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MIGRATING HERITAGE: CULTURAL DIALOGUE, IDENTITY AND CITIZENSHIP IN EUROPE

This article introduces a wider study of the role of cultural and heritage networks and how they can help institutions and their host societies to manage the tensions and realise the opportunities arising from migration. It also addresses the shifts and continuities, tensions and crisis that characterise the European project and its cultural dimension today. A reflection on cultural heritage networks in an age of migration is followed by a description of the overall research focus and interdisciplinary methodology. An overview of three case studies selected from a larger pool is provided in the article, which is concluded by a coda on cultural networks and policy implications.

Key words: migrating heritage, cultural networks, European identity, cultural information policies, models of musealisation, sociology of organisation

1. Cultural and Heritage Networks in an Age of Migrations

Until recently, culture and development were seen as potentially contradictory forces at the opposite ends of a spectrum – a static and conservative culture versus dynamic and progressive development. Technological, economic, social, natural and demographic transformations have been profoundly shaping local and global communities over recent decades, bringing forward new perspectives that require new concepts and responses to address the challenges of our post-modern and post-colonial society. Globalisation may bring people with different cultures closer together, yet in many ways our societies are becoming even more unequal, exclusive and rife with tensions than ever before. Developed countries have been giving particular priority to migration concerns, as Stephen

Castles and Mark Miller warned 20 years ago in their book *Age of Migrations* (Castles and Miller 1993, 283).

Democracies and human rights are embedded in a culture[1] where there are meaningful expressions of individual and group identities and where they are embodied in deep-rooted institutions. Culture allows us to stick together as a democratic society through conflicts and blows. Culture and creativity represent enormous social and economic value, not only in developing countries but also in the Old World, an enabling and driving force towards social cohesion, (re)construction and development. As UNESCO puts it, 'Culture is the "place" where society meets and discovers itself; hence cultural citizenship, cultural rights and cultural creativity are deeply interlinked' (UNESCO 2013, 34).

However, from the role of women to sexuality and violence, we are also surrounded by evidence that human rights and cultural beliefs are sometimes in conflict with principles of equality as set out in the European Convention on Human Rights (European Court 2010) and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948). From this perspective, processes of preservation and transmission of cultural identities require selection and appraisal. Which elements of cultural identities should be celebrated, and which should be rejected on the basis of human rights and equal societies? These are the true challenges and hard work of real intercultural dialogue and cultural citizenship.

After extensive consultations, in 2007 the Commission of the European Communities launched a new EU agenda for culture, where relationships between culture and Europe in a globalising world are explored, and new partnerships and methods of cooperation are proposed between the Commission, Member States, civil society and the European Parliament. This agenda states that culture 'can refer to the fine arts, including a variety of works of art, cultural goods and services. "Culture" also has an anthropological meaning. It is the basis for a symbolic world of meanings,

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1   I am aware that defining 'culture' is a vast challenge because multiple meanings were attributed to this word from the nineteenth century. Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) critically reviewed 164 definitions of culture and concepts of culture theory, and today scholars of various disciplines and policymakers are yet to find a common agreement on what culture is (Baldwin et al. 2006).

beliefs, values, traditions which are expressed in language, art, religion and myths. As such, it plays a fundamental role in human development and in the complex fabric of the identities and habits of individuals and communities' (Commission of the European Communities 2007, 3).

Since the Maastricht Treaty of 1993, the European Union has taken action to safeguard, promote and develop culture in an increasingly changing and growing Europe, today numbering 28 member states. In a continuously shifting and more interconnected world, Europe is grappling with new twenty-first-century issues, ranging from globalisation and demographic shifts to internal tensions and financial crisis, from climate change and the need for sustainable energy sources to new security threats. With the Treaty of Lisbon, signed in late 2007, ratified by all of the then 27 member states and entering into force in 2009, the European Union rethought some of the ground rules for cooperating in an effective, cross-border and coherent manner to address the challenges of a globalised world while safeguarding its core democratic values. Nevertheless, as sociologist Manuel Castells pointed out in *End of Millennium*, the final volume of his trilogy *The Information Age*, the reluctance of some countries such as Great Britain, Sweden and Denmark to concede sovereignty and the diverse initial situation of the countries negotiating their membership into the European Union led to a 'Europe *à la carte*' and different levels of integration. However, he adds, 'this "variable geometry" of European construction, for all its incoherence, is an essential instrument of the construction itself, as it prevents frontal conflicts among major partners, while allowing European institutions to muddle through the challenges presented by the two processes that, at the same time, further and oppose integration: globalisation and cultural identity' (Castells 2010c, 351).

Culture is one of the areas in which the European Union has competence to carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the member states. Article 3.3 of the Treaty of Lisbon states that the Union 'shall respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced' (European Union 2007, 13). This common European cultural policy aims at respecting the rich cultural and linguistic diversity (and national cultural policies) of

EU member states, while assisting and complementing their actions with a view to highlight a common European cultural heritage. The latter is explicitly emphasised by Point 1 of Article 167 of the consolidated versions of the Treaty on European Union and the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union: 'The Union shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore' (The Member States 2012, 161). The European Union also promotes access to and participation in culture, cultural awareness and expression, culturally inclusive cities and multilingualism through a variety of initiatives and programmes (Europa 1993).

