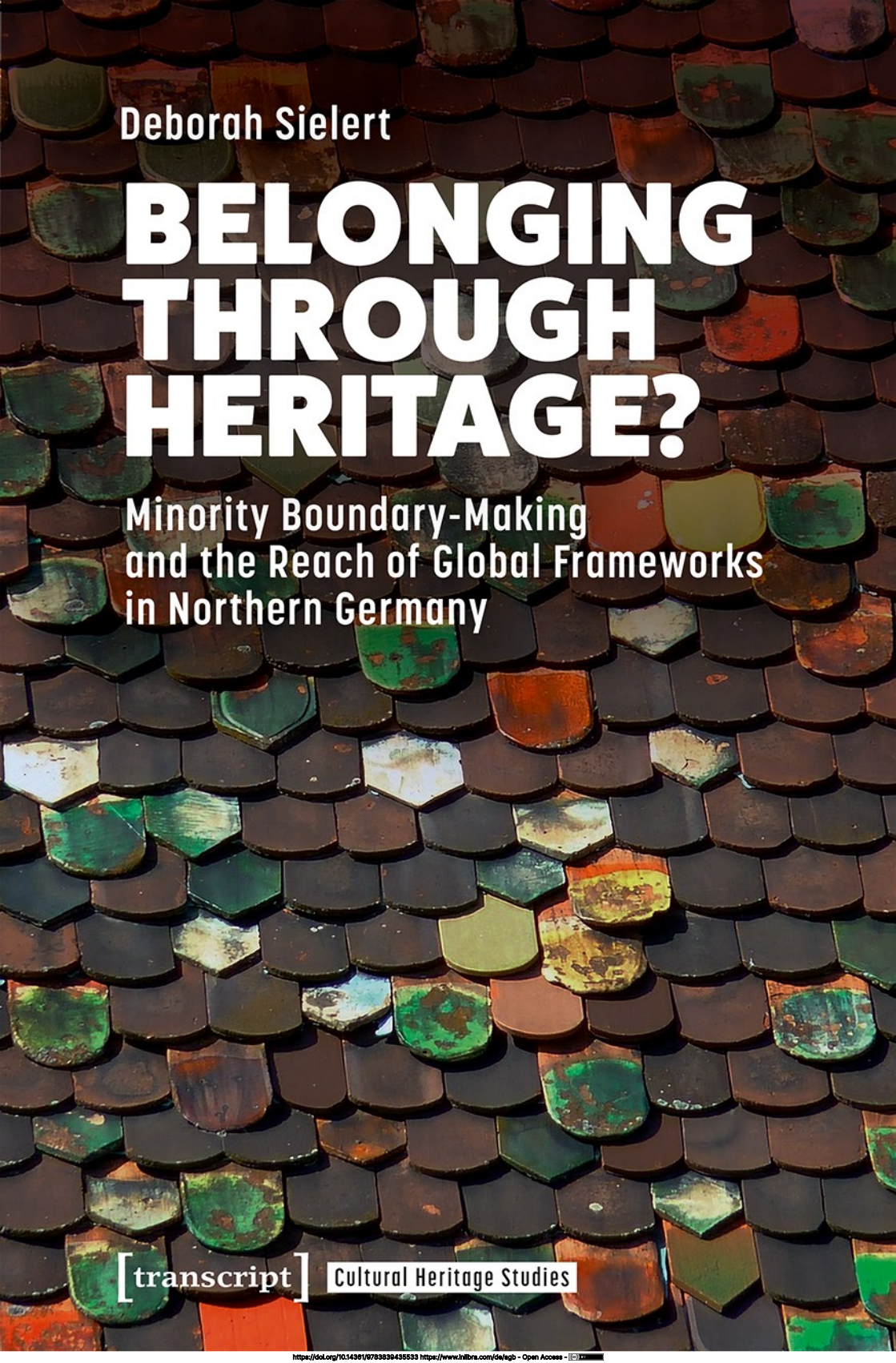


Deborah Sielert
Belonging Through Heritage?

Deborah Sielert earned her PhD in sociology at Leibniz Universität Hannover as part of the project "Cultural Heritage as a Resource?", focusing on cultural pluralism in small towns. She previously explored the radical imagination of parent activists in Germany and the Netherlands during her research master's in "Gender and Ethnicity" at Universiteit Utrecht. Her interests are interdisciplinary and include social theory, critical heritage studies, and feminist theory, particularly around the notion of "care." She now applies her experience in research, teaching, and publishing as an Open Access Advisor at Technische Informationsbibliothek (TIB) in Hannover.

Deborah Sielert

Belonging Through Heritage?

