

STRAATWAARDEN

Atelier#3: Co-design

READER



Colofon

Straatwaarden is een project van het Heritage Lab, onderdeel van het *Amsterdam Creative Industries Network*.

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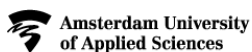
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Informatie

Meer informatie over de ateliers, workshops, lezingen en eindpresentaties:
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Inleiding

Het project Straatwaarden onderzoekt crossovers tussen erfgoedpraktijken en de vormgeving van onze stedelijke leefomgeving in een nieuwe maatschappelijke dynamiek. Tussen buurinitiatieven, zelfbouwgroepen en herbestemde monumenten. Dit multidisciplinaire project verkent nieuwe issues en het veranderde speelveld voor erfgoed en ruimtelijk ontwerp, onder andere in een serie Ateliers, workshops rond de casus Weesperstraat-Wibautstraat (waaronder de zogeheten Knowledge Mile).

Deze tijd van culturele en maatschappelijke transitie stelt eigen uitdagingen aan ontwerpers en erfgoedprofessionals. Er ontstaan nieuwe praktijken, waarbij het erfgoed domein steeds meer verbindingen vormt met maatschappelijke ontwerpprocessen in de stad. Zo'n veranderende context roept nieuwe vragen op over de relatie tussen 'erfgoed' en 'ruimte', met implicaties voor beide domeinen. Hoe krijgen onze leefomgevingen hun betekenis? Wat voor nieuwe collectieve plekken en ervaringen ontstaan er? Welke rol spelen erfgoed en ontwerp daarin en hoe vormt erfgoed zich in deze nieuwe maatschappelijke context? En hoe werkt het als je niet uitgaat van reeds gedefinieerde, beschermde monumenten, maar van sociale processen van betekenisgeving in de ruimte die waarden genereren deels op gebied van design, deels erfgoed?

Probleemstelling

Wat zijn de kenmerken van de nieuwe maatschappelijke praktijken en nieuwe relaties tussen erfgoed, gemeenschap en ruimte, wat betekenen deze voor erfgoedprocessen en het ontwerpen van de (publieke) ruimte, en wat is de rol van de erfgoedprofessional in deze nieuwe praktijken?

Aanpak

Straatwaarde is een ontwerponderzoek naar de implicaties die actuele ruimtelijke en maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen in de stad (kunnen) hebben voor professionele erfgoed- en ontwerp praktijken. Daarbij maakt het project gebruik van het sociaal duurzaam 'sustainistisch' perspectief (zoals ontwikkeld door Michiel Schwarz e.a. Cf. *Sustainist Design Guide* en *A Sustainist Lexicon*).

Ateliers

Het onderzoek vindt plaats in de vorm van drie ateliers, ontwerpworkshops rond drie thema's:

Atelier#1: Placemaking | 14-16 maart 2016

Welke factoren en actoren bepalen de bijzondere identiteit van een plek? Onderzoek naar nieuwe praktijken van betekenisgeving in relatie tot erfgoed & ruimte, de stad en de straat. Opgave: komen tot maps of engagement.

Atelier#2: Commons | 18-20 april 2016

Hoe geven gemeenschappen collectief waarde aan een plek? Aan de hand van het begrip 'commons' wordt onderzocht hoe gemeenschappen van een plek een plaats van betekenis maken: 'heritagemaking'.

Atelier#3: Co-design | 30 mei - 1 juni 2016

Wat kan co-design betekenen in de concrete context van de Knowledge Mile? Onderzoek naar de ontwerppoging vanuit het perspectief van placemaking en heritagemaking.

De ervaringen en resultaten worden gedeeld in de vorm van artikelen, blogs en een eindpublicatie. De onderzoeksresultaten zijn aanzet voor onderwijsinnovatie en nieuwe (onderzoeks-)vragen.

Achtergrond

Het derde atelier is een verkenning van 'co-design'-praktijken in erfgoed en de ruimtelijke vormgeving in de stad, in het bijzonder op lokaal niveau. We onderzoeken hoe nieuwe participatieve, bottom-up praktijken van 'placemaking' relevant zijn voor 'erfgoed-maken'. Wat zijn de nieuwe vormen van co-design en wat zouden ze kunnen betekenen in relatie tot erfgoed? En hoe veranderen tenslotte het institutionele speelveld en de agenda's van de verschillende spelers in het crossover-gebied van erfgoed en ruimte, bezien vanuit het idee van co-design? Wie moet wat met wie?

Begin dit jaar verscheen *A Sustainist Lexicon* (2016) van cultuuronderzoeker Michiel Schwarz. In dit 'woordenboek' beschrijft Schwarz de relatie tussen ruimtelijke ontwerp, design en erfgoed. Aan de hand van zeven kernbegrippen – *placemaking*, *connectedness*, *local*, *commons*, *circularity*, *proportionality* en *co-design* – schetst en duidt Schwarz een maatschappij in verandering. Elk lemma wordt gevolgd door een veldobservatie door Riemer Knoop. De transformatie die we momenteel doormaken is een ware cultuuromslag: een verandering in onze collectieve percepties en de waarden die onze levensstijl bepalen.

A Sustainist Lexicon is een vervolg op het eerder verschenen *Sustainist Design Guide* (2013) van Schwarz en Diana Krabbedam van The Beach, een netwerkorganisatie gericht op sociale innovatie. De naam 'sustainisme' werd door Michiel Schwarz en Joost Elffers in *Sustainism Is the New Modernism* (2010) aan dit nieuwe tijdperk gegeven, een nieuwe cultuur die meer verbonden, lokaler en ecologisch én sociaal duurzamer is en wordt gekenmerkt door waarden als verbondenheid, nabijheid, delen en menselijke maat.

Van 2013 tot 2015 was Schwarz als artist-in-residency (AIR) verbonden aan de Reinwardt Academie en de Academie van Bouwkunst. In het project *Sustainist (Re)Design* werd verkend wat het sociaal duurzame cultuurperspectief van het sustainisme kan betekenen voor erfgoedvraagstukken en het (ruimtelijk) ontwerp domein. Onderdeel van de AIR waren een lezingenserie (*capita selecta*) *Sustainist: (Re)Design: How the new culture of sustainism is reshaping our cities, landscape, architecture and heritage*, een workshop i.s.m. The Beach en de publicatie van het lexicon. Het project Straatwaarden is hier een logisch vervolg op.

Reader

De reader bevat een introducerende verkenning van het begrip co-design aan de hand van *A sustainist lexicon* en een selectie artikelen over het begrip. Eerste artikel is de verwoording en verbeelding van het lemma *Co-design* door Schwarz en Knoop overgenomen uit het lexicon.¹ Daarna volgt een selectie van artikelen aansluiten op het thema en programma van het derde atelier.

De introductie van Paula dos Santos, 'To understand Museology in the 21st Century', is gepubliceerd in *Sociomuseology 3, To understand Museology in the 21st Century. Cadernos de Sociomuseologia* (Vol. 37, 2010), p. 5-11.

Het artikel van Dibbits en Willemsen, 'Stills of our liquid times, An essay towards collecting today's intangible cultural heritage', verscheen eerder in *Die Musealisierung der Gegenwart. Von Grenzen und Chancen des Sammelns in Kulturhistorischen Museen* onder redactie van Sophie Elpers en Anna Palm (2014, p. 173-194).

De recensie 'Richard SENNETT (2012) Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation' van de hand van Christian Maravelias is afkomstig uit *Management 3/2012* (Vol. 15), p. 344-349.

Het artikel 'Meer democratie in de archeologie' van Henny Groenendijk is gepubliceerd in *Westerheem*, oktober 2015, nr. 5., p. 281-289. *Westerheem* is een uitgave van AWN, Vereniging van Vrijwilligers in de Archeologie.

Het essay van Dan Hill tenslotte – 'The social and the democratic, in the social democratic European city' - is geschreven in opdracht van Designandthecity.eu en is te online te lezen op <https://medium.com/@cityofsound/the-social-and-the-democratic-in-social-democratic-european-cities-31e0bc169b0b#.nuhim7y7s>.

¹ Schwarz, Michiel, *A Sustainist Lexicon: Seven entries to recast the future — Rethinking design and heritage. With field notes by Riemer Knoop and sustainist symbols by Joost Elffers*. (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 2016), 70-91. [Creative Commons licentie by-nc-nd]

Co-design - From 'designing for' to 'designing with'

Michiel Schwarz

Walk along the streets in the 'Transvaal' area of Amsterdam East, and you'll have a good chance of walking straight past the local neighbourhood museum, for a very simple reason: the streets and the neighbourhood are the museum! This is not a tourist attraction or an architectural edifice, but a locally-rooted initiative to connect the people in the community with their living environment and history. Starting in 2012, active citizens and local entrepreneurs developed the idea for a 'Museum without Walls' — which subsequently became the alluring name of this urban experiment (in Dutch: Museum zonder Muren).

With the neighbourhood itself as a museum, the facades and windows become exhibition spaces, together with the public places and parks. The audience is those who walk through the area. The members of the community and their stories become the contents of the exhibition. The people behind this initiative see it as an exercise in creating engagement and social connections as much as an artistic and cultural activity. For the heritage professional it is an example of the recent trend of creating so-called 'participatory museums'.²

This Amsterdam initiative prompts us to question what we mean by 'museum' — if, as the name suggests, this is to be called a museum. But most significantly, in relation to shaping our living environment, it makes us reflect on the 'design of it all': who are the 'designers' that give content and form to a museum that has no walls? The key feature that distinguishes the 'Museum without Walls' from most conventional cultural institutions is that it is developed in a collaborative design process in which local people are engaged as much as the professional heritage experts are. In other words, it is created through some form of 'co-design'.

As a sustainist ethos is gaining ground, co-design is becoming more commonplace, involving collaborative practices between designers and non-designers. It is part of a growing trend of community participation in the design of our living places and cultural institutions. As we phrased it in the Sustainist Design Guide, the challenge is to design not just for, but also with society.³ Or, as in the case of this Amsterdam museum, designing with the local neighbourhood. In the era of sustainism, 'co-design' is a shorthand for an emerging collaborative practice that shifts our perspective from 'designing for' to 'designing with'. In doing so, new challenges for both design and heritage-making come into focus.

Design — how and with whom?

When speaking of design and re-design — as we have done in this lexicon — it is of course essential to look critically at what we are designing. But in the changing context of sustainist practices, it is equally crucial to ask how we are designing and with whom.

² Léontine Meijer-van Mensch, guest lecture at the Reinwardt Academy, April 2014, [http://museumzondereuren.com/data/files/Reinwardt%20Verlag_project_Reinwardt_Academie.pdf]. Léontine Meijer-van Mensch & Peter van Mensch, New Trends in Museology (Celje Slovenia: Muzej novejšje zgodovine / Museum of Recent History, 2011).

³ Michiel Schwarz & Diana Krabbendam, with The Beach network, Sustainist Design Guide: How Sharing, Localism, Connectedness and Proportionality Are Creating a New Agenda for Social Design (Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2013).

It doesn't take much to see that in the 21st century the ways we 'design' our places for living and our cultural institutions do not always follow the established path of 'expert-led and top-down'. In the emerging 'civic economy', communities and citizens develop things 'from the ground up', frequently bypassing the official planners and urban designers.⁴ On this changing playing field, it is tempting to place the word 'design' in quotation marks, as I did in the opening line of this paragraph. This does not imply that local and grassroots initiatives in our cities are not forms of urban design, but rather that the practice as well as the meaning of 'design' is in flux.

The transition to a more locally-based and citizen-led way of 'designing' our living environment — which I associate with the rise of sustainism — takes on many forms. These range from Do-it-Yourself building initiatives and the creation of crowd-funded public spaces to neighbourhood urban farms and citizen-run local museums. In other entries of this lexicon such examples have been flagged repeatedly. Different as they may appear, they have a number of common features in the 'design process' they share. Viewed through a sustainist lens, three attributes stand out: collaborative, inclusive and open. These are the hallmarks of 'co-design' in the sustainist era.

Co-design: the 'logic of with'

'Co-design', which has become a fashionable word in recent years, is an apt term to capture how design practices are transforming as users and citizens increasingly become involved. It is used to mark a range of developments both within and without design — from the shift toward user-generated design and participatory design methodologies to grassroots civic design and community practices in social design. The rise of the very term 'co-design' in the public discourse is as much a sign of the shift toward participative practices as it is a label.

Going back to the dictionary meaning of the prefix 'co', which denotes 'together' or 'with', the word 'co-design' thus signifies some form of collaboration. In sustainist times, 'co-design' becomes shorthand for designing together with society, with the community, with the neighbourhood.

The rising interest in co-design signals a shift in perspective as well as praxis: to design not just for people but also with people. This marks a change from modernist mass culture, where goods and services were delivered to and for customers and users. Charles Leadbeater, a leading thinker on innovation, speaks of a new 'logic of with' that is altogether more collaborative, open and shareable.⁵ The current transition, as the subtitle of this entry has it, is 'from "designing for" to "designing with"'.⁶

Inclusive design

The idea of co-design turns design into an inclusive process. And it turns all of us into designers of sorts. Especially at a time when design is becoming more of a tool for social innovation, we're moving to a society 'where everybody designs', to use the phrase of design thinker Ezio Manzini.⁶ Of course, he doesn't mean that we will all acquire the professional skills of an architect, urban designer or heritage professional. But it does imply a different view on ownership which is well captured by

⁴ 00:/, Compendium for the Civic Economy: What Our Cities, Towns and Neighborhoods Can Learn from 25 Trailblazers (Haarlem, Netherlands: Valiz/Trancity, 2012).

⁵ Charles Leadbeater, The Art of With: An Original Essay for Cornerhouse, Manchester, June 2009. <http://homemcr.org/media/the-art-of-with-essay/>

⁶ Ezio Manzini, Design, When Everybody Designs. An Introduction to Design for Social Innovation (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2015).

the phrase 'We Own the City' (the title of a recent book about people-driven urban initiatives).⁷ It also means that we have to rethink the relationships between the professionals and the non-professionals. More to the point, we need to recast design and re-design in urbanism and heritage as collaborative processes, involving users, inhabitants, museum visitors, and citizens.

Here, once more, it is theory that needs to catch up with praxis. Especially in the civic economy of grassroots initiatives, neighbourhood cooperatives and social enterprises, collaborative co-design practices are alive and kicking. In the professional design domain, the collaborative turn is also much visible, as co-design initiatives have been growing steadily over the last decade or so. They come under a wide variety of terms — user-centred design, participative design, collaborative design, open design, social design, to name the most used.⁸ The makers movement and self-build housing developments in many ways mirror the same co-designing ethos.

In the field of museums, equally, we have been witnessing the rise of inclusive, collaborative and participative approaches. This trend, which in the past has been referred to as the 'new museology', is now becoming increasingly widespread. It involves a whole spectrum of approaches for increasing both visitor participation and social engagement, again using different terms such as 'participatory museum', 'ecomuseum' and 'community museum'.⁹ This is emblematic of a movement toward participation and public engagement in arts and cultural institutions.

Put differently, this entry on 'co-design' points us toward the burgeoning movement toward collaborative, inclusive and community-embedded design strategies. In the sustainist term 'Co-design', we may thus take the prefix 'co' as standing for 'Community' as well as 'Collaborative'. In doing so, it charts yet another pathway through the changing landscape of sustainist culture.

Collaborative practices

Adopting a co-design perspective not only changes the design process and its participants, it also reframes the entire notion of what is being designed or re-designed. So much so, that we need new words and concepts to capture the new forms, such as the 'co-designed city' or the 'co-designed museum' — even though we're only just starting the debate on what we wish such terms to mean.

By way of example, take the notion of the 'Spontaneous City', as developed by the Amsterdam-based urban design and strategy firm, Urhahn. Advanced as a 'new form of urban transformation', the spontaneous city is 'shaped by its occupants... [whereby] individuals and groups comprising both residents and business people, re-use and re-organise spaces in apartment blocks, workplaces, parks and streets'.¹⁰ The 'city's users' are central in this approach where urban planning professionals work in close collaboration with local project initiators, thus involving residents and users. In the words of

Urhahn: 'Co-design, Co-production, Co-property and Co-responsibility are no longer just fashionable terms, but accepted design forms in terms of sustainable urban development.' In my terms: The spontaneous city is a sustainist urban design strategy, which questions the very meaning of the conventional idea of 'urban design'.¹¹

There are ample other examples of co-designed cities, places, neighbourhoods — albeit under different headings and terms. And we can now see that many of the sustainist urban initiatives that have featured in this lexicon can be recognised as examples of co-design in one form or another.