Therefore, European identity is really a "project identity" in the manner identified by Manuel Castells: 'a blueprint of social values and institutional goals that appeal to a majority of citizens without excluding anybody, in principle' (Castells 2010c, 369). In practice, however, there is an intrinsic tension in promoting European unification by advocating at the same time a common cultural heritage and the flowering of national cultures and national/regional diversities. Moreover the EU "project identity" seems to imply that both the European Union and a European common cultural heritage are a good thing. This leaves out of the picture the crisis of the European Union and European histories such as genocides and scientifically justified racism, the Holocaust and colonialism.

The promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue was the first of three strategic objectives defined by the European Commission in the European Agenda for Culture in 2007 (European Commission 2007). Cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and accessible and inclusive culture were again top of the six main priorities in the Commission's culture work plan for 2010–2014, accompanied by cultural heritage. And still, as Dutch scholar Henk van Houtum has pointed out over recent years, the European Union has been at the same time extremely active in 'bordering, ordering and othering', creating a biopolitical and geopolitical border ideology to effectively blacklist categories of aliens whose cultural and/ or economic diversity is not welcomed (van Houtum and van Naerssen 2002; van Houtum 2013). The European Agency for the Management of

Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the Member States of the European Union, established in 2004, is an embodiment of this enforced border ideology, as is the growing contestation of EU principles of free movement and mobility by some member states (Frontex 2004). In this regard, the United Kingdom is a notable example: while it committed to EU citizenship and the internal market, it controversially opted out of the Schengen arrangements, maintaining its own distinct position on migration policy.

It could be argued that all cultural identities imply a process of othering, and that cultural identities can either conflict with or support human rights. Hence the challenge would be to manage inevitable borders in a more humane way. From this perspective, what could be the contours of a European identity project in our Information Age? How much of this recoding, narrating and canonisation of a common culture operated by the European Union mirrors or is influenced by the real-life context of cultural institutions across Europe? Could cross-domain transnational networks of cultural institutions operate as cultural connectors across the European space and beyond?

Memory institutions (primarily but not exclusively museums, libraries and archives) working across borders and domains have the potential to create 'communication protocols' and be 'connectors of different temporalities' in the sense originally envisaged only for museums by Manuel Castells (Castells 2010d, 433). I am extending that connecting and communicating potential to further cultural institutions, with which museums can find constructive synergies for networking and cooperation. Cultural institutions geared towards a dynamic and holistic notion of heritage can strongly contribute to strengthening the social fabric towards open and inclusive societies. Cross-border and cross-domain cultural networks – the main actors of what I call migrating heritage – can be a powerful way to achieve this, because borders are dynamic, and are not only shaped by history, politics and power but also by cultural and social factors. We are witnessing a complex mixture of shifts and continuities from the classic identity-marking heritage of European nation states (MacDonald 1993; Chambers 1994; Shore 2000;

Orchard 2002; Sassatelli 2002; MacDonald 2003; Delanty 2003; Bennett 2009) to a contemporary migrating heritage, a new concept I have introduced in a previous edited volume (Innocenti 2014), and forthcoming book (Innocenti 2015). Cultural identities, which define what represents cultural heritage for us, are not written in stone, but continuously evolve and reshape themselves, adapting to new contexts determined by contacts with our own and other cultures. Such encounters allow us to assess and create our cultural identity. Therefore I believe that one key feature of (multi)cultural migrating heritage is the drive to unbind identities and let them interweave in new networks, in new pathways of exchange and hybridisation. Migrating heritage encompasses and acknowledges the migration of post-colonial artefacts and also the migration and mobility of people, technologies and disciplines, crossing boundaries and joining forces in cultural networks to address emerging challenges of social inclusion and cultural dialogue, new models of cultural identity, citizenship and national belonging.

2. Research focus

The work outlined here and described in more depth in Innocenti (2015) investigated selected cross-border and cross-domain examples of cultural networks and initiatives engaged with cultural heritage, cultural diversity, intercultural dialogue and accessible and inclusive culture in contemporary Europe. It also attempted to answer the question "how?" How can we leverage the power of cultural networks to support European cultural institutions to better address contemporary challenges and opportunities of globalisation, mobility, migrating heritage and cultural dialogue? How can memory institutions elaborate the necessary approaches and strategies to achieve a type of cultural cooperation that is truly based on cultural practice? How can the actions of the European Commission and relevant cultural bodies in Europe be strengthened, adapted or extended to meet these goals?

Elaborated in the context of the 'European Museums in an Age of Migrations' collaborative research project, co-funded by the European Commission under the Social Science and Humanities strand of the 7th

Framework Programme[2], this investigation looked at cultural networking practices, policies and change within the context of migrating heritage and cultural connections across the European space and beyond. It also has its roots in more than a decade of my direct engagement with cultural networks and partnerships around cultural heritage, and in my own identity as an Italian, a non-native English speaker and an immigrant in Scotland. This work explored diverse types of partnership through a series of empirical local, national and international case studies, providing a review of existing practices and theories in approaches to cultural networking in migrating heritage. It drew on research in cultural heritage studies and management, anthropology, sociology and library and information science. It is interdisciplinary and cross-cutting in nature, investigating how European cultural institutions are responding to new partnership scenarios in the complex mixture of shifts and continuities from the classic identity-marking heritage of European nation-states to a contemporary migrating heritage. My work has also analysed how cultural networks can be shaped, weakened or strengthened, and proposed new directions and ideas on how better policies and practices might be set up (see further details in Innocenti 2015).

