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Content

Foreword

These proceedings include a selection of papers from a wider corpus presented at two Interpret Europe conferences. The conference on “Heritage Interpretation and Tourism – Enhancing the tourist’s experience and benefitting local communities” took place at Primošten, Croatia (10 -13 May 2014). Some of the papers given there highlighted projects where heritage experiences have been developed successfully, generating local income through sustainable tourism. Other presentations highlighted the difficulties in attracting visitors to sites through heritage tourism whilst respecting local communities, and preserving the atmosphere and qualities of the site in question. The Dalmatian coast offered remarkable opportunities to explore the conference theme through study visits that facilitated conversations with colleagues from across Europe.

The second conference focussed on “Sensitive Heritage – Sensitive Interpretation” took place in Kraków, Poland (6 -9 June 2015). Again the conference theme was shaped by the location, and again study visits were an integral element, generating discussion and debate that continued long into the evening, and sometimes late into the night. The conference explored wide ranging issues, included the interpretation of religious sites that require sensitive and respectful approaches. Kraków – and the surrounding region - has many sites that are testament to traumatic histories including the Nazi-German occupation. Interpreting sites associated with horrific crimes against humanity carries great responsibility and unique challenges.

As always, both conferences ranged widely and included papers beyond the scope of the specific theme that addressed new developments in heritage interpretation. Interpret Europe’s rationale of fostering exchange between theory and practice is reflected in these proceedings. Some of the papers gathered here discuss the philosophy and purpose of heritage interpretation in the contemporary world. Others present new developments in media, methodologies and technologies, and some focus on case studies that reflect on interpretive practices in different contexts.

We would like to express our deep gratitude to those speakers who accepted the invitation to contribute to these proceedings, and who have generously given their time to share their knowledge, experience and ideas. This double volume reflects the great diversity of the field of heritage interpretation. We hope that these proceedings offer something for everyone, and that they provide inspiration to readers around the world wherever they research or practice interpretation.

Waldkirch and London, August 2017

Patrick Lehnes & Stuart Frost

Interpret Europe Conference in Primošten, Croatia

10 – 13 May 2014




Multicultural Interpretation:
a case study in developing a sense of place for migrants.

Kev Theaker

Abstract

The Boundaries Project was a collaboration between Edinburgh Mela, and The Welcoming Project, Edinburgh. It aimed to introduce recent migrants to Edinburgh to a greater range of spaces and habitats both outside and within the city. The project is an example of interpretive work that reaches beyond conventional methods of delivery to develop a closer relationship with place. Not only does it aim to develop a sense of place, it also frames the sense of place of home for the group who are displaced. An examination of the project is used to question our evaluation of the quality of interpretation and criteria for assessing our interpretive work.

Background

Edinburgh has a significant immigrant population. Approximately 7% of the Scottish population were born outside the country, and in 2011 37% of the immigrant population was from the European Union. Between 2001 and 2011 the non United Kingdom population increased by 222%, over half of these were from EU accession countries.

Photo 1; Mixed ethnicity group on a Boundaries Project walk

Immigration to Edinburgh	
2007 – 2008	28 000
2008 – 2009	29 000
2009 - 2010	31 000

Table 1: Immigration to Edinburgh, 2007 – 2010. (General Register of Scotland)For a detailed examination of immigration to Scotland see http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/scotland-census-profile. (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013)

The 'typical' immigrant to Edinburgh is single; moving for economic reasons; employed; aged 18 – 34; moving specifically to Edinburgh following family or friends. Although frequently well educated they are most likely to be employed in low paid, low skilled positions such as kitchen

porters or cleaning (Orchard, Szymanski and Vlahova, 2007).Therefore it is argued that their experience of the city is principally an urban one, with little time to explore heritage within the city or countryside or green space close to it. This is an audience that is difficult to reach, with mixed ability in English language, little available leisure time and not necessarily connected to their ethnic communities in Edinburgh.

Project Partners

The Boundaries Project was a collaborative exercise between the Edinburgh Mela, Adura Onashile and The Welcoming Project and included funding from Scottish Natural Heritage and Forestry Commission. The project was part of the Shared Territories artist residencies, funded by Creative Scotland and managed through the Edinburgh Mela. The aim of the residency was 'to provide high quality participation in the arts for hard to reach groups'. Adura Onashile is a dancer, artist and writer. Her vision of the project was:

> *"The aim was to find a way to explore how the art forms I work within and want to develop - theatre, dance and performance art - could enable participants from migrant communities to engage with and be inspired by rural landscapes." (Onashile 2011)*

The Welcoming Project is an organisation which provides support for recent incomers to Edinburgh. The key contact for the Boundaries Project was Trina McKendrick. She identified the key aspects of the Welcoming Project as: 'English language, culture and wellbeing for the isolated newcomer' (McKendrick 2011). From her observation of participants in the Wellbeing group of the Welcoming Project it was noted that although they were there to learn English, the important conversations took place outside of the formal sessions, what are referred to as 'conversations on the stairs'. This was probably ostensibly because although the participants were there to learn the language there were underlying issues of social isolation, estrangement and exclusion. The participants had not acquired an emotional English vocabulary with which to express these concerns. The Wellbeing group of the Welcoming Project was partly set up to overcome the isolation and to develop social and physical skills to help participants.

Boundaries Project

The project sought to bring green space and heritage, art and performance, language and wellbeing together.

The project developed to explore boundaries and barriers physically, by visiting a range of countryside sites around and within Edinburgh. It aimed to allow participants to o mentally explore the ideas of boundaries through engagement with place and language and to personally explore communication barriers by exploring gesture-based performance. It was felt by the project partners that time to reflect in the environment was an important component.

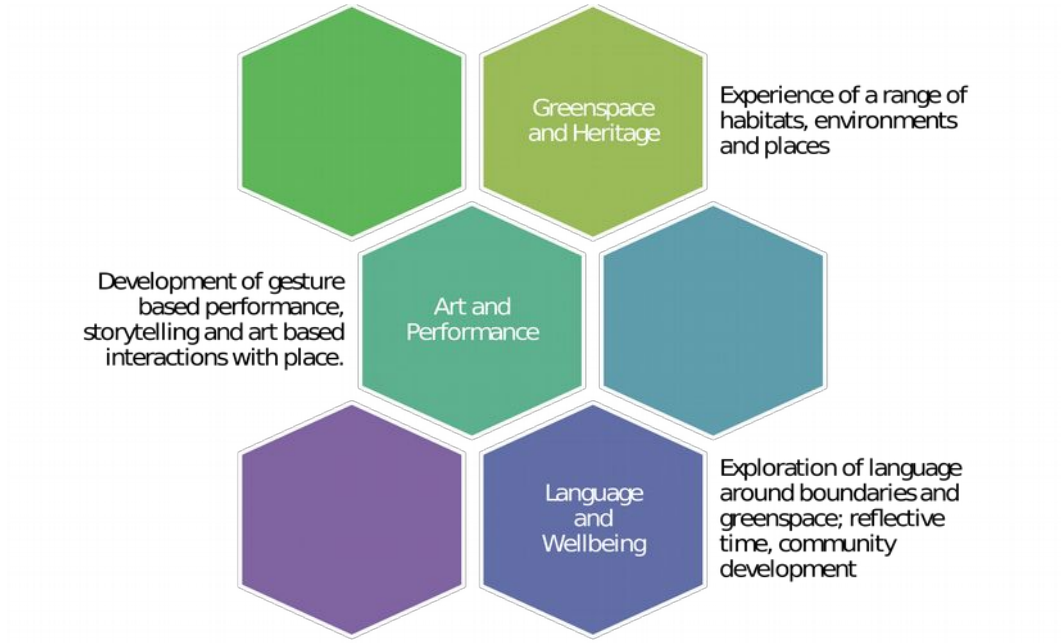

Diagram 1: Overview of the Boundaries Project.

The sites visited were all within easy reach of the city yet the participants were usually excluded from these spaces due to time, transport, finance, psychological barriers and a lack of knowledge of the British countryside. Chosen habitats were: beach, upland, urban fringe green space, urban, woodland, and six site visits were undertaken.
Prior to each visit Adura Onashile and Trina McKendrick used group work to explore language and gesture associated with boundaries and the habitats.

The site visits involved site managers, countryside rangers and storytellers to inform and engage the group in the place. Each walk lasted between two and three hours allowing people to immerse themselves in the environment, to engage in group activities, and to reflect. All of the visits were recorded by film and photography, partly to document the project but more importantly to allow the participants to share and reflect on their experiences.

In total the six outdoor activity sessions included forty four individuals, aged between twenty and sixty years old, from sixteen different countries. The groups had mixed ability in English language and limited experience of British countryside.
From the group classroom work developed the key concepts that were explored on site: serendipity, presence, perspective, traces and changes.

Photo 2: Boundaries Project walk, Pentland Hills showing Edinburgh in the distance.

Reflections on the project & evaluation

The project shared experiences, and developed common ground, between the participants. The ability to share further through social media and recording of the walks extended the project beyond the group and indeed Edinburgh - Boundaries Project films have 1719 views on youtube. The individual films of each walk are available to watch at http://www.trinamckendrick.com/#!blank/cc4b (McKendrick 2011b)

Photo3: The author leading a storytelling walk on the Water of Leith, Edinburgh

The group's own words helped to evaluate the project:

> *"People have no roots, and can travel and go anywhere, like these leaves."*
>
> *"The connection with natural things – sometimes in the city you forget the things you get from the nature."*
>
> *"This is the middle land between city and country."*
>
> *"It reminds me of when I was young, happy and no problems, and just to play with friends."*
>
> *"How I, as a human being, is connected to the nature and how I feel disconnected from it here"*

(These are quotes from the participants taken from the films that recorded the project. Compilation film available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lMBQca-XMX4 (McKendrick 2011c)

These indicate an emotional connection between the participants and place ,with individuals reflecting on their experience of their countries of origin and their present experience. The use of gesture-based activity reduced the need for language allowing everyone to be involved. It also reduced barriers for those from cultures with less personal contact. The use of two storytellers may seem counter intuitive for a group with limited English. However it should be noted that the only common language in such a diverse group was English. The rhythm of storytelling can be matched to that of walking which was a key part of the experience on site. Lastly, all cultures have a tradition of storytelling, so this is a connection across cultures and communities even if the language is not.

Interpretation

The project set out to bring together a diverse group and develop a better understanding of Edinburgh and the surrounding countryside. Going back to Tilden's (1957/1977) definition:

"an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information."

Photo4: Participants on a woodland walk

The project immersed people in the landscape, taking three hours to walk in the habitats, giving them the time to consider their own connection to place.

The gestures and stories were intended to foster a reflective experience rather than a passive one.

The group members became active participants in the landscape rather than simply viewers of it. If interpretation is about creating a personal attachment to place and using emotions then the Boundaries Project is not only an art project, or a community development project ,but also a successful piece of interpretation.

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Author

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From exhibit display to content management: interpretive planning and democracy

Łucja Piekarska–Duraj

To claim heritage belongs to – or is merely about - the past is both naive and inaccurate. When displayed, interpreted and made accessible by museums, heritage is in the domain of the present. As such, potentially it plays a vital role in shaping contemporary public discourse and helping shape both individual and collective identities. Heritage and museums are, therefore, vulnerable to political manipulation: every power or authority needs legitimisation, and every ideology benefits from 'trustworthy' mythology.

Museums and heritage sites contain all of the necessary resources to create mythologies to serve contemporary agendas. A nation's origins are often explored when visitors are guided to see: crowns and royal jewels, dragon's bones, weapons (supposedly) used by skilful knights or some smart inventions born out of 'our people's' consciousness. If one wants to prove long lasting continuity of power having conquered a land, or the right to rule, the past can be used to create or shape 'myths of origin'. In order to affirm the triumph of one class we can present the past as a class conflict caused by the rich, the unjust and the powerful. Narratives and symbols can be used to support claims of racial superiority or to support a local government before an election. Museums have all the objects, symbolic resources and metaphors to tell complex histories, but do they – in fact – store, display and present the truth?

The "truth" question seems to me to be a crucial one in heritage interpretation discourse. It is endlessly debated by interpreters and those who manage, control or own heritage sites (and who may have anxieties about the potential influence of interpreters). This really is not just a "philosophical" issue. It's in fact a basic question of authority: who has the right and legitimacy to interpret heritage? Who determines the truth? What is the proper, authentic and valid version of the past?

The recent loss of innocence seen in the world of science where neutrality is no longer automatically maintained, especially in the disciplines of humanities, does not help much in this respect. Even the discipline of history, focussed for so long on facts and documents, today acknowledges the value of folk tradition, social history, herstory approaches and so on. The pool of valid sources of evidence and theoretical perspectives is now wider than it has ever been. Of course museum research and conservation still usually require people who work in these disciplines to have a traditional academic background. Museology draws on various disciplines, including ethnography, history, geology, but it still has a strong emphasis on classification. We tend to believe quite reasonably, that if some element or part of the world has been labelled in a museum, ('wooden objects', 'material culture, or 'weaponry' for example) someone – an expert - must have given serious and rigorous thought to its classification. The label is a kind of certificate provided by the expert who categorised the artifact. Isn't that how the truth is brought to life?

Yet we, heritage interpreters, we know how often what has been written by an expert uses language that it distant, rigid and irrelevant to the visitors' interests and experiences. We like to see heritage presented in different ways; we believe it is characterised by diversity. We realise that making personal links is much more important for visitors than labels with complex academic descriptions that most of them will not read. What we want from the visitors is active participation.

Whatever one thinks of the nature of heritage it is always political (and even if it's 'natural' it can be interpreted in political ways). Consequently participation, as in a democracy, needs to be used to achieve "morally justified" aims. We interpreters mediate between the audience, museum staff and sponsors. Have you ever been told, while consulting on an exhibition, to limit the number of perspectives, to omit, for example, the views of women, children, or Jewish individuals? Has someone tried to convince you it that including some of these other perspectives was "too politically correct"? Have you experienced moments where history has been 'polished', leaving out challenging details so that the good name of a locality can be preserved? Well, I have. What's more, I believe it's all a part of a game that all interpreters have to play. I don't believe that there is only the one unique historical truth. Society is made up of individual people with names and faces, not just 'social classes' or one homogeneous 'human race'. Heritage interpretation needs to recognise this.

The use of heritage to shape a collective identity is fraught with difficulties and is potentially dangerous. But there is also another problem. We also run the risk of making interpretation too easy for visitors, satisfying them too easily or quickly before they really engage. Multimedia is often used without sufficient rigour or rationale: people do not necessarily *participate meaningfully* simply because they are *allowed to click*. We need to provide visitors with tools for understanding the world of today, we need to make them think and to be aware of their responsibilities and agency. This can be transmitted to them with a sense of adventure and joy.

If we – generally – can agree that democracy despite its limitations is the best available political model for society, we need to reflect this in our practise and support it. Heritage interpretation as a movement has always advocated the ideal of empowering 'ordinary' people. It has often strongly supported the acknowledgement of diversity and the use of multiple voices. When I use 'democratisation' (realising it is not the sexiest term) I mean opening interpretive opportunities to non-experts, building in audience and community participation when developing projects, and including everyday objects (not just "high" culture) and non-material heritage in the discourse. Lastly, we need to include voices that have been overlooked, omitted or silenced. Just as minority narratives are very much the core ethical issue of democracy today, so they should be also in heritage interpretation.

Heritage interpretation has an important role to play in safeguarding democratic standards and principles in society. But still, not everyone shares our point of view with regard to "truth". Aren't classical museums so static because they are expected to preserve the past as it was? Aren't they the custodians of the sources on which our knowledge about our own past and our own life is based? What are the consequence of incorporating other witnesses, other voices, and other arguments?

I see heritage interpretation as a domain of debate, dynamism, encounters and emotions; these are also the characteristics of democracy. In politics participation is very often a dirty trick played by politicians. It is manipulated and used cynically for political or PR purposes – 'This is what the people wanted.' I believe we should use heritage interpretation to shape the debate, to keep the participatory field active and to encourage people to engage critically. It's really better to encourage people to doubt than to uncritically buy any truth that is sold, unless we agree we should replace active citizenship with passive consumption.

The work of many interpreters does contain many democracy driven ideas. However, probably due to my background in social sciences, I see more examples where the interpretive work is 'just' done uncritically. The shift from museums as institutions that just preserve and display objects, to

museums as spaces of reflection on identities is neither universal nor certain. It is debatable as to whether this is really a trend. Yet, some museums are changing and this is reflected in the use of the term ‘content management’. Even if it is not yet common many interpreters would like to see the dawn of ‘interpretive management’ as opposed to a ‘collection driven’ model. Ideally these would go hand-in-hand. The conservation and safeguarding of objects is still at the core of many museums, rather than the interpretation of collections. As with democracy, change in museums is usually step by step, with everyday work resulting in small changes.

However sceptical one may be about the possibilities of real participation in museums, it still makes sense to work towards this goal. We should develop and support responsible audience development plans and try to empower our visitors. We need to focus on long term attitudinal change, not just transmitting knowledge. We need to be constantly asking and posing questions related to the content: Who are we talking to? Why today? Why here? The messages produced during museum visits may result in real change provided they are carefully thought-through, explained and delivered through appropriate media.

I have worked in a collaborative mixed team (including museum professionals who were experts in the field) to develop a method of producing a list of effective questions to be posed to the public to help inform the development of programming. The whole process was very much about meaning-making as well as revealing personal (as opposed to position driven) connections to the content displayed in museums. The group was always mixed: visitors, museum professionals, interpreters, and marketing consultants. The reason why this method worked is because it's simple, and because the group process is valorised. We always started with an inventory of resources, simple market positioning, and a clear idea of the clients/audience group. Then we worked on key messages to identify the main theme to be mind mapped and interpreted. Collective mind mapping was a very important part of the process, because it makes it possible to look at the relationship and diverse connections between different topics, often then “illustrated” by exhibits.

We tried to relate the key messages to the world today, after all democratisation of heritage means that a museum visit should help the individuals with their everyday lives. This is also why, coming back to the first part of this article, we should never forget about including “minority narratives”: not only to enrich the interpretation, but in a longer run to enrich the world view of visitors. In this way museums can say “we are an active part of democracy: we have our views and opinions, we acknowledge and invite different opinions to be expressed, and we are open to interpretations that differ from our own.”

Heritage, as much as democracy, can really be a source of transformative experiences, making local communities and society as a whole stronger. I think it does make sense to consider the diversity and potential of heritage as a discourse because it shows how dialectic and dynamic it really is. And we should not deceive ourselves that such ‘simple’ tasks as programming in small, local museums happen outside of this discourse.

Author

Łucja Piekarska Duraj holds an M.A. degree in European Studies (2002) and Ph.D. in sociology (2013) both received from the Jagiellonian University. She is a social anthropologist, interpretive heritage trainer and cultural manager. As a researcher, she is mainly interested in relations between social memory, heritage and identity, especially in the domain of museums and she promotes

interpretive and democratic museology. She specialises in storytelling for museums and the support for brand management strategies. She has co-authored a manual for interpretive museology “Lokalne muzeum w globalnym świecie/Local museum in global world (Krakow, 2013, written with Hajduk. J, Waciega S., Idziak P.) as well as a number of museum exhibitions and projects (for instance “dzieło-działka”, Krakow Etnographical Museum, 2010; Wirtualne muzea Małopolski, 2009 – 2014; Muzeobranie 2004 - 2006)). After a decade of museum activism, she joined UNESCO Chair for Holocaust Education at the Jagiellonian University in 2016.

3D technologies in heritage interpretation: the Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk (K67)

Kaja Antlej

Abstract

The paper addresses the usefulness of 3D printing, digitisation and other digital technologies in creating effective heritage interpretation. The emphasis is on interpreting industrial design objects in museum exhibitions to enhance the visitor experience and encourage the active participation of people visiting a physical exhibition. I also focus on virtual visitors and communities beyond the museum walls. I explored the use of 3D technologies in heritage interpretation through the Slovenian modernist design icon, the K67 Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk (1966) made by the Slovenian architect and designer Saša J. Mächtig. During the collaborative research outlined in this paper an interactive 3D computer model, a 3D printed scale model, a scenario for a 3D game, a scenario for 3D augmented reality mobile app, and the concept of creating 3D digital models of existing K67 units collaboratively were developed. This paper focusses on the use of these strategies to interpret the Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk.

Key words:

3D digitisation, 3D printing, serious games, virtual museums, augmented reality, participation

1 Introduction

The interpretation of cultural heritage often relies on storytelling to communicate the meaning of artifacts or concepts to the public, and to generate new knowledge and stimulate creativity. Effective interpretation cannot be developed without research or evaluation. It is important to select the most appropriate means of communication for a particular audience. Nowadays (potential) heritage users live increasingly in a digital society. If we want to reach and engage this wide audience we must adapt our interpretation and narrative to meet their expectations. This does not mean abandoning old methods, but rather the development and introduction of additional approaches.

Digital technologies can provide offline and online interpretation, as well as onsite or offsite experiences. The onus is on the interpreter to choose the most suitable tool – or a mixture of them – in order to include as many people as possible and to encourage their active participation. Numerous recent digital heritage projects have demonstrated the usefulness of ICT (information and communications technology) (Boile, El Raheb & Toli 2013). Digital technology is a major and growing trend in museums and education (Johnson, Adams Becker & Freeman, 2013). The European Commission's proposal on an integrated approach to cultural heritage means that even more projects will be delivered over the next few years (European Commission, 2014).

2 3D technologies for interpretation of industrial design museum objects

In museum exhibitions about industrial design, objects are often presented only as pieces of art, and only rarely as usable items. However, most of these artefacts were designed to be functional. Although some objects were used before they entered the museum, it is not unusual for objects to go straight from production into a museum. In some cases it is a prototype that enters the museum collection. Can 3D and other digital technologies enhance the interpretation of these objects in

museums, and tell visitors more about their real meaning for the people who used them? Can this kind of digital interpretation motivate the user to explore, learn something new and to move beyond a purely aesthetic response?

3 The K67 kiosk, a design icon

To explore the potential usefulness of 3D technologies in heritage interpretation I have chosen the K67 kiosk. This Slovenian modernist icon was created by the Slovenian architect and designer Saša J. Mächtig in 1966. The kiosk was produced by the Imgrad company from Ljutomer, Slovenia, as a modular system (different units were assembled from different elements). It was made from reinforced polyester and polyurethane. The K67 kiosk is an early example of an architectural object adjusted to industrial production, and one that was successful both commercially and professionally.

One of the kiosks is now part of the 20th century design collection of Museum of Modern Art in New York. Another unit is in the Piran Coastal Galleries; here it is used as an information point inside the revitalised salt warehouse which is now used as an exhibition space. Another is currently installed in the Museum of Architecture and Design (MAO) courtyard at Fuzine Castle in Ljubljana.

Due to its adaptability, K67 kiosks were assembled in different formulations. For several decades they served as newspaper kiosks, entry gates, small restaurants and bars, flower shops, reporter cabins and so on. Most of them were installed in the former Yugoslavia and in other Central and Eastern European countries. According to the author's data, approximately 7500 units were sold (data provided by Imgrad's bankruptcy manager Rajko Žužek).