Projecting the co-design perspective onto the domain of heritage and museology, we can equally see the collaborative turn. It is very much visible in the idea of the 'participatory museum', which has been gaining ground.¹² Here the outlook of museum design innovator Nina Simon (and Executive Director of the Santa Cruz Museum of Art & History in California) may point the way. She envisages a future institution built on 'participatory engagement', creating places 'where people are invited on an ongoing basis to contribute, to collaborate, to co-create and to co-opt the experiences in a designed intentional environment'. As she contends, this means that 'participatory museums' may well look fundamentally different from traditional museums, with different content and different external relationships with community and users. It was already a big innovation, Simon recounts, that a museum like the Boston Children's Museum turned from being a museum 'about' children and families to being 'for them'. Her next question is: 'What would it look like, if it evolved to being a museum 'with' them?'

Open source (re)design

The co-design principles that matter in a sustainist culture are perhaps best illustrated by what's been happening in the online environment. The 'web' works not as a top-down system, but as a network — the word 'internet' gives it away. It's an open platform where people can freely connect and share.¹³ It operates with the ethos of open source communities, where anyone can talk to anyone else. In principle there's no hierarchy, and everyone is on equal footing. As we know from the debate on an open internet, this only works when everyone has access and people are willing to exchange and share. The worldwide Creative Commons system of open source licenses is an attempt to help make this possible.¹⁴

WikiHouse is an insightful example of such an open source approach in architecture and design. Created by the London-based design office Architecture 00 ('zero zero'), WikiHouse is an 'open source building system', which makes it possible for almost anyone, regardless of skill level, to download and build affordable housing.¹⁵ The designs are freely shared for anyone to use, build upon and improve. The philosophy of the project is distinctly sustainist, based on sharing and collaboration. It also encourages working with local materials, whilst the designs are available across the world. The same ethos and practice can be seen in the direct access to the design of products and systems

⁷ Francesca Miazzo & Tris Kee, *We Own the City: Enabling Community Practice in Architecture and Urban Planning* (Haarlem, Netherlands: Trancity/Valiz with CITIES and University of Hong Kong, 2014).

⁸ On the changing practice of design see for example: Joyce Yee, Emma Jefferies, Lauren Tan, *Design Transitions* (Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2013). Human-centred design approaches and design thinking in relation to museums is also gaining ground. See for example the blog of the San Francisco Bay Area consultancy 'Designing Insight'. <http://designinginsights.com>

⁹ See note 2.

¹⁰ Gert Urhahn, *The Spontaneous City* (Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2010).

¹¹ Manifesto of The Spontaneous City International

<http://thespontaneouscityinternational.org/manifesto/>

¹² Nina Simon, *The Participatory Museum* (Santa Cruz, CA: Museum 2.0, 2010).

<http://www.participatorymuseum.org/>

¹³ The centrality of networks and platforms in sustainist culture is also addressed in the entry on Connectedness.

¹⁴ See <http://creativecommons.org>.

¹⁵ <http://www.wikihouse.cc/>

as propagated, for example, by the emerging 'Open Design' movement.¹⁶

Co-designing, in short, stands for a collaborative process through which professionals and non-professionals design on the basis of an open exchange of knowledge and skills. In the digital sphere, this is becoming commonplace — it is, after all, the very basis of peer-to-peer platforms and freely shared information in social media and on the internet. But in the physical world of objects, cities, buildings and monuments, such co-design practices are only just taking off.

Social engagement

Co-design is not to be taken as yet another clever methodological design tool. Rather, it represents a particular stance on the meaning and process of designing — one that embraces inclusiveness, collaboration, and openness as valued qualities. Equally, in the present context, the term 'co-design' signifies an emerging practice that connects professionals with relevant groups and communities. And above all, co-designing is a form of social design, which can only happen successfully if it is socially embedded. Here, as elsewhere in sustainist culture, social engagement is central. Viewed through a sustainist lens, if people and communities were not engaged in shaping our living environment and cultural institutions, the very idea of co-designing would have little meaning.¹⁷

Viewing co-design as a form of social design makes explicit that the shift from 'designing for' to designing with' inevitably implies a social agenda. Of course, the various processes of designing, city making, heritage-making and creating cultural institutions have always been social endeavours too — they wouldn't survive and would have no meaning if they didn't connect to social values and social practice. But as we move from 'designing for' (the modernist design mode) to 'designing with' (the sustainist mode), social engagement becomes more essential than ever. It implies that it becomes part of the designers and architects' remit, in place of seeing social embeddedness as a matter of implementation.

The shift from 'expert-led' to 'community-led' design has political dimensions too, in that it needs a 'level playing field' where equal standing and access are prerequisites. Co-design thus also implies a sharing of authority and responsibility between 'the expert' and 'the citizen' — call it a shift from exclusive 'power' to community 'empowerment'.

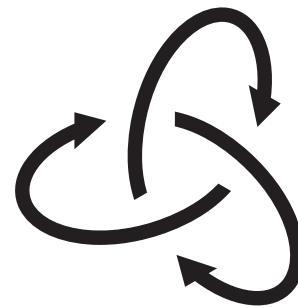
Sustainist co-design: recasting 'design'

The term co-design is the only entry in this lexicon that includes the verb 'design'. All other entries are concerned with how we view and address design and re-design in the sustainist era, rather than taking design per se as focus. That leads to a paradox: exploring 'co-design' has us question fundamentally what we mean by 'design'. In this entry more than elsewhere, I was frequently tempted to write 'design' in quotation marks. The search for sustainist co-design challenges us to ask ourselves what we mean when we speak of 'designing' our living environment or our cultural institutions. In the present transitional times, raising that very question may be what

matters most. My hunch is that any answers will emerge in practice.

Using the word 'design' — as I have done here — in relation to a wide range of social processes and contexts should not be taken as a sign of inflation. Rather I view it as the inevitable search for meaning and new vocabulary at a time of transition. By including this entry in this lexicon we are not only putting the emerging practice of 'co-design' on the agenda, we are also using it literally as an entry point to questioning the What, How and With Whom of 'design' in the sustainist era.

This lexicon began with a look at the crossover terrain between the domains of design and heritage — with adaptive re-use as a concrete example. Now, in particular with this entry on 'co-design', we can see that the notion of 'design' warrants recasting and repositioning in both of these professional domains. It adds weight to the idea that our approaches to designing the living environment should be augmented to include value-driven social design and co-design. Meanwhile, in the fields of cultural heritage and museology, design thinking and design practices should become part of the professional repertoire. Where all that will take us, and whether we will need new words to replace 'designing' and 'co-designing' for sustainist times, is an open and ongoing question.



The symbol for sustainist CO-DESIGN visualises the inclusive nature of a collaborative design process involving community as well as professional designers (in architecture, urbanism, heritage, and beyond). Each arrow refers to another, symbolising an ethos of shared responsibility and shared meanings. The symbol thus visualises an ethos of engagement, participation and mutual exchange (a feature of both sustainist design and processes of heritage-making). The symbol reflects the idea of 'designing with', rather than 'designing for'. *Symbol designed by Joost Elffers (Creative Commons by-nc-nd).*

¹⁶ Bas van Abel, Lucas Evers, Roel Klaassen, Peter Troxler, *Open Design Now: Why Design Cannot Remain Exclusive* (Amsterdam: BIS Publishers, 2011).

¹⁷ For an interesting range of examples of engaged, activist design initiatives, see: Alastair Fuad-Luk, Anja-Lisa Hirscher, Katherina Moebus (eds), *Agents of Alternatives: Redesigning Our Realities* (Berlin: Agents of Alternatives, 2015).

Co-design - Field note

Riemer Knoop

What would you say is today's most sustainist participatory museum? My unhesitating answer, based on first-hand knowledge, would be the children's museum in Amsterdam. Made by children for all to share, for their peers and adults alike, it was an experiment called 'Gangmakers Kindermuseum', realised in the summer of 2015.¹⁸ In its redefinition of the museum for the two weeks of its run, it made you wonder at the world again. This was how a museum must have felt when it was still a new invention some 500 years ago. Behind the initiative was Dylan Hyman, a former telecom employee turned Montessori teacher, who asked me if I could do something for 'her children'. She wanted her nineteen pupils, gifted kids from several primary schools in the Amsterdam 'Nieuw West' area, to become acquainted with 'a museum'. Instead of directing her to the education department of the Stedelijk Museum or a similar established institution, I connected her with a neighbourhood initiative in Nieuw West, a local hub that offered creative workshops.

This led to an active programme of six consecutive Wednesdays afternoon sessions, where the kids were encouraged and inspired to ask questions about museums and objects in their own living environment, and how these two things were or could be connected. Guided by a visual artist and a social designer to help them invent and prototype, the kids came up with many unusual answers. Seeing through their uncompromising eyes, they imagined the museum of their dreams. Among other things, they created 'a passport to the world' in the form of public transportation tickets, a set of colours 'to make life worthwhile', and an installation about the value of nature, which they viewed as 'a precondition for wellness for all'.

In this museum kids were being taken seriously, in their own terms, not as inadequate mini-adults only to be spoon-fed with dumbed-down 'heritage'. Through a process of co-creation and co-design, a truly novel idea took shape here. Museums as participatory platforms for marvelling, imagining and dreaming about the world* – for materialising what could be in addition to fossilising what has been achieved. This way of co-creation opens up a new future for museums. Seen through a sustainist lens, museums become agorae for engaging with people and reflecting on their ideas and conversations. The objects that are thus created in the process become meaningful, worthy of preservation, and turn into collections. That is heritage.

Introduction: To understand New Museology in the 21st Century

Paula Assunção dos Santos

When I was doing my bachelor's degree in museology at the University of Rio de Janeiro I heard from a teacher that the new museology was already an "old lady". It was the mid 90's, almost 30 years since the world of museums had been shaken by progressive initiatives that fought for the creation of better conditions for local communities to take control of their future by means of work with heritage. Ecomuseums, community museums and local museums had multiplied in countries such as France, Canada, Spain, Portugal and Mexico. They had their own specificities, but shared a lot in common: the concept of the integral museum adopted in the Round Table of Santiago of 1972; a political view based on grass-root approaches and community development; the spirit of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire, who advocated for the conscientization of men, much before the concept of empowerment was developed in the English speaking world. In 1984, a number of people related to these initiatives met in Quebec, where the Movement for a New Museology (MINOM) was born. Other individuals, such as Hugues de Varine, also played a crucial role in advocating for community museology¹⁹.

Various forms of community museology kept growing in the Latin world and elsewhere, as they do today. Some became conservative in their revolution, some carried the name but not the spirit, others pushed the boundaries of new museology. A complex world took shape as new initiatives and ideas emerged.

My teacher's idea about new museology being an "old lady" meant to me that it had already become a tradition. At the same time, the critical tone in his remark referred to the fact that a number of people who did not align themselves directly with the new museology also shared many of the views and means of the movement. Much had changed since the 70's.

In the last decades there has been a profound change in the world of museums as well as in new museology. In 1992, the Declaration of Caracas called for the acknowledgement of museums as means of communication in the service of communities. It proposed that museums would become social managers, working with communities to transform reality. Three years later, a publication in Brazil²⁰ aimed at discussing the impact of meetings such as this one and of others, including the Round Table of Santiago of 1972. It stated that, despite the fact that ideas upon which new museology was based have become influential in museological theory, too few changes had taken place in the daily practice of traditional museums.

I believe that the publication pre-empted the major turning point in relations between museums and society. Towards the end of the 90's, many forces contributed to the opening of a new chapter on participation in museum affairs. The sustainable development agenda, social inclusion policies in the UK, the strengthening of emancipation movements (such as the indigenous movements in North America) and the growing multiculturalism in European countries promoted a new age of transformations in museums. A renewed participation paradigm began to focus on the relations between museums and multiple

¹⁹ For more information in English about the development of the New Museology see vol. 2 of Sociomuseology

²⁰ Araújo, Marcelo and Bruno, Cristina. A Memória do Pensamento Museológico Contemporâneo Brasileiro. ICOM Brasil, 1995.

¹⁸ <http://www.nieuwwestexpress.nl/16177/nl/kindermuseum>

(some new) stakeholders. Dealing with stakeholders implied negotiation, influence and sharing of ownership.

These changes meant that the so-called traditional museums (an antagonism introduced by the new museologists themselves) shared many of the preoccupations of the new museology. In different parts of the globe, various ways of interacting with groups in society added further opportunities of using heritage as a resource and as a tool for understanding and transforming the world. In the English-speaking circles in Europe, this is usually labelled new museology too. The term was coined by Peter Vergo in 1989²¹ and since then has been widely used with reference to critical practice in museums, which involves work with communities.

It is important to note that the "Latin" new museology and the "British" new museology are not the same. Although often mistaken for each other, they have fundamentally different approaches to social development, as explained in the articles that follow this introduction. However, both are part of the same attempt to take museums into an age of increased democratization of museological tools and heritage processes. There is much to learn in dialogue.

In the new millennium changes continue to happen. Social movements, for instance, are appropriating heritage tools. Networked modes of organizing knowledge and action in society deeply influence museums.

The same way, the modes and means of the "Latin" new museology are also developing in time. The increasing human mobility, immigration and cultural hybridization, for example, represent fundamental forces of change. "Classic" types of new museums such as the ecomuseum multiplied in rural areas, not in urban environments. They were focused on the concept of locality-bounded communities, on local development and on the territory. But what happens when societies become more global, when the territory becomes more fragmented and fast-changing? What happens when the concept of community and the organization of social action take other forms? What happens when what makes a group of people into a community is not mainly their shared experience in the territory, but their shared condition in society as in the case of minorities? What happens when what drives people to action is mainly the desire to propose a new project of society as is the case with social movements, many times operating in networks?

Is new museology relevant today? Yes. Ecomuseums and community museums grow and multiply. In some cases, as said before, they carry the name but not the spirit. But in many places they continue to strive for community empowerment and for local development. They are not frozen in time and new approaches are being developed in order to adapt to the imperatives of the 21st Century. Also, other means of working with heritage and development continue to be tested.

A very important movement is the conceptualization of sociomuseology, a field of research and practice, which draws from the experiences and principles of the "Latin" new museology. Sociomuseology can be seen as the result of new museology's maturity. It concerns the study of the social role of museums and heritage as well as of the changing conditions in society that frame their trajectories. Sociomuseology is a way of understanding museums and heritage and a way of acting upon the world. One could say it bears the philosophy of new museology and brings it into a broader context. This is possible

because we believe that the solutions proposed by new museology have been above all attempts to respond to existing problems and conditions. It means that its forms and methods are secondary to its goals and principles. In other words: society changes new museology changes.

Today, the idea of sociomuseology is expanding geographically. Three important gateways are the Lusófona University of Humanities and Technology in Portugal, MINOM International and the Brazilian Institute of Museums. Also the Reinwardt Academy²², faculty of Cultural Heritage of the Amsterdam School of the Arts, is having a role in thinking of the "Latin" new museology and sociomuseology in connection with other practices and approaches. The Reinwardt Academy is a fertile environment for this since it has always seen itself as a meeting point of different traditions in the field of museology. This is in great part thanks to the active participation of lecturers in the international field and to the exchange with international scholars and practitioners contributing to our programmes. Besides the bachelors degree in cultural heritage, the Reinwardt Academy offers an international masters degree programme in museology.

At the Reinwardt Academy, we have the conviction that an increasing globalized world calls for exchange of knowledge and for the creation of new knowledge that can fulfil new demands in society. New museology(ies), sociomuseology, social inclusion and ideas on participation have their own specificities and specialities. They can learn from each other. Perhaps with this we can think of tailor-made understandings and alternatives to different and new conditions of working with heritage, people and development that are increasingly intercultural, hybrid and globalized.

For this reason, in the academic year 2009-2010, the master's degree programme offered two workshops which explored the dialogue between new museology and other practices and ideas. They aimed at experimenting and testing the limits of this dialogue.

The 4-week workshop on Professionalism focused on theoretical connections. It explored the meanings of grass-root participation in museological (heritage) processes and the implications for the role of the heritage professional. The workshop focused on the process of participation, which covered different underlying principles, motivations, and historical and theoretical frameworks. Discussions included the historical development and contents of the "Latin" new museology, the new participation paradigm of the 90's, and the role of social movements. The students were asked to write a final paper on the theme of "Grass-root participation and professional development in the heritage field- possibilities and challenges for the 21st Century". An important reference was the work of Manuel Castells about the power of identity in the network society²³.

In the 10-week workshop Project Management focused on practical experiment. The students were asked to work in a real project in cooperation with the Amsterdam Historical Museum. The museum wanted to test the possibility of working with inhabitants of the Dapperbuurt, the neighbourhood of the Reinwardt Academy in an exhibition project about neighbourhood shops. We started from a theoretical framework that combined principles of new museology and grass-root

²² www.reinwardtacademy.nl

²³ Castells, Manuel. *The Power of Identity (The information age: Economy, Society and Culture, Vol. 2)*. Blackwell, Oxford, 2004.

