to instrumentalize heritage-listing as a means of safeguarding their existence, raising their visibility, or of re-asserting lost public privilege, other groups may fear that their heritage is being used or trivialized by policymakers, tourist operators and heritage 'experts', who have little understanding of, or sympathy, for the religious motivations of the members of the community.

Diversity, Religion and Heritage[22]

As is clear from the above, the religious landscape of Europe has become increasingly diverse. This diversity moves in different directions. As noted, from the 1960s, a growing percentage of the population considered itself non-religious, while at the same time, new religious communities comprising immigrants and converts have proliferated. A further complication is added by the fact that secular and religious individuals alike show a keen interest in both spirituality and spiritual practices as well as religious heritage. All three

20 Isnart and Cerezales, 'Introduction', in The Religious Heritage Complex, 1–13.

21 Umberto Eco, Travels in Hyperreality (San Diego/New York/London: A Harvest Book, 1983), 68.

22 Portions of this section have been previously published in Todd H. Weir, 'Heritage and Religious Change in Contemporary Europe: How Secularization, Pluralization and Spiritualization Shape Religious Heritage' Trajecta 30, no. 2 (2021): 217–243.

of these dimensions of religious diversification play into debates over heritage and European identity today.

Although sociologists no longer assume that religion simply withers away in the face of modernity, empirical surveys have demonstrated the reality of secularization, in the sense of leaving the church, taking the form of a widespread drop in church affiliation and attendance across Western Europe that began in the 1960s.[23] Despite regional counter-currents of renewal after the fall of communism, the trend in the twenty-first century is clear. A 2015 Eurobarometer survey found that in Great Britain, the Czech Republic, Sweden and the Netherlands a greater portion of the population identified with non-religion than with the major churches. In Flanders, where over 50% of the population attended mass at least once a month in 1967, this figure had dropped to less than 10% by 2004 and has fallen even further since. In Catalonia, Catholic church participation dropped from 33.8% of the population in 1980 to 18.7% by 2007.[24]

Yet, it should be noted that leaving the church, mosque, synagogue or temple does not necessarily mean leaving the faith, or rather, no longer having a faith.[25] Nor does it mean ceasing involvement in both religious material and immaterial heritage. Sociologists of religion have identified a growing group of people who create their own eclectic version of religion, often mixing elements from diverse religious traditions; such as a Buddha sitting next to an image of the Virgin on a domestic altar. Many non-churchgoers describe themselves as 'spiritual, but not religious'.[26] This shows an enduring need for a transcendent sphere, a place beyond the daily experience. This need surfaces in the face of life-events such as birth and death; spirituality may offer a way to deal with these, as well as probe their meaning. Sources of spirituality originate in traditional religions as well as reinvented pagan traditions, and may also be rooted in popular culture; for

23 For the several meanings of secularization see, for example, Peter van Rooden, Religieuze Regimes. Over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland 1570–1990 (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1996), 19, 21.

24 Marc Hooghe, Ellen Quintelier, and Tim Reeskens, 'Kerkpraktijk in Vlaanderen', Ethische Perspectieven 16, no. 2 (2006): 113–123. European Commission, 'Discrimination in the European Union', Eurobarometer, October 2015, https:// europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2077. On Catalonia: Marian Burchardt, Regulating Difference: Religious Diversity and Nationhood in the Secular West (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2020), 5.

25 Grace Davie, Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).

26 Paul Heelas and Linda Woodhead, The Spiritual Revolution: Why Religion Is Giving Way to Spirituality (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005).

example, cults around popstars or science fiction films.[27] The latter creates its own heritage, often borrowing from religious traditions. The Jedi Knights in the Star Wars movies share, for example, characteristics of both Samurai and Chinese warrior monks, as well as aspects of the Christian monk knights of the Middle Ages.

Regardless of whether Europeans leave behind all connection with religion or reconfigure old practices in new forms of spirituality, their leaving of the traditional churches (or mosques, synagogues, or temples) has contributed to the material growth of the heritage sector. When people enter churches today, it is increasingly as concert-goers, passers-by or tourists, many of whom experience Christianity and church life principally as a heritage of the past, whether or not they have a personal connection, as something their parents or even grandparents were last actively engaged in. Secularization is changing the function of historic religious buildings, from being sites of liturgical practice to travel destinations, libraries, performance spaces or cafes. Declining memberships and disaffiliation have led to financial burdens for the owners of churches and synagogues, which, in some regions, has led to a crisis of ownership itself.

Secularization, in the sense of leaving the church, forms the backdrop to debates over heritage and national culture of the past century. In the interwar period, the notions of 'Christian civilization' and 'Western Civilization' that we encountered earlier in this chapter were also heritage concepts that Christian conservatives embraced to oppose secularism and socialism. The function of heritage in such political discourse was to remove religion from the hands of particular faith communities and make it the marker of a national or transnational identity. The relationship of civilization and religious heritage was front and centre in debates in the first decade of the twenty-first century over whether and how to include references to religion, and specifically, Christianity, in the new European constitution. Supporters of its inclusion faced off against advocates of laïcité and secularism who wanted 'humanism' identified as characteristic of European identity. The final draft of the preamble was a compromise, stating that the European Union 'draws inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law'.[28]

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27 Thomas Luckmann, Die Unsichtbare Religion (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1991), 180.

28 Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, 'Towards a Model of Christian Democracy? Politics and Religion in the Treaty of Lisbon', Revue Française de Science Politique (English Edition) 65, no. 4 (2015): 23–42, 37.

Alongside secularization, globalization is the second great cause of the transformation of the European religious landscape since the 1960s. What began with inner-European migration from Southern Europe to the booming economies of the North opened up into a global movement of populations. New communities arrived and brought with them their own diverse and evolving religious traditions from Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, and foreign missionaries planted new churches and attracted European converts. Since the 1990s, migration to Europe is no longer concentrated on a few former colonies, but has become global and multidirectional. This has created European societies characterized by what the sociologist Steven Vertovec called 'superdiversity'.[29]

Migration has altered the political discourse around religious heritage. Until the 1990s, opponents of immigration generally made hay of the supposed cultural differences between 'native' and 'foreign' populations. Since the 1990s, however, religion has increasingly become a chief marker of difference. The case made against Turkish or North African migrants – most vociferously by the populist far right – has revolved around their Muslim identity. Yet, if one examines recent anti-Islamic rhetoric more closely, it becomes apparent that it revolves less around the opposition of Christian and Muslim faiths than the opposition between Christian heritage and Muslim religion. For example, during the 2019 elections for the European Parliament, Marine Le Pen referenced the Duomo in Milan, Leonardo Da Vinci and Jeanne d'Arc and stated 'we will never accept to be dispossessed of this material and immaterial patrimony'. Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orban called fellow populist Matteo Salvini from Italy his ally in the fight for the 'preservation of European Christian heritage and against migration'.[30] The heritage discourse has also allowed the populist right to construct anti-Islamic alliances. The early intellectual leader of Dutch anti-Islamism, Pim Fortuyn (1948–2002), extended this idea of a shared national-religious culture further, when he spoke of 'Jewish, Christian and humanistic tradition'.[31] This allowed Fortuyn (and since him many other Dutch conservatives) to claim tolerance – for example, towards homosexuality – and liberal

29 Steven Vertovec, 'Super-Diversity and Its Implications', Ethnic and Racial Studies 30, no. 6 (2007): 1024–1025.

30 '"Le jour de gloire" des patries "est arrivé", lance à Milan Marine Le Pen', France 24, 18 May 2019, https:// www.france24.com/fr/20190518-le-jour-gloire-patries-est-arrive-lance-a-milan-marine-le-pen; 'Hungary's Orban Commiserates with "fellow Combatant" Salvini', France 24, 29 August 2019, https://www.france24. com/en/20190829-hungary-s-orban-commisere ates-with-fellow-combatant-salvini.

31 Pim Fortuyn, Tegen de Islamisering van onze cultuur: Nederlandse identiteit als fundament (Utrecht: Bruna Uitgevers, 1996), 57.

attitudes as achievements of a Christian heritage. Heritage can thus allow the return of religion in secular form and bring the values of secular society into the logic of religious opposition.

Using heritage to forge a political alliance between secular and religious forces is most pronounced in populist rhetoric; however, it has also been widely employed by mainstream politicians to oppose a supposed 'Islamization' of European culture. Against such exclusionary uses of heritage as a means to isolate minority religious groups from dominant forms of Christian and secular heritage, there is a growing consensus among museum curators, heritage organizations and activists, including those belonging to minorities and other marginalized groups, that heritage, religious and other, must be made more diverse and more inclusive. They are now recalling long-obscured histories and giving them the breath of public life through their acknowledgement as heritage, and they are doing so from various directions, from above as well as from below. As noted, in the UK and elsewhere, innovative grassroots heritage efforts have created heritage trails: Jewish, Muslim, women's and so on.[32] In this way, minority communities are carving out their place in contemporary Europe.

Heritage as a Human Right: the Faro Convention and the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society

Increasing awareness of growing diversity and its impact on the multiple roles of heritage in different communities within European society has recentered what we think heritage is and its relevance for us. In contrast to the premise of the danger and threat posed to outstandingly valuable sites and objects by economic and social change – which, as we noted, drove the 1972 UNESCO definition – in a meeting in Faro in 2005 the Council of Europe proposed a new framework for thinking about and working in heritage that placed people and their values at the centre. In the Faro Convention, cultural heritage is defined broadly as:

[...] a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs,

32 See the module on Muslim heritage in Europe. See also Alison Bartlett, 'Feminist Heritage Walks: Materializing the Feminist past in Perth, Australia, and Glasgow, UK', Gender, Place and Culture: A journal of Feminist Geography 27 (2020): 1007–1022; Mathilde van Dijk, 'Religion, Gender, and Heritage: Who Is Commemorated in the Dutch Cityscape', in The Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Heritage in Contemporary Europe, ed. Todd Weir and Lieke Wijnia (London: Bloomsbury, 2023), 171–185, esp. 177–181.

knowledge, and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time.[33]

Fundamental to this approach to heritage is the Faro Convention's grounding in Article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), which states, without qualification, that: 'Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community'.[34] Participation is understood broadly by the Faro Convention, not only in terms of who participates (everyone!) but what participation means. Participation is not a matter of simply engaging with pre-existing authorized heritage sites, monuments and practices; rather, participation includes the active 'identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage' and 'public reflection and debate on the opportunities and challenges which the cultural heritage represents'.[35]

The implications of the Faro Convention for shared ownership of and responsibility for heritage, for dialogue and for democracy are still being worked through: the REBELAH Project, in which the authors participated, is one example of many trans-regional, national and local initiatives. Any idea that the Faro Convention is a panacea is quickly dispelled by tough questions on the ground. How exactly can a difficult, contested or obscure heritage provide a 'shared source of remembrance', as the Convention envisages?[36] Who is in control of the 'inclusive' process? Is it not the élite, once again? What scale of inclusion are we talking about? Are the boundaries local, regional, national or European?[37] These and other difficult questions will confront anyone attempting to use shared responsibility for and participation in religious heritage for social inclusion.

That need not be cause for despair. Contrary to the logic of heritage lists, the framework of participation anticipates what the ethnographer Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing calls 'friction': the 'awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection across difference'. Individual and collective rights to identify, benefit from and contribute to all kinds of heritage (from Grandma's soup recipe to the Sistine Chapel) and the

33 Council of Europe, Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), Article 2a. Available online at: https://rm.coe.int/1680083746.

34 United Nations, Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), Article 27.1. Available online at: https:// www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights.

35 Council of Europe, Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), Article 12a.

36 Council of Europe, Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), Article 3a.

37 See Chiara Rabbiosi, 'The Frictional Geography of Cultural Heritage: Grounding the Faro Convention into Urban Experience in Forli, Italy', Social and Cultural Geography (2019), https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2019.1698760.

responsibility to respect the heritage of others will not be frictionless. But it is precisely these small and large-scale tensions that can remind us 'that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power'.[38] This, we might say, is the new heritage practice.

In Conclusion: Creative Heritage – Meaning-Making

Heritage is about meaning, about the narratives that are tied to sites, events, practices, concepts, persons, objects which form the grounding for personal and community identities. Having heritage, living it, listing it, reveals the presence of a community as a part of a pluralist Europe which conceives of itself as diverse. As such, heritage is continually being made and remade.

To work in heritage is to be involved in this process of meaning-making. Democratizing the process of meaning-making is the ideal behind the Faro Convention, which calls for all residents of Europe to be enabled to find and celebrate their historical roots in the societies in which they currently live, as well as in their places of origin. Community organizations can work alongside marginalized groups as they find their voices, and support them as they remember and imagine. In some situations, it may be helpful for such community-based organisations to act as a go-between, helping marginalized groups to enter into dialogue with organizations, institutions, and people that represent the dominant heritage, as it has been authorized by experts and cast in a network of power relations. By listening and working in this collaborative way, what used to be taken for granted as the heritage of the entire community, whether defined through ethnicity, nationality, religion or something else, can be opened up to reinterpretation by multiple voices. We can expand what is included under the umbrella of a shared heritage.

This creative dialogue is a path to democratizing heritage practices and hopefully recasting European heritage so that it is more inclusive. Heritage thus also offers opportunities for dialogue between different minority communities and between minority and 'majority' communities. Thus, heritage is no longer thought of as something produced by experts and given to the public through authorized sites of heritage transmission. Rather, it is the product of meaning-making between teachers and students, scholars and community activists, and ordinary people on the streets or in rural communities. Its place is not just cathedrals and museums; it can be practised in various loca-

38 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connections (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 3.

tions, wherever individuals and communities want to combine and compare historical perspectives in a process of reflection and create a pluralist vision, which mirrors a diverse Europe.

This means that a new type of heritage professional is needed. Whereas in the past, heritage was in the hands of experts, the new heritage professional is much more of a mediator who specializes in helping communities engage in the co-creation of heritage. The new heritage professional, whether a teacher, an artist, a community leader or a museum curator, conscious of always being a member of a community creating heritage, plays a mediating role in a multi-sided process involving many voices. Moreover, whereas in the past, heritage professionals may have adhered to a strict separation between religious commitments and cultural heritage, now they need to have an open attitude towards any dimension of heritage, including its religious aspects.

Recommended for further reading:

For readers who want to learn more about heritage, particularly religious heritage, we recommend the following handbook, to which several members of REBELAH and MIRETAGE have contributed. It contains short, easily accessible articles and case studies written by scholars and practitioners on religious heritage in Europe today:

Todd Weir and Lieke Wijnia (eds.) *Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Heritage in Contemporary Europe* (Bloomsbury 2023).

This book can be accessed free and online via the Bloomsbury website.

For additional scholarly discussions of religious heritage, we suggest the following works:

Ferdinand De Jong and José Mapril, eds., *The Future of Religious Heritage: Entangled Temporalities of the Sacred and Secular* (Routledge 2023).

Ernst van den Hemel, Oscar Salemink and Irene Stengs, eds., *Managing Sacralities: Competing and Converging Claims of Religious Heritage* (Berghahn 2023).

Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales, eds., *The Religious Heritage Complex: Legacy, Conservation and Christianity* (Bloomsbury 2020).

Shu-Li Wang, Michael Rowlands and Yujie Zhu, eds., *Heritage and Religion in East Asia* (Routledge 2021).

Best Practices When Working With Ethnic or Religious Minorities: Key Aspects for Educators

Train in cultural competence

By cultural competence we mean the knowledge, behaviours and attitudes that enable a professional to work in different intercultural contexts. Cultural competence is a key factor when working with minority groups, and it is needed to achieve success in the creation of inclusive and non-hostile spaces. It is not an easy competence to acquire and it requires a long process of training, work experience and gaining awareness of the different contexts of the groups. When facing intercultural learner groups, it might be useful to approach colleagues who share similar cultural backgrounds to the learners when preparing the activities and learning itineraries. They might be able to provide different input, which might make the learning process more culturally relevant (and hence more meaningful), as well as help spot culturally sensitive material and propose ideas on how to best address it in the classroom.

Beyond language

On many occasions, the activities proposed face a language barrier. This can result in difficulties for the teacher, who is obviously concerned to avoid the exclusion of people on this basis. In learner groups that might face language barriers, it is possible to resort to activities in which the use of language is not exclusively necessary. There are other tools that can be used to plan activities in this way, such as music, theatre, movement, dance, etc. Throughout the handbook you will find some activities that will guide you through such processes. Depending on the context of the training, using a translator might be of value to ensure activity instructions are communicated more efficiently. However, we do warn against relying on an actual participant who is language proficient as a single translator, as the responsibility of that task might hinder the learning experience for that participant. As an alternative, identifying which learners are more or less language proficient and grouping them so that learners can help each other out, usually results in a pleasant cooperative experience for the group.

Translation

In the case that translation is needed, we must:

- As highlighted above, be careful not to make participants responsible for this task just because they speak the languages we need to work with our minority groups. There is a difference between trying to get people involved in the activity and making them responsible for tasks that arise from our activities.
- Make sure that the translator also has the cultural competence or has a closeness to the minority group. This is important in order to create a safe and trustworthy symbolic space for the participants and have accurate translations.

Saviour complex

This is something to beware of and know how to avoid. Sometimes when working with minority groups or people who belong to them, we can unconsciously adopt a saviour complex. This occurs when someone has the underlying belief that they have skills that people of minority groups do not have, or that they know more. To prevent this from happening it is important to:

- Avoid patronizing others: sometimes we enter a 'spiral of respect' that, instead of leading us to truly respect otherness, leads us to acquire patronizing behaviour towards minority groups.
- Beware of assigning others the role of representative of the minority group: it is common in groups in which there are a small number of people belonging to minority groups to assign them the role of representative of the group. This may over emphasize difference in a way that can be hostile to other people and so make them feel uncomfortable.

Recruitment

Sometimes it can be difficult to reach out to people from minority groups and invite them to participate in our workshops. This can happen for different reasons, and there are ways in which we can try to overcome this barrier to participation:

- Reach out to minority groups through community leaders, as they are people who are well known and trusted in their communities. Establishing initial contact with

community leaders to explain training objectives and listening to the community leaders on how to best articulate the learning experience with the needs of the community in mind might give us valuable insight into best ways to approach minority learners and make the most of the learning experience.

- Flexibility and adaptability: the circumstances in which many people who belong to minority groups live may prevent them from participating on a regular basis or they may have very little free time at all in comparison to non-minority learners. We must adapt the activities to their availability and plan them accordingly, agreeing in advance about the best times to host training (i.e. afternoons, weekends, etc.).

How to Use the Thematic Sections of this Handbook

How to best use this handbook will depend on each reader. However, we do suggest the following:

- If you are a trainer looking to enhance your teaching practice and/or learn about heritage, we suggest you use the handbook and activities as a source of inspiration for ideas about how to make your teaching practice more inclusive, drawing on a multiplicity of learning and teaching methods. At the end of every activity, you will find a section, 'Questions for self-reflection on the teaching practice'. We encourage you to take time to reflect on these, taking your own notes or discussing ideas with peers.
- If you are a trainer who will be teaching a group of other educators, we suggest you read through the handbook to choose and adapt the activities you feel would be more adequate to your training objectives, in accordance with the time you will have with the group. You may want to share the text of the theoretical introduction to the module as a way to prepare for an activity (perhaps reading the text together beforehand, or setting the text as preparatory reading). Make sure that at the end of each activity, you provide the participants in your training with the 'Questions for self-reflection on the teaching practice', or feel free to open up a discussion about these questions during the training as you engage in the different activities.

Whatever the case, we recommend trainers use this handbook as their primary source of inspiration and guidance and also subsequently engage with other materials in the REBELAH resources to make the best out of what heritage can offer in creating more inclusive learning spaces and teaching practices.