Due to wear most K67 kiosks have now been replaced with new products, and only a few are still seen on the streets or in use. Production ceased in 2000.

4 An interpretation of the K67 kiosk

Even though the K67 kiosk is recognized by experts as a classic design, it is less known to the general public today and it is disappearing from their collective memory. The lack of awareness is caused by several reasons, one of which is related to the large size of the object. The typical unit is a cube of the size of 240 cm which makes it difficult to store, transport and exhibit. More challenges come with larger kiosks, composed of different units which require even more space.

The issues mentioned above make the object a particularly good case study to explore the use of digital technologies to interpret it. A forthcoming exhibition *Saša J. Mächtig: Systems, Structures, Strategies* planned for late 2015 also makes such a study timely and worthwhile.

A key interpretative theme is the K67 kiosk's usefulness and adaptability. This made it a commercial success and ensured widespread distribution: its modularity allowed a high level of customization.

4.1 3D content proposals

The basis of any interpretation with 3D digital tools is to create a 3D computer model. The 3D model of the kiosk was done by 3D modeling of the main elements based on the collected information. The data was created by 2D digitisation of the relevant author‘s designs, by laser 3D scanning of important details (Figure 1), using measurements from the manual, photographs, images, other texts and oral sources. As a result, 24 3D models of the K67 kiosk's elements were prepared as the basis for developing interpretative media.

Figure 1:
3D scanning of important details of the K67 Kiosk

Using these models, 3D content proposals were developed:

1. The idea of encouraging the 3D digitisation of existing units elsewhere through cooperation with the relevant local community;
2. The idea of developing a serious game, a 3D puzzle *Compose your own K67 kiosk*;
3. Producing a 3D printed scale model of the K67 kiosk (to use in the *Silent Revolutions* travelling exhibition);
4. *Hungry Dragon AR*, an augmented reality mobile application and other 3D content.

First, a 3D printed model of seven units (a fictional composition) in a 1:20 scale was produced and displayed in the *Silent Revolutions: Contemporary Design in Slovenia* travelling exhibition organized by the Museum of Architecture and Design. The scale model was showed in nine European cities, mostly during various Design Weeks: London, Eindhoven, Ljubljana (2011); Milano, Beograd, Maribor, Helsinki (2012); Vienna and Moscow (2013). Due to the large numbers of visitors the 3D printed model was exhibited as a static model in a glass case (or vitrine).

Additionally, a scenario for a *Compose your own K67 kiosk* 3D puzzle game (Figure 2) was developed. Inspired by LEGO™ computer games this app can be played on different devices such as smartphones, tablets and PCs to stimulate the creativity of users whether outside or inside a museum. Devices can be provided by the institution, but a BYOD (Bring-Your-Own-Device) philosophy when visiting should be encouraged.

The game allows different K67 elements to be chosen in combination with colours. The idea is that assembled kiosks can then be exported as an image, video or an interactive 3D model, available for sharing by social media or even sent to a 3D printer. As scale models, these parts can be used in museum exhibitions, whether in hands-on corners, makerspaces or sold in museum shops as visitor-created souvenirs. Many museums have found that visitors wish to be actively involved in and use museum content to create their own response. One of the most successful projects is the Rijks Studio, launched by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Their online collection of 200.000 high quality images of masterpieces is available for non-commercial and commercial re-use (Rijks Museum, 2014).

Figure 2: The Compose your own K67 kiosk 3D puzzle serious game

Nowadays, heritage users want not only active participation when visiting exhibitions, but also to be involved in the process of content development, evaluation and documentation. By using publicly available tools for non-professional 3D digitisation the local community can potentially be empowered to be an important partner in documenting their own heritage and sharing it with museum experts. Heritage is a part of the collective memory of communities.

During the research I tested a few “photogrammetry” systems such as ARC3D, PHOV and 123D Catch. All of them are SaaS, cloud computing based Software-as-a-Service systems (similar to Gmail) that allow the uploading of photographs from which a 3D model is automatically created and sent from their server back to the user. Photographs of the object can be done by ordinary camera or by one in a smartphone (BYOD). In order to 3D digitise an existing K67 kiosk I took 40 photographs from all sides of the original object and uploaded them to the 123D Catch, which has proven to be the most user-friendly free service. The result is an interactive 3D model that can be exported to different standard formats, such as OBJ or 3D PDF. The software offers a simple file editing facility and the means to create a video which can be exported to an independent AVI file or sent directly to YouTube (Antlej, 2014). In order to stimulate dialogue and knowledge exchange, 3D representations can be shared via social media, virtual museums or used in physical museum exhibitions.

The same method can be used to 3D digitise other kiosks that are still installed, and to create an online collection, or an interactive map similar to Suhozid.hr, a map of dry stone wall heritage in Croatia (Šrajer & Odobašić, 2014). Using photographs to partially map K67 kiosks has been already done by Dutch researcher Helge Kühnel at his K67 – The Kiosk Shots project. By the 28 October 2004, 99 kiosks had been mapped (Kühnel, 2004) across Europe.

4.2 The Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk

In addition to documenting existing K67 kiosks, mapping can also be done for kiosks that have now been removed. Even though this icon of Slovenian modernism is gradually fading from the collective memory, older generations can still tell their own intimate stories about newsstands from the time before digital newspapers and public transport smartcards (in Ljubljana, the kiosks were best known for selling colourful plastic bus tokens). As an example, a long post written by a blogger Don Marko M can be read on the Internet. “For us kids, it was especially practical, since you could, despite your short height, step onto the shelf below and look into the eyes of a saleswoman.” (Don Marko M, 2010)”.

Following Malraux’s idea of a museum without walls and Šola’s total heritage concept (Šola, 2003), a map with existing and removed kiosks could be linked with the Museum of Architecture and Design’s planned overview exhibition of Saša J. Mächtig and his body of work. The K67 kiosk will play a major role in this show. It is essential to establish an integrated museum which will be linked with the city, country and communities beyond the museum (since MAO is a national institution) on more permanent level.

The Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk provides a good example of a kiosk that was removed. It was installed in 1979 in the carpark in front of Ljubljana Castle and removed a few years later. Only three colour photographs taken by Janez Pukšič have survived (Figure 3). Nevertheless these allow the appearance and location of the kiosk to be reconstructed accurately. It was a standard food kiosk that consisted of three units: a red unit A was connected with the yellow unit B by the violet unit E in a triangular formation.

The Hungry Dragon carried mega graphics which advertised meals and brands available at the kiosk. The Hungry Dragon encapsulates the fast-food tradition of that time, as well as the marketing practice of that era: all the labels were cut and glued manually without any digital tools. The distinctive appearance of the mega graphics and the K67's customisation was, according to Mächtig, the result of a collaboration with the painters Metka Kraševec, Lojze Logar and France Novinc. The graphic designer Ranko Novak, and the painter and illustrator Kostja Gatnik also produced graphics. All those mentioned are prominent Slovenian artists.

The main figure illustrated on the central unit is a large green dragon with a sausage in its right hand, a glass of beer in its left, and mustard in its tail. This is typical of Kostja Gatnik's style. There are also small labels promoting Thomy™ gorčica (mustard) majoneza (mayonnaise) and Thomy™ hren (horseradish). The yellow unit is covered with Union pivo™ (Union beer) logos, one of the two most successful Slovenian beer brands, and KIT Lučka™ ice cream, produced by Ljubljanske mlekarne™ KIT (Ljubljana dairies agriculture industry trade). A sales window is provided in the red unit, its front walls are covered with giant labels describing Hot Dogs and konjska klobasa (horse sausage). At the side, a large white Coca-Cola™ sign is displayed.

The Hungry Dragon illustrates how the K67 could be easily adapted for a specific purpose. It also tells a story about the beginning of the fast food tradition and the simultaneous appearance of Yugoslav and American Coca-Cola. Therefore it contributes to our understanding of the socialist period in Yugoslavia from political, economic, and wider cultural perspectives.

Ljubljana Castle is the city's premier tourist attraction, and this means the kiosk's carpark location was neither ordinary or typical. To reconstruct the original fast food kiosk with real service in-situ would be the most realistic type of interpretation, but that kind of reconstruction would be a complex process requiring substantial financial support, urban planning, significant maintenance and catering expertise.

Figure 3: the Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk in 1979 (photo: Janez Pukšič)

4.2.1 The Hungry Dragon augmented reality mobile application

Although physical reconstruction would be particularly effective, the full significance of the Hungry Dragon can also be revealed using augmented reality (AR). This technology allows physical reality to be augmented with additional digital information. Information in 2D or in 3D appears on the screen of a tablet or a smartphone when the user directs their camera towards the target(s). The correct position is estimated with GPS (Global Positioning System), and a compass and accelerometer inside the mobile device.

During this research a scenario for 3D augmented reality mobile application was created. The aim of the *Hungry Dragon AR* app is to provide the user with a 3D reconstructed model of the fast food kiosk that can be viewed from different positions. Additionally it is planned that the app will offer the user short written and audio stories about the kiosk and the time when it was in use.

The app need not be standalone or separate from the museum exhibition, rather it could be kind of a museum satellite or bridge that connects the exhibition with the local community through in situ heritage. Indeed, the modern museological paradigm does not see a museum as a closed structure, but rather as something fluid which is inextricably linked with the community and the environment around it (van Mensch & Maijer-van Mensch, 2011).

At the museum exhibition a visitor would be introduced to the K67 kiosk and its story. The application would then encourage them to continue their research outside the museum walls and become familiar with the kiosk in situ. As mentioned before, the Hungry Dragon is only one example of a kiosk, but the same approach could be used with different kiosks with other functions and stories at alternative locations. The kiosks could also be linked with other heritage sites in Ljubljana and beyond, and presented on the interactive map described above. This idea is based on the *Streetmuseum* application offered by the Museum of London (Museum of London, 2010).

As with the game Compose your own K67 kiosk, the augmented reality app would need to be designed to be intuitive and easy-to-use. Unlike serious games that users can play on stationary devices, an augmented reality app has to be downloaded onto their own mobile device. This can be done via Internet inside the museum or from any remote access (Wi-Fi). It is expected that in the near future the issue of an access will be less of an issue.

To lead a museum visitor from the museum exhibition to the kiosk in situ at the Ljubljana castle the application needs a map of the wider area. The AR app can also be created in a 2D version where the 3D model is simply replaced with the existing photographs. The experience could be upgraded with the sound of a crowd of people ordering fast food meals or Slovenian music, popular at the beginning of the 1980’s, when kiosk was functioning.

Promoting the application and the location of the Hungry Dragon to visitors to the castle who haven’t yet visited the museum exhibition would also need consideration. The most appropriate solution might be a small information board to draw attention to the location of the kiosk. In addition to visual and textual interpretation of the Hungry Dragon, a QR (Quick Response) code could be added, to help visitors quickly download the application. This could be particularly effective marketing. Mobile apps can work as a link between a museum and the (potential) visitor, providing two way communication and bringing them together.

The design of the Hungry Dragon AR app is currently in the scenario phase. During the research project, a 3D computer model of the Hungry Dragon kiosk was created using K67 kiosk elements, the same 3D models that had been used for other ideas. After all the elements had been assembled,

an A-E-B composition was created and coloured using RAL (Reichsausschuß für Lieferbedingungen und Gütesicherung) system, converted to RGB (Red-Green-Blue). Except for unit A, which is known to have been coloured in RAL 3020 red, the other colours are uncertain. However, violet (unit E) probably refers to RAL 4009 and yellow (unit B) to RAL 1023.

Texture was added in order to create as much authenticity and realism as possible. Textures of brands and labels were created using photographs and images of logos. Although many are no longer used or produced anymore their images can still be found. For example, a logo of the Union pivo was taken from an old beermat and 2D scanned. A pixel-based bitmap image was than traced to curves to obtain sharp edges and uniform colour (an approximation of the original colour). All the individual textures were later UV mapped on the kiosk's surface.

The model created in Rhinoceros is currently exported to a standard polygonal X3D format and available for further use. However, for a mobile app, it has to be resized to the smallest resolution possible (but still large enough so that the model is not angular), otherwise slow real-time rendering can be a problem.

For an augmented reality app the digital model has to be geolocated. To do so, accurate coordinates of the kiosk's original location are needed. On the 22 August 2012 I carried out two GPS measurements using Garmin nüvi 1300 navigation device. Both measurements were located approximately a meter away from each other. The first measurement showed: N 46° 02.896', E 014° 30.569', altitude: 372 m. The second: N 46° 02.888', E 014° 30.566', altitude: 374 m. Already with 2 m of difference in altitude it can be concluded that another measurement should be provided with a more professional device. An approximate location of the kiosk was determined using the same photographs of the Hungry Dragon which were used indirectly within the texturisation stage. The trees, a bench, the edge of parking area, a roof of the water supply building and a slope of the hill were used as the reference points. Due to the new asphalt, there is no trace of the kiosk's layout on the ground, making it difficult to determine the location with complete accuracy.

Further, the application must be programmed to respond to changes in the location of the mobile device as well as to the user’s commands. A visually pleasing user interface still needs to be created. So far, only a static simulation of an application (photomontage) has been produced.

Figure 4: Simulation of the Hungry Dragon AR, an augmented reality mobile application

The same model as created for an AR app can be uploaded to Google Earth or Google Maps. Both applications use MapsGL (WebGL) for real-time rendering of 3D models. A similar tool, Nokia Maps 3D WebGL, is used by Nokia smartphones.

This 3D model of the Hungry Dragon can be uploaded to virtual worlds such as SecondLife, Open Simulator or existing virtual presentations of Ljubljana (such as the Virtual Ljubljana, 2002, producer: Enki, client: Municipality of Ljubljana). With added environmental information the object is contextualised within its original location. In addition, the content is also accessible to users who are not able to see the virtual reconstruction in situ at the Ljubljana Castle. Of course, it is not necessary for the virtual reconstruction to be active only at the original location. The *Hungry Dragon AR* could also be used directly in the museum exhibition as augmented reality, as has already been used in a museum in New Zealand in order to present the Maori story (Digital Binocular Station, 2012). This solution provides an immersive experience, but it is also very practical where a kiosk cannot be transported or accommodated due to its large size. When talking about 3D representations, it should be stressed that with special equipment (3D glasses, etc.) any content can be presented in a stereoscopic or an autostereoscopic way giving a more authentic representation of depth.

4.2.2 Virtual and physical 3D puzzles of the Hungry Dragon

Using 3D printing, the 3D computer model of the Hungry Dragon has been transformed to a physical form as well. This means that the same product (a 3D model) can be used several times and in various ways. This re-use, repeatability and traceability are in fact one of the strengths of the use of 3D technologies, and highly important in integrated heritage conservation.

The model of the Hungry Dragon was built from plaster powder using a multicolour 3D printer (Figure 5). Thus all the textures can be printed as the model is made. The idea was to create a 3D puzzle of the Hungry Dragon; therefore individual elements were 3D printed separately and disassembled. The scale of 1:20 enables easy handling. However, different labels on the surface of the 37 parts complicates the assembly which challenges the players. The 3D puzzle is entertaining for children, but also for adults as well. This 3D puzzle can be used for elderly people with dementia. Further, the game is useful to develop childrens' fine motor skills or to preserve the skills of older users. As we know, a museum visit is usually a social event; it is good to offer interpretation that encourages collaboration between people.

The aim of this physical version of the kiosk is to present a comprehensive picture of a heritage object. It is important to be aware that a physical model in a museum exhibition does not offer the same experience as a virtual model. Visitors have different perceptions, motivations and interests; this means that we have to ensure that everyone can find something to identify with, so variety in interpretive approaches is a good idea.

The Hungry Dragon can be presented in a virtual 3D puzzle as well, similar to aforementioned *Compose your own K67 kiosk* serious game. The main difference between these is in the level of free assembly. Due to the textures the Hungry Dragon allows less freedom in assembling than the puzzle of single colour elements (if necessary, specific textures can be added to these elements as well).

This attempt to interpret the Hungry Dragon fast food kiosk shows the different possibilities offered by 3D technologies. Any other K67 kiosk or museum object can be interpreted in a similar way.

Figure 5: the 3D printed model of the Hungry Dragon in a scale 1:20

Further work

The apps that are currently at the scenario phase need further research and development including user testing. Following the latest technological developments (wearable technologies etc.) and interpretation trends, in collaboration with the media engineer Žiga Pavlovič, we are currently working on a virtual reality presentation of the kiosk using Oculus Rift™, a head-mounted display. The virtual tour will enable the user to explore the kiosk at full scale, walking around it but also going inside. This 360° x 360° first person experience will therefore be more authentic and immersive than interaction with an object that is presented on a screen.

Conclusions

This paper has addressed the issue of the applicability of 3D technologies to the interpretation of industrial design objects in museums. The research findings have shown that 3D technologies have the potential to contribute to creating more active participation, wider inclusion, more authentic experiences, and to stimulate creativity if used effectively and appropriately. However it must be stressed that these technologies must be used in a way that is consistent with the principles of heritage interpretation and contemporary museology.

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Being Guided by a Member of the Local Community: Case Study from Lower Lusatia, Germany

Delia Gageanu & Lucija Gudlin

Abstract

The paper presents a case study of tourist guiding, in the city of Lübben in Spreewald, Germany. The data for this study was gathered through an interview with the guide Mrs. Marga Morgenstern, in February 2014. Although it can be seen as an example of a classic city guided tour, Mrs. Morgenstern creates a unique, sensitively interpreted experience for her visitors, by serving as an ambassador for her own minority community, the West Slavic people – or Sorbic people. She touches upon topics such as identity, relation to nature, and the importance of preserving language and cultural traditions, and by doing so contributes to sustainable tourism in her city.

Key Words:

Identity, local community, interpretation, community participation, sustainability, minority

The theoretical part of this paper revolves around the role of a community member in the interpretative process of presenting their own heritage; and how this in turn reinforces community development and contributes to sustainable tourism (Rouss & Alfare, 2013).

Nowadays there is a widespread consensus that involving community members in presenting their own culture is one of the best ways of interpreting heritage (Van Heck, 2003). Broader community participation is increasingly recognized as crucial. Even UNESCO has recognized the importance of community involvement and has added the 'fourth C' for community on its agenda (Albert, 2012). The reason why we put heritage sites on lists and try to preserve them is because specific places have a meaning to the community living there - a certain attachment to a place that is important to their identity and that makes them want to share their stories.

“The relationship between people and the places they live is often crucial to the message itself” says James Carter (2001, 17). Interpretation facilitates effective communication between local people, visitors and tourists by helping to explain the significance of a place (NWHF, 1999). This in turn confers a better understanding of the site and the culture it represents; making visitors and tourists appreciative and respectful on one hand, as well as bringing benefits to the local community on the other. Interpretation, as with many other aspects of managing a cultural site, can be enriched by involving local community members.

This case study illustrates how a member of the Sorbic community interprets various places of the Spreewald biosphere by offering authentic experiences to the people she guides through the little town of Lübben. Her stories intertwine historical events, personal histories, and scientific facts about nature as well as poetry. She follows Freeman Tilden`s principles throughout to convey a unique experience for the participants. This article will look not only at the benefits, how she reinforces her identity as a member of a minority group for example, but also at the challenges she encounters.

The Sorbic Minority in Germany

The Sorbs (German: Sorben, Wenden) belong to the Slavic group of people and the West Slavic language group. Like many other Slavs during the 6th century AD, the Sorbs found themselves

migrating towards the area between rivers Saale and Mulde. The area they occupied during these early centuries was much larger than today, and was marked by the cities of Dresden, Leipzig and Bautzen. Today the Sorbic language and ethnic territory is split between two German states, Brandenburg and Saxony. This territorial separation brings administrative difficulties, and subsequently complicates their efforts in keeping ethnic and cultural unity.

Historically, Sorbs have been living in two regions for centuries: Upper and Lower Lusatia (Ober- und Niederlausitz). This historical and geographical division resulted in language differences. Today there are 40,000 Sorbs living in Upper Lusatia, and 20,000 in Lower Lusatia. Furthermore, Upper Lusatia historically belonged to the rulers of Saxony, who had practised gentler politics than those in Brandenburg. This meant it was easier for the Upper Sorbs to keep their language and culture alive. We can see it reflected today, not only in the number of Sorbs who practice their language, but also in the openness with which they relate to their ethnicity. For example, the Sorbic Museum in Bautzen (the centre of Upper Lusatia) is thought of as a national museum, whereas the one in Cottbus (the centre of Lower Lusatia) is termed as a minority museum. This significant linguistic difference sends a strong message on the position of Sorbs in these two regions.

During the 19th century, as was the case with many other peoples, the Sorbs' sense of national or cultural identity awoke. Unfortunately, this did not result in formation of a Sorbic state. The Sorbs have always been a minority with no country of their own to call their Motherland. Living mostly in rural areas, in somewhat isolated villages under German rulers and surrounded by German cities, with farming being their main occupation, they did not develop the institutions necessary to create and govern a state of their own.

Sorbs also had to witness the repressive politics of the Nazi regime: their main organization Domowina was banned and had to operate illegally between 1937 and 1945. During this time, their children were sent to German schools and kindergartens, consequently spending less time with their Sorbic families. Since both Upper and Lower Lusatia belonged to the GDR, the situation did improve marginally for this minority.

The 20th century saw further exploitation of Sorbic people through extensive industrialization and coal mining in the area. This resulted in whole villages either being erased or removed. For a rural culture, this meant an extinction of the way of life which had helped make them distinctive and unique. Unfortunately, this problem persists and the rural quality of their culture is becoming a folklore relic and tourist attraction.

There are, however, also many attempts to keep their culture alive, the organization Domowina being just one of them. Sorbs are one of Germany's four officially recognized minorities and the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages which entered into force in 1999 also acknowledges Upper and Lower Sorbic language. Cottbus, the Lower Sorbic centre is a bilingual city, with street signs and information written in both German and Sorbic. Also, there are many schools and kindergartens which offer classes for children either partially or even entirely in Sorbic. In Cottbus students can attend a Sorbic secondary school.

Still, as already stated, much more needs to be done to separate the reality from the romanticfolklore idea of the Sorbs which many tourists take home after visiting the area.

Our interviewee Marga Morgenstern is a tour guide who manages to create deeper connections between visitors and Sorbic culture by using her own personal Sorbic background.

Guided Tour and Interview

We met Mrs. Morgenstern on the 28th of February 2014. She offered us the guided tour she usually does when she takes tourists around Lübben and answered many of our questions regarding her background, life and love of interpretation.

Lübben is a small town of 14,250 inhabitants in the heart of the Spreewald, a UNESCO biosphere reserve since 1991. It is also home to Marga and to other members of the Sorbic community. Marga has borne witness to many events of the recent history of the community, making her an exceptional storyteller; not just through her talent as a speaker but because she has experienced many of the stories she tells first-hand. When she leads the tour, she always wears traditional Sorbic garments, even though these are difficult to put on and maintain. Tourists immediately notice her strong relationship to her community, emphasized through this personal choice. This contributes to a feeling of authenticity.