²¹ Vergo, Peter (ed). *The New Museology*. Reaktion Books, London, 1989.

participation, work with stakeholders and communities of practice (CoPs). The aim was to propose a framework for two stakeholders (the Amsterdam Historical Museum and the Reinwardt Academy) to engage in a conversation and hopefully cooperation with other stakeholders in the neighbourhood. The students wrote advice for the museum about the possibilities and implications of working with local communities of practice. For that, they talked with organizations and individuals of the Dapperbuurt by means of interviews, meetings and even working from a market stall.

Three of the theoretical papers were selected for this publication. They were chosen for the quality of their information and for providing new and creative views. Each in their own way reflects the experimental character of the workshops in their proposal to create a dialogue of ideas. For various reasons, the language barrier being a very important one, these different approaches to grass-root participation still remain rather isolated from each other. Therefore, these essays are also speculative... and perhaps somewhat provocative.

In addition, five students were also asked to write an essay about their views and experience in the project with the Amsterdam Historical Museum. They looked at the subject from a stakeholders perspective. They explored the idea of negotiating among different epistemological traditions and among different interests when it comes to acting in the city of Amsterdam.

These essays are the result of intellectual experimentation and of speculative minds. They offer valuable information and ways of experimenting with connections. I hope they will also serve as stimulus to further dialogue.

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Stills of our liquid times. An essay towards collecting today's intangible cultural heritage

Hester Dibbits and Marlous Willemsen

In this essay we want to introduce a new programme that we have just embarked on. It seeks to develop intangible cultural heritage methodology and is introduced in this publication as it aims to also offer handles for museal collecting strategies. The programme investigates the development of the heritage field – in particular that of intangible cultural heritage, and including cultural-historical museums – as a shared public space in which contemporary formations are present and represented towards collecting present-day social repertoires. A laboratory in which we may have to let go of items that are disappearing or losing their use or relevance, and in which collecting is a multifaceted act of negotiating meanings and prompting mutual understanding.

Mixophilia

"We" are changing. Since the 1990s, ever more people have moved to and within Europe, and they are more and more different from each other.²⁴ They come from many different places, and have as many reasons for their migration as they have expectations of the places they go to, and (virtual) ways to keep in touch with the rest of the world. Our daily lives imply living with difference and searching for sameness. At work and at school, in the underground and in the park, individuals constantly negotiate their common modes of interaction²⁵ – if they have not entrenched. They have to find new common points of reference, since institutions that seemed secure forever are losing their capacities to serve us as such. Times are changing so quickly that new social forms cannot even solidify anymore.

Our times have become "liquid", as Zygmunt Bauman puts it.²⁶ In liquid times, he recognizes the coinciding tendencies of mixophobia and mixophilia:

*"Mixophobia' manifests itself in the drive towards islands of similarity and sameness amidst the sea of variety and difference. [...] The attraction of a 'community of sameness' is that of an insurance policy against the risks with which the daily life in a poly-vocal world is fraught."*²⁷

But the more people socialize with others "like them", in venues ranging from gated communities to ethnic sports clubs, "the more they are likely to unlearn the art of negotiating shared meanings and an agreeable *modus convivendi*."²⁸

In this context we are in dire need of shared space. Especially in cities, where opportunities self-perpetually attract ever new strangers and thus repel others or make them withdraw, we should create open, inviting and hospitable public spaces as laboratories of mixophilia to prompt mutual understanding. How could the heritage field (heritage institutions, museums, but also individuals with their traditions and ritual repertoires)

²⁴ Vertovec 2007.

²⁵ Wessendorf 2010.

²⁶ Bauman 2007.

²⁷ Bauman 2007, pp. 87-88.

²⁸ Ibidem.

shape such mix-longing public spaces? The Amsterdam Southeast-based organization Imagine IC (see text box) and the Research Group of the Reinwardt Academy for Cultural Heritage intend to explore this question in a series of events entitled *Immaterieel erfgoed met prik*.²⁹ The title translates as *Intangible Cultural Heritage with Pop* and connotes an inciting look on intangible cultural heritage. In this article the project will be called *Pop*. *Pop* was initiated by Imagine IC as a follow-up to an earlier series that investigated new theory and methodology for participatory heritage practice.³⁰ It started with *Echt Nederlands* (Really Dutch) in 2010, in which Dutchness was discussed as an ongoing act of negotiation.³¹ Subsequently, the theory of “super-diversity”³² was explored in relation to its meaning for the arrangement of the “negotiating table”. The Netherlands receives an ever-increasing number of new arrivals. They differ from each other to an ever-increasing extent. Will they all join in the talks? And if they must, how will this take shape?

Pop

In the programme *Pop* Imagine IC and the Reinwardt Academy Research Group wish to investigate the shaping of mix-longing public spaces by means of a programme that itself aims to be such a space. The programme will consist of a series of five public meetings in which items from the wide repertoire of present-day society are to be annotated by a super-diverse company of actors, of practitioners and carriers, in the cities and in the country, of various ages, heritage thinkers and heritage workers, policy advisers, and students from heritage disciplines and related fields, like the social sciences and the humanities.³³ The items to be put before them, will be concrete, rather than tactile. They will, for instance, be traditions of commemoration, sounds of the city and party practices. The selection is inspired by current programmes of museums and the cultural heritage field of which Imagine IC and the Reinwardt Academy are themselves part of. The organizers of *Pop* bring them together and the programme can thus be considered as a collecting activity.

But it is not this collection that is the aim of *Pop*. The items, or rather cases, picked by *Pop*'s organizers are merely a starting point towards a next collection: of current and new meanings, associations and emotions that are attached to, embedded in and sparked off by the chosen items, and by their annotation. *Pop* thus departs from a broad notion of collecting. It is not considered as one single activity, with a beginning and an end, resulting in a set collection of items. It is thought to be a process of identifying and addressing items, or cultural repertoires. What is more, *Pop* considers collecting as part of a more extensive process consisting of a range of activities, like programming, presenting, annotating, questioning, managing, documenting, constructing and transforming, but also forgetting, abandoning, leaving unnamed and erasing.

In the context of the present publication, we may then wonder which methodologies are to be applied in this activity, what the

²⁹ Within the Research Group, *Immaterieel erfgoed met prik* is part of the research programme of Hester Dibbits.

³⁰ *Immaterieel erfgoed met prik* is co-funded by the Mondriaan Fund. The earlier series was supported by the DOEN Foundation and the Mondriaan Fund.

³¹ Key speaker was Prof. Dr. Frank Lechner of Emory University, who drew from his then recent book *The Netherlands. Globalization and National Identity*.

³² Vertovec 2007.

³³ The cost of participation in the events will be 10 euros (5 euros for students and freelancers). *Pop* meetings and reports will be brought to the attention of these persons by newsletters. *Pop* counts on networks, such as those around the cases, or: items, that are programmed; and those attracted by the (international) speakers who add to the search for meanings. *Pop* also organizes additional (dinner) events with these speakers. The company, as well as the media to which attention the programme is brought, will also be actors in the process.

outcome would be and to what extent this collection – understood as (part of) a process in which a multitude of actors is involved³⁴ – could serve as a source of inspiration for cultural-historical museums. The actual trajectory that has been mapped out by Imagine IC and the Reinwardt Academy Research Group, must be understood in the context of the emergence or definition process of intangible heritage practice in the Netherlands. In 2012 the Dutch Minister of Culture ratified the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In the same year, the city of Amsterdam, a main funder of Imagine IC, requested this small archive/museum of present-day urban youth cultures to make a metropolitan contribution to the Dutch national debate on what intangible cultural heritage is and how it is being dealt with.

Intangible cultural heritage practice

In the Netherlands, the definition and methodology of intangible cultural heritage as yet rests strongly on the UNESCO convention. In this, the “community” plays a strong part as a signifier of practices. *Pop* asks: what is a community these days and what can be expected of it in terms of intangible heritage methodology? The Dutch national inventory of intangible cultural heritage counts on active communities to enter the practices they consider important. The inventory has recently been supplemented with the crafts of *Staphorster stipwerk*³⁵ and Frisian woodcarving.³⁶ The entries were published by VIE³⁷ and annotated by the remarks that they are part of a long tradition of high-quality Dutch craftwork, and that they are on the verge of extinction. Skills like DJing or street soccer freestyling, both also of great international renown, do not at present run the risk of vanishing and have not been brought to the inventory. Surely they do “have” communities? Do these not really care about their practice? Or do they not care about the list?

Pop presumes that our communal daily life determines the definition of intangible cultural heritage, rather than the reverse. If the practice of intangible cultural heritage does not fit us all, it must be made to fit. We propose *Pop* as a series of five experimental collecting trips in our liquid times. Where will we go? To Amsterdam squares where one person might hear the church bells, while another notices the impact of the ball kicked against the gates of the street soccer cage. To the dinner table, where one person is eating so-called forgotten vegetables, which she grew on the roof of her flat, while someone else is having Surinamese *heri heri* to commemorate the Dutch slavery past. Such destinations will be virtual as we envisage the series to be meetings at the premises of Imagine IC. At every meeting, two collective performances will be presented and annotated; practices that can raise and make us understand fundamental issues about present-day communities.

Pop collects, but does not have a new collection of items as its main objective. It rather aims to provide handles for making significant heritage choices. Such choices face not only policy makers and heritage professionals, but also the performers of the daily life that is their focus. As joint collectors, we can try

³⁴ For a similar, process- and network-oriented view on collecting, see van Mensch/Meijer-van Mensch 2011 and Meijer-van Mensch/Tietmeyer 2013. Hester Dibbits a 178 nd Marlous Willemsen.

³⁵ Staphorst is a small town towards the northeast of the Netherlands; its *stipwerk* is a craft by which cloth is decorated with painted-on dots. Friesland is a northern region (province).

³⁶ URL: http://www.volkscultuur.nl/nieuws_5.html and URL: http://www.volkscultuur.nl/nationale-inventaris_40.html (date: 11.10.2013).

³⁷ VIE is the Dutch Centre for Folklore and Intangible Cultural Heritage. This institution was appointed by the Dutch government to coordinate and boost the activities to be developed for the implementation of the convention.

and reflect “society”. Or hold a mirror up to it. We can try to capture the spirit of the times for future generations. Or wish to inspire or turn around their future. We could collect practices because they are widely shared, or to make them shareable. *Pop* intends to be an exercise of collecting by programming, or, more precisely, collecting by annotating. Each time, the programme will stop the time around living repertoires (i.e. create stills) by providing them with meanings at that particular moment, together with the group of shareholders present.

A museal challenge

The practice of institutional heritage came up at a time when the world looked very different from now. *Pop* departs from the conviction that both heritage institutions and our strategies require constant challenge in order to retain significance in society. As is shown by several publications from recent years, and also by the contributions in this volume, many cultural-historical, ethnographic and ethnological museums are aware of the need to reinvent themselves.³⁸ People, goods and information are moving around the world with unprecedented speed, which leads to a changing society, to feelings of uncertainty and a desire to hold on to something. The enduring task of museums lies in their addressing of the people who are “here”, their feelings and their longings.

Museums reinvent themselves by creating space in the permanent exhibition area for the history of the museum, or to amplify on the origins of particular collections to ever-changing audiences. One example would be the Netherlands Open Air Museum (Arnhem), which explains in the new permanent exhibition space of regional dress how “their” collection of traditional Surinamese dress was once considered a mismatch in the collection, donated to another museum on permanent loan, and recovered only recently. Other institutions pay visits to big city areas to collect heritage of newcomers. They dynamize their collections by regarding (or having regarded) with new eyes collection pieces which already are in their possession. And they call into question traditional oppositions such as popular/elite, high/low culture, Western/non-Western, self/other, local/global, for instance by resorting to notions like super-diversity or transnational relations, or by departing from lifestyle groups (“the post-modern”, the “post-materialists”) instead of groups formed on the basis of socio-economic background, age or ethnicity when drawing up their policies on collection building and marketing.

Some historical, ethnographic and folk museums opt for strictly thematic presentations, aimed at a more diverse audience. Not only the Netherlands Open Air Museum, but also the Bokrijk Museum – the largest open-air museum of Belgium – and the Westphalian Open-Air Museum Detmold provide examples of such an approach.³⁹ They focus on universal practices or on traditional anthropological themes such as celebration and commemoration, death and burial, connected with practices or rituals. Quite a few urban and regional museums choose to focus on the identity of the city or region where their premises are located, responding to processes of localization and regionalization, which, in their turn, can be regarded as responses to processes of globalization. Following this approach, the new Frisian museum presents “the” story of Friesland and the Amsterdam Museum discloses the “DNA” of the capital.⁴⁰ This approach implies that choices to acquire objects are always

guided by the question whether the object fits the profile of what has been designated or acknowledged as “typical”.

A trend seen in practically all museums is the attempt to stimulate all the senses and emotions of the visitors. This is reflected in a shift from object-related presentations to experience, and accompanied by a new interest in intangible cultural heritage. Festivals, rituals, crafts, stories and songs: they all count. Folk museums, but also associations sometimes have long traditions of collecting and performing folk culture through fieldwork, living history, re-enactments and first-person interpretations. This is an approved method to deal with nostalgia for an imagined past (the *invention of tradition*⁴¹). At the same time, this approach might cause feelings of discomfort, for to what extent do such presentations contribute to critical reflections on oversimplified world views, with all too clear-cut images of group cultures? Should museums try to satisfy the quest for nostalgia with experiences that appeal to all five senses, or should they take a more critical stance?

New communities

An example in this context would be the small-scale exhibition *Van Huis Uit* (lit. “from the home”; fig. “by origin”), which was shown in 2007 at *Imagine IC* as a continuation of a research project into twentieth-century migrant interiors.⁴² One of the displays on show at this exhibition was an installation made by the British sociologist and theatre maker Michael McMillan in collaboration with designer Remco Swart, presenting a living room of a fictitious migrant family of mixed origin, full of colourful souvenirs and homely sounds. At the opening, the room was blessed by means of an initiation rite performed by a *Winti*⁴³ priestess, which made for some liveliness, but which was not annotated in detail at the time.⁴⁴ To what extent does such a ritual contribute to the formation of shared space, instead of just being an addition to the fun at that particular moment?

The aforementioned question has been gaining urgency in the Netherlands since the signing of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, which forced museums to reflect on the role they should play at its implementation. The UNESCO convention was drawn up out of concern for the fact that all over the world, traditions, rituals and craft skills might disappear as a result of globalization processes. Countries that fall under the convention are not only obliged to build an inventory of the “various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in [their territories], with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations”.⁴⁵ The State parties must also “take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in [their territories].”⁴⁶ But what exactly does “safeguarding” mean? Which task lies ahead

⁴¹ Hobsbawm/Ranger 1992.

⁴² The research project started in 2003 as a collaborative project of the Meertens Institute (Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences) and the Institute for the Social Sciences (University of Amsterdam). It was co-funded by the Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research. The aim of the project was to gain a better insight into the relationship between material culture and the construction of social-cultural identities, especially migrant and ethnic identities. The empirical research question was how migrants and their descendants, while furnishing their dwellings, deal with their migration background and the cultural repertoires from their countries of origin.

⁴³ *Winti* is an Afro-Surinamese religion.

⁴⁴ McMillan 2009. See also Dibb its 2008, which discusses the choices that were made during the making of the exhibition *Van Huis Uit* regarding the representation

of different migrant groups. Cf. Walle 2013.

⁴⁵ UNESCO Convention 2003, Article 11.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ For the Netherlands, see for instance Odding 2011.

³⁹ See Kania-Schütz 2009.

⁴⁰ URL: <http://www.friesmuseum.nl/museum/collection?language=en> and

URL: <http://amsterdammuseum.nl/en/amsterdam-dna-0> (date: 10.10.2013).

for cultural-historical museums? And what does this imply for the practice of collecting?

Both before and after the signing of the convention, there has been fervent debate in the Netherlands, like in other countries. Why would one arrange for traditions and rituals to be safeguarded, by the authorities or otherwise? Is it at all possible to collect practices, repertoires of action? And if one would and could, which ones should be selected? This last question is not insignificant, considering that recommendations for the inventory are to be made bottom-up, by a (representative of a) community. Is the idea of a society made up of several communities with spokespersons who lobby for “the collective” and their supposed “cultural property” not out of date? These are the types of questions that have been put to the fore and explored at an academic level by various European ethnologists and social anthropologists.⁴⁷

Outspoken unspoken

Pop wants to face these challenges together with the museums. It will take as its focal points a series of topicalities from the museum world in Amsterdam and in the Netherlands. For the trial episode of 20th June 2013 the widely programmed commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery by the Netherlands was chosen. Cultural activist Mercedes Zandwijken presented her “new tradition” of the *Keti Koti* Tables (grafted on the Jewish Seider table). Invitees “from black and white communities” are to share a fixed menu of dishes and customs of the descendants of enslaved people, while having a moderated conversation about their shared slavery past.⁴⁸ In addition, *Pop* programmed jazz singer Denise Jannah, who had given a performance at the unveiling of the Dutch slavery monument in the Amsterdam Oosterpark in 2002. Before an audience of 85 people interested in the slavery past, either for personal or professional reasons, she answered, by singing, Pop’s question which songs reminded her of that past.

