

FORESIGHT WORKSHOP (FW)

NEW CHALLENGES FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE

Synthesis of the final report

Maria GRAVARI-BARBAS

Synthesis of the works of the Consortium

PA.TER.MONDI.

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EA EIREST, Université Paris 1

Panthéon-Sorbonne

Agence du Patrimoine

Cap Digital

FMSH

Ecole de Chaillot-

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Consortium:

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Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme
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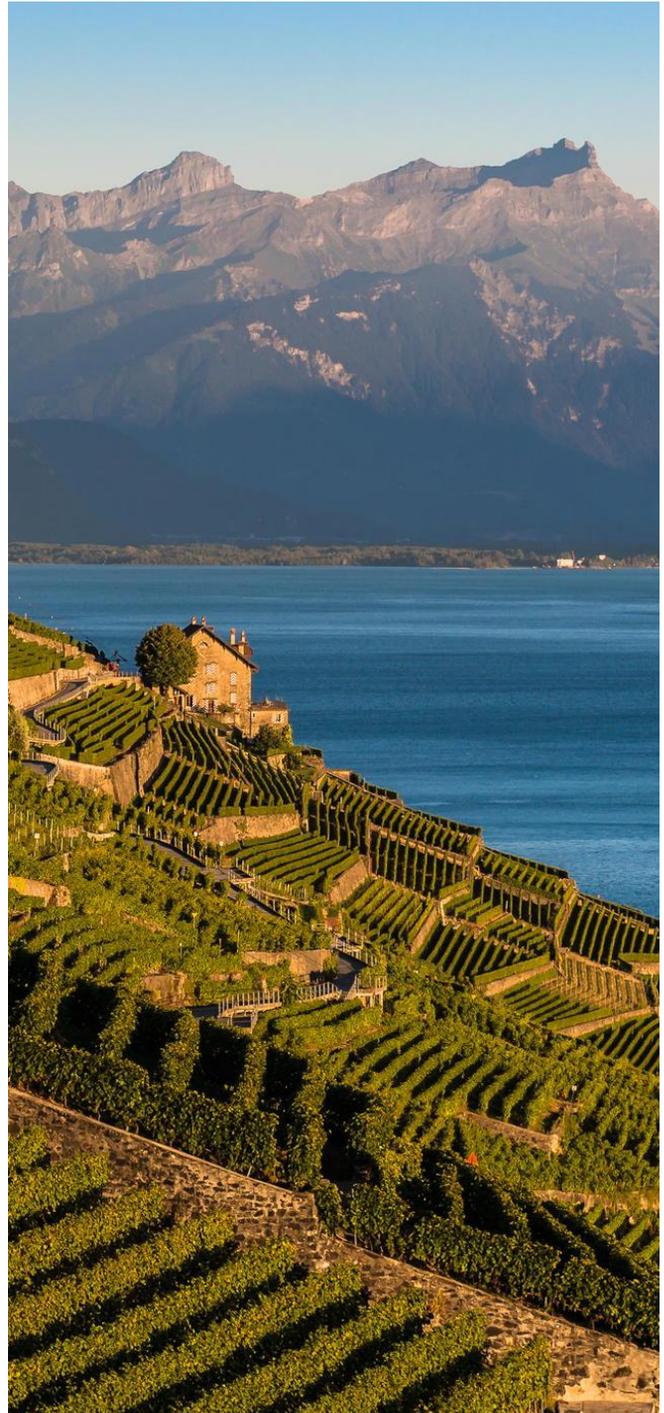
FORESIGHT WORKSHOP (FW)

NEW CHALLENGES FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE

The “New Challenges for Cultural Heritage” foresight workshop is an initiative of The French National Research Agency (ANR).

The PA.TER.MONDI consortium (heritage, territory and globalization), winner of the ANR call for projects, carried out actions between January 2013 and March 2014 to stimulate prospective thinking about heritage, linking a large number of partners with proposed, current or completed research projects in this area. The aim of the ARP is to put forward strategic guidelines for future research on heritage in the short/medium (5 to 20 years) and long term. Its goal is to analyze changes and disruptions in the social production of heritage and heritage management.

The PA.TER.MONDI consortium have chosen to consider heritage in as wide a definition as possible, as it emerges in French society today, and as it resonates with the trends and tendencies noted in Europe and worldwide. Included are: built heritage, objects and collections, archives, archaeology, cultural landscapes and intangible heritage. By focusing on “cultural heritage”, the PA.TER.MONDI consortium explores the limits between the “natural” and the “cultural” as well as the close relationship between heritage and landscape, a notion which, semantically, is becoming increasingly intertwined with the notion of heritage. Rather than providing an *a priori* definition of heritage, the PA.TER.MONDI consortium focuses on **heritage-making processes** in all their growing diversity, taking into account emergent definitions of heritage by researchers, people on the ground, or social actors.



HERITAGE, AS ACTOR AND ISSUE OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL CHANGE

Several factors (social, economic or cultural), identified early on by the consortium, impact heritage today in a new way. They point to major changes in the coming years and call for heritage to be approached from a new perspective.

Factors of change

There are several factors involved which are changing the way that heritage is conceived:

Globalization not only brings national heritage to the world stage, but also invites the world to take part in its “social production” (values established according to international norms; the role of international tourism in the social production of heritage; the circulation of globalized heritage standards). Tourism today, more so than in the past, is becoming not simply a ‘prescriber’ for heritage-making, but also a *co-producer* of heritage. Heritage-making, that historically competes with national constructs, now increasingly interacts with the new phase of globalization and with the construction of plural territories and identities, on different scales.