Her tour starts at Lübben Castle, goes around its park, passes by the court office, before proceeding to Paul-Gerhart Church. The tour finishes at the market beside the church. She incorporates these varied landmarks thematically: the castle is a mark of the distant past; the park with the river Spree passing nearby represents the rural landscape, the court office is an institution of the state; the church represents religion and the market with the surrounding houses represents the daily lives of the people. Although she takes the tourists inside the castle, she refuses to go inside the church out of respect for this holy place. The visit to the castle, with its hall decorated with the coats of arms of neighbouring cities, offers many insights into the history of the region and the community living there.

She believes that people want to hear the Sorbic language spoken, so she sometimes greets them in Sorbic. The rest of the tour is done in German. As a child of the *Third Reich*, a period when the Sorbic language was banned, she very rarely spoke Sorbic. Although language is usually a strong indicator of a minority's identity, history has left a mark on the way she relates to it .

She is a born storyteller and has a unique way of delivering interpretation – she combines high-culture with folk culture, historical facts about the Sorbic community with her own personal history; poems of regional authors with folk tales; facts and figures about the Spreewald biosphere and agriculture in the region with the social history of the town. Her approach to interpretation exemplifies Tilden's principles as she combines various registers and talks about the theme of the Sorbic community from different angles, revealing insights and provoking thoughts while doing so. She even points out that "the buildings and the trees tell us stories of the past" (from the interview with Marga Morgenstern, February 2014) and what she does is merely to translate landscape to the visitor – she tours the important historical buildings and points out the importance of the landscape for the community.

Because she is an active member of the Sorbic community participating in all of its important events, local people have great respect for her and often stop to greet her on the street. This adds to the

sense of authenticity - and to the overall experience - of her guided tour. She also has a subtle way of helping to promote the community by pointing out newly opened hotels and improvements to the touristic infrastructure, traditional food products, pottery and other crafts, and even engaging with people at the market during the tour.

Observations

We are now going to look Marga Morgenstern's guided tour by considering four aspects as shown in figure 1:

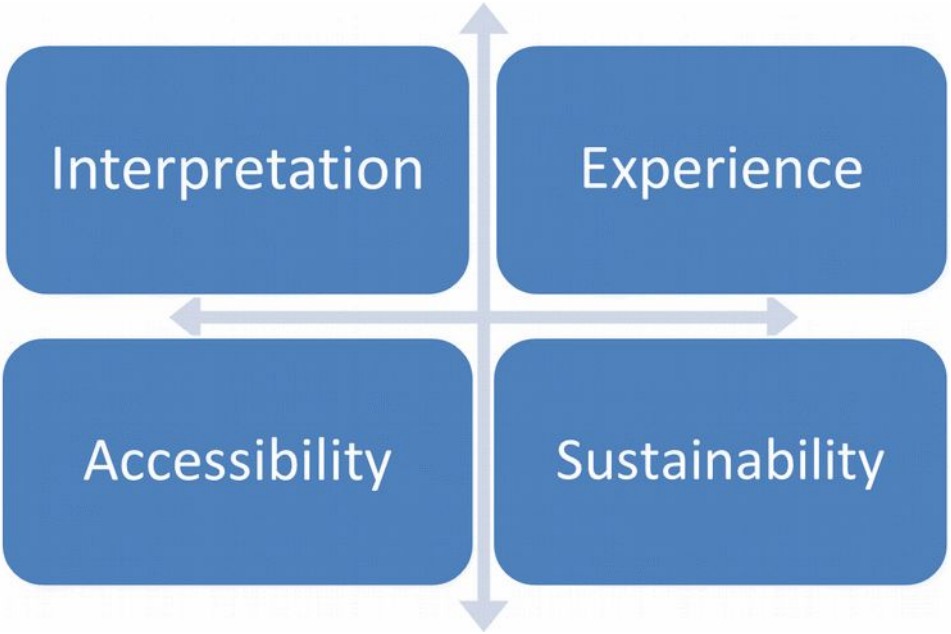

Figure 1 – Observations

The interpretation mechanisms that she uses, the experience she creates, the accessibility of the tour to the average tourist, and the extent to which she contributes to the sustainability of the community.

Interpretation

One of the most important statements that Mrs. Morgenstern made during the tours was: "The buildings and the trees tell us stories of the past." This demonstrates that she has an intuitive understanding of how to make good interpretation. Although she has followed a guiding course sheis mostly a self-taught interpreter, gifted in the art of interpretation and passionate about telling the Sorbic community's stories. As stated before, she follows Tilden's principles. Her tour is thematic, provocative and uses different registers, blending historical facts about the Sorbic community with her own personal history, reciting poems by regional authors, recounting folk tales and facts about the Spreewald biosphere as well as the social history of the town, thus revealing the history of the Sorbic community.

Experience

Due to the fact that she is a member of the local community, the overall experience she creates feels very authentic - the overall impression is that you are hearing the stories from an insider, from someone who lived the stories herself. Her age adds credibility to what she says, as does her relationship with local people such as the market vendors. Her visible passion for history, poetry and her knowledge of the social history of Lübben (i.e. stories of different houses and their residents or

former residents which she either knows or she knew) make the experience seem all the more authentic offering accurate insights into the life and history of the Sorbic community. Furthermore, by wearing traditional costume while guiding (even though it is difficult to wear) she shows that she is a community member to whom Sorbic identity and the traditions are very important.

Regrettably, her children are not engaged in the same activity and her unique tours are not being passed down to a similarly gifted counterpart.

Accessibility

Unfortunately her tours are not easily available to the lone traveller. She mostly leads tours for organized groups of 20-30 people that contact and book the tour through the local tourist office. She cannot be easily found on the internet and the tourist office does not really advertise her tour on their website, making it difficult for people to discover. . Additionally, the tour is only available in German. Even though the majority of tourists that come to the Spreewald are from within Germany, the participation of the international tourists who do come (such as the students studying in the nearby universities) is rendered difficult. Therefore the tour is available only to a limited number of people.

Sustainability

In many ways her approach is also a good example of sustainable tourism not only by her encouraging visitors to engage with locally-owned businesses, but also by revealing in an authentic way the culture of the Sorbic community.

Conclusion

We have attempted to show that Mrs. Morgenstern offers high quality tours which facilitate in-depth understanding of the community in question, and which contribute to its sustainability. It is important to underline however, that her interpretive skills are the result of her own personal motivation and interest in the topic, a sensitivity for her own community, a talent for storytelling, and a great deal of effort. Her tour represents good practice that occurred on her own initiative. This is a model that could be expanded to bring wider benefits. Bodies responsible for tourism could engage, educate and train more members of the local community to participate in similar high quality guided interpretation. Unless this happens Marga Morgenstern will remain a unique example of high quality personal interpretation in this town.

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“Geo-interpretation”: The interpretation of the geological heritage of Karavanke Geopark

Mojca Bedjanič & Rojs Lenka

Abstract

Sites such as Karavanke Geopark (Austria / Slovenia) with outstanding geological heritage, rich natural resources and cultural heritage, offer great potential for sustainable development through geo-tourism, geo-interpretation and geo-education. The interpretation of the cross-border site at Karavanke Geopark educates visitors about the environment through interpretation that presents different perspectives. Two new Geopark-info centres and several new interpretation points with modern interpretive media have been created to enhance the existing tourist infrastructure. In addition, several publications, programmes, projects, events and resources for schools, nature exploration and nature experiences have been created. It is hoped that these will contribute to the popularization of the site’s geological heritage and support the further development of geo-tourism in the region. All interpretation and education activities at the Geopark are carried out under the slogan “It’s fun, it’s educational and no chore”.

Key words

Karavanke Geopark, geo-interpretation, geo-education, geo-tourism, sustainability

A new Geopark has arisen

What is a geopark? A geopark is an area of extraordinary geological heritage that has been created to conserve, popularize and sustainably develop geo-heritage through the growth of geo-tourism. The geopark concept has been developed in recent years, with the intention of promoting economic development in rural areas through geo-tourism made possible by the unique geological resources of the park (EGN 2013).

Figure 1: Geopark panorama

The first steps towards the creation of a geopark and the development of geo-tourism in this area began with the closure of the Mežica and Obir mine as a commercial concern. Subsequently it was opened to the public, and a tourist site and museum (Podzemlje Pece) has been developed to preserve the rich natural, technical and cultural heritage (Obir 1991; Mežica 1997). Valuable sections of the mine have been conserved and are dedicated to education and tourism.

In 2002, the value of the Slovenian part of the Geopark area was recognized by geological and environmental experts due to its extraordinary geological and geomorphologic heritage. At the

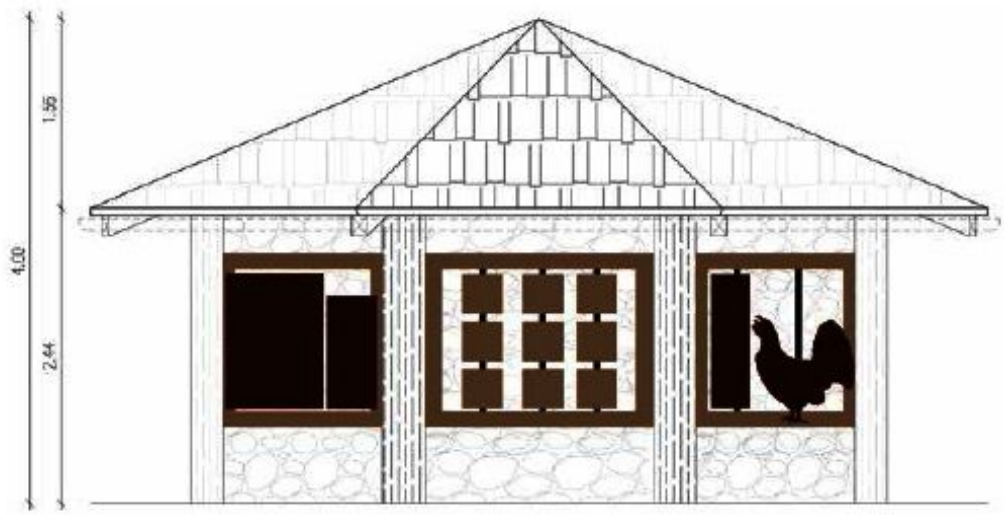
same time, this area was identified as a potential geopark area within the Cultural Heritage and Natural Values Conservation Strategy in accordance with the UNESCO international legal instruments and activities and the Resolution on the National Environmental Protection Programme for 2005-2012. The promotion, protection and marketing of the geological, natural and cultural heritage began on the Austrian side of the Geopark area with the Obir caves at its centre. Since opening this natural monument has received more than one million visitors.

Plans to work together for the joint promotion and marketing of the cross-border area began at local level during 2000, when the Underground Transversal of Mining Museums of Slovenia, Austria and Italy was created. A cross-border working group “Dežele pod Peco” (“Countries of the Peca foothills”) helped develop this further. Due to the high geological value of the whole area interest in the idea of creating a common cross-border Geopark started to grow in 2007. Three years later partners from the Austrian Südkärnten region and the Slovenian Koroška region launched the project “The establishment of a cross-border geopark between Peca and Košuta” (Fajmut Štrucl et al. 2011). This initiative was supported by local communities, regional politicians and expert institutions, and implemented with the formal application to create a “Geopark”.

The site was created under the name Geopark Karavanke-Karwanken. Recent developments include the creation of two new Geopark-info centres, several new interpretation points with modern presentation tools within the site. Additionally several publications, programmes, projects, events and resources for schools have been developed. This provision focuses on helping people to explore and experience nature. The process of establishing a Geopark included several preparatory studies and a great deal of careful planning.

A detailed *geological survey* was prepared, in cooperation with several experts from the fields of geology, geomorphology and biology, to identify the geosites and Geopark localities. A Geopark locality is an area and/or site where a geosite is carefully presented to the public (both interpreted and promoted) (EGN 2013). Infrastructure has been developed for several geosites which had not been Geopark localities previously. These sites were identified as part of the geological survey as being appropriate for interpretation and promotion.

All new infrastructure, promotional material, publications, web content, applications, and events have been carefully planned and developed collaboratively with a team of experts, designers, architects, translators, school staff as well future managers of the Geopark localities and potential tourist providers. Although the localities and financial framework for the planned facilities had been set in the project application, the team still had to answer the basic questions of interpretive planning: Why are we doing this? Who is it for? What will we interpret/promote? How will we do it? How will it be managed? How will it be monitored and evaluated? And a key question was, why are using this particular interpretive media. For each of the geosites an *Animation plan* was prepared and discussed by the partners and key stakeholders.



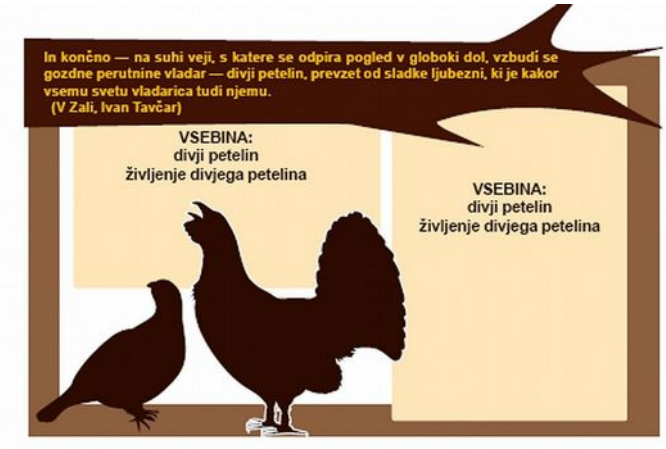


Figure 2 (a-c): Animation plan and the Geopark locality “Smrekovec”

To create a wider public recognition of the Geopark region a *Signposting infrastructure and guiding system handbook* has been developed. This helps ensure that the site is promoted in a consistent way. Stakeholders in tourism development use this guidance when planning new tourist infrastructure (panels, info boards, theme paths, exhibitions, museums, interpretation points). To further this goal a *Common graphic design* for the Geopark has also been developed and launched. The logo combines the slogan “Secrets imprinted in stone”, the Geopark name and Geopark symbols. The logo (or graphic image) is based on the shape of an ammonite revealing several images connected to geology (ammonite, G as in geology, G as in geopark, spiral of geological periods etc.). The basic lines of the logo form stylized elements symbolizing the area (geological features, nature, cultural heritage, people, free time etc.) and reflecting its diversity. The colour yellow-orange symbolizes creativity and joy but is also the colour of wulfenite and stalactites – two of the most important geological features of the Geopark.

All this was the basis for applying for the membership in the European (EGN) and Global Geopark Network (GGN) under UNESCO in 2011. In 2013 the membership application was approved, so Karavanke Geopark now also promotes itself with the logos of the network and participates in joint activities.

Geopark’s “Best of”

The almost 1,000 km2 large area has a unique geologic structure with great aesthetic, scientific and research value. It also has great potential for tourism. Some of its treasures include: the Helena creek valley which has one of the three richest deposits of Carnian crinoids in Europe; the Mežica

mine which has one of only five lead-zinc ore outcrops of this type in the world; the wulfenite deposits in Mežica are the richest in Europe and amongst the most famous in the world; the Topla valley mine’s evidence of the sedimental creation of ore deposits of global importance; Dobrova in Dravograd is a typical deposit of dravite mineral and one of the five major deposits in the world; the Periadriatic lineament is the joint of two large lithospheric plates – the Adriatic (part of the African) and Eurasian plate – that can be observed in nature; Obir Tropfsteinhöhle is the most beautiful stalactite cave in Austria, discovered by coincidence during a lead-zinc ore excavation; the slopes of dark grey pillow lava in the Obir gorge are evidence of volcanic activity; and there are several important mineral water sources. The main goal of the Geopark is to present these geologic features meaningfully to the public and to raise awareness of their value and the importance of their preservation. To this aim, a basic infrastructure has been built, drawing on expertise to enable the development of sustainable geo-tourism and high-quality geo-education (Fajmut Štrucl et al. 2011).

Geopark Info Centres: The main initiators of the Geopark – the Podzemlje Pece tourist mine and museum in Mežica and Obir caves in Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla – are its central information points. There are two additional new Geopark Info Centres. The new Info Centre in Mežica presents ore, mineral and fossil collections, a blacksmith's workshop, a mining history photo gallery and a Geopark presentation which includes a geo-game. Additionally a big conference room has been created and is used for workshops, seminars and the presentation of a Geopark movie. Guided tours to the core of the Peca mountain are available. These allow visitors to experience travelling in mining carts; a 1.5-kilometre walk through the underground world of the Peca; or to explore the mine by bicycle or canoe, and enjoy a miner’s lunch. The Geopark Info Centre in Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla uses multimedia to bring the Geopark and its phenomena closer to the visitor. The central installation of the centre contains an interactive table and includes several other touch screens, games and exhibition areas. There are also visits to the mine and cave of the Obir mountain including an 800-metre-long underground discovery park with stalactites; traces of mining activity are presented with the use of innovative animations.

Figure 3: Geopark info centre Mežica

Fiugure 4: Geopark info centre Bad Eisenkappel

Both centres already organize activities (workshops for children, visits to geological sites, guided tours to museums and mine, and so on) as well as events (exhibitions, concerts, lectures, geologic consultations etc.) As the main centres of the Geopark they constantly add rich interpretation and educational contents and new presentations for visitors.

Several *interpretation points* - providing not just wayfinding but also experiences and educational information - were established:

- Geo-point Smrekovec reveals the geological story of Slovenia’s only volcanic mountain range. It educates about volcanoes generally, and aims to awaken respect for nature and the people who used to live here in hard conditions.
- Geo-point Topla poses the question “Are you in Europe or in Africa?” when you stand on the exact line where two continental plates meet. It highlights the earth’s structure and geological processes, through animations and exercises. It also aims to promote respect for the natural heritage of the Topla valley and the people who have depended upon it.
- Geo-centre Sele combines education and recreation. It has a climbing centre with geological interpretation and a classroom for workshops and conferences.
- Leše coal mining village has an educational mining path, a memory room dedicated to the miners and a ‘fairy path’ to Volinjak.
- Geo-point Feistritz explains the area’s complex water network through animation, educates about water flora and fauna, and offers water-play facilities. The site demonstrates the importance of water resources through varied interpretative approaches.
- Geo-point Stari Fridrih reveals different aspects of lead and zinc ore mining and how these minerals are used, from industry to fortune telling. At the exit point of the site is an underground cycling adventure.
- The Regional museum of Koroška in Ravne contains an Ironworks and Geopark exhibition.

- The point at Saint Hemma mountain was given an upgrade of its archaeological story with geological and nature contents.
- There is a geological mountain trail at Mela-Košuta.
- The educational path Mežica focuses on the mining traditions, development and connectedness of the town with its geological richness;

In the long term, a cross-border hiking geo-trail over the Peca mountain and the Geopark area is planned to interlink individual interpretation points. Individual stages of the trail are already in use as thematic paths in the area of the Peca, Košuta, Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla, Mežica and Leše. Some of them can also be traversed by bicycle (Gulič 2013). They were - and will be - mostly established along existing hiking and cycling trails by simply linking to important geological, geomorphological, natural and cultural sites as an ongoing process. All points and thematic trails are accessible to the public and intended for “end users” – visitors (tourist, schools, locals etc.) and experts. All new infrastructure has been shaped through interpretive planning and aims to create an outdoor classroom for schools and kindergartens and as starting/finishing points when exploring the Geopark.

Learning with Marica and Franz

In the Geopark, education is a priority: starting with the youngest (i.e. kindergarten children) and also pupils and students as well as their teachers and professors. All interpretation and education activities in the Geopark are carried out under the slogan *“It’s fun, it’s educational and no chore”.* Within this framework there are educational programmes and courses for teachers and workshops, guided tours, visits for kindergarten and school children. For example:

- *Geo-adventures* – these are thematic workshops and guided walks for pre-school and first level primary school children (up to 8 years of age), where children learn about geology and the geo-features of the Geopark through games. The aim is to develop and foster a positive attitude towards this heritage so that they contribute to its conservation in the long term.
- *Mysterious world of rocks, minerals and fossils* – these are thematic workshops and guided walks where children (aged over 8) and high school students develop a positive attitude towards geological heritage through practical work.
- It’s fun, it’s educational and no chore for teachers and pedagogues – these workshops, field work and courses are intended to give teachers knowledge and confidence in using a site and encourage them to use it when introducing new material in geology and nature related subjects.

As part of the educational and interpretation strategy of the Geopark several publications, folders, teaching tools, materials and geo-games have been produced under the same slogan and accompanied by the two main characters of the cross-border Geopark – Marica and Franz. These two ‘mascots’ have been created and named with the help of children from within the Geopark area.

On the other hand, the Geopark tries to encourage schools and kindergartens from the Geopark region to achieve national education goals by using the natural and cultural attributes of their region as on site examples, and to freely use the Geopark’s facilities

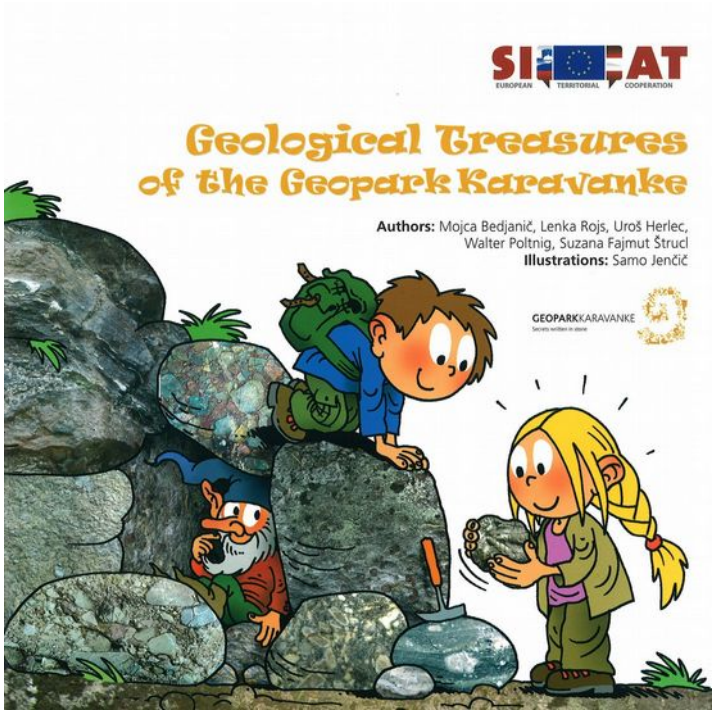


Figure 5: Franz and Marica lead you through the Geological treasures of the Karavanke Geopark

A *Geo Project Day* concept was developed in 2011. It is based on independent activities of each school/kindergarten supported by the Geopark. Each year, we suggest a geology related topic to kindergartens and schools so that they can organize a geo project day. Schools are responsible for the organization, methods and execution of the day The Geopark’s educational group provides training for school and kindergarten teachers, gathers the results, organises the final event and publishes a Geo journal where all the results are presented at the end of the school year. This concept has been carried out within the framework of a Comenius project for the last two years.