PART II
HERITAGE THEMES

THEME I
THE CONSTRUCT OF HERITAGE




LA
XIXA
FEM COMUNITAT

MODULE 1
The Importance of the Contribution of Individual Stories to Collective Heritage

By Arjen Barel

Our heritage consists of stories. Although the focus is often on tangible things, such as old buildings, objects and paintings, it is the stories surrounding these tangible objects that brings history to life. There are different ways of looking at the relationship between storytelling and cultural heritage. Cultural heritage organizations are increasingly convinced that the use of storytelling improves the visitor's experience. Exhibitions are presented in the form of a story, in which the curator often assumes the role of dramaturg and the exhibition manager takes the role of director.

What happens if you go one step further? Isn't the story an intrinsic part of the cultural heritage? Put simply, does the object, whether it is an archaeological find, painting, building, or even a landscape, exist without the story? For example, consider a piece of pottery found in an archaeological dig. At first glance, it is simply a broken piece of material from Tuscany, Italy. However, once it is connected to its context, the story tells us that the pottery was perhaps part of a jug used in the wedding rituals of princes during Renaissance times in Livorno. In this example, you can ask yourself whether it is 'the object' or 'the story' that is part of the cultural heritage of the area. Perhaps both, because neither can exist without the other, certainly not in the context of an 'exhibition' (or a guided or even virtual 3D tour).

Yet another question arises. What about the stories themselves? Stories that are not related to an object or a building, such as the sharing of a tradition by a community elder with a young person, or stories transmitted orally. Are these also part of cultural heritage? According to the agreements of the Faro Convention they are; however, some actors involved in the professional field, including those providing funding and in

government organizations, still tend to focus on tangible objects. Therefore, they overlook a large part of cultural heritage. Moreover, this reduces the transmission of an otherwise shared history to a few voices, where history is the realm of the powerful or those who were able to create objects that could withstand the test of time. This is far from inclusive and this is why we need to encourage the active involvement of diverse narratives in cultural heritage. This is what we mean by the democratization of cultural heritage.

In May 2019, the Storytelling Centre invited James Bradburne, the director of the prestigious Pinacoteca di Brera, a museum of classical and modern art in Milan, to speak about the relationship between storytelling and cultural heritage. A large part of the seminar was literally about how to use stories in an exhibition, how to use storytellers to bring objects to life and how to produce a good audio tour. Bradburne took us deep into the heart of information exchange, first taking us to conventional museums where, next to the paintings or sculptures, there is usually a small plaque with an explanation of the work written by the curator, who is the expert. Bradburne indicated that this was a form of one-way transfer of information, but he also wondered whether there was any real communication – whether a story was being told. After all, the viewer's story played no role in this constellation.

'Is the museum for the curator or for the public?' Bradburne asked his audience. He strongly believes that the museum belongs to both, but that this is not reflected in most exhibitions or museums. He has changed this at Brera and is increasingly trying to involve the viewer's story in the museum experience, sometimes even putting that story centre stage. One of the consequences is that the signs next to the exhibits are no longer written by the experts in the standard fashion. Visitors are also invited to share their experience, as are the museum's support staff, such as cleaners and the technical department. In this way, he is hoping to democratize the experience of art and heritage, showing that the audience's story is as valuable as that of the expert.

It might be clear that there is much to consider when it comes to the relationship between cultural heritage and storytelling, but there is more consensus on the role of narrative in the transmission of heritage. A story can bring history to life and make it tangible. However, this requires careful thought to be given to the transfer. A chronology of actual events listed according to the year they occurred is usually uninspiring and unmemorable, while a narrative colouring of history often appeals to the imagination. In recent years, we have regularly assisted employees or volunteers at cultural heritage sites to develop ways of transferring historical information in an engaging way. Before we go into the practical details of how to link historical facts to stories, we will first look

more closely at the difference between the historian and the storyteller – a topic that always offers food for thought.

The narrative historian vs the history storyteller

How do stories and history relate to each other? History largely comes to us through stories, especially when it comes to history that goes way back, where we have few tangible remains. Is the image that such stories sketch always true? Not necessarily. Even at the individual level, time colours all memory. Certain events become more important while others fade into the background or may even disappear forever. Some personal feelings might be magnified, while factual details may be omitted. In addition, every memory is part of a bigger picture and not everyone may have gotten that bigger picture.

Is that bad? When it comes to the process of finding 'truth', it is important to look for historical evidence as provided by primary sources.. This is the work of the historian, not the storyteller, it might be argued. Storytellers look to the experiences behind the evidence, they colour history as it was, bringing it to life. But this could be just as important for the professional storyteller, the historian, as it is for the grandmother who tells her grandson about the war years. Just as the storyteller needs to be a historian to get a handle on the story, the historian needs to be a storyteller in order to tell and present the story. Neither the storytelling historian nor the personal history storyteller is a fantasist who merely invents a great story. Historical reality guides the process but it is illustrated with images that make it tangible.

One good example is a story that was developed for a project at a Dutch Royal Palace about the Russian princess, Anna Paulowna, and her husband, the later King William II.[1] The story is set in the 1820s, with the couple having chosen to live in Brussels, rather than in their main residence in the forests in the heart of the Netherlands. However, their palace in today's Belgian capital was hit by a devastating fire in 1820, in which the Tzar's daughter lost many of her jewels. So far, all of this is true.

The teller of our story introduced herself as a distant relative of a maid of Anna Paulowna. She told the story of how, after the fire, the maid had painstakingly trawled through the smouldering remains of the palace looking for the jewels. In gratitude, the future queen gave her a pearl, which the storyteller said was passed down to this day in the maid's family. This was a bit of artistic licence, however, as the narrator was not related to the girl who searched through the ashes for days. It is even questionable whether such a maid existed.

1 Belgium and the Netherlands were united in one kingdom from 1815 to 1830.

This is a good example of pushing the boundary between fact and fiction. Is it exceeded here without a purpose? We remember this story from beginning to end, with the actual historical event and the people involved engraved in our memories. This is an example of how the storytelling historian can prompt the imaginations of the listeners so they create their own vivid images of what took place or may have taken place at a historical heritage site. The historian has to stay within the limits of what the primary sources tell.

When we introduce this topic during training, especially with people dealing with cultural heritage, it often leads to robust discussion. For some, it is inconceivable to stretch the facts a little and put them to our own use. This contradicts their ethical attitude to historical science. Others have less trouble with the idea and find it much more important that they engage their audience with the story. Who remembers a guided tour or lecture after many years? At the end of the day, it is up to the narrator (tour leader, guide, curator, storyteller) to decide how far they want to go with the embellishment or artistic licence. The most important thing is that they feel comfortable about the way they share a story with their audience and that there is transparency about the verifiable historical facts on which the stories have been built.

Embedding the historical story

There is another, related aspect that can strongly contribute to the experience of a historical story that also lies outside the ethical field of finding 'truth'. This involves the combining of a personal story with the historical story, and thereby connecting the personal, emotional and/or universal domains.[2] Before we go deeper into this, we should explain these domains a bit further.

By 'universal' we mean the domain of the 'big stories' (following Lyotard's idea in *The Postmodern Condition*, but also the ideas of Harrari in *Sapiens*).[3] This concerns the story that provides direction, which teaches you about 'good and evil', how you can best arrange your life or what you should or should not do, at least according to a certain ideology. It can also be considered the factual and/or ideological information in the story.

2 A. Barel, Storytelling en de wereld: Hoe het delen van verhalen kan bijdragen aan persoonlijke groei en sociale impact (Amsterdam: International Theatre and Film Books, 2020). This work argues that every good story should contain personal, emotional and universal information.

3 Jean-François Lyotard, The Postmodern Condition (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); Y. N. Harari, Sapiens: A Brief History of Humankind (New York: Harper Perennial, 2021).

By 'factual information' we mean the information that has been stripped of all imagination and that is reduced to the established facts.

For example, in a historical story, this would be the fact that a certain event took place on a certain date; that it was witnessed and recorded by people who were present. These elements mean it belongs to the universal domain (although we are aware of the different perspectives that can colour the facts). The same can be said of stories that certain ideological and/or religious groups assume to represent a truth, although not in a factual historical sense. In these cases, the universal domain concerns the message of a story, what the story teaches the listener, similar to the didactic lessons of fairy tales, folktales and myths.

In historical stories, these 'messages' are often poorly remembered if they are transferred without such a context. If they are communicated through a story, however, they are usually heard immediately and will be remembered. This is because they tap into the other two domains: the personal and the emotional.

The personal domain is touched when personal information about the main character and their environment is introduced into the story. This is not only true for factual autobiographies, but is also the case in fictional stories, in which it is also important to provide personal information about the characters (and therefore the situation). Based on this, the listeners create their own images, processing the information they receive in a systematic and meaningful way.

However, even this information is not yet sufficient to achieve resonance with the listener. To get there, it is necessary to touch the emotional domain, the domain of feelings. Resonance only occurs when something is actually shared at the emotional level. This does not happen on the narrative level alone, the level of the anecdote. However, if an emotional layer is added to the story everything changes, as emotions bring in a human layer and generally enable us to empathize.

In fact, the emotional domain is the lynchpin in the transmission of a story. Without the emotional component, the story loses much of its power. This does not mean that the other domains are not important, as the emotional dimension is only communicated when the context is clear and you have formed a structure based on images. The universal domain is the foundation for the story and without that domain there is no reason to share a story.

In a cultural heritage context, the universal domain is the domain of historical stories and historical facts. This is the part of the story that all narrators at cultural heritage sites have studied and committed to memory. They reel off years and dates as if they were reading a shopping list. There is no passion, feeling or meaning behind the events or

stories. What remains, however, is the personal involvement of a storyteller in such a history. That is why it works well to have a story told by someone who experienced the events themselves. For example, an eyewitness account of the Blitz and forced evacuation during the Second World War, or the story of someone who was stoned out of their mind during the Summer of Love at Glastonbury Festival or Woodstock. Of course, this is not always possible, especially regarding older events, simply because there are often no people left who can tell the story firsthand.

This does not mean there is no way to create a personal connection with a historical fact. You might be able to tell the story through the eyes of such a witness, as we did above with the maid. Moreover, we often notice that guides and other staff members at historical heritage sites feel an enormous personal connection to the site and/or the collection. The enthusiasm with which they want to tell us about it says it all. We therefore challenge storytellers to include these personal touches in the story they tell visitors. Some question that can guide you in this approach:

- What did you feel the first time you came here?
- What personal memories are here for you?
- What do you feel when you think of the historic event you are talking about?

And most importantly:

- What is the meaning of this cultural heritage for you, personally?

When you ask these questions, personal and sometimes even emotional stories quickly emerge. These stories awaken the listener's imagination more than do mere historical facts and lead to sympathy and empathy. These are the ingredients that ensure that the narrator and listener end up in the same mental space, in which the transfer of information is so powerful and tangible that the listeners start playing the historical film in their own heads.

Let's look at another example. Standing before a famous triptych depicting the Last Judgement,[4] a guide bravely told the story of how the work was created and how it survived the iconoclasm in 1566. Afterwards, she went into a number of art historical

4 'Het laatste oordeel' (The Last Judgement) by Lucas van Leyden. In fact, we were looking at a copy. The original is exhibited in Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden. Originally, it was used as an altarpiece in Pieterskerk, for which it was commissioned in 1526, but in 1572 it was moved to another location.

aspects about painting techniques and typical images for that time. I noticed that the group appeared to be listening politely to the story, but I wondered if they were actually registering anything. The fact that I did so, that my mind wandered, suggests I was not particularly hooked either. But then, the guide pointed to the corner of one of the panels.

'Whenever I stand before the Last Judgement, my eye is drawn here', she said, and she led our gaze to an angel looking mischievously over his shoulder, with his hand on a young man's bare bottom. 'I always wonder what he is thinking', she said, and concluded her story with a charmingly embarrassed smile. I noticed that she had everyone's attention at that moment, we all wanted to know what the angel was up to. A few people had their own original ideas about this and someone told the story of how they had seen angels giving mortals a helping hand towards heaven on another triptych. So, the story came to life and this specific triptych will remain in our memories forever. This was all due to the guide bringing her personal interest into the universal domain.

The importance of valuing personal stories

Thus far, we have focused on the importance of stories in cultural heritage and heritage engagement. Now, we will dig a little deeper into the dynamics of meaning-making, the formation of narrative identity and the clear role of cultural heritage within these dynamics. The loss of the big stories or metanarratives obliges us to extract meaning from our own stories. As we will explore further below, these stories are informed by a variety of other stories around us, in which heritage plays an important role as a basis for building an understanding of one's roots. Encouraging people to work on their own stories and using heritage to provide the initial impetus is a very good way to begin to create meaning. This process of meaning-making is necessary for inclusive development on a social and collective level, and for the enhancement of mental resilience and well-being on a personal and individual level. The notion of narrative identity is paramount in these dynamics.

An introduction to narrative identity

The concept of 'narrative identity' refers to how our identities are made up of stories that define who we are and who we want to be. Through sharing our personal experiences with others in countless social interactions we create a sense of ourselves through such stories. Narratives and narrative processes play a significant role in both the construction and the continuous maintenance of our identities. Because narratives and stories are social and cultural products, narrative identity offers an inherently socio-cultural understanding of ourselves. People's narrative identities are, to a large extent, first devel-

oped through the sharing of and listening to stories among close relatives. It has often been pointed out that it is within the family that we learn to tell stories and where our journey of constructing our narrative identity begins, with intergenerational and family stories proven to be critical for understanding the self.[5]

In addition to stories told within the family or a community, we also turn to narratives to make sense of our experiences and our position in the world through broader social and cultural frameworks where we find widely shared cultural stories, histories and master narratives. Here, the formation of a narrative identity touches on the domain of cultural heritage. We tell stories to make sense of our past and our current position, but also to figure out where we are going. The stories we tell ourselves help to guide our actions.[6] When we identify with a certain narrative, the acts we perform that support this narrative are experienced as personally meaningful. Our personal stories encourage us to act in certain ways, while our actions that meaningfully fit into our life story provide support and confirmation of our sense of self and identity.

There is broad scholarly consensus that people solve their 'problems of identity' through creating life stories.[7] Stories are helpful in the sense of 'looking back' at our experiences, and they also play a role in structuring our future experiences. Two central aspects of narrative identity are therefore *meaning-making* and *goal-setting*.[8] Individuals engage in meaning-making to understand situations and experiences in their life – be it daily events or larger life events – by determining what is significant in the situation and connecting this to other parts of their life and their life story.

Co-authoring

The developmental psychologist Kate McLean has argued that we can view identity development as a co-authored project.[9] What she means by this is that the stories told within one's family and the larger culture that one belongs to, play a defining role in the stories we tell about ourselves. Stories about our personal experiences are seen to be

5 R. Fivush and W. Zaman, 'Gendered Narrative Voices: Sociocultural and Feminist Approaches to Emerging Identity in Childhood and Adolescence', in The Oxford Handbook of Identity Development, ed. K. C. McLean and M. U. Syed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

6 R. Dings, 'The Dynamic and Recursive Interplay of Embodiment and Narrative Identity', Philosophical Psychology 32, no. 2 (2019): 186–210.

7 M. Pasupathi, 'Autobiographical Reasoning and my Discontent: Alternative Paths from Narrative to Identity', in The Oxford Handbook of Identity Development, 166–181.

8 Dings, 'The Dynamic and Recursive Interplay'.

9 K. C. McLean, The co-authored self: Family stories and the construction of personal identity (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

'nested within the experiences of our immediate family members and the stories of past generations, as further nested within the stories of our cultural or historical moments'.[10] McLean conceptualizes this as 'a narrative ecology'. This means that we need to understand the individual's self-story as related to all the other stories and narratives existing around them. Above all, an individual's personal identity is created through 'the weaving together of a person's own experiences into coherent narratives, but also in the weaving together of multiple layers of narratives that surround the person'.[11]

The development of an individual's identity is thus dependent upon their engagement and activity in a 'larger ecology', such as encountering the stories of others and those of society and culture, which is an ongoing, extremely complex and reciprocal process. This understanding of identity development places people's social relations and social and cultural narratives at the centre. The idea of a narrative ecology helps us understand how people's identities and life stories are shaped by their social and cultural context, as well as how identities and life stories are continuously changing and changeable over the course of one's life.

The cultural influence of master narratives

Understanding the relationship between identity and narratives in a broader social context is especially important when working with people who are culturally and socially marginalized and excluded. All societies have master narratives which are 'culturally shared stories that communicate what the standards and expectations are for being part of a community'.[12] Master narratives play an important societal role in communicating the standards and expectations related to belonging to a community, and to social categories such as gender, sexuality, ethnicity and nationality. One master narrative that is commonly found in capitalist societies is the narrative about progress and growth. This narrative influences many aspects of society, from economics and politics to how people understand their own personal development, family life and career trajectory. In this narrative, experiences of 'set-backs' or lack of growth are seen as negative or signs of failure.

Many master narratives can also be found in the discourses around cultural heritage. Many interpretations, for example of important battles, revolutionary events or even uses of heritage buildings, are often approached from one perspective that is connected

10 McLean, The co-authored self, 19.
11 McLean, The co-authored self, 20.
12 McLean, The co-authored self, 31.

to the current master narrative. One example is the relationship between Islam and Christianity in the Netherlands. In the Dutch media, it is common to hear narratives that position Islam as inferior to Christianity, often promoting the false idea that Islam is a primitive religion.[13] We easily forget that it was the Islamic Ottomans who were the biggest allies of the Protestants in their fight against the Catholics, who were supported by the Spanish King, during the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648). One of the reminders of this assistance by the Ottomans is a medal created by the Protestant resistance, now exhibited in the Rijksmuseum, with the text: 'Liever Turks dan Paaps'/'Rather Turkish than Papist (Catholic)'. The existence of this medal and the reasons behind it are not commonly known by the Dutch population and the story is usually not incorporated into the common narrative identity of the Dutch.

While master narratives can create social cohesion, their normative standards also contribute to the marginalization and exclusion of those who do not meet their definitions of an appropriate or good life. Those who diverge from the master narrative often experience negative consequences, such as rejection, prejudice and exclusion. Resisting master narratives by actively creating alternative narrative constructions is a challenging process for individuals. People who are negatively affected by the narratives might also internalize them, resulting in feelings such as shame or personally blaming themselves for individual problems or failures that are connected to systemic inequalities or oppression by others.[14]

Becoming aware of how societal master narratives disadvantage people is an important step towards finding opportunities for positive identity development. Many people are aware of these structures, and awareness-raising and various forms of active resistance against oppressive master narratives is common among people who belong to societally and narratively marginalized groups. The queer movement, for example (people who resist conformity to heteronormative gender and sexual identities), actively inverted the negative label 'queer' to embrace queerness as a positive and acceptable form of being in the world. Similarly, a movement of people with disabilities inverted the derogatory term 'cripple' into the positive label 'crip'.[15]

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13 As was done by the popular Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn, in an interview with one of the main papers on 9 February 2002. Later that year he was murdered by an animal rights activist.

14 J. Crocker and B. Major, 'Social stigma and self-esteem: The self-protective properties of stigma', Psychological Review 96, no. 4 (1989): 608–640.

15 J. Butler, Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex (New York/London: Routledge, 2011).

Master narratives, exclusion and belonging

People in less powerful positions, who may also experience structural inequality, often diverge from master narratives. They describe their experience as a loss of connection to others, including feelings of alienation.[16] Structural and social marginalization are closely linked: 'not fitting in with the master narrative is about a loss of power, as well as a loss of belonging. This suggests that the work of constructing an alternative narrative is not a solitary activity – one must find another group with which to belong'.[17] The experience of belonging to a larger group is important for identity development, and studies have found that people address experiences of deviation from the master narrative by finding a group to belong to, which presents an alternative story of belonging.[18] However, this is a difficult process in an environment where many stories that are part of the broader cultural heritage, or even determine the heritage, are monopolized by the dominant group. This underlines the importance of democratizing cultural heritage by allowing other stories to become part of it. Again, here, we start from the viewpoint that heritage is not a fixed fact but is created out of a dynamic mix of stories and is therefore continually changing and always changeable.