Societal changes are characterized by a set of trends conflicting with heritage. **Ageing** populations in the West leads to intergenerational gaps in heritage approaches and conceptions and calls into question the continuation of certain heritage practices. **“Hybridization” of lifestyles and practices** (hypermobility, multi-territoriality, rurbanisation, multi-nuclear families, the blurring of genders, multiple associative and societal ties, multiple cultural affiliations) characterize contemporary life.

Environmental and climate-related risks, both as “objective” and “reflective” phenomena, change people’s relationship to heritage and its management models. The Sustainability Paradigm seems to be becoming the primary approach towards heritage, leading to a new predominance of the ethical over the aesthetic, and contributing to “dissolving” heritage into a generalized concern about living environment. The **new forms of individuation**, exacerbated by the digital society, and their consequences – new ways of *making* a community or a society.

Micro and macro-economic changes. Capitalism and the consumer society (consuming more, and more quickly) produce “waste” at a far greater rate than the past.

The rise of the **knowledge economy** is changing our relationship with the object and the material world, or recreating it in virtual form. Lastly, **digital technology** shakes up the way we position ourselves in the world as regards the here and the elsewhere, the present and the past.

New National and International Heritage Regulations

The significant success of the UNESCO 1972 World Heritage Convention helped to develop the concept of heritage around the world. Other key texts mark heritage evolutions: the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), the UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005), the Faro Convention/Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage (2005). Such change does not come only from inside, but results from the growing influence of other normative sources. The phenomenon of the fragmentation of international law means that environmental law, international business law and human rights must also be taken into consideration. And these sources must be considered not just in terms of conflict resolution or competition of standards, but rather in terms of complementarity, interaction and internormativity.

This conjunction of heritage-making and other social processes, such as development, territorialization and metropolization, changes heritage from what was once a clearly-defined sector into a **phenomenon cutting across all fields of social activity**. These developments call for a renewed reflection on heritage research and its **interdisciplinarity**.

*In this new context, the starting point for the PATERMONDI consortium in its analysis of the present situation is to consider the increasing number of heritage objects and the acceleration of heritage-making as signs of a **change in the heritage system**, characterized by new heritage producers, values, functions and meanings, and heritage scales. This leads to an analysis of the current configuration of the role that heritage plays in social, economic and cultural fields, and the underlying issues and challenges requiring new theoretical, interdisciplinary and operational approaches.*

FORESIGHT WORKSHOP METHODOLOGY

The PA.TER.MONDI consortium adopted a prospective research approach (issues and strategies) that is systemic and transdisciplinary, and dynamic over space and time. The consortium used the prospective meta-method (consisting of three distinct cognitive stages: understanding, imagining and proposing action) which provide the necessary flexibility to navigate the complex system of heritage.

The PA.TER.MONDI consortium analyzed the understanding of cultural heritage via different themes which were then brought together in a systemic viewpoint with respect to their prospective characteristics. Next, members of the PA.TER.MONDI consortium envisaged the possible evolutions of this “heritage system” according to internal or external factors of change. Finally, they suggested lines of research allowing creative or remedial actions for change to be formulated, adapted to the lived reality of present situations and of anticipated situations in the short term.

- The **UNDERSTANDING** phase reviewed cultural heritage according to six predefined themes. It was structured around six thematic groups (**Working Groups**) which took into account important prospective issues flagged by the consortium (how heritage is socially produced in today’s world, conservation in the context of the new demands of heritage, understanding the economic range of heritage, issues of human resources, observation, measurement and evaluation, digital matters).

- The **IMAGINING/ANTICIPATING** phase consisted of working through heritage scenarios, taking as a starting point the macro-scenarios drawn up by the Prospective Council (Progetive).

-The third phase, **PROPOSITION MAKING**, pinpointed the important issues in each scenario, grouped them according three variables (RELATION(S), MOBILITY/CIRCULATION(S) and VALUE(S)) and then considered the issues in terms of research themes.



1. UNDERSTANDING

WORKING GROUP 1: UNDERSTANDING THE INNER WORKINGS OF HERITAGE-MAKING

The research from Working Group 1 encourages a parallel to be made between disciplines (e.g. with life sciences, computer and signal science) and a reconsideration of older disciplines in the field (anthropology, geography, history, art history) that deal with rapid societal changes currently taking place: new forms of individuality, territory and time relationships, the place of the aesthetic and of design in daily life, etc. There is a clear trend of harmonization between the cultural and lived experience. Heritage models constructed around regional national parks, landscapes, regional produce or the protection of biodiversity (which emphasizes notions of sustainability and safeguarding, rather than conservation), are probably superseding the traditional model of the monument, zoning or INPN (*Inventaire national du patrimoine naturel*). Experts and researchers are confronted with an increase in lay or amateur knowledge about heritage, which leads to a speeding up of changes in the relationship between heritage and scientific knowledge on the one hand, and politics knowledge on the other.

We identified three major issues at the heart of these new trends in heritage-making and heritage knowledge: the **democratization of heritage**, the **political stakes involved in installing a sense of responsibility (accountability) in citizens for their living environment**, and the **place of the researcher** in heritage processes.