Thanks to the World Wide Web and the massive use of social media, nowadays "network" is a widely used, semantically rich and potentially ambiguous word, both as a noun and as a verb. It might refer to a biological, biosocial, electric, and electronic web, to a system of interconnected individuals and things, to the action of operating as such system, to the interaction with others for exchanging information and developing social and professional contacts. As sociologist Bruno Latour pointed out in exploring the difficulties of his actor-network theory, in a pre-Web past, the term network 'clearly meant a series of *transformations* – translations, transductions – which could not be captured by any of the

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

traditional terms of social theory. With the new popularization of the word network, it now means transport *without* deformation, an instantaneous, unmediated access to every piece of information' (Latour 1999, 15; italics in original). The community-based collaboration consultant Arthur Himmelman described networking as 'the most informal of the inter-organizational linkages' that 'often reflects an initial level of trust and commitment among organizations and is a very reasonable choice for such circumstances' (Himmelman 1996, 27). In recent decades, cultural networks and networking have played an increasingly important role in supporting transnational and cross-sectoral cooperation and cultural dialogue and creating cultural value.

My study also explored and developed further the dimension of interactions and exchanges between cultures, as defined by UNESCO's notion of cultural diversity and the Council of Europe's holistic definition of heritage. Within diverse socio-cultural, historical and legal contexts, several cultural institutions are striving to promote mutual understanding amongst individuals and communities of different cultures within and between them, inside and outside Europe. The underlying hypothesis of my work is that cultural networks, at local, national and transnational levels, can contribute to the development of new models and institutional practices of heritage within cultural institutions. Such an assumption was eloquently supported in a study commissioned by the European Forum for Arts and Heritage (Staines 1996) and embodied by 20 years of research activities by CultureLink, a Network of Networks for Research and Cooperation in Cultural Development, established by UNESCO and the Council of Europe in 1989 (Cvjetičanin 2011). However, promoting respect and empathy among individuals and communities is not enough to work out which elements of the cultural identities of a shared culture should be celebrated and which should be rejected on the basis of human rights and equal societies. The potential of networks for cultural dialogue has not yet been recognised, nor has it been supported by policymakers, as confirmed by the lack of penetration of such themes into cultural policies reported in the *Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe* (Council of Europe 2014). To fill this gap, I investigated real-life case studies of cultural institutions working in what is defined here as

"migrating heritage", organised either as wider cultural networks or as individual initiatives of cultural dialogue.

These case studies are presented in the books *European Crossroads* (Innocenti 2012a), *Migrating Heritage* (Innocenti 2014) and *Cultural Networks in Migrating Heritage* (Innocenti 2015). Leaving aside the wider literature on networks and cooperation management, from the key line of enquiry led by Geert Hofstede (Hofstede, Hofstede and Minkov 2010) to research on policy networks from Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan (1999), there have been very few publications dedicated specifically to cultural networks across European cultural institutions. They include, for example, Staines (1996); Pehn 1999; Yarrow, Clubb and Draper (2008); Goddard (2009); and Cvjetičanin (2011). However, these works only touch on museums marginally and do not focus on cultural heritage, cultural dialogue and migration.

While acknowledging the contributions of previous heritage and cultural networks publications, this research was inspired by two works in the field of sociology and information science: the trilogy *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* by Manuel Castells, originally published between 1996 and 1998 (Castells 2010a; Castells 2010b; Castells 2010c), and the second volume of Richard Sennett's trilogy, *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (Sennett 2012). Castells and Sennett are two eminent social scientists. Castells has conducted inspiring research on the information society, communication and globalisation. He has shaped the contemporary understanding of the political dynamics of urban and cultural sociology, organisations, global economies, communication and networks in the Information Age. Sennett has explored how individuals and groups make social and cultural sense of material facts – facts about the cities in which they live and about the labour they do. He focuses on how people can become competent interpreters of their own experience, despite the obstacles society may put in their way. My study aims to contribute to further developing the insights of the above works and to reframing them within contemporary European cultural networks and issues of cultural heritage, cultural dialogue and migration.

3. Methodology

I have conducted theoretical and qualitative field research, including 24 real-life case studies[3], 43 interviews with scholars and practitioners, meetings with stakeholders and policymakers, scientific organisation of an international workshop *European heritages, migrations and new media* and an international conference[4]. The goal of my research within the overall framework of the MeLa project has been twofold. On the one hand, I have explored the experiences and effects of partnerships and networks around the networked activities of archiving, preserving and displaying history and artefacts, and the associated concepts of cultural value and identity. This reflection includes how digital communication and information technologies are shaping and influencing cultural networking across Europe. On the other hand, I have looked at how cultural networks can define innovative practices, spaces and policies that reflect the challenges of building an inclusive Europe in an age of migrations, and what guidelines and policies can be suggested to support cross-border and cross-domain networking between cultural institutions.

Museums and libraries developed as historically separate institutional contexts and distinct cultures, yet their commonalities are increasingly important to their sustainability in a globalised world. In the last century,

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3   Overall case studies for this research include: Museums (Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration – CNHI; Museo Laboratorio della Mente; Museúm National d'Histoire Naturelle – MNHN; Museums – Glasgow Life; Museum of European Cultures; Museu d'Arte Contemporani de Barcelona – MACBA; Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe – ZKM); Library initiatives and portals (Association of European Research Libraries; Biodiversity Heritage Library; Europeana; Idea Store; Living Library); Cultural foundations and associations (European Cultural Foundation – ECF; SUDLAB); Cultural and domain networks (Culturelink Network; European Network of Science Centres and Museums; Musei Archivi Biblioteche – MAB; Musées, Patrimoine et Culture Scientifique et Techniques – OCIM; Network of European Museum Organizations – NEMO); Research institutes and networks (Glasgow Refugee Asylum and Migration Network – GRAMNET; Centre Virtuel pour la Connaissance sur l'Europe; European Migration Network – EMN; International policy bodies: Council of Europe – Cultural Policy, Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue Division, DG II; European Commission – Culture, diversity and intercultural dialogue, DG EAC).