Research shows that for those who do diverge, a lot more 'identity work' in the form of autobiographical reasoning, justification and elaboration is required of them to create alternative narratives that create a positive sense of self. Resistance to master narratives is an important basis for narrating positive and resilient identities. This is not left to the individual alone. As the construction of alternative narratives is a social process, they are developed and maintained in relation with others, who are essential. Therefore, the experience of a lack of belonging to a group or the experience of tension in navigating between several groups, can place a serious strain on a person's identity.

For people who find themselves identifying with multiple groups, stories can be useful to help bridge these identities and rewrite stories of who they are and where they belong. On an individual level, creating alternative narratives about social belonging might be more important than opportunities to develop alternative narratives that challenge the status quo. When the construction of an alternative narrative is supportive of

16 K. C. McLean, J. P. Lilgendahl, C. Fordham, E. Alpert, E. Marsden, K. Szymanowski and D. P. McAdams, 'Identity development in cultural context: The role of deviating from master narratives', Journal of Personality 86, no. 4 (2017): 631–651.

17 McLean et al., 'Identity development in cultural context', 643.

18 McLean et al., 'Identity development in cultural context', 643.

the person's positive identity development, this resistance to the master narrative can be considered 'an agentic act that empowers individuals'.[19]

Here, we would like to emphasize the importance of the act of sharing these alternative narratives, both within a group, and with outsiders. We call this a 'definitional ceremony', as introduced by Barbara Myerhoff.[20] Such ceremonies are rituals that acknowledge and enhance people's lives, where past, present and future are brought back into alignment, providing a basis for taking action, whether small or large. If such a story is subsequently listened to, it quickly gains in meaning, and this enhances the narrator's mental resilience, which is likely to contribute to their wellbeing. This notion of 'ceremony' might also explain the added value of using theatrical means in presenting stories. This not only draws out the ritual nature of alternative narratives but also offers a space that connects the narrator and the listener on an equal basis. This is the final step in the process of democratization.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to My Heritage, Your Heritage in the activity book

19 McLean et al., 'Identity development in cultural context, 646.
20 Myerhoff 1986, as quoted in M. White, Maps of Narrative Therapy (New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007).

MODULE 2
Inclusive versus Exclusive Heritage

By La XIXA Team

Heritage is what we inherit and, as such, in some way it evokes the notion of 'property'. Even when heritage is intangible, immaterial, there is still a sense of ownership. It is from this sense of property that exclusive patrimonies are generated: they delimit, mark, identify, separate and construct stories, policies and even identities, both national and religious.

However, it is also possible to understand heritage in an inclusive way, that is, as something that is not fixed but is in dialogue with its time and context. In this way, heritage is first and foremost the use we make of it, and this use is determined by how we interpret it. In general terms, we can say that the exclusivist vision of heritage tends to petrify it, so that it cannot be manipulated, moulded or interpreted. Rather, it is understood to have a single, continuous and clear meaning. In contrast, the inclusive vision understands all elements of heritage as an opportunity for dialogue and learning, as fragments of the past that continue to be present, as living elements that transform and challenge contemporary society and that help to build bridges that strengthen social coexistence and equity.

One of the issues that we must bear in mind when we think about heritage, and which will largely determine whether our vision is exclusive or inclusive, concerns the notion of 'origin'. The determination of 'origin' modulates our gaze, whether this concerns a nation and its borders, products and their consumption, mythology and art, or religion and science. From mythology and religion to languages, homeland, wine or apples, the need to build a backstory or the 'certification of origin' permeates our vision. We can see a recent expression of this need to know the 'origin' in the commercial rise of the traceable origins of food. We can also see our obsession with 'origin' in more dramatic forms: the humanitarian crisis of refugees and migrants, where geographical origin will determine who 'matters' and who does not, conditioned by policies and media narratives.

As the Italian philosopher, Barnaba Maj, points out, the notion of the 'original' pertains to metaphysics, whereas the genetic is situated within an historical-evolutionary perspective.[1] The fundamental difference is that when the genesis of an entity is sought, it is accepted that this is a recounting of a creative transformation in time, while the notion of 'origin' implies that there is no before, or nothing behind the fact: the origin sits outside of time.

In a sense, the examples that we have given of certifications of the origin of food and policies on migrants and refugees focus on this timeless notion of origin, because they do not recognize or value historical-evolutionary continuity: they only focus on the metaphysical or symbolic story. Policies that focus on closing borders to migrants and refugees emphasize geographical origin without allowing for the recognition of the historical construction of those borders. This closed narrative avoids a complex understanding of migration, contextualized in ever-changing and intertwined geopolitical relations, and results in the use of a purely symbolic, stagnated idea of geographical origins as a means of othering.

Therefore, reflecting on the idea of origin is crucial in order to avoid the petrification of heritage. The book, *Las formas del origen*, edited by the anthropologist, Ángel Díaz de Rada, focuses not on the origin of things but on human discourses about 'origin' itself. According to Díaz de Rada, both scientific experiment and mystical experience are 'modalities where suspicion about the status of the authentically real is crucial'.[2] In other words, in both modalities, 'the pragmatics of a search for the hidden in relation to what is already visible or evident is decisive'.[3] Thus, when thinking about heritage, and whether it is exclusive or inclusive, it is crucial to always take into account these notions of the 'authentically real', the 'original' and the 'essence'.[4]

As Díaz de Rada explains, 'opening the door to understanding the truly real' is to rush in one way or another towards the infinite chain of causes or towards the irrepressible network of genesis. 'Any stopping in this rush is an epistemic convention, a conventional cutting of what is authentically pertinent to capture the real'.[5] Meditating on the origin

1 See: Barnaba Maj, ed., Tempo e temporalità storica, Discipline Filosofiche 22.1 (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2012), esp. 197–204.
2 Ángel Díaz de Rada, ed., Las formas del origen. Una puerta sin retorno al laberinto de las génesis (Madrid: Trotta, 2021), 22 (translation our own).
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., 23.
5 Ibid.

serves, among other things, to not turn it into a weapon or bait, nor to avoid its complexities.

Understanding that the origin is part of the story is the first and most crucial step towards perceiving heritage in an inclusive way because here the origin itself is not fixed, but is understood to be the result of a process that involves a mixture of elements. From this perspective of the 'impurity' of origin, the development of heritage can be seen in itself as a process of mixing and dialogue handed down to us. We can continue to use and relate to it in this way, rather than use it as a tool or a reason for exclusion. One of the many examples of this can be found in gastronomy. We know that many recipes that are identified with the cultural or national heritage of a country are the result of a mixture and the outcome of a process of interconnection and relationships with others. However, many of these recipes are used to construct exclusive stories, whether of a nationalist or religious nature, which serve to create closed and confrontational identities.

In the case of Spain, for example, its gastronomic heritage is deeply marked by a need to elide the plurality of society and unify Spanish identity in the same 'race', understood as a single national, cultural and religious identity. In this sense, the omnipresence of pork, the illicit ingredient par excellence for Muslims and Jews, has been the pillar of the Spanish gastronomic heritage since the 15th century, coinciding with the inquisitorial 'blood cleansing' and the expulsion, death or forced conversion of the Muslim and Jewish populations of the Iberian Peninsula.

Some 'typical Spanish' dishes are versions of common dishes in Muslim and Jewish cuisines to which pork has been added, from vegetable stews to sweets. Frying with olive oil was already suspicious, and the dishes had to be cooked with lard (pork fat). Sweets and pastries were also 'converted' by replacing olive oil and butter with lard. Here, we can mention one of the clearest examples that allows us to reflect on exclusive or inclusive heritage. 'Mantecado' or 'polvorón' is probably the most typical and common Christmas sweet in Spanish gastronomic heritage. The basic ingredients in this recipe are almonds, honey (or sugar), cinnamon and other spices and, finally, lard. The mixture of ingredients, the form they have and the special days on which they are eaten (Christmas) indicate that the 'mantecados' and 'polvorones' are the ideal candidate for exclusive heritage: whoever refuses to eat pork or does not celebrate Christmas will be excluded from enjoying this social, festive and community sweet.

So, can we make this element of heritage inclusive? To begin with, we need to think about the 'origin' of the sweet. Like any element of heritage, tangible or intangible, it did not emerge from nowhere, but has a specific history that unfolded in a process and involved a mixing of elements. In this case, for example, we know, as mentioned above, that many of the typical recipes of Jews and Muslims were 'converted', with olive oil replaced by lard. By associating this sweet with a Christian holiday, its symbolic force further increased. However, today we can make mantecados and polvorones that not only do not contain lard but, in addition, are animal-produce free (for vegans), gluten-free (for celiacs) and sugar-free (for diabetics). The 'purists', those who understand heritage in its petrified and, therefore, purist version, will say that such a recipe has lost its essence and the sweets are no longer mantecados or polvorones. However, the inclusive heritage approach will see this as part of the historical transformation of the mantecado or polvorón, even though the ingredients have changed.

The issue, therefore, is not to eliminate an element of heritage because it is not inclusive, but to look at it from other perspectives. In the case of the *mantecado*, if met with critical intent and a broader historical perspective, a heritage element that for centuries served to exclude others and build closed identities can serve to build plural and more inclusive societies.

MODULE 3
Migration and Heritage

By La XIXA Team

Migration and heritage are two topics that usually generate confrontation or stimulate a complex approach, as they seem to reference opposites: 'there' and 'here'; 'outside' and 'inside'; 'they' and 'us'. The etymology of 'heritage' refers to *inheritance*, or inherited property, apparently a fixed condition, while the term 'migration' indicates movement, departure, mutation. Migration and heritage, then, may be almost synonymous with the concepts of 'permanence' and 'change' respectively, two apparently antagonistic forces or, at least, in perpetual conflict.

In general, migrants are required to integrate into the environment in which they settle and, at the same time, may be accused of imposing imported cultural customs, that is, their own heritage, on the host society. To some extent, there is a collision of heritages in every migratory experience. However, this potentially inevitable clash is the ground on which cultures, civilizations and history flourish. That is, all human history is based on the collision of various heritages.

Each heritage, then, is first and foremost the remnant of another heritage, a recomposition, a process in which there was migration and transformation. There are no pure and fixed heritages except in fictitious accounts that aim to create an exclusive and discriminatory identity, usually for political or religious purposes. This is what we call 'founding myths'. Migrations are always a threat to these myths which have purity and distinctness as their very foundations. However, what appears to be a threat to a particular heritage is in fact an opportunity to stay alive. A heritage that is not fed ceases to live and a dead heritage is no longer heritage, as no one can relate to it any longer and, as such, it is soon forgotten.

Furthermore, there is no fixed definition of what should be considered heritage, much less who should establish this definition, but we could say that heritage belongs to those who claim it, and such claims are often contested. There may be more or less stable agreements at a political, cultural or religious level, but despite appearing durable and fixed, heritage is, by its very nature, unstable, fluctuating and impermanent. Thus, whoever claims the heritage (hence, who defines it) does so to obtain a specific benefit. As we saw in the chapter on exclusive and inclusive heritage, the use of heritage can have various purposes and take many forms, from the promotion of closed identities to the creation of new ones. We always move in the realm of the symbolic and myth, where everything has some meaning but, at the same time, may mean something completely different.

Very often, a migratory flow and a host territory share elements of the same heritage, for example the ongoing relationship between European colonizing countries and their colonies/previous colonies (West Africa and France; India and the United Kingdom; Indonesia and the Netherlands, etc.). Therefore, in addition to the above-mentioned collision of heritages, we also find a modulation of this shared heritage, where each side adjusts in its own way (e.g. in its idiomatic, gastronomic, spiritual, political aspects). The question of heritage and migration, therefore, engenders multiple and fruitful dialogues, relationships, tensions, conflicts and eventually new or reformulated heritages.

One of the most explicit cases in Europe can be seen in the case of Al-Andalus or Muslim Spain. In this chapter, we will not analyse the historical and sociological details across all the centuries, but we will highlight some facts to illustrate the issue of heritage and migration in a specific case and of current repercussions for Europe and North Africa.

Here, there are two key terms that crack the petrification and purity of heritage: the issue of religious conversion and migration. As in many other places, Islam took root in the Iberian Peninsula through these processes: through waves of migration, mainly from North Africa, and the conversion of a part of the population to Islam. However, exclusive heritage narratives speak, first and foremost, of military conquest, that is, that Islam was established in the Iberian Peninsula through force, imposition and conflict. The narratives of confrontation and antagonism have nourished this type of perspective through the centuries down to the present, and they continue to be spurred on. These narratives feed on the idea of a Muslim 'empire' that, in a few years, managed to dominate and govern practically the entire Iberian Peninsula by the beginning of the 8th century and that held on until the Catholics managed to 'reconquer' the region eight centuries later.

As the philosopher Ortega y Gasset said: 'I do not see how you can call a thing a Reconquest when it lasted eight centuries'.[1]

These centuries of Muslim presence in the Iberian Peninsula are subsequently explained as an exception, an anomaly, a foreign entity that occupied the territory and left. The Muslim is the 'other', the foreigner, par excellence. Even today, 'national' heritage in Spain does not include the Islamic legacy in all its characteristics. One of the few areas where this heritage is collected is in obvious facts, such as in the language (many words have Arabic origin) or in some architectural elements. This being said, they are always considered foreign elements, assuming the *Muslim = Arab = foreign*.

In *El mito de al-Andalus,* the social anthropologist José Antonio González Alcantud explores the significance of myths, emphasizing that their value lies not in their truth or falsehood, but in their capacity to shape our understanding of historical dynamics, including periods of conflict and coexistence: ".[2] The book challenges the common misconception that myths are mere fabrications, drawing from Lévi-Strauss to argue that they should instead be seen as meaningful constructs that reflect human impulses and contribute to fostering social harmony.

González Alcantud also reflects on the legacy of al-Andalus, framing it as a compelling reference point due to its unique historical character. He highlights how it was not strictly defined by Islamic orthodoxy but rather by a heterodox form of humanism, evident in its intellectual and cultural expressions. In this sense, he suggests that al-Andalus offers a valuable lens through which to engage with the Maghreb, strengthening shared emotional and cultural connections.

Among the core values he associates with this heritage, González Alcantud identifies three that remain particularly significant today: an appreciation for the transcendence of life and the capacity to enjoy the present moment, a commitment to respect and moderation, and a rejection of ideological and religious extremism.

When González Alcantud suggested that al-Andalus could serve as an inspiring and constructive myth, his words were met with strong resistance. He later responded to the controversy by expressing surprise at the backlash, attributing it to an intentional misinterpretation by those who perceive their identity as under threat. He argued that such individuals tend to fear 'the other' and only accept difference when it can be fully assimilated into their own framework.

1 J. Ortega y Gasset, Invertebrate Spain, trans. M. Adams (Tel Aviv: IWP Books, 2023), 77.

2 José Antonio González Alcantud, El mito de al-Ándalus. Orígenes y actualidad de un ideal cultural (Córdoba: Almuzara, 2014).

In his book, *El mito de al-Andalus*, social anthropologist José Antonio González Alcantud argues that the importance of myths is not their authenticity or falsehood, but rather the ability they have to help us think about time, with its conflicts and periods of calm:

When al-Andalus is criticised for being a myth with its stereotypical notion of peaceful coestistence (*convivencia*), and therefore of being misleading, this is based on a false preconception equating the invented nature of myths [...] with false histories. If we follow Lévi-Strauss, however, we will see that these myths are good for thinking with, since they encompass human drives. And they help to find forms of peaceful coexistence and community'.[3]

González Alcantud also reflects on the legacy of al-Andalus, framing it as a compelling reference point on account of its unique historical character. He highlights how it was not strictly defined by Islamic orthodoxy but rather by a heterodox form of humanism, evident in its intellectual and cultural expressions. In this sense, he suggests that al-Andalus offers a valuable lens through which to engage with the Maghreb, strengthening shared emotional and cultural connections.[4]

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Cordoba-born visual artist and writer Hashim Cabrera also often expresses the importance of being inspired by this heritage in an inclusive way: 'We have had to explore these paths to reach the conclusion that the —perhaps inexplicable— phenomenon of the return of Islam to al-Andalus cannot be narrated linearly, nor by resorting to nostalgia for a glorious past, nor by autobiography. But we must now retrace our steps: how, within the 'novel', do we find sufficient clues to address the final question: What is the significance of the presence of 'new Moors, agnostic or Christian' in our land?': how can we

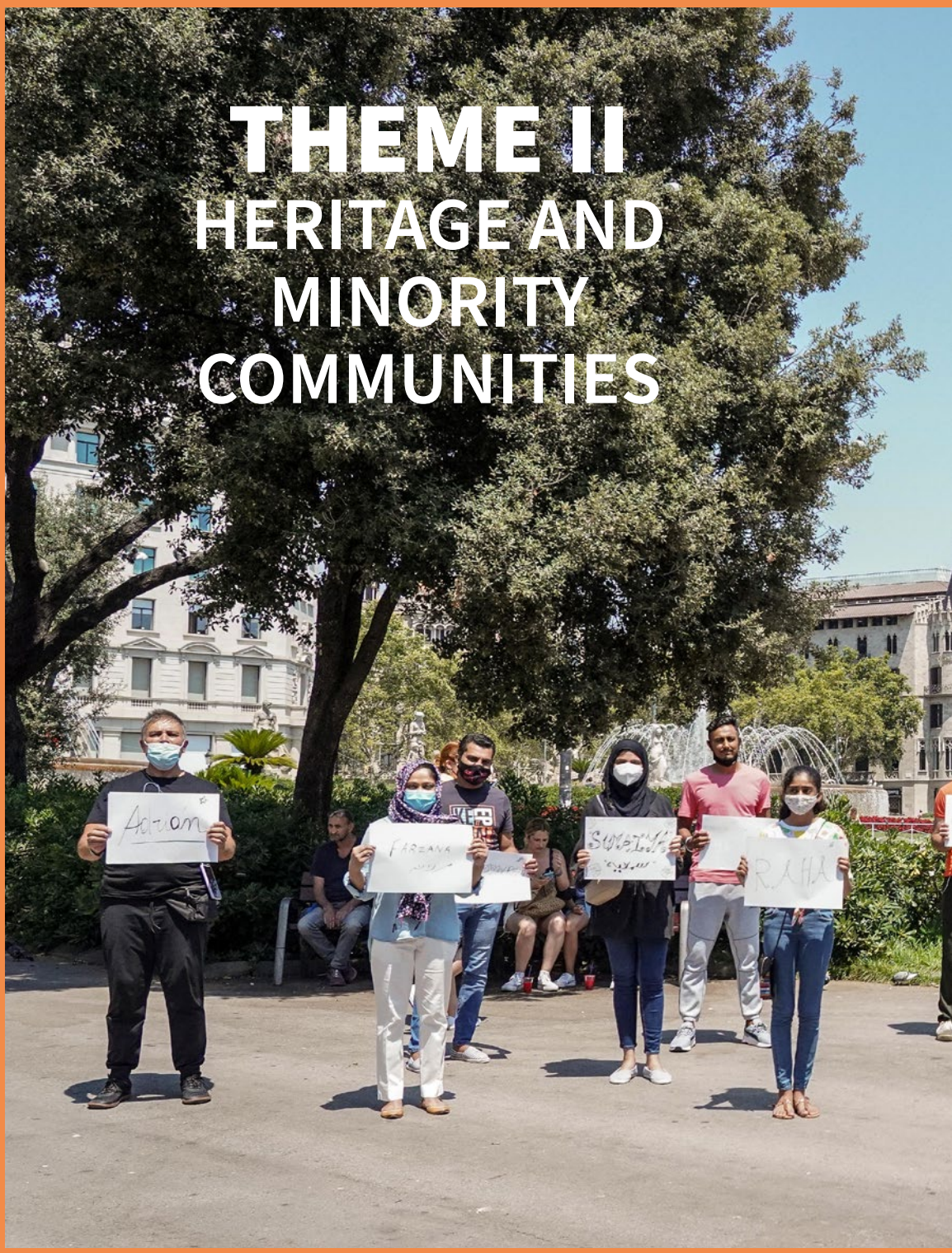
3 González Alcantud, El mito de al-Ándalus, 19 (translation our own).
4 González Alcantud, El mito de al-Ándalus.
5 González Alcantud, El mito de al-Ándalus.

look at the present in a different way.[6] In a lecture given in 2011 entitled 'Al-Andalus and the New Paradigm,' Cabrera highlighted the enduring significance of al-Andalus, emphasizing both its spiritual and social dimensions. He described its architectural and literary heritage as reflecting an openness to diverse perspectives, a recognition of harmony, and a profound appreciation for beauty and connection with others.[7] Cabrera further argued that navigating the profound transformations of the contemporary world, amidst neoliberal globalization, requires reclaiming a sense of transcendence. He suggested that true sovereignty does not reside in rulers but in those who envision and cultivate spaces of coexistence, drawing wisdom from nature with care and respect.[8]

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Your Music, My Music in the activity book

6 Hashim Ibrahim Cabrera, Párrafos de moro nuevo (Córdoba: Junta islámica, 2002), 2–3.
7 Hashim Cabrera, 'Al-Andalus y el nuevo paradigma', Lecture given at La Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Granada, 4 February 2011 (from notes taken by the author).
8 Cabrera, 'Al-Andalus y el nuevo paradigma' (from notes taken by the author).