WORKING GROUP 2: ANALYSIS OF NEW METHODS OF CONSERVATION AND TRANSMISSION

The research carried out by Working Group 2 revealed the paradox of sustainably preserving a system which is itself changing in two respects: (i) the tangibility of heritage objects and (ii) the changing nature of the context which receives them. This paradox begs the **question of the scientific relevance of the term “conservation” and privileged use of “transmission”** where what was meant to be sustainable is nothing but an illusory legacy for the next generation. We are no longer talking about an object being conserved, but about **the very rules of its conservation. The notion of “adaptive use” or of “dynamic conservation” is a powerful addition to traditional conservation.** Examining the extension of this diagnosis from built heritage (where its relevance is clear) to museum objects or other heritage elements, opens new and fascinating avenues to explore.

The growth of mass tourism, along with changes in French society, calls for qualitative and quantitative answers to the **diversification and multiplication of “consumers”** but also to cultural and linguistic diversity, etc.

In more general terms, **the creation of interfaces to mediate** with the public seems to be an important aspect to bear in mind.

The invention and definition of **new economic models** that meet society's demands for profitability (secondary activities, production, etc.) are significant issues for a heritage field in constant expansion (in relation to restoration, conservation, preservation, etc.). One of the questions we must answer is: *should we preserve a handful of monuments for centuries to come, or a host of different kinds of remnants for the next two generations?*

WORKING GROUP 3: IDENTIFYING A NEW ECONOMICS OF HERITAGE

Cultural heritage has been, for the most part, considered in terms of a fixed “stock”, passed on from generation to generation, as per a conservation ideal. However, the concept of what is “exceptional” is not static. The “exceptionality” attributed to an object may evolve over time, therefore opening up the possibility for some elements of the stock to “leave” in order to make room for others.

This stock mentality, prevalent in France, has several consequences: urban-rural divides, segmentation of populations throughout the country, due to the differentiation between historically central areas and a more “ordinary” urban area; or isolating artistic creation in a heritage-making process whose highest accolade would be as a work of art in a museum.

Given the lack of funding, the tendency is to slow down the process of adding to the stock (nothing, or very little, is now classed as “heritage”). The risk is that the heritage potential of a 20th- or 21st-century monument, site, landscape or object could be ignored.

Three important issues concerning cultural heritage governance have been identified: **territorial pertinence (Who is the initiator? Who is the knowledge bearer?); funding (Who provides the funding?); management and regulation (Who oversees or regulates the work? Who manages it?)**

WORKING GROUP 4: ASSESSMENT AND IDENTIFICATION OF EMERGING NEEDS FOR NEW TRAINING COURSES AND JOBS

Secondary industries are developing and becoming involved in an area of heritage which is becoming broader in terms of restoration, conservation and preservation linked to new economic models. **The challenge lies in defining new economic models of heritage-related jobs** underpinned by a revisited heritage value system. One of the cross-cutting issues is in showing that the study object, “Human Resources and Competencies”, places people at the centre of both areas – abilities and employment – although today the distinction between the two has become blurred.

Decompartamentalizing the links between uses, transmission and knowledge is another issue. **Training people about heritage(s)** is also an important matter to consider. The general public is taking ownership of heritage and training courses are developing to “empower” people. “Open or Contributory Science” projects are developing, where researchers present an epistemological approach in a new genre of interaction with the public, while scientific researchers and historians focus on less accessible subjects.

Identifying the sites and modes of transmission connected to ICT, be they proactive (basic, continuous or professional training, apprenticeships, etc.), implicit or derived from the oral tradition, mediations and technological interfaces. An ever-increasing quantity of data and images makes up a collective memory and its processing needs to be incorporated into areas of work requiring skills that are yet to be defined. Capturing the power of the multitude is a major challenge.

It is also important to view **skilled work as heritage**: skills are specific to a certain group of individuals. To learn a trade is to enter into a particular history and to develop a whole field of activities. **Skilled work is ethically complete**. It is a vector of identity, or a state of mind.

WORKING GROUP 5: UNDERSTANDING NEW MODES OF OBSERVATION, MEASUREMENT AND EVALUATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE

Several issues were identified in the area of heritage observation: the fixing of **territorial scales and relevant heritage pools** allow analysis of the impact of public policies; research on “**declining heritages** (unclaimed “non-[heritage] sites” left out of contemporary heritage-making processes); and the analysis of the **production, legitimation and normalization bodies** involved in heritage observation (actors, issues and outcomes).

Digital technology also falls inside the scope of the study field, the measurement or assessment of heritage highlights several issues: (i) knowledge of **cultural uses of digital technology** (e.g. spaces, types of procedure and interpretative digital repertoires; relationships between digital uses and heritage practices; access, ownership and consumption methods; measurement of the advantages of digital cultural practices); (ii) definition of an analytical framework for the use and development of relevant indicators for **Web Data** and **cultural Big Data** as well as for new normative frameworks on the use of digital data which may not be (effectively) anonymized; (iii) knowledge about the actions and development of **organizations, skilled trades and the governance of heritage institutions in the digital realm**.

WORKING GROUP 6: ASSESSING NEW METHODS AND TOOLS IN THE E-MEDIATION OF HERITAGE

The issues identified by this group interact closely with questions raised in the other Working Groups.

- **Exploitability of data** (dialogue between different corpora, and between institutions holding large databases and associations and local organizations, etc.; open access to data for citizens).