Cross-border cooperation among the Geopark’s local population is also very important. For this reason the cross-border Geopark encourages schools to organize *exchanges of pupils/students* from both countries in the Geopark area and helps to launch educational projects.

The area is also popular among scientists and students of natural and cultural sciences, therefore the Geopark centres also offer special programmes for these two important target groups. On the other hand experts and students work and cooperate with the Geopark and offer expert support and groundwork.

Who is involved and who is it for?

The success of the Geopark largely depends on cooperation among all actors in the region. For this reason, *stakeholder involvement and communication* is key to the work of the Geopark team. A Geopark *communication plan* has been shaped by several workshops with different stakeholder groups (tourism, education, environment, local community). Only communication can bring people together to work effectively on the further development of the region. It is essential to include - and gain the cooperation of - local authorities, local agencies, organizations and businesses with regard to tourist development and marketing. The operators of hotels and other accommodation facilities, guides and trip organizers, tourist transport operators, providers of tourist attractions, sports and leisure activities, schools, universities, museums and, last but not least, volunteers are all important

stakeholders (Fajmut Štrucl et al. 2011). Different education workshops are organised for local tourist operators and tourist/mountain guides. In the future this training will also be offered to smaller tourism operators (tourist farms, providers of adventure tourism, tour operators, handcraft producers, small companies related and involved in the touristic development, and other interested stakeholders). If the public recognize the advantages and opportunities that the sustainable development of heritage and geo-tourism has for everyone, they can then help promote and protect the area’s heritage. (Fajmut Štrucl et al. 2011).

Figure 6: Geopark week programme

By applying the best practices of UNESCO Geoparks to our area, an annual Geopark week is organised each year in May. This is aimed at promoting the importance of geological heritage and its conservation as well as raising awareness about it (especially among locals). The Karavanke Geopark focuses on education and interpretation, targeted at children, students, as well as their teachers and parents. The geological and rich cultural heritage, as well as the valuable natural features of the area, are interpreted and presented. The Geopark Week includes various events, ranging from creative and educational workshops and lectures to visits to interesting sites, art competitions, and open-door days. The Geopark Week is attended by over 1,000 visitors each year.

A significant challenge in effective communication and interpretation is the cross-border character of the region. In the official bilingual (Slovenian-German speaking) area on the Austrian site,

multilingualism plays an important role. This makes the interpretation and education indeed more interesting but also demands careful planning and consideration. Therefore all the texts and spoken activities are prepared and carried out in both languages.

A tourist or an explorer?

Geo-tourism is based on the concept of sustainable tourism that conserves and additionally strengthens the geological and geographical character of the area, including its natural and cultural heritage and the well-being of the local population, through funds raised through responsible tourism. All elements of the area are included in the protection and promotion – history, traditional landscape, lifestyle and cuisine, art, flora and fauna, and especially people (UNESCO 2010).

Already during the planning stages and in the initial introduction of geo-tourism, the tourist offer of existing actors and destinations was based on “experiencing/exploring nature”. Regions on both sides of the national border are oriented towards sustainable and soft tourism that seeks conscious actions and appropriate operations in protected areas, and geo-tourism follows these same principles.

In recent years, there has been a strong trend towards active, healthy and “natural” leisure activities in unspoiled nature and towards new and different forms of tourism and quality living. Integrating protected natural areas and tourist regions is gaining importance in the Geopark. Naturally conserved areas have an ever growing potential, becoming the site of an increasingly sought-after vacation destination (nature as meditation or a place for adrenaline producing activities). Unspoiled nature has become a desired “refuge” for individuals, a space for bigger groups, and a place to discover nature with others. A new audience of “green visitors” requires an up-to-date ecological tourist offer that is of high quality. The Geopark is well placed to meet this demand. Some of the providers in the tourism sector are already actively incorporating “experiencing nature” in their offer, including “experiencing geology”. Some providers offer:

- guided visits for families with children to discover geosites and Geopark localities as well as other opportunities to learn about the geology and heritage of the area;
- teambuilding: a unique team experience for business people;
- guided tours for school children, locals and tourists, including geosites and Geopark localities, carried out by local tourist organizations, tourist agencies and two future Geopark operators;
- activities to include the Geopark into the tourist offer (presentations and training for tourism professionals);
- visits to geosites and Geopark localities are already incorporated into existing walking, cycling and hiking trails; (Gulič 2013)

To assure high quality guiding and programme development a *Geopark guides training* is offered to interested tourist guides, mountain guides and interpreters. The training consists of an expert geological/geomorphological module and an interpretation training module with special emphasis on geology interpretation.

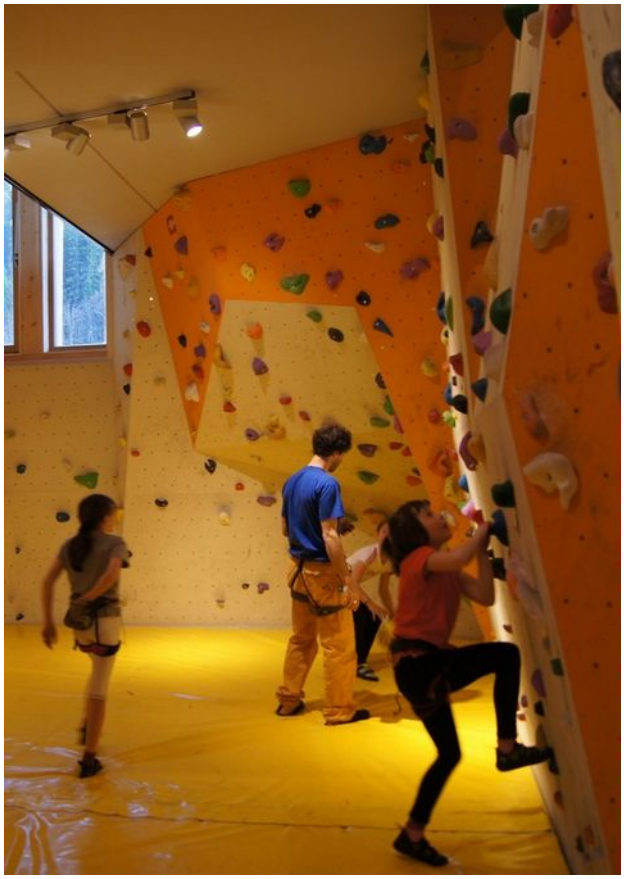


Figure 7 (a-c): Geo-adventures

Looking towards the future

In the process of establishing the *Geopark a management plan* was prepared with the cooperation of the all partners and stakeholders. External experts were hired as consultants and to lead the process. The management plan will be the basic document of the future sustainable development of the Geopark and all future interpretative planning and development.

The main goals of the Geopark are the protection and conservation of natural features and cultural heritage, awareness-raising, education and interpretation for positioning the Geopark, economic validation including “soft” tourism and overall cross-border cooperation for the regional development based on sustainable/nature based policies.

Within the management plan five working groups have been formed to achieve these goals in the following priority areas (Hartman 2012):

- protection and conservation of natural features,
- cooperation among, and development of, local communities,
- training and awareness-raising,
- sustainable tourism and related activities,
- promoting culture and heritage.

These groups will also be responsible for seeking, developing and launching new projects and developing sectorial strategies on a Geopark level as well as positioning the Geopark’s ideas and strategies on the regional, national and European level.

The future development of the Geopark also goes hand in hand with the vision of Interpret Europe (European Association for Heritage Interpretation). High quality heritage interpretation is the key to foster broader understanding of – and respect for – all natural and cultural heritage. The development of new interpretation sites will follow the international quality standards of Interpret Europe. This opens up new possibilities for cooperation in the field of environmental education and interpretation between Interpret Europe and the Geopark, as well as the European Geoparks Network. We look forward to developing new networks to foster creativity and to drive innovations in heritage interpretation. (Hartmann 2012)

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Enhancing the tourist experience in the World Heritage Site of Škocjan Caves, Slovenia

Samo Šturm, Tomaž Zorman, Marija Fajdiga & Darja Kranjc

Škocjan Caves, Slovenia are a natural phenomenon of global significance. This area has been a pilgrim site from many thousands of years. There is evidence of ritual and cult activities from the Bronze Age (around 3000 B.C.) onwards. Today the caves are visited every year by around 100,000 visitors.

One of our major organisational challenges is to find ways to enhance tourist's experiences of visiting this World Heritage Site. There is a visitor centre with an information-point with non-personal interpretation; videos, posters of the park and so on. The number of people who can visit the cave system is, however, limited. Our guides, who are all nature-supervisors, provide interpretative guidance in four languages. Their engagement with the public uses personal first-hand experience to promote our organisational goals, and to communicate key ideas including the purpose of our protected areas.

In the park there are several exhibitions. One is devoted to the history of exploration of the caves, another is focussed on ethnology and the last includes a geological collection of rocks, a biological exhibits and archaeological material. These displays can also be visited with a guide or interpreter.

Picture 1: Ethnology workshop for visitors in Škocjan village: preparing bread.

Picture 2: Workshop for school children and parents: making bird and bat houses.

During the main tourist season we provide different workshops for visitors: archaeological, ethnological, a "museums open doors" event, and one that focuses on making bird and bat houses. The education of young people and tourists through their visit to this protected area is exceedingly important, and one of the goals of the Park's management team.

The main public event offered by the park and locals is ‘Jamski praznik –Belajtunga’ or ‘Cave Fest’. It has more than 40 years of history and now takes place every May, but its origins date back as far as 1885. The initial purpose of Cave Fest was to popularize the cave with tourists who came from Trst (Triest) and its surroundings, but in now also reaches other tourists too.

Picture 3: Workshop for children: Caves and caving, protection of Caves.

Picture 4: Cave Fest – Belajtunga is the main event organised by Park authorities and is well supported by locals. Over the last 8 years it has taken place on the last Sunday in May.

Picture 5: Natural science excursions in the Park area. The main goals are educational, and to promote the protection and conservation of natural and cultural heritage.

We run a programme of natural science excursions in the Park to help people engage with the UNESCO World Heritage Site. A natural science excursion is similar to a field trip with structured work sheet exercises. Promoting natural and cultural heritage is one of the main objectives of the sessions. Mostly we run geography or biology themed excursions with field exercises and content focussed on nature protection, endangered species, and environmental education. Since we began the programme, we have been visited by around 1,200 visitors per year, mainly from Slovenia. The students' ages vary between 11–20 years, but most are from primary schools. The expert-guided natural science excursions are carried out by the Park's employees.

The main interpretative goals of Škocjan Caves Park are to promote the protection and conservation of natural and cultural heritage and other educational and behavioural goals. We try to achieve the organisation's mission to "raise awareness of the site's significance" and to do as much as we can to both develop local "community support regarding conservation and management" and to "enhance the image of the site".

In different areas of the Park, we have had varied success with our interpretation; there is definitely potential to become more effective and to improve the delivery of several of our goals.

Picture 6: To raise awareness of the site's significance an event in summer is carried out all over Slovenia, the summer museum night event; detail from Škocjan, History of Caves explorations.

What about benefit to local communities?

There are full and part-time job opportunities for locals and we also offer seasonal work for students in the Park. This is intended to support local communities. It is also important to stress that a certain amount of seasonal income from tourism is available to residents, and for community projects to improve local infrastructure: dry walls, paths, streets, village

squares, cemeteries, and houses for tourism (apartments, agro-tourism) in the park area. We endeavour to participate with local communities in several areas, by running festivals, workshops and other cultural events, for example.

Picture 7: Different events in the core area of Škocjan Park made possible by the invaluable cooperation of local communities.

Authors

Samo Šturm, Biologist, park service

Tomaž Zorman, Forester, park service

Marija Fajdiga, Park Guide

Darja Kranjc, Etnologist, park service

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Imperative of Empathy – the Kantian Pre Condition for Any Kind of European Future

Andrzej Leder

We have many varied examples of heritage, from small objects, like the one I am going to discuss here, to big ones, such as buildings, monuments or entire cities, that have different emotional values and different symbolic positions for different national and cultural communities and groups. This shows that we live in different 'social imaginaries', that is different symbolic universes and moral frameworks of behaviour. As in the case of what happened with a ‘spoon from Auschwitz’, the example I will discuss here, the combination of an object and an event can bring these symbolic universes into focus. We may then investigate the structural coherence of such social imaginaries, and try to explain what makes them so resistant to change. And such change is indispensable or essential if we want to think about a common European social imaginary. I will try to show that the precondition for any common European symbolic universe is the ‘imperative of empathy’.

A strange event occurred during June 2011. Two Israeli tourists, aged 57 and 60 were arrested at Balice Krakow airport, Poland. The regional prosecutor of Oświęcim accused them of “stealing goods of special cultural value and attempting to take them out of Poland”. This is a crime that can be punished in Poland by imprisonment for up to 10 years.

The goods in question were nine in number, including: small metal spoons, scissors, knives without handles, and a porcelain bottlecork. The perpetrators found them in the former Auschwitz Birkenau II camp, at the grounds of so called “Canada” – a storage place for goods left by the murdered people. At the end of the World War II, when the Red Army was approaching, the Nazis burned the camp down. But as the author of the press article in “Krakow. Our City” put it: “after torrential rains, the earth gives back the things of everyday use, robbed from the annihilated people”.

So the earth gave back the spoons. The accused man said: “I found them on the ground, lying near to the glass showcase, in a pitiful state, and I wanted to take them to Israel to save them and to place them in the Yad Vashem Museum”. Following their arrest both tourists pleaded guilty, apologised, accepted the punishment (mainly financial), and left Poland. When back in Israel the man added: “I know what Holocaust was. My parents were survivors from Auschwitz. To say that I stole these things is a mistake”. Nevertheless, he apologised once more if anyone felt hurt, most of all to the survivors.

According to the spokesman of the State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau, “to take away anything from this Place of Memory, where over one million persons were annihilated, is a crime of a special dimension”. He remarked that “quite often things that belonged to the victims are the only remembrance of the annihilated.”

Such are, more or less, the facts about this incident. But these facts show, or perhaps rather conceal, an ocean of misunderstandings, paradoxes and questions.

Let us start our questions with the man (Moti Posloszny) and his wife (Dominique). They are normal, educated people. Moti was an officer in Tsahal. Wasn’t he aware, while visiting Auschwitz-Birkenau that he was in a museum? Didn’t he know that everything he might find there is the property of this institution? That the museum is an institutional trustee of the people killed there?

Another baffling question is the change between his statements in Poland and after he arrived back home. In Poland he pleaded guilty, in Israel he felt that he hadn't tried to steal anything.

Another paradox arises, when we consider the words of the museum spokesman. Talking about this case, where somebody picked up from the ground a small, dirty, metal spoon, he spoke about a "crime of a special dimension"; if we understand him correctly, he considers this to be a heavy moral offence.

Doesn't he know, that when an Israeli aged about 50-60 comes to Auschwitz, that it is likely he will have some personal ties with this place? For instance, that he might be a "second generation" of a family of Holocaust survivors, as was the case here?

In my opinion, both the man and the prosecutor knew all this very well, but they weren't prepared to acknowledge what they knew. Although they knew it, their 'social imaginaries' - the way they perceive the social world - made them reject this shared knowledge. Strong moral positions, connected with painful emotions, positions that I call the 'moral framework' of the social imaginary, are at work in this situation. Let us go a little deeper into those imaginaries.

For many Israelis of the second generation of survivors, Poland is an "earth of ashes", an earth of death. Because their parents survived the horrors of the Holocaust, they feel that they are the only trustees of the memory of this event. The guardian of the memory is Yad Vashem Museum. They don't acknowledge - even if they accept the material fact - that Polish government, in creating the institution of Auschwitz Museum, is playing the role of such a trustee. They consider that Poles cannot be sympathetic enough with the Jewish victims.

The small act of this man, and maybe more the words in his statement: "it is a mistake to say that I stole those things", both suggest, that he might share this way of thinking about the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum. He knows very well that a museum is a museum, and that all the objects there are under its protection. But I would risk the hypothesis, that he doesn't recognize the museum's ownership as a morally legitimate claim. For him, the only legitimate trustees of all objects left by the victims of Holocaust are the survivors and their descendants. Hence, from that point of view, he has the moral right to pick up the spoon and to take it to Yad Vashem.

Someone may say the fact he pleaded guilty contradicts or undermines this deduction. But I feel that this fact rather supports it. Let us imagine the feelings of a man who is arrested with his wife and accused by the attorney of "stealing of goods of special cultural value and the attempt to take them out of Poland" and who hears that this crime can be punished with up to 10 years imprisonment. Even if he doesn't share the vision of Poland as "the earth of death" and even if the attorney and police officers were quite polite to him – which I hope was the case – it is still a dangerous enough situation for him to encourage him to be co-operative and admit his guilt. However, after he had returned to Israel he then carefully explained his actual point of view.

Now, let's try to answer the points about the spokesman of the Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum. His words underline the gravity of the offence and highlight that "quite often these things belonged to the victims, and are the only remembrance of the annihilated people". Why did he choose to present the case in this light? Didn't he know, that he might hurt the feelings of a survivor or a child of a survivor?

Probably he knew this very well. Precisely because he knows this so well he puts so much emphasis on delegitimising the act. He understands the social imaginary standing behind this act and he knows that he can't accept it. If he did, he would also have to accept, that every survivor, or their

child, or their cousin, has the right to treat Auschwitz-Birkenau Museum as their own home. This happens sometimes and it is an enormous problem.

But it goes further. Again, we are facing the question of the moral right to the memory and its artefacts. The spokesman feels, that the act of the man – willingly or not - is denying the right of the Polish authorities to the guardianship of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp. That is why he emphasizes the fact, that the artefacts belonged to the people annihilated there; that these artefacts are the sole remnants of them, and that the museum is the guardian of this 'as if' graves. The guardian of the graves has the moral legitimacy to speak in the name of the dead – especially in Polish tradition, in Polish social imaginary – and that is why the spokesman clearly underlines this aspect.

We – in Poland – are very sensitive to the delegitimisation of the right of the Polish national community to guard the memory of victims. Such delegitimisation is often the first step towards the line of argument that makes Poles perpetrators of the Holocaust alongside the Nazis. This idea opens deep and painful wounds, the question of the so called 'margins of Holocaust', the question of the moral position of the 'bystander'.

However, such Polish sensitivity cannot be attributed only to the bad experiences. Over many years, especially in the Cold War period, Poland played the role of the 'bad guy' in public opinion with regard to the fate of Jewish people during WWII. As the narrative, in which the Holocaust was became the central moral issue – and catastrophe - of the 20th century, became more and more dominant, the land where the largest extermination camps were located, was increasingly identified as the land of extermination. In this way the formula "Polish concentration camp" became possible.

Here we face another social imaginary. In post-war Europe, many people and societies felt uncomfortable about their deeds and actions during the wartime period: the Vichy regime in France, the Belgian and Dutch volunteers in Nazi armies, the Norwegian government of Quisling. All of these memories were unwelcome.

In the Anglo-Saxon world the inconvenient question: "did we do enough?" was problematic. Finally narratives making East European nations guilty of nearly everything bad, became an element of the 'imaginary', shared in many European and American circles. The Soviets especially used this imaginary as an element of their propaganda.

Now, we can face the most important part of our discourse. How is it possible, that such hard, sharp, wounding sentences were pronounced? Why don't people take into consideration the feelings of the Other, more, why they don't take into consideration their moral attitude, even if they understand the Others' words and motives of their actions?

If we try to explain this, we see that in all the situations we've discussed there is a very precise vision of the roles, played by the actors of the moral relation. We are victims, we were on the good side, we suffered, we were heroic. They are perpetrators, they were on the side of the evil, there was no justice in their triumph… This is, again the 'moral framework' of the 'social imaginary': on one side the good ones, on the other – the bad.

Representing the relationship between myself and the Other in this way has important consequences. It comes between people, it causes feeling of harm and anger and it makes empathy impossible. Let me underline it once more. I speak about situations where people have all the knowledge needed to understand the Other, but their social imaginaries are closed, private, and withdrawn. They prevent empathy, they render empathy impossible.

When trying to understand the Other, especially in matters that are really important, people always put themselves into a morally sensible position . In such positions , they can feel anger, guilt or fear. They can intellectually understand, what the Other wants to say, but not accept it, because it hurts their feelings, and ruins the moral framework of their own world.

I call the 'Kantian imperative of empathy' an attitude where one is ready to endure the inner tension, and to face not only one's own feelings, one's own moral position, but also the feelings and position of the Other. Then only, can one look at oneself with the eyes of the Other and endure this gaze.

I want to underline that this attitude is possible only when one is ready to put oneself in a morally sensible area. The community of European nations is deeply divided. The social imaginaries are strongly defined and their moral frameworks are rigid. This is why sole knowledge is not enough. Only knowledge connected with the 'Kantian imperative of empathy' can be the pre-condition of more mutual understanding in the community of Europeans.

Author

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Thoughtful provocations – the philosophies that drive interpretation

Patrick Lehnes & James Carter

Key words:

Heritage interpretation, progressive education, Enlightenment, Romanticism, phenomenon, normal thinking, reflective thinking, identity

This summary deals with two studies which were carried out for InHerit, an EU funded multilateral Grundtvig project on lifelong learning and heritage interpretation. In the meantime the full e-book "Digging deeper - Exploring the philosophical roots of heritage interpretation" has been published on the InHerit website.

"Philosophies" - at first sight this might sound like a rather academic topic. But the philosophies which underlie a discipline are highly relevant for practice. They define the basic conceptual framework of heritage interpretation and give orientation for those who work in this field. They guide the thinking and the direction in which the discipline develops. The philosophies of heritage interpretation shed light on the meaning of the discipline within a bigger picture – in our case they explore the question of what heritage interpretation can mean for European societies.

In 1957 Freeman Tilden's "Interpreting our Heritage" wasthe first published book on the philosophy of heritage interpretation. He drew on a wealth of experiences with visitor services in US national parks and their attempts to interpret heritage. Occasionally he referred to American philosophers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson. Tilden saw the need to define this educational activity, but at the same time he felt very uncomfortable with a rigid definition. Therefore he made several alternative attempts to express what he found essential for heritage interpretation and complemented them with six fundamental principles. He also made it very clear that he did not intend the book to be a final statement about the discipline.

Careful observation and meaningful reflection are the very heart of any true interpretive activity. Thus, heritage interpreters will also feel a desire to reflect for themselves on what heritage interpretation itself essentially means or could mean for the visitor and for a democratic, pluralistic society. Publications on this subject can serve as food for thought: they can prompt us to re-think our subject from different perspectives.

For heritage interpreters – particularly in Europe – it can make sense to embed the philosophy of heritage interpretation in the contexts of philosophies and approaches to education that still play a vital role for this continent. How is heritage interpretation rooted in the Enlightenment movement, and what did it inherit from the Romantics? How does it relate to formal education and to progressive education? James Carter's paper demonstrates that these strands of Western thinking can help us to better understand our own discipline.