THEME II
HERITAGE AND MINORITY COMMUNITIES




RUT

MODULE 1
Inclusive heritage and minority communities: an introductory essay

By Todd H. Weir

There is a growing awareness among heritage organizations that Europe's religious minorities have largely been absent from heritage in two ways.[1] Firstly, although minorities have always been present and played a key role in European culture and society, their history has generally not been reflected in the most prestigious sites of national heritage. Museums, castles and cathedrals, for example, have generally focused on the dominant social groups or the majoritarian population. Secondly, many of the minority communities who now make up a large and growing part of European societies have, until recently, not taken part in the process of assigning meaning to public heritage. Several factors have coincided to raise public awareness that a change is needed. New international guidelines, such as the Faro Convention and the UNESCO Strategic development goals, have called for the democratization of heritage. Many of the central documents of the European Union state that a shared heritage is the foundation for the EU's democratic, inclusive ambitions. For example, the Preamble to the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (1999) states:

Conscious of its spiritual and moral heritage, the Union is founded on the indivisible, universal values of human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity; it is based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law.[2]

1 Sections of this introduction have been previously published in Todd H. Weir, 'Heritage and Religious Change in Contemporary Europe: How Secularization, Pluralization and Spiritualization Shape Religious Heritage', Trajecta 30, no. 2 (2021): 217–243.

2 Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2021/C 326/02 (26.10.2012), Preamble. The English text of the Charter can be consulted online at: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT&from=EN.

In Faro, in 2005, the Council of Europe proposed a new framework for heritage policy that shifted the focus from buildings and objects to people and their values. The Faro Convention establishes the right of all inhabitants of Europe to participate in cultural heritage. Such participation does not amount to simply engaging with pre-existing authorized heritage, but includes the active 'identification, study, interpretation, protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural heritage' and 'public reflection and debate on the opportunities and challenges which the cultural heritage represents'.[3] This makes cultural heritage a two-way street. Established heritage institutions, such as museums, now have an obligation to encourage participation of minorities and excluded communities. At the same time, these communities have a right to develop their own heritage and bring it to the awareness of the wider public. This ambition makes heritage a key domain in which Europeans can participate in democratic life, create common values and encourage civic engagement. Youth and adult education has an opportunity to contribute to this, but to date this has been given little attention.

Although educators working in grassroots organizations, museums and universities are aware of the need to make heritage inclusive, they often lack the skills and means to make this a reality. This was the finding of a needs analysis for the follow-up project to REBELAH, called MIRETAGE (European Pathways to Minority Religious Heritage: Inclusive Heritage in Adult Education), which was launched in 2023 by partners in the Netherlands, Belgium and Spain. In a discussion conducted with members of the Rotterdam-based Moslim Archief, Anissa Foukine, an art historian and museum educator specialized in Islamic art, stated that: 'Dutch museums want to work with minority groups, but often don't know how to reach them. If they are hosting a group, say students from an Islamic secondary school, they need to know how to make them enthusiastic and feel at home'. Inclusive 'co-creation of heritage' is more easily talked about than actually undertaken. According to Kashif Amin, who is active in museum outreach and anti-discrimination agencies in the Netherlands, what we require is 'a polyphonic approach to heritage'.[4]

3 Council of Europe Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society [Faro Convention], CET 199 (27.10.2005), Article 12a. The text of the convention can be downloaded at: https://rm.coe.int/1680083746.

4 Foukine and Amin, interviewed as part of the needs assessment of the MIRETAGE project, 22 March 2023. MIRETAGE is a three year Erasmus strategic partnership involving eight partners in three countries: University of Groningen (NL), Storytelling Centre (NL), Muslim Archief (NL), KADOC (BE), Future for Religious Heritage (BE), Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (ES), La Xixa Teatre (ES), Mozaika (ES). More information can be found here.

Kamel Essabane, founder of the Moslim Archief, connected minority religious heritage to Europe's reckoning with its history of slavery and colonization now taking place across the continent: 'Many people who come from societies with their own experience of colonization are moving to the Netherlands. They feel at home in the Netherlands, but the older generation is slowly passing away and with them there is the danger that we lose the connection to the past'.[5]

A broader problem concerns the need to motivate younger generations to engage in the preservation, active care and appreciation of heritage monuments across Europe. Without this, many local religious buildings will fall into disuse and disrepair. The solution requires interreligious dialogue and communication about the value and social function of heritage.

With these issues in mind, REBELAH and MIRETAGE sought to develop the means to teach members of minority communities in a co-creative fashion, with the aim of helping them further develop into what the Faro Convention On the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005) calls 'heritage communities': 'A heritage community consists of people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations'.[6] We took inspiration from organizations and individuals representing minority groups who have begun their own heritage projects. These projects are involved in recalling obscured histories and giving them the breath of public life through their acknowledgement as heritage, and they are doing so from above as well as from below.

One example of the pluralization of heritage 'from above' is the 'Jewish Country Houses' project, which is a collaboration between Oxford University and the National Trust in the UK. Posh manor houses made available to the public by the National Trust are the jewels in the crown of British national heritage. While highlighting the Jewish identity of some of their owners may not seem revolutionary, diversifying this core area of British national heritage fractures its implicit identification with a Christian, white gentry, which is familiar to viewers worldwide through films and televisions series, from *Upstairs Downstairs* to *Pride and Prejudice* or *Downton Abbey*.[7]

The UK has also been the site of innovative grassroots heritage efforts from below. For example, Marcus Roberts developed a walking tour of the Lincoln Cathedral which

5 Essabane, interview as part of the needs assessment of the MIRETAGE project, 22 March 2023.

6 Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, Article 2b.

7 Abigail Green and Juliet Carey, 'Beyond the Pale: The Country Houses of the Jewish Élite', Journal of Modern Jewish Studies 18, no. 4 (2019): 393–398.

leads viewers to consider negative and positive depictions of Jews in the cathedral sculptures. It thereby integrates Jews into the history of medieval England prior to their expulsion in 1290. Moreover, Roberts' work in Lincoln connects to a larger project called 'J-Trails', which inserts Jewish heritage into the network of pilgrimage and tourist routes across Europe.[8] In a parallel development, the journalist Tharik Hussain has delved into the past of South England and designed a series of Muslim Heritage Trails that allow visitors to discover Muslim built heritage in and around the town of Woking. By inscribing these sites into the national heritage map, religious minorities are given purchase on the symbolic past of the country and disrupt the notion of a single national heritage.[9]

Heritage can also be used to foster interreligious conversations, which are very much needed, particularly where the shared use of religious buildings by different faiths is concerned. In this regard, it is necessary to consider problems that arise from religious and cultural sensibilities. For example, some congregants of Reformed Dutch churches have objected to sharing their under-utilized churches with Pentecostal or Muslim congregations, while in other countries conflicts have recently flared over buildings that have interreligious histories.[10] Hagia Sofia, for example, which had been a site of shared Christian and Muslim cultural heritage in Istanbul, was recently redesignated a mosque by Turkish authorities. Moreover, despite Spanish celebration of the interreligious heritage of the 'convivencia' of Jews, Muslims and Christians in medieval Spain, the Catholic Church has resisted efforts by some Muslim activists to allow dual use of the former mosque – and now cathedral – in Cordoba.[11]

Intercultural conversations are only possible when both sides have at least some understanding of whom they are speaking with. Yet, interviews conducted with adult education partners as part of the Miretage project found that the required cultural sensi-

8 Marcus R. Roberts, The Jewish Heritage of Lincoln Cathedral: The First Jewish Heritage Trail of a Major Christian Building in England (Oxford: Oxford Heritage Press, 2015).

9 Tharik Hussain, 'Why I Created Britain's Muslim Heritage Trails and Why We Need More of Them', The Muslim 500: The World's Most Influential Muslims, n.d., https://themuslim500.com/guest-contributions-2020/why-i-created-britains-muslim-heritage-trails-and-why-we-need-more-of-them/#. Also see the following module introduction by Tharik Hussain.

10 J. E. A. Kroesen, 'Recycling Sacred Space. The Fate of Financially Burdensome and Redundant Church Buildings in the Netherlands', in Holy Ground. Re-Inventing Ritual Space in Modern Western Culture, ed. P. Post and A. L. Molendijk (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 179–210.

11 Mar Griera, Marian Burchardt and Avi Astor, 'European Identities, Heritage, and the Iconic Power of Multi-Religious Buildings: Cordoba's Mosque Cathedral and Berlin's House Of One', Annual Review of the Sociology of Religion 10 (2019): 13–31.

bility and knowledge are not being sufficiently taught in classrooms, nor are they present in many museum collections. Often, when minority communities do get attention, "they feel like their stories are an excursus or tucked away in limited exhibitions, reinforcing the idea that this is the heritage of the other." Interviewees felt that "a lot of ground is to be won here by integrating the past of minority communities into the larger narrative, while imbuing projects with educational tools to encourage a better understanding of Jewish and Muslim religion and culture." [12]

While the shared religious use of historic buildings has sometimes proven problematic, the shared caring for these buildings as heritage has been less so. For example, without the help of non-Jewish volunteers, many of the historic synagogues across Europe could not remain open to the public. An analogous situation is faced by under-utilized or unused churches in immigrant neighbourhoods in European cities. As the Christian congregations there dwindle and residents with past family ties to the churches move away, who will care for the churches? A pioneering example in this regard is the collaboration between the Churches Conservation Trust and a local activist, Inayat Omarji, who is Muslim, to jointly transform the All Souls Church in Bolton into a community centre.[13]

Heritage sites can and are being used for interreligious education. In 2020, the Groningen Historic Church Foundation inaugurated its 'School Church' in the town of Garmerwolde, which features an exhibit in the church tower that uses Muslim and Christian holidays as a fun way to entice school-age children into understanding these two religious cultures. The focus on holidays highlights the cultural side of immaterial religious heritage, but the makers of the exhibit did not shy away from conceptual artworks that try to provoke reflection on spiritual matters.[14]

There is a growing consensus among heritage organizations that they should promote minority heritage, but how is this to be balanced with the need felt by many Europeans to also honour dominant religious traditions? Certainly, the notion of a shared heritage of Latin Christendom played an important role in the drive for European unity in the

12 Draft State of the Art Report, Miretage, Dec. 2025, https://www.miretage.eu/results

13 'Inayat Omarji Wins Heritage Angel Award for Rescue of All Souls Bolton', Churches Conservation Trust, News, 4 November 2014, https://www.visitchurches.org.uk/what-we-do/news/inayat-omarji-wins-heritage-angel-award-for-rescue.html.

14 'Feesten uit de nieuwe wereld in een oude kerk', Roder Journaal, 7 July 2020; 'Feest! In Oost en West', Schoolkerk, Lespakketten, n.d., https://www.schoolkerk.nl/lespakketten/feest-in-oost-en-west.

1950s by an international alliance of Christian Democrats.[15] The public power of traditional churches is still very much present today in the heritage of this past era of state churches, and it can also be seen in the religious education in schools, special broadcasts in the public media and even in the nature of our public holidays.

National courts have also generally upheld the right of public institutions to display their religious symbols – such as the crucifix – related to those churches that once enjoyed the status of being established by law, arguing that these form cultural heritage. The European Court of Human Rights has generally supported member states in these decisions.[16] Local community identity, particularly in Southern Europe, is very often wrapped up with processions and festivals celebrating patron saints of towns and villages. Such attachments need to be taken into account when promoting more inclusive forms of heritage. If inclusive efforts do not take place in dialogue with majoritarian conceptions of heritage, they run the risk of contributing further to social polarization, given that it is already being used by right-wing populists for this purpose.

Cultural historian Willem Frijhoff has likened heritage to a buoy that anchors the present to events and places in a real historical past. Yet, as it is jostled by the waves of memory, culture and politics, heritage drifts far from its original anchorage site. In other words, heritage is constantly being constructed and is subject to competition and negotiation.[17] This means that although critical research can uncover neglected or suppressed histories that can help minority communities create public space for their heritage or enter into the imagined 'national' heritage, these developments are not solely or even largely driven by the scholarly quest for more accurate understandings of historical reality. This would be to confuse the buoy with the anchorage. Thus, the reason why the diversification of heritage has become a 'best practice' for heritage organizations is, I would argue, not because this will provide society with a more accurate depiction of its history. Rather, it is because a diverse society requires a diverse heritage.

As the other chapters of this handbook illustrate, heritage education requires creative methods to help minority communities achieve the aims set out by the Faro Convention, which is the democratization of European heritage. The creative methods presented here

15 Paul Betts, Ruin and Renewal: Civilizing Europe after World War II (New York: Basic Books, 2020); Adrian Hänni, 'A Global Crusade against Communism: The Cercle in the "Second Cold War"', in Transnational Anti-Communism and the Cold War, ed. Luc van Dongen, Stéphanie Roulin and Giles Scott-Smith (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2014), 161–174.

16 Lori G. Beaman, 'Battles Over Symbols: The "Religion" of the Minority Versus the "Culture" of the Majority', Journal of Law and Religion 28, no. 1 (2013): 67–104.

17 Willem Frijhoff, 'Toe-eigening als vorm van culturele dynamiek', Volkskunde 104 (2003): 1–17.

and the exercises in the activity book can be utilized for teaching any of the myriad heritage communities throughout Europe, based on all sorts of identity, as well as ethnic and historical connections that bring these communities together.

However, in the following modules in this section, we focus on two minority communities that the 2018 Special Eurobarometer on Discrimination highlighted as suffering high levels of discrimination in Europe: Roma and Muslim communities. Both are native European cultures, whose heritage has been present across wide territories of the European continent for centuries. The next two modules provide some basic historical introductory information about Roma and Muslim cultural groups in Europe. We encourage trainers, or any reader of this handbook, to explore and document the past and present of any heritage community that might be of interest to them.

MODULE 2
Europe's Muslim Heritage: A Brief Overview

By Tharik Hussain

The history and heritage of Islam in Europe can be traced back to the very first generation that lived around the time of the Prophet Muhammad. A Muslim fleet is known to have successfully landed on the island of Cyprus around 649 CE, a mere 15 years after Muhammad's death. This is still acknowledged locally on the island by the claim that a woman called Umm Haram, a contemporary of Muhammad, is buried in a tomb at the Hala Sultan Tekke, a mosque and Sufi lodge built overlooking salt plains close to the town of Larnaca in southern Cyprus.[1]

Less than a century later, in 711, Muslims from North Africa made their way across the straits of Gibraltar to establish an Islamic presence in the Iberian Peninsula that would last seven centuries and shape modern Portuguese and Spanish culture: from local languages through to the food, music, art and architecture of the region. However, the most spectacular reminder of the Islamic presence here is probably the physical remnants. They include the Moorish Castle in Sintra, near Lisbon; Europe's first mosque, now the Mezquita Cathedral in Cordoba; and the Alhambra Palace City in Granada. This period of European Muslim history is largely remembered for its tolerant and inclusive attitude to followers of other faiths, in particular to the Jews of Europe, who were often persecuted elsewhere on the continent and whose culture was also influenced by Iberian Muslim culture.

1 Portions of this chapter have been previously published in Tharik Hussain, 'Muslim Heritage Trails: Making Visible Britain's Muslim Past', in The Bloomsbury Handbook of Religion and Heritage in Contemporary Europe, ed. Todd H. Weir and Lieke Wijnia (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023), 52–60.

Simultaneously, in southern Italy, between the 9th and 11th centuries, Muslims from North Africa established the Emirate of Sicily, a similarly flourishing and tolerant kingdom that also had a lasting effect on local Sicilian – and thereby, Italian – culture and heritage. This is most apparent, firstly, in the way later rulers of Sicily, in particular the Normans (1038–1198 AD), adopted many of the Muslim social and cultural traits to become 'Arabized'. For this reason, the Normans of Sicily are remembered today as Arab-Normans and much of their architecture, including their splendid churches across Sicily, are noted for the influence of the Sicilian Muslim architectural and artistic style. However, secondly, and probably the most fascinating living legacy of this period, is to be found in the Maltese language. The Maltese were also part of the historical Emirate of Sicily and, as a result, inherited the distinct Arabic spoken by the Muslims and later Christian Normans of the region known as Siculo-Arabic. In fact, so much of modern Maltese is made up of ancient Siculo-Arabic that it is the EU's only official Semitic language.

After this period, the most lasting Islamic cultural influences on Europe and Europeans are broadly the result of four factors: the growth and expansion of the Muslim Ottoman Empire; the growth and expansion of the Muslim Khanates; post-colonial migration following the collapse of the European colonial powers in the second half of the 20th century; and, finally, refugees and asylum-seekers fleeing conflict from Muslim-majority nations such as Somalia and Syria.

The Ottoman and Muslim Khanate expansions are the reason for the conversion of many local populations to Islam in countries such as Russia, Ukraine, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania. As the historical Iberian and Sicilian Muslims were eventually expelled, these Eastern European Muslims now make up Europe's indigenous Muslim population. It is no surprise that they mostly reside in lands once ruled by the Ottomans and the various Khanates, such as the Western Balkans and parts of modern-day Russia.

There are also isolated historical examples of other ways in which Muslim populations have found their way into Europe. One example of this would be the Baltic Muslims, who are among Europe's oldest surviving Muslim communities. They are the descendants of a small group of Muslims who played a pivotal role in the survival of ancient Lithuania (and Poland and Belarus). They were Crimean Tatars who arrived – by royal invitation from Lithuania's Grand Duke Vytautas – in 1398 to help defeat the threat of the Christian German Teutonic Knights and save what was then the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After successfully doing so, the Muslims were invited to stay and settle in small villages south of the Duchy's capital, Trakai. Over the course of the next six centuries, they went on to make considerable cultural and social contributions in their adopted

nations of Lithuania, Poland and Belarus, and many of the descendants of the original migrant community still live in the same villages today. Several of these villages are home to the community's unique Baltic wooden mosques and ancient Muslim cemeteries.

Other ways in which Islamic culture influenced European culture include trade and the inevitable exchange during the European colonial period, when countries such as Britain, France and the Netherlands ruled over large populations of Muslims in places such as the Indian subcontinent, North Africa and South East Asia.

