



# Innovation in Cultural Heritage Research

For an integrated European Research Policy



Research and  
Innovation

## Innovation in Cultural Heritage – For an integrated European Research Policy

European Commission  
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For an integrated  
European Research Policy

Written by Gábor Sonkoly and Tanja Vahtikari



In grateful and respectful memory of Philippe Keraudren, former deputy head of the unit «Open and Inclusive Societies» at Directorate-General Research and Innovation, who launched the RTD Policy Review series in Social Sciences and Humanities.

On behalf of the European Commission, Directorate-General for Research and Innovation, the work was inspired and supervised by Zoltán Krasznai, policy officer of the unit «Open and Inclusive Societies». Basudeb Chaudhuri and Sylvie Rohanova contributed with advice and proofreading, while Catherine Lemaire provided editorial assistance.

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## Foreword

Cultural heritage is our bond with the past come to life in the present. It shapes our thinking and identity, our environment and the places we live in. European cultural heritage is unique and diverse - it awakens curiosity, stimulates creativity and is an unlimited source of inspiration for every aspect of our lives. It builds bridges between people and communities. Our heritage faces many threats to its security, those which are environmental, like pollution and climate change, as well as human-driven threats, such as the intentional destruction of cultural heritage. Fortunately, technological change gives us unprecedented opportunities for preserving and sharing cultural heritage.

Although Member States of the European Union are responsible for preserving cultural heritage, the Union also has the obligation towards its citizens to ensure that Europe's heritage is safeguarded and enhanced. The funds of the European research and innovation framework programme Horizon 2020 enable the European Union to support a number of initiatives for preserving, reconstructing and promoting cultural heritage. These make it possible for researchers to develop new methods and technologies for heritage preservation and protection. They also encourage innovative use of cultural heritage for creating new jobs, developing sustainable tourism, improving education and preserving our urban and rural cultural landscapes. The European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 gives us the opportunity to assess the results achieved by these European initiatives. This European thematic year also creates an opportunity for all partners to look to the future. At the same time, it offers us an incentive to discuss our vision for improving policies that democratise access to and enhance the protection of cultural heritage in Europe and beyond for future generations.

Tourism and technological change open up opportunities for preserving and sharing local heritage beyond borders and continents. Take for example a folk song that was collected by the famous composer Zoltán Kodály in the Carpathian Mountains in 1913 in a last minute attempt to preserve folk music heritage. Known and sung by only a few elderly women in isolated Hungarian villages at the end of the 20th century, it became a worldwide hit that received the Grammy Awards as «Marta's Song» in 1995 when it was reinterpreted by a contemporary Hungarian singer and French composers.



The EU supports individuals and organisations in preserving cultural heritage. This Policy Review contributes to the assessment of existing initiatives and to the public debate on policies in this field. The authors present the results of a selection of European-funded research and innovation projects, each of which deals with cultural heritage. Research results are discussed in the context of other global and European initiatives, such as the European Heritage Label. And so, the insights and recommendations found here will go a long way towards the debate on constantly improved and better coordinated European policies for cultural heritage. Our heritage is an integral part of who we are, and it is crucial for building the Europe of tomorrow. Let us protect and promote it. Above all, let us enjoy it – together.



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Carlos Moedas'.

**Carlos Moedas**  
European Commissioner for  
Research, Science and Innovation

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Tibor Navracsics'.

**Tibor Navracsics**  
European Commissioner for  
Education, Culture, Youth  
and Sport



## Executive Summary

The extraordinary context of this Policy Review is the launch of the first European Year of Cultural Heritage (EYCH) in 2018. This thematic year reflects that European cultural heritage is on the making in a decisive period. This is characterized by the expansion of the notion of cultural heritage, an intensified interdisciplinary research activity, and a salience to engage with cultural diversity and different and sometimes conflicting claims on cultural heritage. The Policy Review sets out that European cultural heritage has a great potential to determine the elements of a positive and dynamic European identity and that research and education on cultural heritage can contribute to a more tolerant, democratic and participative European society.

Opinion surveys specify that cultural heritage is important to the overwhelming majority of European citizens and that it is equally important for the European Union. The same high proportion of Europeans agree that Europe's cultural heritage and related activities create jobs in the EU. However, almost three quarters of respondents say public authorities should allocate more resources to Europe's cultural heritage.<sup>1</sup> In this context, the particular importance of cultural heritage and its role to convey European significance has been recognised by European institutions through initiatives such as the European Heritage Days, the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage, the European Heritage Label and most recently the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage.

This Policy Review makes a strong case for the role of research and in particular for the social sciences and humanities in understanding the importance of cultural heritage in society and its potential for social cohesion, economic growth and sustainable development. Research results are discussed in the context of other global and European initiatives, like the European Heritage Label or the recently opened House of European History. It showcases contributions in support of policy by FP7 and H2020 projects and gives the state-of-the-art of current EU-funded research on cultural heritage. This Policy Review largely benefitted from the results and the outcome of fourteen on-going or completed cultural heritage-related projects of the 7th and 8th (called Horizon 2020) research and innovation framework programmes of the European Union. Based on this mapping exercise, interpreted in its wider scientific and policy context, it makes suggestions to attain an appropriate European research framework after 2020, fitting both the current concept of cultural heritage and the corresponding cultural, societal, economic and ecological challenges.

Finally, this Policy Review formulates concrete proposals for the future: Political, social and scientific demand build up for continued EU-funded research on European cultural heritage. Even if this research strand can be detected in different pillars, parts and segments of the European research framework programmes, previous and on-going work programmes and calls for proposals could not sufficiently overcome the institutional and thematic fragmentation of European research policy for cultural heritage. Thus, the potential of current cultural heritage research could not be fully exploited. Therefore, cultural heritage needs to be adequately placed in the post 2020 European research agenda with a clear focus and a scale which can bring about change. European research on cultural heritage needs a holistic research agenda and an inclusive interdisciplinary approach, which could help overcome the institutional fragmentation, increasingly seen as an anachronism by stakeholders and citizens.

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1 Special Eurobarometer 466 (2017) on cultural heritage

The current scientific constellation and public interest are beneficial for accompanying this holistic research agenda on cultural heritage with innovative policies aiming at widening the scientific cooperation around European cultural heritage. A first step in this direction would be the European recognition of a network of European Cultural Heritage Chairs. These Chairs could excel in critical approaches to cultural heritage as well as in inter-sectorial and co-creative methodologies to identify, study and highlight European cultural heritage. Their network would allow transferring current European cultural heritage experience into academia and education through the definition of relevant themes for future research and innovation within the post-2020 European research framework.

# 1. Introduction – The European Heritage Experience

**The extraordinary context of this Policy Paper is the preparation of the first European Year of Cultural Heritage (EYCH) in 2018**, which is not only an institutional recognition of the importance of cultural heritage in current Europe, confronted with alarming practices of identity formation, but also a notable attempt to assess the potentials and challenges of a shared European cultural heritage. Research on these complex challenges is to provide evidence and advice towards better education, cultural, social and other policies at European, national and regional levels.

**Since the 2000s EU-founded research on cultural heritage increased considerably. Due to the ever-expanding notion of ‘heritage’ – currently including natural and cultural, tangible and intangible entities as well as urban and rural areas and landscapes, tourist destinations, places of creative economy, digitalized archives and registers, etc. – practically every academic discipline has become involved in the study of cultural heritage.** Customary scientific objects and topics are re-defined as cultural heritage themes, which is not merely a recognition of new social and political expectations. This redefinition is taking place after the decades of significant epistemological turns (linguistic, cultural, spatial, etc.), which resulted in a conceptual and methodological renewal of Social Sciences and Humanities. Consequently, Social Sciences and Humanities became more critical not only in their scientific investigations, but also from the point of view of their societal utility and their role in representing democratic values. Thus, the critical study of current European cultural heritage should take into consideration that

- cultural heritage not only incorporates anything inherited, selected and used in identity formation, but also rearranges these entities into complex ensembles, which are in constant dialogues between the levels of identity formation (from universal to local);
- European cultural heritage is constructed and re-constructed on and between these levels. As identities are often formed according to rival interpretations, cultural heritage can also be the target of these competing explanations of inheritance and legacies, i.e. a multitude of “authorised heritage discourses” co-exist;
- The social and political construction and use of European cultural heritage inevitably redefines the role of the representatives of Social Sciences and Humanities in these identity formations, in which their critical and reflective tradition is a great asset, which needs to be transmitted through innovative approaches and methodologies.

Integrated and innovative cultural heritage research combines the holistic interpretation of cultural heritage, the appropriate methodology to examine the complexity of current identity formations revealed by the definition and use of cultural heritage as well as the proper co-creative techniques, which allow the inclusion of critical approaches into these formations or into their scientific assessment. The objective of this Policy Review is to examine the context of the establishment of an integrated and innovative European cultural heritage research on the basis of fourteen projects of the *Social Sciences and Humanities thematic area of the 7th Framework Programme (FP7) for Research and of Societal Challenge 6, Europe in a changing world of Horizon 2020* (see Annex 1) with the perspective of identifying major potentials and challenges for prospective research on cultural heritage:

- The current concept of cultural heritage is presented comparing international, European and non-European political and administrative tendencies as well as recent academic approaches of different concerned disciplines.
- The administrative institutionalization of European cultural heritage is summarized.
- The results and the approaches of the fourteen projects are arranged in a thematic grid in order to demonstrate the European values revealed in the European standard-setting documents and policy tools and the FP7 and Horizon 2020 calls, and exhibited in the selected projects.
- Perspectives in cultural heritage research in the near future.

Originally, the notion of cultural heritage is more administrative than academic. By its conceptual expansion, however, cultural heritage has recently gained academic recognition in the form of very diverse institutionalisations, whereas Social Sciences and Humanities are expected to go public to contribute to society through research. These interrelated processes could determine a new cultural heritage regime, in which both cultural heritage and the Social Sciences and Humanities are obliged to define their relationship. The expression 'regime' is an often recurring denominator in contemporary Social Sciences and Humanities, especially in connection to the history of cultural heritage. The term is considered to be suitable to frame the periodization of cultural and social changes in relationship to the levels of the political establishment, from universal to local. Due to the recent expansion of the notion of cultural heritage, its current regime can be characterized by means of intersections between heritage-making and "culture's resource potential and the ensuing questions of ownership rights and responsibilities." (Bendix et al, 2012: 13) The current – third – cultural heritage regime does not replace, but integrates, the previous administrative developments, which are the following (see Annex 2.):

- The first regime is determined by national and local heritage conservation regulations and it lasts until the codification of international cultural heritage protection. There is, however, important "heritage transnationalism" also during this period. In this regime, the term cultural heritage or even heritage is rarely used to describe cultural property claimed by a nation or a community in the majority of the European languages (c. 1800s-1960s).
- The second regime corresponds to the first institutionalisation of cultural heritage as an international norm. In this regime, the chief standard setting actors are UNESCO and its related institutions (1960s-1990s).
- The third regime corresponds to the renewed institutionalisation of cultural heritage characterised by its expansion in terms of concepts, significance and number of heritage sites and elements (1990s-). Though this periodization is based on European history, a post-colonial interpretation can lead to similar results. (Alsayyad, 2001: 3-4)

**Despite of the fact that a shared European cultural heritage is already mentioned at the dawn of the European Union, its concentrated construction starts during the third cultural heritage regime, when the notion of cultural heritage reaches its current complexity and moves from a conservation-oriented (or object-oriented) approach to a value-oriented (or subject-oriented) one. In this regime, the all-inclusive nature of the historic environment is considered to unite the tangible and intangible assets. There are efforts to conciliate the conflictual concepts of conservation and development according to the principles of sustainability and resilience. This leads to a remarkable shift in heritage discourse in contemporary policies, in which the value of cultural heritage is argued as a significant social and**

**economic impact on society. Thus, the proper management of change in cultural heritage can contribute to the instigation of an inclusive society thanks to a closer integration of economic and social values represented in cultural heritage. In consequence, cultural heritage of this third regime is considered as a source of democracy and well-being.** (Lazzaretti, 2012: 229-230)

In opposition to the monumental protection principles of the first two regimes, according to this new paradigm of cultural heritage preservation, the protected heritage unit is defined in a continuous time (sustainability, resilience, management of change, etc.), in a continuous territory (determined by spatial categories, which imply belonging and community-based perception such as places of cultural heritage and cultural/urban landscapes) and by the perception of its local community, which is the custodian of the survival of cultural diversity, and consequently, of heritage values. The shifts between the successive regimes of cultural heritage should not be understood rigidly, since the conceptual evolution of the notion of cultural heritage often blurs paradigm shifts, which could be detected in an academic discourse. The integrative notion of cultural heritage often incorporates its predecessors even those that are contradictory to its current use. In order to identify the characteristics of the current concept of cultural heritage and its research from the point of view of its historical contents and future applications, we determined the following three indicators:

### 1.1 Temporal aspects of European cultural heritage

The theory of presentism (Hartog, 2015) is useful to situate the conceptual development of cultural heritage in a longer evolution. It starts with the gradual vanishing of the traditional conception of time and with its replacement by historical or future-based modernist time. This future-oriented modernist time conception of modern philosophy, science, politics and social thinking eroded in the last few decades as the future of humanity was increasingly painted with dark colours up to the point when overwhelming importance is given to our present as the main reference in time.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the last two centuries of cultural heritage protection can be interpreted as part of the more than five hundred years of the construction and deconstruction of the modern perception of time between the sixteenth and the twenty-first centuries. In this sense, cultural heritage acts as an indicator of these tendencies of the perception of time by integrating several time conceptions. For example, the tradition of monument conservation is essentially antimodernist in its theory as it aims at conserving elements of the past, while at the same time it is also modernist in its technology-based and future-oriented practice. However, presentist concepts are at the heart of the contemporary cultural heritage regime with the objective of avoiding further loss and degradation under the banner of social and ecologic sustainability and of preparing the survival of cultural heritage communities under the label of resilience.