- **Research in these databases**: knowing how to *data mine* unstructured data is the real issue here, like Google is already doing for sound and image.

- **Organization, management, and conservation of digital content**.

Most digital and digitized objects are not exempt from heritage-making issues which consider the digital as heritage in itself.

- **The Digital Economy**. Apart from digitization, associated data issues are significant in the digital economy. A large market potential has been identified in developing services based on the semantization, qualification and categorization of data, combined with social metadata. Without denying the particularity of this sector of heritage, similarities can be seen with the digital economy as a whole: the evolution of the notion of value in a context of abundance, transformation of occupations, the importance of intuitive interfaces, legal issues surrounding these new concepts, etc.

- Behind these findings lies an **important economic and training issue**. Today, capturing the power of the multitude is an occupation (applying this analogy to other sectors such as the press, where there is great need for ‘*front page management*’).

THE GENERAL SCENARIO: FRAGILE OMNI-PATRIMONIALISATION

Reflections from the foresight workshop highlight changes in the notion of heritage over the last few years. A “*new regime of heritage*” characterizes contemporary society. Forming a system with the new phase of globalization, in much more radical terms, it calls into question the “stock” heritage of a nation, or a defined social group, etc.) and its inalienability. This heritage system is characterized by its “transactionality” and “performativity”, by close links to tourist mobility, or even a touristic construction of heritage, by a double process of territorialization and de-territorialisation and by its more pragmatic acceptance of a shift from the object *per se* towards its intangible potential (social, relational, economic, etc.).

Growing complexity in heritage production

The desire of individuals and societies for heritage is fed by an ever-growing number of different actors. The continuous production of new and diverse “heritage” points to a **de-hierarchization**, seen in the questioning of hierarchies established between “grand” institutional heritage and other heritage aspects. This should be considered in parallel with the tendency to **de-institutionalise** heritage, characterized by a suspicion of systematic State mediation and of its actors and agents in the recognition and definition of what heritage is, together with a certain **de- and re-intermediation** of heritage. Such tendencies suggest a **democratization** of heritage, in the sense that a “top down” established system is questioned, and the capacity of “bottom up” groups and social actors to engage in heritage-making is vaunted. Of course, this democratization is complex and fraught with contradictions.

More “hands on” heritage practices

Heritage is now seen as part of the social contract, of a certain co-operative reality. Here we see a shift in perspective from heritage object towards a *relationship* established with/by the object and a certain “demystification/deconsecration” of the relations that social groups and individuals have with heritage. New digital mediation tools bring a sense of potential; an individualized view of heritage; the chance to integrate fact and fiction;

a removing of the taboo around heritage objects, as they are stripped of the decorum of their institution, removed from the realm of contemplation and thrust into the world of daily usage; and a shift in the position of experts and their areas of interest.

A Culture of Heritage Transmission based on Values which are constantly being reinterpreted

Heritage conservation has adopted a logical dynamic. Heritage elements which have been passed down are the “schedulers” of future landscapes and their “regulatory function” can play a more important role than the conservation *stricto sensu* of actual vestiges. The rise in recycling heritage, disseminating a heritage framework for urban development and the growing importance of the tourism industry, dictator of “heritage” (re)constructions, contribute to a new order of authenticity. All this is nonetheless shadowed by “instability” and uncertainty.

Heritage, a key element for regions

Actors at various territorial levels are referring more and more to heritage in the construction, affirmation, and even their assertion of the “character” of their region. Heritage thus becomes a key notion in the construction of a regional identity.

However, an analysis of heritage–territory (and patrimonialization–territorialisation) relations shows that heritage is not only an active agent of territorialization, but also of de-territorialization and re-territorialization.

These processes are part of a larger game (the globalization of heritage, or “*heritaglobalization*” contributing to the *glocal* construction of territories and the world-system), which seems today to be caught in a maelstrom of different phenomena (tourism, ICT, and also the heritage claims of communities and social groups).

Decline of UN-based Management Models

Traditional institutions in charge of heritage are currently in danger of no longer having the means to organize its development. This general trend demonstrates that the prevailing economic model of the past, during the construction and management of heritage in Europe no longer matches today’s broader understanding of heritage. New business models are sought and implemented by heritage actors, in a “heritage upgrade” paradigm. Heritage is being commodified and made tourist-friendly to such an extent that it risks becoming “Disneyfied”. Creative re-use and private uses of heritage proliferate. Crowdsourcing is also becoming more common in the (co)production and practice of heritage.