One example of the long-term relationship can be found in Britain. In popular imagination, the influence of Muslim culture on Britain began following the mass migration of post-colonial Muslims in the second half of the 20th century and there is a widely held belief that Britain's culture was not affected by Islam prior to this. However, Britain is home to one of the most curious ancient Islamic artefacts in Europe. Known as 'Offa's Dirham', it is a gold coin minted by the Anglo-Saxon King Offa, which pays homage to Al Mansur, the Muslim Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. It features the Islamic declaration of faith and is dated to the Islamic year 157 AH (c. 774 AD) – all in Arabic. The coin also has the Latin inscription 'Offa Rex' on it. The naïve nature of the Arabic script and the fact that coins from contemporaneous Muslim cultures have been found across Europe, has led scholars to lean towards the theory that trade was the likeliest reason that King Offa minted his curious coin, although in truth nobody actually knows the real reason. What is clear, however, is that Britain – on the opposite side of the European continent to Cyprus – also encountered Islam just over a century after the religion was 'born'.

Britain is also a good place to appreciate the Islamic cultural exchange that came about due to European colonialism. Like every national museum found in the capital cities of former colonial powers, the British Museum's Islamic collection is one such obvious legacy. However, a more fascinating example would be Britain's first purpose-built mosque, the Shah Jahan Mosque, built in 1889 in the town of Woking. The mosque also led to the founding of two historic British-Muslim cemeteries: the Muhammadan Cemetery, founded in 1884, Britain's first Muslim cemetery; and the Woking War Cemetery, the country's only Muslim soldier's burial ground, established in 1915.

As the name of the mosque suggests, there are links between the founding of the mosque and what was then the British colony of India. The mosque was largely financed by the Begum of the Indian princely state of Bhopal and the founder, Wilhelm Gottlieb Leitner, had spent several years living and working in India. He also established the cemetery, which became the final resting place of a number of individuals linked to Britain's colonial activities, including former Yemeni kings and Malay princes.

Meanwhile, the military cemetery was built specifically to bury the Muslim colonial subjects that died fighting for Britain. The mosque and the cemetery are today used largely by a community of Muslims who migrated there following the end of the British colonial period, from countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. As well as inheriting the historic mosque and cemetery, like all Muslims who migrated to Europe during the latter part of the 20th century, they are now influencing European culture, as did their Muslim forebears over the past thirteen centuries or so – whether the British-Bangladeshis changing the culinary landscape of a nation with their curries, or the North Africans building spectacular French mosques that echo the architectural heritage of historical Muslim Iberia.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Minority Heritage Trails in the activity book

MODULE 3
Roma/Gypsy communities in Hungary and Europe

By Klára Gulyás

Roma are found in many parts of the world today, with the largest groups living in Central and Eastern Europe. In Western Europe, Spain has the largest Roma/Gypsy population. The estimated number of Roma/Gypsies in Europe is between 10 and 12 million. In Hungary, where the REBELAH partner Kepes is based, there are around 700,000 to 900,000 Roma/Gypsies.

Studies of ethnic identity give prominence to the issue of categorization. This process has a two-fold structure: on the one hand, it is always based on self-categorization, but on the other hand, the identity of each ethnic group is also influenced by external categorization. The latter is of particular importance in shaping Roma ethnic identity, as debates over the very name of Roma or Gypsy reveal.[1]

In academic research, some now consider the term 'Roma' to be the only appropriate and acceptable term, due to the negative connotations of the term 'Gypsy' in public and political discourse. Gypsy/Roma intellectuals at the First Roma World Congress in London in 1971 decided in favour of the term 'Roma'. However, there are now national and international examples of groups that consider themselves to be 'Gypsies' and do not accept the term Roma – which originates from the Romani language – for their community, such as the Boyash or Bayash Gypsies or some Romungro groups, which continue to refer to themselves as Gypsies. Other examples also suggest that several groups, despite the negative connotations of the term, are reclaiming their former

1 For literature related to this article, please see Klára Gulyás, 'Paradigmaváltás a cigány népismereti oktatásban', in Agria Média (Eger: Eszterházy Károly Egyetem Líceum Kiadó, 2020), 254–261.

self-designation as Gypsies as an important component of their identity. Thus, in this essay I use the names somewhat interchangeably.

In the case of Roma identity/identities, research has considered the transnational nature of the Roma group as a key component. Since the Roma have not established a sovereign state throughout their history, they have a minority identity wherever they live. Apart from living a diaspora life, another important component of Roma identities is heterogeneity, the fact that Roma/Gypsies are neither territorially nor culturally homogeneous. There are many groups of Roma/Gypsies, and they are linguistically/culturally distinct from each other. They therefore have their own ethnic identities, which define them not only over and against 'non-Gypsies' but also over and against groups other than themselves, the 'other' Roma. Some researchers consider this aspect of Roma/Gypsy identity a distinguishing feature of Gypsy identity and describe it using the term 'multidimensionality'. In doing so, they emphasize that Roma identity is shaped and interpreted exclusively in relation to other social groups; hence, it cannot be considered either separate or homogeneous.

Structural conditions are decisive in determining the settings for the shaping of Roma identity. Today, Roma identity is directly influenced from three 'sides': 1. at the level of a nation-state framework; 2. in terms of belonging to one's own group; and 3. through external categorization. Individual identity is shaped at the micro level; Roma identity-discourse at the meso level; and, at the macro level, a State's 'Roma policy' plays an important part.

Recent research identifies four factors that can be considered common to Gypsy life-worlds: 1. there is no single Roma/Gypsy history and culture, there are Gypsy cultures and Gypsy histories; 2. Gypsies/Roma are a transnational ethnic group, so they can always be considered a diasporic people who lived/live in minority everywhere; 3. relationships between Roma/Gypsies and the majority society can be described along the lines of the models of coexistence, as opposed to the paradigm of the history of suffering and persecution; 4. the Roma inhabit forms of minority-majority relations that are not typical of those of other ethnic groups.

The formation of the Roma/Gypsy people

The framework for the transformation into a 'people' was probably provided by the jati system, which still exists in today's India and allocates specific social and economic functions to certain village communities and ethnic groups. This is far from being an Indian specialty: the linking of professions to settlement communities and ethnic groups, and the passing on of professional skills within them is widespread throughout

the world, and some elements of it survived in Central and Eastern Europe until the modern era (e.g. 'Bulgarian gardeners', 'tinker Slavs', Armenian merchants). From European sources, it can be assumed that the Gypsies were engaged in metalworking in their homeland. The Gypsies brought this knowledge with them during their long migration, which accounted for the position they assumed in European economic production.

Gypsies were already present in the European territories of the Byzantine Empire by the 13th century at the latest. With the rise of the Ottoman Empire, they moved further north and appeared in the Romanian principalities sometime around the middle to the last third of the 14th century. At the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, they crossed the boundary between Eastern and Western Christianity, and within a few decades had spread all over Europe. In Hungary, and to the east and southeast, the Gypsies created a parallel but matching society and lived in it until the end of the 19th century.

For half a millennium, before the belated but more rapid industrialization of Central Europe, the Roma lived as craftsmen, an active and much needed part of the society and economy, among other peoples. At the heart was travelling craftsmanship, primarily metalworking, along with woodworking and other skills with which they served the small pre-industrial communities that could not have afforded a permanent resident craftsman such as a blacksmith. In Western Europe, however, the same was not achieved. The economic system there did not embrace Gypsies' knowledge of production, so they were driven out in large numbers, and only a few (less than 1000th of the total population) were allowed to stay, a number that allowed only a marginal existence.

Roma/Gypsy communities in the Carpathian Basin

We can gain a sense of the diverse patterns of social and economic integration of Roma by looking into their history in Hungary and the Carpathian Basin prior to the late 19th century, when industrialization undermined the Roma's ability to adapt to the majority society. There are three general groupings of Hungarian Roma/Gypsies, the Romungro Gypsies, the Vlach ('Oláh') Gypsies and the Boyash or Bayash (Beash) Gypsies.[2]

The Romungro Gypsies arrived continuously from the 15th century onwards, at the time of the Hungarian kingdom, with most of their groups arriving in Transylvania from the Balkans. Their language contains many Greek and Slavic elements. They arrived in

2 For more details about the history of the Roma in Hungary, see: Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board, Canada, Roma in Hungary (1 March 1998); the report is available online on the website of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/irbc/1998/en/20141.

horse-drawn carts and were gradually integrated into Transylvanian society. In Carpathia, the Romungro were craftsmen who lived in villages and towns. A smaller number of them worked the land as serfs on landowners' estates. Others, under the protection of the imperial treasury, were engaged in gold mining in the Apuseni Mountains. Another group were called tax-paying fiscal Gypsies.

There were also groups which lived on the outskirts of the villages, working irregularly for their landlords, and therefore they received little remuneration. In some villages, they worked as day labourers digging trenches, making bricks and harvesting crops, etc. By the end of the 19th century, this group had linguistically assimilated into the Hungarian population. The most middle-class groups were called 'house Gypsies', many of whom married Hungarians and took up farming or regular craftsmanship.

A second large group of Gypsies/Roma in Hungary are the Vlach (Oláh in Hungarian) Gypsies. They spent longer periods of time in the Romanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Until the middle of the 19th century, they lived as slaves in these Romanian principalities, with their language and culture strongly influenced by the culture of the Romanian people. To escape slavery, some emigrated to Hungary as early as the 18th century, along secret routes through the Carpathian passes. Their number increased dramatically in the 19th century because they found a safer life there.

The third major linguistic/cultural group of Gypsies/Roma are the Boyash or Bayash Gypsies. They speak a dialect of the medieval variety of the Romanian language and have based their livelihoods on making and selling wooden objects (e.g. wooden spoons, spatulas, vessels). Wooden spoon makers were called 'lingurari', and in Hungarian communities are also called 'kalányos' and 'gerebenes'.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Doja, the Gypsy Fairy in the activity book


LA CATEDRAL



THEME III
HERITAGE AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS

MODULE 1
Heritage and Stereotypes

By Anikó Szűcs and Dóra Szűcs

Theories of stereotyping explore the formation of individual and group identity, the dynamics of intergroup relations and the social processes that lead to the institutional discrimination of racialized and marginalized groups in the majority society.

A person or a group's identity is constituted by several converging or diverging factors: ethnicity, race, religion, gender and sexual orientation, class and bodily attributes, along with other chosen attributes, often labelled *domain identification*, such as occupation and culture. These attributes, together or separately, give a sense of belonging in the social world. While cognitive psychologists emphasize that a person's psycho-social identity develops throughout their life, the core attributes that mark one's heritage, such as ethnicity, race and religion, are the first that individuals perceive and identify with. Therefore, these markers become the coordinates along which people establish their inclusionary and/or exclusionary relationships with others at a very young age. As social psychologist Henri Tajfel notes, 'the enduring basis for future prejudices and conflicts is laid most crucially in childhood'.[1]

It is immediately apparent that personal identity is thoroughly intertwined with group-based social identities. Our focus here is on the process through which group-self representations are formed and the individual establishes a relation to multiple groups. This process, 'the identification with a collective', is captured by the concept of *social identity*, while the umbrella term *collective identity* stands for 'the norms, values, and ideologies that such an identification entails', in other words, for 'the meaning attached to specific group identities'.[2] The concepts of social and collective identity are both inter-

1 H. Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice.' Journal of Biosocial Science 1, no. 1 (1969): 173–191, 185.

2 M. B. Brewer, 'The Many Faces of Social Identity: Implications for Political Psychology', Political Psychology 22 (2001): 115–125, 119.

pretive frameworks through which an individual either identifies or counter-identifies with the group. In the formation of the individual and the social identity, intergroup perceptions and pre-judgements play an important role: they become the dividing lines along which the in-group members ('us') are separated from the out-group ('them').

Social identity theory argues that it is necessary for in-group members to focus on the perceived and real differences between them and those excluded from the group, in order to strengthen the in-group identity and to enhance the member's individual concept of the self. The generalized negative attributes that in-group members project on others may be prejudices, stereotypes or implicit biases. Prejudices and implicit biases are affective and evaluative (they capture how the group together and individuals within the group *feel* about the out-group), while stereotypes are cognitive (they capture what they *think* about the out-group). All of these result in discrimination, a behavioural response through which group members act on or act out these negative prejudgements.

Prejudice

Social psychologist Henri Tajfel, citing Eric Klinenberg (1969), defined *prejudice* as 'a prejudgment or preconcept reached before the relevant information has been collected or examined and therefore based on inadequate or even imaginary evidence'.[3] Such prejudgements of different groups are constructed through in-group discussion, often with no direct interaction with the out-groups and a reliance on media (mis)representations. Prejudice, at the same time, is not merely a preconception: 'usually there is in addition a readiness to express in action the judgments and feelings which we experience, to behave in a manner which reflects our acceptance or rejection of others'.[4]

Tajfel identifies three cognitive processes that explain prejudicial thinking by an individual: categorization, assimilation and search for conceptual coherence. Categorization is necessary to simplify and amplify differences between groups and determine one's attitude towards these differences. Assimilation refers to the social norms and values that new group members (in his case study, young children) acquire as they internalize these affectively charged categories. Conceptual coherence explains the individual's need to 'construct a causal explanation' to account for any change in the status quo.[5] Prejudices, referring to the characteristics of the groups, may help an individual or a group

3 Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice', 176.
4 Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice', 176.
5 Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice', 187.

resolve any cognitive dissonance and preserve their self-image and identity if the inter- or intra-group relations change.

Tajfel emphasizes the emotional investment in 'preserving the differentiations between [one's] own group and the "others"', as they are rewarding to the self.[6] For this reason, prejudiced judgements towards a particular group are often received positively by the in-group members. Furthermore, in 'a spiral effect', as Tajfel explains:

the existence of prejudice at large not only provides additional support and rewards for hostile judgements; it also removes the possibility of a "reality check" for these judgements which then feed upon each other and become more and more strongly entrenched in the form of powerful social myths.[7]

While prejudices can be positive or negative, as Beverly Daniel Tatum emphasizes, even prejudices with positive associations – she uses the example of Asian students being good at maths – 'have negative effects because they deny a person's individuality'.[8]

Stereotypes

The earliest definitions of *stereotypes* emphasized the importance of perception and impressions in forming a stereotype. In 1922, Walter Lippmann defined them as 'pictures in the head', while in 1935, Katz and Braly explained that a stereotype is 'a fixed impression' that 'conforms very little to the fact it pretends to represent and results from our defining first and observing second'.[9] It was the renowned social psychologist, Gordon Allport, however, who, in his seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), recognized the importance of the cognitive process of stereotyping.[10] In his theory, the stereotype is not merely a picture or an impression, but an association (of a category with a certain group) that becomes the basis and the justification for one group's conduct against the other. Stereotypical judgements lead to discriminatory actions, often when an in-group member or a group feels that they need to defend their position in society.

6 Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice', 181.
7 Tajfel, 'Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice', 181.
8 B. D. Tatum, 'Talking about Race, Learning about Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom', in Racism: Essential Readings, ed. Ellis Cashmore and James Jennings (New York: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2001), 311–325, 313.
9 Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly, 'Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes', The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 30, no. 2 (1935): 175–193, 181.
10 Gordon Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Garden City: Doubleday, 1958).

Stereotype threat

The term, 'stereotype threat', coined by Claude Steele, refers to a form of anxiety that one may experience when fearing being judged according to the societal stereotype that is usually applied to the group to which someone is seen to belong. 'It is a situational threat – a threat in the air – that, in general form, can affect the members of any group about whom a negative stereotype exists', writes Steele.[11] Stereotype threat can result in the underperformance of the stereotyped group, especially when members of the group are again and again reminded that, as a result of their heritage, they are less – less capable, less educated or prepared – than other members of the majority society. Their anxiety over potentially confirming the stereotype can negatively affect their performance.

There are four distinct forms of stereotypes:

- *Auto-stereotype:* A group's perception of themselves ('We think we are...')
- *Hetero-stereotype:* A group's perception of another group's traits, characteristics and values ('We think they are ...')
- *Projected auto-stereotype:* A group's assumption about how others perceive them ('What we think others think of us')
- *Projected hetero-stereotype:* A group's emotional assumptions about another group's self-perception or identity ('We believe that they think they are ...')[12]

Implicit biases

Implicit biases or unconscious biases are forms of unconscious stereotyping that determine our perceptions and decision-making processes without us being aware of their influence. 'Because the implicit associations we hold arise outside of conscious awareness', writes Cheryl Staats, 'implicit biases do not necessarily align with our explicit beliefs and stated intentions'.[13] The human brain is 'designed to be biased', Shankar Vedantam argues in his renowned work, *The Hidden Brain*, as these biases – usually unconsciously internalized at a very young age – are important constituents of one's survival mechanism, ensuring that a young child can differentiate members of their own, therefore safe,

11 Claude M Steele, 'A Threat in the Air: How Stereotypes Shape Intellectual Identity and Performance', American Psychologist 52, no. 6 (1997): 613–629, 614.

12 S. C. Pastor and M. A. Fuentes, 'Heterostereotypes', in The Encyclopedia of Cross-Cultural Psychology, ed. K. D. Keith (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

13 Cheryl Staats, 'Understanding Implicit Biases: What Educators Should Know', American Educator (Winter 2015–2016): 29–43, 30.

group and the potentially dangerous group of the others.[14] Eventually, a child needs to consciously unlearn these hidden biases, otherwise their brain will continue to reinforce the earlier internalized prejudicial views of the other group.[15]

Patrick C. Brayer, in his article on how jurors in the American judiciary system might make decisions shaped by their implicit biases, emphasized that implicit biases can only be mitigated if they are brought to awareness and new automatic associations with the prejudicial categories are formed.[16] Brayer's case study is especially astute, as it investigates implicit biases in an environment where they matter most: in the *voir dire*, or jury selection process, in which both the prosecutors and the defence lawyers aim to identify the prejudices potential jury members may harbour. The question his study asks is: How can lawyers tease out biases that the potential jurors are not even aware of?

Brayer's response is simple: by openly, and appropriately, addressing them. He cites the findings of social psychologist Samuel Sommers, who established that 'individuals "were less likely to vote guilty before deliberating and gave lower estimates of the likelihood of the Black defendant's guilt" when asked race-related questions in *voir dire*'.[17] 'Thus, a simple interactive reminder to a juror to consciously put prejudice aside', observes Brayer, 'appears to invite a self-assessment of the individual's bias and may produce discernible results'.[18] Such a 'discernible result' would be to become aware of our own biases so that we can start the difficult cognitive process of reconditioning our mind and de-bias our perceptions.

Combating stereotypes through heritage

As Ilişoi, Macarie, Nagy and Lesenciuc explain, stereotypes belong to our cultural heritage and they appear as forced clichés. Alongside all cultural heritage they contribute to the formation of personal and collective identity. Everyone's cultural heritage, acquired via enculturation, contains in its very core auto-stereotypes and hetero-stereotypes that become active and of which we become aware during contacts with individuals and groups from various cultures. Further, the authors argue that cultural dialogue embodies the conjunction of symbolic universes, having distinct significations that are expressed

14 Shankar Vedantam, The Hidden Brain: How Our Unconscious Minds Elect Presidents, Control Markets, Wage Wars, and Save Our Lives (New York: Random House, 2010).
15 Quoted in Patrick C. Brayer, 'Hidden Racial Biases: Why We Need to Talk with Jurors About Ferguson', Northwestern University Law Review 109 (2015): 163–170, 166.
16 Brayer, 'Hidden Racial Biases', 175–176.
17 Brayer, 'Hidden Racial Biases', 165.
18 Brayer, 'Hidden Racial Biases', 165.

by a rich range of words, gestures, behaviours etc. in which mental clichés, which contain within themselves the power of socialised collective representations, are also found.[19]

The authors highlight the importance of debate about heritage and appropriation to build knowledge of diversity, tolerance and intercultural dialogue, based on an authentic self-image and rising above negative self-stereotypes.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Birth Order in the activity book.