Minority Boundary-Making and the Reach of Global Frameworks in Northern Germany

[transcript]

This publication received financial support from the Open Access Fund of the Leibniz Universität Hannover.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available online at https://dnb.dnb.de

transcript Verlag | Hermannstraße 26 | D-33602 Bielefeld | live@transcript-verlag.de

Cover concept: Maria Arndt
Cover illustration: Image by LoggaWiggler from Pixabay
Printing: Elanders Waiblingen GmbH, Waiblingen
https://doi.org/10.14361/9783839435533
Print-ISBN: 978-3-8376-7930-4 | PDF-ISBN: 978-3-8394-3553-3
ISSN of series: 2752-1516 | eISSN of series: 2752-1524

Printed on permanent acid-free text paper.

Contents

Acknowledgement

Writing a dissertation tends to be a lonely process. However, I was by no means alone in it. Turning in this thesis would not have been possible without the academic and emotional support of many people—peers, colleagues, supervisors, friends, comrades and family—to whom I am deeply thankful.

My first thanks go to my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Mathias Bös, for his support, guidance, and patience. I am grateful for his approachability and active engagement while also allowing me to make this project my own journey. As part of this journey, we travelled together, starting the research as a team of three, including PD Dr. Nina Clara Tiesler. I thank her, among other things, for her guidance in conducting field research and for sharing her wisdom about what a PhD project entails at crucial moments. I thank my second supervisor, Prof. Dr. Regina Bendix, for her research. I am highly influenced by her helpful commentaries and words of encouragement. The environment in her doctoral colloquium in Göttingen crucially shaped the project's final stages and gave me the momentum to approach its finish line. The editing work of Dr. Kirsty Kay was essential to turning the dissertation into a book I felt worthy to be published.

Conducting this project would not have been possible without the help of my student assistants. Carola Steenhoff conducted field research, opening doors in Cuxhaven that I could not open without Portuguese language competencies. Julia Frisch cleaned up my mess of references and citations in the last weeks before I handed the thesis in.

I thank my colleagues from the research Project CHER. Special thanks go to Jenny Hagemann, Malte Kleinschmidt and Raimund Lazar for our discussions and joint attempts to approach the study of cultural heritage. My colleagues from the working group on sociological theory and the Institute of Sociology at the Leibniz Universität Hannover for providing me with a supportive and joyful work environment.

Catharina Peeck-Ho was tasked with reading the whole thesis; she was also among the first to help me take myself seriously as a scholar. Big thanks also go to all the other readers of parts of my thesis for really engaging with my work: Friederike Beier, Jenny Hagemann, Anna-Lisa Klages, Vasiliki Belia, Sarah Beck-

lake, and Franziska Meyer-Lantzberg. I thank my feminist mother's writing group for being there online every day to keep up my motivation to write. And the Working Group Situational Analysis, which accompanied my research process from its initial phases. I learned about rigorous research from you and found a space for being "'nerdy' about Situational Analysis.

Finally, I must thank my friends, comrades, family, neighbours and chosen family for their emotional and structural support. Some probably still wonder what I did in this thesis; others became conversation partners, shaping the research and writing process. All of you went along with me through the ups and downs, doubts and breakthroughs. You also reminded me of that beautiful life outside of academia; special thanks in this respect go to my child, Lu Jeldrik. Ingo, you are my partner, friend, lover and coach. I have no words for the job you do. I learned so much about the importance of caring communities, and I thank you all for being mine.

List of Figures and Tables

1. Introduction – Cultural Heritage is a Concept We Cannot Do Away With

The journey to Aurich, Zeven, and Cuxhaven – three small towns in northern Germany – is most conveniently made by car. Although public transportation is available, it is disproportionately time-consuming and thus impractical. This is a common experience for both residents and visitors to provincial regions and is well documented in political discourse, media coverage, and academic research. Equally widespread, however, is the longstanding assumption that rural Germany, unlike its metropolitan centres, is largely homogeneous, shaped little by immigration, and lacking in cultural and ethnic diversity.

A visitor strolling through the streets of Cuxhaven, a small German town on the North Sea coast, on a sunny day in May might therefore be surprised to encounter a procession of 200 people, led by a statue commemorating the apparition of Mary in Fatima, Portugal, in 1917. German and Portuguese are spoken in the procession, along with some Spanish, and a group of young adults wearing traditional Portuguese dance attire march as members of one of the town's two rancho folk dance associations. In Zeven, a small inland German town in Lower Saxony, the annual arrival of the Dutch Sinterklaas at the town hall each December is a commonly seen event for local residents. He parades through the crowds of the Christmas market accompanied by Black Peters handing out sweets – a tradition that has been the subject of heated debate in the Netherlands over its racism. Some six months later, numerous local associations and school classes gather for communal hikes, accompanied by a military brass band that travels from the Netherlands to celebrate the Four Evening Marches – a tradition introduced by a former Dutch military garrison stationed in the town. In Aurich, located in the heart of East Frisia, identifying as Frisian – a legally recognised ethnic minority in Germany – is in fact a majority position. Upon entering the town centre, one is greeted by signs of Frisianess everywhere, from East Frisian coffee houses to Frisian legal clinics and children's playgrounds. Once a year, on May 1st, residents gather to raise a decorated tree, celebrating spring and new beginnings, the so-called *Maibaum* (maypole) tradition. All three towns thus bear witness to publicly visible forms of cultural and ethnic diversity. Moreover, they are shaped by histories of migration that long predate the so-called