Interpretation is often considered and sometimes defined as "an educational activity", but what education means in the context of leisure visits to heritage sites may be very different from easy assumptions about learning based on our experience in school. Two broad approaches have underpinned many different educational philosophies: formal, which tends to emphasise the acquisition of a body of knowledge, and progressive, which emphasises the development of an

individual's own meanings in the phenomena they encounter, and their capacity for independent thought.

Progressive approaches to education have often emphasised the importance of direct engagement with the world as the basis for learning. They are closely aligned to constructivist theories of knowledge, in which meanings are personal, and developed over time as we accumulate experiences. The influence of an individual's cultural and social surroundings is important too, with learning supported by their family members and peers. All these characteristics are strongly reflected in interpretation practice. If interpretation is an educational activity, it must be seen as belonging to the progressive school of educational thought, with its emphasis on the learner and their experience rather than on transferring an externally verifiable set of facts.

The principle that learning is an aspect of personal development is linked to the principles of the Enlightenment, a movement in European philosophy that was particularly influential in the eighteenth century. Enlightenment ideals emphasise the application of rational thought to empirical experience. They are widely regarded as having laid the foundations for contemporary science and technology. Because Enlightenment thought sees social order as based on reason and debate, and government as an activity that should only be done through the consent of an educated populace, it is also central to the concept of democratic government.

Interpretation can be seen within Enlightenment ideas of learning as a key part of personal development, and potentially as a support for an open, democratic society. But interpretation also draws on the emotional connections we feel to events in history, to our environment, and to our culture. These emotions are closely linked to another movement in European culture and philosophy: Romanticism. To some extent a reaction against the dry logic of the Enlightenment and the effects of the Industrial Revolution, Romanticism emphasised individual and emotional experience as ways of understanding the world. It is still a major influence on popular culture, and its influence can be traced in work that sees nature as a source of inspiration, and heritage sites as places of pilgrimage.

Romantic ideas and responses are powerful, but they are also dangerous. If places, things, events and ideas are seen as emotionally significant, any challenge to that significance can be seen as heresy. It is no accident that Romanticism is soemtimes seen as an ideology that can lead to totalitarianism.

These two strands in European thought are both present in interpretation philosophy and practice. The paper looks at how their influence defines interpretation as well as leading to potential conflict in its approach and delivery. In seeking to reconcile them, or to build an approach to interpretation that builds on the strengths of both, we need to consider what the ethics of interpretation might be.

The second paper by Patrick Lehnes deals with fundamental questions which had been triggered by the venue where these papers were presented, the so-called "Bastion" building at Przegorzały in Kraków. This session took place in the same room where, during Nazi-German occupation of Poland, the district governor of Kraków resided. It is probably the very place where the expulsion of 68,000 Jews from Kraków and the establishment of the Kraków Ghetto for the remaining 15,000 Jewish people was thought through.

What kind of thinking allowed the Nazis to eliminate human conscience on the side of their supporters? How could the population of the country of Beethoven, Goethe and Kant elect and support the Nazis, a political leadership that turned European values of Humanism and Enlightenment upside down? And with regard to interpretation as a contemporary discipline: can

heritage interpretation contribute to learning in a way which increases the likelihood that citizens reject leaders who espouse dangerous or dehumanising ideologies? These questions are highly relevant for a deeper understanding of the role heritage interpretation has, or should have, in present day Europe.

While the first study by James Carter takes a historical approach, the second study approaches the philosophical roots of heritage interpretation from a phenomenological angle. It explores what happens when we experience natural and cultural heritage and how such experiences become meaningful for the human individual and a human society. It highlights the value of first-hand experience of heritage phenomena. It investigates the role of explaining scientific knowledge for heritage interpretation, which must not be confused with the mental activity of interpretation in its strict sense. It introduces a distinction between normal thinking and critical reflective thinking. The latter is an extraordinary mental activity which is closely related to human conscience. People who love the diversity of real-world phenomena and who develop a habit of reflective thinking are less vulnerable to ideologies that dehumanise or promote prejudice and discrimination.

From the perspective of both studies, it seems that heritage interpretation offers very significant opportunities for a progressive education, especially for lifelong learning. Its potential for wider society is largely underestimated by decision makers. Most interpreters would instantly agree to this statement. But perhaps re-considering the philosophy of heritage could reveal that we interpreters ourselves have underestimated the significance of heritage interpretation.

Authors

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Patrick Lehnes initiated the founding of Interpret Europe and served as its Executive Director from 2010 to 2015. At Freiburg University Patrick Lehnes researches the philosophical foundations of heritage interpretation and how to apply them in interpretation practice. He also works as a freelance interpretive planner and author (www.lehnes.info).

Time to Ditch the Timeline
Storytelling, narratives and emotion

Kev Theaker

‘Once upon a time’, you know what this means and what will follow; stupid giants, tricky boys, wicked stepmothers (originally mothers) and wise women, fairy godmothers and ugly rivals. We know what to expect in the traditional story structure and that includes temptations, trials, redemption and finally resolution. It is no coincidence that one of the early film makers, George Melies explored folk tales such as Bluebeard’s Castle. Every time we are presented with folk/fairy tales in whatever form, written, film, orally, and represented we, the public, fall for them. The most successful film franchise begins with the original Star Wars which is clearly a hero story in the mode of a traditional tale, rescuing the princess, overcoming problems and eventually triumphing against all odds. The point is that traditional stories work in archetypes. The characters are one dimensional, loosely sketched. They become more fully developed by the reader or viewer investing them with sufficient detail – the characters only work because we identify with them and complete them.

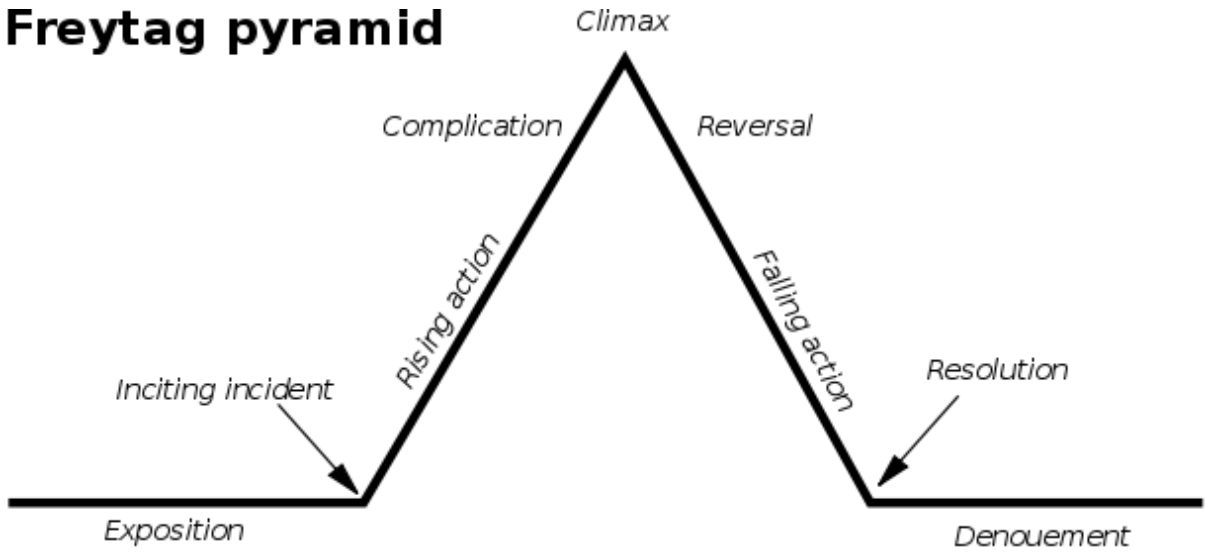
The structure of folk/fairy tales means that they work any time, anywhere, in any landscape and are infinitely adaptable to suit our minds. The point is that people are predisposed to construct narratives. What are the uses of stories?

- To deliver educational messages.
- To reinforce societal norms.
- To give moral messages, often similar to reinforcing norms in the sense of see what happens when you step outside the norm.
- Remembrance of people and place which will in turn lead to
- Mythologising.

All of the above are uses to which heritage, museums and interpretation have been co-opted to deliver. As interpreters we are continually remaking, editing, retelling, relating, and reinforcing a chosen narrative. We can also choose to present multiple stories or even non at all. However, a decision to present a fractured narrative or no narrative will still deliver a story to the viewer.

Vladimir Propp, a Russian folklorist, published an analysis of traditional folktales in 1928, Morphology of the Folktale. He identified thirty one components of stories which are organised into spheres. The four spheres are: introduction, body of the story, the donor sequence and the hero’s return. What Propp noted was that although not all stories contained all 31 components a majority contained a significant proportion of them. However, the **sequence** of the components remained constant.

Moving to consider other ideas of narrative structures; the five act structure of scriptwriting for theatre, and the later three act structure of film, is set out in Freytag’s pyramid:



Originally developed for the analysis of classical tragedies, it is possible to see parallels with Propp's examination of folktales. There is the introduction, or scene setting; the inciting incident which in folktales may be the problem that needs to be resolved or the donor sequence; the complication which is a setback or a failure, the climax of the story leading to resolution and the denouement. Or the happy ever after aspect of folktales.

Although developed for different areas of work both Propp and Freytag are concerned with looking at the structures of narratives and to an extent asking what are they for and why do they work. Brannigan, (1992) states that

> *"narrative is a perceptual activity that organises data into a special pattern which represents and explains experience"*

The structure and sequencing of narrative works because we construct the information received into a workable story. Brannigan argues that we interpret the material, regardless of the sequence in which it is received into a storytelling structure so that it can be retold. In film terms consider stories with a fractured narrative such as Pulp Fiction, or Mulholland Drive. In order to understand it the viewer needs to reorder the sequences to build it to a coherent more linear story. The requirement for mental effort on the part of the viewer is crucial.

> *"We are storytelling animals, we think and speak through highly embodied metaphors and our emotional capacities are central to our cognitive and rational activities."* (Gottschall 2012)

The interpretation by the receiver to construct their own story to retell is essential to understanding how narratives function. Bondebjerg (2014) argues that we are biologically determined to use narrative:

> *"Humans are genetically, biologically and socially storytelling animals: narrative structures are a fundamental way of experiencing, exploring and thinking about reality."*

The evolutionary development of the brain regions from early man show an increase in the areas given over to spatial awareness. This is a biological necessity for survival. Interestingly, a similarly large area is given over to the use of language, symbols and metaphor to provide the predictive skills for survival. Closely related to the development of metaphor is the ability to construct narratives, i.e. to tell stories. Therefore it is arguable that storytelling is a key skill for survival. There is a clear evolutionary benefit of conceptualizing and sharing memory through narrative.

The evolutionary theories of landscape, such as Appleton's 'Prospect and Refuge' and ideas of landscape preferences argue that we are evolved to favour landscapes that offer somewhere to hide, a refuge, and a vantage point from where it is possible to see and anticipate danger. Our landscape preferences reflect our preferences for narrative structures, they are things that we can read, can interpret to our advantage and provide opportunities to pass those advantages on to others. However, landscapes are considered to be immersive, from both an aesthetic and evolutionary point of view, providing an overwhelming amount of information. It is not possible to remove ourselves from the landscape to gain an objective viewpoint. This is why Caspar David Friedrich's 'Wanderer above a sea of Fog' (1818) is important as it depicts the artist in the landscape rather than as an observer.

The immersive aspects of landscapes, and of good storytelling is reflected in Beleant's 2013 essay on understanding of knowledge.

> *"There is a kind of knowing. It is not the knowing in the factual or scientific sense as a logical relation among abstractions. Indeed it is not in the abstract, it is knowing in the concrete. This means a knowing from within, knowing by 'being in the world"*

The point is that interpreted sites are also an immersive experience. They are a whole body experience, involving all of our senses, emotions and memories, compounded by our existing knowledge, social groups and everything that surrounds the site visit. The narratives that we construct as visitors are not linear, one dimensional fairy tale narratives. Personal interpretive narratives are looped, folded, plaited and complex ones. The provided chosen narrative of the interpreter is only one component – it is the spine of the story – the bones which we inhabit with our own personal stories. A well constructed interpretive narrative leaves sufficient space for the personal narrative to be plaited and looped into the site narrative. This allows the visitor to retell that narrative from their point of view. A commentary on narratives and storytelling from Michael Sandel, the 'Moral Philosopher' in 2014 in the quote below shows the value of interpretation and storytelling.

Photo 1. Auschwitz-Birkenau
Photo: Kev Theaker

> *"Shared narratives are what hold communities together. The ability to tell stories is to see one's life as part of a larger story. And so the capacity for narrative is what situates us in the world. By the drift to storylessness, I mean the tendency in modern life to think of ourselves without reference to larger frameworks of meaning and belonging."*

One of the great moral and civic challenges of our time is to recover our capacity to tell compelling stories that relate our identities to shared communities of value and meaning."

Photo 2: Diorama of the working gas chamber, Auschwitz 1
Photo: Kev Theaker

In the context of the Interpret Europe conference in Krakow, Michael Sandel's points are illustrated by the two following photographs:

As part of the conference there was an optional site visit to Auschwitz-Birkenau. This is an understandably complicated, immersive and emotional journey. The separation of interpreted 'museum' with an authorial voice and the largely uninterpreted, unrestored 'authentic' historical site gives space and scope for the visitor form their own narratives from their personal experience of the site. It is not free from interpretation but the two parts work together and allow the visitor to complete the story for themselves. The first photograph has meaning because the narrative has started in the museum. The narrative is resolved on site by the visitor making those connections. These are where the stories that they take away are completed.

A linear timeline might be a useful reference point, but our understanding of events is more complex, more looped and constructed of fractals and fractured stories which we assemble for ourselves.

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Trouble at t'mill. Interpreting Industrial Working Lives in Heritage Attractions

Roger White

One of the greatest challenges facing interpreters is achieving the balance between an authentic representation of places and people in the past so that visitors can engage with and be engaged by heritage sites, whilst ensuring that at the same time visitors enjoy themselves. It is a challenge that can be crystalized around the reservations expressed recently about the traditional presentation of National Trust properties in the UK (i.e. room guides, rigid, limited opening hours, a look-but-don't touch mentality) and the perceived move towards 'Disneyfication' of their properties (i.e. presenting narratives of strong characters to engage visitors, relaxing opening hours, allowing visitor free flow, presenting rooms as though still in use, etc.), a move driven largely by financial and business imperatives.[1] Yet without such compromise there is no doubt that the heritage business would soon collapse.

This paper seeks to explore how industrial heritage sites in the United Kingdom reconcile the depiction of the lives of those who lived at that time, and their living and working conditions, with the demands of modern first world consumers of heritage sites who are today largely shielded from the day-to-day miseries of grinding hard work, poverty and poor conditions and whose chief desire is a pleasant day out with family, friends or colleagues. However, my aim is also to explore the gap between the largely sanitised presentation of 'life in the past' at heritage properties with depictions on film of the same era. With the latter, the desire of the consumer is apparently to see as authentic a portrayal as possible.

The case study used to explore this dichotomy is the early cotton-spinning mill at Styal, Cheshire (on the outskirts of Manchester), a National Trust property since 1939 and an industrial museum since the late 1970s. It was recently the subject of a British television drama, *'The Mill'*.[2] From this case study I will broaden out to look at the representation of working life and social conditions at other industrial sites, especially the open air museums at Ironbridge, but also briefly consider recreations of more remote periods, such as medieval and Roman life.

Styal is an important surviving example of an early water-powered cotton spinning mill. Built by the Greg family de novo in 1784 in the Cheshire countryside, southwest of Manchester, Styal comprises one of the most complete examples of an industrial complex of the era, including the mill, weaving sheds, mill owner's and manager's houses, apprentice house, purpose-built workers terraced housing, a gas retort house and water management and control systems (including an operational water wheel), all set within a partly wooded parkland and gardens.[3] Donated to the National Trust in 1939, the complex is intact with the exception of its original machinery which was sold for scrap. The Greg business operated until 1959 when the buildings, by then in a poor state of repair, were finally handed over. Following conservation in the 60s and 70s, the decision was eventually taken to establish an industrial textile museum, one of several in the northwest. This opened in 1978 but was run by an independent trust largely because the National Trust at that time

1 http://www.theguardian.com/society/2007/jul/22/voluntarysector.observerreview (article originally published 22/7/07); http://www.dailymail.co.uk/travel/article-1325569/National-Trust-looks-Disney-chairman-Simon-Jenkins-enflames-critics.html (article originally published 1/11/10) [accessed 22/6/15]

2 *The Mill* (http://www.channel4.com/programmes/the-mill) [accessed 3/6/15]

3 Barrie Trinder (ed.) 'Quarry Bank Mill, Styal' *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Industrial Archaeology* 1992, p725

was not used to engaging with complex industrial sites.[4] The model was not entirely successful financially and the National Trust now fully controls the complex.

The imprint of the Quarry Bank Mill Trust in setting up the interpretation of the mill is still visible today. Basically, the visitor, like cotton, is interpretatively processed from the top of the building, where the principles and early technology of cotton spinning and industrialisation are told and demonstrated (alongside social and economic history) before descending through the building floor by floor to see cotton-processing machinery reinstalled and operated. Finally, visitors reach the ground floor to see the waterwheel and steam engines that powered the machinery in the building.

From the very start, the presentation of the process has been one of compromise: it would be almost impossible to allow visitors to regularly visit a fully operational cotton mill. First, it would be prohibitively expensive to operate, but more importantly the conditions would be intolerable to the visitor and interpreters, while the noise, dust and humidity levels would make interpretation impossible. Indeed the conditions would be so poor that they would not now be considered legal for a workforce let alone visitors.[5] Yet, early articles on the displays at Quarry Bank Mill stress the authenticity of the experience in the mill's presentation of the processes, and the site's popularity with visitors showed that they agreed with this premise.[6] Basically, what the museum trust did was to buy in robust, and at that time readily available, mill machinery of a late Victorian / early 20th century vintage. It allowed them to demonstrate the whole industrialised process of turning raw cotton into a woven calico, which could then be sold in the on-site shop.

At that time too, people who knew how to operate the machinery were abundant. The mills had closed in recent times throughout Manchester and Lancashire so there were many ex-workers who could be employed to work the machinery with competence and confidence. Visiting in that era was to see a highly skilled workforce who had spent their lives in mills, who could operate the vintage machinery almost blindfold, and could relate in an engaging and completely authentic manner what it was actually like to work full time in such places. A visit today is less directly engaging than this: the pool of retired ex-mill workers has largely dried up to be replaced by interpreters who have to be trained to operate the machinery and whose confidence with the machines is inevitably not as smooth as those first operators.[7] This is, of course, a perennial issue in such museums which shall be considered further on in this paper.

Over time, the attraction has been built up. In the 1990s, the Apprentice House was brought back to life recreating an authentic interior and garden which could be used to interpret apprentices' lives during the mill's heyday. Key to this was the survival of the archives relating to the mill and the staff who worked in it who thus provided a strong narrative for interpretation.[8] The addition has proved to be very popular with school parties and families alike. The mill owner's house was acquired in 2001 and now there are plans to rehabilitate one of the workers' terraced houses in Styal village as another interpretive tool for the site.[9]

4 David Sekers 1984 'Quarry Bank Mill, Styal: Growth of a Museum on a Shoestring' *Museums Journal* **84**, pp72-7

5 David Hanson 2014 *Children of The Mill. True Stories from Quarry Bank* London: Headline, pp71-2: 'Of course, there is no way you could possible place a modern child in the real atmosphere of a nineteenth-century mill – it wouldn't even start to be legal.'

6 Early articles; e.g. Sekers 1984

7 Author's personal observation based on site visits in 1980s and up to 2015.

8 Mary Rose 1986 *The Gregs of Quarry Bank Mill* Cambridge; David Sekers 2013 *A Lady of Cotton. Hannah Greg Mistress of Quarry Bank Mill* Stroud: The History Press / National Trust

9 http://www.hlf.org.uk/about-us/media-centre/press-releases/quarry-bank-project-secures-heritage-lottery-fund-support#.VYfD9UaYCrY [accessed 22/6/15]

The current offer thus comprises a blended experience which delivers a range of interpretative approaches to consumers. The most authentic experience is that offered by the apprentice house which offers enough sensory information – from re-enactment of school lessons, viewing leeches in the doctor's surgery and the scent from the bunches of herbs – to build a strong impression with the visitor of what life could have been like there. The mill operates as a partly authentic experience in which vintage machinery operates in a semblance of real conditions whose veracity is added to by costumed interpreters who nonetheless do not try to offer first person interpretation. In places the mill acts more as a conventional display-orientated museum (on the top floor where the history of cotton processing technology and of the Greg family and their workers are interpreted) or as an interactive science centre (the latter especially in the basement).[10] The parkland and gardens offer the usual outdoor recreational experience with the current emphasis very much on a family fun day out with barely a mention of the historical context.

Of particular interest in the context of this study is the display within the mill of the social conditions of the workforce, and a new temporary exhibition telling the story of the television programme *The Mill* which is exhibited with the existing displays. The exhibition is used to introduce the characters within the programme and demonstrate that they are based on real people with genuine associations to Quarry Bank Mill. It is also made clear, however, that liberties have been taken with the lives and chronologies of these people with a view to creating a punchy drama that will appeal to a home audience. The television company too has had to make compromises: it cannot use child actors to create central characters who are shown to be living in the apprentice house. Instead, it uses adults.[11] Equally, the numbers of actors used to film the series cannot hope to replicate the 2000 or more staff who originally worked in the mill: the lockout scene in the second series for example appears to consist of a rioting crowd of fewer than a dozen when in reality there would have been hundreds.

Set dressing and Computer-Generated Imagery (CGI) allows for a greater visual veracity for the conditions in the mill, and this certainly helps with the authenticity. All of this is to be expected: a television company will only be interested in a drama that will pull in an audience substantial enough to validate the cost spent on it, and it will strive to keep costs down to the minimum. Who is going to notice that the machines are anachronistic in the authentically dimly lit interior scenes? Equally, the audience will happily engage with the squalor of the time from the comfort of their home rather than have to directly experience it in a sensory manner when visiting the site. This aspect is, I would argue, a telling comment on the public's interest in the programme: it is almost a kind of *Schadenfreude*.

This hypothesis is given some weight by another television programme. *24 Hours in the Past*, produced by the same company that made *The Mill*, takes six minor celebrities of varying ages and puts them into the position of earning a living in the Victorian era.[12] The 'fun' comes in seeing the humiliation of 21st century celebrities, such as an Olympic gold medallist or former politician, doing the most menial and demeaning of tasks, such as collecting horse droppings and dog muck off the street, washing rags or sieving a dust heap. They have to 'earn' their living by undertaking low-skill trades, such as pot making, working in a tavern or in a workhouse, living and working in the same conditions and eating the same food that those living at the time would have experienced. While the

10 Author's personal observation based on site visit in 2015

11 Similar points are made by Hanson (2014), pp21-2, for example. This aspect is debated by Russell Staiffe 2014 *Re-Imagining Heritage Interpretation. Enchanting the Past Future* Farnham: Ashgate, pp92-3

12 *24 Hours in the Past* (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b05t5l7t) [accessed 3/6/15]

programme could be deemed to be broadly educational since the trades are real, including collecting dog muck off the streets[13] or stone-breaking in the workhouse yard, the misery inflicted on 21st century people ill-equipped to achieve what they are being asked to do, even over this very short timeframe, is uncomfortably clear. This is, presumably, what the viewer is intended to 'enjoy' about the programme.