What did we collect on 20th June 2013? We enjoyed and discussed the currently successful *Keti Koti* Table as a tradition that intends to share old stories with new people, and wants to create new ones in the process. We listened to well-known and lesser-known songs about life at the plantations. A key observation inspired by these items, or cases, was: which stories did we not hear?⁴⁹ We collected the insight that messages hidden in songs or knowledge embedded in stories of the descendants of enslaved people are not always heartily shared with “just anyone”. They feel pursued by a sustained urgency to keep things among themselves and by the conviction that

⁴⁷ See e.g. Hafstein 2007, who argues that intangible heritage “objectifies the practices and expressions of human communities”, and in this way “makes community itself subject to conservation in the face of its purportedly steady decline in the modern world” (p. 93). Cf. Maguet 2011. An introduction to the debate about the Convention in the Netherlands can be found in Dibb its/Elpers/Margry/van der Zeijden 2011. For a critical analysis of the idea of communities as given homogeneous entities, existing of people with shared backgrounds, ideas and needs, see Stengs 2012. The Cultural Property Research Group of the university Göttingen (URL: <http://cultural-property.uni-goettingen.de/>, date: 10.10.2013) investigates the construction of cultural property and “shared heritage” within the context of cultural, economic, juridical and societal discourses. See e.g. Bendix/Eggert/Peselmann 2013.

⁴⁸ See also URL: <http://www.ketikotitafel.nl> (date: 11.10.2013). *Keti koti* means: breaking the chains.

⁴⁹ We would like to thank Markus Balkenhol (Meertens Institute), who will soon defend his PhD thesis at the University of Amsterdam, carrying the provisional title *Memory Work: Trauma, Truth and Slavery in the Netherlands*. In every episode, Pop will invite a panel of two commentators of the practices presented. They will try to activate the participating audience into further annotation. Markus Balkenhol was a commentator on 20 June, next to Hester Dibbitts, who is the permanent commentator in each event of the Pop series.

traditions will change fundamentally once they become public knowledge or get canonized. Given this reluctance to share, cultural practices and their communities remain exclusive. This information also handed us the question whether this could be the very reason why new traditions, which might be suitable for sharing with “others”, like the *Keti Koti* Table, are being invented.

What could these insights mean for a collecting methodology for the commemoration of the slavery past? Would it have to content itself with an invented *pars pro toto*? Would this entail the public space we are looking for? For every episode, Pop will invite a keynote speaker, or keynote “questioner”, from (far) outside the field of Dutch heritage. On 20th June 2013, literary scientist Saidiya Hartman⁵⁰ presented her search for the untold, sometimes even unspeakable stories of enslaved people themselves; stories that are absent from the archives of traders and slave owners. Hartman explores the role of imagination in order to complete the story that has been written so far.⁵¹ In doing so, she attaches importance to our awareness of our motives and objectives. Commemoration does not suffice as long as there is still a world to gain for the descendants of slaves.

Emotion networks

The stories the heirs of enslaved people could tell us, and would be willing to share with us, must not be collected for the sake of a poly-vocal story per se, as art for art’s sake. They should serve as a starting point to explain, and especially improve their place in society. This was also Mercedes Zandwijken’s concern. Hartman and Zandwijken share the same indignation toward the slavery past and its contemporary consequences, as well as the same ambition to make it socially fertile. They are both part of an emotion community around (the commemoration of) the slavery past. This is a community with wide-ranging emotions. It also includes, e.g., those of a participant in a *Keti Koti* Table⁵², who felt irritated by the emotions of pain and guilt that dominated the event, and drew the attention of the audience to the difficulties the owners must have suffered controlling the slaves in the tropical heat or at mid-sea. These are the sort of diverse emotion communities Pop will keep researching in the next episodes. Attention will be given to explicit and strong emotions that are part of the practices that Pop puts before its groups of stakeholders. But also the more moderate meanings as well as implicit feelings count, as much as those that are evoked and stirred up by the passions of others.

On 28 September 2013, *De Volkskrant*, one of the leading national newspapers in the Netherlands, published a full-page article on the noise from street soccer squares in the city of Nijmegen (mid-east Netherlands). The council had barred one square with concrete blocks to keep out street soccer players, or rather the noise they made and that of their ball. The outraged residents form part of an emotion network around a current metropolitan sound, namely that of the skill of street soccer. Many others love that same sound. Pop examined sounds and sound networks in November 2013, in collaboration with the Amsterdam Museum, which recently opened an installation with the sound of Dam Square in 1875, 1935 and today. At the gathering, there was a presentation of two city sounds: the

⁵⁰ Saidiya Hartman is a full professor at Columbia University, New York. Her publications include *Scenes of Subjection* (1997) and *Lose Your Mother* (2007).

⁵¹ *Venus in Two Acts*. In: *Small Axe*, 26.06.2008.

⁵² Organized by *Keti Koti* Table at 5 June 2013 in the Amsterdam City Archives. A similar contribution was made at 20 June at *Imagine IC*, by one of the participants in the Pop event.

ringing of the church bells (carillon) – partly because the Dutch Carillon Society is preparing a “nomination” for the national inventory of intangible cultural heritage – and the sound of street soccer, which has been registered, studied⁵³ and exhibited in Imagine IC’s project Panna’s and Akka’s.⁵⁴

Rocky (Roxanne) Hehakaija and Edje (Edward) van Gils are street soccer players. They are inventors of impressive tricks – and of the latest trends and codes of the city squares. In these squares, it does not matter who you are, but what you can do. Playing soccer like billiards, for example, in the street soccer cages of the city. The sound of it is in the street artists’ bodies, as it were. Just like bell-ringing, street soccer is a skill with a sonic effect that might either annoy one or make one feel at home. Within the framework of their joint implementation of the UNESCO convention, VIE and the Dutch Cultural Participation Fund (FCP)⁵⁵ highlighted the motif of the “craft” (from the UNESCO convention) in 2013-2014. In a defining sense, they attached a material result to this craft. Pop questions this definition by using street soccer and bell-ringing to put on the agenda skills with a non-material effect. Within the scope of Pop, intangible cultural heritage is to be conceived as a repertoire entrenching itself in the body (= embodied knowledge), to be then passed on in practice, or, as ethnologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it so aptly, by just doing it.⁵⁶



Figure 1: Edward van Gils showing off his iconic skill (Photo: Guus Dubbelman © Photographer and Imagine IC. From: Imagine IC collection and part of Panna’s and Akka’s exhibition).

⁵³ Halfman 2013.

⁵⁴ URL: <http://www.imagineic.nl/cases/pannas-en-akkas> (date: 11.10.2013). The street soccer soundscapes will be part of Imagine IC’s formal collection. URL: <http://www.imagineic.nl/collectie> (date: 11.10.2013).

⁵⁵ VIE: see note 14. FCP: “Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie”, fund distributing government funds towards cultural participation. Appointed by the Dutch government to partner with VIE towards the implementation of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

⁵⁶ Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004.



Figure 2: Edward van Gils and Rocky Hehakaija (right) at the opening of Panna’s and Akka’s, 19 September 2013 (Photo: Jeremy Paesch © Imagine IC).



Figure 3: The audience at the opening – and of the Intangible Cultural Heritage series. In the Intangible Heritage series, the role of the audiences as participants in the process of “collecting”, of annotating intangible cultural heritage, of creating new meanings, is important (Photo: Jeremy Paesch © Imagine IC).



Figure 4: Guests at the opening of Panna’s and Akka’s in the exhibition (Photo: Jeremy Paesch © Imagine IC).

Free rein

In *Pop*, intangible cultural heritage is something you do, so that it can become part of a network. In other words, something that is not just done by you, but by other people, too. But is intangible cultural heritage also something that is done to you, and to other people like you? In spring 2014, there will be an small exhibition about religion in the city on the library floor of the Imagine IC house. It will be prepared during the annual project week of high school students from Amsterdam Southeast. In this expo, students will talk about how they were affected by certain pieces from the Biblical Museum of Amsterdam. What did these items “do” to them? The Biblical Museum and the Amsterdam Museum took the joint initiative to choose *believing in the city* as the theme for Amsterdam

heritage institutions in the spring of 2014. Imagine IC will elaborate this theme in the Southeast area. Here, belief is a very topical subject, which does not stay “behind the front door”, as they say. Like in some other parts of the city, belief is gaining in presence in the public domain. But how exactly is it experienced and shared? Believing is seen as “typically intangible”, but is it as intangible as believed to be?

In June 2014, *Pop* will examine the relationship between intangible cultural heritage and materiality. The definition of intangible cultural heritage includes matter (see the UNESCO treaty), but how does the one relate to the other? Is matter the result of intangible cultural heritage (like with crafts)? Attribute? Carrier? Religious objects in museums tell recognizable stories. Face veils and minarets evoke many responses. In *Pop*, this will be discussed with Birgit Meyer⁵⁷. Her research project *Icons of Religion* studies religious images in the big, super-diverse city and the stories they tell: the stories of believers themselves and those of the perceptions of others. Together with museums, *Pop* wonders what would happen if religious objects and images were no longer shown (just) for their art-historical or cultural-historical significance, but would instead be stripped of this shock absorber to give free rein to current religious feelings. Might old Dutch Bibles, for instance, appeal to new believers? Or what repertoires of emotions and practices do contemporary belief networks contribute to the religious heritage of the city?

Live and let die

How could networks such as these be involved in collecting activities? Or how could the famous party scenes of Amsterdam, e.g., be tempted into having their practice established as heritage or as part of a museum collection? In the dance scenes of the city, the community only exists on the floor, but these fluid “formations”⁵⁸ too embody rituals, skills and much more that can be understood as intangible cultural heritage. How could we possibly honour this when situational communities are not easily enticed into making bottom-up proposals to a national inventory? Which is not surprising, by the way, since people are bound to have totally different things on their mind at parties like *Sensation or Latin Village*.⁵⁹ Could all of us together come to some sort of acknowledgement of the urgency to collect? And what could be the nature of such an urgency and the collection process as long as dance culture is still alive and kicking? Does the dance network not generate a collection of its own in its current repertoire? And if so, could we record this by means of (continuous) annotation?

In addition to the question how to involve contemporary networks and how we should do more with those than acknowledge their repertoires, *Pop* would like to raise the issue in how far collecting activities should be focused on “safeguarding” anything at all, even in a dynamic sense. In a *Third Text* article from 2000, the Indian thinker and cultural activist Rustom Bharucha opposes the tendency to store everything in museums. He challenges the heritage world to consider a radical “politics of erasure”.⁶⁰ In her book *Intangible Heritage and the Museum* (2012), Marilena Alivizatou calls this a highly valuable initiative. According to Alivizatou, the creative potential of destruction and renewal can be considered in relation not only to physical objects and sites, but also to intangible culture. Is it true, Alivizatou wonders, that modern processes of economic and technological development should

only be looked at as a threat to heritage as process? As the notion of pure and authentic traditions should be questioned, and synthesis and renewal are to be considered as a key part of cultural vitality, globalization can be considered as an opportunity for cross-cultural innovation and fertilization. She concludes: “[Yet] the creative potential of destruction and transformation emerges as a possible alternative framework for negotiating ideas of identity and contemporary engagements with the past.”⁶¹ In the international museal practice she researched, however, this approach appears to have been adopted or otherwise addressed to a very limited extent only.

While Bharucha raises the question if the museum should be erased, *Pop* intends to investigate, in June 2015, what the result would be if we were to elaborate the idea of erasure and transformation with respect to the collecting of intangible cultural heritage.⁶² One of the results might be an initial idea for a collaborative museological project which focuses on an investigation of cultural practices that have died out or have been erased (do we regret?), or that some of us would rather not safeguard for various reasons, its racist or discriminatory character being maybe one of them.⁶³ The heritage sector seems to have become convinced of the fact that intangible cultural heritage is dynamic. But in how far should or can we try to actively influence this process?

As to this aspect, *Pop* will trace parallels with de-accessioning practices and policies of museums, but also with the “natural course of decay and evanescence” of living entities.⁶⁴ It will lead us into the ongoing debate about the dominant role of professionals, institutions, policy makers and other actors in the field of heritage. If we have the opportunity to act as agents of change, what should we do and what should we *not* do?

In 2015, Artis Royal Zoo (Amsterdam) will open the doors of the refurbished “Groote Museum” (large museum) of biodiversity. This will also be the year in which the so-called millennium targets must have been met. One of the objectives was a more sustainable environment. This makes for a nice reason to use 2015 as the year in which to direct *Pop* at a domain of intangible heritage that has hitherto received very little attention, namely the domain of the “knowledge and practices that are connected with nature and the universe” (UNESCO), as well as with the networks they represent.

At a global level, numerous initiatives are taken to preserve animals from extinction. What is more, lost vegetables are grown into being. They were thought to be forgotten, but apparently this was not the case. While nature receives new space in urban wastelands, and beehives are installed on roofs, the city’s residents can see Winti specialists or animal shamans to discuss their problems. For a moment, it appeared as if we had bidden farewell to nature, but even in the city – or precisely there? – nature is thought by many to be trendy again. Which repertoires do they add to the collections of our time? Which emotions do they attach to objects that might already have been housed in the collections of museums? Or are their points of reference elsewhere? Are repertoires possibly their own archives? Just like the culture of forgotten vegetables, whose reflection is recalled by emotion networks; like the

⁵⁷ Houtman/Meyer 2013.

⁵⁸ Meyer 2009.

⁵⁹ Megafestations of contemporary party cultures in Amsterdam. See also URL: <http://www.sensation.com> (date: 11.10.2013).

⁶⁰ Bharucha 2000.

⁶¹ Alivizatou 2012, p. 47.

⁶² See also Knell 2007, p. 22: “Loss is pervasive, an inevitable product of change, and change is implicit in consumption.”

⁶³ Cf. the discussion about Black Pete in the Netherlands. Another topic that might be discussed more in depth is the issue of safeguarding traditions and cultural practices which are discriminatory in term of gender (UNESCO seems to have put this issue on the agenda. URL: <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00585> (date: 25.10.2013).

⁶⁴ Lowenthal 1985, p. 405, as quoted by Alivizatou 2012, pp. 189-190.

traditions of commemoration of a slavery past in which old and new shareholders retell stories that seemed forgotten, and satisfy new needs. Does “intangible heritage” organize its own storage? And does it sideline museums in the process, or, conversely, does it rely on them?

A collection process as a shared public space

Pop is a process that has only just started. It so far mainly consists of questions. The focal point of the project will be the creation of public spaces in which we can get to know and understand people we do not know yet. To that end, *Pop* will gather, present and annotate intangible heritage items from contemporary society, in collaboration with museums and further stakeholders. *Pop* # 1, about traditions of commemoration of the Dutch slavery past, teaches that people are not always willing to share their most meaningful practices with “everybody”, and that the public space might then resort to substitute practices, sometimes using newly invented intangible cultural heritage.

Pop regards collecting as a process, and consequently continues its search for ever more insights that transcend the individual cases and could as such offer handles for collecting practices of cultural-historical museums. It is a quest – a collecting programme – set up as a series of public meetings with and on emotion networks around concrete intangible heritage cases. These networks include cultural heritage professionals. The results will be laid down in reports to be published online on the Imagine IC website and in other places. Their usability in museal collecting strategies and their effectiveness as an ingredient in the recipes that museums are creating in order to face the challenges of our liquid times, will be on the test. You are kindly invited to participate in the process.

Imagine IC

Imagine IC “pioneers the heritage of contemporary living together”. It is based in Amsterdam Southeast, a 1960s metropolitan extension. Upon the Surinamese independence in 1975, considerable numbers of people of Surinamese background came to inhabit the area. Until today, it has daily received new people from all over the world. In the house that Imagine IC shares with the local branch of the Amsterdam public library, young people from the neighbourhood and the city challenge concepts of who “we” are.

The Imagine IC network explores the modes and codes of the urban young. Imagine IC is co-financed by the city of Amsterdam, which requires the institution to contribute to the intangible heritage debate in the Netherlands (which is urgent, given the ratification of the UNESCO convention) from the perspective of youngsters in the big city. Their social fabric consists of situational communities that are (both in the real world and online) composed of people from everywhere. The young, especially in urban environments, are expert inventors of the social grammars that such communities require. Imagine IC seeks to raise awareness of the significance of today’s lifestyles as a sneak preview of tomorrow’s society, and to innovate the concept and corpus of “our” heritage.