Evolutions in the Concept of Heritage

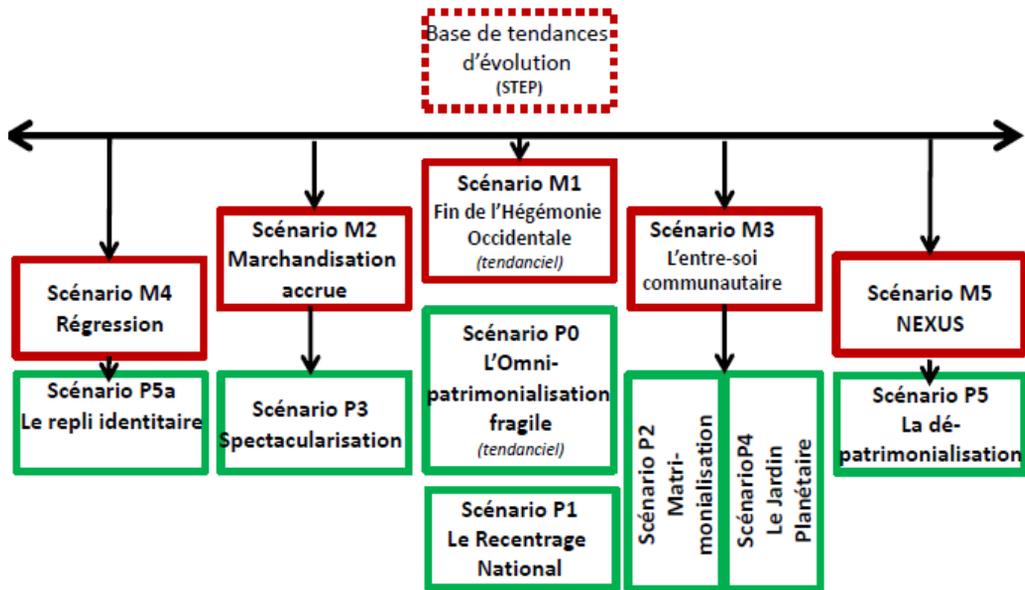
Changes mark the shift from a “stock” heritage towards a “flux” heritage which acts as an ***“active principle of sustainable development”*** (redefinition, even a de- or re-construction of the concept of heritage), linking lifestyle and sustainable management of local resources in a more organic way. The notion of the “cultural landscape” (including tangible, intangible and living elements) expresses this view of a sort of general organization of the world in terms of heritage.

The sustainability model asserts a certain “way of reading the world” and the relationships that individuals have with the world. It influences how heritage is approached, leading to the new predominance of the ethical over the aesthetic. The sustainability paradigm contributes to the heritage process by favouring the reuse and recycling of places and objects. The United Nations and the Council of Europe conventions both stem from and steer evolutions in the concept of heritage. Demands from individuals and social groups for a *right to heritage* continue to grow.



2. IMAGINING

At the end of the UNDERSTANDING phase, alternative scenarios to the current baseline scenario were put together using two distinct approaches, on the one hand developing scenarios of the general trends in official prospective studies and on the other hand, developing future scenarios of future heritage issues, resulting in five alternative heritage scenarios. The PA.TER.MONDI consortium then melded these two areas, integrating the heritage scenarios into the global scenarios most likely to affect heritage. These hybrid entities – “evolving scenarios” – in turn gave rise to a vast field of challenges. Of these, some were chosen for more detailed study based on their probable impact.



Scenario P1: National Recentering and Reinforcement of State Power

This heritage scenario, a sort of macro-scenario, posits a diminishing heritage in a Jacobin State. Reaffirming the role of the State gives it the privilege of defining heritage as well as deciding on the course of action to be taken. Heritage focuses on items which express a certain “heritage orthodoxy” and contests “heritage multiplicity”. The return of the State can be seen in ideas of “grand heritage”, acting as the largest common denominator of people living in the same national territory. In this scenario, we move away from polyphonic and polysemic forms of heritage evident in the current baseline scenario.

In this way, States concentrate their attention on heritage elements with supra-national potential, on a European or global level.

Accredited “grand heritage” (world heritage, European recognition, etc.) takes the actors’ full attention. The return of the State may also be seen in the importance given to essential attributes of centralized power and to archives in particular. This scenario could mean the emergence of a more authoritarian order; but going beyond that, we might also envision that the development of post-Fordian capitalism could result in heritage being squeezed into the preserve of non-commercial space. This could provoke tensions and conflicts. On the one hand, there is a section of society who, fed up with what they see as “excessive” heritage-making, resent the use of public funds for heritage which does not represent the State, is not profitable, or is too plural or diverse for their liking. On the other hand, there are social, cultural or ethnic groups who do not feel represented by the heritage choices made by the State and the majority of its citizens.

Scenario P2: The Hyper-Spectacularization of Heritage

Although the heritage sphere continues to expand, heritage is becoming more and more ephemeral, caught in a cycle of consumption and destruction. It is part of the “mercapolis” where, in the context of the entertainment society, heritage is spectacularized to the nth degree and ends up being fragmented. Aspects of heritage which attract many visitors and play the part of territorial icons are carefully preserved, in a national marketing approach.

In a way, we are witnessing a new geography of difference between hyper-connected heritage by hyper-mobile populations (tourism, transnational élites) and the forgotten “orphan” heritages, left out in the cold.

In urban areas, there are cherished historic quarters, deserted by their inhabitants to become “tourist bubbles” or gentrified, museumified and “Disneyfied” enclaves. Beyond these, we find densely populated neighbourhoods which are not considered to have heritage value. Heritage has little to do with community areas; it is rather the business and concern of large international trusts.

Mobile tourists are encouraged, leading to new forms of heritage production (recognition of heritage by outsiders). The economic model is based on tourist consumption and the use of heritage for highly visible tourist or commercial functions: luxury hotels in former hospitals or prisons; luxury stores installed in prestigious buildings, etc.). Well-known brands constitute an added value much sought after by regions and private operators.

In conservation terms, these trends imply in one way an almost obsessive effort in a few selected and carefully restored places. The age and “authenticity” of these sites is an important element in legitimizing the activities which take place within them. However, they are also defined by turnover, or erasure, the forgetting of more humble histories.

Digital mediation is essential in relating to heritage, particularly in the realm of (ludic, sensory, festive) “experiences” offered in touristified heritage places. Mediation co-exists with the ephemeralization of heritage.