The participative selection of cultural heritage places and the redefinition of urban heritage by the continuity of landscapes, which replaces the temporal hierarchy of the zones of monument protection, engender the continuous and dynamic interpretation of the time of cultural heritage. **In the third, current cultural heritage regime, more recent artefacts or urban areas can represent, from the perspective of the social**

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<sup>2</sup> As F. Hartog explains this phenomenon: «The future is still here, and even though our means of acquiring knowledge have increased in incredible proportions with the information revolution, the future has become more unpredictable than ever. Or, rather, we have renounced it: plans, prospects and futurology have all fallen by the wayside. We are completely concentrated on an immediate response to the immediate: we have to react in real time, to a point of caricature in the case of politicians», Hartog, 2015b, p. 9.

**and cultural practices of the local cultural heritage community, as much value as their oldest buildings/monuments or a historical urban quarter. Thus, more recent – industrial, military or any other 20th century – cultural heritage could gain advantage. Third regime temporality of cultural heritage characterized by sustainability and resilience is also marked by lowered horizons of expectation and enhanced sensibility towards experience. This heritage experience is not only a proud integration of emotionality into identity formation, but also a personal and holistic interpretation of the appropriation of cultural and social legacies.**

## 1.2 European cultural heritage territories

Previously, cultural heritage territories in the forms of monuments and sites were determined by experts of monument protection within the paradigm of separated (tangible) cultural and natural heritage. Later, their built/natural environment was integrated into the levels of protection through zoning. **In third regime cultural heritage preservation, sites and zones are often coupled with more anthropological denominations as the identity-bearing ‘place’ and the ‘cultural or urban landscape’ determined by social regard and use. Cultural heritage is exhibited by its community, which needs a stage to perform the related intangible activities.** In the politicized and ideological conflict between ‘localists’ and ‘globalists’, any identity formation necessitates cultural heritage places of designations, symbols and rituals. Consequently, **Europe also needs to anchor itself through cultural heritage places, which, on the one hand, localize and acknowledge the haut-lieux of European construction and values by replacing the “virtual reality of a simulated Europe” to which “no one will be the part of”** (cited in Johler, 2002). **On the other hand, places and landscapes of “Local Europe” can reterritorialize and rehistoricize the continent through linking ‘local’ and ‘global’ tendencies and interpretations pragmatically. For example, European cities and urban heritage are the agents of Europeanization and of cultural differentiation as urban landscape, as cities of peace treaties and of capitals of European culture. Such places of European cultural heritage could contribute to a more consensual European identity in order to complete or eventually substitute that of the deterritorialized and dehistoricized Europe** (Abèles, 1996) **expressed by the representation of the European Union as an “unfinished construction site”** always in a “continuous process”, signalling “growth”, “modernity”, and “future”, and characterized by the “moving metaphors” of “transit Europe.” (Löfgren, 1996)

## 1.3 Cultural heritage communities, cultural heritage stakeholders and cultural heritage governance

Heritage conservation has been regulated to express the community’s legal right to challenge individual rights in the protection of cultural properties through which collective identity has acquired a complementary element to define and express itself. First, the main beneficiaries of this restriction of individual rights were the agents of nation-building, who continue to play a key role. After World War II, the establishment of a uniform (top-down) and consensual hierarchy of international cultural heritage conservation was meant to avoid a new worldwide conflict and ensure a mutually peaceful future. More recently, third regime cultural heritage communities are supposed to define their heritage and its territory more autonomously. Due to economic reasons, however, a double expectation is imposed onto the local community: they are expected to ensure inner transmission of cultural heritage

and to exhibit themselves to the external gaze (cultural tourists, etc.), which turns their cultural heritage into products. **Ideally, the recognition of local cultural heritage can lead to democratization and integration, but it can also bear a non-critical use of the past in a society with authoritarian reflexes. Since the conceptual expansion and institutionalisation of cultural heritage did not always adhere to the critical standards of the Social Sciences and Humanities, current populist and xenophobic identity formations may apply it to avoid scientific control and the reflective interpretations of the past.**



## 2. Current tendencies and contexts of cultural heritage

### 2.1 Cultural heritage and Academia

Heritage studies is an interdisciplinary and heterogeneous field with academics working in disciplines such as art history, archaeology, architecture, history, conservation studies, museology, anthropology, ethnology, memory studies, cultural and political geography, tourism studies, sociology, or economics. This interdisciplinary nature of the field has resulted in a varying range of research focuses: some researchers have been more interested in the physical treatment of heritage, and the methods of conservation and heritage valuation, while others have wanted to explain heritage as phenomenon. What today is called “critical heritage studies” grew out of the academic concern of the 1980s, especially in the United Kingdom, for social, political, and economic uses of heritage in society. These criticisms presented by mainly historians and sociologists were targeted at the ‘invention of tradition’ by governments to produce neo-patriotic narratives and senses of nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1983), the all-embracing post-industrial ‘heritage society’ as a middle-class nostalgia (Hewison, 1987), and heritage as a false history (Lowenthal, 1985). Since the birth of heritage studies, as there have been variations in how different disciplines and individual researchers have framed their understanding of heritage studies, there have equally been differences in how heritage has been conceptualized in different European countries, something which is reflected in the vocabulary originally denoting ‘heritage’ in other languages than English (French patrimoine, German Denkmal) (Hemme et al, 2007), or in how the term ‘heritage’ has evolved historically in a given national context (Rennes and van Kessel, 2016). This chapter presents some of the key debates that have influenced the contemporary field of heritage studies.

#### Heritage, nationalism and other scales

There is a wide body of research on how traditions, historical monuments and sites, and their preservation, or history and archaeology as disciplines, have been utilized in the construction of nation-states and national identities. The priority of the national framework for research has been further supported by the fact that the majority of the institutions and the major portion of the legislation protective of cultural heritage have been created within the framework and for the purposes of nation states. In today’s world, in which nationalist sentiments have far from disappeared, it remains ever valid to make explicit, through research, the links between heritage and nation. **The constant awareness of the dangers of methodological nationalism – viewing heritage overtly in a national context – is, however, equally relevant in heritage studies as in many other fields.** As Astrid Swenson (2013) has convincingly shown, there is a long and complex international history of transnational and entangled heritage practices, which “rose everywhere through the interaction of state agencies, civil society and a broader popular culture” (15).

An increasing focus has been placed recently on other scales of heritage and memory than national (on heritage scales, see Graham et al, 2000), on previously marginalised memories and on the interplay or contestation of various representations of heritage. For instance, the growing body of research on UNESCO World Heritage has shown both an ambitious international project of cooperation to construct heritage value exceeding the national boundaries (Outstanding Universal Value), and the difficulty of this exercise:

the dominant Western conceptualizations of heritage, the creation of a universal meta-narrative irrespective of local diversities, and using the World Heritage List as a nationalistic tool (e.g. Hevia 2001; Meskell 2002; Smith 2006; Labadi 2013).

### Materiality and discursiveness of heritage

In her influential book *Uses of Heritage* (2006), archaeologist Laurajane Smith introduced the term 'authorized heritage discourse' (AHD) to describe the western heritage practice which since the late nineteenth century has developed towards a dominant position as a 'universalizing' discourse of our own time, and "privileging monumentality and grand scale, innate artefact/site significance tied to time depth, scientific/aesthetic expert judgement, social consensus and nation building". Also, many other scholars have written about heritage as essentially a discursive construction shaped by specific circumstances – a discourse here referring to something that is both reflective and constitutive of social practices. In other words, heritage and its meaning are "constructed within, not above or outside representation" (Hall 2005). The AHD (or we should rather use the plural, 'authorised heritage discourses') was among other things targeted as a critique towards the prevailing Western understanding of heritage as a material object and a thing. Rather heritage can be seen as a process, a performance (Crouch, 2010), an act of communication (Dicks, 2000) and a set of relationships with the past undertaken at certain sites and places. In this sense, all heritage is intangible. Interestingly, at the same time, as the academic discourse has been moving towards a deepening interest in heritage discourses, and thus intangible heritage, a similar kind of transition towards intangible heritage can be pointed out in the framework of the international professional heritage field (see the following chapter). These two can be seen as discourses enforcing each other (Harrison, 2013).

Most scholars who have worked to make the discursive nature of heritage visible have not wanted to reduce heritage to the level of discourse only. Nevertheless, there have been recent calls to bring the material qualities of heritage more visibly back to the critical heritage studies' agenda. According to actor-network-theory the agency in the creation of heritage meanings is distributed between human and non-human actors, including the heritage sites themselves (Harrison, 2013, 32-33). Furthermore, as Rodney Harrison (2013, 113) asserts "the various physical relationships that are part of our 'being in the world' are integral to understanding our relationships with the objects, places and practices of heritage."

### Heritage as representation versus performative and affective heritage

**One of the key issues in heritage studies has been representation – which versions of the past have been validated and presented by official producers of heritage to the public, how have memories of e.g. working class, ethnic minorities or other minority groups been integrated or marginalized – and the agency of political-economic power in relationship to heritage. Based on the review of the projects on heritage funded by the European Commission, it may be concluded that the complex issues of representation continue to have high relevance for the scholarly community. Whether it is possible to foster common European identity through heritage and history without making "unwarranted assumptions of what is shared" (Macdonald 2013, 37), and how the value of the present and historical diversity of Europe is recognised when constructing common narratives to achieve social cohesion, are questions that require constant re-evaluation in relationship to the European project.**

As the above-mentioned call for attention to the intertwining nature of the ‘material’ and the ‘social’ in the creation of heritage meanings suggests, representational theories of heritage have recently been challenged to pursue a more complex and dynamic view, which frames heritage in terms of practice and performance, as something that is produced in “the embodied and creative uses of heritage generated by people” (Haldrup and Bærenhold, 2015; Crouch, 2010). One of the more-than-representational views on heritage focuses on its emotional, experiential and affective nature, for which increasing attention has been given in heritage studies recently. This concern may be seen as parallel to the increasing focus on social values against, or in relation, to other, more traditional values of heritage. For example, scholars have discussed how collective memories settle into people’s personal worlds as feelings and affects (Dittmer and Waterton, 2016), how emotions have generated historical interpretations at heritage sites (Fabre, 2013; Gregory and Witcomb, 2007), or how affect contributes to the meaning-making within the EU heritage policy discourse (Lähdesmäki, 2017). One emotion that is currently being reconsidered from the perspective of affective is nostalgia, which has in traditional academic discussions often been treated as a problematic way of approaching the past. It has been proposed that the focus of attention should be moved towards the question how nostalgia is used for social, cultural, political, and economic reasons by individuals and groups. Nostalgia can be a negative process, mobilised for present political purposes, but it can also be a potentially productive process “which mobilises emotions drawing on the past to do something in the present, and is potentially oriented to influencing the future” (Campbell et al, 2017, 610).