'summer of migration' in 2015, when large numbers of Syrian refugees arrived in Germany and were, at times, relocated to provincial areas, making their immigration experiences and cultural differences a highly debated topic in both media coverage and academic research. This book examines the dynamics of heritagisation in the pluralised arenas of Cuxhaven, Zeven, and Aurich which are explicitly not 'new immigrant destinations' but have long been shaped by (international) mobility. It explores how these dynamics are shaped by global heritage discourses, while simultaneously unfolding in ways that differ from the expectations such discourses often imply.

The research project is an empirically founded theoretical contribution to the contemporary discourse on ethnicity-related cultural heritage both in and separate to its relation to migratory experiences. It examines ethnicised festivals and associations within three small provincial towns in northern Germany as ordinary settings for the (e)valuation of culture and production of membership and belonging. Furthermore, it serves as a testament to my journey of becoming a researcher striving for a doctoral degree.

I explore a territory that has remained relatively unaffected by official heritage initiatives, international regimes, and institutions such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Consequently, the notion of cultural heritage and an explicit heritage vocabulary are notably absent in the locales in which my research was conducted.

The term 'cultural heritage' is a slippery term that traverses the realms of academic discourse and public policy. Some view it as an analytical tool, constituting in Foucauldian terms a particular 'technology of governance' wherein the heritage objects and citizen subjects are constructed through knowledge written into cultural policies (Coombe and Weiss 2015; Geismar 2015). Conversely, for others, cultural heritage represents a means to comprehend processes of ethnic membership formation and recognition, particularly in the context of societal pluralisation, for example those which result from migration (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007; Byrne 2002; Dellios and Henrich 2020). In cultural policy-making, membership, more frequently articulated as 'identity', is portrayed as positively linked to heritage. It is posited that heritage fosters collective identity and social cohesion by fortifying culturally diverse ethnic communities, shifting away from the nation's homogeneity toward diversity. This is exemplified in the European paradigm of 'Unity in Diversity' or influential instruments like the 2003 UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention (2003), ratified by Germany in 2013, which extends the protection of intangible cultural practices and knowledge alongside material and natural heritages.[1] In-

1 There are, of course, studies which show that neither UNESCO (Brumann 2018) nor the EU (Groth 2016) are monolithic actors with only one concept of culture circulating in their domains; moreover, as these international institutions are increasingly being challenged and

cluding intangible cultural elements in UNESCO conventions represents a paradigmatic shift in cultural policy that has evolved since the 1980s.[2] Everyday cultural practices and rituals are increasingly harnessed to promote tourism and heritage industries (Yúdice 2004:2). Furthermore, in times of the neo-liberalisation and dismantling of social infrastructures, they are invoked as remedies for societal conflicts and crises by recognising cultural diversity and sustainable economic development (Karaca 2009).

As Mary N. Taylor (2009: 51) points out, the resurgence of culture as a conduit for accessing economic, social, and political resources is evident in the transition from a legal emphasis that opposes to one that supports culture to rights. Policies that oppose culture to rights assume collective identities to be private and outside of the realm of law, while those such as UNESCO's heritage policies advocate 'the right to culture', binding collective identity to issues of human rights.[3] This shift is paralleled by supranational organisations' increased focus on minority rights since the 1980s. National heritage is now commonly acknowledged as being diverse within nations, encompassing various ethnic and cultural groups whose legacies warrant promotion and recognition (Bös 2025; Harrison 2013: 143). It is even arguable that cultural heritage, within specific discursive arenas, invariably pertains to ethnic heritages with local communities as their bearers.

Significantly, heritage management has expanded beyond the state, with numerous non-state actors, notably local communities, NGOs, and big corporations assuming active roles in formulating and managing official heritage. This shift signifies an expansion in the range of elements with heritage potential within the cultural domain, thereby contributing to heritagisation 'unfolding in daily lives' (Bendix 2018:127). Some scholars argue that 'doing heritage' represents the most prevalent form of 'doing culture' in contemporary late-modern European societies (Tschofen 2012). Against this backdrop, this research project engages with small-town arenas situated outside the purview of official heritage regime operations, while still drawing from a global heritage framework.

---

devalued by key actors such as the United States in the context of shifting global imperial power relations and intensifying geopolitical confrontation, it is likely that their approaches to cultural policy will also once again undergo significant transformation.