19 Diana Ilişoi, Adrian Macarie, Daniela Nagy and Adrian Lesenciuc, 'Rising above Stereotypes through Intercultural Education', INTED2010 Proceedings, 1116–1124.

MODULE 2
Assimilation and Cultural Heritage

By Vera Varhegyi and Lune Culmann

Assimilation, acculturation, adaptation: competing concepts for subtle processes

Words do not describe docile and passive human experiences, they construct the way we understand them: our access to the experience will be mediated and transformed by the words, models and narratives we use. This is even more true for phenomena that are complex and result from the subtle interplay of diverse factors. Adaptation to a new or dominant cultural environment is such a phenomenon. The words we choose to describe this are not trivial or inconsequential. 'Assimilation' was one of the first words used to describe such processes of change, and despite its age, it is still with us today. The word comes from Latin, denoting absorption or incorporation. It appears in English in the 15th century with a similar meaning, referring to body and nutrition, but it gains a broader meaning later ('to make alike').[1] Its popularization as a concept to denote what happens to groups of people who become a cultural minority originates in the Chicago School's 'classical model' in the early 20th century.

Between 1830 and 1880, the population of Chicago grew from 500 to 500,000 inhabitants. By 1910, there were two million inhabitants,[2] unprecedented growth that was almost exclusively due to the influx of migrants. No wonder the social scientists of the time were eager to propose explanations for the exciting social processes that were taking place. What they observed was a majority of Irish and Italian migrants, coming from rural areas, settling into the urban environment of Chicago, who fairly soon after their cultural immersion 'began to work, talk, live, and play like others who were already

1 https://www.etymonline.com/word/assimilate?ref=etymonline_crossreference

2 B. Feldmeyer, 'The Classical Assimilation Model', in Routledge Handbook on Immigration and Crime (New York/London: Routledge, 2018), 36.

there'. After several generations, they slowly shifted from being clearly identifiable groups of ethnic immigrants to being enmeshed in mainstream American life and seen as 'Americans'.[3]

These observations triggered explanations based on optimism and linearity. Assimilation was described as 'the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve cultural solidarity',[4] or as a process of 'interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life'.[5] Above all, it was seen as a 'straight-line convergence'[6] that any immigrant group would experience and that would inevitably lead to the same result, with an overall loss of distinguishing features. However, just as the context of an Irish migrant in Chicago in the 1900s is different from that of all the other migrants from any continent in relation to any destination that would follow, the journey of adaptation would also be different. It turned out that 'straight-line assimilation' would not be the one description that would fit all cases.

Fast-forwarding half a century of cross-cultural research, a next unavoidable stop in our conceptual voyage is John W. Berry's 'matrix of acculturation strategies'. Berry proposes to take 'acculturation' as the most generic concept (rather than 'assimilation') to denote changes that migrants or members of minorities would experience on different levels, such as emotions, thoughts and behaviours.[7] 'Assimilation' becomes only one possible outcome of the acculturative processes, among three others that he called 'strategies', even if he was aware that the suggestion of conscious planning may be misleading, as members of minorities are not completely free to decide what 'strategy' they will embark on. In any case, in 1974, he proposed his typology, with a wonderfully simple and clear structure, to answer the question of 'how people acculturate'. He proposed the consideration of two questions: firstly, do migrants/minorities wish to 'maintain their

3 Feldmeyer, 'The Classical Assimilation Model', 37.

4 Robert E. Park, 'Assimilation, social', in Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, ed. Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), vol. 2, 281.

5 Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1921), 735.

6 Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, 'Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long-Term Process', Migration Information Source: Online Journal of the Migration Policy Institute (1 October 2006); available online at: https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilastion-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process.

7 J. W. Berry, 'Psychological aspects of cultural pluralism', Culture Learning 2 (1974): 17–22.

heritage, cultures and identities'?; secondly, do they wish to engage with members of the host/dominant society? Based on these two questions, four acculturation strategies emerge: integration, segregation, assimilation and marginalization.

		Maintenance of heritage, culture and identity	
		Yes	No
Relationship with members of the host society	Yes	Integration	Assimilation
	No	Separation	Marginalization

Each of these four strategies has different features and also different implications in terms of well-being and identity. *Integration* is often depicted as the 'best' strategy. It occurs when individuals are able to adopt the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture, while also maintaining their culture of origin. Integration leads to and is often synonymous with biculturalism. People hold on to some aspects of their own culture, such as central norms and values, but also engage with the new cultural environment.

Separation or *segregation* occurs when individuals reject the dominant or host culture in favour of preserving their culture of origin. In this case, they focus on maintaining their own values and avoiding contact with the majority culture as much as possible. Separation is often facilitated by immigration to ethnic enclaves. It may be a strategy used to find positive identity in a cultural environment where one's social group is discriminated against or undervalued by isolating oneself from the negative representations in the dominant group.

Marginalization takes place when individuals do not engage with either their culture of origin or the dominant culture. This may happen due to limited possibilities for interaction with members of the host culture (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination) or because of a lack of interest in cultural maintenance. This may lead to isolation from both cultural groups (host as well as culture of origin).

Finally, *assimilation* is clearly a much more specific process here than in the 'classical model' of the Chicago School. Assimilation occurs when individuals reject their minority culture and adopt the cultural norms of the dominant or host culture. They seek daily interaction with the host culture, and their ambition is to become accepted as part of the majority culture. Among other things, assimilation has been associated with a weakening of the immune system,[8] and it is often reported to bring about higher levels of

8 P. G. Schmitz, 'Immigrant mental and physical health', Psychology and Developing Societies 4 (1992): 117–131; See also: Collen Ward, Anne-Marie Masgoret, 'Attitudes toward immigrants,

acculturation stress and dissatisfaction.[9] It is assumed that this negative relationship between assimilation and well-being is because complete assimilation is rarely possible. Visual markers, names and accents often highlight the strangeness of immigrants, and they are still perceived as foreigners after many years in the host country. Those engaging in an assimilation journey often face a gap between their self-perceptions and the perceptions that members of the host society reflect back to them.

In the half century that separates our present moment from the genesis of the matrix explained above, Berry has probably received as much criticism as the classical Chicago model in its own time. Berry's model is indeed 'simple' and as such cannot account for all the diversity of human experiences, in particular of the impact of power differences, colonialism, variability in the degree of differences between host culture and culture of origin, or even of physically visible differences (members of racialized groups have a different experience than non-racialized) and/or a context of forced migration, etc. Moreover, the model seems to suggest that migrants make a strategic decision once and for all, whereas in reality, different acculturation strategies are more likely to apply to a situation or life domain rather than a person. Also, the model does not help to analyse all the complexities implied by 'integration', when there are contradictions and incompatibilities between the culture of origin and the host culture. Finally, one last simplification: no one can be properly characterized by just two sets of identities ('host culture' and 'culture of origin'), as each of us bears a very diverse collection of cultural baggage, such as national culture, religious culture, urban or rural culture, and professional culture, to name just a few.

Nevertheless, as a basic conceptual orientation, the model remains very useful. These four concepts continue to influence the way we consider the path that newcomers/minorities are supposed to take. In particular, it helps us to gain a more concise understanding of 'assimilation', which we recommend using in this narrower, more specific sense, so that we can explore the next question: Is there any pressure that states and 'majority societies' exert on newcomers and minorities? What are their chances of doing this effectively?

immigration and multiculturalism in New Zealand: A social psychological analysis', International Migration Review 42, no. 1 (2008): 227–248.

9 T. LaFromboise, H. L. K. Coleman and J. Gerton, 'Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory', Psychological Bulletin 114, no. 3 (1993): 395–412, 397.

Assimilation from the point of view of the assimilator

Contemporary nation-states have their own visions, approach and institutions for the management of cultural diversity covering a broad spectrum on the multicultural/intercultural to universalist/assimilationist scale. What varies is the extent to which the state makes it a priority to 'help' members of minorities to assimilate and to what extent it also offers support in the maintenance of minority cultural identities.

A multiculturalist/interculturalist orientation may be enshrined in legislation. We might check whether members of a minority have specific cultural rights. In France, such specific group rights would amount to discrimination. In Hungary, there are such rights but only for the thirteen official 'ethnic and national minorities', which excludes more recent groups of migrants. We might also pay attention to official discourse and wording. For example, according to the official procedure for obtaining French citizenship, candidates must undergo an interview to prove their 'assimilation into the French community'.[10] Finally, we might explore how cultural heritage is considered: Are heritage elements of minority members safeguarded, promoted, included? What celebrations appear in the official calendar?

The promotion of assimilation may be perceived as a political necessity, but even the proponents of the classical model knew that assimilation under pressure does not work. As Bogardus argued: 'To forbid the use of one's native tongue, especially when that is inseparably bound up with religious worship and with domestic experiences and sentiments, at once arouses one's loyalty to that which one is about to lose. One will die rather than give up the old loyalties'.[11] Park and Burgess agree: 'Not by the suppression of old memories, but by their incorporation in his new life is assimilation achieved [...] Assimilation cannot be promoted directly, but only indirectly, that is, by supplying the conditions that make for participation. There is no process but life itself that can effectively wipe out the immigrant's memory of his past'.[12]

Education, assimilation and cultural heritage

As we can see in the section above, we can reasonably discuss questions of acculturation and assimilation while skipping any reference to the concept of 'cultural heritage'. What

10 https://www.vie-publique.fr/fiches/23849-comment-devient-citoyen-francais.

11 E. S. Bogardus, 'Assimilation', in Fundamentals of Social Psychology (New York: Century, 1924), 219–228, 221.

12 Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, 740.

we would like to explore here is what added value 'cultural heritage' brings to this discussion. We see at least two perspectives that we explore in the following.

Pedagogical perspective: anchoring in the concrete

To many people who have not completed an introductory cultural anthropology course, the concept of 'culture' may be notoriously elusive, particularly in its broader, anthropological sense, which includes practices as mundane as washing dishes or going to the toilet. In intercultural training, to talk about cultural identity, we first need to understand the concept of culture, how it defines us and how it underlines everything around us. By the time we come to talk about changes in cultural identity, learners may have already acquired so much new knowledge that their capacity for absorption may be saturated. The reference to 'cultural heritage' may offer a pedagogical shortcut. When it comes to visible material heritage, learners may find it easier to think of examples that matter to them. In fact, even immaterial heritage may be easier to access than the abstraction of 'culture' alone.

Political perspective: question of rights

From the angle of assimilation/acculturation to a new cultural environment, it is very easy to put the burden unilaterally on the members of minorities and newcomers, assuming that to be able to function properly they need to adapt to certain norms and practices. It is this same unilateral perspective that we see reflected in the different tests and agreements required for citizenship and naturalization: there is nothing about how the host society will help the newcomer or minority members make their own respective contributions. However, the heritage perspective could remedy this asymmetry. The Faro Convention's Article 4 on 'Rights and responsibilities relating to cultural heritage' discusses a right to heritage and a responsibility to respect the heritage of others. Importing such reciprocity into the 'acculturation' discussion could help shift the focus from the unilateral demand for adaptation and change.

The activity below has the ambition of exploring these two perspectives of enabling reflection on cultural heritage to trigger an interactive and somewhat experiential discussion of assimilation.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to What Would you Give in the activity book.

MODULE 3
Cultural Appropriation and Heritage

By Vera Varhegyi

"A shared heritage not only anchors the members of each community in their own history, [it] opens new directions for future understandings."[1] The word "heritage" itself is telling: in order to talk about it we need to talk about transmission from one generation to another. As such, heritage is essentially relational. Whether we speak about monuments, objects or intangible heritage, all of these aspects have the role of serving as a symbolic anchor for our sense of identity, continuity and connection to others. The concept of 'cultural appropriation', at the centre of our inquiry in this section, creates a disturbance in the relationship implied by cultural heritage. In the following, we will explore the ways this happens.

However, before we do so, it is important to emphasize that for 'cultural appropriation' to occur, the first relationship that needs to be identified is that between a group and an element of cultural heritage that is meaningful to its members. Indeed, there is a recurring confusion, with practices such as 'blackface', for example, being declared to be cases of cultural appropriation. However, as long as putting dark make-up on the face does not belong to African American cultural traditions, the same gesture at a frat party is not cultural appropriation but the caricaturing of the physical traits of others along racist lines.[2] Having clarified this possible confusion, we will embark on the analysis of relations disrupted by cultural appropriation.

A break in continuity: loss of the linearity of heritage

There is a certain promise of linear continuity in the concept of heritage, as if heritage was handed down to us from the generation before us, who received it from the gener-

1 From the Introductory essay by Van Dijk, Irving and Weir.

2 Read further Friedersdorf's and Blank's discussion on:https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/04/cultural-appropriation/521634/.

ation before them, and we will hand it down to the generations that follow us. The idea of this linearity is important and meaningful: it gives us a sense of stability by connecting us to the past and future (see the opening quote). However, there is a great deal of fiction attached to this linearity, as cultural practices are in continuous evolution. For example, 'marriage' today is not the same as 'marriage' at the time of our grandparents and will certainly continue to change. Moreover, the groups themselves who should pass down the heritage are subject to change. If we consider a group of people in a specific geographical region, we will see that some identities gain importance, others fade. Furthermore, there may be waves of migration that imply a change in the inhabitants of that region.

Looking at a particular identity, let's say 'European', we notice that it has continually undergone transformation and also means different things to different people. Moreover, exchange is as much a natural dynamic of culture as transmission: no culture has evolved on its own without borrowing and building on contributions from others. Consider the traditional dishes of your own culture and count the ingredients that are not native to your environment. For example, there would be no *ratatouille* without 'borrowing' from South America (tomatoes, pepper, courgettes) and Asia (aubergine). This dynamic context of permanent movement should not necessarily discredit or diminish the strength of claims of appropriation. It only points to the recognition that instead of a positivist search for objective facts, we are entering the realm of narratives; that instead of theft, we will be talking about recognition.

Another break in continuity: loss of meanings

Cultural appropriation often reappropriates a form, a practice, a pattern whose meaning is unknown, thereby reducing it purely to aesthetics or folklore. A pertinent example is dressing up as an 'American Indian' at Halloween or, more precisely, the fantasy of wearing feathers, war paint or the imagery of a sexy Pocahontas. Here, we see a degradation of the cultural practices of the First Nations people, reduced to a simplistic fantasy. The patterns, clothes and objects used by the First Nations people originally carried important meanings for the group. For example, the Amerindian headdress is worn only by tribal chiefs or distinguished individuals who have performed a brave act for their community, while for many indigenous peoples, body tattoos are war tattoos. So, when Karlie Kloss appeared on the catwalk in 2012 in a fringed suede bikini with turquoise necklace, wristbands and rings and a feathered headdress on her head at the

Victoria's Secret fashion show, it is understandable that some people saw it as disconcerting, contemptuous and even offensive.[3]

A break in equality: asymmetry in the relationship

Cultural appropriation is born in a relation of domination. It is linked to the logic and history of racism and colonialism. A simple example is that of African works of art that were looted during colonization and put in European museums. In contrast, European countries have a different relation to their own cultural artefacts exhibited abroad. We do not see the French demanding the return of furniture and paintings that are exhibited in reconstructed rooms at the MET in New York. In this latter case, we speak of the influence of French culture, we see a respectful, consensual and egalitarian 'borrowing' of the works. In most cases of cultural appropriation, these 'borrowings' are more akin to theft and an abuse of the customs of minority peoples, who are, in addition, often subject to a long history of systemic discrimination. We must look more closely at the relationship between 'borrower' and 'lender'.

When Americans dressed up as Geishas, Japanese people in Japan did not see a problem, but Japanese people in the United States who lived through the US concentration camps of the Second World War were offended. In order to spot cultural appropriation, we must look at the power relations. A French person does not feel offended by a foreigner wearing a beret; he or she does not have the same relationship with that person as a member of the First Nations would have with a non-American Indian wearing a headdress. In the latter case, there is an imbalance of power, as First Nations people still experience discrimination and consider that reconciliation is yet to be fulfilled. The traditions, rituals and cultures of the First Nations people in Canada and the American Indians in the United States have for years been labelled as 'savage'. This 'subculture' was fought against until it became a victim of conscious cultural genocide organized by the newcomers. The heart of the problem lies in the dominant position that people have in claiming aspects of a dominated culture for themselves that they do not understand, after attempting to destroy that living culture and still discriminating against it.

3 See: Frederick White, 'Fashion and Intolerance: Misappropriation of the War Bonnet and Mainstream Anger', The Journal of Popular Culture 50, no. 6 (2017): 1421–1436, 1425–1426; See also George Nicholas, 'Victoria's Secret Does It Again: Cultural Appropriation', The Conversation, 28 November 2017, available online at: https://theconversation.com/victorias-secret-does-it-again-cultural-appropriation-87987.

… Showing by hiding?

The best way to ensure asymmetry in the relationship is to hide the others and not give them the space to be present, or to represent themselves. This may not have been the intention of the Valentino 2015 fashion show, for example, but it does seem to be the result. This show was supposed to honour African traditions and styles – and African patterns did appear on clothes, and in particular in the hairstyling. Nevertheless, the show failed as a cultural homage, especially considering that none of the models who participated were African.[4]

… And no means to rebalance the asymmetry

When the voices of those concerned are raised, victim censorship is usually the consequence. It is common to hear claims that appropriation is 'harmless'; that 'now we can't say/do anything without offending someone' or that 'Japanese people are not concerned about dressing up as a Frenchman' (in a sailor suit, a beret, with a baguette and a glass of wine). These discourses not only discredit the claims of underrepresented communities and deny existing discrimination and power relations, but also reproduce them by depriving these communities of their right to indignation and their power to act, that is, depriving them of their agency.

A break in reciprocity: taking without giving back

In his shows, Marc Jacobs uses models with Bantu knots.[5] This hairstyle, which has existed for thousands of years in African tradition, is now considered to be, and is disseminated as being, invented by Marc Jacobs. The original practice had been transmitted from generation to generation – it is a real moment of transmission – while here it is taken over by a commercial enterprise led by members of the majority society to profit from it without crediting its origin. As Fatou N'diaye, an activist for the recognition of Afro culture and author of the beauty blog, 'Black Beauty Bag', explains: 'The problem with cultural appropriation is that the culture from which a trend is taken is rarely recognised'.[6]

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4 For details, see: https://www.thefashionspot.com/runway-news/649581-valentinos-african-inespired-spring-2016-show/#/slide/1.

5 For details, see: https://atlantablackstar.com/2015/05/26/news-flash-marc-jacobs-invented-bantu-knots-thousands-years-african-people/.

6 Quotation of comment by Fatou N'diaye published in 'Touche pas à mes tresses: On fait le point sur l'appropriation culturelle,' Paule Magazine (25 April 2016), available online at:

Doing it right?

Some will use the term 'cultural appreciation' to justify their actions, considering it a tribute. But beware, it is easy to confuse appreciation and appropriation. To put it simply, cultural appreciation respects and honours the culture of the other. One recognizes the culture, knows its codes, histories and meanings (spiritual, religious, social, etc.). It is an exchange between two parties. For example, a Japanese and a Mexican chef can decide to join forces to exchange recipes, thus seeing the Mexican restaurant propose Japanese dishes revisited. Travelling, researching, learning a language and participating in rituals and celebrations of another culture are all ways of getting to know it without making it your own. Curiosity about and openness to other cultures is enriching and essential to the development of each society, and it should not necessarily turn into 'appropriation' in the negative sense. 'Well executed' appropriation may even become a useful tool in keeping alive cultural heritage and diversity. However, as Susan Scafidi, author of *Who Owns Culture?*, points out: 'It's not fair to ask any culture to freeze itself in time and live as though they were a museum diorama'.[7] If it is natural for cultures to evolve and change, it is also natural to lose connection with a particular heritage. In this case, some argue that 'cultural appropriation can sometimes be the savior of a cultural product that has faded away'.[8]

In order for appreciation not to turn into 'appropriation', however, there are some guidelines to consider. Above all, we should engage with members of the group whose heritage we are interested in. There is a need to take the time to understand the social context, the relationship between our groups, its history and its asymmetries. It is important to go beyond the surface, taking time to understand the meanings and values beyond the motifs and the forms. Ensuring recognition, symbolically and financially, is also essential when we intend to generate income – can it be done well?