The network creates digital productions of image and sound. The online collection is embedded in the collections of the Amsterdam City Archives and the Netherlands Institute for Sound and Vision. The exhibitions, as well as the education and knowledge programmes, reflect on communities and heritage in a changing world. The 2013-2014 winter exhibition is called Panna’s and Akka’s. It presents the skills of street soccer players;

the scenes and sounds of the squares they share with each other and everybody else in the city.

See more: <http://www.imagineic.nl>

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Richard SENNETT (2012) Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation.

Christian Maravelias

Richard Sennett's career covers more than four decades. He has provided us with an impressive series of works that provide a comprehensive and historically grounded diagnosis of the ailments of urban life and work. Famous books such as *The Fall of Public Man* (1977), *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (1973), *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism* (1999), *Respect in a World of Inequality* (2003) and *The Craftsman* (2008) all provide us with a mirror of our society and suggest how we may take society and ourselves further. While having an unquestionable identity as an academic scholar, Sennett has never attempted to hide the fact that he is also a political writer. His latest book, *Together – The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (2012), is no exception. It not only seeks to diagnose the premises of cooperation in contemporary society, but also dwells on how cooperation has been shaped politically, how and why it has been weakened by neo-liberal political doctrines, financial capitalism, social media, etc., and how it may be remedied.

The problem which this book sets out to explore is the tendency for society to become ever more complicated materially, economically, racially, ethnically and religiously while people tend socially to avoid people unlike themselves. Modern politics, Sennett suggests, often emphasizes unity and similarity, "encouraging the politics of the tribe rather than of complexity". The book explores how this situation has arisen and what might be done about it. As such the book is a fairly straightforward read. Yet, it is not an easy read, not only because it draws on such a wide range of academic disciplines, including history, philosophy, psychology, sociology and political science, but also because it makes use of art, literature and Richard Sennett's own personal life experiences to paint a subtle picture of the complexities and challenges of cooperation.

The book's basic argument is that cooperation is not so much a matter of a certain moral attitude towards others and of shared ideals as it is a matter of skill. Cooperation, Sennett argues, is an embodied craft which is conveyed by social rituals. The problem of contemporary society is not only that many of the traditional rituals which have encouraged people to bond with others are waning, but also that those rituals that replace them – temporary forms of work such as team and project work, non-face-to-face social media such as Facebook, etc. – tend to undermine the craft of cooperation.

The book comprises three parts. Part one outlines how cooperation has been shaped in politics. Sennett uses the Paris Universal Exposition in 1900 as his starting point. The Exposition, we are told, was mostly a celebration of the triumph of the industrial societies in Europe and the US. Yet, tucked away on a side street, a part of the Exposition was devoted to the human issues raised by this triumph. This part of the Exposition was named "The Social Question". Sennett points out that all the contributors to the social questions room shared a common enemy: "the surging capitalism of their era, its inequalities and oppressions". They also shared the basic idea that cooperation among the people was the way to combat this enemy and its ills. Only through cooperation could a sense of solidarity be established. Yet, they were divided with regards to how

cooperation and solidarity would be achieved. Whereas, for instance, the Germans believed in a top-down approach based on centralized unions, the American representatives stood for a bottom-up approach based on voluntary participation in local workshops.

This example is important to Sennett, not only or even primarily because it came to distinguish the radical from the more compromising political left, but because it was indicative of two opposed views on how cooperation and, as a result, solidarity would be achieved. Whereas the top-down approach emphasized unity, even if it had to be superimposed, the bottom-up approach emphasized involvement and inclusion, even if this meant that unity in belief and thinking would be weak. The top-down approach saw cooperation as an instrument that would lead towards the higher end, unity in thinking and in beliefs; the bottom-up approach saw cooperation as an end in and by itself.

Sennett goes on to elaborate this difference in relation to the thinking of Karl Marx and the American utopian, Robert Owen. While the dialectical thinking of Marx, Sennett argues, implies the formation of unified and politically opposed social classes whose struggles eventually result in a political synthesis, Robert Owen's dialogical thinking was more open-ended, local, pluralist and modest in its approach. Robert Owen was interested in how people from diverse backgrounds, without any real unity, could live and work together and, despite having no shared cause, how solidarity could eventually evolve between them if they were mutually responsible for a joint craft. To Robert Owen the workshop was the site where this form of cooperation and solidarity could develop. To him the factory was not a step forward but a step backward in the social development of societies.

Throughout the book Sennett comes back to the importance of dialogue (rather than debate), mutuality (rather than unity) and the workshop as the site and institution where cooperation based on dialogue and mutuality can be established and sustained. In our times, Sennett seems to argue, where people with little unity must find ways to live together, help each other, and cooperate without a shared, grand cause, Robert Owen's thinking deserves new attention. In the remaining chapters of part one, Sennett discusses first how competition, between individuals, groups, corporations, etc., is an inescapable part of cooperation that threatens to undermine it, and second, how cooperation and competition are possibly balanced by shared rituals. A balance between cooperation and competition requires that people be not too remote, that they be not too independent, and that their exchanges be not over determined by the short term. Since rituals establish at once repetition and stability in everyday life, symbolic bridges between specific exchanges and their more general meaning, and an expressive dimension that provides individuals with specific identities, they are fundamental for establishing the conditions required for maintaining a balance between cooperation and competition.

With references to Max Weber's works on relations between the religious reformation and the development of modern industrial capitalism and Norbert Elias's works on the spread of new codes of civility, Sennett then makes the point that the modern era established new rituals that opened up new possibilities for sociability and cooperation. "Civility", says Sennett, "made sense of how people in experimental, innovative workshops could best learn from one another, civility as an open, inquisitive discussion about problems, procedures and results... Civility was the social frame our Reformation ancestors put around lively communication. It remains a good frame".

Industrial capitalism drew on the new rituals and codes of civility, but bred alienation in its factories and big cities. Interaction shrank into mechanical work routines and a defensive tolerance of others unlike oneself.

In part two of the book this exploration of the historical conditions of cooperation provides Sennett with a platform for discussing how and why the weakening of cooperation has proceeded in our times. Here Sennett draws on the ideas developed in *The Corrosion of Character* (1998), *Respect in an Age of Inequality* (2003) and *The Craftsman* (2008), as well as on earlier works such as *The Hidden Injuries of Class* (1973). He discusses how contemporary capitalism and neo-liberal politics have created huge inequalities so that people today live in different worlds with little chance of respecting and understanding each other. Furthermore, he points out how the current capitalist regime coupled with neo-liberal politics have resulted in a culture characterized by individualism and consumerism in which people are ashamed of and reluctant to depend on others while they become more dependent on the symbolic values of the things they consume.

In the more specific world of work, things are no better. Whereas until the 1970s work was dominated by large and relatively stable institutions (large profit-seeking corporations, hospitals, schools, public bureaus, etc.), current capitalism and neo-liberal politics have moved the world of work away from the time-stable institutions to flexible institutions that are capable of dealing with a fluctuating short term. A world of work dominated by team work, projects and temporary employment requires people that are skilled when it comes to coping with stress and dealing with many issues at once; people with acting skills who are able to adapt quickly to different social settings while appearing sincere and authentic. Yet, individuals with such highly individualized character traits tend to withdraw from genuine social interaction, becoming narcissistic and "uncooperative selves", according to the author.

Sennett is not nostalgic about 20th-century industrial capitalism and the 'organization men' and factory workers that it created. Yet, he maintains that the long-term and stable institutions of the 20th century helped to establish strong informal bonds between workers that are now largely lost. In Sennett's studies of work in the US in the early 1970s (1973) he found that workers, despite differences and conflicts, still respected their bosses' authority and established strong informal bonds with their colleagues, which, when things were rough, made them help each other out by cooperating. Drawing on his recent studies of back-office employees on Wall Street, Sennett shows how the stress of not being able to do enough, a fear of losing one's job, and little respect for the competence or moral stature of those in charge makes these employees highly selfish and short-sighted. Hence, almost 40 years after his original studies of cooperative behavior, Sennett finds an individualized working life where the conditions of cooperation are very weak.

If part two paints a gloomy picture of what is, the final part of the book tries to paint a brighter picture of what might be to come. Many of the themes brought up in the first two parts of the book reappear here. In particular, Sennett discusses how cooperative skills and the rituals that uphold them take time to develop and how we must thus establish institutions in which people stay longer with their work and with each other. It is only if we let things take time, Sennett seems to argue, that informal behaviors and routines can develop, that commitment to our jobs, friends and colleagues can mature, and that dialogue and an acceptance of differences can be maintained.

Without doubt, few scholars are so well read in such a rich variety of scholarly fields as Richard Sennett. Likewise, few scholars have Sennett's ability to enliven academic insights with anecdotes and stories – often drawn from his own life. This book is no exception in these regards. Even so, the book is still set back by problems, which relate to the basic issue it states and sets out to explore, namely the tendency that while the ability to live and cooperate with people unlike oneself is becoming more and more important, people are tending to lose this ability and turn away from one another. Obviously, the problem is not that this issue lacks relevance. Yet, exploring the conditions under which we can live and work together is not so different from exploring the social conditions of society as such. This is a major task, to say the least. How does Sennett attempt to tackle such a challenge? Obviously, he does not seek to make use of his empirical excursions into the world of cooperation to show where theory, in the form of political science, sociology, economics, etc., falls short in its analysis of the political, social or economic state of contemporary society. That is, he does not seek to make a specific theoretical contribution. Yet, neither is his ambition to develop an empirical understanding of aspects of this issue by exploring a limited set of well-chosen examples. Instead, Sennett gives himself the task of exploring this issue in full and not only that, he seems to want to outline how we can solve it as well. This does not make for a problem-driven analysis, but for an admittedly insightful, but in my mind too general and at times disparate, discussion.

A second problem of this book relates to the object or objects of its analysis. Given that the book attempts to help us understand why we find it increasingly difficult to live and work together and what we can do about it, it says surprisingly little about how broader political and economic developments affect these conditions. Sennett comes closest to discussing the structural or macro conditions of cooperation in the second part of the book, where he brings up expanding inequalities as one of the most important factors behind the weakening of cooperation in contemporary society. Yet, even here, he does not discuss the political economy as such, but how it affects – negatively – our social-psychological abilities to cooperate. He devotes ten pages to a section that elaborates on how children are affected by being brought up in a society where inequalities are huge. It is interesting, but it does not help us much when it comes to understanding why these inequalities are so huge and what can be done about them.

This critique relates to the political message that Sennett puts forth: that political action must start locally. Rather than striving for the realization of some grand ideology, we should strive to come to terms with one another even though we differ. Sennett is critical towards David Cameron's ideas of a "Big Society" based on volunteer-led social repair. He writes that "The local community, like the colony, is stripped of wealth, then told to make up for the lack by its own efforts". Yet, somehow he still remains firmly on the non-dogmatic left and comes back to Robert Owen's ideas about the importance of the workshop and the local community in establishing cooperative skills among people who differ. The 'social question' is still part of the evils of capitalism. Yet, solidarity in the form of some administrated unity among people is less of a solution to those evils than it ever was before, says Sennett. He cites the maxim of La Rochefoucauld: "we are different from each other, as we are divided in ourselves: let's talk!" Dialogue, rather than debate in local communities and workshops is, if not a solution, then at least a way and a place to start. It is difficult to disagree with such a message. Yet, somehow, I cannot help thinking that it is a form of resignation, a form of political surrender. Big Capital and

Big Politics are beyond our reach. All we can do is to try to stick together; if we do, who knows what may happen?

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Meer democratie in de archeologie

Henny Groenendijk

Hoe democratisch is de Nederlandse archeologie anno 2015? Kreeg de participatiesamenleving die in 2013 van overheidswege over ons vaardig werd, ook vat op de archeologie? Wie zit aan de knoppen in archeologisch Nederland? Wie bepaalt de richting waarin we ons begeven? Het voorstel Erfgoedwet dat eind 2014 ter goedkeuring is gezonden aan de Tweede Kamer verwijst fijntjes naar 'het veld' als het belangrijkste reguleringsmechanisme in ons bestel. Alleen als 'het veld' er niet uit komt, grijpt de overheid in. Maar wat 'het veld' wil, blijkt nogal eens voorbij te gaan aan wat de burger wil.

In dit artikel laat ik zien welke weg de provincie Groningen sinds 2009 bewandelt om meer inwoners bij de archeologie te betrekken. In dat jaar werd 'Stroomversnelling II. Cultuurnota 2009-2012 Provincie Groningen' van kracht waarin burgerparticipatie zich ook uitstrekt tot de archeologie. In hetzelfde jaar vestigde de provincie Groningen de leerstoel Archeologie en maatschappij aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. In 2009 kreeg de democratisering van de archeologie in Groningen een zetje in de rug.

Ivoren torens kom je in de Nederlandse archeologie niet meer tegen. Meer interactie met het publiek grijpt breed om zich heen. Ook provincies begrepen dat. Onder verschillende benamingen zien we archeologische informatiecentra verrijzen die meer zijn dan depots van bodemvondsten alleen - zoals het Huis van Hilde in Noord-Holland, het Archeologiehuis in Zuid-Holland, het Schuitvlot in Zeeland, de verbouwde graansilo in Overijssel en in de drie noordelijke provincies de onlangs geopende publieksruimte van het Noordelijk Archeologisch Depot. Hilarisch eigenlijk, het rijk heeft de term 'archeologisch informatiecentrum' voor depots voor bodemvondsten aanvankelijk in de Wet op de archeologische monumentenzorg (Wamz 2007) willen opnemen, maar zag daar vanwege mogelijke extra financiële claims van de provincies van af. En nu pakken de provincies toch zelf de draad op; hun archeologische depots willen graag meer zijn dan een opslagplaats voor potten en pannen.

Meer interactie met het publiek is een legitimatie geworden en leidt vaak tot onverwachte acties en vooral creatieve ideeën. Het gebruik van archeologische objecten voor creatieve doeleinden doet nog menig archeoloog huiveren, maar heeft ook positieve kanten. De inzet van hunebed G1 als decor voor de toneelgroep Peer Group Young is daarvan een voorbeeld. Dit soort medegebruik kweekt niet vaak als archeologieconsument tegenkomt. Bovendien, het monument heeft er niet van te lijden. Bij vrij toegankelijke monumenten is een gecontroleerd medegebruik te verkiezen boven verbodsbepalingen. (afb. 1)



Afb. 1

Toneelgroep Peer Group Young speelt een voorstelling tegen het decor van hunebed G1 (Noordlaren) in 2010. Zulk medegebruik schaadt het monument niet en kweekt bij spelers en publiek meer begrip voor de vrij toegankelijke monumenten. Foto: auteur.