### Heritage practice and academics

Another recent discussion in the heritage field has revolved around the roles of the practitioners of heritage and academics. Much of the criticism in critical heritage studies over the years has been targeted at the professional heritage practice, especially at the international organizations like UNESCO and ICOMOS. In many ways, this has been a very valid critique but there seems to be little sense in critical approaches, if they in the process become “anti-heritage” (Winter, 2013, 533; see also Witcomb and Buckley, 2013). Also, **any critique should be based on a profound knowledge of what actually takes place in heritage practice today, rather than twenty years ago. The (critical) heritage studies and the heritage conservation sector need to be in a productive dialogue with each other – the first in order not to alienate itself into the academic sphere only, and the latter to be able to engage with wider key issues in society.** As Tim Winter (2013, 533) argues, **‘critical’ in critical heritage studies should also be about addressing critical issues that face the world today:** “better understanding the various ways in which heritage now has stake in, and can act as a positive enabler for, the complex, multi-vector challenges that face us today, **such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution, social cohesion and the future of cities**”. **Several of the European Commission funded projects on heritage want to bring academia and heritage practice into genuine conversation: this is an endeavour that should continue also in the future, and there should be reflection on best practices on the basis of the completed projects.**

Another point that relates to the relationship between heritage practice and academia is the more rarely raised issue of scholars themselves also being experts and stakeholders in cultural heritage, and how to navigate between the different sets of social expectations that these different roles assume.

## 2.2 Politics and administration: global tendencies

Even though important heritage transnationalism existed already in the late-nineteenth century through the exchange of ideas between preservationists e.g. in association with supra-national campaigns to save monuments, at restoration exhibitions at world fairs, in international heritage congresses, or later in the framework of the League of Nations (Swenson, 2013), the idea of common global heritage got fully institutionalized in the post-war period, and especially from the 1960s onwards at UNESCO. As European heritage transnationalism in the framework of the European Union is a fairly recent endeavour, it warrants to take a closer look at UNESCO, and its universalist heritage practices both during the second and third CH regimes defined in the Introduction.

UNESCO's concern for heritage is centred around two international Conventions: the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), i.e. the World Heritage Convention, and the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), hereafter referred to as the Intangible Convention. That the two Conventions belong to two very different phases in heritage theory and practice, can be seen in their outlook, and the Intangible Convention is often seen as a response to address some of the earlier shortcomings of the World Heritage Convention. UNESCO's conceptualization of heritage from the early-1970s onwards is a diversified construction, with several significant conceptual developments over the years, as well as many sub-discourses. As we mentioned in the Introduction, the early-1990s marked a period of significant reorientation and self-reflection in the history of the implementation of the World Heritage Convention.<sup>3</sup> This period involved launching the Global Strategy for a more representative World Heritage List (1994); introducing a new category of cultural landscapes for World Heritage nominations; widening the Western-based concept of authenticity; bringing the notion of intangible heritage into the debates on World Heritage; and assigning a larger role to local communities in defining World Heritage. In the following, we will raise three overarching tendencies that have been influential in the UNESCO heritage practice, and which have significance to the transnational European heritage projects as well.

### Regionalization of Outstanding Universal Value

'Outstanding Universal Value' (OUV) is the fundamental condition for the definition of World Heritage. It is a challenging concept, and many doubts have been raised concerning the term "universal" in this context. Universally shared values, as something that can be acknowledged as such worldwide, are difficult to justify in relation to more recent understanding of pluralization of heritage values. OUV has also been criticized for being a Western construction, a concept, which "reinforces Western notions of value and rights" (Meskell 2002, 568).

Whilst the understanding of OUV as something that can be acknowledged worldwide is still present in the World Heritage discourse, the more recent tendency has been to conceive it as something that is relative and culturally and socially dependent (Labadi 2013, 57; Vahtikari 2017). The Expert Meeting on the Global Strategy (1994) pointed out that OUV should be reviewed in regional rather than universalist frameworks. Since the mid-1990s, the World Heritage system has seen many decentralizing features (Cameron and Rössler, 2013, 94-95). For example, the Nordic countries have reviewed their World Heritage nomination

<sup>3</sup> Though the real turning point is definitely the 1990s, the Mexico City Declaration of Cultural Policies gives a truly innovative definition of cultural heritage already in 1982.

policies in co-operation. In addition to reviewing the universalist position to heritage, the regionalization of OUV has served to advance another key objective of UNESCO, namely that of countering negative examples of heritage nationalism. For example, some states have knowingly practiced exclusive nomination policies in relation to minority cultures and their alternative narratives of heritage: World Heritage nominations have rarely focused on sites, which are marginal in relation to the narratives of unity legitimized by the culture of the majority in the nation (e.g. Hevia, 2001). States Parties' insistence upon making new nominations based on national considerations was again noted in an external audit compiled in 2011 (UNESCO, 2011). With its regionalization tendencies, UNESCO is positioning itself into even closer conversation with other supranational bodies operating in the heritage field such as the EU. One systematic effort towards regionalization in the context of World Heritage are transboundary nominations. Several states together can propose a transboundary nomination, which may also cross the boundaries of UNESCO regions. One example is the tentative listed Mid-Atlantic Ridge system, which includes islands belonging to Brazil, Great Britain, Portugal, Norway and Iceland.

### From tangible to intangible heritage

Another visible tendency when looking at UNESCO's heritage policy is a shift from tangible to intangible. An important early milestone in introducing social values to the international heritage debate was the Burra Charter by Australian ICOMOS (1979, and subsequently revised several times). When thinking about the World Heritage Convention, 'shift' might be a bit too strong an expression, because tangibility of heritage still remains at the very heart of it according to the logic of successive regimes integrating instead of replacing each other. A more substantial transformation in the international heritage paradigm supported by UNESCO can be related to the adoption of the Intangible Convention in 2003, which, as a way of reflecting the cultural relativist thought behind it, did not make any reference to value that is "outstandingly universal". Accordingly, the list that was established based on the Intangible Convention was titled the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Intangible Convention also emphasized the interdependence between intangible and tangible heritage, and the significant role of communities as bearers of heritage. In this sense, as noted above, the international professional heritage discourse and the academic discourse can be seen as discourses enforcing each other (Harrison, 2013).

All the other aspects of re-orientation within the World Heritage system identified in the beginning of this section also resonated with UNESCO's general concern for intangible heritage: the Global Strategy urging development of a more anthropological view towards cultural heritage; the cultural landscapes category emphasizing the linkage between tangible and intangible values; the Nara Document on Authenticity with its inclusion of traditions, spirit and feeling among the sources of information validating the authenticity of a heritage resource, and local communities as bearers of heritage values. Nevertheless, simultaneously with the reinforced intangibility discourse, there has been a continuous tendency to separate tangible and intangible heritages. By definition, their co-existence is acknowledged; however, the existence of a dual system of heritage designation within the UNESCO framework itself serves to underline the distinction between the two. In this mindset, the World Heritage List continues to be the tangible list. **A lesson to be learned from UNESCO is that there is very little reason to try to construct too rigid categories of tangible and intangible heritage, and between different heritage values** (Vahtikari, 2017).

### Credibility of the World Heritage system

A third theme that warrants discussion concerning the World Heritage system is its credibility. Over the years, the question of credibility has been associated with many issues by World Heritage researchers and practitioners. Particularly, the focus of attention has been on the credibility of the World Heritage List as an archive, and the credibility of the listing exercise itself. The implementation of the World Heritage Convention has been an enduring quest for balance: geographical, thematic and between culture and nature. None of these balances have been achieved over the years, and it may be questioned whether seeking a balance is any longer a sustainable way forward, especially when the post-inscription conservation status of some World Heritage sites is uncertain. This relates to the other aspect of credibility: the credibility of the listing process, which has been considered increasingly political. While the World Heritage Convention is often referred to as UNESCO's most successful legal instrument, many of those, who currently review the system's future, are somewhat pessimistic. In part, this reflects an awareness of shifting values in society: "a reduced respect for scientific expertise, a determination to redress perceptions of imbalances in cultural diversity and geo-cultural representation, and overt attempts to translate international recognition to national prestige and tangible economic benefits." (Rudolff and Buckley, 2016: 525) The European heritage project also needs to constantly (re)define its relationship to these shifting societal priorities.

### 2.3 The administrative institutionalization of European cultural heritage: past, present and near future

It is hard to judge beforehand how a thematic year could help the promotion of a concept or programme. For example, in France, the *Année du patrimoine* in 1980 resulted in a veritable breakthrough both in the administrative and the popular recognition of cultural heritage as a key notion in current identity formation. **The recent proposal of the European Commission, supported by the Council of the EU and by the European Parliament, which jointly decided to organise in 2018 the European Year of Cultural Heritage (after two years without any European thematic focus) demonstrates that cultural heritage is bestowed with the capacity to conceptualize cultural challenges and their impacts on society, economy, politics and environment.** During the thirty-one thematic European years since 1983, this is the sixth time when a cultural topic is selected.<sup>4</sup> However, it is probably the first time that a cultural concept is expected to incorporate such a wide range of domains from climate change to local development strategies. **Between the 2008 European Year of Intercultural dialogue and the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage, European institutions experienced a rather controversial phase dominated by economic and political crises and their aftermath. In this period, the official acknowledgment of the significance of European culture and cultural institutes in relation to European economy, society, environment and politics varied from one year to the other. Nevertheless, the distinguished recognition of European cultural heritage in 2018 can be interpreted as a courageous attempt to institutionalize European culture under the banner of cultural heritage, which is able to link society, economy, politics and ecology in the complexity of third regime cultural heritage.**

<sup>4</sup> In 1985 'music', in 1988 'cinema and television', in 1990 'tourism', in 2001 'languages' and in 2008 'intercultural dialogue' were chosen for European Year.



In order to understand how and why European institutions attribute such significance to cultural heritage, the conjuncture of various developments must be taken into consideration.

- The role of **Culture in the European project** has its own history. Though the European project did not start as a primarily cultural endeavour, the Coal and Steel Community Treaty is “resolved to substitute for historic rivalries a fusion of their essential interests” in 1951. Gradually, “historic rivalries” give place to cultural similarities, which are expressed in the 1992 Treaty on European Union as “common cultural heritage”, while the “national and regional diversity of the Member States” is respected. This is echoed in the 2007 Lisbon Treaty, in which “the rich cultural and linguistic diversity” of Europe represented by the Member States are in harmony with “Europe’s cultural heritage”. The concept of cultural heritage or, more precisely, European cultural heritage seems to be appropriate to represent a common identity without threatening cultural differences, which are within the competence of Member States.
- According to the recurring bon mot habitually attributed to Jean Monnet, *«If I had to do it again, I would begin with culture.»*, the administrative recognition of culture depends on the **mandate periods of chief European politicians** too. As the quotation reveals, there is a tendency to emphasize the importance of European culture at the end of these periods, which impels the administration to outline duly the necessary actions. Due to their time-consuming development, however, strategies could become belated in comparison to economic, social or political actions plans, which are developed continuously.
- Other determining time factors are **planning and financial cycles**, which follow their own logic of preparation, implementation and assessment. Priority research topics illustrate well how conceptual novelties can enter planning and financial cycles. Social Sciences and Humanities research was included in the 4th Research Framework Programme in 1994, when cultural heritage and related fields were not yet among the research areas. In the 5th Framework Programme (1998–2002), Social Sciences and Humanities research covered social cohesion, migration, welfare, governance, democracy and citizenship. The 6th Framework Programme (2002–2006) introduced the theme *New forms of citizenship and cultural identities* for Social Sciences and Humanities research. Before the 7th Framework Programme (2007–2013), cultural heritage was mostly researched under the Environment programme (conservation strategies and technologies) and Information Society Technologies. From the perspective of cultural heritage, the 7th Framework Programme represents a true shift, since EU-financed research on identities, cultural heritage and history became more complex and diverse.
- Beyond the inner cycles and periods of the European institutions, **external historical events** can have important impact on the institutionalisation of European culture and cultural heritage. In the 2000s, the negative result of the French referendum on the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe (2005) and the world financial crisis of 2007–08 were among the most influential incidents to reshape ideas and actions about European identity and culture. The British referendum in 2016, which was favourable to the withdrawal of the United Kingdom from the European Union is fuelling further positive attempts to strengthen the construction of a common European identity. In consequence, the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 plays a crucial role to represent unity in times of secession.
- The rise of cultural heritage as a framing concept for European identity and culture coincides with its **conceptual evolution** arriving at the third cultural heritage regime. In this sense, the construction of European cultural heritage follows a similar logic to UNESCO by (1) first defining cultural heritage in various standard-setting documents as

Architectural (1975, 1985) cultural heritage and Archaeological CH (1992) in harmony with the European tradition of monumental protection; then, (2) by offering a broader definition of cultural heritage as “a group of resources inherited from the past which people identify, independently of ownership, as a reflection and expression of their constantly evolving values, beliefs, knowledge and traditions. It includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time”, as it is stated in the Faro Convention.