Osklen's Spring 2016 collection, for example, was created in collaboration with members of the Asháninka tribe, and has been cited as a good example.[9] The collection, named 'Asháninka' after the tribe, was created with the active collaboration of the tribe:

https://www.paulemagazine.com/selfcare/touche-pas-a-mes-tresses-on-fait-le-point-sur-lappropriation-culturelle/ (translation our own).

7 Susan Scafidi is cited in: Jenni Avins, 'Borrowing From Other Cultures Can Be A Positive Exchange,' The Atlantic (23 October 2015); available online at: https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/borrowing-from-other-cultures-can-be-a-positive-exchange/433194/.

8 Susan Scafidi, cited in Jenni Avins, 'Borrowing From Other Cultures'.

9 A brief description of the collection is available here: https://whitewall.art/fashion/osklen-bringing-ashaninka-to-nyfw.

the designer team lived with members of the tribe, and the tribe benefitted financially from the venture. Of course, we do not know whether the actual consumers were interested in learning anything about the clothing; for example, whether they understood what the prints on the shirts meant, or what was special about 'Amazon red'. The Asháninka were given space for their voice to be heard, and we can only hope others were listening. Even here, however, we might ask about the power relationship and the motives of those involved.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to the Cultural Appropriation Detective in the activity book.

MODULE 4
Heritage and Interculturality

By Theo Dupont and Vera Varhegyi

What is interculturality?

A practical approach to understanding seemingly elusive concepts is to cut them up into their constituent parts. We can apply the same trick to 'interculturality' and explore 'inter' and 'culture'. Let's start with the second term and do an experiment.

About 'culture'

Stop reading, close your eyes for a minute and think of the first ideas, words and images that come to your mind when you are asked to think about 'culture'. A typical 'Western' mind (forgive the generalization) tends to take one of two paths. Firstly, perhaps you will think of the last opera or theatre performance you saw, or an exhibition or concert that touched you. Rarely do people think of such mundane activities such as washing the dishes or even sitting and reading a trainer's handbook. As Ralph Linton puts it, culture

> refers to the total way of life of any society, not simply to those parts which the society regards as higher or more desirable. Thus culture, when applied to our own way of life, has nothing to do with playing the piano or reading Browning. For the social scientist such activities are simply elements within the totality of our culture. This totality also includes such mundane activities as washing dishes or driving an automobile, and for the purpose of cultural studies these stand quite on par with the 'finer things of life'.[1]

Moreover, these manifestations of culture, daily or not, are not fixed in an immutable form. On the contrary, they change, they are transformed and they evolve during their transmission, according to the generations and the exchanges between cultures. The need to give a logical meaning to our cultural practices according to our context pushes

1 Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, International Library of Sociology 84 (1947; Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 20.

us to reinterpret and recode them constantly. This can be seen, for example, in religious practices. If paying homage to a god can be central to the cultural practices of a group, the way of doing so, as well as the reasons, still depend on the individuals and their relationship to this practice.

Secondly, when you think of '*a* culture', images could emerge of a not too close, not too distant cultural group, usually a national group, centred on some key distinguishing features. For example, I might think of 'the Japanese' because yesterday I saw *The Last Samurai* and, in my mind, I would have an image of Japanese people in rather traditional clothes. We rarely think of a group that we are part of in this instance, and we rarely think of a group of people of great diversity – of seniors, of non-binary people, accountants or adherents of extreme right parties – although these would be as valid for 'cultural groups' as 'the Japanese'.[2] Even so, can 'culture' be equated with a group of people? The truth is, for 'culture' to develop, we do need groups of people: there is no solitary culture developed by one single person. However, even using the word 'culture' to refer to a particular group will always be a simplification: any group of people will be heterogeneous, each integrating a special mix of different cultural values, norms, traits and behaviours in slightly different ways. Reflect on yourself: how many different types of cultures are you connected to?

Now that this first overview of *culture* is completed, we can tackle the second part of the word 'intercultural'.

About 'inter'

If culture is a constantly changing set of values, norms and practices, if 'cultures' are not fixed and statically definable sets of people, what does the 'inter' or 'between' refer to? How can we compare or encounter entities that are constantly changing? This is the interesting part: the 'inter' constructs the reality of cultures, either by rigidifying them or by engaging in a dynamic and constructive exchange.

Indeed, we can be quite oblivious to the idea of culture until the moment we actually meet someone from another culture. This does not mean that we would not be cultural beings, we would still be motivated by cultural values and display cultural behaviour. However, it is through an encounter that a fluid conception of culture may take a more

2 This conceptual bias is not an accident, but almost a necessity: the cultures of which we are members tend to be perceived by us with more nuance and complexity. It is more difficult to think of them as a coherent, compact whole. Although, if we are members of a group that is discriminated against or stigmatized, we are reminded on a daily basis that we are members of this group, making it more noticeable.

static shape. As Dietz proposes: 'The encounter between individuals from two different cultures generates a mutual recourse to reciprocal stereotypes as a reaction to cultural ambiguities'.[3]

That said, static rigidity is not the only possible outcome of intercultural encounters. The 'awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnection across difference'[4] can also result in new combinations, meanings, hopefully even 'new arrangements of culture and power'.[5] The mission, then, is to see how an 'intercultural' moment can be an occasion for fruitful new meanings – rather than the rigidification of static conceptions – and an opportunity for new arrangements and the promotion of an exchange, a co-construction that is not crushed by conscious or unconscious power dynamics. How can cultural heritage become an ally or a catalyst in this mission?

Interculturality as a turning point overcoming the illusion of our cultural neutrality

The intercultural approach that we propose starts with accepting a certain intercultural humility: becoming aware that our perception is not as objective as we may have believed, and also that we are subject to a range of cognitive and social biases which influence the way we contemplate others. We see interculturality as a way to fight against the stereotyping process – not to eradicate it but to de-rigidify it. Being aware of our own stereotyping processes allows us to limit ethnocentrism.

Interculturality as a desire to give more visibility to cultural groups with less power

If the promotion of the heritage of minorities is intended to be a tool for the promotion of diversity – notably at the level of international political bodies – the mere recognition of diversity is not enough to create a common ground, because it maintains an identity-based, even reified, conception of heritage. Because of this, the first attempts to build this common heritage were based on the principle that this cultural heritage had to go through a phase of de-appropriation, including in its public dimension. Because of the power dynamics at stake, this was done mainly using a national geopolitical model (e.g. French, Polish heritage), which was to the detriment of minorities, who only played a

3 G. Dietz, 'Interculturality', in The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology, ed. H. Callan (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 13.

4 Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 4.

5 Lowenhaupt Tsing, Friction, 5.

minor role in the decision-making process, as well as in the processes of representation within this common heritage.

The intersectional approach to culture reveals a valorization of certain cultural practices or groups at the expense of others. This hierarchization of culture according to the prism of the so-called 'dominant culture' is notably visible through the choices of valorization of cultural heritage. For example, if we refer to the UNESCO List of World Heritage,[6] 47% of the world heritage validated by the institution is located in Europe/North America, 24% in Asia, and only 8.5% in Africa and 7.6% in the Arab States. Bearing in mind our previous reflection, this hierarchization is not only geographically based but also has effects on all areas of culture. This can be seen in everyday life, but also in the media. Ask yourself: In such and such a film, which practices are promoted? Which cultural groups are invisible?

Interculturality as readiness to hear the voices of minorities

There is a growing reconsideration of cultural heritage in a more intercultural way so as to give voice to those in the minority.[7] As Rautenberg and Rojon argue:

The transformations of the conceptions of heritage opened by the new international conventions provide a context of transformation of the forms of communication. States no longer play the central and unifying role that was theirs, even if it is not theirs, even if one should not neglect the weight of the big cultural institutions, which remains important, particularly in the French case. The possibility of producing and disseminating images oneself, as well as of accessing resources and archives more easily have further accentuated the flows of cultural circulation and multiplied their uses.[8]

We are also seeing more and more hybrid processes that involve institutions and people from minority groups in ways that co-construct the preservation and transmission of cultural heritages. In the case of museums, for example,[9] we are moving away from a paradigm centred on 'the collection', that is from a model of the museum oriented to its own holdings to museums connected to communities (understood here as popu-

6 List of Word Heritage, available on the website of UNESCO https://whc.unesco.org/fr/list/stat

7 C. Autant-Dorier, 'Le patrimoine au défi de l'interculturalité: enjeux et nouvelles pratiques', Alterstice 5, no. 2 (2015): 7–19.

8 M. Rautenberg and S. Rojon, 'Hedonistic Heritage: Digital Culture and Living Environment', Cultura: International Journal of Philosophy of Culture and Axiology 11, no. 2 (2014): 59–81.

9 C. Bortolotto, Le patrimoine culturel immatériel. Enjeux d'une nouvelle catégorie (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2011); see also Autant-Dorier, 'Le patrimoine au défi de l'interculturalité'.

lations-publics-territories). Institutions must not only function in response to their audiences and meet their expectations, but also be anchored, that is, locally relevant, as heritage-based community services.

Here, we have the founding principles of the 'community ecomuseum', for which the museum is an instrument that can serve the community and help it to think and act on common problems: it serves social time to fill a political function. There is no distinction between professionals, researchers or the public insofar as everyone is considered an actor and contributes to the development process. This is just as much a question of enhancing the value of 'heritage' as it is of enhancing the lives of the people who are its bearers.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Discovering our Own Culture through the Heritage of Others in the activity book.

THEME IV
HERITAGE AS A TOOL FOR INCLUSION





MODULE 1
Heritage as a Tool for Self-Awareness

By la XIXA team

'We speak of the virtues of memory, but forgetfulness has its own virtue [...] [The 'memorial cult's'] favourite mantra, "Let us remember, so the same thing doesn't happen again", is unconvincing. A remembered massacre may serve as a deterrent, but it may also serve as a model for the next massacre', writes Holocaust survivor Ruth Kluger.[1] In 2017, recalling the massacres suffered by American Indians during the founding of the United States, Navajo activist and ceremonial leader Pat McCabe shared his reflection on the slogan 'Never forget!':

I began by addressing my ancestors. [...] I said to them, that we would love them always, and forever, but that somehow we must forget, or let go of, all the violence that had come before now, or we ourselves would complete the job of genocide that the U.S. government began. I begged them, my ancestors, to let us go free. I told them they must find their way all the way home to the Spirit World. And then I prayed with all my heart, and all my tears, and asked for Creator to open the gate for them to travel, and to leave us in peace, and for them to find peace beyond the gate, and for each of us to travel in the correct way once again, each in our own world, me in this Earth Walk world and they, true ancestors in the Spirit World.[2]

These two testimonies are collected by Lewis Hyde in his book with the suggestive title, *A Primer for Forgetting: Getting Past the Past*, where he illustrates the complex relationship between heritage and self-awareness. Heritage is manipulable and it manipulates us, it is memory and invention, it is wall and bridge. Hyde, for example, began writing his book when he learned something unexpected: oral societies maintain their balance by getting rid of memories that no longer have relevance in the present. They also change

1 Kluger cited in Lewis Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting: Getting Past the Past (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2019), 205.

2 McCabe in Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 54.

the story, to the surprise of the English settlers in Africa, who, after recording many of the stories and myths in writing, saw how, over time, these oral narratives did not match what they had recorded years earlier. For Hyde, this 'stirred my own contrary spirit, for I began to scrapbooks of other cases in which letting go of the past is at least as useful as preserving it'.[3]

His book emerged as a result of this interest. It is an exhaustive compilation of quotes, aphorisms, anecdotes, stories and reflections divided into four central themes around forgetting: mythology ('Notebook I: Myth'), personal psychology ('Notebook II: Self'), politics ('Notebook III: Nation') and creativity ('Notebook IV: Creation'). However, the author warns us not to neglect memory, since both memory and forgetting 'are the faculties of the mind by which we are aware of time, and time is a mystery'.[4]

Nevertheless, Hyde asks: '[i]f the arts of memory are rooted in blood, could there be an art of forgetting that puts an end to bloodshed?' 'We do not control the unforgettable; it controls us', he writes after studying Greek mythology, where 'the spirits of such unforgetting are called the Furies, the Erinyes. They cling to the memory of hurt and harm, injury and insult, wound and injury [...] They bloat the present with the undigested past'.[5]

How do we regain this control? 'The word was the magic solution used against the incarnated violence of the unforgettable. In the courts of Athens, the amnesty – which is a legal form of forgetting – 'worked in part because there was a way for grief and anger to be spoken even as everyone swore to forget about actual action', explains Hyde.[6]

When Juan Perón took over the Argentine presidency in 1946, he relegated the writer Jorge Luis Borges to a peripheral position. Later, when the famous author was asked if he forgave Perón, he said: 'Forgetting is the only form of forgiveness; it's the only vengeance and the only punishment too. Because if my counterparts see that I'm still thinking about them, in some ways I become their slave, and if I forget them I don't'.[7]

Is to forget to let go? In the 13th century, the Zen master Dogen taught: 'To study the Buddha Way is to study the self. To study the self is to forget the self. To forget the self is to become one with the ten thousand things'. 'The Ten Thousand Things' was also the title of an album by John Cage, who understood music as a way to free ourselves from memory. However, as Hyde points out using these sources: 'as much as we might value

3 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 3.
4 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 6.
5 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 57, 63.
6 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 67.
7 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 206.

the spiritual practice of thinning out the self, of noticing its contingency and transience, of muting its fears and greed — there can be no forgetting the self until there is a self. [...] "You have to be somebody before you can be nobody"".[8]

This brings us back to heritage as a tool for self-awareness. The Kenyan communications consultant Esther Kiragu defines internal self-awareness as 'taking note of one's habits, behaviour, emotions, strengths and weaknesses, and how these impact on others'.[9] In this sense, heritage and our feelings towards different heritage elements can act as a mirror of what is important to us, and of who we are, giving us important clues about what parts of our past make up our lives today. Understanding why, what and how we choose to remember or forget the past is key to understanding our core position in our present life, both towards ourselves and towards others. Heritage is a tool at the service of this essential exercise of self and collective knowledge and awareness.

This is not about never forgetting, because this, physically, mentally and spiritually, as we have seen, is not healthy. Nor is the opposite better: living in an imaginary present where the past does not exist. What this is about is understanding heritage as a large map where we can find references that help us build more cohesive, peaceful, fair societies. To do so, we need to investigate tangible and intangible heritage through this prism. We use the heritage and let the heritage use us.

The debate is complex and there is no single answer. Let us take as an example the struggle of some anti-racist groups against certain statues in public places, an action that has taken on great relevance in the United States and that has also been extended to different parts of the planet. The goal is to 'liberate' the place from these racist symbols. However, erasing patrimony for political purposes is common in all kinds of ideologies, especially in a totalitarian context, which seek to eliminate any impure past in order to impose its 'new' present.

History does not always suit our present interests. Not only does it usually not fit with the vision we want for society, but the opposite is often the case. Heritage, both tangible and intangible, reminds us of that bond; that continuity of which we are a part. However, this does not mean that we should always read heritage in the same straightforward way. For example, keeping the statue of a slave-trader does not imply that we should agree with what he thought or with his actions, but it can remind us that such a historical episode will not disappear even if we destroy the statue. If we place elements that explain

8 Hyde, A Primer for Forgetting, 11, 87.

9 https://estherkiragulifesmusings.wordpress.com/2019/06/28/how-self-aware-are-you/.

history in a more inclusive and egalitarian way next to this statue, we will be able to understand heritage in a more complex and pedagogical way.

Like ancient idols, statues retain a power and capacity to act on their viewers in each age. Sometimes, as in the case of anti-racist protests, they continue to be a symbol – a material place to express anger, or a pole of attraction to channel a demand for a more egalitarian society, in the same way that other monuments continue to function as poles of concentration of mass demonstrations beyond the original reason they were built.

In this sense, heritage never allows a linear reading, and much less any one reading. Uncertainty and change are intrinsic parts of any individual and, as such, of any society, and the heritage used also responds to these changes and uncertainties. In a way, manipulating heritage is inevitable, in the same way that heritage manipulates us, that is, it challenges us, suggests alternatives to us and speaks to us. Between forgetting and remembering, between a more equitable future and a radically plural past, we can understand heritage as a tool for self-awareness as long as we take into account all these ambivalences and complexities. As the philosopher Kierkegaard pointed out: 'Having perfected the art of forgetting and the art of remembering, one is then in a position to play battledore [a forerunner of badminton] and shuttlecock with the whole of existence'.[10]

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to I am Heritage in the activity book.

10 Søren Kierkegaard, 'Crop Rotation: An Attempt at a Theory of Social Prudence', in Søren Kierkegaard, Either/Or: A Fragment of Life, ed. Victor Eremita, abridged and translated by Alastaire Hannay, 2nd ed. (London: Penguin, 2004), 233.

MODULE 2
Community Art and the Democratization of Heritage

By la XIXA team

The democratization of heritage is the formula encapsulating how tangible and intangible heritage can respond to current needs in an open and inclusive way. One of the possibilities for carrying out this democratization is through community art. According to François Matarasso in *A Restless Art. How Participation Won, and Why it Matters*, community art is: 'the creation of art as a human right, by professional and non-professional artists, co-operating as equals, for purposes and to standards they set together, and whose processes, products and outcomes cannot be known in advance'.[1]

In this sense, Matarasso points out, all the people involved in the process have different roles and contribute different resources, but all those who participate have the same rights in the process: 'They must negotiate, agree and share what will happen, because, in a rights-based process, there is no legitimate basis on which anyone, including the professional artists, can impose their vision or authority on the group'.[2] This is in tune with the democratization of heritage, insofar as there is no single or regulated authority that establishes what is and what is not heritage and, more importantly, how we should interpret and use it.

Heritage is a great resource for community art when it is understood from this perspective, that is, as a multifaceted, open and current legacy capable of responding to current issues or, in any case, raising questions or offering other views on the issues that concern us. As Matarasso explains, in the practice of community art, the premise is not only to create something good, but to collectively decide and agree on what 'good' means:

1 François Matarasso, A Restless Art. How Participation Won, and Why it Matters (Lisbon and London: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2019), 51.

2 Matarasso, A Restless Art, 52.

the purpose and standards of community art are integral to the meaning of the work and must be established and agreed by the people who make it. Finally, and as a direct consequence of the previous two statements, the *processes, products and outcomes cannot be known in advance*. [...] Community art is not a score to be conducted. It is improvisation, like jazz. Its players agree themes and boundaries at the outset: after that, art emerges as they pay attention and respond to one another.[3]

When the main resource to build this collective and open score is heritage, we need to understand (as explained in the chapter on exclusive versus inclusive heritage) the importance of rereading, adjusting and listening to the tangible and intangible heritage that we have inherited in order to nurture artistic work. While an exclusive or rigid view of heritage gives us little room for creativity and performance, the perspective of inclusive heritage, in contrast, facilitates imaginative processes, creativity and art and is an ideal tool for community art.

One of the first acts required for this to happen is to determine what type of heritage we want to work on or what is the most appropriate for starting a community artwork. If, for example, those involved live in the same neighbourhood, we can collectively investigate and share the different heritage in the area. As explained in the chapter on inclusive heritage, we can explore the assumed origins of this heritage to find the intersections, mixtures and complexities which forged this heritage element. Ultimately, we will come to an understanding of the way it speaks to us today and how we can use it in our discourse.