While the motive for creating such programmes is clear for the television company and for the actors, what do organisations achieve from involvement? For The National Trust, as the owners and operators of Quarry Bank Mill, the programme offers a strong marketing opportunity both to promote the venue (with some success) and to use it as a launch pad for fundraising for future projects on the site (the mill worker's cottage, for instance).[14] Accordingly, all of the venues used in the filming have a dedicated link to their websites on the programme's website.[15]

Broadening out from the case study at Quarry Bank Mill to look at other attractions centred on the industrial era we can see similar approaches to interpreting the 19th century, as well as other developing trends. In the West Midlands, Blists Hill, the main attraction of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust and the Black Country Living Museum offer ostensibly similar presentations of Victorian life. Both were founded in the 1970s, along with competitor attractions at Beamish Living Museum in County Durham and Morwellham Quay near Tavistock, Devon. These were all recreations of Victorian life based around in situ historic monuments of that era: at Blists Hill, a clay mine, brickmaking factory and ironworks, at Black Country Living Museum a lime kiln and coal mines, at Beamish a drift coal mine and manor house and at Morwhellham a copper mine and port.[16]

Blists Hill began life as a museum dedicated to displaying the technology of the industrial age through recreation or rehabilitation of buildings and structures. There were, for example three mines – a steam engine operated clay mine of the 1850s, a drift mine of the 18th century and a horse gin mine of a similar age.[17] Only the first of these was original to the site but the other two monuments were made by ex-miners working strictly to the local traditions of the area recreating monuments that had survived in use in the area into the 1940s. As Telford New Town grew around the Blists Hill site and historic buildings were engulfed, some were rescued and brought to the site to be reconstructed and interpreted by costumed staff who would explain the local trades (printing, timber working, candle-making, tin-smithing, iron casting, etc) and house types (detached house, Turnpike Lodge keeper and squatter cottage) that were common to the area.

Gradually, the attraction became less of an open air museum of industry and industrial life and became instead a 'Victorian Town' attraction which comprised various shops that would be expected to be found in the East Shropshire coalfield. Wandering among the buildings or occupying the shops, are costumed interpreters who, acting in third person, explain to visitors the way of life of the time, demonstrate manufacturing processes and sell goods to them. There are also first person interpreters acting out unscripted vignettes of street life which visitors observe but do not engage

13 Dog mess was used by tanners to process leather for fine gloves, as recorded by Henry Mayhew: *London Labour and the London Poor. Volume II: The London Street Folk* Dover Reprint Edition 1968 (originally 1861-2), pp142-5.

14 *The Quarry Bank Mill Project* http://www.nationaltrust.org.uk/quarry-bank/our-work/ [accessed 22/6/15]

15 http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/2fRWsrbXQFrHpN3FbbS1N1/locations [accessed 22/6/15]

16 Blists Hill: http://www.ironbridge.org.uk/our-attractions/blists-hill-victorian-town/ ; Black Country Living Museum: http://www.bclm.co.uk/ ; Beamish: http://www.beamish.org.uk/ ; Morwellham Quay: http://www.morwellham-quay.co.uk/ [all accessed 22/6/15]

17 An idea of how Blists Hill has developed over time can be gained visually by comparing the photographs in Brian Bracegirdle & Patricia H. Miles, 1974, *The Darbys and the Ironbridge Gorge* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles) and Catherine Beale, 2014, *The Ironbridge Spirit. A History of the Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust* (IGMT). The more recent developments are outlined in Beale 2014, pp104-5.

with (such as a policeman arresting a vagrant or drunkard). The 'town' is kept cleaner than might perhaps be expected, but the use of horses on the site means that the streets have some authenticity. However, while the 'town' has a bank, a Post Office, bakers, haberdashers, and other retail outlets, it has no housing to speak of and certainly none of the terraced housing that is common in the area, while the people 'living' there are remarkably devoid of children who would have been ever-present in reality.

Once formulated in this style, the era interpreted in Blists Hill has been stabilised at 'around 1900', i.e. at the very end of the Victorian Age, but even so in the 40 years since the site has opened, that era has now passed into a historical past that no-one alive today can remember. While most people visiting in the 1970s and even 1980s will have had perhaps nostalgic recollections of the Victorian age, albeit in many cases second hand, one suspects that the current generation who visits finds the Victorians completely out of their understanding. Instead, their nostalgic recollection is for the era of World War Two or, just about, World War One. With the Victorians now removed from the English National Curriculum how long can the Victorian image survive?

Two solutions can be identified to this particular interpretive dilemma. The first has been adopted by Beamish ('Living Museum of the North') which is shifting the interpretive period from the original focus on illustrating the lives of working people in the north east of England between around 1825 and 1913[18] into a more modern time. This allows the re-establishment of the connection between visitors' memories of a specific era of history, evoking a direct sense of nostalgia. Their £16.7m lottery funded project 'Remaking Beamish' seeks to 'create new ways to experience everyday life in the northeast'. Tellingly, they explore the interpretation of 'home, community, rural and industrial life', that will 'enable people to go back to a time in living memory – their grandparents world of the 1950s'. The purpose is 'to share memories of what life was like'.[19] This ambitious programme has a number of other elements. By relocating an upland farm to the museum and rebuilding it, they will create 50 four-year apprenticeships in building conservation skills. Through rebuilding a housing terrace for miners, they will be able to show the lives of working people of that era, and also incidentally provide a therapeutic respite for people suffering from senile dementia or Alzheimer's. People will be allowed to stay on the site overnight to experience the past first hand.

The interpretation is also being extended back into the past by researching an 1820 Georgian Coaching Inn, the intention here being to pick up on an existing theme in the attraction of having past transport systems (such as an operational 1950s trolleybus or a replica early locomotive) to take visitors around the site.[20] 'Remaking Beamish' logically reconnects the attraction's interpretive approach of 'getting close to real life in a specific time and place'[21] to its original purpose of recreating a period within living memory.

Neither Ironbridge nor Black Country Living Museum have taken such a radical approach, although they have extended their offering as far as the Second World War. In both museums, Victorian and Edwardian structures can be easily adapted to war-time conditions, usually through the use of sandbags and masking tape on the windows, all of which can be easily removed to step back to the original interpretation. The break into this 'new past' has not been taken on fully, therefore, but is increasingly used as an interpretive theme on the site. In the case of Ironbridge it has been branded

18 Val Horsler *Living The Past* 2003, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, pp.164-5

19 Beamish: Future Plans (http://www.beamish.org.uk/future-plans/) [accessed 3/6/15]

20 Beamish Development and Engagement Plan 2013–2025. Remaking the Living Museum of the North. Executive Summary (August 2013) http://democracy.durham.gov.uk/documents/s33317/Item%203%20DEP%20Summary%202013-2025%20August%202013.pdf) [accessed 3/6/15]

21 Horsler 2003, p165

as 'Blitz Hill' and is presented as a one-off evening event. Again, the conversion to wartime conditions can be made easily and the result is convincing, but it involves the staff in a great deal of extra work as they have to restore the site to its Victorian appearance for when the site reopens the next day.

The second solution to the dilemma of interpreting a period that is beyond living memory is one that already exists for many sites that interpret much earlier periods of history. Using costumed interpreters to bring period buildings to life is something that has become very common on British sites.[22] It is reasonably cheap to do, people enjoy it – both as spectators but also as participants – and it does no lasting harm to the structures.[23] Thus one can experience costumed interpreters all over the UK including everything from the Georgians ('Stately Homes', military sites), Civil War (castles and some houses), Tudors (stately homes, palaces, castles), medieval (villages, castles), Anglo-Saxon (villages), Roman (rural villas, military sites) and prehistoric (villages, hillforts).

In all of these, of course, there can be no pretence either from the interpreter or from the visitor that they are actually of the era being depicted, and even if the interpretation were to be absolutely perfect for the period depicted, there would be no way that the observer would know or recognise the depiction. Since interpretation is only successful when it engages with the experience of the consumer, how does one make such costumed interpretation work?

The common solution is to act largely within first person interpretation so that the depictions are self-contained vignettes which are coherent in themselves and offer some kind of narrative that visitors can observe in action. This is usually followed by a phase when the enactors come out of character to engage with the visitors 'off-set' and where the costume, technology and social aspects of the period can be discussed, often offering opportunities too for purchasing historic themed goods. In effect the interpretation offered at Blists Hill is already offering this form of engagement with visitors and can presumably continue to do so in the future. So long as visitors still find the resulting experience enjoyable as well as meeting their expectation of authenticity then presumably the interpretation, and the attraction, offered will continue to be successful.

While this conclusion may be reassuring for places like Blists Hill or Beamish, is it true for places like Quarry Bank Mill and other industrial heritage sites? Here there are two issues to contend with: not only is the memory and experience of a particular age being lost, so too are the skills for operating the machinery of that era and the basic familiarity with process that would have been seen in the past. As a nation the UK has moved on from being a society that produces things. Instead, we live in a post-industrial era where service industries are everything and manufacture is increasingly a small-scale business, but often offering high value and high-end products.

Visitors no longer necessarily recognise what it is like to work in a factory, or the conditions that would have been encountered there. This is especially true for those born in the last 30 years and impacts too on the interpreters themselves.[24] Learning how to work industrial era machinery may be relatively simple, but to do so convincingly can be problematic, and sometimes potentially dangerous.

A good example is the wrought iron works at Blists Hill. Reconstructed in the late 1980s, the wrought

22 This is comparable to what Russell Staiffe calls 'the lure of 'complete' worlds' (2014: pp.89-92), although he is here discussing Film and Television recreations. In reality, costumed interpretation can never offer such a visually authentic experience as film can; Horsler 2003, 16-37.

23 On the value of costumed interpretation at heritage sites see Horsler 2003.

24 Horsler 2003, pp10-12

iron works is effectively the last one operating in Europe. It takes scrap wrought iron and processes it into workable iron that can be used in heritage restoration so as to replace like-with-like, this being the business rationale for investing in production as well as offering a unique interpretive experience. To produce wrought iron of acceptable quality, the scrap iron has to be heated in a furnace to a workable heat, judged by eye and experience, before being run over on a dolly to a steam hammer where a billet is shaped. While still red-hot the billet is then taken to the rolling mill where operators on both sides of the mill present the hot iron into the water-cooled rolling mill wheels rotating at high speed. The wheels grip the iron which is drawn out to increasingly thinner sections, getting longer each time it successfully passes through. Eventually a piece of bar iron is produced of uniform thickness which can then be finished off under hammers.

At all stages, but especially in the rolling phase, operators have to be alert to catch the red-hot iron being spat at them by the rollers. They catch the iron with tongs, and then return it to the next set of rollers. This all has to be done at high speed or the iron will cool too much and the rollers will not work their effect on the iron.[25] Watching film of practiced operators, one can see an almost practiced nonchalance to the work: they used to do this day in and day out in the Black Country and when the wrought iron mill first opened it was blessed with ex-workers who could still ply their trade.[26]

Those operating the machinery today have only learnt their skills while at the museum: they are in danger of never getting enough time to operate for long enough to fully develop, and maintain, the required level of skill for such a dangerous process. A part of the problem is the sheer cost of operating the works. Despite this, it is still one of the most spectacular sights at Blists Hill when it is in production and it is likely to remain a key part of the interpretation into the future.

So, where does this leave the interpretation of industrial heritage sites and the visitor experience at those sites? Founded in the 1970s in the very last stages of the industrial age, industrial museums and sites interpreting life in that era are being forced to choose to move on with time or keep to a static version of an invented past. There is an increasing lack of connection with and understanding of industry across society now that the majority of the population has moved away from direct production. This has created a nostalgic demand for experiencing life in the industrial era, so long as what we are presented with is not so veristic as to be too uncomfortable to see. (Do consumers really want pretend Victorian beggars on the streets, or to watch mill workers being maimed by the machinery they are operating? Unlikely, unless the experience is distanced through being filmed and then viewed from the security and safety of one's own home.)

The mental image of the working life of the Victorian era and the early 20th century is being replaced by a tidied up and sanitised version, in much the same way that we present much earlier periods of history, but in its best examples it is one that also tries to preserve the skills and innovative nature of that society. There is merit in this approach, so long as we accept that there are real limits to the authenticity of the experience.

If you really want museums to connect with people's real memories, however, then like Beamish you have to progressively move the interpretation forward with time in parallel with the population. In doing so one has to accept this this period too will in time become an abstraction. But it will also continue to be a very effective and engaging form of interpretation, as was the case with the first

25 The full account of the reconstruction of the wrought ironworks has not been written, but mention of the 'highly skilled and courageous volunteers' operating it when it first opened in the 1990s can be found in Beale 2014: 87.

26 See, for example, *Industrial Britain* (Gaumont 1932), available from the British Film Institute

industrial museums. We need both styles to capture both the historic reality of the Victorian era, and the excitement of engaging with the past within living memory.

Author

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Who is afraid of the wolf? Sensitive issues as fuel for reflection and provocation of thought

Eva Sandberg

Abstract

Natural and cultural heritage can serve as arenas for reflection and discussion where complex and value-oriented aspects of history and questions of environmental challenges and sustainable development are addressed. We need to stand up for values that give sustainability a meaning based not only on local pride but also on global ownership, respect, tolerance and humanism.

Interpreters all across Europe today work in societies with a growing political movement that might use both cultural and natural heritage as ultra-nationalistic symbols to promote intolerant world views. It is more crucial today than ever to be clear about our objectives, to meet stereotypes and prejudice head-on, and to contribute to – and foster – broadminded 'citizens of the world' through our interpretation.

How do interpreters strike a balance between the provision of escapist experiences of nature and history and their responsibility to address difficult, sometimes frightening or even depressing issues that belong to the field of environmental protection and communication? What possibilities come with interpreting sensitive or controversial questions in general – connected to our sites? Can the sensitivity itself be fuel for provoking thinking, to widen perspectives or to involve our participants in discussions on values and action for sustainability?

I want to express my gratitude to Patrick and Bettina, the Supervisory Committee of Interpret Europe and not least MIK for arranging this conference. I value greatly this opportunity to meet and share experiences and ideas. And I know how much effort it takes to plan and orchestrate a conference like this – it wouldn´t happen without lots of personal investment in time and engagement from everyone involved. So thank you!

I have been asked to share some perspectives on interpretation of sensitive issues seen from the field of nature interpretation in Sweden. It has given me some time to consider important perspectives on our profession and I hope to plant some seeds for reflection.

I have a background in ecology and earth sciences; I am an environmentalist with a strong professional and personal engagement in environmental protection, sustainable development and 'learning for sustainable development'. I have worked as a nature tourist guide around Europe, with guide training and as a consultant in the field for many years. The last seven years I have had the privilege of working with the Swedish Centre for Nature Interpretation (SCNI). We are a centre for education, training and development in nature/heritage interpretation in Sweden. The SCNI is part of the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences with an assignment from the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency.

With one foot in applied interpretation and the other in science and development, we are working to connect the practice in Sweden with good theoretical frameworks and development from environmental communication and heritage interpretation.

An important mission for us is to help people working in communication on natural heritage to develop their skills, to reflect on and to challenge the idea of 'transmission' of knowledge. A model you often meet in the field that suggests that feelings and knowledge can be transmitted from a sender to a receiver. And that the information you 'send' can change both attitudes and behaviour in environmental protection practice.

We encourage interpreters to reflect on the complex meaning-making that happens in the encounter between participants, interpreters and the phenomena in focus – to demonstrate how interpretation – when understood as meaning-making – takes place always and everywhere. It helps interpreters to understand better our opportunities for meeting our visitors using themes and points we want to make – in a social construction of meaning.

Questions we discuss are: what differences can the stories we tell as interpreters make? What qualities in the design of our communication are needed to make that difference? What is our responsibility for our stories and the discussions we choose or avoid to invite?

The topic for this conference, 'Sensitive issues – sensitive interpretation,' connects to several important aspects of quality in interpretation. And to questions every interpreter has to ask her – or himself. Are controversial issues something you want to avoid or address? Is controversy something you just need to handle to avoid embarrassment, misunderstandings or conflict? Or do you welcome and use controversy to improve your interpretation in contact with your participants?

In some interpretation in Sweden we have noticed a tendency to address controversial topics such as wolves with a strong focus on biology and factual information. What does the wolf eat? How does it hunt? Where and how does it breed? How do wolves interact? Always interesting and a great story is told where we have been offered the chance to understand the wolf better – taking its perspective. But it is a story of wolves without any humans around. As if conflicts don´t exist.

There might be a small poster on the wall in the visitor centre next to the display – saying that management of wolves and the number of wolves welcome in Sweden are results of democratic decisions, made in our parliament on scientific grounds. The stories of the people who have had their sheep attacked – with lots of animals injured or killed, or the long story of fear and hatred of the wolf as archetype for 'the dangerous wild', are seldom addressed.

Statements like the one expressed this spring by a Swedish professor in zoo ecology (Ulfstrand 2015) could be a thought-provoking invitation for discussion but is rarely the kind of opening questions you meet in visitor´s centres:

> *"..There is no 'natural' state in nature.*
> *The wolf is a political choice.*
> *The wolf is a cultural artifact…"*

We have already concluded – listening to Michael Glen yesterday – that sensitive issues have to be handled with care. Michael used the metaphor 'dancing on eggs' as an approach to make sure that no one is offended or provoked in a way that will be destructive for the meaning making process that we hope to achieve. When our topics or themes are sensitive in some respect we have to be very careful with our stories, the point we want to make, and be mindful of our participants and how THEY interpret what we communicate. The more interest we pay to our audiences, who they are, their pre-understanding and the meanings they make when they meet us and the significant values in a phenomenon we are focusing on, the better our possibilities will be to make any kinds of differences.

Freeman Tilden (Tilden, 1957) wrote in one of his most quoted principles that the chief aim of interpretation is provocation – not instruction. Sam Ham (Ham, 2013) agrees that the only true difference any of us is capable of making with interpretation comes from the thoughts we manage to provoke (stimulate, challenge or inspire) our participants to think—thoughts that if we are skillful can lead to the outcome of provocation on the theme we have chosen. Tilden and Ham also stress the importance of relevance. The more the participant appreciates the topic as relevant to her or him, the more likely it is that the he or she pays attention at all. For example, if a participant is afraid of wolves, a display without anything on fear will be less relevant to him or her.

Now let's return to the questions I posed at the beginning of this presentation. Are controversial issues something you want to avoid generally? Or something you just need to handle to avoid embarrassment, misunderstandings or conflict? Or do you welcome and use controversy to improve your products in contact with you participants as fuel for provocation?

When I prepared for this lecture I searched some literature, publications and the internet for perspectives on interpretation and controversial issues.

If you visit the US National Park Service Interpretive Development website (http://www.nps.gov/idp/interp/340/critiss-contr.htm) you will see in their instructions to interpreters that controversy is embraced an opportunity:

> *"When controversy is present, use it to provide opportunities for audiences to make their own intellectual and emotional connections to the meanings of the resource. – Interpreting Multiple Points of View"*

The National Park Service makes clear that controversy means that the topic is relevant, that people care about the resource and that if people care **about,** there is great potential for them also to care **for** the resource. But you also understand that it takes skills (and training) for an interpreter to use the opportunity:

> "Effective interpretation of controversy requires mastery of the techniques and applications in section III. of Module 340 component "Appropriate Technique: Connecting Multiple Resource Meanings to Multiple Audience Interests and Perspectives" and "Module Draft— Interpreting Multiple Points of View ".

In 2014, an entire issue of *Legacy* (the National Association of Interpretation´s membership magazine) was dedicated to a discussion on controversy. Strategies on how to **handle** controversy were the focus of several articles. How do interpreters balance different points of views—views and values that sometimes are opposed to their own and/or those of the organizations they work for? One of the authors, AJ Chlebnik, works with interpretation in a visitor centre in West Yellowstone, an area where wolves have been reintroduced. Her article called attention to a sign displayed prominently in the front window of a local bar next to a painting of a wolf with blood running from its teeth:

> *"You can take your tree hugging, granola eating, politically correct, earth worshiping, Subaru driving, pony tail, sandals in the winter, wolf loving butt somewhere else!"*

Using the example of the sign, Chlebnik presented a list of strategies for interpreting controversy that she has found useful in her everyday work:

- Acknowledge the emotion. Have empathy.
- Don´t be confrontational. Fighting rarely solves anything.
- Know your facts. Be organized and clear.
- Invite provocation.
- Be ready to back out!

I also found traces of vivid discussions on the ethics of interpretation and controversy. Often from and connected to museum conferences. With discussions focused on how the idea of the museum or the visitor centre in a national park as a trustworthy place open for all members of society could be protected: the museum as a reliable and non-political space. In that tradition it is easy to choose stories on the phenomenon that teaches traditional facts, and are entertaining, but that doesn´t touch upon any controversy. The downside is that fear of controversy can make interpretation unaffected and disengaging.

In 1989, David Uzzell introduced the concept of value based 'hot interpretation' in contrast to 'non-political', neutral practice. He had been in Berlin in a visitor centre next to the remains of the Berlin wall and was fascinated by the compassion of the interpreters. In his presentation he described how the staff were:

> "…fired to tell the story of the Wall through a sense of outrage and a desire to publicize the contravention of human rights. Should not all – but more – interpretation arise out of this same sense of outrage? This would be hot interpretation … Stories and issues of destruction of our towns, damage to countryside, forests and wilderness, killing of wildlife, poisoning of our rivers … are no less worthy of this type of treatment"

He continues:

> "If interpretation is to be a source of social good then it must recognize the continuity of history and alert us to the future through the past. Interpretation should be interesting, engaging, enjoyable, informative, and entertaining. But now and again it has to be shocking, moving and provide a cathartic experience. Tilden's fourth principle of interpretation was that 'the chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation' He might equally have written that there is a need for 'hot interpretation'".

Does hot interpretation make us less trustworthy? Is interpretation better or worse than hidden messages and missions? Uzzell himself reflects on hot interpretation in a 2005 article in AHI's journal and says that originally, the case for hot interpretation was based on the premise that interpretation should not simply be a cognitive experience:

> "When the term 'hot interpretation' first passed into interpreters' talk, it came across as a quite radical idea. Just under two decades later it seems somewhat obvious."

In environmental protection in Sweden there is still a need to discuss what interpretation can achieve and the relation between purely didactic ambitions and provoking thought. The professional culture of many natural scientists is to focus on objectively verifiable facts. But there is a range of fields where controversy makes interpretation of sensitive issues necessary or useful—and where the discussion must start from the facts but soon turn to value-questions.