4   The international conference 'Migrating Heritage: Networks and Collaborations across European Museums, Libraries and Public Cultural Institutions', of which I was scientific chair, was organised and hosted by the School of Cultural and Creative Arts – History of Art at the University of Glasgow on 3 and 4 December 2012 within the activities of the EU-funded collaborative research project 'European Museums in an Age of Migrations' (MeLa). See the conference booklet with abstracts and biographies at http://www.mela-project.eu/upl/cms/attach/20121119/181830286_6888.pdf.

policymakers and fundholders attempted to group and bridge these communities of practices through 'their similar role as part of public educational structures, and their common governance' (Trant 2009, 369). Some studies on collaborations between museums and libraries (Gibson, Morris and Cleeve 2007; Zorich, Gunter and Erway 2008; Yarrow, Clubb and Draper 2008), have highlighted the benefits for museums and libraries of joining forces and resources in a variety of areas. However, a theoretical framework to scope and address such a collaborative model has not yet been developed, in particular in the specific context of a transnational and multicultural society.

In this article I provide an overview of three case studies (Europeana, Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration – CNHI and Museúm National d'Histoire Naturelle – MNHN), focusing on their institutional context and cultural dialogue initiatives to describe and discuss key points of heritage, identity and citizenship in Europe (for further aspects see Innocenti 2015).

4. Europeana

4.1 History, Aims and Vision

The recent Educational and Cultural Management Education Plan of the European Commission states that 'The European Union is a rich and heterogeneous landscape of cultures and languages, carried by shared values. Through intercultural dialogue and cultural exchanges, culture, arts, in particular cinema, are powerful means of upholding these values, including beyond European borders. They play a fundamental role in preserving the European cultural heritage and promoting Europe's enriching diversity while encouraging the development of a sense of European identity' (European Commission 2014, 3).

Europeana, a transnational online portal and interface to thirty million and growing digitised books, paintings, films, museum objects and archival records, is instrumental to this goal. As vice-chair of the Committee on Culture and Education of the European Parliament, in 2009, Helga Trupel stated, 'Europeana is of high importance for the development of a knowledge-based society and the fostering of cultural diversity' (Trupel 2009).

Europeana showcases Europe's heritage, political, scientific, economic, artistic and religious culture. It extends beyond the 28 member states of the European Union, including the 47 members of the Council of Europe that joined the European Conference of National Libraries. Furthermore, although in the European space English is emerging as a lingua franca for Europe, there are 20 official languages and an estimated 150 languages in the European Union (the exact number varies depending on the definition of language; see European Commission 2014). Europeana is contributing to the representation of this linguistic variety by allowing searching of its items in the 30 languages of the institutions that have so far provided digital objects to the portal.

Europeana is a case in point of how the use of digital technologies is changing the dynamics and scope of cultural networking and of memory construction, display and understanding in a networked society. Four strategic tracks (aggregate, facilitate, distribute and engage) were envisioned for the years 2011–2015, aiming to 'provide new forms of access to culture, to inspire creativity and stimulate social and economic growth' (Europeana Foundation 2011, 5). Europeana is partly funded by the European Commission under the ICT-PSP Programme, with objectives and results stipulated in the project's Description of Work. The first Europeana prototype was launched in late 2008, and it is currently in Version 2. Since its launch, more than 2,200 cross-domain national, regional and local institutions from every member of the European Union have contributed to licensing to Europeana metadata for the digital cultural content that they collect, curate and host. Europeana ingests, indexes, enriches and makes available online these metadata, in order to aggregate and showcase millions of items from the digital collections of Europe's cultural and scientific heritage, dating from prehistory to the modern day.

Europeana is targeting various types of user group: the general public, heritage institutions, professionals in the heritage sector, policymakers and funders. As Stefan Gradmann noted, 'Europeana is much more than a machine or mechanical accumulation of object representations' (Gradmann 2010, 2). One of its main goals would be to enable the generation of knowledge pertaining to cultural artefacts from diverse European cultural heritage institutions, helping 'Europe's citizens create a new era

of knowledge from our shared culture and history'. Gradmann defines the characteristics of Europeana, together with Concordia and Sebinga, as part of a cultural commonwealth that requires a mentality shift towards a 'cultural commons' (Concordia, Gradmann and Sebinga 2010, 8).

Europeana's political goal of contributing to generating a European-wide knowledge and cultural economy is also echoed in its recent strategic plans for 2020. In the words of Nick Poole, Chair of the Europeana Network, Bruno Racine, Chair of the Board of the Europeana Foundation and Jill Cousins, Executive Director of the European Foundation, 'Europeana started 5 years ago as a big political idea to unite Europe through culture by making our heritage available to all for work, learning or pleasure. A deeply felt belief that our shared cultural heritage fundamentally belongs to all of us, and is therefore too important to leave to market forces alone to digitise and make available. We still believe in this big idea' (Poole, Racine and Cousins 2014, 4).