2 The convention adds intangible heritage to the protection of material and natural heritages, which "means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity " (UNESCO 2003).

3 See also Karaca (2009); Soysal (1997).

In comparing three ethnically marked festivals and associations in small-town arenas, a discursive space emerges in which ethnicised cultural things and people are negotiated by both individual actors and their social worlds (Clarke 2005: 77). An 'arena' is a discursive site of negotiation and debate around a matter of concern to several different social worlds, that is, groups of various sizes that share a common interest which holds them together in organisational strategies. Through their interactions, the social worlds co-constitute the arena (2012: 89, 86). The social worlds that co-constitute the small-town arenas of Aurich, Cuxhaven, and Zeven are all involved in the (re)production of their ethnicised festivals and associations.

The study is located within three provincial small towns in northern Germany at a time when almost 60 percent of people in Germany live in small- and middle-sized towns. The definition of what categorises a small town is debated in Small-Town Research. The town of Zeven located in the Rotenburg district between Hamburg and Bremen, with 20.000 inhabitants, is small according to official German categories of spatial planning. I define Cuxhaven, a coastal town in Lower Saxony and Aurich the administrative capital of the region of East Frisia, with about 50.000 inhabitants, as small towns according to more recent discussions in spatial planning and research. These approaches renew small town categorisations against the background of their origin in the 19th century, processes of urbanisation, alongside a diverse array of indicators such as their centrality (Herrenknecht and Wohlfarth 2005b: 89; Kolb 2007; Timpe 2023). Small towns are of central importance to cultural development in peripheral areas; they provide anchor points and spaces for cultural institutions (Steinführer n.d.). Anette Kolb (2007: 13) describes small towns sociologically as places with specific cultural heritage and places that already show many qualities that are central to circulating ideas of future cities, such as short distances or mixed-use development.

The three towns with either Portuguese, Dutch or East Frisian minority populations chosen for this study were guided by the principle of comparability: all have ethnicised festivals, such as the Portuguese Fatma procession, the Four Evening Marches or the Maypole tradition and all are home to leisure associations involved in organising the festivals. But they diverge in terms of the role that migration experiences play. For instance, the Portuguese and Dutch festivals and associations in Cuxhaven and Zeven emerged due to the influx of inhabitants from Portugal and the Netherlands. In contrast, the East Frisian festival in Aurich is not associated with histories and experiences of migration. Furthermore, there are variations in the levels of ethnicisation among them, as summarised in Figure 1.1, which also enumerates the festivals and associations under investigation.

In light of an absence of official heritage initiatives, regimes, institutions, and even a heritage vocabulary in the research locales, embarking on this research project with a heritage framework may seem like a substantial leap. My reservations regarding the concept of cultural heritage run deep. In colloquial German,

Kulturerbe is frequently linked to material artefacts, such as buildings preserved by *Denkmalschutz* or aspects of high culture. Moreover, it often carries nationalist, conservative, or even *völkisch* connotations, propagated in highly normative ways to align with the culturalisation of a German nation constructed and stabilised around *Ius sanguinis*. In light of cultural heritage's essentialising core, there are valid reasons to exercise caution in its utilisation in Germany, especially from a scientific standpoint.

Simultaneously, the profound change occurring in the field of cultural policy under the label of intangible cultural heritage is already exerting influence on the perception of culture in provincial regions of Germany by governing elites and experts in provincial German territory. Anthropological understandings and less territorialised understandings of culture entered the policy arena with the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage convention. In 2022, the federal state of Lower Saxony ratified a *Kulturfördergesetz* (cultural promotion law), marking the first instance of the (financial) promotion of culture as a public task being pinned down in law (Landtag Niedersachsen 2022). This legislation represents an effort to systematise cultural policies at the state level by defining fields of action and instruments to be employed by the federal state government. Notably, preserving tangible and intangible heritages is a central focus, along with supporting institutions representing Lower Saxony's so-called *Breitenkultur* (grassroots culture), encompassing lay associations and initiatives. A researcher encapsulates the expectations on the regional level:

> 'What is needed, then, is an inventory of those forms of cultural expression that have not been the focus of cultural policy to date; it is a matter of recognising grassroots culture, and therefore, an inventory process is the most important prerequisite for the protection of cultural heritage [...] The UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage offers a great opportunity to address those globally overdue reforms in national cultural policy.' (Schneider 2014: 195, my translation)

The inclusion of these aspects in law stems from the lobbying efforts of heritage experts and researchers who view Intangible Cultural Heritage identification and preservation in provincial areas, as advocated by UNESCO, as a pivotal force for a desirable paradigm shift towards the acknowledgement and support of grassroots culture at federal state and regional levels. The individuals and associations I encountered in field research inhabit regions where structured EU cultural policies, some of which encompass the promotion of cultural heritage, are in effect. However, they have not yet been explicitly recognised as bearers of specific culturally diverse heritages within the region. As of now, I am undecided on whether I would advise them to pursue this aim actively. This is a standpoint not too common in Critical Heritage Studies (CHS), an interdisciplinary field of research involving close links to

heritage management practice but also a political project engaged in solving problems to make better heritagisation processes (González-Ruibal, González, and Criado-Boado 2018; Smith and Campbell 2018).