Two Treaties of the Council of Europe – the European Landscape Convention (2000, ratified by 24 Member States until 2017) and the Faro Convention (2005, ratified by 8 Member States until 2017) – became often quoted references to develop Europe’s own cultural heritage concept, which is widely recognised as an alternative instrumental norm in comparison to those, which were developed by UNESCO. **The European Landscape Convention built a new conceptual bridge between society and nature according to the sustainability pillars. The Faro Convention contributed to the policy shift towards democratic and human values by anchoring heritage rights, cultural rights and human rights at the centre of a renewed interpretation of cultural heritage.** In consequence, rights relating to cultural heritage are perceived as inherent in the right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Accordingly, individual and collective responsibility towards cultural heritage is recognized, and its sustainable use and links to human development as well as to well-being are identified as major objectives of safeguarding and managing cultural heritage. The above listed elements of the European cultural heritage conjuncture determine the year 2005 as an essential shift, when the Faro Convention manifests the new European cultural heritage paradigm, which is suitable to the holistic approach of the third regime cultural heritage, whereas the public disapproval at the French European Constitution referendum warned that the further development of the European project badly needs to include identity and cultural aspects. Though the Lisbon Treaty (2007)<sup>5</sup> did not expand what the Maastricht Treaty (1992) already declared about European cultural heritage, the topics of the 7th Framework Programme for Research (2007–13) supported a Europe-wide reflection about European identity and its manifestation as cultural heritage places and practices. **Horizon 2020 gives even more importance to heritage quantitatively (both in volume and in the number of related topics), but – from the institutional point of view – EU funded research on cultural heritage is still fragmented according to earlier disciplinary and thematic divisions such as tangible, natural, intangible, digital, etc.**

An intergovernmental initiative created the European Heritage Label in 2006 in order to “strengthen European citizens’ sense of belonging to the Union.” The growing interest towards European cultural heritage and its promising institutionalisation was slowed momentarily by the financial crisis, which re-emphasized the European project as a primarily economic, financial and social endeavour. In line with the third regime cultural heritage discourse, however, it was recognized soon that cultural heritage as the currently institutionalised form of Culture(s) is no longer a separate and investment-consuming entity, but it is integrated organically to the other three pillars (economy, ecology, society) of sustainability. (Figure 1.) Thus, **the institutionalisation of European cultural heritage took an effervescent turn from the mid-2010s, which culminates in the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage.**

<sup>5</sup> All the three mentions of European cultural heritage in the text of the Lisbon Treaty (Preamble; 3.3 TEU, 107.3d TFEU, 167 TFEU.) are taken from the Maastricht Treaty.



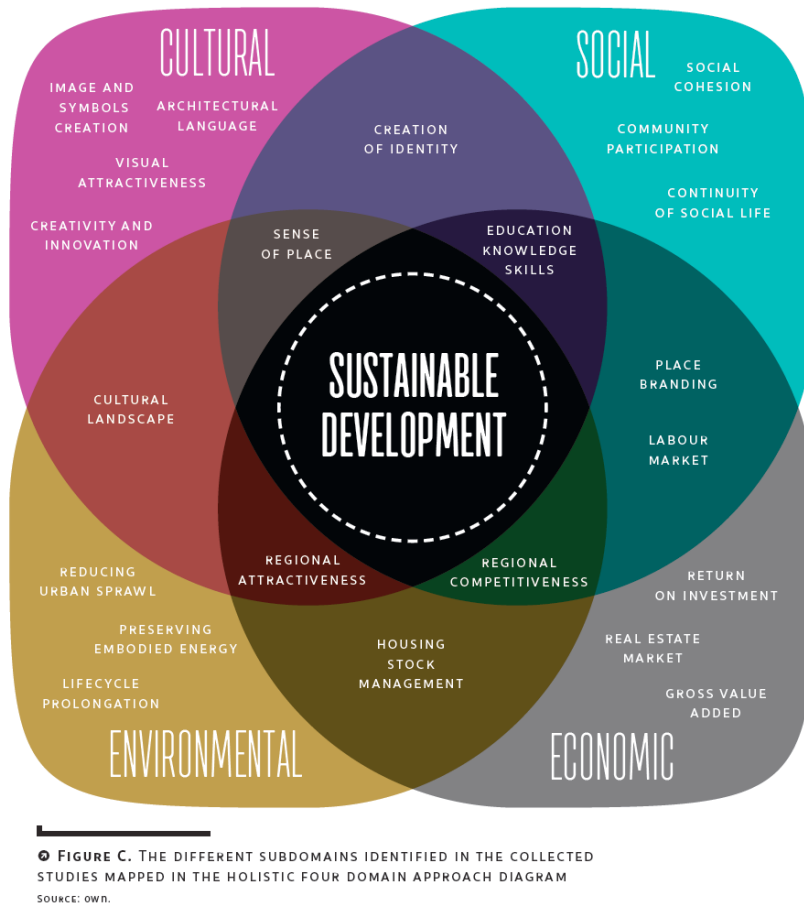


Figure 1. The representation of the interrelatedness of the four pillars of sustainability.  
Source: Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe. Full report

In the last few years, the greater recognition of the importance of cultural heritage and the policy shift at the EU level became evident through a series of conferences, events, and far-reaching strategic policy documents adopted by the various European institutions and counselling bodies. The following non-exhaustive list includes those recent documents, which are either normative for the construction of a common European cultural heritage or prepared the 2018 European Year of Cultural Heritage:

- Europe 2020. A European Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth (European Commission, 2010)
- Decision establishing the European Heritage Label (European Parliament, Council of the EU, November 2011)
- The Development of European Identity/Identities: Unfinished Business. A Policy Review (European Commission, DG for Research and Innovation, 2012)
- Towards an EU Strategy for Cultural Heritage — the Case for Research (presented to the European Commission in 2012 by the European Heritage Alliance 3.3, 2012)
- New Narrative for Europe (European Commission, 2013)
- Conclusions on Cultural Heritage as a Strategic Resource for a Sustainable Europe

(Council of the EU, May 2014)

- Communication Towards an Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage for Europe (European Commission, July 2014)
- Conclusions on Participatory Governance of Cultural Heritage (Council of the EU, November 2014)
- Strategic Research Agenda (Joint Programming Initiative Cultural Heritage and Global Change, 2014)
- Getting cultural heritage to work for Europe (report produced by the Horizon 2020 Expert Group on Cultural Heritage, European Commission, DG for Research and Innovation, April 2015)
- Namur Declaration (The ministers of the States Parties to the European Cultural Convention meeting in Namur, April 2015)
- Bridge over troubled waters? The link between European historical heritage and the future of European integration (European Commission, DG for Research and Innovation, 2015)
- Cultural Heritage Counts for Europe. Full report (European Commission, DG for Education and Culture, June 2015)
- Decision on a European Year of Cultural Heritage (European Parliament, Council of the EU, August 2016)
- Strengthening European Identity through Education and Culture (The European Commission's contribution to the Leaders' meeting in Gothenburg, 17 November 2017)

**The Decision on a European Year of Cultural Heritage collects and uses expertise from most of these reports on cultural heritage, which proves that the first shared efforts to define the characteristics of European cultural heritage are truly productive to determine the perspectives of the institutionalisation of European cultural heritage.** Accordingly, three out of the eleven specific objectives of the European Year of Cultural Heritage contain goals and actions in research and innovation, as the Decision aims to

- promote debate, research and innovation activities and exchange of good practices on the quality of conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage and on contemporary interventions in the historical environment as well as promoting solutions which are accessible for all, including for persons with disabilities;
- highlight and stimulate the positive contribution of cultural heritage to society and the economy through research and innovation, including an EU level evidence base and through the development of indicators and benchmarks;
- promote research and innovation on cultural heritage; facilitate the uptake and exploitation of research results by all stakeholders, in particular public authorities and the private sector, and facilitate the dissemination of research results to a broader audience.

**The opening of the House of European History in May 2017 was also a decisive step in the institutionalization of European cultural heritage.** The realization of the project covers the decade between 2007-2017, which is characterized by the ups and downs of the conjunctures leading to the current recognition of European cultural identity. The House's "aim is to provide a permanent source for the interpretation of Europe's past – a reservoir of European memory" and to "form a leading platform for connecting institutions dealing with European history and heritage." ([historia-europa.ep.eu/en/mission-vision](http://historia-europa.ep.eu/en/mission-vision)) The very choice of "House" instead of "Museum" and the participative interpretation of the past

linking History to Memory results in the representation of European past in the presentist, third regime cultural heritage discourse. From the 1970s, the institutionalisation of ‘memory’ (belonging to the individual, to a community or to any group) has been challenging the time-honored identity construction of Social Sciences and Humanities. **The multiplication of commemorations and events of remembrance at all levels of the society (from local to global) did not only show the democratization of the interpretations of the past, but also served as an opportunity for diverse political actors to use the past for their purposes. The new House of European History intends to bridge between presentist public interpretations and their academic assessments.** The first permanent exhibition offers a thematic overview of the modern and contemporary European history after a brief representation of the birth of Europe through a few beautiful objects, which do not determine a chronology, but rather offer a pleasant experience to share. Thus, the controversial debate about the ‘beginning of Europe’ as a political and cultural unit is avoided and this solution directs discussions towards common values and origins instead of dividing differences.

The House of European History completes the programmes and institutions, which are mentioned in the *Decision on a European Year of Cultural Heritage* to implement its objectives. “These programmes include: Creative Europe; the European structural and investment funds; Horizon 2020; Erasmus+; and Europe for Citizens. Three EU actions specifically dedicated to cultural heritage are funded under Creative Europe: the European Heritage Days; the EU Prize for Cultural Heritage; and the European Heritage Label.” (Decision on a European Year of Cultural Heritage, 2016) The three EU actions along with the House and other political symbols such as the European flag and the euro banknote could act as identity agents. It is an exciting research topic to evaluate how these recent EU programmes contribute to the identity formation of European citizens and how they modify Cram’s ‘banal Europeanism’, which maintains that European Union identity is underpinned by an implicitly banal, contingent and contextual process. (Cram, 2009) Recent research on European identity suggests that this period can be favourable for the strengthening of European belonging as the trends in Figure 2. show. **According to this survey, the increasing deficit in the credibility of the EU caused by the financial, economic and political crises of the late 2000s reached its summit in 2010, and since then it started decreasing again. The growing significance of being European has probably been further strengthened on the Continent by the Brexit referendum.**

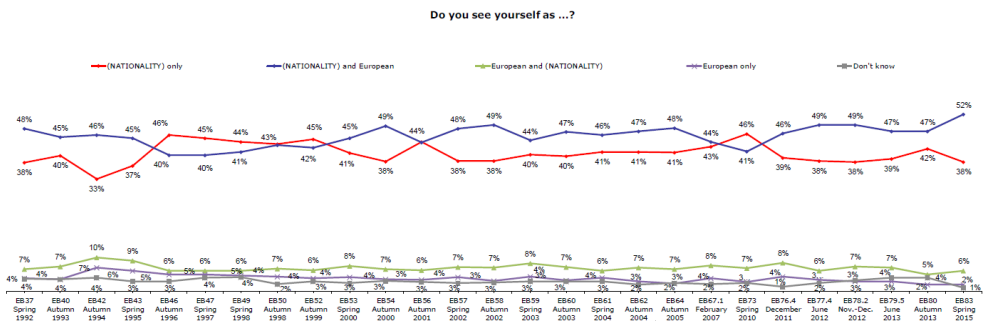


Figure 2. Trends in European identity  
Source: COHESIFY Project Research Paper 1.

## The European Heritage Label in relation to the World Heritage List

It seems warranted to review also the key European heritage charters and conventions in reflection to the previously discussed two subsequent eras in international heritage theory and practice: the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage (1975) and the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (1985) belong to the same intellectual family as the UNESCO World Heritage Convention. They all have their main focus on material expressions of heritage, and they treat heritage as the common property, either of the humankind or of Europe. The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (2005), on the other hand, shares in many respects the common value basis with the UNESCO Intangible Convention: they both place human values at the centre of the concept of cultural heritage, and understand heritage as constantly recreated by communities in interaction with their cultural and natural environment. The European Landscape Convention (2000) built on the UNESCO concept of cultural landscape: by referring to landscapes, instead of cultural landscapes, it further faded out the distinction between cultural and natural landscapes. (See Annex 3.)

When comparing the idea behind the European Heritage Label (EHL), recently launched by the European Commission, with the established UNESCO World Heritage List, we can go to the European Commission's own definition of what makes the European Heritage Label different from the World Heritage List. The following three key differences are distinguished ([https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/creative-europe/actions/heritage-label_en)):

- “European Heritage sites bring to life the European narrative and the history behind it. They are about much more than just aesthetics.
- The focus is on the promotion of the European dimension of the sites and providing access to them. This includes organising a wide range of educational activities, especially for young people.
- European Heritage sites can be enjoyed singly or as part of a network. Visitors can get a real feel for the breadth and scale of what Europe has to offer and what it has achieved.”