4.2 Initiatives towards Cultural Dialogue

Europeana is creating and transmitting a narrative of the story of Europe and is finding a place for its past in the digital domain. The idea of 'European Cultural Commons' defined by Europeana is both a concept and a business model. Exploring this idea during a recent Europeana Network annual meeting, Michael Edson's suggestions for the cultural heritage sector included, 'Collaborate without control, that is, move away from our traditional boundaries and structures; Support network effects, i.e. collaborate on a large scale; Build trust within the network' (Europeana Foundation 2011, 25). As an outcome from the workshops of the annual meeting, it was agreed that:

'The Commons is about:
- Awareness
- Sharing
- Collaboration
- Education
- Trust
- Local, national, European, global' (Edwards and Angelaki 2011)

Europeana began to directly engage with local communities through special 'Collection days'. The first was Europeana 1914–1918, a British–German partnership to create more than 50,000 user-generated online resources from digitised First World War documents, stories and memorabilia with an interesting thematic approach to a pan-European story and institutional outreach. Within this frame of collecting cultural heritage of war, Europeana 1914–1918 allows users to explore stories, films and historical material about the First World War and contribute their own family history. It mixes resources from libraries and archives across the globe with memories and memorabilia from families throughout Europe. It is a very distributed project, with local partners in most European countries, which organise community collection days, for example by working together with university libraries, local municipal libraries and museums. Interested institutions are invited to call people into their buildings, bringing in their family history materials and having them recorded in digital form. The general public can also digitise their own materials and upload them together with their own stories. It is interesting to note that, exemplar partnership model notwithstanding, while the European project is facing a severe financial crisis (see Habermas 2012) and its future sustainability is under discussion, cultural and historical unity seems to be primarily found in commemorations such as that of the centenary of the First World War and the cultural heritage of war. Another similar Europeana project that is in the pipeline is about the fall of the Iron Curtain. It will collect testimonies from living witnesses.

Fig. 1. *Climbing into America. Ellis Island, Lewis W. Hine, 1905.* (The Photography Collection, The New York Public Library)

A recent partnership with the Digital Public Library of America (DPLA) focuses on Europeans migrating to America (Berkman Center 2011; Fig. 1): this project includes textual and visual materials (from letters and photographs to official records) about the European immigrants' experience of becoming uprooted, abandoning their homes for a treacherous journey across the ocean to face cultural shock and hardship in their new homeland.

5. Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration

5.1 History, Aims and Vision

Public cultural policies on cultural diversity differ widely between European countries, as noted 20 years ago by Verena Stolcke (Stolcke 1995). In particular, Stolcke compared the French model of 'assimilation and civic incorporation' to the Anglo-Saxon model, based on the concept of integration as an ethnic mosaic of different cultures. The limits of the latter model and of UK Cultural Diversity Policy also have been recently discussed by Andrew Dewdney, David Bibosa and Victoria Walsh in the context of art museums (Dewdney, Bibosa and Walsh 2013).

The Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration (CNHI; Blanc-Chaleard 2006; Murphy 2007; Arquez-Roth 2007; Hommes et Migrations 2007; Musée d'Histoire d'Immigration 2013) offers an interesting and much-debated example to illustrate the application of the French model on cultural diversity and immigration. CNHI is the National Museum for the History of Immigration in Paris, France, so far the only national museum of migration in Europe. The project to create a place dedicated to the history and cultures of immigration in France dates back to the early 1980s, after the persistent appeal of various associations and historians who founded the Association for a Museum of Immigration. A study prepared by the Génériques association at the request of the French government in 2001 proposed the creation of a national centre for the history and culture of immigration, whose implementation was open to a variety of forms, from a national networking centre to an open university or a museum (Génériques 2001). The project, which would lead to the

Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, was formalised by the then French President Jacques Chirac in 2003, within the broader framework programme of the French Interministerial Committee for Integration. This programme addressed all immigrants: immigrants of previous generations, the large number of "new migrants" arriving in France each year and French people in general. CNHI was created as an institution with the cultural, social and educational mission of acknowledging and enhancing the contribution of immigrants to the construction of France by collecting, preserving, documenting, showcasing and disseminating the history, artefacts and living memory of immigration, from the early nineteenth century to the present.

The former French Minister for Culture, Jacques Toubon, was the chair of the preparatory group that shaped the creation of the Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration. It was officially launched in 2004 as an ambitious museum project to be housed in a national landmark, a network of actors and a unifier of existing initiatives, a resource centre and a showcase with over 1,100 square metres of permanent and temporary exhibition space. CNHI opened in 2007 without an official inauguration but was a great success with visitors under President Nicolas Sarkozy, amid public controversy around the creation of a Ministère de l'Intégration, de l'Identité Nationale et Développement Solidaire (Ministry of Integration, National Identity and Solidarity Development). This ministry promoted an aggressive immigration policy (partly in contradiction to the mission and activities of CNHI), both at a national and, in 2008, international level, when France took over the European presidency. Its policies prompted eight of the twelve historians involved in the creation of CNHI to resign, and this ministry was abruptly closed in 2010, transferring immigration affairs to the Ministere de l'Interieur (Ministry of Internal Affairs) (Coroller 2010). The Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration addresses two key challenges.