Still, I am convinced that cultural heritage as a powerful concept will refuse to go away. Even if sociologists, anthropologists, other academics, activists, and social policy experts might rail against them. Rather than ignore the concept of cultural heritage, one should engage in the ongoing project to study and theorise it. For me, this endeavour involves maintaining a degree of openness regarding normative judgements concerning what to do 'with heritage' until the project's culmination. According to Andrew Abbott (2018: 172), sociological research should leave questions of normative judgement to a subdiscipline at the start and end of an inquiry. Nevertheless, my perspective, as may become evident in my writing, fluctuates between being a 'heritage atheist' characterised by scepticism towards 'heritage believers' and harbouring 'fundamental doubt about the value of specific heritage items or heritage as such' (Brumann 2014a: 174), and being a 'heritage agnostic' who defers the question of evaluating heritage's utility or drawbacks to empirical investigation.

The Potential for Heritage (not) to Unfold in Ethnicised Heritage Situations

In December 2019, I joined a small interdisciplinary conference exploring Critical Heritage Studies and its challenge to UNESCO's Authorised Heritage Discourse. Many of us questioned the reactionary and hegemonic nature of global heritage regimes, especially in relation to local practices. This critique dominated the discussion – until a researcher working in Pakistan spoke. He described how feminist activists there sought UNESCO recognition for Sufi heritage to counter patriarchal narratives. For them, heritage listing was a strategic tool for progressive change. His intervention reminded us that institutions like UNESCO can also serve as platforms for pluralist politics, and that the relationship between global regimes and local actors is more complex than it first appears.

This book does not take the existence of local cultural endeavours as heritage for granted but rather unpacks the potential for heritage to unfold as well as reasons it might not unfold as such. Two anecdotes from the research process might help to clarify this perspective on heritagisation. The first story of my participation in a Critical Heritage Studies-themed conference shows how cultural heritage diffuses within heritage regimes through a diverse set of actors across academia, public policy, and social movements and in a field of tension between the global and the local (Bendix, Eggert, and Peselmann 2012).

The second story, an excerpt from my fieldnotes in Aurich, shows how cultural heritage is only one among several, occasionally competing, criteria employed in valuing culture.

> *In 2018, a heritage expert told me how a local volunteer-run museum welcomed her with a tea table, showing little interest in professionalisation advice for their collection. 'Their objectives are different – legitimate, but not museum-like,' she reflected. I laughed, recognizing similar moments from my fieldwork: volunteers rarely framed their cultural practices as 'heritage.' In one case, a couple passionate about traditional East Frisian dance emphasized fun over authenticity. For many participants, heritage recognition wasn't a goal – the joy of doing often outweighed concerns about public dissemination.*

The heritage expert in the narrative emphasises values such as expertise, professionalisation, recognition, future orientation, and comparability with similar institutions and practices. In contrast, the museum initiative and dance association members prioritise sociability and pleasure in the present moment, with heritage emerging as an unintentional consequence of their cultural activities. From this perspective, heritage-making is not necessarily limited to heritage regime operations.

My theoretical perspective echoes this moment from the field, as I employ a comparative cultural sociology perspective (Lamont and Thévenot 2000), where heritage constitutes one evaluative cultural repertoire among many (Lamont 2012) through which individuals construct symbolic boundaries and forge a sense of belonging. Heritagisation can therefore be conceived of as a fundamental social process involving (e)valuation processes on different levels of generalisation. It involves everyday situations, a situated form of sensemaking, as well as a more institutionalised form of (e)valuation, the worldmaking aspect of the process. Placing this understanding of heritagisation within the framework of comparative cultural sociology then poses questions for this research project: *When and how is cultural heritage employed as a cultural repertoire to foster (ethnic) group membership in the (re)production of ethnicised festivals and associations in three small town arenas in northern Germany (Ethnicised Heritage Situation)? What role do migration experiences and ethnicisation play in the emergence of Ethnicised Heritage Situations?* In a more abstract sense, heritage can be conceived as a 'relational and dialectical category that emerges in specific contexts and not in others' (Alonso González 2019: 31). Alonso González asserts that heritage, as a category and symbolic form, substitutes direct and personal relations with abstract, individualised, symbolic, and metacultural relations. This perspective underscores heritage's analytically accessible rather than empirically measurable nature.