Een nieuwe relatie met het publiek

Betrekkelijk nieuw is de notie dat we de toegenomen belangstelling voor archeologie moeten verbreden tot een gemeenschappelijk belang. Wat dat gemeenschappelijke belang dan wel is? Ik heb een relatie met het publiek voor ogen waarin wensen én noden vanuit de samenleving doorklinken, liefst via medezeggenschap van burgers bij zoveel mogelijk archeologische werkprocessen. Archeologie is namelijk meer dan eens een ongenode gast. Archeologie kan op een onplezierige wijze de huiskamer binnendringen, zoals wanneer beperkingen worden opgelegd bij de uitvoering van een bouwproject. Vooral boeren kunnen daarover meepraten. Die hebben de extra handicap boven een gemiddelde initiatiefnemer dat ze vaak zijn gedwongen tot bedrijfsuitbreiding terwijl ze de meerkosten voor archeologisch onderzoek niet kunnen doorberekenen in hun producten - daarvoor gelden immers vaste prijzen. Onze vaderlandse archeologie is sinds Malta nogal instrumenteel geworden en opgebouwd uit protocollen die gaan over verstoren en opgraven. Dat heeft het archeologische veld zo gewild, vanuit een diepgewortelde angst dat het bodemarchief alleen maar achteruit gaat, dat het alleen maar minder wordt. Het gevolg is dat het zorgvuldig opgebouwde positieve imago van de archeologie in het dagelijkse verkeer meer dan eens een deuk oploopt. Nog een wonder dat er na de invoering van de Wamz in 2007 zo weinig protest vanuit de samenleving heeft geklonken. Alleen LTO weet de onvrede van boeren over het archeologische instrumentarium feilloos te kanaliseren. Naarmate meer belanghebbenden (hier: grondeigenaren) zich gaan organiseren, zou het protest wel eens kunnen aanzwellen. Als het aantal archeologen in overheidsdienst blijft afnemen - en daar ziet het helaas naar uit - wordt het tijd dat we de bakens verzetten. Dan zullen de drie overheidslagen zich moeten realiseren dat het gestadig afslanken van het ambtenarenapparaat gevolgen heeft voor het aantal beschikbare contacturen en de kwaliteit van de dienstverlening. Juist in de archeologie is dat persoonlijke contact met burgers zo belangrijk: als je elkaar in de ogen kijkt, ontstaat er een basis voor wederzijds begrip. Wanneer je in levenden lijve komt uitleggen wat je zorgen zijn, is er al veel gewonnen. Tegelijk betekent deze terugloop in te besteden uren dat de persoonlijkheidskenmerken van de individuele ambtenaar steeds belangrijker worden. Hier tekent zich al een dilemma af, want de ambtenaar is in toenemende mate aan z'n bureau gekluisterd, terwijl hij er juist op uit moet gaan. Hij moet de mondige burger zien te winnen voor zijn plannen of maatregelen en dat zal niet gaan vanuit zijn papieren veste. Integendeel, dat vergt een flinke dosis empathie en vraagt om kracht van argumenten. Maar de huidige overheidsdienaar is met handen en voeten gebonden aan protocollen en

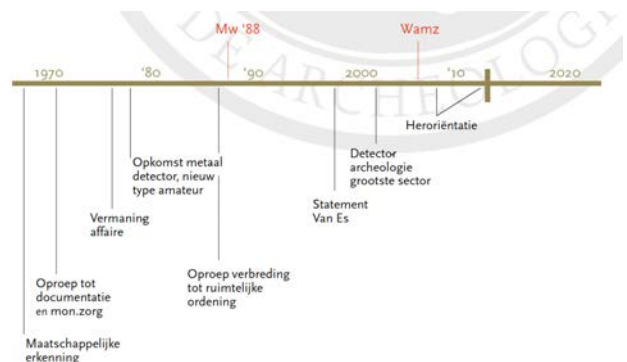
gedragsregels en moet bovenal zijn woorden zorgvuldig kiezen. Burgers zien archeologen liever als buitenjongens en -meisjes die met kaplaarzen in de modder staan. Dat archeologen tegelijk beleidsambtenaar kunnen zijn en soms formeel moeten optreden, past niet zo in de beeldvorming. Hoe dat zo is ontstaan, is gemakkelijk te verklaren. Hoe je dat beeld kunt laten kantelen, vergt vindingrijkheid en geduld.

Meer interactie of meer zeggenschap?

Meer interactie met het publiek zien we allerwegen ontstaan. Meer medezeggenschap van het publiek is echter nog geen gemeengoed. Eigenlijk hebben we het met medezeggenschap over meer democratie in de archeologie. Meer democratie brengt risico's met zich mee, want hoe weeg je nu een kruiwagen vol individuele meningen? Wie heeft er gelijk en recht van spreken? Waar zetelt de kennis? Het is geen geheim dat actuele archeologische kennis allang niet meer uitsluitend bij vakarcheologen ligt. Sterker, met name op het terrein van de metaalvondsten zijn amateurs vaak de specialisten. Delen van kennis is dus ook profijtelijk voor de vakarcheoloog. "Democratisering begint met de democratisering van kennis", zei de Franse econoom Paul Piketty onlangs in een interview op de Nederlandse televisie over zijn in 2013 verschenen bestseller *Le Capital au XXI^e siècle*.⁶⁵ Het uitwisselen van kennis is een belangrijk middel geworden in de democratisering van onze vaderlandse archeologie, waarvan ik overigens persoonlijk vind dat die - de democratisering - nog moet beginnen. Het archeologische verhaal, de rode draad van ons vak, is nog lang geen gezamenlijke productie van professionals en amateurs, laat staan in samenspraak met hen die ver van het vak af staan, maar wel belanghebbend zijn, bijvoorbeeld als grondeigenaar. Wat staat democratisering in de weg? Beroepsarcheologen zijn nog niet erg gewend aan tegenspraak. Vakinhoudelijke meningsverschillen - die er natuurlijk altijd al waren - worden nog voornamelijk uitgepraat binnen de eigen gelederen. Dat is niet goed. De samenleving verandert snel. Burgers hebben een hekel aan ondoorzichtige processen, zeker als daar beperkende maatregelen uit voortvloeien. Burgers worden steeds mondiger en hoewel dat in de archeologie eigenlijk nog best meevalt, klinkt ook hier de vraag naar het waarom steeds luider: "Waarom moet je dat allemaal onderzoeken? Weet je dan nog niet genoeg?" Een legitieme vraag, dacht ik. We moeten hierbij bedenken, dat het vooral de gemeenten zijn waar vragen van deze strekking binnenkomen. Gemeenten moeten archeologie propageren en tegelijk controleren en eventueel sanctioneren. Dat is een lastige vermenging van rollen. Daarnaast is er de onmiskenbare ontwikkeling dat het aantal archeologen in overheidsdienst afneemt - ik zie daar voorlopig nog geen kentering in optreden. Met minder professionals meer democratie invoeren: dat is een hele opgave en daarvoor zullen de bij de overheid werkzame professionals de bakens moeten verzetten. De gestage afslanking van het overheidsapparaat heeft immers gevolgen voor de dienstverlening aan burgers, anders gezegd voor de contacturen die een ambtenaar tot z'n beschikking heeft.

En de amateurarcheoloog? Hoeveel beweging zit er in die groep? Tijdens de Reuevensdagen 2013 belegde de RCE een sessie over de rol die van de amateurarcheologie in 2020 wordt verwacht⁶⁶. Dat kwam op een goed moment, omdat AWN-voorzitter Tonnie van de Rijdt kort tevoren op de radio had laten weten dat de amateurarcheoloog niet louter wil worden gezien

als een goedkope oplossing voor dat deel van de archeologie dat van omzet en budgetten afhankelijk is.⁶⁷ Tijdens deze sessie lichtte zij haar standpunt toe. Vroeger verzuchtte men wel eens het hulpje van de vakarcheoloog te zijn en nu heet het in een modernere versie "niet gebruikt willen worden als een goedkope oplossing in een commerciële omgeving". Maar dat vraagt wel om een krachtig tegengeluid vanuit de amateurwereld en vooral van de oude dame onder hen, de AWN. In dezelfde sessie vroeg ik mij af of de ontwikkelingen binnen de amateurarcheologie wel snel genoeg gaan. De AWN heeft steeds gereageerd op schokken of veranderingen in het bestel, maar was niettemin tamelijk volgzaam. Ik heb een aantal momenta uit zo'n veertig jaar AWN op een tijdbalk uitgezet. (afb. 2)



Afb. 2

Cruciale gebeurtenissen in het bestaan van de AWN. Bron: auteur.

Omstreeks 1970 kwam vanuit de ROB een oproep om meer aandacht te besteden aan documentatie en monumentenzorg. Verkenningen en noodopgravingen hoorden daarbij; de coördinatie lag bij de provinciaal archeologen. De schokgolf van de Vermaning-affaire, midden jaren '70, ging ook niet ongemerkt aan de AWN voorbij; Westerheem wilde niet meedoen aan 'sfeerbederf' en AWN'ers gingen van de weeromstuit nog hechter samenwerken met de beroeps. De opkomst van de metaaldetector eind jaren '70 deed een nieuw type amateur ontstaan en ging opnieuw gepaard met een tweedeling in de opvattingen. Het gebruik van de detector werd aanvankelijk zelfs als de amateur onwaardig beschouwd. In de tweede helft van de jaren '80 werd de ruimtelijke ordening beschouwd als welhaast de belangrijkste pijler onder de archeologische monumentenzorg. Oproepen in Westerheem om in te stappen in ruimtelijke orderingsprocedures - de amateur zou daar bij uitstek geschikt voor zijn - bleven echter zonder veel weerklank. In 1998 gooide Van Es de knuppel in het hoenderhok toen hij in Westerheem de drijfveren van de amateurarcheoloog beschreef en de retorische vraag stelde of de amateurs wel het hulpje van de beroeps waren.⁶⁸ In 2008 ging hij nog een stapje verder met een oproep tot meer actionisme: "Amateurs, wacht niet op de beroeps!".⁶⁹ Inderdaad, een vlegje meer dissident gedrag zou de AWN niet misstaan. De jarenlange en diepgewortelde traditie van samenwerking met de vakarcheologen hoeft er niet onder te lijden. Want ook de beroeps van nu nam een ander profiel aan. De vereniging vertegenwoordigt nog steeds een belangrijk deel van de Nederlandse amateurwereld. AWN-afdeling Noord-Nederland zit de laatste tijd in de lift. De heroriëntatie krijgt voorzichtig gestalte. Van mij mag het best een beetje sneller gaan.

⁶⁵ Paul Piketty in VPRO's Tegenlicht.

⁶⁶ Reuevensdagen 2013 te Groningen op zaterdag 16 november 2013, sessie 'Archeologie in 2020: de rol van de amateur'. Organisator: Jan van Doesburg (RCE, Amersfoort).

⁶⁷ Blog van T. van de Rijdt - van de Ven: Vrijwilligers geen goedkope oplossing voor archeologie.

⁶⁸ W.A. van Es, 1998.

⁶⁹ W.A. van Es tijdens een lezing op de Dag van de Noord-Nederlandse Archeologie in Groningen, 2008.

Gezamenlijk optrekken

In de provincie Groningen oefenen we in het gezamenlijk optrekken via zogenoemde burgerparticipatieprojecten. Participatie mag misschien wat versleten klinken sinds de 'participatiesamenleving' over ons werd uitgestort, maar in de archeologie kreeg het wel degelijk handen en voeten. Daar is de betekenis van het woord participatie nog niet uitgehold, integendeel. Samenwerking tussen overheden, universiteit en bewoners in een project met een begin en een einde is uitermate leerzaam. Groningen slaat op dit vlak geen gek figuur. Het is in geografisch en politiek opzicht een bijzondere provincie: één grote stad met een lange geschiedenis, veel platteland met een bodemarchief dat z'n ruimtelijke context behield en een centrale universiteit waar al 90 jaar archeologie wordt onderwezen. Dat heeft zijn voordelen. Het archeologieonderwijs kan bogen op sterke regionale wortels. Georganiseerde publieke belangstelling ligt aan de basis van het succes van de Groningse stadsarcheologie. De provincie richt zich op het medeverantwoordelijk maken van haar inwoners voor het erfgoed in de bodem.

Ik haal een voorbeeld van burgerparticipatie aan uit de gemeente Haren, in de buurtschap Essen, onder de rook van Groningen. Het voorbeeld speelt in 2009 en de gemeentelijke herindeling - Haren wel of niet bij Groningen - hing nog niet in de lucht, hoewel de stad Groningen haar bouwactiviteiten al tot aan de rand van de gemeentegrens uitstreekte. Voor de bewoners van de buurtschap Essen vormt die harde en zeer nabije stadsrand geen lonkend perspectief. Ze wonen nog temidden van het landelijk groen en bovendien bovenop een voormalig kloosterterrein, het Cisterciënzer vrouwenklooster Yesse, gesticht omstreeks 1215. (afb. 3)



Afb. 3
Het terrein van het voormalige Cisterciënzer vrouwenklooster Yesse (voorgrond) vormt een enclave in de politiek gevoelige groene buffer tussen Haren en Groningen (achtergrond). Foto: H. Breedland.

De contouren van dat voormalige klooster zijn nog duidelijk in het wegen- en slotenpatroon te herkennen. Voor de bewoners is het kloosterverleden nu eens geen last maar een lust, want ze zien daarin een krachtig argument om het landelijke karakter van hun buurtschap te behouden. Iedere Essenaar is lid van de Stichting Klooster Yesse en op initiatief van bewoner Annemiek Bos verrees er een bescheiden informatiecentrum. Tegelijkertijd was de gemeente Haren bezig om haar bestemmingsplannen buitengebied Malta-proof te maken. Het is hier dat de 'sectie leuk' en de 'sectie formeel' samenkwamen.

De algemeen geformuleerde wens vanuit de bewoners om te willen weten wat er nog van het klooster over is, hebben we (d.i. een gelegenheidscoalitie van bewoners, gemeente, provincie,

universiteit en het loket Levende Dorpen) omgebogen naar een project dat wensen en noden samenbrengt. Uitgangspunt was de uitwisseling van kennis. In zo'n kleine gemeenschap, waar iedereen wel eens een hond begrooft of een kabel verlegde, is precies bekend waar mogelijk fundamenten liggen of vondsten zijn gedaan. Wij zeiden: "Als jullie die kennis met ons delen, zullen wij jullie aanwijzingen in de bodem verifiëren en beoordelen op monumentwaardigheid. En als de gemeente een archeologische waardenkaart gaat opstellen, dan graag in nauw overleg met jullie als belanghebbenden, zodat je in het vooroverleg al mee bepaalt waar je nog kunt bouwen en waar je vanaf moet blijven." Zo zijn we het project gestart. Op aanwijzing van de bevolking zijn proefsleuven gegraven. Het meeste muurwerk bleek al uitgebroken, maar de funderingsstroken van een aantal kloostergebouwen tekenden zich scherp af tegen een donkere matrix van een oud akkerprofiel: we hadden het geluk dat de Cisterciënzers hier neerstreken in een bestaande ontginning. (afb. 4)



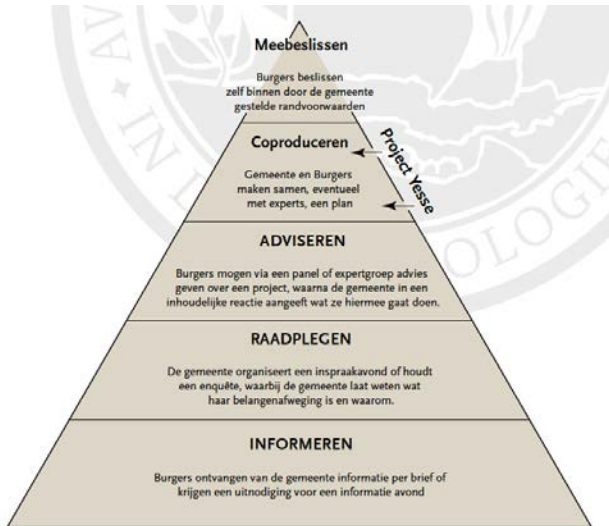
Afb. 4
Oud akkerland onder het kloosterterrein Yesse. De funderingsstroken van voormalige gebouwen tekenen scherp af tegen de donkere matrix van de oude bouwvoor. Foto: auteur.

Vervolgens is alles weer toegedekt, want we spraken tevoren af dat we niet zouden opgraven en alleen uit waren op verificatie van de kloosterresten, met als einddoel een bestemmingsplan op maat. Die permanente uitwisseling van kennis – men kreeg echt een kijkje in de archeologische keuken - schiep onderling vertrouwen en riep zoveel nieuwsgierigheid op dat het aan het eind zelfs moeite kostte om het begrip 'in situ bewaren' gestand te doen. Voor de formele aanwijzing als archeologisch waardevol gebied ontmoette de gemeente geen weerstand meer; met de bewoners is alles uitgesproken en doorgenomen. Ook op een voormalig kloosterterrein is onder het huidige archeologische regiem nog heel goed te wonen en te werken.

Leermomenten waren er ook. Voor mij was dat, dat je zo transparant mogelijk moet opereren, dat je bij de aanvang van een project een akkoord moet vragen voor je uitgangspunten en dat je dicht bij je professie moet blijven, dat je je niet moet vereenzelvigen met een actiegroep of -thema. Wanneer je tevoren je eigen ethische richtlijn bepaalt en daarover

communiceert is het niet zo ingewikkeld. Ook moet je een goed communicatieplan schrijven.

Wat de gemeentelijke participatieladder betreft, zaten de inwoners van Essen hoog op de sporten. (afb. 5) Zij haalden het niveau van coproduceren, wat voor de archeologie toch nog tamelijk uitzonderlijk mag heten. Maar bij dit project waren de voortekenen gunstig; de doelgroep was tevoren goed in kaart gebracht en deelname van de bewoners was verzekerd.



Afb. 5 De gemeentelijke participatieladder, toegepast op het project Yesse. Bron: B.J. Bos, Provincie Groningen (naar: NRC 27.2.2010/ Lokaal bestuur).