On the one hand, as a national museum, it leads historical and scientific research around the theoretical and symbolic issues of negotiating the legitimacy of the history and contribution of immigration, and weaving them into the definition of a common French heritage. For example, the installation *La Machine à rêve,* created by Kader Attia in 2008 and

showcased in the CHNI exhibition *J'ai Deux Amours* (2011–2012), consists of a female mannequin wearing a headscarf and holding a bag with the word 'halal' on it, intensively staring at a vending 'dream' machine, representing both the desires and conflicts of uprooted identities. The character is about to purchase one of the symbolic items offered by the machine, including a kit for losing the banlieue accent in three days, a fashion chador, a US passport, credit cards, a guide on how to meet a charming Muslim, cosmetics, drugs, contraceptives and food products. All items are marked as 'halal'. According to the artist, these items are representative of the conflicting dream of integration: reaching objects which consumer society requires one to have in order for immigrants to be acknowledged, and which at the same time are compliant with the traditions of Islamic Law (Musée d'Histoire d'Immigration 2013).

On the other hand, CNHI is a participatory place and a network whose partners (associations, companies, communities and academics) actively contribute to the coproduction of cultural activities and initiatives (see Arquez-Roth 2014). Within this context, the collection of tangible and intangible traces of the history of immigration is partly based on civic participation, of which the so-called 'Gallery of Gifts' (Galerie des Dons) represents a valuable example. The Gallery of Gifts is an example of innovative, dialogic and participatory acquisition policy in a national museum. Figure 3 shows the French horn of Alexandrovitch Condratievitch Tikhomiroff. Tikhomiroff was a soldier of the counterrevolutionary Russian White Army, who fought against the Red Army during the Bolshevik Revolution. After the defeat of his regiment, he fled to Turkey and then Bulgaria, where he was recruited by French entrepreneurs as a steelworker. He arrived in France in 1926. An amateur musician, Tikhomiroff had the opportunity to become a professional in 1928, playing the French horn with touring circuses. After these experiences, he became a waiter in Russian restaurants and a butler in private bridge clubs in Paris. There he met his future Spanish wife and married her in 1931. In the autobiography of his parents, his son Yuri wrote how he toured all over France with his French horn, especially enjoying playing in parades (Musée d'Histoire d'Immigration 2013).

5.2 Initiatives towards Cultural Dialogue

The entire Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration is devoted to intercultural dialogue and to the acknowledgement of the role of immigration in French history. One of the peculiarities of the institution is that, as a museum, CNHI did not have a pre-existing collection. Part of its collection is being created through public appeals, with the network playing an important role. CNHI showcases intangible cultural heritage as defined by UNESCO: 'The "intangible cultural heritage" means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity' (UNESCO 2003, Article 2).

As a cultural centre, CNHI invites each visitor to actively participate. Hence in addition to its permanent and temporary exhibitions (Fig. 2), there is a unique Gallery of Gifts (Fig. 3) to which each visitor can contribute by making a donation or a deposit.

Fig. 2. *Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration: temporary exhibition J'ai Deux Amours (2011–2012). La Machine à rêve, Kader Attia, 2008.* (Photograph by Perla Innocenti)

Each of these objects (fragments of their personal lives, often photos and household artefacts handed down from one generation to another) is connected to a witness and their personal testimony, exhibited in showcases discussed in collaboration with the lender or donor and displayed in rotation. Some scholars have been rather critical of the results of the museological project of the Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration. For example, Julie Thomas noted that together with the Ellis Island Museum, the Cité is an example of 'normalizing and rationalizing the process of migration', of defusing and removing the economic and cultural threat of transnational migrants (Thomas 2011, 220). However, CHNI has pushed the boundaries of museological projects and societal engagement with migration and has achieved some small but notable successes along the way. In the words of Hèléne du Mazaubrun, project manager for the ethnographic collection at the Cité National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration in the Gallery of Gifts, 'Visitors, migrants or children of migrants, are invited to donate objects to the museum. These objects are symbols of their singular stories, in addition to the permanent exhibition which presents the collective and national history'. So the Gallery of Gifts concept represents the concept of 'Factory of Cultural Heritage': at the heart of the collection there is a participatory approach. This ethnographic collection transforms ethnography museums, because the presence of the objects is motivated by individual stories. What it is important is not the items, but the relationships between the stories,

Fig. 3. *Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration: one of the showcases at the Gallery of Gifts in 2012* (Photograph by Perla Innocenti)

objects, visitors, family of immigrants and their heritage and dreams of their
country. By this participatory approach, the narrator is not the museum, or
its curators; the national history of immigration is elaborated by immigrants
themselves. Besides, the symbol of the gift redistributes the connection
between the museum and society, since this system is based on reciprocity
which engenders a mutual commitment. If the ethnographic collections
are a long-term loan, the ownership remains with the individuals that gave
the objects. But for a Factory of Cultural Heritage to be developed, these
objects are presented to the Committee as the other 'normal' artworks.
Consequently this implies registering in the inventory and approving
a collection of gifts, whose scientific interest is not within the items
themselves, but within their relationships. And just today the Committee
approved this policy! I think it was difficult, because the questions raised by
the CNHI are not the same questions for other museums. Works exhibited
at the Cité are not of interest because of their characteristics and culture,
but because of the relationships with the objects. The items are catalysts for
relationships and connections: when visitors come here these objects are
really powerful. Traditional ethnographic museums, like for example Musée
des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée in Marseille (MUCEM),
made the choice to state that the objects are representative of one's culture,
of one's community. But here we are interested in ethnographic collections
for different communities, not for curators but for the public. The objects
themselves and their relations create a network of public users. This way,
the social role of museums is growing. When visitors come here, with the
help of mediators they can donate a gift. This means that you, as a member
of the public, can make history here. There is a protocol of questions for the
public; it is a participatory project, a dialogue rather than just a curatorial
activity (Innocenti 2012b: 106–7).

6. Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle

6.1 History, Aims and Vision

Natural heritage, encompassing all elements of biodiversity (from flora
to fauna and ecosystems) together with related geological structures and

formations, was recognised as part of the world heritage of mankind in the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972). However, science museums are still not well represented in museological researches questioning society. Due to their history and their collections, social history museums or art museums are more frequently the case studies selected to understand questions of migration and cultural identity (Chaumier 2003). Natural history museums can also be excellent examples for questioning the role of museums in national societies and in the creation of Europe. As Sharon MacDonald pointed out, science museums lead us to question 'who decides what should be displayed? How are notions of "science" and "objectivity" mobilized to justify particular representations? Who gets to speak in the name of "science", "the public" or "the nation"'? (MacDonald 1998, 1).

Furthermore, the sciences are placed within society, not next to it or above it (Latour and Woolgar 1979). Science museums are relevant both for European heritage, as they are the custodians of the history of science, and key witnesses to the social and political history of each country – a heritage deeply linked to the construction of Europe and to issues faced by contemporary society. The natural sciences investigate genetics, humanity history, migration, sexuality, health and the definition of species – all subjects overlapping with the central current debates on racism, immigration, equality and public health. The Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle (MNHN) in Paris is a very fitting example of an institution where such research and debate is being actively fostered (Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle 2015). MNHN is one of the world's foremost natural history institutions, covering the earth sciences, life sciences and human sciences (Deligeorges, Gady and Labalette 2004; Laissus 1995). Its origin dates back to the creation of the Jardin royal des plantes medicinales (Royal Medicinal Plant Garden), created in 1635 and directed by the leading naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, during the eighteenth century. The republican Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle was formally opened in 1793, during the French Revolution, with 12 professorships. The professors included the eminent comparative anatomist Georges Cuvier and evolutionary pioneers Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck and Ètienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. In the nineteenth cen-

Fig. 4. *Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris: ethnographic cast of a man's head from New Zealand, made with his agreement* (© M.N.H.N – Daniel Ponsard)

tury, under the direction of chemist Michel-Eugène Chevreul, the museum excelled in scientific research and competed with the University of Paris, for example in the discovery of the radioactive properties of uranium by Henri Becquerel, holder of the chair for applied physics at the museum between 1892 and 1908. At the end of the nineteenth century, MNHN returned to its focus on natural history and began to open facilities in France after becoming financially autonomous in 1907. Today, MNHN consists of 13 sites throughout France, of which four are in Paris, including the original location at the Jardin des plantes, with 15,000 square metres of permanent exhibitions and more than ten million visitors each year. The current mission of MNHN is to 'discover, understand, highlight and help preserve the Earth's natural and cultural diversity'. The museum contributes to the knowledge and conservation of biodiversity through five dedicated areas of activity (Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle 2011, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle 2012):

- Preservation and enrichment of leading collections. The museum is home to one of the world's three largest natural history collections: nonliving collections covering all areas of past and present biodiversity, humanity (Fig. 4), terrestrial and extra-terrestrial materials (with 68 million specimens, 800,000 type specimens and a world-famous herbarium); living collections (three zoos, four glasshouses and an arboretum); and documentary collections (2.2 million items in libraries including books, periodicals, prints, maps, manuscripts, archives, prints, drawings, photographs, art objects and collectibles).

- Fundamental and applied research on evolution and the relation between man and nature. MNHN's researchers investigate past and present natural diversity, analysing and anticipating its evolutionary dynamics in order to be able to contribute to the sustainable management of this diversity.

- Research at MNHN follows an interdisciplinary approach (integrating biology, chemistry, palaeontology, ecology, genetics and anthropology) and is highly collaborative, with partnerships and major projects all over the world, research networks and collaborative databases.

- Multidisciplinary higher education and training. Within French public administration, the museum is considered a large institution of higher education and as such offers MSc and PhD degrees. MNHN manages the Master's programme 'Evolution, natural heritage and societies' (with six areas of specialisation and 186 Master's students) and a course for PhD students 'Sciences of nature and mankind' (159 Doctoral students). It also provides further education for primary and secondary school teachers.

- Dissemination of scientific culture and raising public awareness. MNHN is committed to making scientific knowledge accessible to everyone and to fostering awareness and respect for biodiversity. Outreach activities include the organisation of permanent and temporary exhibitions, conferences, activities with schools and around 1,500 scientific publications every year.

- Providing expertise for environmental policies. MNHN is an internationally recognised research centre on biodiversity and natural heritage, participating in debates and providing expertise to several national and international public and private organisations.

6.2 Initiatives towards Cultural Dialogue

MNHN's activities around cultural heritage and cultural dialogue fall within the new expanded heritage model of the Council of Europe's Faro Convention (Council of Europe 2005), which defined a strong, integrated connection between heritage and the concepts of landscape, natural

heritage, biodiversity and environmental issues, all being products of human actions and processes whose solution and conservation must be addressed culturally.