This is why I have developed the concept of *heritage situations* (fig. 1.2.) and the theoretical model of *Ethnicised Heritage Situations* (fig. 1.3.) in order to encompass and empirically analyse arrangements where heritagisation has the *potential* to emerge. These situations arise when the sense- and worldmaking aspects of heritagisation

converge. In other words, cultural heritage serves as a cultural repertoire for membership and belonging to be constructed, or when it is actively fostered by actors within national or supranational heritage regimes.

The concept of *the situation*, central to my Situational Analysis (SA) methodological approach, departs from the traditional sociological understanding of the situation as defined by the observed individuals (in conventional grounded theory) or as the observed context of face-to-face interaction[4] (Keller 2023). Unlike these definitions, SA considers an arrangement of relations between diverse categories and elements. This approach emphasises that the situation's conditions are inherent to the situation itself, eliminating the concept of an external context. Adele Clarke (2012:71) states that 'the conditions of the situation are in the situation. There is no such thing as context', implying that the context is always already a part of the situation, co-constituting it.

Additionally, SA underscores the importance of reflexivity, echoing the principles of 'situated knowledge' and the active role of the research in co-construction that is researched from feminist perspectives, as proposed by Donna Haraway (1988). Reiner Keller (2023:70), who translated Adele Clarke's work into German, emphasises that SA first and foremost reflexively shapes the research process, constructing both the research situation and the observed situation. The 'contexts' in which heritagisation emerges are therefore the primary research focus. However, with Clarke's conceptualisation of the situation, I perceive these contexts as an intrinsic part of the heritage situations traced in these three north German towns.

Symbolic boundary work and the role of migration experiences are the main foci in these Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Without designated heritage institutions and vocabularies to promote cultural diversity, the three small towns face challenges of international migration and cultural and ethnic diversity. Negotiations surrounding these diversities and the potential role of cultural heritage follow different trajectories than those observed in larger urban centres, as seen in the paths of migrant incorporation (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Porsche, Steinführer, Sondermann, et al. 2019:21).

The selection of the three towns, Aurich, Cuxhaven, and Zeven, for comparative analysis, was driven by their comparable characteristics (see Fig. 1.1.). They all function as infrastructural centres for the wider rural regions surrounding them while being small-scale locales. In German categories of spatial planning, where Zeven is categorised as a small town and Aurich and Cuxhaven as middle-sized towns, population size is the defining variable. However, in transnational mobility research, these designations are not solely based on population size but on their relatively

4 Keller (2023) notes that Erving Goffman in developing his theory further toward frame analysis did also not entirely give up this idea.

lower standing in global economic and power hierarchies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009).

Fig. 1.1: Case Studies And Rationale For Their Selection.

Aurich	**Cuxhaven**	**Zeven**
In the region of East Frisia	Significant Portuguese minority	Significant Dutch minority
Maypole celebration and traditional dance association	Fatima procession, fish festival and different associations	Sinterklaas festival, Four Evening Marches & association
No migration experience/relatively highly ethnicised	Migration experience/relatively highly ethnicised	Migration experience/not highly ethnicised

The towns vary in their most visible ethnically marked cultural expressions, which enables a nuanced examination of the roles of ethnicity and migration in the (e)valuation of cultural productions. Aurich is situated in the centre of East Frisia, one of three groups of Frisians recognised officially as ethnic minorities in Germany. East Frisian cultural initiatives are plural in the region, with East Frisian being the majority.[5] In Cuxhaven, many people with a migration background come from Portugal, so Portuguese-marked cultural productions are visible in associations and yearly festivals. Zeven has a history of being a Dutch garrison town with a NATO mission, which is why Dutch cultural productions exist.

I conducted a comparative analysis of the three towns' ethnically marked festivals and ethnic associations, which I consider integral to their cultural life. The towns operate as discursive sites characterised by multiple social worlds that converge on specific issues and are prepared to take action. My fieldwork started with the fundamental empirical questions articulated by Clarke, et al.: 'Who cares, and what do they want to do about it?' (Clarke, Friese, and Washburn 2018: 72).

I gathered different kinds of data to delve into the cultural productions related to the Dutch, Portuguese, and East Frisian histories and contemporary cultural productions within these towns. First, I analysed local newspaper articles to gain insight into the histories of the ethnically marked cultural productions and to ascertain the dominant perspectives on the festivals, associations, and their respective members under investigation. The local newspapers represent a dominant view, as

5 Membership refers to processes of individuals becoming affiliated with a social group. It is often granted to all those who live in East Frisia and identify as East Frisian and therefore not determined by birth or the longevity of residence in the region.