PA.TER.MONDI's Scenarios of 'Matrimonialization' (P3a) and Global Garden (P3b)

The *matrimonialization* scenario focuses on the term “matrimony”, which refers to emotions and the affective dimension. It implies a move towards a heritage which integrates alterity, and is community driven (“community heritage”), with a nod to the “human right to heritage”. The term also denotes a territorialized and anchored heritage (its *raison d'être*) whilst also having a use value: it is workable, it is “lived-in”. It is organically integrated into the life of communities.

In big cities, *matrimonialization* functions as a regulatory and emancipatory element, creating social links, facilitating projects, and working for equitable development in peripheral zones. It is the motor of metropolitan integration. On a metropolitan scale, there is a more balanced view of suburban heritage; exciting heritage projects are situated in neighbourhoods hitherto dismissed.

The economic model relies on governance in the broad sense, organized by heritage communities who have heritage properties. With the shift of heritage from object to relationship, it becomes a canvas or a medium, on and by which social projects are created. Its tourism value, if any, becomes therefore a means of intercultural comprehension and encounters with alterity.

The role of ICT is essential - not just for matters of heritage digitization or conservation but also as an element which enables communities to sidestep the middle man and build direct relationships, possibly by using private operators. ICT is a means of empowerment.

Heritage relies on a range of invented or redefined occupations: assemblers, project monitors and mediators, or heritage *bricoleurs*.

This would mean departing from the western view of conservation (putting heritage objects into quarantine) for an approach of continual re-adaptation based on ever-evolving societal norms for the use of such objects. In conceptual terms, inspiration comes from the south. The paradigm is being upended: even as southern heritage was historically analyzed according to western readings, northern heritages now move towards the notion of a circular heritage, inspired by the cyclical approach of African or Asian heritage. Orality, the intangible, social and artistic skills are now the vehicles of heritage transmission.

In this way, we leave an elitist, institutional and Jacobin conception of heritage and witness the development of a socially created and geographically anchored democratized heritage which integrates alterity.

Heritage is a human and a community right (the right *to* heritage). It is passed on by communities who are the bearers of “community heritages”.

The focus shifts from the object to the relation created with the object. Heritage is a creative medium for today's society. Its tourist value lies in intercultural comprehension

In the **Global Garden** scenario, the link between heritage and the land becomes increasingly important. Heritage merges with and becomes territory. Environmental discourses encompass vast territories, in fact, the entire planet. Heritage becomes a concern closely linked to environmental issues. It recognises and includes living things.

Here, heritage becomes a veritable *vehicle*, a *platform* for the environmental preoccupations of society. It is regarded as part of our planet's "great garden" (this is less a question of particular plants thriving, and more about *organizing, cataloguing* and finding a balance of biodiversity).

As for conservation and restoration ideas, we leave behind metaphors of "therapeutic intervention" on heritage in favour of a wider consideration of the concerns linking heritage and the world in its broadest sense. Heritage is seen as the life force of a "sustainable" world, as a tool by which we may apprehend our environment; symbolically (enabling interpretation), politically (allowing for agreement and disagreement), and in management terms (providing a means of territorial management).

Heritage is, in this reading, something for us to cling to in the face of an uncertain future. It is not an aggregate of inventorized items to be preserved, but a guiding principle which informs our actions to help save the planet. We can class heritage as landscape or as a frame for life, including our methods of managing these, but heritage is also the recognition of our natural environment and of all living things (air, biodiversity, etc.) and of our past experience (a legacy for ordinary people). Today, the development of this conception of heritage can be seen on the Internet.

If we think of heritage in terms of landscape, or as something sublime and fixed, we no longer have to choose between tangible and intangible, nature and culture. This leads to an examination of issues of perception (and therefore more cognitive approaches), which have so far received little attention from heritage research studies. We would need to work on the imaginary and the aesthetic, which will open the door to a study of transformations and changes. All of this is grounded in a cross-disciplinary logic, involving the Humanities, Social Sciences and digital technology.

The economy has been causing the tourism industry and the food and drink sector to shrink. Recession appears to be the new model. Major European agglomerations – with the exception of some capital cities – are opting out of metropolization. Some promote their heritage and quality of life, whereas others are in decline. In these non-cities or "antipolises", mechanisms of segregation and conflicts of use come hand in hand with a re-politicization, where at local level, people invent more sustainable ways in which to manage their space. Population decline makes these countries want to draw in more tourists, so they attempt to differentiate themselves, at least those places with tourist attractions.

Heritage is ignored. It is not a social priority. Museums and heritage sites are closing or operate on a skeleton service. The only heritage still given status is the one which represents national identity, feeding discourses on overcoming the crisis - or heritage as tourism.

Europe becomes a heritage park. Struggling countries manage their heritage in a utilitarian way to respond to visitor demands. There is a major geographic reversal between earlier tourism destinations and departure points. Europe welcomes many visitors from Asian and South American countries. Although Europe is closing itself off to the world, it remains open for business to people from "solvent" countries, as the money they spend is a vital means of survival.

PA.TER.MONDI's De-patrimonialization Scenario (P5)

A circular economy is developing, contributing to well-being in a world with limited resources. Circulation affects the whole society, through mobility, relationships and well-being. The world is no longer flat, but living and moving. Although growing older, it is becoming more mixed and varied. It is dual: everything that no longer exists in the physical world migrates to the virtual; cyberspace is populated by networks and avatars; the noosphere hosts much of our Quaternary reality, including many tertiary industries.