For example, the museum critically addresses the definitions, implications and uses of biocultural diversity (UNESCO 2007), a concept defining the inextricable link between ecological, socio-cultural and linguistic diversity. This highly contested notion, which implies a fundamental shift in environmental sciences, seeks to integrate nature and culture both in scholarly research and in advocacy programmes for community development, democratic citizenship and human rights. In this regard, the Laboratoire d'Eco-anthropologie et Ethnobiologie at MNHN organised a cycle of public interdisciplinary seminars between 2010 and 2011, as part of the series 'Gouverner le Vivant – Savoirs, Cultures et Politiques de la Biodiversité' (Governing Nature – Knowledge, Cultures and Politics of Biodiversity). The seminars aimed to bridge the gap between the science and social science communities, by exploring the diversity of scientific, economic, political and cultural mechanisms and strategies that human societies have developed to govern, manipulate and represent life forms, from genes to the biosphere. Particular emphasis was given to socio-environmental conflicts surrounding the social and political dynamics of biodiversity, trends in international biodiversity policies and management systems (from national parks to gene banks) and relations with the market economy (from intellectual property law to environmental services). A recent conference organised in partnership with MNHN and UNESCO, with Professor Baird Callicott, one of the founders of environmental ethics and philosophy, was entitled 'Narratives and Building Environmental Responsibility', focusing especially on climate change. Through presentations and a debate with specialists in the history of natural sciences, philosophy and ethics of the environment and environmental protection, it explored the foundations of moral responsibilities towards the environment and the social dimensions of climate change. A further interesting example of how a natural history museum can impact on societal challenges and cultural policies is the active engagement of MNHN in drafting the new version of the Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing

of Benefits Arising from their Utilization to the Convention on Biological Diversity (Convention 1993). The Nagoya Protocol is a supplementary agreement to the Convention on Biological Diversity, defining the basic conditions on access to and sharing of not only foreign genetic resources but also knowledge output linked to them, establishing priorities for scientists and simplifying procedures in non-commercial research. However, the implementation of these protocols is challenging in practice, increasing bureaucratic overheads and delaying procedures. As the Head of Delegation for European and International Relations at MNHN Jean Patrick Le Duc, noted, 'This Protocol will seriously change the exchanges between countries, formalizing all collaborations. For instance it will also change how repatriation claims are handled . At present the bottom line is that we refuse any repatriation, although repatriation of identified human remains can be authorized under conditions, but we agree to the repatriation of knowledge and information' (Innocenti 2012c, 206–7; on repatriation at MNHM see also Isnard and Galangau-Quérat 2014).

7. Coda

This article has provided an overview of a wider study of the role of cultural and heritage networks and how they can help institutions and their host societies to manage the tensions and realise the opportunities arising from migration. It has introduced the concept of migrating heritage and an interdisciplinary methodology to address the study of the shift and continuities, tensions and crisis that characterize the European project and its cultural dimension today.

Cultural networks and cultural dialogue initiatives are not systems or structures in a static sense. They are comparable to biological ecosystems in which diverse types of living institutions engage with each other, communicate and exchange, move around and evolve, in a constantly changing configuration determined by institutional, local, national and international factors. Colin Mercer, cultural policy research consultant and advisor and the UK's first Professor of Cultural Policy, writes: 'We are dealing, finally, not with a "system" or a "structure" in any static sense but with a cultural ecology or ecosystem in which micro-organisms move around,

multiply and migrate, and establish new relations of communication, exchange, symbiosis, from the hub to the nodes and beyond, and vice versa. In this we could do worse than follow the direction of ecology which, in one definition, is "the study of living relations" and in another is "concerned with the web or network of relations among organisms at different scales of organization". That seems to me to be as appropriate for cultural ecosystems as it is for natural ones and will demand as much scrutiny and new knowledge to protect and sustain cultural diversity' (Mercer 2011, 42).

The themes of this research on cultural networks and cultural dialogue touch on theory and practice in the areas of collection and preservation, dissemination, creation, research, training and education – all typical areas of interest in cultural policy. A number of policy implications emerged from this investigation, which led me to formulate policy recommendations to support networking and partnerships between European museums, libraries and public cultural institutions around the themes of European cultural and scientific heritage, migration and integration (see Innocenti 2015).

The European crisis also represents an opportunity. From the perspectives of my research, within the kaleidoscope of our contemporary globalised world a number of European cultural institutions have concretely proven their ability to offer roadmaps and forums for cultural, social and civic engagement towards open and inclusive societies. If adequately supported and legitimised, they can act as cultural connectors between local and global communities of diverse stakeholders. Cultural institutions are capable of adopting a dynamic and holistic notion of heritage, working across European borders and domains with renewed strategies and synergies for networking and cooperation.

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Santrauka

Perla Innocenti
MIGRUOJANTIS PAVELDAS: KULTŪRINIS DIALOGAS,
IDENTITETAS IR PILIETYBĖ EUROPOJE

Tai studija apie kultūros ir paveldo tinklų vaidmenį, apie tai, kaip šie tinklai gali padėti institucijoms ir visuomenėms, kuriose jie veikia, suvaldyti migracijos keliamą įtampą ir įgyvendinti jos teikiamas galimybes. Straipsnyje taip pat apžvelgiama kaita, tęstinumas, įtampa ir krizė, kurie šiandien geriausiai apibūdina *Europeanos* projektą ir jo kultūrinę aplinką. Apmąstymus apie kultūros paveldo tinklus migracijos amžiuje papildo bendro tyrimo tikslo ir tarpdalykinės metodologijos aprašymas, pristatomi trys tyrimų atvejai, pabaigoje pateikiamos išvados apie kultūrinius tinklus ir politikos reikšmę.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *migruojantis paveldas, kultūriniai tinklai, europietiškas identitetas, kultūrinės informacijos politika, muzealizacijos modeliai, organizacijos sociologija.*