they represent the mainstream and are often the only actors of this kind in the area. Second, I engaged in participant observation during ethnicised festivals and other events, immersing myself within the festivals and associations and getting involved in associated social worlds. Third, I conducted narrative interviews with individuals actively involved in their (re)production. These individuals are commonly associated with ethnically marked cultural production. The selection of these three cases, each with a distinct focus on more (East Frisian, Portuguese) or less (Dutch) ethnicised groups of inhabitants, offers a deliberate strategy to explore the role of migration and ethnicity in the (e)valuation of these cultural productions (as depicted in Figure 1.1.). Notably, I avoid presupposing ethnicity and migration's importance in the studied field throughout the project. My research, grounded in SA and theories of ethnicity, explicitly refrains from treating ethnic groups as the primary units of analysis and does not assume that people who share a national origin settle in communities. Instead, I trace when and how communities and groups emerge along, or not along, with heritages within Ethnicised Heritage Situations through processes of symbolic boundary making.

Heritage as a Cultural Repertoire

As a force of worldmaking, heritage is a highly selective process of constructing a past guided by present concerns. It is always political and, against the background of the abovementioned developments, is sometimes understood as a 'project of ideology' (Kuutma 2013:32), and so cultural heritage can be studied as an international political regime. I employ the concept of heritage regimes introduced by Regina Bendix et al. (2013) to the field of Critical Heritage Studies but broaden its analytical focus by bringing it together with the idea of regimes as developed about 'regimes of migration' (Oltmer 2018) in German migration research. First, a regime involves state regulation and domination, for example, government cultural policies; second, subjectivation and dominant discourses, including the creation of subject positions of those to be governed, providing them 'places of recognition' (Taylor 2009: 41). Another terrain is the economy, which does play a role in my case studies, although not in the form of an established heritage industry (Hewison 1987).

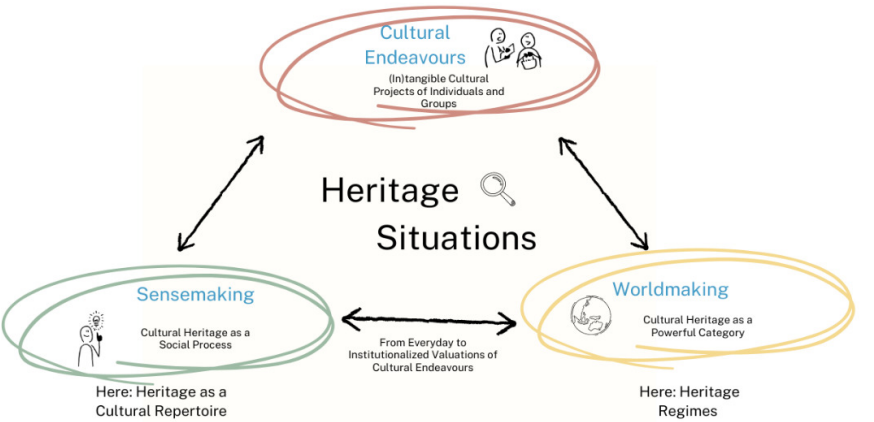
From the sensemaking perspective, heritage is an everyday form of production of what is considered valuable in a group, be it the nation, world society, or an ethnic group. Heritage in this sense can be understood as what Michèle Lamont (2012) terms a 'repertoire of evaluation'. Such repertoires refer to the shared cultural understandings, values, and symbolic resources individuals draw upon when evaluating others and making judgements about social worth. In other words, people employ cultural repertoires of evaluation and different criteria of (e)valuation therein to draw symbolic boundaries that have the potential to turn into social boundaries

and, therefore, to produce social inequality. The concept sees culture not as a system of values or something passively inherited, but places importance on the possibility for individuals to make sense of their actions in specific situations by choosing aspects of a cultural heritage repertoire. As such, heritage as a cultural repertoire functions as a resource for the production of difference and several criteria of (e)valuation, such as recognition or expertise, form the repertoire's content (Silber 2003). This goes beyond a prominent constructivist argumentation that ends rather than starts analysis by stating the constructed and invented nature of 'it all': heritage, community, the nation, etc. As Birgit Meyer and Mattijs van de Port (2018: 4) conclude, research on heritage should start from these real constructions ('Thomas Theorem') and not end up with it in asking new questions and finding new answers.[6]

In their daily lives, people do not have explicit and differing views on heritage; instead, they go about their days engaged in different frameworks of meaning-making along their life paths, which can be reconstructed from the present of biographical narratives in interviews. I met the interview participants in their towns of residence, often in their private homes, and asked them to tell me their life stories. I asked those who take part in ethnicised festivals and associations why and with whom they are engaged. As are we all, they are constantly involved in valuing certain aspects of their past, particular objects, and cultural productions over others, on the one hand to grapple with their biographical experiences, and on the other hand to create feelings of belonging to one or another group. Some of those processes of (e)valuation include elements discussed and observed as heritage by heritage researchers and experts as part of what one could consider *a cultural repertoire of heritage*. These moments of overlap, or isomorphy, define heritage situations. So, what are the criteria of (e)valuation and symbolic boundary making regarding the research participants' cultural endeavours? And what are the virtual potentialities for heritage to be actualised or, equally important, not to be actualised in these places?