One example of this is found in some forms of community theatre, such as is found in the Bambara heritage in Mali. The Bamana have many variants of traditional community theatre called *Koteba*, whose semantic origin has been linked to the phrase 'Ko te maaw minniw bali' (those who can't be stopped by anybody) or 'Kote anw bali' (nothing is impossible to us).[4] When a modern group interested in community theatre wanted to work on social problems, they turned to the heritage of 'koteba' to combine entertainment and social harmonization, turning social problems into comedy, but also into tragedy:

Koteba constantly conveys the idea of individual-society interaction. The repertoire therefore includes scenes from everyday life as well as historical sketches, the aim being to highlight the value of the system of social relations. Koteba has to evoke both the

3 Matarasso, A Restless Art, 52.

4 Melanie Sampayo Vidal, 'Performing Contestation: Narratives on Critical Malian Theatre Plays', Cahiers de littérature orale 89–90 (2021): 23–52 at 31.

virtues of man and his faults, the latter constituting a latent danger to society. Laughter and derision are used to express criticism and ideas that would be inconceivable in other circumstances.[5]

Here, heritage (in this case, traditional theatrical technique) is used to elaborate current community work in an always fruitful dialogue between tradition and modernity, heritage and current affairs. It is important to note the central dimension of community work and participation in the entire creative process. In this way, the democratization of heritage, like the democratization of art, implies real and consensual participation that dilutes the barriers between professional and non-professional artist. As the late Ngugi wa Mirii, of the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT), explained, this is one of the premises of community theatre in Africa that gathers the theatrical heritage of each region to generate current works: 'The foreign approach to community theatre (where you show the work, talk to the people and leave) – I think it is an insult to the intelligence of the peasants and workers. Those who come from abroad assume that the community has no potential, no communication capacity and that it cannot think for itself'.[6]

The Parapanda Theatre Lab (PTL), which is one of the leading groups in Tanzania that promotes of this type of theatre, explains what they do:

The process seeks out and analyses problems and offers community members the opportunity to find solutions through debate and consensus. The plays, performed by the same community, are based on the experiences and problems that affect them, such as gender, economics, politics, children's rights, sexual health and HIV/AIDS, governance, environment or projects for teenagers who have dropped out.[7]

This community involvement, as with many of the African performing traditions, encourages improvisation as a key element for those who wish to participate but do not have training in theatre. As Oga S. Abah explains: 'The technique of improvisation

5 Marie-Laure de Noray, 'Mali: du kotèba traditionnel au théâtre utile', Politique africaine 66 (1997): 134–139 at 135 (translation our own).

6 Ngugi wa Mirii quoted in an interview, in Kennedy C. Chinyowa, 'Manifestations of Play as Aestheticin African Theatre for Development', PhD Diss. (Griffith University, 2005), 176.

7 The description is drawn from: Dídac P. Lagarriga, 'Público al servicio del público: Teatro y quema deltelón en África', in Querido público. El espectador ante la participación: jugadores, usuarios,prosumers y fans, ed. Ignasi Duarte and Roger Bernat (Murcia: Cendeac, 2009), 122 (translationour own).

democratises dramatic creation, and allows each person to contribute with her skills in the role she plays. Furthermore, the space where it occurs becomes a forum for debate'.[8]

Thereby, the cultural heritage of the region – where oral and theatrical heritage is central to the entire community in being used to explain myths and legends while serving as a space to create cohesion and resolve conflict – remains a living source of inspiration to generate new community works.

Although the examples are located in a specific geographical context (Africa) and in a specific discipline (theatre), we can find examples of this same community urge to democratize art and heritage on other continents. One example is the Theatre of the Oppressed that began in Latin America and which is now gaining territory as a basic methodology for community involvement in many European contexts.

Community art – and heritage democratization through community art – is a formula that can be replicated anywhere and in all creative disciplines. To get started, all you need is the intention.

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Rediscovering the City through our Bodies in the activity book.

8 Oga S. Abah, 'Perspectives in Popular Theatre: Orality as a Definition of New Realities', in Theatre and Performance in Africa, ed. E. Breitinger (Alemania: Bayreuth African Studies Series, 1994), 31; Year Book of the Association for the Study of the New Literatures in English 4 (Bayreuth: Gesellschaft für die Neuen Englischsprachigen Literaturen, 1994), 79–100 at 88.

MODULE 3
Religion in the Classroom: Negotiation and Conflict Resolution

By la XIXA team

In recent decades, Europe has experienced a decline in religious teaching, although we should first ask to what extent this concerned teaching about religion in general terms (e.g. the history and foundations of various religions). In some European countries, religion in education was associated with indoctrination in the Christian religion. Today, we find privately run Christian centres that continue to offer such teaching, along with other private educational centres that offer religious training in a specific denomination. In this way, in Europe today, we find private educational centres for children and adults, which offer education, for example, in Catholic, Evangelical, Muslim or Buddhist traditions. The range of options, formats and quality of content is enormous and plural, from formal and traditional indoctrination to introductory courses. These centres may take cultural, therapeutic, pedagogical or artistic approaches, from the theological explanation of dogma to a psychological approach to meaning making. In this sense, any pedagogical practice in the religious sphere must be considered relevant today when discussing religion in the classroom, although a class on Catholic catechesis naturally differs greatly from one on Buddhist Vipassana meditation.

Today, an officially secular Europe is, at the same time, a multi-religious Europe, where diverse religious experiences coexist and collide. The classroom is one of the places where this difficult and complex management of religious diversity is intensely experienced. The Catalan theologian and anthropologist, Francesc Torradeflot, director of the AUDIR organization for interfaith dialogue, explains that:

> in plural democratic societies the social function of religion no longer makes sense, unless by social function we understand the facilitation of spiritual experience. So it does make sense, but not when you want to play a role of power and control. The

> important thing about religions is that they help you to see and live the reality more fully and be happier, and we have found other forms, more inclusive and plural, of social cohesion thanks to democracies that, I hope, will be increasingly more participatory. That is why I believe that spirituality fits very well in such a society, because it generates more creative, innovative, free people, better able to cooperate and work as a team, to put themselves at the service of others because they are not so dominated by the ego.[1]

Hans Küng, one of the most important theologians of our time, writes: 'No religion—neither Judaism nor Christianity nor Islam (nor the religions of Indian and Chinese origin)—can be satisfied with the status quo in this time of upheaval. Everywhere there are amazingly parallel questions about a future renewal.'[2] It is that search for common questions that makes Küng, in addition to his well-known criticism of Christianity, one of the figures who have most insisted on dialogue between religions in a way that goes beyond mere formality.

Although in recent decades in Europe there has been no direct opposition to interfaith dialogue – except in the most reactionary sectors – there are not so many who have delved into other beliefs with real interest and conviction – the conviction of finding a mirror in the other, of finding a truth in the other. That is why Küng argues that religious truth is impossible without personal truthfulness. Just as Judaism is not a unitary and rigid monolith, but a dynamic and complex entity that is constantly changing, neither are Christianity and Islam fixed and monolithic. Perceiving global responsibility means getting to know one's own problems better in the mirror of others, and transmitting to others one's experiences in order to solve conflicts within one's own religion.

Küng's stated aim is to develop an understanding of the heritage of religions as part of the human condition: '[...] religion is ambivalent. .In any religion, essence and form, the abiding and the changing, the good and the bad, saving and damning, essence and

1 Francesc Torradeflot Freixes, 'Desafíos sociales para el diálogo interreligioso', in La diversidadcultural y religiosa: Realidades y desafíos para las Plataformas Sociales. Jornadas Formativas. Madrid 24 y 25 de octubre de 2012, ed. Margarita García O'Meany and Francesc Torradeflot Freixes, Cuadernos de Formación 8 (Madrid: Coordinadora estatal de plataformas sociales Salesianas, 2012), 29–46 at 36–37 (translation our own); the publication is available online at: https://psocialessalesianas.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/08-Diversidad-Cultural-y-Religiosa.pdf.

2 Hans Küng, Islam: Past, Present and Future (London: Oneworld, 2007), 22.

perversion are interwoven and can never clearly be separated by human beings, who are themselves deeply ambivalent.'[3]

Küng's pedagogical proposal is that one's own religious heritage should be open to the rest of the world's religions. Fidelity to one's own religious belief (inward perspective) is not, he argues, incompatible with openness to other religious traditions (outward perspective). Only in this sense can we obtain necessary reciprocal information, engage in mutual discussion and, finally, realise mutual transformation. The ultimate goal of all our efforts cannot, then, be some kind of unified religion, but a true peace between religions.

Additionally, he states:

> Faced with a deadly threat to all humankind, shouldn't we demolish the walls of prejudice stone by stone and build bridges of dialogue, including bridges to Islam,rather than erect new barriers of hatred,vengeance and hostility? I am pleading neither for opposition to be swept under the carpet nor for a syncretistic mixing of religions. I am pleading for an honest approach and an attempt at understanding, based on mutual self-awareness, on objectivity and fairness, and on the knowledge of what separates and what unites. Is such an effort naïve, as pessimists and cynics in politics, business, science and journalism think? On the contrary, it is the only realistic alternative, if we are not to give up hope for a better world order altogether.[4]

In the debate about how to teach religion or what type of pedagogy we should apply, we are faced with a trend that wants to appropriate heritage and petrify it, that is, make it exclusive and distinguished over and against another perspective that interprets and uses it in an inclusive way.

One example is French author Marie Balmary, psychoanalyst and exegete of the Bible, who has published numerous works. From Genesis to the story of Abraham, from the origins of the people of Israel to Jesus, her comments enrich and open us to new readings in an unexpected, liberating way. As she confesses, the invariability of the Scriptures is answered by the multiplicity of voices that, from generation to generation, narrate and converse thanks to these Scriptures:

3 Küng, Islam, 21.
4 Küng, Islam, xxv.

> I claim here Jewish freedom: as many interpretations for each verse as there were Hebrews on Sinai (600,000) [...] If these texts constitute our memory, each itinerary, each human experience can visit them again. If they are truly our memory, they must contain what is necessary so that they can be read again until the end of time.[5]

Nevertheless, she is aware that the Bible and its heritage 'can become a liberator that enslaves, if we consider it so sacred that there is only room for repetition or pious worship. Repeated incessantly, or not even open, the Bible is reduced to silence, without interpretation'.[6] Here, an extreme respect for the Book of Books 'leaves the spirit unable to create a living reading, to find any new access, to personally appropriate its content'.[7]

Balmary's opinions on how to approach heritage and what elements have been silenced or ignored are very relevant to the religious question. She concludes that:

> Psychoanalysis has taught me that the human spirit does not silence a memory for no reason. Have we repressed the Bible? Why? What was so dangerous about it? I thought, then, that after the experience of psychoanalysis, and with it, it would be interesting to read from this new awareness those Scriptures on which our civilization has been founded; and it would also be interesting to try to understand why our culture, which preserved them, seemed as if at the same time it wanted to hide them. [...]

And further:

> That the Bible is the most commented upon book also allows, in my opinion, that new things can always be found: where two, three or a hundred ... have already spoken to say different things, the space is open to any word that does not receive the previous comments like an order to be silent, but as an invitation to speak as well.[8]

As the Franco-Moroccan professor and author Rachid Benzine points out:

5 Marie Balmary, Le sacrifice interdit. Freud et la Bible (Paris: Grasset, 2014), 17 (translation our own).
6 Balmary, Le sacrifice interdit, 19 (translation our own).
7 Balmary, Le sacrifice interdit, 19 (translation our own).
8 Balmary, Le sacrifice interdit, 19, 37.

> Analysing your beliefs is like scrutinising a reality that flows through your veins. Abandoning what you learnt during your childhood is an assault on your body, heart and mind. [...] To talk about God is to reveal a part of oneself, a deeply intimate dimension. One can feel a sense of shame. This is one of the reasons why it is so difficult for the believer to accept criticism. For the latter risks destabilising what is most personal, most secret and most precious to them, in their understanding of themselves, but also of their relationship with the world and with others.[9]

Benzine believes that entering such a delicate field is an essential task and, as a professor at various French universities, it is one of his main missions. In his book, *Le Coran expliqué aux jeunes*, he collects numerous questions that his students ask about Islam and answers them from a perspective that implies knowing how to be critical of one's own belief and heritage without having to deny them. Benzine argues that: 'Criticism is not an act of disloyalty towards those who are religious. Nor is it a crime of lèse-majesté against the institutions, and even less an act of atheism.' He adds:

> Criticism does not prevent anyone from participating and adhering. One could even argue the opposite: it is precisely because there is room for criticism that participation can become real. True appropriation of a faith cannot consist of regurgitation or repetition of official discourse. Adherence to a faith requires personal reappropriation, which inevitably involves questioning, by looking back at the construction of the belief, and by discovering those centuries when the belief was still in its infancy before it became established.[10]

As this Islamicist and political scientist assures us: 'I have not sought to impose any 'truths' on my readers that are in opposition to or in competition with other 'truths'. I have simply attempted to provide them with elements of knowledge that will enable them to explore and delve deeper into a Qur'anic Reality that will never cease to amaze us.'[11] Benzine quotes the philosopher Jacques Derrida in claiming that it is necessary to remember that heritage does not solely consist in maintaining dead objects or archives, but that every heir to heritage has the responsibility to act with 'unfaithful fidelity'

9 Rachid Benzine, Le Coran expliqué aux jeunes (Paris: Seuil, 2013), 198.
10 Benzine, Le Coran expliqué aux jeunes, 199.
11 Benzine, Le Coran expliqué aux jeunes, 200.

(*infidèle fidélité*), conscious of his own beliefs, without this implying the total rejection of that which is inherited.[12]

For an activity that illustrates the topics of this chapter, please go to Using Forum Theatre for Conflict Resolution: Religion in the Classroom in the activity book.

12 Benzine, Le Coran expliqué aux jeunes, 199, referring to Jacques Derrida, Sur parole. Instantanésphilosophiques (Paris : Éditions de l'Aube, 1999).

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Partner info

Associació La Xixa Teatre (Spain)

La Xixa Teatre Association is a non-profit organization founded in 2010 that aims to research, develop and multiply educational and theatrical tools as a means for social transformation. We believe that education at all ages is the key to generating social change that leads towards a world of equal opportunities. The scope of our activities is aimed at the following themes and domains:

- School Education, Early School Leaving, Prevention of Risk Behaviour among Youth
- Intercultural Communication, Racism, Xenophobia, Social Inclusion and Integration
- Gender, Equality Policies and Sexual Diversity
- Peace Culture and Co-existence, Active Citizenship, Civic Engagement and Local Development

The mission of La Xixa is to facilitate the creation of spaces of empowerment through Participatory Methodologies, Process Oriented Psychology and the Theatre of the Oppressed to generate processes of individual and collective transformation in contexts of social vulnerability. Participatory Methodologies allow a group with diverse interests to acquire an ever greater role in the analysis of their own reality and decision-making, thus all agents become crucial actors in their own development. Process Oriented Psychology focuses on developing a state of consciousness, helping individuals and groups to create awareness about how they perceive and live their experiences, and giving them tools so they can learn to change their approach. We conduct workshops for various groups, training for trainers and artistic actions at a local and international level. We are a multidisciplinary and multicultural group of collaborators, trained in the field of social sciences, pedagogy and arts. The diversity within our team enriches our social and creative work and ensures that we are continuously training and learning anew.

Képes Alapítvány (Hungary)

The mission of Képes Alapítvány is to help different target groups to develop their social emotional learning (SEL) competences. We explore, adapt/develop, evaluate and promote SEL programmes and initiatives.

We find this field important as SEL competencies are shown to increase academic and work achievement and help better adjustment to everyday life. These skills can be taught and developed and can help disadvantaged people to 'beat the odds'. With increased self-efficacy and motivation to learn, with more flexibility, realistic goal-setting and good problem-solving skills, they can achieve more than they would otherwise. We set up programmes for those who lack these skills the most and who have little opportunity to access such training. We also target those professionals who work with these target groups (e.g. social workers, youth workers).

We mostly work with volunteers (currently we have about 15 volunteers) and involve external experts related to specific projects. Currently, two people are employed by Képes.

Storytelling Centre (The Netherlands)

The Storytelling Centre believes in the power of storytelling. We are also convinced that in a balanced, culturally diverse society, there should be space for everyone's story; especially in times of intercultural tension! In an ever-changing society, we see it as a necessity to provide a platform for all those stories, in theatre and in society, and to encourage people to connect through stories. That is our mission.

In recent years, the Storytelling Centre has developed numerous activities in the field of storytelling. The Centre is now known nationally and internationally as a training centre, festival producer, producer of performances of pressing concern by young storytelling talents and as a supporter of cultural diversity and connectivity between people of different cultural backgrounds.



élan interculturel

Élan Interculturel (France)

Élan Interculturel is an association created by a group of professionals interested in the challenges of intercultural encounter and coexistence. Our association's objective is to contribute to intercultural dialogue that leads to a better experience of cultural diversity.

As a laboratory of intercultural methodologies, Élan interculturel's mission is to promote a holistic vision of culture (psychological and socio-anthropological) and to propose innovative pedagogies to open up reflection and to develop skills and competences for intercultural dialogue. To contribute to a more intercultural society, we engage in international cooperation projects whose objective is to develop new teaching methodologies that can be used in various training courses tailored to different audiences (social workers, educators, teachers, health professionals, etc.). As a training organization, we use interactive teaching methods and non-formal pedagogies (applying literature, theatre, improvisation, art) that offer creative, accessible and motivating learning experiences.



University of Groningen (The Netherlands)

The Centre for Religion and Heritage at the University of Groningen was established to promote scholarly exchange, train future professionals, advise external stakeholders and engage in public outreach work in this topical and highly contested field. Its projects and events provide a resource for scholars and students, heritage organizations and government, as well as anyone interested in the connection of religion and heritage. Building on a long-term engagement with Christian heritage, the Centre draws on the research strengths of affiliated staff in ancient religions, as well as Islamic, Jewish and Buddhist religious history, and in theoretical investigations of secularism and the post-secular. The CRH is currently leading MIRETAGE, a follow-up Erasmus Plus project to REBELAH that focuses on minority heritage.



Ibn Battuta Foundation (Spain)

Fundació Ibn Battuta is a non-profit organization founded in 1994. Constituted at a national level, its aim is to provide social, cultural, educational and employment support to migrants to ensure that they have access to a fully inclusive and real citizenship. Our work is also based on promoting people from this group in European society to avoid discrimination and racism.

The purposes of the foundation are:

- Provide social, cultural, educational and employment support to migrants, with special reference to those of Moroccan origin.
- Promote diverse young people and women in European society, especially in the cultural, educational, sports and employment spheres, avoiding discrimination and racism to ensure a fully inclusive and real citizenship.
- Facilitate understanding and culture through mutual knowledge, respect, interaction, participation and coexistence.
- Promote the relationship with Morocco and the Arab countries through cooperation projects in relation to employment, training and other fields, as well as through cultural and educational activities and trips that enhance the figure of the traveller Ibn Battuta.

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Editors
Ana Fernández-Aballí, Todd H. Weir, Andrew J. M. Irving, Mathilde van Dijk

Authors
Arjen Barel
Oumayma Bouamar
Adrian Crescini
Lune Culmann
Theo Dupont
Ana Fernández-Aballí
Klára Gulyás
Tharik Hussain
Andrew Irving
Éva Káplár
Inge Koks
Meritxell Martinez
Diego Prunera
Anikó Szűcs
Dóra Szűcs
Mathilde Van Dijk
Vera Varhegyi
Todd Weir

Layout and logo design
Irantzu Casajús

Layout and design
Pieter van der Veen