Democratische lakproef

De democratisering van de archeologie kan onverwachte wendingen nemen. Zoals in dat nog lopende project op de Groningse Hondsrug waar oude, in een dicht bos gelegen karrensporen sinds 2010 in kaart worden gebracht. Actoren zijn de omwonenden, initiatiefnemers zijn de provincie Groningen en Natuurmonumenten als terreineigenaar. Het in kaart brengen van de karrensporen is handwerk omdat de satelliet hier niet in staat is om door het bladerdak heen te kijken. De sporen - vermoedelijk een neventracé van de oude heerweg Groningen- Coevorden - liggen deels in dicht struikgewas en waren nog nooit gekarteerd. Van die kartering en alles wat ermee samenhangt, is een participatieproject gemaakt. Hier komt het aspect 'democratie in de archeologie' om de hoek kijken. Democratie gedijt alleen wanneer tegenspraak mogelijk is en tegenspraak heeft in dit project zeker een gezicht gekregen. De deelnemers, allen vrijwilligers, zijn zo bevroegen geraakt en de coördinator, ook een vrijwilliger, is in korte tijd zo belezen geraakt, dat alle vergaarde boekenwijsheid nu, enigszins geforceerd, in het veld toepassing vindt. Dat genereert theorieën waarmee ik het persoonlijk niet altijd eens kan zijn. Het gaat met name om het aspect natuurlijke erosie versus sporen van menselijk ingrijpen. De coördinator ziet in een bepaalde categorie reliëfonderbreking vooral watererosie waar ik particuliere zandwinning als de oorzaak zie. Een complicatie is dat de karrensporen in relatie tot de ruimte die ze innemen niet bevredigend zijn te verklaren. Ze verlopen in lange, verdiept liggende en tamelijk brede banen die tezamen bundels vormen. Vanuit het vogelperspectief vormen die bundels het klassieke beeld van karrensporen. Maar op de grond is het veel ingewikkelder. Proefsleuven haaks op het verloop van de karrensporen brachten aan het licht dat de grondbalans niet klopt: er is meer zand verdwenen dan te verklaren valt uit versporing en verstuing. Met andere woorden, er is grond verdwenen maar die vinden we in de nabije omgeving niet als

stuifzand terug. Bij de projectdeelnemers is er een sterke drang om dat verschijnsel te verklaren en bij gebrek daaraan klinkt de roep om meer gravend onderzoek. Daar ligt een nieuw pijnpunt, want groeiend inzicht bij de werkgroep zal leiden tot steeds nieuwe verzoeken om onderzoek – dat gebeurt nu al – en die honger naar opgravingen dreigt de balans tussen waarderend onderzoek en de bevrediging van de nieuwsgierigheid – op zich een begrijpelijke drijfveer – te verstoren. Wat staat mij nu te doen? Moet ik nu mijn expertise zwaar laten wegen en mijn mening doordrukken, terwijl er tegelijk zeer goed en nuttig inventarisatiewerk wordt verricht en er dankzij het grote enthousiasme veel nieuwe gegevens aan het licht zijn gekomen, onder andere sporen uit WO II? Nee, ik heb laten weten dat ik er weliswaar andere opvattingen op na houd, maar tegelijk van mening ben dat de werkgroep haar eigen ideeën mag opschrijven, zolang het veldwerk dat daaruit voortvloeit maar niet botst met de landelijke spelregels. De gecertificeerde partijen die dat veldwerk uitvoeren, moeten daarnaast weet hebben van de controversiële standpunten. Ik stel me terughoudend op, want ik wil het proces niet verstoren. Maar ik onderschrijf de conclusies van de vrijwilligers niet. Ondertussen blijf ik hopen dat de gevoerde discussies hieromtrent tot een gedragsverandering leiden zonder dat de bevroegenheid verdwijnt. (afb. 6)



Afb. 6 Participatieproject 'Noordlaarderbos' speelt zich af in tamelijk dicht struikgewas waar de satelliet geen effect sorteert. Het reliëf wordt handmatig ingemeten, gedigitaliseerd en ingepast in het Actueel Hoogtebestand Nederland. Bron: J.J. Feikens, GlobeSpotter 3.0 en luchtfoto februari2014; MUG Ingenieursbureau.

Het aspect van de sociale cohesie

Eind 2014 presenteerden het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau en de Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid het rapport *Gescheiden Werelden?* over de toenemende sociale en culturele tweedeling in Nederland, een tweedeling die samenvalt met het opleidingsniveau. Het valt niet te ontkennen dat er in ons land grote verschillen zijn in politieke opvattingen, vertrouwen in de overheid en inkomens. Evenmin dat dat een bedreiging vormt voor de sociale cohesie. Maar nu beschouw ik de archeologie juist als een terrein waar de belangstelling door alle maatschappelijke geledingen heen loopt en waar een doorsnee van de Nederlandse bevolking ook daadwerkelijk te vinden is. Ik ervaar dat nadrukkelijk in de provincie Groningen, waar mensen van heel verschillende pluimage dezelfde passie delen, al zitten ze nog niet aan dezelfde tafel. Daar is de boerenelite die van oudsher een grote interesse voor het verleden aan de dag legt - kijk maar eens naar het fenomeen boerderijenboeken dat nergens zo'n vlucht nam als in Groningen - en die ook beseft dat de archeologie een belangrijke bron voor de streekgeschiedenis vormt, terwijl de archeologie toch geen traditionele vriend is van het boerenbedrijf. Dan is er de sterke traditie van het zoeken en documenteren van vuursteenvindplaatsen in de zandgebieden. Vuursteen trekt een uitgesproken type amateur aan. Nu de Vermaning-affaire verleden tijd is, zijn de werkrelaties tussen professionals en amateurs weer genormaliseerd. En niet in de laatste plaats is daar de metaaldetectie die vooral in het wierdengebied veel nieuwkomers in de archeologie een pracht van een hobby verschaft. Groot is het enthousiasme van de debutant die z'n eerste fibula's vindt. De groep van detectorzoekers is uitermate heterogeen. Archeologische depots zijn plekken waar al die beoefenaren van de archeologie samenkomen, met elkaar in gesprek gaan en nieuwe subgroepen vormen – die vermenging gaat verder dan je binnen één vereniging bereikt. Het gemeenschappelijke interessegebied, het verleden, is daar ontdaan van een sociale of politieke lading en blijkt samenbindend. Daar bewijzen overheidsarcheologen hun meerwaarde door te faciliteren, een podium te bieden, maar ook over de nieuwste spelregels te spreken en te zorgen dat alle gegevens in de database komen.

Debat

De Dag van de Noord-Nederlandse Archeologie die in 2013 in Groningen werd gehouden, bezorgde mij een bijzondere ervaring. Het ging over beeldvorming. Er brak een forumdiscussie los over het wel of niet melden van vondsten en de geheimhouding van vindplaatsen door amateurs. De opvatting heerste – ook bij mij - dat detectoramateurs primair uit zijn op het aanvullen van hun collectie. “Niet waar”, zei de voorzitter van de grootste detectoramateurvereniging. “Wat wij in de eerste plaats willen, is erkenning door de vakarcheologen; wij willen door jullie gezien worden”. Die uitspraak heeft mij beslist geholpen mijn veranderde rol in het bestel beter te aanvaarden, namelijk van aanstuurder van archeologische processen naar begeleider van de bonte mengeling van initiatieven, projecten, veldwerk, collectievorming en vondstverwerking en de tijdelijke verbindingen, die dat oplevert. Het opgraven zelf is aan strikte regels gebonden, dat veranderen we niet. Maar daaromheen en ook zonder een spade in de grond te steken is er een baaiertje van activiteiten en initiatieven ontstaan die een hoop mensen plezier bezorgt.

De vrijwilliger is steeds minder het hulpje van de archeoloog en steeds meer degene die op een gelijkwaardig niveau taken vervult die voorheen alleen professionals deden. Co-creatie heet dat tegenwoordig. Krijg je iedereen mee? Nee, dat is een illusie,

er is altijd een categorie die onverschillig blijft voor het erfgoed om de hoek. Maar er is veel latente belangstelling en vooral veel versnipperde kennis. De kunst is om die kennis aan te boren, vast te leggen en zo nuttig mogelijk te gebruiken. Ik koester de hoop dat archeologische depots (of informatiecentra, een naam die steeds meer opgeld doet) aan velen een honk bieden en meer zijn dan een plek om je aan archeologie te vergapen. Groningen legt eigen accenten. Burgerparticipatie of co-creatie vindt hier gelukkig ook plaats buiten overheden om. De Stichting Verdrongen Geschiedenis is een voorbeeld van een publieksinitiatief. Deze club telt experts uit vakgebieden die verwant zijn aan de archeologie en is voornamelijk buitendijks actief. Veel mensen voelen zich aangetrokken tot het thema buitendijks omdat activiteiten in het natuurgebied nu eenmaal spannend en avontuurlijk zijn en niet in de laatste plaats, omdat het veldwerk veel onbekends onder de aandacht brengt.

We moeten vooral met elkaar in debat, de beeldvorming bijstellen, elkaar wat gunnen. Handreikingen doen in de vorm van deskundigheidsbevordering en kennisuitwisseling. We moeten niet langer uitsluitend focussen op amateurarcheologen, maar ook sleutelfiguren uit andere belangengroepen benaderen. Dat zijn niet alleen onze natuurlijke broeders, de natuur- en landschapsorganisaties, maar ook standsorganisaties in de landbouw. Of individuele grondeigenaren die met archeologie te maken krijgen, vaak tegen wil en dank. Die categorie voor de archeologie te winnen is pas een echte uitdaging. Dat gaat niet zonder discussie en zeker niet zonder slag of stoot. Als we tien jaar verder zijn, zullen we merken dat tegenspraak en kritiek hard nodig is geweest en dat de stem van de archeologie daar alleen maar sterker van is geworden. Een spiegel voor de beroeps.

Over de auteur:

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The social and the democratic, in the social democratic European city

Dan Hill

Notes from Design and the City conference⁷⁰, Amsterdam, April 2016, where I was asked to summarise the day's proceedings with a speech and this essay.



Shared space in Berlin Baugruppenprojekt BIGyard, Zelterstraße 5–11, designed by Zanderroth Architekten. Approximately forty-five kids from the families in the block can share this space, designed such that parents can share informal child-tending duties. This 1300m² communal yard is counterpointed by a 250 m² common roof terrace.

In the spring of 2016 Amsterdam finds itself, as per usual, at the heart of Europe's debates. Over the next few months, it will host the drafting of a new European Urban Agenda, an opportunity to set a trajectory for the future development of European cities, at least from an EU perspective. It remains to be seen if that amounts to anything at all, but the question is a good one either way: *what do we mean* by the development of European cities? *How* should we develop European cities?

These are complex questions at this point. This is a Europe that is both unraveling and consolidating, unevenly. Contradiction is everywhere.

The compact and connected European city, exemplified by Amsterdam as much as anywhere, somehow continues to thrive in the face of economic, political and environmental crises, yet everywhere there is talk of new models, new approaches. Paradox reigns, and the centre is not holding.

An overheated 'property' market for those with too much money is contrasted with crushingly low quality 'housing' for those with no money. A continent based for millennia on the free movement of people struggles with the idea of migration. Inequality is rampant in a continent that also boasts a set of spirit-level economies⁷¹, with a bait-and-switch of the Dutch welfare state for a 'participatory society' yet to convince. The Netherlands holds the EU Presidency while Geert Wilders's PVV is rising up the country's opinion polls.

Official and commercial exhortations for everything to become 'smart' run parallel with fears over imported neoliberal

⁷⁰ <http://designandthecity.eu/>

⁷¹

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Spirit_Level:_Why_More_Equal_Societies_Almost_Always_Do_Better

ideologies baked into the hardware of such technologies, and whether this will obliterate a European sensibility, whatever that may mean. Yet alongside, a real smart city emerges amongst cooperative groups, cellphone culture, fabrication projects and public sector innovation. The European Commission itself wants to be seen saying what are understood to be The Right Things — *Startups! Growth! Innovation!*— without giving a clear sense of any kind of European vision for this, about how this would reframe the shared, albeit loosely, sense of social contract across the continent (Neelie Kroes, formerly the Commission's most voluble mouthpiece on matters digital, recently announced she is joining Uber. Which explains a fair bit.)

Of course, Europe's old cities have seen more destructive chaos than this before, many many times. And they rumble on regardless.

Yet at the recent excellent *Design and The City* conference in Amsterdam, speaker after speaker stood up to sketch out possible trajectories for European urbanism, each informed by practice, by projects, and each ultimately, after the odd critique, positive and progressive. Few explicitly framed their contribution in terms of directions for European urbanism, but by the end of the day it was clear that this could be an emerging agenda.

The platform was provided by *The Hackable City*⁷² project, an exemplary bit of academic work run out of University of Amsterdam and Amsterdam University of Applied Sciences — that is, 'academic' in the contemporary sense, and so co-designed, collaborative, located on the ground, and outputting accumulated learning through numerous channels.

The speakers were international, though almost always rooted in Europe. Even the opening speaker, Tony Garcia of Street Plans Collaborative, showing some great projects largely from Florida, still located their grassroots tactical urbanism practice in Latino culture — and thus southern European culture, admittedly drawing a long bow.

(This bow has been drawn before though, in Mike Davies's fascinating book 'Magical Urbanism' (2000), and there are probably a few salient insights from that book that could be reviewed at this point, almost two decades on.)

Garcia gave us a set of directives to frame the day with, which was useful, although it also felt to some extent like the USA beginning to catch up with years if not decades of emergent urbanism movements from Europe and South America. Garcia's main project example concerned a disused rail-line being reinvigorated as a public space, a 'trail' alongside a new housing development. It's an exemplary piece of tactical urbanism; careful yet purposeful self-starting activism. In the wake of the all-too-high-profile *High Line*⁷³ (itself inspired by a European precedent of some 16 years, *la Promenade Plantée*⁷⁴ in Paris — sometimes Americans are just better at marketing), this is part of what's almost a 'rails to trails'⁷⁵ movement in the US. For all that, the thought does occur that it is far more difficult to go from 'trails to rails', and that this too is a move we need to reinvent.

A step beyond, from the tactical to the strategic, would be using evidence of emergent urbanism as a form of civic 'R&D' — as an expression of the city's latent desires. This would mean an urban

⁷² <http://thehackablecity.nl/>

⁷³ <http://www.thehighline.org/>

⁷⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coul%C3%A9e_verticale_Ren%C3%A9-Dumont

⁷⁵ <http://www.railstotrails.org/>

development and design practice that facilitates such emergence, but also stitches and consolidates, building on momentum in order to achieve scale. This would mean scale follows desire, a reversal of the traditional *Field of Dreams* (“Build it and they will come”) desire-follows-scale model of urban development. In this *Field of Dreams*-mode, one has to try to engender desire through the marketing suite, the show home, all those renders, all that lobbying. More importantly, however, it tends towards the overbuilt, the compromised, the costly, overly generic and wasteful ‘spec’ development. It rarely engages people—at all.

Here, in contrast, the contributions of Matthijs Bouw⁷⁶ and Kristien Ring⁷⁷ stood out. Both were engaged in more systemic interventions in reversed city-making: Bouw via the Buiksloterham project of citizen-led development at the scale of a district in Amsterdam; and Ring through her ongoing research into the Baugruppen model of citizen-led development in Berlin, usually at the scale of a building.

In the former, Bouw described the series of ways in which Buiksloterham was prototyping a new form of district development, based on a simple, accessible financing model, AKA “real people building real houses with real money”, a sense of emergent coordination rather than traditional planning, and enabled by some light-touch technologies now at-hand, such as renewable energy generators, building fabrication and lightweight decision-making tools. Here we can already see that greater diversity of engaged citizens, bound by an ever strengthening social fabric, also affords a greater diversity of architecture and infrastructure. It will be fascinating to watch the evolution of the place, particularly the CityPlot⁷⁸ project by housing corporation De Alliantie, Waternet’s bio-refinery project, and the work of several local architecture firms, ‘leading from behind’ with the design, as opposed to simply coloring-in a masterplan.



Render of a relatively ‘complete state’, from CityPlot Buiksloterham, Amsterdam. The difference is how it got there.

(The role of the designer here was not dwelled on, but this is an intriguing question. The embedded designer’s role is arguably reinforced by ‘leading from behind’, at least compared to the subservient position designers and architects have in the traditional urban development model, which is often more ‘struggling from underneath.’ But this new role is completely changed. Thankfully there are examples of this more engaged mode emerging everywhere, in practice as in Chile’s PRES⁷⁹ or

Assemble in Liverpool⁸⁰, or in academia such as CMU’s Transition Design⁸¹ programme.)