While the two latter points do not seem to hit their target, since UNESCO, equally as the European Heritage Label, aims to achieve the breadth and scale of heritage (to the point of global “representativeness”), and to encourage access and education through heritage, the first point raises important questions. **The reference to “more than just aesthetics” may be seen as a commentary in favour of intangible, social and community-based approach to heritage against a predominantly material and aesthetic focus.** It can also be seen as an endorsement in favour of flexible and open-ended subscription criteria for the European Heritage Label (as they currently are when compared to the World Heritage inscription criteria). Of course, those who manage places that have been awarded the European Heritage Label may still have very different ideas of what is worth preserving and promoting in “their” heritage. Thus, **it is highly important that, if and when ‘statements of significance’ are issued for heritage places, as the UNESCO World Heritage experience shows, they should be defined in close cooperation with local communities and be open to subsequent re-interpretation. From the perspective of European cultural heritage research, the – more than thirty – European Heritage Label sites already compose an entity, which is suitable for a comparative study. Conceptually, it is worth noting that European cultural heritage is an on-going construction and not an accomplished entity, and that cultural heritage manifested in these sites is dynamic.** This European

cultural heritage is understood between the different social levels (from local to European). Though there are EU/EC directives and official texts, they are meant to initiate and not to impose interpretations. The relationship between the different levels is not only dynamic, but also interactive. Eventual conflicts can rise during this interaction between these levels, which should not be considered in the simplifying dichotomy of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' movements of heritagization. The selection process of European Heritage Label sites is an exercise of heritage hermeneutic, in which the 'No.1194/2011/EU Decision' (the standard text) and the proposal of the candidate site (the receptor's interpretation of the standard text) are compared and the task of the European Heritage Label Panel is to implement the author's (EU institutions) intentions, which are not defined precisely. Actually, the institutions of European cultural heritage offer a promising opportunity to analyse the identity formation on the making through the latest methodological approaches of Social Sciences and Humanities.

The acceleration of the institutionalisation of European cultural heritage could entail a growing volume of research on the conceptualization and management of cultural heritage. The academic institutionalization of Cultural Heritage Studies already started in various ways in different countries and disciplinary backgrounds. **Current cultural heritage appears to be the new conceptual framework for the construction of more diverse, less exclusive European identities, where there is no pressure to establish a hierarchy between identity elements and where there is no need for a unique and monolithic identity narrative. Thus, research and education on cultural heritage could contribute to a more tolerant, and more democratic European society.** The institutionalization of European Cultural Heritage Studies would be advantageous through a network of comparable, similarly structured Cultural Heritage Departments and Chairs. These would aim at studying the new European concepts of cultural and social appropriations through the exploitation of the exceptionally rich tradition of European Social Sciences and Humanities excelling not only in the disciplines of cultural heritage protection and of identity formations characteristic to the first two cultural heritage regimes, but also in the interdisciplinary approaches, which are more congruous with the current regime. These inter- and multidisciplinary studies are expected to conceptualize the value-led approach to cultural heritage from the perspective of shared European values. It is worth noting that the value-led approach to cultural heritage needs to be regarded from a critical point of view, since it is not exclusively an outstanding opportunity to spread and promote European values declared in standard-setting EU instruments, but it can also lead to their criticism and even denial in the name of different values. Thus, research on the reception of common values and on their interpretations is necessary.

### 3. Exemplary research methodologies and results on current European cultural heritage

The fourteen projects of this report provide outstanding examples and models of current European cultural heritage research and practices. These models reveal the complexity of the third regime cultural heritage, which will be presented according to the three indicators (cultural heritage spaces; cultural heritage temporalities; cultural heritage communities and cultural heritage governance) already presented in the Introduction. Though our analysis is based on the selected fourteen projects, they do not cover entirely EU-funded research on cultural heritage. Projects founded in the Calls of the European Research Council and the Horizon 2020 Societal Challenge 5 (*Climate action, environment, resource efficiency and raw materials*) collaborate with indispensable prescriptive and policy elements. **The selected fourteen projects constitute a snapshot from a larger policy field that will have many new projects based on topics in the Societal Challenge 6 Work Programme for 2017 and 2018-2020 such as several calls within the ‘Socioeconomic and Cultural Transformations in the Context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution’ in which cultural tourism, creative industries, value of culture and cultural policies, endangered cultural heritage and collaborative approaches to cultural heritage for social cohesion are – among others – the chosen topics. The study and management of digital cultural heritage is also present in several calls. Though these fields of European culture and cultural heritage are essential, the fragmentation of European cultural heritage research in the last calls for proposals of Horizon 2020 is still salient and it is insufficiently appropriate for the current concept of cultural heritage and the expectations of stakeholders and citizens.**

#### 3.1 Spatial aspects of European cultural heritage

The main spatial categories determined by the fourteen projects are (1) place; (2) landscape and its composite ‘scapes’; (3) the interrelatedness of virtual and real space; and (4) fluid spaces emerging from growing mobility and the subsequent increase of identity formations in networks.

##### Heritage places

In the same way as places of memory and places of remembrance, **heritage places are privileged foci of current identity building. Their current importance and attractiveness comes from their capability of determining the reference points of remembering and belonging. They can unite the tangible (monuments, geographical spaces, objects, events, etc.) and the intangible (social and cultural practices, stories, commemorative acts, etc.) aspects of heritage.** For example, re-interpreted museums can become “civic places as localised arenas for identity formation”, and, thus, they can provide “valid alternatives to reductive and potentially divisive ethnic or sub-cultural categorisations” – as it was demonstrated in MELA Project. The “biography of place approach” discusses locations as means and media of changing meanings as it was explained in the CRIC Project. This approach – similarly to the “biography of landscape approach” (Elerie, Speck, 2010) – involves a co-creative methodology, in which academics



and locals are engaged in an on-going exchange to define and manage change in its complexity in a given territory.

### Landscape and other 'scapes'

The importance of the personal identification with space as part of the heritage experience is embodied in the notion of cultural landscape and its related sensory 'scapes' (audio-, oleo-, walksapes, etc.), in which a great variety of individual and community appropriations merge. The CRIC Project puts "focus on various kinds of scapes", which "allowed the researchers to investigate both the imaginative and experienced landscapes as well as the physical places; indeed discussing the relationship between these different kinds of landscapes and how they are impacted and formed through the processes of destruction and reconstruction".

The "landscape approach" of the MEMOLA Project is designed to trace "historical processes that have led to specific relationships with nature" in Mediterranean mountainous areas, "taking as a central axis the historical study of two natural resources essential to generate agro-systems: water and soil." Thus, **heritage landscape is considered "as a living medium" to transfer "the sustained practice and traditional ecological knowledge of local communities" for new generations and for the scientific community.**



*Above: a MEMOLA team of researchers, students and local farmers renovates a traditional irrigation channel in the high altitudes of the Sierra Nevada, Spain*

### The relationship between virtual and real space

This topic is one of the main challenges not only for heritage institutions, but also for heritage studies. As the RICHES Project pointed out "digital technologies such as Augmented Reality and dedicated mobile phone applications can be used to enhance visitors' experiences of cultural heritage and bolster the promotion of place and production of distinctive place images in the commodification of cultural heritage resources". However, it is difficult to

assess how these “enhanced experiences” are related to traditional transmissions of cultural heritage, which ensured intergenerational communication for ages. **Further research on intangible heritage and on the commodification of heritage resources is necessary to explore the representation and use of heritage in virtual spaces and its impacts on heritage institutions and communities.**

### Fluid spaces and identity networks

Contemporary European societies are often characterized by the “physical and virtual movement,” which have “grown in quantity, rapidity and complexity.” In this situation, museums need “to investigate how fluidity, fragmentation, dislocation and mobility impact on individual and museum constructions of identity and belonging” as it was the objective of **the MELA Project**. This project **analysed the importance of migrants’ perception of the representation of culture and cultural heritage prior to the flux of immigrants, which caused political turmoil on the European level. Thus, Social Sciences and Humanities tools enabled an understanding of a major European social phenomenon before the political crisis.** Due to the acceleration of movement and exchange and the subsequent growing virtual nearness and geographical distance, networks can compete with traditional spatial references of identity based on geographical nearness. In this sense, **special territorialities of migration (both within Europe and across its outer borders) can be in contradictions with the conceptual interpretations as well as with the management of homogeneous territories of national cultures.**

The EUNAMUS Project calls for the European Commission to support and fund “attitudes, not infrastructure, including efforts to reformulate overly nationalistic, one-sided, or exclusionary collections. It means supporting innovative experiments in the audience development necessary to engage citizens in attitudinal shifts.” EUNAMUS notes the potential of national museums in producing joint European narratives through reinterpretation of their collections and in co-operation with local museums, whereas MELA identifies a contemporary shift “from the identity marking heritage of European nations to a contemporary migrating heritage.” **Rewriting national narratives to include minority groups and their narratives remains a key concern. It is also important to reflect to a greater extent on the shared heritages of Europe and the rest of the world.**

From the perspective of the construction of Europe as a space of reference and as a shared heritage, the (1) “open inventory” of its heritage places; (2) the critical approach to the commodification of its age-old heritage institutions and to the virtualization of its heritage spaces and communities; and (3) its network-based identity formations are identified as major constituents.

## 3.2 The changing temporalities of European cultural heritage

The main characteristics of contemporary cultural heritage temporalities revealed by the examined projects are (1) the significance of continuity and the present; and (2) the replacement of univocal interpretations of historical evolutions by multiple ones.

### Continuous, dynamic and stretching present

Having examined cultural heritage and the re-construction of heritage after armed conflict, the CRIC Project came to the conclusion that “heritage reconstructions after conflict are not



necessary helpful and at times extremely counterproductive,” and “that heritage is not an innocent bystander, but plays a part in conflict and post-conflict rhetoric and actions.” In the case of the battlefield of Verdun, a “move from ‘the time of living memory’ to ‘the time of history’” could be witnessed, but in the case of more recent or more recently re-used events or heritage places, the inherently continuous aspect of heritage can maintain the conflict of interpretations.

The (re)interpretation of European heritage in a temporal continuity has multiple consequences to the practices of heritage management and transmission. As it was stated by the researchers of the TRACES Project, there has been “a shift from product to process orientation: the focus is no longer exclusively on the exhibition, rather the production of the exhibition is expanded into a project.” The RICHES Project could conclude that the safeguard of European craft practices, which was one of its pilots, “serve as a link of cultural and historical continuity.”

### Multiple and coexisting evolutions

Having used the example of European national museums, the EUNAMUS Project showed that “the national museum policy quite predominantly has been changed in a multicultural direction with few or very critical references to the old national narratives prevailing in museums,” and that museums, which create a distance for a new future, “attempt to put the past behind in order to encompass a future free from it.” However, this general tendency, which is not only characteristic of national museums, needs to be examined critically, since “too rapidly creating history as distance silences needed voices and can make the past return in destructive modes.” This new museology managed to re-interpret the representation of the past. Nevertheless, its impacts need to be reflected critically, since the gap between traditional national and future-based interpretations could be filled by populist and/or non-professional explanations of the past.

Though sustainability related models can mitigate eventually the importance of human presence in heritage preservation and management, properly focussed selection and application of the scales of analysis provide eminent results. The MEMOLA Project proved that conservation can be achieved through the utilization “of heritage to generate environmental and cultural conservation strategies for sustainable development in rural areas.” MEMOLA not only regards “the environment from a holistic perspective,” but also gives place to the human scale in its management.

## 3.3 Cultural heritage communities and cultural heritage governance

**The examined projects emphasize the changing role of heritage communities and the societal impact of preserving cultural heritage in contemporary Europe.** From this perspective, the most salient topics are (1) the construction of Europe as a reference place for identification; (2) community-led heritage safeguard and management; (3) social practices emerging from the multiplication of heritage interpretation; (4) participative heritage management and governance.