Local management of protected areas needs legitimacy from the public. Local citizens get upset when management cuts back trees in protected areas where they walk their dogs. The aim is to protect a rare sun-loving bug but no one provides any explanation. When an invasive species like the rose Rugosa (Rosa rugosa) is removed from the sand dunes along the beaches in the south, people react. The summer residents have learnt for generations that the rose is there to protect the dunes. Now the excavators visit the beach with the aim of restoring environments for species dependent on drifting dunes. No one explains what is going on or asks the local community what they think. People have grown Lupine (an invasive species for Sweden from North West America) in their gardens for years and think that it is beautiful. Suddenly the County Administration cuts it all down from the verges and embankments along the road. The reason is that it threatens native plants in the refuges they have found in a landscape where meadows are disappearing. The lupines are effective colonizers that take their place.

Environmental protection management decisions are the results of trends, new knowledge and values – and there is a need to share that with people. You can never be sure that people will agree and like what the management does. But with interpretation, there can at least be some understanding.

Global environment questions are sensitive issues that people working with nature and environmental interpretation generally consider central. There is an urgent need to tell the stories of the limits of resilience of the ecosystems, of climate change and the loss of biodiversity – but also stories of hope and solutions connected to those – questions that are sensitive in a more existential and political way. What climate change and loss of biological diversity means can be connected to every natural heritage site today and is of relevance to everyone. The need for a global opinion that supports political decisions and measures that need to be taken for our common future – without putting human rights at stake – is a very sensitive issue. It contains lots of different emotional reactions like guilt, denial, questioning, compassion, hope and questions of values. Interpreters can facilitate the discussion about values and explain connections and wider contexts.

Landscape planning and public participation form another field relevant for interpretation on controversial issues. Housing construction in urban green areas, new mining industry and wind-power in rural areas, processes of protecting areas and new national parks are ‘hot’ questions that often make local communities react. Interpretation can play a role in the dialogue process between participation, considerations and democratic decisions. European conventions on landscape planning and cultural heritage stress the importance of moving from the expert´s kingdom to a more participatory situation. According to the conventions, everyone has the right to express what the values of a landscape, a place or a phenomenon are for them personally. The focus on the participant and her or his perspective is consistent with ideas on learning for sustainable development where qualities like participations and ownership are central. All voices in heritage communities count – not only the expert’s. The road to democratizing landscapes is probably long but interpreters can provide arenas for, and facilitate the communication on questions like: What formed this place? What does it mean today? What will happen here in the future? What do the experts think and what do you think?

The discussion of the multiple roles interpreters can play is lively in the community of interpreters 2015 – is facilitated dialogue a ‘new paradigm’ for interpretation or a tool that is useful in some contexts? Neil Silberman, the president of ICOMOS advisory committee talks about the need for ‘multilogues’ (Silberman 2015) – not just dialogues, but heritage community processes to assure that

heritage and the stories of heritage really involve and belong to the communities. Silberman means that the meanings of heritage are in constant movement. If so, interpreters with a capacity to help people to discover not only one truth of the significant values of a place but several perspectives, will be very important for the future.

Interpretation can provide:

> *"…places of dialogue, the new town squares. We can be collaborators, conveyers, facilitators, places where community is constructed and the future incubated" (Archibald in Knudson, Cable and Beck 2003)*

Finally some words on meaning-making again. One reason to work with controversial issues is that it increases the likelihood that you will understand what your audience, your participants, think. With a possible controversy around, first you have to make preparations with that in mind. Secondly, some kind of dialogue is needed to understand the participants reactions and reflections. If you are satisfied with a silent audience you never know what happens in the minds of the participants.

What if **you,** for instance, think that your participants agree on the importance of environmental protection because what you said was meant to communicate that? And yet the meaning they make is that environmental protection is a waste of tax payers' money. If only one of your visitors expressed that, you wouldn´t care. But would you care if every second visitor went home with that opinion?

What if your guided tour on invasive species is translated to something that encourages racist and anti-immigration views? Your audiences hear you say that what is 'foreign' has no place in a natural environment and is a threat to the 'natives'.

What if people visiting your Viking Village go home with an idea that our ancestors were stronger and smarter than other people – and that the Swedes still are – thanks to their superior genetic constituency?

Dialogue is one way to get clues of what people are thinking and to give you a chance to react to that.

But if there is limited possibility for dialogue – as when your audience is too big, or with panels and displays in visitor centres. There are other techniques to understand what meaning-making is happening. Sam Ham (Ham 2013) proposes a method used in psychology called 'thought listing' as a tool. We have worked successfully with that in Sweden and Naturums - visitor centres connected to protected areas. You simply ask people from your audience what they 'think about' when they leave. And you present it as a very open question. No answer is wrong. You record and list the answers. And then you compare them to your 'zone of tolerance'. That means that you categorize answers you like within the zone and answers you don´t like outside it. Depending on the questions your interpretation address or the context and aim with your interpretive product, the zone might be unrestricted, wide or narrow. And it gives you clues to improve your interpretation and further develop it in the direction you wish.

The zone of tolerance is only a tool and what you fill it with is your own decision. You have to decide what stories and what 'morals of the stories' are important for you to focus on as an interpreter. You also have a responsibility to understand what happens with your stories and what difference they make in the minds - and actions - of the participants. And maybe to develop your stories from the perspectives you get access to through your participants.

You choose your stories and your role as interpreter.

No matter how much we enter a new approach to interpretation where the interpreter takes on the role as facilitating process-leader, the organizer of arenas and forums for discussion and debate, we have to be aware of, and clear in our own minds, where we want to go and what we want to achieve.

Susan Cross discussed this in an article she wrote on the centenary of World War I for the IE Conference in Croatia and the interpretation of that in UK which she sometimes found simplified and with a narrow focus:

“I hope the stories that we choose to tell and remember are inclusive and international ones. Interpreters will be involved in passing the story on and making it relevant for this and future generations. We have an important part to play in finding the connections. What we do and where we look, the stories we highlight will strengthen some connections. The stories we do not tell will be weakened. This is a serious responsibility. ”

I also want to remind you of Martin Luther King´s famous words. To encourage everyone who hesitates to address the sensitive and controversial in natural and cultural heritage interpretation:

“*History will have to record that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition was not the vitriolic words and violent action of the bad people but the appalling silence and indifference of the good people*.”

Interpretation can contribute to public education and to nice and pleasant experiences. But it can also offer an arena for democratic dialogues on our past, present and future.

Don´t be afraid of ‘wolves’ of any kind – talk about them and all the perspectives connected to them wherever they occur. Bring up the controversial issues; interpret them and the different sides of a conflict or sensitivity related to your resource. Focus and dialogue on things we care about in different ways is sometimes a tricky thing but much better than silence.

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Supersensitive! Interpreting the troubled past and promising future of Waitawa

Michelle Edge

Interpreting a place that has a history of tribal occupation, vulnerable archaeological sites, aggrieved ex-owners as well as industrial contamination, conflicting functions and competing visitors, isn't for the faint hearted. Waitawa, New Zealand the focus of my presentation, has a bunch of touchy topics associated with it…it is a supersensitive site!

Situated on the coast, about 50km south east of the city, Waitawa is Auckland's newest regional park. With three small peninsulas, two beautiful beaches, wetlands and regenerating forest it has the makings of a park paradise, but it also has a fractious past, and Auckland Council, as the park manager, has some on-going issues to overcome.

Sensitive stories

For centuries Waitawa was home to Maori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) who camped on the beaches, fished in the bays, lived in the hinterlands and retreated in times of trouble to the high headlands; to their defended villages (called pa tuwatawata, palisaded fortress). Tribal differences flared occasionally but after a particular incident, redress was received, in the form of a parcel of land. As a consequence of this historic event there is an invisible tribal boundary through the middle of the park. The history between the tribal groups of Ngati Paoa and Ngai Tai is consolidated today and there is mutual respect for each other's versions of stories and a willingness to collaborate for the betterment of 'their land'.

Maori sold the land in the 1888 and the new owners cleared the remaining forest to create farmland. Some coastal land was subdivided and a holiday home community flourished here in the early 1950s. But this idyll was short lived. A company established nearby were looking to expand and sought a place to manufacture explosives. The Waitawa property had all-tides access for ships to load and unload, and plenty of space - it was deemed ideal.

A David and Goliath fight ensued with New Zealand government ministers effectively forcing three families to sell their holiday homes and land. For the families involved, the bitterness lingers, despite the compensation received.

Profound grievances can be debilitating and so opportunities were provided during the interpretation process to air them. We encouraged those with associations with the land come to the site and to tell their stories in their own words via direct quotes on signs, audio-clips and short films which can be watched via QR codes on-site or via You Tube, off-site.

An eight track, outdoor audio unit placed near the most popular beach has a collection of unedited memories and humorous personal accounts.

Sensitive sites

Waitawa has a human-sculpted headland called Pawhetau, deemed by one archaeologist "as the finest pa site in the region", because it is one of the best preserved. Visitors can scan a QR code near the entry point and have pa features described and explained to them by that passionate archaeologist.

Because pa sites are tapu (spiritual, sacred places with prohibitions associated with them) we kept interpretation structures off the pa itself and instead installed a sign near the entry point. The tribal group affiliated with Pawhetau Pa, (Ngati Paoa) are worried about the potential impact of too many visitors. They will monitor the condition of the pa as the park matures and visitor numbers increase.

Some of Waitawa's other sensitive sites (and stories) relate to the previous owner Orica Mining Services, who manufactured explosives for mine, quarry and dam projects.

Still a cause for dismay and despair is the damage caused to another significant pa site – Koherurahi. ICI (later to become Orica) cut a road right through the middle of the pa site – a short cut to the new wharf they were building. Though such devastation to a significant site would be untenable now, the damage is done and cannot be remedied.

Recent testing showed there was some minor contamination around the Orica factory site which was mitigated before the pubic opening. The concern that people wouldn't come to a park associated with dangerous chemicals has been unfounded. Visitor numbers are exceeding the capacity of the facilities.

A concrete cell used for testing detonators was retained and it became a focus for interpreting the 'explosive era'. Scanning a QR code at this site gives you another expert and virtual guide – an Orica worker explains how and why the test cell was used.

Sensitive to site

Interpretation techniques employed at Waitawa broke the 'sign on a stick' model somewhat. In a deliberate nod to sustainability and to blend in with the environs we re-purposed poles from the wharf restoration job – using them for interpretation holders, seats, car-park barriers and bollards down in the foreshore area. A redundant farm-gate was tipped up and over to hold another panel which alludes to the farming history of the park. The interpretation structures are from - and of - the site.

Sensitive planning

During the development phase of the park, between 2004-14 new issues arose. The park, in alignment with all other Auckland regional parks needed to accommodate three functions – conservation, recreation and farming.

The sensitivities around balancing land use was partially resolved by creating zones. The northern part of the park is dedicated to active recreation users – to mountain-bikers, horse-riders and frisbee-golfers, while the southern and coastal parts (which have many sensitive historic sites) are dedicated to conservation and more passive pursuits such as hiking, picnicking, and swimming. These land use clashes are conveyed frankly in a sign, in the hope that visitors will understand the rationale for the design of the park and also respect other users.

Sensitive to visitors

In an effort to be sensitive and responsive to our visitors we have designed some interpretation for specific recreational groups. Thus the 'fisher-folk' can read fishing stories while waiting for the fish to bite, the mountain bikers have "see at a glance signs" and the kayakers have a special shelter designed for their needs, with stories about waka (canoe) paddlers of the past.

Sensitive views

Sometimes sensitivities associated with this project led to innovative solutions. To avoid obstructing a stunning and 'sensitive' view of the wharf and beyond, with a sign, we superimposed a 1950s plan onto the surface of the wharf. This massive 'stencil' provides a WOW factor whilst standing on the wharf, yet is invisible from a distance.

Letting go and carrying on

Though frustrating and challenging at times the interpretation process for Waitawa was cathartic for many of the key players. At the park opening people regained access to their beloved place and exchanged experiences of Waitawa with others for the first time. Not all the conflicts and issues associated with this site are resolved but many of them are acknowledged and addressed in the interpretation created.

Meanwhile the park-making continues. An interpretive panel lists the many tasks accomplished already at Waitawa and confronts the work still to be done. As Stan Hill the tireless Waitawa park ranger says "To be part of it and be here every day and see it happen, is fantastic. But my thoughts have always been to the next 50 years. It's what my grandkids are going to see…that's what we are trying to achieve here."

NB: Because the conference paper was highly visual a full account of the presentation is not possible in proceedings form. However short films about Waitawa's history and development which were produced as part of this project can be viewed via you tube – see the link below.

https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLNiuqKCzobSzlEczPMi1Dp2LCN-AuTOnF

Author

Michelle Edge began her interpreting career as a student, serving as a ranger at Mansion House, the stately home and 'island paradise' owned by Sir George Grey. After a spell working as a collections manager at the Dowse Art Museum, and an adventuresome year travelling, Michelle returned to an interpretation positon with the Department of Conservation where she worked on many interpretation projects.

Challenges and potential of pre-Islamic heritage interpretation: the case of the Dilmun burial mounds of Bahrain

Elena Kragulj

Abstract

Pre-Islamic heritage in Bahrain is generally regarded as an important cultural asset, however, it is not always perceived as such by the local communities. When land is scarce, providing new housing for the growing population is often the cause of dispute. The preservation of archaeological sites which occupy a significant proportion of land, as is the case with the ancient Dilmun burial mound fields, is not always met with approval or seen as a priority by the local communities. The question which emerges is whether site interpretation could be used as a mediation tool in order to protect the sites by conveying a more vivid image of the Dilmun society and by demonstrating that the pre-Islamic people form part of the island's identity. The proposed interpretation strategy involves the local communities as stakeholders and focuses on narrating of the Dilmunites story by using different interpretation methods, such as facial reconstruction of ancient inhabitants of the island.

Figure 1: Hamad Town 3 Burial Mound Field. Photo by Elena Kragulj 2014

Setting the scene

The Kingdom of Bahrain is a small island state in the Arabian/Persian Gulf. To the west is Saudi Arabia and to the south Qatar. It is an archipelago of over thirty islands covering an area of 765.3 km^2 (CIO 2012). The largest island mass, where the burial mounds are located, is only 55 km long and 18 km wide (ibid.). Islam is the state religion and Islamic Sharia law governs most aspects of daily and governmental life. Bahrain is a multicultural state where more than half of the 1.3 million inhabitants are expatriates, as well as being one of the most densely populated countries in the world with 1,753 inhabitants per km^2 (World Bank 2014).

The Dilmun burial mound fields include 8 burial mound fields and 17 individual royal mounds that will, in the future, be nominated for inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List. The density of the mounds, as well as the architecture of the tumuli, constitute the unique features of the site. As

part of the efforts to protect the mounds from destruction a management plan was created, although it is yet to be implemented. The plan includes an interpretation strategy as well as a community involvement strategy which both aim to increase the knowledge and appreciation of the site, raise awareness and promote the preservation of the mounds. This paper focusses on the process of determining the strategic interpretive approach for the local community.

Dilmun Burial Mounds

Four thousand years ago, during the Early Dilmun period (2200 to 1750 BCE), the island, today known as Bahrain, was an important trading centre, controlling the trading routes between Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley and the Land of Magan, today Oman (Larsen 1983). Due to numerous fresh water springs it was known as the island of a million palm trees and in the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, Dilmun was described as the Garden of Eden (André-Salvini 2000). The wealth which came with trade allowed the inhabitants to build rather elaborate burial monuments which were originally constructed as small towers. With time, due to erosion, these have been transformed into mounds (Højlund 2007). These mounds dot the landscape of Bahrain, as silent witnesses of a different era.

Figure 2 Chieftain mound at Janabiyah Burial Mound Field. Photos by Elena Kragylj 2014

Figure 3: Royal mound in A'ali village.

Today, the mounds can be found clustered in several burial fields as well as a distinct group of individual mounds which are much larger and considered to be the tombs of the royal elite. The sheer number and density of the burial mounds have been attracting the attention of archaeologists for more than a century (Rice 1983). However, they were not the first to take interest in the mounds, during antiquity grave robbers targeted them. Today, most of the excavated artefacts are kept in the National Museum, some of which can be found on display.

Challenges facing the protection of the mounds

Bahrain has a growing economy and population. Land development pressure has already caused the destruction of tens of thousands of burial mounds in Bahrain. It is estimated that some 75,000 once existed (Laursen 2008), today however, around 15,000 burial mounds from the Dilmun era remain (Münzner 2014). These mounds survived for thousands of years primarily because they were built on barren land, as the Dilmunites constructed tombs far away from their settlements and the scarce fertile land (Lombard 2000). However, the growth of population in the last 30 years has been remarkable, and the number of inhabitants increased from ca. 360,000 in 1980 to more than 1.3 million in 2014 (CIO 2015). The necessity for housing and additional infrastructure has therefore been a strong incentive for the removal of ancient burial structures.

Figure 4: Encroaching development in A'ali village. Photos by Elena Kragulj 2014

Figure 5: Pre-Islamic heritage.

The ancient cemeteries pre-date Islam and are therefore not under the supervision and protection of the *Waqf* religious endowment. Today, the remaining mounds are protected by a set of heritage laws stipulated by the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities and they are recognised as national monuments. In an effort to further protect the burial mound fields, barbed wire and fences were put up, which appear hostile and prevent any visitors from accessing the site. In addition, it has to be said that the archaeological sites pose a safety hazard as some of the excavated holes have yet to be properly secured.

Local community and the mounds

During preparations for the management plan, a series of interviews were conducted in the village of A'ali in 2013, in order to establish the local community's general opinion about the mounds. Interestingly, it was determined that the average knowledge of adult Bahrainis about the mounds is limited. Often, the Dilmunites were described as people of exceptional height or even giants. This is mainly due to the fact that the village is built around the very large royal mounds, and people concluded that the size of the mounds indicated the size of the people. Despite being taught at school about the Dilmun period and living in the vicinity of the mounds, the inhabitants know very little about the occupants of the ancient graves as well as the unique architectural structures of the different mounds. Interestingly, the increasing availability of information through social media is in some cases false or misleading.

Another conclusion drawn from the interviews was that the mounds were generally considered as part of the island's heritage. In the village of A'ali, the *jebel* as the locals call the mounds, determine the layout of the village. Modern fabric surrounds each of the mounds and in the past they were often used as a public meeting point for the local men. Despite this, people still felt that providing adequate living space and conditions for their family is more important than preserving the mounds.

As for the more recent villages surrounding the other burial mound fields, a connection with the mounds has not yet been created and the villagers there have little interest in their content. The pre-Islamic mounds are often seen as piles of stone and sand which are not pleasant to the eye and do not attract visitors. The local communities therefore feel no connection to the mounds and would support destroying them in order to develop housing for their families.

Existing interpretation and issues it is facing

Currently, there is limited on-site interpretation of the mounds at one of the fields as well as four of the royal mounds. In addition, information can be found at the Hall of Graves exhibition in the

National Museum. The exhibition showcases archaeological burial remains from different periods of the island's history, including Dilmun. Judging by the visitor feedback, the exhibition which is centred around a reconstructed mound is considered interesting and informative. However, it was observed that a clear distinction between different time periods could not be made by visitors as the artefacts were all placed in the same hall and the separation of the different time periods was not obvious.

Figure 6: Pilot project at Janabiyah Burial Mound Field. Photo by Elena Kragulj 2014

Figure 7: Hall of Graves at the Bahrain National Museum. Image source: Celia Peterson Getty Images

However, it was observed that a clear distinction between different time periods could not be made by visitors as the artefacts were all placed in the same hall and the separation was not obvious.

On the 25th anniversary of the National Museum, in 2013, a decision was made to remodel all of the exhibition halls, including the Hall of Graves. With the impending nomination of the burial mounds, more focus was to be put on the Dilmun period, creating a hall dedicated only to the life and death of the people of Dilmun. Once the visit to the museum is complete visitors are expected to continue their visit to the burial sites. In 2016 a pilot project was launched by the Bahrain Authority for Culture and Antiquities, placing information panels on-site and replacing barbed wire with more appropriate fences. It is foreseen that in the future the same style of fencing will be used for all of the sites. In addition, different interpretation centres are planned to be built for each of the sites.

Interpretation and community involvement strategies

In the effort to interest and include the local community in the presentation and protection of the mounds, it was decided that a community involvement strategy would be developed in addition to an interpretation strategy which consists of actions and requirements to be taken in order for the burial mounds to be understood and appreciated. It is understood that only with the support of the people living in the immediate vicinity will the mounds be preserved for future generations.

A decision was made to establish a set of community involvement actions which would be taken over a period of five years. One of the initial actions includes inviting the local community for a guided visit of the mounds rather than expecting them to go to the National Museum.

The aim of the guided walk is to interpret the archaeological findings for the people and to help them understand the people of Dilmun, as well as the inner layers of the structures which seem so familiar to them. The activities will include community involvement workshops, informal gatherings such as tea with interpreters and archaeologists, as well as activities for children. The activities will first commence in the village of A'ali, followed by all other villages concerned.

In the long term, once the visitor facilities are built, the interpretation will focus on the story of the people of Dilmun and the stories of the people living on the island today. One of the methods proposed is cooperating with Hearst University and drawing on their Dilmun Bioarchaeology Project (Boutin et al. 2012). It involves a facial reconstruction programme linked to several of the skeletons they had in their collection. They put together a team of scientists who worked on the different lines of evidence including human skeletal remains, burial objects, and cultural history in order to reconstruct personal biographies and population histories. Their research could be invaluable for the interpretation of the mounds.

Facial reconstruction, or rather facial approximation, of ancient people can never be proven completely accurate and could therefore potentially mislead interested audiences (Stephan 2005). No presentation could in fact accurately depict or represent the people who lived in a different society thousands of years ago. Therefore, it is important that in the process of interpretation it is made clear that the face is an approximation of what the person may have looked like.

Figure 8: Bio facial reconstruction project. Image source: Boutin et al. 2012

In an attempt to tell the story of the people today, video interviews have been conducted, providing an insight into the life of the contemporary people who live in the immediate surroundings of the mounds. They were asked to share their experiences and stories about the mounds and the gathered material will be exhibited in the Hall of Graves once it is remodelled and open to the public.

Conclusion

Bahraini people are proud of their heritage and their island. In the process of trying to understand the connection between the local community and the pre-Islamic burial mounds it was concluded that the people felt some attachment to the mounds which dominate their village, but at the same time knew very little about them.

The management plan for the site aims at bringing the pre-Islamic heritage closer to the people in order to show them that the Dilmun people lived, ate, worked, and grew crops in a way quite similar to the people living on the island today. By seeing the faces and hearing the stories of the people which are based on archaeological evidence, the local community can better empathise with the Dilmunites and embrace the idea of preserving the mounds as part of their own heritage.

Showing the people the potential of heritage preservation through interpretation can have a positive effect and raise-awareness of the need for heritage protection, be it the ancient heritage of the Dilmun or other extant heritage that is slowly being forgotten.