Ring’s presentation was another highlight of the day, carefully unfurling her thoroughly documented and hugely valuable research on Baugruppen projects in Berlin, brought together in the book *Selfmade City*.⁸² The transformative potential of this scale-follows-desire model can barely be understated. Now approaching 10% of all developments in Berlin, apparently, this has long since outstripped its hippy roots and is emerging as the most viable model for good quality 21st century housing, as Niklas Maak also makes clear in supremely good book, *Living Complex: From Zombie City to the New Communal*.⁸³

In evocative prose soaked in wit, Maak eviscerates the traditional *Field of Dreams* urban development model for ensuring a stunning lack of diversity in contemporary domestic architecture, particularly given how out of kilter this is with the reality of our century, never mind the vast amounts of inertia, cost (debt), and compromise it tends to involve. Baugruppen unlocks a diversity in design by — *get this*—building with citizens, and moreover with citizens whose level of engagement and motivation is without parallel, via their direct vested interest. It’s also much cheaper, but just as importantly, it enables an increasingly fluid, practical and sensitive use of space in housing, by starting design with the specific needs and desires of particular people—in fact, perhaps more so than any other form of human-centred design. These are persons not personas.



Double-height shared space, legally considered a winter garden (thereby allowing the double-height glazing) in R50 Baugruppen project in Berlin (image via Metropolis.) This shared space features a gallery-level guest room, whilst also affording potential adaptation into two levels, as required. Baugruppen often seems to exemplify adaptive design.

As a result, these structures are not simply hoisted up on blunt binary oppositions of private and public, or buy or rent, or single or family, or one- or three-bedroom apartment. Instead, they encompass almost limitless possibility, articulated through a use of space that shapes and defines through supporting and prompting particular living conditions, that balances suitable complexity with intrinsic accessibility, whilst also affording adaptability over time.

Maak calls this “radicalising” the private space and the public space, and exploring the many subtle shades in-between, in shared space. In her presentation, Ring showed project after

⁸⁰ <http://www.archdaily.com/778435/assemble-awarded-the-2015-turner-prize-for-granby-four-streets>

⁸¹ <https://medium.com/@camerontw/transition-design-as-postindustrial-interaction-design-6c8668055e8d#5u4h11kb2>

⁸² Kristien Ring, AA PROJECTS, *Selfmade City*. Berlin: Self-Initiated Urban Living And Architectural Interventions. Berlin, Jovis, 2013.

⁸³ Niklas Maak, *Living Complex. From Zombie City to the New Communal*. München, Hirmer Publishers, 2015.

⁷⁶ <http://onearchitecture.nl/>

⁷⁷ <http://aa-projects.eu/>

⁷⁸ <http://www.cityplot-buiksloterham.nl/>

⁷⁹ <http://brickstarter.org/conversation-rodrigo-araya-tironi-asociados/>

project that unlock joyous yet pragmatic urban conditions that are simply beyond the ken of traditional development models. It's a wonderful body of research, bolstered by the kind of data required to capture the attention of policymakers. Baugruppen can no longer be filed under 'only in Berlin' but could be explored as a viable model elsewhere. As Maak and Ring both note, the diverse forms carved out of urban niches by these German architects has kindred spirits in the work of Japanese architects such as Sou Fujimoto, Atelier Bow-Wow and Kazunari Sakamoto, each of whom explore apparently more complex and "radical" housing propositions, each of which is actually no more complex and radical than everyday life itself.

Ring's presentation, when taken with Bouw's, gave us the DNA of a new model right there. The themes were further articulated by speaker after speaker, yet few captured genuinely meaningful change as these two, partly as this seems the ultimate challenge in terms of 'digital' and the city, as well as design and the city: how is today's city-making materially different to its highly problematic predecessors? Following baugruppen and Buiksloterham, we can imagine a reversed development model of scale-follows-desire, which is more "We're here; let's build it!" than "Build it and they will come."

Here, we see new roles for designer as facilitator, with significant expertise to lend but within a flattened decision-making environment, as well as new kinds of infrastructure, digital and otherwise, and genuinely meaningful involvement of citizens as co-designers and co-owners. As these emerging moves concern the 'dark matter'⁸⁴ of regulation, policy, culture and economy, as well as the matter of physical urban development, there is true potential for systemic change.

(Bouw and Ring have also written excellent essays for the Design and the City website, on economic resilience at Buiksloterham and Baugruppen and 'self-made city', respectively.)⁸⁵

Further talks included Frank Suurenbroek describing the circular economy⁸⁶ potential in Amsterdam south-east, alongside Saskia Beer's initiatives with the ZO!City platform, centred in the same areas. Joost Beunderman of 00 Architecture spoke eloquently about the need for such systemic changes in cities, colliding fabrication, libraries, food production and civic entrepreneurship. Liesbeth Huybrechts described similar projects in Genk, while Ben Schouten unpicked new approaches to empowering through play, in a practice-focused talk, before Thijs Turèl of Alliander presented thoughtful project work about making smart grid algorithms legible. Willem van Winden and Dorien Zandbergen both offered detailed critiques of smart city projects in and around Amsterdam.

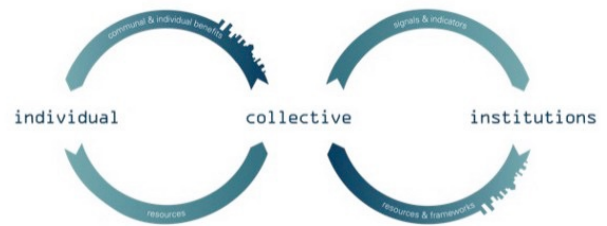
Finally, both Christian Nold and Dietmar Offenhuber explored different modes of practice within various local political contexts of decision-making and infrastructure. Nold's incredibly careful and sensitive delineations of controversy, metrics and representation was particularly interesting, wonderfully counterpointed by Offenhuber's astute evocations of "improstructure"⁸⁷ and "accountability-oriented design."⁸⁸

⁸⁴ <http://www.strelka.com/en/press/books/dark-matter-and-trojan-horses-a-strategic-design-vocabulary>

⁸⁵ <http://designandthecity.eu/essays/economic-resilience-at-buiksloterham/>
<http://designandthecity.eu/essays/self-made-city-strategies-for-future-urban-living/>

⁸⁶ <https://www.ellenmacarthurfoundation.org/circular-economy/overview/concept>

⁸⁷ <http://offenhuber.net/manila-improstructure/>



As a way of dealing with all these ideas, I found I could somewhat clumsily 'file' these contributions along an axis that organiser and curator Martijn De Waal had introduced at the start of the day, from work with Bouw as part of their Hackable City project. De Waal's extremely useful organising framework for these civic projects described the potential symbiotic relationship between *Individual*, *Collective* and *Institutional* elements. It demonstrated the flow of value from one to another in the city, and how individual activities might coalesce into collective ones, and be further ratified, supported or scaled by institutional activity.

Complex questions remain here but it became clear that, a few minor skirmishes aside, most in the Hermitage were on the same page. As the facilitator Tracy Metz pointed out, in her typically poised, patient and probing fashion, there was actually a danger that the room was something of an echo chamber, that we were a free-floating bubble of shared thinking. She simply noted that the room was largely bereft of policymakers or those in the property or finance businesses.

So invoking the spirit of Cedric Price, I used my summarising presentation at the end of the day to pose a few potentially critical questions that I was left with, after all the talk.

There was often discussion of how things might 'scale', as city-making discussions tend in that direction, for obvious reasons. One simple question is why should everything scale? It obviously needn't. Should Baugruppen become genuinely commonplace? Should Buiksloterham conjoin with districts around to become a SuperBuiksloterham, and ultimately an Amsterdam framed around "small pieces, loosely joined", to borrow an aphorism from the internet.

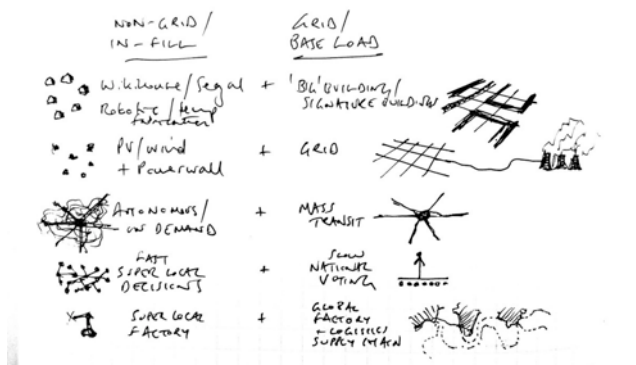
Personally, I am intrigued by the latter thought, as I work within an industry that tends to crush things that don't have an answer that looks immediately like "YES IT CAN SCALE", and I would like to understand how such an iterative, networked approach might actually work. What is a network of networks of connected domestic-scale batteries, for instance? How do Baugruppen coalesce to form neighbourhoods, not simply buildings? How does on-demand 'mobility-as-a-service' counterpoint the base-load delivered by mass transit? How do we design an ongoing "Incomplete City", where each stage of evolution is resolved and purposeful, and yet is open to adaptation, calibration and further growth?

An Incomplete City approach means building around what (and often who) you know at that point, rather than over-building for later. You don't build out an over-sized grid, an array of large buildings to market, hangars of empty retail space, or transit infrastructure no-one will use for years. In fact, you build deliberately for the situation at hand, for the needs and desires right in front of you (and with them, in fact) and for what you

⁸⁸ <https://medium.com/@dietoff/a-case-for-accountability-oriented-design-56bdf1ecce4#91p7k4orq>

can pin down right now—often using the kind of distributed and decentralised infrastructures that Buiksloterham, and others, are pursuing. (Joseph Grima, Marco Ferrari and I just ran a studio at the Bartlett School of Architecture about this #incompleteness idea.)

This is in part enabled by newer forms of distributed, decentralised infrastructure that I describe as ‘non-grid’. These would include: autonomous, predictive on-demand mobility services; local energy generation, storage and re-use; localised advanced manufacturing and modular, customised, recycled buildings fabricated on-demand; super-local decision-making tools, and so on. All of these are non-grid approaches, at least in comparison to the fixed mass transit routes, traditional energy grids, undifferentiated building offers, and deliberately distanced representative modes of decision-making, which we might call grid-based systems. Key questions now include what we do on the grid versus what we do non-grid? How much can non-grid cater for, in terms of our traditional grid-based approach? How do non-grid and grid interplay? Does non-grid approach slowly iterate and coalesce into a grid over time? The sheer existence of a project like Buiksloterham poses these questions. We need to explore how to design for a deliberately incomplete city always—*slowly, carefully*—moving forwards.



While these approaches would seem to have the characteristics of tactical or emergent urbanism, it’s potentially more sophisticated than that. My colleague Bryan Boyer has often noted an intrinsic problem with tactical urbanism principles of ‘pop-up as R&D’: it’s that pop-ups pop down; the reason they pop up is that they’re too easy, not a true test, they rarely deliver systemic change. So the challenge with tactical urbanism is when and how it becomes strategic, or even whether it can. At what point does it make sense to consolidate infrastructure, digital and otherwise, into something more larger, broader, without killing the accessible tactical impulses that kickstarted the innovation?

The chess grandmaster Savielly Tarkatower allegedly once said that tactics is what you do when you know what to do, whereas strategy is what you do when you *don’t know* what to do. In other words, it’s obvious that a disused rail line might become a lovely urban trail, and this provides the necessary momentum to circumvent a bit of red tape. That’s a tactical manoeuvre. The tougher job is in exploring what else it could be. What’s the difficult, but ultimately necessary, thing to do? What does the place need longer-term? What would not just deliver to a niche, but across the population of the place? What does the transition from tactics to strategy look like? How do we know when we need to flip tactical to strategic? To consolidate distributed structures?

Further, both participatory society (the Dutch incarnation of the UK’s long since-departed ‘Big Society’) and startup culture struggle with legitimacy. Neither seem to stretch or scale to universally accessible or equitable approaches—at least nothing that approaches that of the universalist welfare state model familiar to European social democratic urbanism (NB. by “social democratic”, I do not mean a particular political party; simply an broad-brushstrokes English-language understanding of a general tradition in European governance, shared by a broad political spectrum across the continent.)

In other words, Uber is not public transport, and far from it, at least in terms of producing equitable outcomes, just as a community garden project, say, tends to occur in a certain culture or class of society and not in others. Crowdsourcing finance for projects, for instance, is a far from democratic process. It’s just money talking, essentially, just in smaller than usual increments. Over lunch in the Hermitage courtyard, in conversation with Kristien Ring, we realised that this heightened tension in the classic European social democratic city model, as it is the difference between *the social and the democratic*. Something can be socially enabled, articulated and manifest but it is not necessarily democratic. Again, the flow from one to the other may be the key question.

In this sense, as Willem van Winden pointed out in his talk, we (in Europe) must wean ourselves off the idea of looking to the USA or the UK for a quick fix, for a simplistic answer — there is little evidence that either is working particularly successfully, at least when measured against the kind of higher-order successes we expect for European cities. While we do not always achieve it, we do often set the bar high in terms of urbanity and equality, and neither US nor UK seems particularly adept at achieving either, never mind both.

But that does not mean we need reject wholesale the potential in popups and startups. The question instead is how we might learn from these undoubted innovations and selectively absorb their dynamics and affordances into systems and cultures that enable equitable access, that ensure meaningful representation in order to handle difficult decisions. I mentioned the ‘spiky innovation’ argument from ‘Dark Matter & Trojan Horses’⁸⁹ at this point, noting the potential for absorbing social innovations into more institutional forms that are agile and responsive when they need to be and, frankly, stolid and solid when they need to be. This sensibility might often be calibrated on the scale and duration of the decision in question; again, from the tactical to the strategic, depending on the stakes.

In terms of the subject of much of the conference, however, the question is more directly whether we can carefully, sensitively and creatively co-opt the dynamics of contemporary technology for city-making in European cities. Can we disentangle and un-moor aspects of the decentralised character that underpins this tech, appropriating it for a quite different civic context of what Bart de Zwart calls “the decentralised character of the mid-size (European) urbanity” (OASE #89, 2013⁹⁰)?

Coming back to the Hackable City diagram, and the flow from individual to collective to institutional, back and forth, we largely heard a day full of individual to collective flows, but little in the way of institutional. We are left with the thought that this right-hand side of the Hackable City diagram is, well, the tricky bit. How to reframe this institutional layer?

⁸⁹ Zie noot 84.
⁹⁰ <http://www.oasejournal.nl/en/Issues/89>

As a kind of urban designer, loosely speaking, I also co-opt that question in terms of how it might change the *form* of cities themselves. I put up an image of a BIG/Heatherwick Studio render of an impossibly Californian scene from the Google Campus project in Mountain View, pointing out the lack of road, and all the traditional accoutrements of such things, due to the campus being designed around bikes and autonomous vehicles (AV). It's a misleadingly arcadian image, but is intriguing in the sense that it asks *what a street is* once a non-grid approach is meaningfully deployed.



Early renders of BIG/Heatherwick Studio scheme for Google Campus, Mountain View, California

These technologies—the bike, as well as the AV—enable us to erase much of the damage caused by a previous era of urban technology, centred on the automobile. With a non-grid approach, everything ‘street’ actually becomes public realm. At least, these technologies potentially enable us to do this.

The question is *how* that might happen, understanding the interplay between grid and non-grid-based systems as well as the shuttling back and forth between the tactical and the strategic, between the decentralised and centralised, between the social and the democratic, between the individual, the collective and the institutional, between the privately-owned, shared or public. Or, in other words, how a clutch of *baugruppen* coalesce into a future battery-powered Buiksloterham, and how this in turn interfaces with the civic infrastructures around it?

Finally, what kind of cities could all this produce? Simply put, what does that look like? Less simply put, how does that produce a European city, the city as a public good? How do we take advantage of the sheer potency of the social but combined with the legitimate agency of the democratic? How do we meaningfully break the wasteful cycles of “build it and they will come” by enabling a city to systematically co-create itself, bit by bit? How, exactly, do we enable places to remain strategically incomplete—yet always coherent, pleasurable and productive at each stage of evolution—in order to encourage ongoing adaptation?

These are questions that we didn't hear quite enough of, Bouw and Ring aside, and even had they been voiced, the composition of the room was not quite holistic enough to address them.

However, *Design and the City*, as a moment to draw breath and reflect, was still wonderfully useful in terms of foregrounding these and other questions, through descriptions of project, process and place rather than simplistic rhetoric. We may be left with more questions at the end of the day but at least, through

these informed debates, there's a chance that we're one step closer to the right questions.

At stake here is a feasible, viable and desirable set of trajectories for the social and the democratic coming together in 21st century European cities. Digital technologies and new cultures of design can ascribe a richer set of possible trajectories, yet they are risky tools when not handled carefully, without understanding their context and appropriating them for ours—and that means unpicking what “ours” means.

Perhaps, then, the true question that day, and largely unspoken: what does the European city mean at this point? What could it mean?

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<http://www.onthecommons.org>

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<https://dezwijger.nl/>

'Stadmakers' (city makers) about 'cities in transition':

<https://citiesintransition.eu>

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<http://www.pps.org/reference/grplacefeat/>

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