## Europe as a reference place for identification

Research related to the COHERE Project states that “the main vehicles for the characterization and construction of ‘European heritage’ have, unlike the ‘European memory,’ been official rather than scholarly, although this is due to change because of the range of EU-funded research underway.” The research objectives of the COHESIFY Project exemplify this research, since this project aims to understand how European citizens relate to the European Structural and Investment Funds and how “these investment funds affect people’s support for and identification with the European project.” Moreover, the objective of the PERCEIVE Project is to develop “a comprehensive theory of cohesion in diversity”, and to increase citizens’ awareness of the impacts of the Cohesion Policy. This approach emphasizes that **the conception of Europe differs not only from region to region and from nation state to nation state, but also from the perspective of different layers and groups within these geographical and political units.**

As it is demonstrated by the COHESIFY Project, “various studies conclude that the EU has contributed to European identification through: European symbols and the Euro; media campaigns; elite discourses and narratives; and the promotion of transnational interactions among citizens and university students.” Nevertheless, it must be taken into consideration that “the impact of cross-national exchange policies such as ERASMUS is contested, and the programme is poorly targeted given that participation is skewed towards well-educated individuals that are more likely to identify with the EU anyway and “the winners are more likely to identify positively with the EU than the losers”. **Several projects identify the present juxtaposition of EU-supported transnational / cosmopolitan identity and memory, and nationalistic and “antagonistic bottom-up, right-wing and populist remembrance.”** The concept of “agonistic memory”, as understood by the UNREST Project, is promising as an “opportunity to engage with widespread memory discontent without losing sight of fundamental EU ideals.”

**Research on cultural heritage is among other things to identify groups, which can feel that they are deprived of their references due to the accelerated change of their economic and social conditions, and thus they feel menaced and are more exposed to populism. In order to offer an alternative to exclusive identities, cultural heritage has the potential to provide inclusive and robust references and practices for the recognition of heritage communities in those layers of European societies that are less aware of the opportunities offered by European integration.**

An excellent example of such a network-based community on European level is fuelled by the SIGN HUB Project, which aims to “preserve part of the European linguistic and cultural heritage by creating, analysing and making available a digital archive of life narratives of elderly signers about their individual and collective memories in different European Deaf communities.”

## Community-led heritage safeguard and management

The conjecture of current, crisis-based debates on European identity as a top-down construction and the increasing appreciation of local communities’ expression of their own Europeanness results in the research and development of community-led heritage practices. This cultural heritage-based European identity requires foci that can be constructed consensually, by respecting European diversity and that is not in competition with national and regional identities. The local food movements and their spreading explored by the

RICHES Project are compelling examples of this development. As noted by the EUNAMUS Project, regional, local, and ethnic museums, taken together, “form a mosaic of identities that remind people they are citizens at many levels —and these multiple avenues of belonging may allow for the easier inclusion of European citizenship”.

Several projects discuss the role of heritage “audiences”, and give the people who engage with heritage a more active participant role, which is according to the academic framings of heritage as practice and performance. **The MELA Project’s proposal that European museums should become increasingly informed about their new multi-cultural audiences, their perceptions and expectations, is relevant in the context of all heritage, not just museums.**

### Social practices emerging from the multiplication of heritage interpretation

**European people experience an accelerating multiplication of cultural practices and interpretations today that urges them to look for guidance. In this situation, heritage institutions are bestowed with an extraordinary responsibility.** The TRACES Project explore the possibilities of collaborative museology and community-based exhibitions. Thanks to this approach, Europe can learn from “former settler societies in Canada, the US, Australia and New Zealand,” in which “collaborative museology developed out of the claims of people represented in museum collections for their rights to the objects collected and their representation. In community-based exhibits, museums give their professional knowledge and resources for the community to represent their interests and perspectives. In multivocal exhibits, by contrast, the negotiation and coexistence of different perspectives take centre stage.”

### Participative heritage management and governance

**The implementation of effective participative cultural heritage management can be the solution to current conflicts in identity formation in Europe.** The EUNAMUS Project tackles the problem of overlapping “Museum Utopias (EUtopia, Multicultural Utopia, National Historical Utopia),” which are present both in exhibitions and “in actual museum policies across Europe.” The HERILIGION Project seeks to understand another crucial component of current European identity that is “the heritagization of religious sites, objects and practices which were not considered heritage before, and which may provoke tensions between heritage and religious constituencies; between religious and secular sacralizations and uses; and between different disciplines and management regimes.” According to the CULTURALBASE Project, these complex processes claim for a new cultural heritage governance and for “new forms of scientific and artistic production, which have a strong feeling of sharing [...] and which work on the basis of accessibility, common management, and peer-to-peer mentoring.”

## 4. Perspectives in European cultural heritage research

The ample theoretical and practical considerations and guidelines provided by the examined projects allow us to identify the principle potentials and challenges for further research on European cultural heritage. We arrange the concluding ideas and proposals on cultural heritage according to the three main axes of our present Paper: (1) European cultural heritage; (2) current cultural heritage practices; and (3) research agenda for current European cultural heritage, and each of these axes will be demonstrated by three related challenges and objectives.

### 4.1 Present and near future of European cultural heritage

**European cultural heritage is on the making. We could affirm that there is an agreement between the principle stakeholders (both administrators and academics) of this endeavour, and that this cultural heritage should have a composite nature to express European diversity and its recognition.** We identified three objectives, which could guide future research on European cultural heritage to grasp this diversity.

#### Linguistic and regional differences in the definition of cultural heritage in Europe

The constituting levels of European identity provide special challenges in the definition of European cultural heritage, which require further comparative research on a European level.

Since the notion of ‘cultural heritage’ is the result of an inner development in France, UK and USA, that is in English and in French, which happen to be the working languages of the UNESCO (the first standard-giving institution of international cultural heritage discourse) and those of the European institutions, international debates tend to blur the double speech about cultural heritage, which can occur between the European/international and the national levels. Even cultural heritage and *patrimoine culturel* does not necessarily reveal the same meaning. **The diffusion of the international cultural heritage discourse into national legal, official, academic and popular discourses has created a variety of national adaptive techniques ranging from the cohabitation of vocabularies related to cultural goods/monuments (which are characteristic of previous cultural heritage regimes, and current concepts loaned from the international discourses without sufficient reflection) to the replacement of century-old institutionalized monument protection by cultural heritage institutes. The RICHES taxonomy<sup>6</sup> is a relevant initiative to establish a comprehensive vocabulary of third regime cultural heritage.** Its eventual development through the inclusion of cultural heritage discourse in other European languages would draw attention to the primary importance of the reflective use of the terminology of cultural heritage at different administrative levels within the EU.

Non-reflected linguistic differences refer to overlapping regional variance within Europe: one significant difference is between Member States, which were situated on the two sides

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.riches-project.eu/riches-taxonomy.html>

of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War. **While the rise of cultural heritage from the 1970s onwards is partially due to the democratization of Western societies, former Eastern Bloc countries could not experience the same social and cultural movements on the same level. Thus, the adaptation of the concept of cultural heritage in the 1990s does not necessarily reflect the same realities or evolution in these societies. Moreover, cultural heritage as a popular interpretation of the past can provide a non-reflective, mythical and populist tool as a substitute for critical approaches. Another important difference is revealed by the ratification of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage and the number of recognized intangible heritage elements in EU Member States. (Figure 3.) This division between Northern and Southern Europe dates back to the debates on the meaning of culture and the definition of cultural rights between Germanic and neo-Latin contexts in the 2000s apropos the Intangible Convention (Melot, 2012), and it still has great relevance in academic debates, which must be examined in order to achieve intelligibility between the meanings of current cultural heritage in Europe. The two maps reveal not only the difference between different European regions in the acceptance of the UNESCO discourse of intangible heritage, but also the recent spread of intangible heritage to the North. It is also worth studying how the intangible heritage elements could assist current nation-building endeavours (in some countries with an outstanding number of UNESCO elements such as Belgium, Croatia and Spain) and how divergent the definitions of intangible heritage can be as the first and solely German element (“Idea and practice of organizing shared interests in cooperatives”)<sup>7</sup> proves.**

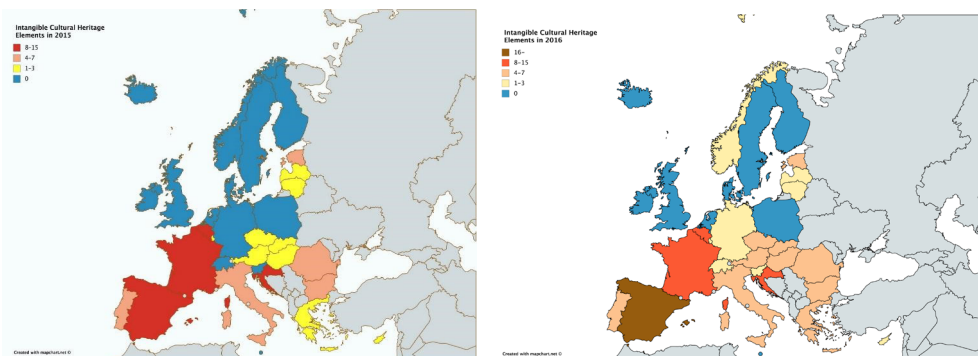


Figure 3. Number of UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage elements per country in Europe in 2015 and in 2016.

Source: Authors of this Report

The interpretative differences of cultural heritage are not only between bigger European regions, but also between national discourses and sub-national recognitions as it was demonstrated convincingly by the COHESIFY project. (Figure 4.) **The reception of European and national cultural heritage discourses and its linguistic and historical determinateness on the different levels of European identity formations is a crucial topic for research on European cultural heritage.**

<sup>7</sup> <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/idea-and-practice-of-organizing-shared-interests-in-cooperatives-01200>

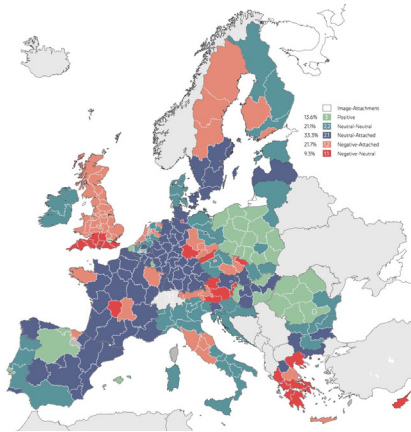


Figure 4. EU identification typology according to regions  
Source: COHESIFY Project Research Paper 6.

### The concept of current European Urban Heritage

**From a global perspective, the long tradition of the safeguard of European urban heritage is unique.** It is not only proven by hundreds of European urban sites on the World Heritage List, (Vahtikari, 2017) but also by the recent endeavours (Community-led Urban Strategies in Historic Towns/Town Reference Plan<sup>8</sup>, Integrated (Urban) Cultural Heritage Management Plan) to develop a special European conceptual and managerial approach to safeguard cities in Europe and in the surrounding areas. (Pickard, 2016) These initiatives could profit from the Historic Urban Landscape approach, which aims at re-establishing the connection between management of the historic environment, contemporary urban development and the geological context, in order to ensure a higher degree of sustainability and risk control, as well as harmony and continuity in urban forms, building structures and materials. It also aims to re-introduce local cultural traditions into territorial planning and urban design interventions as well as to give a proper place to intangible heritage values in the process of interpretation, planning and conservation of urban cultural heritage. (Sunkoly, 2017) **Intangible urban heritage is an important new research field, which will offer new European perspectives through the comparison of the varieties of the survival of urban crafts and their relationship to creative industries, that of the forms of inclusiveness in the cultural heritage of urban minorities, that of the cultural creativity nurtured by migration, etc.**

### Constructing and assessing European places and events

**Contemporary European cultural heritage has a great potential to determine the elements of a positive and gratifying European identity, on condition that its composite nature, its inner differences and the related local/regional/national values are taken into consideration. Representation of European cultural heritage is essential and the European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018 offers an extraordinary occasion to evaluate, re-assess and develop jointly the already existing elements of European identity such as the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, the European Heritage Days, the European Heritage Label and the European Union Prize for Cultural Heritage /Europa Nostra Award. Since these initiatives are meant to represent Europe, they need effective coordination**

<sup>8</sup> COMUS, <https://rm.coe.int/16804932fb>.

**(especially in the case of Cultural Routes and European Heritage Label sites) and considerable financial and communication reinforcement in order to be able to fulfil their task.** Their critical and co-creative research is important in order to prove that they are not merely official, top-down instruments, but worthwhile custodians of a shared European identity, which demands academic recognition, assessment and participation. **On a global level, the EU could encourage and assist joint applications of EU Member States for World Heritage nominations in order to encourage innovative approaches to heritage and to promote European cultural richness within and beyond the EU.** The European Year of Cultural Heritage focuses on the symbolic values of cultural heritage, but it should also emphasize that European cultural heritage has economic, social, cultural and diplomatic importance.

## 4.2 Current cultural heritage practices

The integrative definition of current cultural heritage requires not only a new conceptualization, but also new techniques and practices between the wide range of concerned participating communities and individuals. There is a need for inter-sectorial research projects and the development of indicators and the methodology of assessment to evaluate CH in its complexity. From the perspective of heritage communities, whose number is growing rapidly, we distinguished three groups of challenges.