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Secret Museums and Shunga: Sex and Sensitivities

Stuart Frost

Abstract:

Histories of sex and sexuality have often been omitted from the interpretive frameworks of museum and heritage sites. Many museums confined sexually graphic material to basement stores, omitting the 'unpalatable' aspects of cultures from public display. The British Museum's recent exhibition, *Shunga: sex and pleasure in Japanese art* reflects significant attitudinal changes, both institutionally and in society at large.

Sexually explicit paintings, prints, and illustrated books known as *shunga* ('spring pictures') were produced in Japan in considerable quantities between 1600-1900. The British Museum's recent exhibition was one outcome of a five year collaborative research project aimed at furthering understanding of *shunga*. The sexually explicit nature of the material posed some unique challenges. In order to explore these issues this paper draws on evaluation undertaken both to inform the development of the exhibition and to measure its impact.

Introduction

The British Museum, founded in 1753 was a product of the Enlightenment. Its collection has grown exponentially since then to around eight million works that tell the story of human culture from its origins to the present day. For much of the institution's long history, like most museums, galleries and public institutions, it has had a difficult relationship with sex and sexuality and has been reticent to exhibit it.

The Museum's special exhibition programme has been an important means of addressing this lacuna in recent years, particularly from around 2000 onwards. This paper focuses on the *Shunga: sex and pleasure in Japanese art* exhibition that ran at the Museum for three months between 3 October 2013 and 5 January 2014 (Clark et al 2013, Gerstle & Clark 2013). The exhibition was one of the main outcomes of a large international research project and the first substantial show in the UK dedicated to what is arguably a unique cultural phenomenon.

Between 1600 and 1900, sexually explicit paintings, prints, and illustrated books known as *shunga* ("spring pictures") were produced in Japan in substantial quantities (Buckland 2010, Screech 2009, Clark et al 2013). *Shunga* portrays sex of all kinds, including same-sex lovemaking. It depicts sex in varied contexts, often in domestic settings with husbands and wives, in a manner that usually emphasises mutuality of pleasure. Humour is also an important part of the genre. *Shunga* was produced by many of Japan's most celebrated artists and it often displays high aesthetic qualities. Woodblock printing allowed *shunga* works to be produced on a mass scale at a cost that was affordable for many.

Shunga fulfilled multiple functions and was used by men and women of all classes and used for a variety of purposes including entertainment, sex education, seduction, arousal and masturbation, and also more surprisingly, allegedly as fire prevention. *Shunga* was tolerated by the authorities and only rarely actively suppressed in Japan. Although *shunga* was once widespread, attitudes changed following contact with America and Europe during the second half of the 19thcentury, and by the 20th century *shunga* had become taboo in Japan.

Figure 1: Poem of the Pillow, 1788, by Kitagawa Utamaro © The Trustees of the British Museum. This image of two lovers is one of a series of twelve woodblock prints. The scene suggests mutual pleasure and is set in the private room of a teahouse.

Shunga has only comparatively recently been subjected to rigorous academic scrutiny, and it only began to be included in exhibitions in Europe and America from the 1960s onwards. Even in recent years, *shunga* has been omitted from exhibitions where its inclusion would have been entirely appropriate. The recent Hokusai retrospective at the Grand Palais, Paris in 2014, for example, omitted all of the artist's *shunga*, a fact that was commented upon in the Art Newspaper (Dalon & Seiji 2014).

Figure 2. Snowball, late 1760s, by Suzuki Haranobu © The Trustees of the British Museum. A woman, perhaps the man's wife, throws a snowball to express her indignation and cool the lovers' ardour.

Although *shunga's* sexual explicitness challenged mainstream European and American sensibilities it was collected by private individuals from the 1860s onwards (Quignard 2007, Bru 2013).

Some private collections were subsequently donated to, and accepted by, public museums and libraries at a time when it would have been impossible to display the work publically (Quignard 2007, Frost 2015). The private and institutional collecting of *shunga* is evidence that it was perceived to have value and cultural significance, even if it could not be openly exhibited.

The first *shunga* was acquired by the British Museum in 1865 as part of a large collection donated by Dr. George Witt (1804-1869). Witt's collection consisted of hundreds of objects, mostly related to

phallic worship, and nine leather-bound albums. Three of the latter focussed on Japan, and two of those contained around 120 examples of *shunga*. There was no question of Witt's collection going on display and its acquisition led to the formalisation of a restricted collection that came to be known as the Museum Secretum (or secret museum). A less formal restricted collection or secret museum for sexually graphic material is known to have existed at the Museum from at least the 1830s (Gaimster 2000, 2001). The acquisition of Witt's collection, and the sheer number of individual objects meant that a more systematic approach to the growing collection was needed.

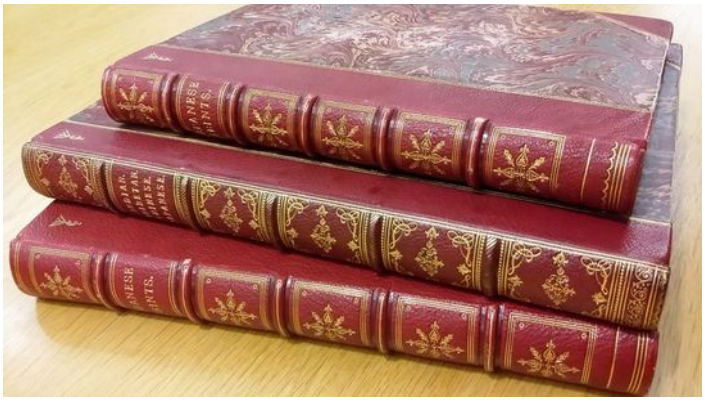

Figure 3a: Three albums of Japanese material belonging to George Witt, early 1860s. These volumes were donated to the Museum in 1865. Figure 3b.The image below shows an example of the type of prints pasted into two of the volumes.

The existence of the collection was not shared widely and, even for those who were aware of it, access was carefully restricted. Prospective visitors were required to submit a written application outlining their credentials and motives. If these were felt to be appropriate, admission was granted. The creation of a separate 'secret' collection for sexually explicit or 'obscene' works is not unique to the British Museum. The National Archaeological Museum Naples had a collection that predates the British Museum's (de Caro 2000). Libraries also created separate classifications or private cases, the Bibliothèque nationale's restricted collection acquired the name '*l'enfer*' (*hell*) (Cross 1991, de Caro 2000, Quignard 2007). Objects and books were confined to secret museums and private cases because they were considered to be obscene or pornographic, regardless of how the works were understood in their own culture or time.

This hindered serious study, and its omission from public displays distorted the way cultures were interpreted and perceived. During the 1950s attitudes towards sex and sexuality in England continued to liberalise and by 1953 the Museum Secretum ceased to operate actively. Objects were gradually dispersed to the relevant curatorial departments, and some began to be displayed. It was only from the 1970s onwards, however, that *shunga* began to be exhibited, initially the milder works, with more explicit examples being displayed at the British Museum in small quantities from the late 1990s (V&A 1973, Asano & Clark 1995). The remnants of the Museum Secretum, consisting of objects of less academic interest or aesthetic quality, were preserved in the Prehistory & Europe Department until the early 2000s, when these vestiges were finally fully integrated into the main collection.

Figure 4: A reconstruction of the Secret Museum at the British Museum showing how it appeared in the early 2000s, before the remaining objects and books were finally completely integrated with the main collection © Jacky Chapman

Attitudes to sex and sexuality in the United Kingdom have changed hugely over the last fifty years; in particular the last fifteen years have seen spectacularly rapid liberalisation. The ubiquity of sexually explicit material and pornography on the internet, and the ease of accessing it via digital technologies, have arguably expanded societies' zone of tolerance. There has been significant legislative change and relaxation of censorship. Given the ubiquity of sexualised imagery in contemporary society, and the 'pornification' of popular culture, it might be assumed that developing an exhibition of *shunga* would be relatively straightforward. However, numerous potential sensitivities remained and several specific issues needed to be explored with prospective audiences. Five formative focus groups were held at an early stage of the exhibition's development, to explore visitors' reactions to *shunga* as a category of material, to assess visitors' responses to the exhibition's proposed structure and highlight any potential sensitivities (TWResearch 2013).

Would the public accept the curatorial view that *shunga* was art, and an art that celebrates sex, reflecting a mutuality of pleasure? In addition, how would they respond to several less typical and potentially troubling sub-categories of *shunga*? Despite recent liberalisation, *shunga* does still include some categories that challenge current sensibilities and contemporary legislation. Some images from these sub-genres, discussed in more detail below, were integrated with more typical works as part of the stimulus materials used in the focus groups. These were included to see if any of them provoked any debate or conversation, initially without direct prompting by the facilitator. In fact, these images passed without specific comment or controversy. Some of the prints did provoke more conversation than others. A print showing a woman fantasising about having sex with her absent lover, prompted a discussion about female masturbation, for example. However, the overall reaction to the genre as whole was overwhelmingly positive.

Focus group participants' initial unprompted responses reflected the curatorial view that *shunga* generally celebrates sex and that it had aesthetic qualities that merited its categorisation as art. For almost all participants in the evaluation, *shunga* was a completely new subject, it also appeared to

be a genre that encouraged visitors' to reconsider their preconceptions of sexually explicit art or pornography. Some participants, for example, felt that sexually explicit images in the European tradition are usually misogynistic and lacking in artistic merit; *shunga* destabilised these assumptions and associations. Here the evaluation revealed an interesting challenge; *shunga* does not represent reality, its images are certainly not unproblematic, nor was Edo-period Japan some sort of egalitarian sexual utopia. Visitors' responses to the works, based primarily on aesthetic responses, suggested that there was a risk that without sufficient context visitors might leave the exhibition with a distorted and misleading view.

The evaluation was helpful in highlighting this issue and suggesting ways of addressing it. One of the exhibition's four curators, Timothy Clark, describes *shunga* as a chatty art form in which word and image work together. Some of the language is unashamedly direct and robust, and a selection of translated texts were tested with participants to establish how exhibition visitors might respond to these. The inscriptions did generate a more negative response, and provoked visitors into reviewing their initial assumptions. A print by Katsukawa Shunchō, showing a man and woman having sex on a veranda was shown to visitors with a translation of the inscription:

> *Man: If I don't do it even for half a day, I lose my appetite. This is the ninth time today. Let's sleep for a bit, then do it seven or eight times more.*
>
> *Woman: Ah! It feels like I'm going to faint. Really. Even deeper, up there…That's it. I'm going to come again! Ah! Oh!*

The directness of the language did challenge some participants' initial purely visual response to the prints as the following focus group comments demonstrate:

> *'It is far more shocking. I thought the print was beautiful. I find that distasteful.'*
>
> *'It makes it more vulgar…it makes it more male dominated.'*

Participants' responses to the translations highlighted the importance of including some transcriptions in the exhibition to counter-balance visitors' initial aesthetic response. Although some participants found the language unpleasant, to omit translations as has been done in several major exhibitions featuring *shunga*, would have been dishonest. Historically the less socially acceptable subjects addressed in Japanese art and *shunga* have been elided from exhibitions or displays to make them more palatable. The use of *shunga* for self-pleasure, for example, has often been omitted from interpretive frameworks. Timon Screech in the introduction to his key text on the genre states:

> *'The reader will have to tolerate discussion of masturbation, for it is the central practice that accounts for the genres here discussed. It is necessary to stress this point, for recent interpretations…have been amazingly resistant to analyses of just what erotica was for; use remains the big encompassing silence.' (Screech 1999)*

Exhibitions of Japanese paintings and prints have sometimes focussed primarily on the aesthetic qualities of works, overlooking their function or social context. This distorts visitors' perceptions of the genre and arguably represents a conscious misrepresentation of the culture that created them.

Another sensitive area alluded to earlier is that of sub-genres of shunga that challenge contemporary sensibilities or norms. Some *shunga*, for example, depicts violent or coercive sex, images that are abhorrent to contemporary viewers. These are not typical of the genre, and they appear late in the

tradition and relatively infrequently. The print reproduced below was one of a series of twelve prints, six of which were shown in the Masterpieces of Shunga section of the BM exhibition. To have omitted the scene from the series would have been misleading; likewise if the text had not acknowledged that the image depicted an attempted rape.

Figure 5: Poem of the Pillow, 1788, by Kitagawa Utamaro.
This scene is one of a series of twelve woodblock prints.
© The Trustees of the British Museum

Other images that appeared violent were open to misinterpretation. At first glance the scene from a painted handscroll below, which was also included in the exhibition, appears to show a violent and troubling assault. Here interpretation is crucial. The scene in fact represents the woman's dream; she is imagining making love to her partner one last time, before they commit suicide. Suicide was seen as the last option for couples who society was preventing from being together. Love suicides were dramatised by playwrights of the period.

Figure 6: Woman dreaming of a love-suicide, about 1800, attributed to Katsukawa Shun'ei
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

An essay in the accompanying catalogue was dedicated to the subject of violence in *shunga* (Higuchi in Clark et al 2013). The question of whether violence in *shunga* was given sufficient prominence in the exhibition, a prominence reflecting its significance in the genre, is a matter for

debate. The desire to represent the genre accurately needed to be balanced against the risk that a small number of unrepresentative images might have an impact that was disproportionate or distorting.

Arguably, the most potentially significant sensitive issue around the *shunga* exhibition was related to the depiction of children in works that show adults having sex. The reasons for their presence are varied, and in most cases they are not participants. Sometimes children have been included to create a comic effect – flustered parents disturbed by an innocent child, or because the children are present in the capacity of servants. These images reflect a different concept of privacy in the Edo period than we are used to today. In addition, as in other pre-modern cultures, sexual activity began earlier than is legally sanctioned today; a youth was regarded as an adult at the age of 14. Understandably issues like these touched on contemporary anxieties and could have caused complications if not considered carefully.

In 2009 the Coroners and Justice Act in the UK was tightened to prohibit the production and ownership of drawn or painted images of children in sexual situations. Although this legislation was amended for very specific reasons, in response to concerns about the activities of paedophiles, in theory it could be applied to works of art in museum collections. There has been quite a significant number of exhibitions from around 2000 onwards that have included work that is sexually explicit or which explore sexuality as a theme. Where there have been controversies in the press these have often been provoked by the inclusion of images of children. The number of works depicting children in the exhibition was restricted, but again this aspect of the genre was explored in more detail in the catalogue.

The Museum was careful to ensure that visitors to the exhibition were fully aware of the contents of the show to ensure that no one was inadvertently offended or shocked. There was a disclaimer statement at the exhibition entrance:

'This exhibition contains information and imagery of a sexually explicit nature that may offend some visitors. Parental guidance is advised for visitors under 16.'

A booklet with a representative selection of images was kept on the ticket desks so that visitors could check that they were happy with the content before purchasing a ticket. The marketing for the exhibition was designed to communicate the exhibition's content accurately, but without transgressing advertising guidelines, including Transport for London's which apply to posters used to promote exhibitions. Legal advice was sought and consultations were also undertaken with the police about the exhibition to ensure that there were no unforeseen complications.

The show was spread across two rooms, each of which is usually used to hold a discrete free-admission exhibition in its own right. Both of the spaces had existing cases which had to be utilised, resulting in an exhibition that included more works than would probably have otherwise been the case. The two rooms were divided into five main spaces including a series of subjects: What is *shunga*? Early *shunga*, before 1765; Masterpieces of *shunga*, 1765-1850; Was *shunga* legal?; Who used *shunga* and how?; *Shunga* and parody; *Shunga* and the floating world. The final section focussed on *Shunga* and the modern world, exploring the decline of the genre in the early 20th century.

Figure 7: View of the introduction to Shunga: Sex and pleasure in Japanese art © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The feedback from the focus groups was used to shape the exhibition. Over 175 works were displayed and the length and type of label texts for these were varied to provide pacing and to try and minimise visitor fatigue. The text aimed to strike a balance between aesthetics, socio-historical context and meaningful discussion of the scenes. *Shunga's* use for arousal and masturbation was acknowledged but the word pornography was eschewed to avoid unhelpful anachronistic connotations. The use of words such as "masturbation", "erection" and "sex workers", reflected a desire to avoid coy, obscure or judgemental terms used in the past. Some high level quotes were used to introduce humour, Japanese voices from the period, and to remind visitors of that *shunga* represents a fantasy world:

> *A foolish couple*
> *copy the shunga*
> *spraining a wrist*
>
> *Anon, 1861*

Public response and summative evaluation

The Museum received very few complaints, and those that were submitted focussed on crowding in the first part of the exhibition rather than the sexual explicitness of *shunga*. In terms of visitor numbers the exhibition can be considered a success. The final number was almost 90,000 visitors - more than double the target. 8000 copies of the substantial scholarly catalogue were sold. The media reviews of the exhibition were also overwhelmingly positive (Engelhart 2013, Hudson 2013, Januszczak 2013, Wattles 2013). Some newspapers adopted a slightly humorous or salacious approach, but the majority offered thoughtful reviews that often focussed on the difficulty of neatly categorising *shunga*. Journalists and art critics, of course, are hardly a representative audience, but their responses to the subject provided useful insight, and again although numbers are not a good measure of visitor satisfaction, they do reflect that the exhibition's proposition had appeal.

The Interpretation Team at the Museum did undertake a comprehensive evaluation of the exhibition to provide a more objective and robust overview. The methodology included a tracking and observation study of visitors in the exhibition, 205 short exit interviews, and fifteen depth interviews (Frost 2014). Space prevents a larger discussion here and the evaluation will be published

elsewhere, but the data is indicative of a satisfied and engaged audience. On average, visitors spent 77 minutes in the exhibition, with 70% staying at least an hour or more. 95% of respondents said they were satisfied or very satisfied with the show, and 96% said it met or exceeded their expectations. The qualitative feedback confirms that the audience accepted the curatorial proposition and arguments about *shunga* and that they supported the Museum's decision to put on the exhibition. The following quotes are indicative of the way *shunga* seems to have encouraged visitors to compare it with the European or western tradition:

'The mutual pleasure and lack of violence is very different from the sexism of Western pornography.'

'I think the nice thing about the images is that … they didn't feel … they didn't seem to be derogatory about women ...some of them seemed to focus on woman's pleasure. ..It is normally always about men'

That there was very little critical or negative feedback is perhaps to be expected since the marketing of the show, and the proposition of the exhibition, are likely to have deterred visits from anyone likely to be offended by sexually explicit images. The evaluation suggests that society's attitudes to sex and sexuality have changed significantly over the last 10-15 years. Some visitors felt that an exhibition like *Shunga* at the British Museum was overdue. Visitors felt it was important that museums acknowledged the importance of sex and sexuality to human experience, a finding that is reflected in other exhibition evaluations at the British Museum. This suggests that the Museum may have lagged behind societal change. Some comments provided other useful insights to consider for similar exhibitions in the future.

Data from the interviews suggests that a number of visitors would have liked same-sex relationships to be have been given more prominence. The curatorial team also received a letter from a visitor who felt that images related to male-male lovemaking had been deliberately omitted. In fact, somewhere between 10-17% of the exhibits depicted or made reference to male-male relationships. These works were integrated throughout the exhibition, reflecting a conscious decision to avoid creating a specific self-contained section. In some images, like the one reproduced in Figure 9, it is possible that some visitors simply didn't notice that the lovers were men. Although the label did describe the lovers as male, and the nature of same-sex love in Japan was discussed in the exhibition text, the project team avoiding using the anachronistic term 'homosexuality', so this perhaps also meant that some references were missed by visitors.

Figure 8: Opening scene from a painted scroll with twelve erotic scenes, early 1600s, unknown artist.

© Trustees of the British Museum. A samurai makes love to a young man, a relationship that was socially acceptable at the time. A woman adjusts their bedding.

Visitors were asked which objects, if any, stood out for them after their visit was complete. All of the answers were entered into Wordle to generate a world cloud. The word that really stood out was 'octopus', and the print that is reproduced below will make the reason for this clear. This does highlight that a single striking image, amongst hundreds of others, can have a disproportionate impact on visitors' memories of an exhibition.

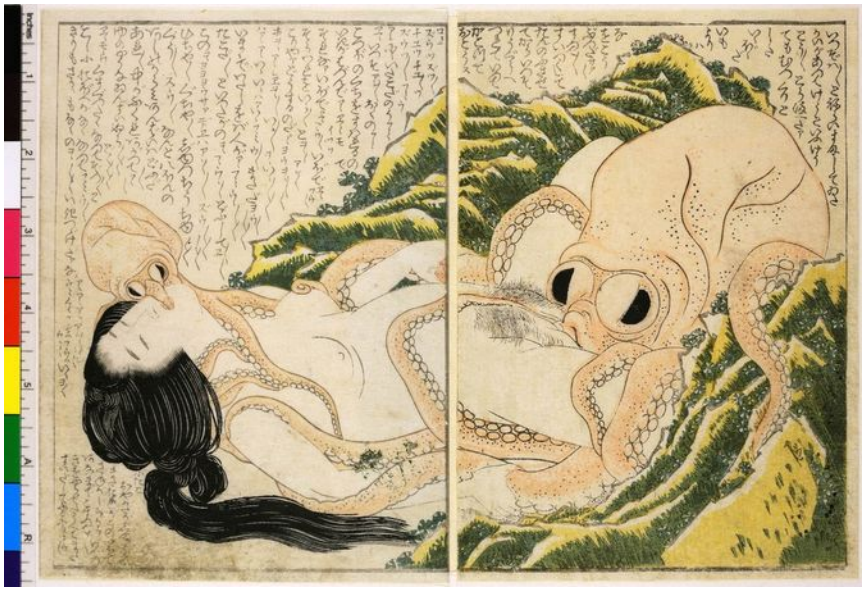

Figure 9: Pine Seedlings on the First Rat Day, 1814, by Katsushika Hokusai. The inscription indicates that the woman is experiencing ecstatic pleasure. © British Museum

Shunga: sex and pleasure in Japanese art was the largest exhibition devoted to the phenomenon to date but it will not be the last. There have already been some major exhibitions subsequently in Paris and Honolulu (Restellini 2014, Eichman and Salel 2014). An an exhibition of *shunga* took place in Tokyo during 2015, the first major exhibition of *shunga* in Japan. The exhibition at Eisei Bunko was staged in two parts, featuring over 120 shunga works in total, 70 of which were included in the British Museum's exhibition, and attracted over 200,000 visitors (Clark 2015).

Although previous generations have bequeathed a challenging and problematic legacy with regard to sex and sexuality, museums and heritage organisations do now seem to be engaging with these areas more frequently. The *shunga* exhibition at the British Museum is, of course, just one example from many. The Wellcome Collection, London has been particularly active in using its holdings in innovative and creative ways to encourage discussion and debate about sex that is relevant to contemporary society (Wellcome 2014). There are several other notable examples. This is to be celebrated, but there is not room for complacency. Indeed, the fact that many museums, art galleries and heritage organisations share a history of passively or actively ignoring sex and sexuality, including LGBTQ history, means that arguably there is even more of an obligation for them to be proactive in redressing this lacuna (Cross 1991, De Caro 2000, Frost 2008). The full diversity of human experience and history must be presented and interpreted accurately, honestly and meaningfully, however challenging, sensitive or awkward it may (or may not) be for us as interpreters or for the audiences who visit our sites.

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