The hedonistic *Generation Alien* breaks culturally and affectively with earlier generations, and cannot identify with heritage, particularly the idea of a national heritage. Today's world is the only reference point, and heritage material is measured only by contemporary norms. Everything else becomes a virtualized object: it goes from bricks to bytes, generating its own economy.

Society is not concerned with physical heritage as a national marker and thus sees it rather as a brake on a common global culture, a relic of a bygone age. Adverts, songs, jokes, events, even tweets are our heritage now, all markers of global culture. We are witnesses to a growing ephemeralization of heritage.

One example is the decline in *story telling*, a key basis for intergenerational transmission. Heritage is no longer interesting or compelling – it has become a burden for younger generations to carry; an obstacle, a dead weight. For young people, heritage is a notion bereft or devoid of meaning.



3. PROPOSING ACTIONS

THREE VARIABLES of the HERITAGE SYSTEM IN FLUX: RELATIONSHIP, VALUES, MOBILITY

The issues identified in each Scenario were grouped under three headings which reflect the three main integrated variables the PA.TER.MONDI consortium used to explore possible futures for heritage: RELATIONSHIP, MOBILITY and VALUES.

This approach was one of the major contributions of PA.TER.MONDI: to take a cross-sectional look at all the Scenarios, using systematic themes as entry points. There is significant overlap between the research questions arising from these three variables.

The resulting research questions or themes are all interdisciplinary. Enriched by “classical” disciplines (history, art history, architecture, and later anthropology, ethnology, geography) they relate not just to heritage studies, but also form a meeting point between cultural studies, tourism studies and gender studies.

The questions raised are original in their methodological background as well as in the way they are structured and formalized

We question the place of French research in a broader context, cognizant of developments in heritage studies at an international level. French scholarship needs to enter more fully into contemporary international debate in the area. We do not wish to turn our backs on French academic rigour and expertise, ignoring its originality and international scope. The field of heritage studies today is defined by multidisciplinary, internationalization and a strong epistemological bent towards Anglophone or “post colonial” scholarship. What we need is to bring the best of these different academic approaches together, and rub them up against each other to create a new spark. Such disciplinary and international “open-mindedness” should lead us to consider new heritage epistemologies, at the nexus of Heritage, Cultural, Tourism and Gender Studies and also in the area of Natural Sciences and Engineering.

The crossing of the new themes in our three-variable framework (Relationship, Mobility, Values) is depicted in the table below:

EMERGING ISSUES

The **question of ethics** is a central issue, overlapping with matters involving *values, mobilities, and relationships* around heritage.

The issues of **corporeality** and its interactions with being, doing and practising heritage.

The idea of the **living world**, a new concept in the realm of heritage, which raises different questions.

Themes pertaining to the **individual, communities and society**, such as they lend themselves to analysis *via* patrimonialization and its contemporary influences, or in terms of public space or the public good.

The question of the **hybridization of heritage and hybrid heritages** in a world of movement, be it willed (*tourism*) or not (*diaspora, migration*).

The **new heritage geography** on a global scale and its **geopolitical** implications.

The issue of transversal **values**, their evolution and **trade-offs** in a context of **new axiologies**.

The notion of **norms** and **internormativity**, particularly in interrogations of new heritage fields (e.g. living or intangible).

These eight themes, taken separately and in their various permutations and combinations, offer us innovative and exciting fields of enquiry. It should be noted that there has so far been little, if any, research on these themes. They constitute a sort of “blind spot” in terms of French research. Another positive point is the relationship between these themes and emerging areas of research which are set to evolve significantly in the coming years. They are of interest not just for their relevance today, but also have a strong prospective presence in time to come.

Whether evoking the question of *omni-patrimonialization* or *de-patrimonialization* (to cite the two possible extremes), the Scenarios of heritage futures we have outlined demonstrate that both heritage and the relationship our societies have with it are currently undergoing major changes.

The stakes are high. Yes, we are dealing with heritage, but more broadly with social and human elements. As a means by which people construct a place for themselves in the world, heritage can play an important role as social regulator and organizer.