### Inter-sectorial cooperation in the definition and evaluation of cultural heritage

The evaluated projects succeeded in inter-sectorial cooperation on cultural heritage, but they agreed that more research projects are needed to bring heritage practitioners and academics together. This cooperation benefits from the current concept of cultural heritage, in which tangible and intangible heritage are equally protected and their particular characteristics are taken into consideration. These projects are pilots and can be identified as good practice in a great variety of cultural heritage domains. The growing number of EU-related and other cultural heritage projects necessitate the development of a systematic and holistic impact assessment, measuring both short- and long-term impacts. The indicators of this evaluation should reflect the renewed concept of cultural creativity, the coherence of co-creative inter-sectorial collaboration and the strength of horizontal networks of participants in the recognition and exploitation of European cultural heritage. More attention could be given to creativity processes in peripheral or non-urban areas as well as to minority perspectives highlighting the special challenges they face and opportunities they offer.

### Cultural heritage communities and their cultural heritage-related rights

Successful cooperation requires participatory governance of cultural heritage, which needs to be studied from an interdisciplinary perspective, which considers the complexity of current cultural heritage. The recent strong EU statements about the participatory governance should be taken into practice to foster collaboration between researchers and stakeholders in this field, to pool expertise and resources aiming at providing evidence, complementarities and at widening audiences. Cultural heritage governance implies the redefinition of cultural heritage communities, which are the principle custodians of European cultural heritage. Due to the composite character of current cultural heritage, heritage communities become also heterogeneous both socially and culturally. This heterogeneity and fluidity of heritage communities warrants a more nuanced research, as well as how people experience heritage in interactions with other people and with places and landscapes. Furthermore, the concepts of Authenticity and Integrity of cultural heritage – the two principles of tangible cultural



heritage – need to be reconsidered and redefined in order to give examples for heritage communities how to safeguard their heritage and manage the occurring changes as well as to make the language of cultural heritage assessment intelligible for research. The dynamic definition of cultural heritage modifies the relationship of the heritage communities with their own heritage exposed to the external regard and also to their own cultural properties, which raise the problem of cultural rights and the (re-)acquisition of cultural goods. It is also important to examine the impact of the human rights discourse on inclusiveness of heritage communities.

### The impacts of the digitalisation of cultural heritage

**One of the major domains of cultural heritage-related property rights stem from the extended digitalisation of cultural heritage. It seems to be the most obvious instrument of democratisation of cultural heritage. However, the promise of the digital realm as a phenomenon that would democratise and open access to cultural heritage as a social resource has not entirely been kept. Instead, the digital divide has mixed existing and new forms of exclusion.** This does not mean that the social uses of heritage through digital technologies would not spread, integrating new communities and new practices into cultural heritage management and experience. For example, internet allows memberships in heritage communities without physical presence in a locality (e.g. debates concerning preservation or commemorative groups in social media). The use of digital heritage by the different social, cultural and professional groups calls for research, which takes into consideration the social effects of virtual realities and the visibility of actorship in the processes related to cultural heritage practices. The porous border between public and private domains determine a major theoretical research area with crucial practical consequences on contemporary cultural heritage, since this problem incorporates the production of cultural heritage (performative heritage, living heritage, cultural rights, etc.) as well as its uses (digitalization of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, property rights, accessibility, cultural tourism, etc.) and its scientific evaluation. During the latter scholars often encounter intellectual property right and copyright issues as well as Open Access/Open Science questions representing a great number of difficulties.

## 4.3 Research agenda for current European cultural heritage

Scholars of cultural heritage have major responsibilities in interpreting the rise of European cultural heritage and in establishing an inter- and multidisciplinary scientific environment, which is appealing for scholars and relevant for non-academic custodians of European cultural heritage. This environment demands a paradigmatic change from both parties and substantial support from the European institutions in order to correlate current cultural heritage studies and initiatives both with the century-old achievements on first and second regime heritage and with the social, economic and political practices manifested in European cultural heritage.

### The academic definition of third regime cultural heritage

The analysis based on the fourteen cultural heritage-related projects reinstates the point made by David C. Harvey already in 2001, according to which heritage phenomenon should not only be seen as a product of recent postmodern economic and societal changes, but as a century-long temporal cultural trajectory. Understanding the historicity of heritage, in turn, helps to understand its present uses. The history of heritage, and ideas about European heritage, thus warrant continuous research. This statement bestows on Social Sciences



and Humanities a special role for the analysis of cultural heritage, which is essential to understand why the fascination for the past and its manifestation in the form of cultural heritage increases unstoppably against the spectacular technical development and how this current process can be integrated into the history of European modernisation, and even further back by the analysis of sustainability and resilience of historical and archaeological heritage communities. Current cultural heritage calls for interdisciplinary and inter-sectorial approaches, which, in return, could prove for non-academic stakeholders that the critical viewpoints of Social Sciences and Humanities are essential for effective cultural heritage management.

### New critical methodology of European cultural heritage

**For the development of such a critical and inclusive European cultural heritage studies, Social Sciences and Humanities and other cultural heritage related disciplines need to undergo a paradigm shift, which is different from the previously experienced methodological “turns”, because it requests not only the discipline’s paradigmatic redefinition, but also its repositioning within the rest of the society.** A new methodological toolkit of communication, dissemination and co-creation is necessary, and the evaluated projects are playing a pioneering role to achieve it. Critical cultural heritage studies require the development of new reach out techniques as well as awareness raising among academics about the necessity of co-creative skills and methods. The principles of advocacy and participation are pivotal assets of critical cultural heritage studies, since researchers of cultural heritage are invited to work together with a wide range of citizens, who do not necessarily know what to expect from a cultural heritage ‘expert’ and from a ‘scholar’. (Martimort, 2012) The difference between these two functions could be explored and integrated in the guidelines of co-creative cultural heritage practices. **From the European perspectives of cultural heritage research, methodological nationalisms should be avoided in order to achieve a more robust outcome of the multinational projects than their national sums.**

### A holistic research agenda for European cultural heritage

**From the point of view of EU-funded research on cultural heritage, significant elements of a holistic approach are present, but they need to be integrated more intensely in the future. Horizon 2020, the current European research and innovation framework programme, innovated thematically by bringing in new themes such as landscapes, conflict heritage, participation, cultural literacy, sustainability and societal value of cultural heritage, which are in fact within the conceptual frame of the Faro Convention. However, the institutional frame remained fragmented according to earlier dualisms stemming from the previous cultural heritage regimes such as tangible preservation versus intangible safeguard, natural heritage versus cultural heritage, digitalization of heritage versus traditional methods of heritage protection, etc.** Themes in the 6th Societal challenge of Horizon 2020, *Europe in a changing world*, explored and created a crucial, but still limited space for the appropriate holistic approach, which should be mainstreamed in the new research framework programme after 2020. The level of oversubscription to cultural heritage-related European calls for proposals is extremely high, which shows that the holistic research on European cultural heritage demands an adequate budget.

**The inclusive interdisciplinary approach of Cultural Heritage Studies gives an outstanding opportunity to establish a European network of Critical Cultural Heritage Studies departments, the development of partially shared curricula**

**and a holistic research agenda to stimulate the professional institutionalization of Heritage Studies/Heritage Sciences.** This agenda could contribute to overcoming the traditional administrative and scientific silos of different heritage branches in order to identify the main multidisciplinary challenges, which are related to the comprehensive notion of contemporary cultural heritage. Whereas traditional disciplines are embedded in their respective national institutional settings, Cultural Heritage Studies have been established more recently. This means that the disciplinary attachments of Cultural Heritage Studies vary greatly not only from Member State to the other, but even within the same countries, and, thus, the field is still quite alien to the national academic establishments. This fluid period is beneficial for the European recognition of European Cultural Heritage Chairs, which could excel in critical approaches to cultural heritage as well as in inter-sectorial and co-creative methodologies to recognise value-based European cultural heritage. This would allow transferring current European cultural heritage experience into academia and education.

Finally, based on the conclusions of the Policy Review, we propose a list of potential research themes to frame future research on European cultural heritage:

- Comparative research on the notion of cultural heritage and on the reception of international (EU and UNESCO) discourses on national, regional and local levels
- European varieties of intangible heritage and their significance
- The current re-institutionalisation of monument/tangible heritage protection in Europe
- The Historic Urban Landscape in Europe (in small, medium-sized and big cities)
- Urban intangible heritage and its relationship to creative industries
- Network-based territorialities of migration- or cultural diffusion generated cultural heritage versus homogeneous territories of national cultures
- The actorship in the processes of cultural heritage in the digital age
- Co-creative methods to bring heritage stakeholders, practitioners and academics together in the definition and recognition of European cultural heritage
- Rural heritage and European approaches to the cultural landscape
- Democratic practices in the appreciation of the societal significance of cultural heritage
- Participatory practices in the formation and recognition of cultural heritage to fight against social and cultural inequalities
- The impacts of the institutionalisation of cultural heritage on Social Sciences and Humanities (European cultural heritage chairs and studies from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective)

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## Appendices

### Annex 1. Short description of the fourteen reviewed projects

Acronym	Status	Period	Country of coordinator	Funding scheme	Budget (million euro)
CoHERE	on-going	2016-19	UK	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-2-2015 - Emergence and transmission of European cultural heritage and Europeanisation</a>	2.50
COHESIFY	on-going	2016-18	UK	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-3-2015 - European cohesion, regional and urban policies and the perceptions of Europe</a>	2.45
COURAGE	on-going	2016-19	Hungary	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-4-2015 - Cultural opposition in the former socialist countries</a>	2.48
CRIC	closed	2008-12	UK	FP7-SSH	1.50
CULTURALBASE	closing	2015-17	Spain	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-9-2014 - Social Platform on Reflective Societies</a>	1.00
EUNAMUS	closed	2010-13	Sweden	FP7-SSH	3.31
HERA JRPs	on-going	2004-	<i>European network</i>	<i>FP7-SSH and H2020 SC6</i>	NR
MELA	closed	2011-15	Italy	FP7-SSH	3.27
MEMOLA	closing	2014-17	Spain	FP7-SSH	2.94
PERCEIVE	on-going	2016-19	Italy	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-3-2015 - European cohesion, regional and urban policies and the perceptions of Europe</a>	2.50
RICHES	closed	2014-16	UK	FP7-SSH	3.01

SIGNHUB	on-going	2016-20	Spain	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-2-2015 - Emergence and transmission of European cultural heritage and Europeanisation</a>	2.52
TRACES	on-going	2016-19	Austria	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-2-2015 - Emergence and transmission of European cultural heritage and Europeanisation</a>	2.71
UNREST	on-going	2016-19	Germany	<a href="#">REFLECTIVE-5-2015 - The cultural heritage of war in contemporary Europe</a>	2.49

**CoHERE** <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/>

The project addresses “an intensifying EU Crisis” through analysing heritage as inclusion and exclusion. It aims to assess critically the challenges and opportunities of ‘European heritages’ and ‘European identities’ in providing for peaceful and communitarian social relations in Europe. The project draws from an understanding of heritage as a representational, discursive and performative practice, which often is conflictual, therefore the plural term “European heritages“ is utilized throughout the project’s framework. More precisely, the project focuses on 1) historical constructions and representations of Europe (including neglected narratives); 2) the position of ‘Others’ (especially Islam) within or outside of European heritages and identities; 3) cultural traditions within heritage contexts; 4) the potential of digital technologies to provide deeper understandings of European heritage and to develop intercultural dialogue; 5) shaping of European identity through formal and informal learning situations in schools; and 6) food as a fundamental element of heritage. The project sets out to reach diverse stakeholders from policy makers and professionals to different publics, including children.

**COHESIFY** <http://www.cohesify.eu/>

The project takes as its framing question the current legitimacy of the European project, and the continuous need to enhance it through support and identification by EU-citizens. The project focuses in particular on EU-citizens’ perceptions and understanding of the European Structural and Investment Funds, and on the impacts that this yearly investment of €50 billion in projects creating jobs, promoting innovation, improving the environment and upgrading infrastructure in regions across the EU have on citizens’ attitudes and support towards EU. The main focus of the project is therefore on European identification and belonging in general, rather than on them in relationship to heritage. The project further evaluates the existing communication of Cohesion policies, and gives recommendations for how and through which mechanisms to enhance them in the future at EU, national and regional levels.

**COURAGE** <http://cultural-opposition.eu>

The project is assembling information on as many collections of artefacts of the cultural resistance movements in former socialist countries as possible in an online registry. The collections contain artefacts from an array of initiatives that were in some form hostile to or questioning of the ideology of the regimes, including (but not limited to) non-conformist avant-garde art; anti-establishment religious movements; civic initiatives for unofficial education and publication; underground punk and rock bands; and novel spiritual practices. Their works are analysed in their broader social, political and cultural contexts in order to create country-specific reports, online curricula and digital educational content, and a set of recommendations on how to exhibit these artefacts. The project intends to build a user-friendly and searchable database based on its registry of 139 collections. It aims at both distance audiences and historical scholarship from the “investigative” narrative mode (which rests on the renaissance of the totalitarian paradigm) and create new, firmly established scientific frameworks for historical analyses.