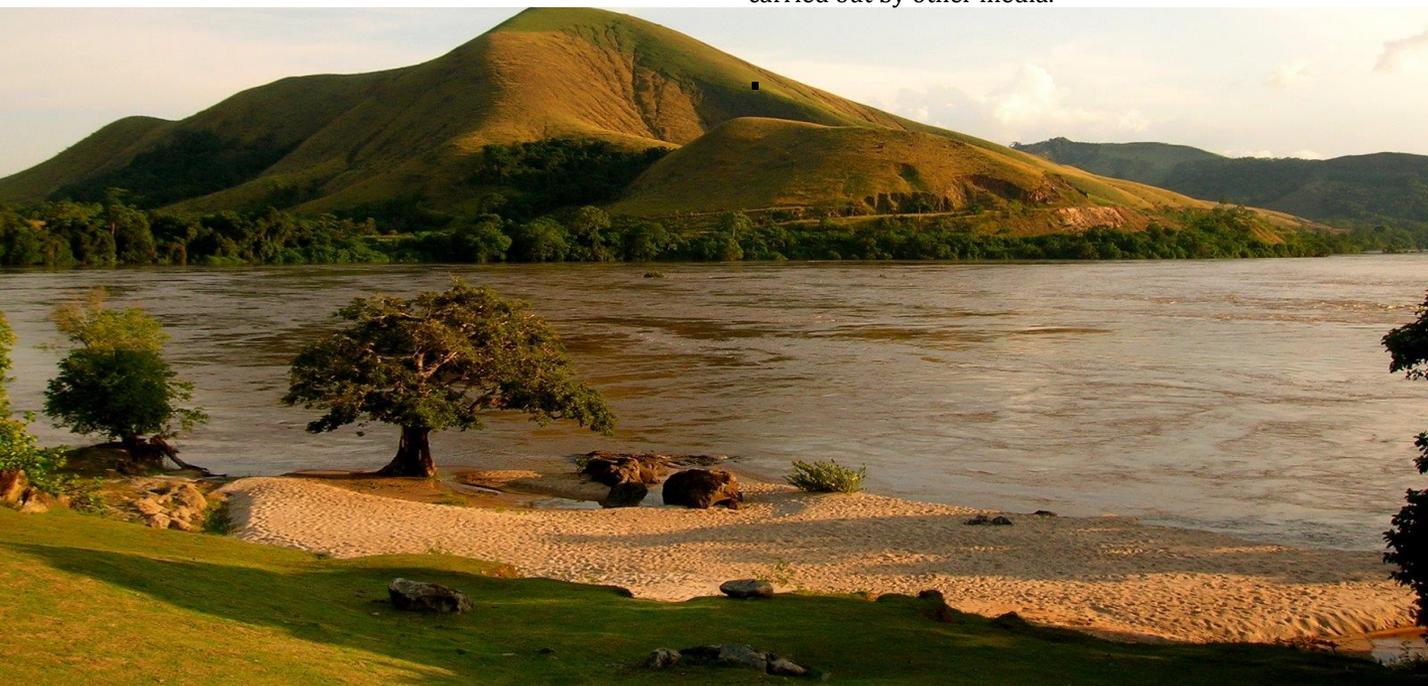
The research implications are of crucial importance. Over the past few decades, research in this field has moved from studies to *facilitate* patrimonialization (e.g. technical, ethnological, archaeological, historical and political studies, helping to establish the heritage status of an object) to studies *about* patrimonialization (understanding the processes by which objects acquire heritage status).

Three new challenges face researchers:

- **Dealing with heritage in all its diversity, today and in the future.** Evolutions in recent years have shown not only the elasticity of the concept itself, but have also revealed the societal desires and concerns. The epistemological knowledge has changed, as have methodologies. Whilst reflecting on “heritage work/occupations” in one of our Working Groups, we soon realized that our own work as researchers was the first to be affected by the changes in this object of study.

- **Fully exploring the “Call of the South” in heritage studies.** Recent constructions of the notion of heritage have drawn extensively from non-Western approaches, *savoir-faire* and even cosmologies. Whilst the discourse consistently stresses that Western doctrines “produced” the idea of globalized heritage, there has been scant recognition of the way in which Southern theories influence how conceptions of heritage are changing in Northern countries.

- **Finally, the need to examine the metamorphoses of heritage, including post-heritage.** The de-patrimonialization Scenario enabled us to explore what for many people today remains unthinkable. However, the question remains: in a post-heritage world, what will take the place of heritage? How will the functions currently carried out by heritage processes continue to exist? These questions are predicated on an imagined absence of heritage itself, and therefore focus on the “functions” of heritage, which could conceivably be carried out by other media.



ORGANIZATION and WORKING APPROACH OF THE FORESIGHT WORKSHOP

Academic Co-ordination: Maria Gravari-Barbas, professor at the University of Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne, director of EIREST (Interdisciplinary Team of Tourism Research). The EIREST team oversaw the co-ordination of this project.

Partners: EIREST, University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Ecole de Chaillot de Cité de l'Architecture et du patrimoine, Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Agence pour le Développement et la Valorisation du patrimoine and Cap Digital.

Project Management: co-ordinating team, composed of university lecturers-researchers, EIREST doctoral and post-doctoral students (Géraldine Djament, Fabienne Goux-Baudiment, Sandra Guinand, Sébastien Jacquot, Cécile Renard and Anas Sanoussi).

Thematic Co-ordination: a project team made up of representatives from the five main partners. This team organized the six Working Groups and co-organized the Foresight Workshop (Evelyne Broudoux, Bernard Darras, Arnaud Druelle, Xavier Greffe, Mireille Grubert, Anne Krebs, Thierry Lalot, Jean-Luc Lory, Hervé Passamar, Dominique Poulot, Vincent Puig, Michel Rautenberg and Vincent Veschambre).

Prospective Council: Fabienne Goux-Baudiment, Cabinet Progettive.

State of the Art: Karen Julien, ethnologist

Expert Panel: Isabelle Balsamo, Patrice Dartevelle, Berengère Gleize and Cyril Isnart.

ANR Co-ordination: Mireille Brangé and Maelle Sergheraert

Over 60 experts from different disciplines and several countries other than the permanent members of the plenary workshops.

OUTLINE OF ACTIVITIES

18 thematic workshops organized in the working groups from January 2013 to February 2014

7 plenary workshops

A closing conference ("*Horizons of Cultural Heritage*") 6 and 7 February 2014 (<https://www.univ-paris1.fr/conferences/horizons/presentation-du-conference/>)

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