**CRIC** [http://cordis.europa.eu/publication/rcn/14683\\_en.html](http://cordis.europa.eu/publication/rcn/14683_en.html)

The project explored the relationships between cultural heritage, conflict / destruction and reconstruction, focusing on short and long term impacts of the reconstruction, in order to tackle the challenges experienced by post-conflict societies. The project set out to problematize the slogan of “shared” heritage and instead encourages us to think heritage both as shared and particularistic. To provide the project with an understanding of varied post-conflict situations (geographic, linguistic, demographic, historical contexts), conflicts in Spain, France, Germany, Bosnia and Cyprus were analysed and compared as case studies. The project’s outcomes have been summarized under three dimensions: ‘Biographies of place’, ‘Memorials and anniversaries’ and ‘Subjective landscapes’, which also make the three academic volumes produced by the project. Through these dimensions post-conflict heritage was shown to be flexible in terms of the tangible-intangible divide. One of the outcomes of the project was identifying mechanisms that can cause unintended and competitive contestations around reconstruction efforts.

**CULTURALBASE** <http://culturalbase.eu>

The Cultural Base Platform has addressed the intensified relationship between cultural identity, cultural heritage and cultural expression as part of the recent transformations of culture in the context of digitization and globalization. To analyse the new challenges and the new potential of culture, the project identified three key themes: 1) cultural memory: how to deal with a troubled past, and how to elaborate uses of the past for understanding the present and planning the future; 2) cultural inclusion: how culture is intertwined with feelings of belonging, what are relevant tensions between those ‘left behind’ or ‘outside’ of dominant conceptions of identity and culture; and, 3) cultural creativity: how can culture be a basis for citizen expression, participation, and economic activity? The project understands European and national identities as deeply intertwined and in constant negotiation. It highlights the value of a transnational approach to European heritage rather than viewing it as a collection of national heritages. On the other hand, the project notes the challenge posed by marginalised and excluded memories to both universalistic and national memories.



**EUNAMUS** <http://www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/>

The project explored European national museums as spaces for the display and negotiation of identities, values, citizenship and conflicts. It analysed the historical formation of national museums together with contemporary museum policies and politics external to the museums, which also play a major role in setting museum agendas. In addition, the project conducted a wide survey of audience experiences in relation to national museums. This survey showed that the majority of visitors to national museums claim a single national identification over hybrid, transnational, cosmopolitan or individualistic alternatives, and wish to encounter stable and linear narratives during the museum visit. The project, on the other hand, proposes that national museums should tell, and be allowed to tell “more ambiguous, open-ended, multifocal histories”. The project also makes explicit that minority narratives and experiences are still largely absent from European national museums, and especially from their permanent exhibitions. The project acknowledges the enduring relevance of national museums, which “can be mobilized, at national as well as European levels, for increased social cohesion and international understanding how they might act in the constant renegotiation of Europe.”

**HERA Joint Research Projects** <http://heranet.info/category/project-title/heriligion>, <https://www.accesseurope.org/research/projects/item/480-ic-access>

Some heritage related projects have been funded also under the Humanities in the European Research Area Joint Research Programmes (HERA JRPs). HERA JRP is an ERA-NET action that is an alliance of national funding organisations, supported by top-up budget from the EU. The HERA iC-ACCESS project addresses the tangible traces of the 20th century mass violence and terror, and their present uses in (trans)national contexts. In Eastern Europe, many former ‘terrorscapes’ are still contested spaces. The wider framework of the research is the “entanglement of remembering with forgetting and the silencing of competing narratives”, and the challenges this poses to various heritage stakeholders. HERILIGION analyses the various consequences of the processes of heritagization of religious sites, objects and practices, something which may provoke tensions on several arenas in the present: between heritage and religious constituencies; between religious and secular sacralizations and uses; and between different disciplines and management regimes. It is noted that heritagisation tends to sacralise also non-religious aspects of religious sites.

**MELA** <http://www.mela-project.polimi.it/>

The accelerated mobility of people, objects, cultures and knowledge served as an overall conceptual framework for the project, which focused on analysing how contemporary European museums are able to respond to the challenges and opportunities of representing complex and multiple identities and “migrating heritage”, and of establishing new connections between global and local in the contemporary “age of migrations”. The project proposes that contemporary European museums should critically re-evaluate their institutional practices and narratives to include the representation of transnational actors, forces and flows and controversial or previously excluded voices. MELA encourages museums to take more active positions as agents of social and political change, to collaborate increasingly with migrant communities, to acknowledge the heterogeneity of their present and future audiences and to adjust their collection and archival practices to include more unofficial and intangible heritage voices.

**MEMOLA** <http://memolaproject.eu/>

The project is an interdisciplinary approach to cultural landscapes of Mediterranean mountainous areas, taking as a central axis the historical study of two natural resources essential to generate agro-systems: water and soil. The proposal conducts a specific historical and archaeological study in four study areas (Sierra Nevada in Spain, Monti di Trapani and Colli Euganei in Italy and Vjosa Valley in Albania). It analyses agrosystems (crops and livestock), via the collection and examination (archaeological fieldwork and ethnographic surveys) of the historical traces that remained fossilised in the landscape. This comparative study examines the productivity and resource use efficiency in the four historic sample-areas, through agronomic and hydrological resource-management models, taking into account the global climate change, and the EU policies and strategies. Its policy proposals approach the environment from a holistic perspective emphasizing the significance of intangible cultural heritage represented by centennial oral shared knowledge pertaining to the local communities. Its preservation implies the maintenance of the regional cultural peculiarities and traditions, both productive and cultural.

**PERCEIVE** <http://www.perceiveproject.eu/>

The multidisciplinary project, drawing from nine regional case studies from seven countries, investigates the understandings of EU citizens about the EU as institution, in particular how the knowledge of citizens in different European regions construct their knowledge about the EU; how strongly citizens feel European; how European cohesion, regional and urban policies have affected the process of identification; and how aware EU citizens are of the EU Cohesion Policy instruments. The objective of PERCEIVE is to develop “a comprehensive theory of ‘cohesion in diversity’”, and to increase citizens’ awareness of the impacts of Cohesion Policy. The main focus of the project is therefore less on cultural heritage than on European identity in general.

**RICHS** <http://www.riches-project.eu/>

The project researches the context of change in which European Cultural Heritage is transmitted, its implications for future Cultural Heritage practices and the frameworks (cultural, legal, financial, educational, technical) to be put in place for the benefit of all audiences and communities in the digital age. It identified directions to maximize the impact of mediated and unmediated Cultural Heritage on social and community development. RICHS distilled its results into eight Policy Briefs, which are (1) the RICHS Taxonomy of cultural heritage definitions; (2) Digital copyright framework: the move from analogue to digital and new forms of IPR; (3) Co-creation strategies: from incidental to transformative; (4) Toward a craft revival: recalibrating social, cultural, economic and technological dynamics; (5) The cultural heritage institution: transformation and change in a digital age; (6) Food heritage and culture: changing spaces of production and consumption; (7) European minorities and identity: strengthening relationships for a sense of belonging in the digital era; (8) The economic and fiscal dimension of cultural heritage.

**SIGNHUB** <http://www.sign-hub.eu/index.php>

The project has two main focuses. The first focus will be on sign language: the project will create online grammars of 6 sign languages (German Sign Language, Catalan Sign Language, Spanish Sign Language, Italian Sign Language, Sign Language of the Netherlands and Turkish Sign Language) and a sign language structure Atlas, and develop tools for sign language assessment. The second, and perhaps the most relevant part of the SIGN-HUB project from the perspective of heritage studies, is the creation and making available online of a digital archive of memories of elderly signers, which will serve as documentation of the history, and linguistic and cultural heritage of Deaf communities in several European countries since the mid-20th century. Themes gaining special attention include e.g. the life in the institutes for deaf people, the impact of WW II, Shoah, Civil War, and Cold War on Deaf communities or the position of various minorities in the Deaf communities. The project supports the production of documentary movies on these themes to gain wider outreach. The project is congruent with the heritage studies' long-term objective of offering alternative views on the past and bringing previously excluded voices to the fore.

**TRACES** <http://www.traces.polimi.it/>

The project investigates the role of complex histories and conflicting heritages in contemporary Europe, which are often difficult to transmit to a wider public. However, as the project argues, if transmitted sensitively and in a direct, productive way, contentious cultural heritages “can contribute to a process of reflexive Europeanisation, in which the European imagination is shaped by self-awareness, on-going critical reflection, and dialogue across different positions.” Dealing with both the materiality of cultural heritage and the expressive heritage practices and performances, the project aims to provide new directions for cultural institutions to effectively transmit contentious cultural heritage. One key focus of the project is on enabling innovative collaborative processes between art, research, heritage agencies and stakeholders, and developing new participatory methodologies.

**UNREST** <http://www.unrest.eu/>

By analysing cultural heritage of war in contemporary Europe the project promotes “a new critical mode of remembering.” A third mode of remembering, “agonistic” memory is proposed as an alternative to both cosmopolitan memory, which tends to dominate the top-down EU memorial practices, and antagonistic bottom-up, right-wing and populist remembrance. Agonistic memory is understood by the project as an opportunity to engage with widespread memory discontent without losing sight of fundamental EU ideals. As case studies of memory cultures of war, the project examines 1) the history, reception, narrative, aesthetics and political-cultural contexts of five World War I and World War II museums; and 2) the memory cultures surrounding war-related exhumations of human remains in three sites (Spain, related to the civil war in the 1930s, Poland, related to the WW II, and Bosnia, related to the Yugoslav civil wars of the 1990s). A theatre play and a museum exhibition will be produced in the framework of the project in order to incorporate the theoretical and empirical outcomes.

## Annex 2. The three cultural heritage regimes discussed in the context of the protection of Old Rauma, a wooden town of medieval origin in Finland

In line with a European trend in urban conservation, Old Rauma, along with a few other Finnish wooden towns, was discovered as heritage by a small group of the country's cultural élite at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. This discovery was a reaction against urban modernization, as well as part of the efforts to build a distinctive national heritage. The main rationale of heritage protection during the first Regime was the preservation of the medieval street network, the key monuments and the town's old appearance.

Corresponding to the second Regime and internationally codified methods of modern conservation, the objective of preserving the majority of the existing building stock, the emphasis on authentic material as key to the conservation process and the classifying of buildings and their values based on systematic inventories compiled by experts, became the main rationale from the late-1960s onwards. The conservation town plan, based on these new principles, was approved for the Old Rauma area in 1981. Nordic wooden towns also became an internationally recognized heritage category in the context of a two-year project (1970–1972) organized under the umbrella of ICOMOS. In 1991, Old Rauma was inscribed to the World Heritage List as a representative of a Nordic wooden town.

During the third Regime, the existing heritage practices have been refined and partially redefined to correspond to the expanding international guidelines. This has meant, for example, the introduction of the concepts of "integrity" and "buffer zone" into the Old Rauma context. New tangible and intangible elements and values have been integrated into the understanding of what constitutes urban heritage. More emphasis has also been put on Old Rauma's social and economic resource potential.





### Annex 3. A European Heritage Label site as Cultural Landscape

The European Heritage Label site of 'Javorca Church and its cultural landscape in Tolmin, Slovenia,' is an excellent example of a historical synergy between the natural and cultural aspects of a landscape with European significance. Here, the Memorial Church of the Holy Spirit was built by soldiers of the 3rd Austro-Hungarian Mountain Brigade to the memory of the different ethnic groups and nationalities killed at the Isonzo Front during the First World War. The Memorial Church was erected in an exceptional location, since its place is visible from all the military positions but safe from enemy shelling. It belongs now to Triglav National Park, in the Julian Alps, not far from the Austrian and Italian borders.



## About the authors

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The extraordinary context of this Policy Paper is the launch of the first European Year of Cultural Heritage in 2018. This is a notable attempt to assess the potentials and challenges of a shared European cultural heritage. Research on these complex challenges is to provide evidence and advice towards better education, cultural, social and other policies at European, national and regional levels.

This Policy Review gives the state-of-the-art of current EU-funded research on cultural heritage. Based on this mapping exercise interpreted in its wider scientific and policy context, the Policy Review makes suggestions to attain an appropriate European research framework after 2020, fitting both the current concept of cultural heritage and the corresponding cultural, societal, economic and ecological challenges.

*Studies and reports*