6 Andreas Wimmer (2010) mirrors such an argument for research on ethnicity. He states that given the dominant focus on boundary-making in ethnicity research, one might think that the characteristics of boundaries or the 'cultural stuff' that determines them is insignificant. And yet "some authors – including Barth himself, some 30 years after that momentous introduction – noted that cultural practices might be relevant after all" (Wimmer 2010: 111, my translation).

Fig. 1.2: Concept of Heritage Situations: In heritage situations, the potential for heritagisation to emerge increases through a convergence of (e)valuation processes, such as sensemaking and world-making, in the cultural endeavours of individuals and groups.



Being set up like this, this project is more than merely speculative. It assumes there are social potentials that are easier to fulfil than others, and not everything is constructed by an imposition of strong deus-ex-machina-type actors, nor are all projections in the mind of the researcher (Alonso González 2019: 34). It is from this stance that I consider my view from the outside into heritagisation, mediated by the research participants' modes of 'doing culture' a privileged position to learn about heritage as a category in a pluralised society.[7]

7 I employ the notion of "pluralised societies" for lack of a better term to point towards the internal heterogenisation and diversity of nation-states, both as a social phenomenon and as self-narration.

A Sociological Approach to Heritage

Aurich, Zeven and Cuxhaven are well suited for analysis as a site of negotiations around cultural pluralisation. While Germany is known to be considerably late in realising its status as an immigration country, immigration to provincial areas became a topic of conversation even later. Academic discourse in German migration sociology, which cannot be said to be free of influences from societal transformations more broadly, also tends to focus attention onto migration and diasporas in cities like Hamburg, Frankfurt or Berlin. Studies analysing the consequences of the so-called summer of migration in 2015 are a notable exception. It is since this broad shift in migration and attention on migration processes that interculturality, cultural difference and ethnic diversity are being addressed more broadly, questioning prevailing ideas around the heritage of Germany and its provincial regions.

This research project contributes to the fields of Critical Heritage Studies; research on migration and diversity in small towns; and cultural political as well as migration sociology.

Amidst the 'heritage boom' (Harrison 2013: 68) in research and management, an investigation into the ethnicised heritage in three small towns in north Germany contributes to theorising cultural heritage as a category in pluralised societies, as set out by Critical Heritage Studies (Alonso González 2019; Ang 2011; Schneider 2014; Smith 2006; Tauschek 2011; Winter 2013). Using the theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations based on SA, it can be seen which form cultural heritage does or does not take in a provincial territory, where official heritage institutions or frameworks are mainly absent. I give empirical insights into when and how heritagisation emerges in ordinary cultural endeavours. In this sense, my study radically and empirically follows calls from within the Critical Heritage Studies field to study global heritage regimes 'from below' and as a 'subtle politics of the everyday' (de Cesari 2013:406), to analyse cultural heritage as embedded within socio-cultural frameworks (Groth 2015). Such sociological perspectives on heritage as a cultural repertoire of evaluation implies understanding heritage as an aspect of culture instead of a specific form of culture – metaculture – that represents its 'second life' as a downstream process of valuation (Tauschek 2011).

Calls to account for unofficial and minority heritages (Hall 1999; Smith 2017) beyond the authoritative heritage discourse are essential to the founding narrative of the field of Critical Heritage Studies. Important and innovative research strands include critiques of the ontologisation of communities as bearers of heritage in heritage regimes (Noyes 23; Waterton and Smith 2010) and considerations of the role of migration as a form of mobility in challenging authoritative discourses (Ang 2011; Dellios 2015). It is important, therefore, to reflect empirically and theoretically on how the category of cultural heritage operates in pluralised societies. This means to unpack who is involved in and why they care for the ethnically marked cultural pro-

ductions in the three towns beyond the presumption of the importance of an ethnicised community therein and beyond limiting mobility experiences to migration alone.

My research empirically contributes to scholarship on migration and cultural diversity in small towns amidst the coming into being of Small-Town Research as an independent research agenda that aims to transcend deficit-oriented views (Porsche, Steinführer, Sondermann, et al. 2019). While global cities are well-studied in the sociology of migration and ethnicity, provincial areas remain understudied. Compared to the number of people living in small- and middle-size towns in Germany, research on migration and diversity in such regions is relatively small and all too often focuses on the nation as a unit of analysis rather than the city (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011). Moreover, much field research sees migration from a demographic or economic perspective (Ülker 2022:300). Shifting attention to the under-researched and only seemingly banal site of cultural diversity and migration in small- and middle-sized towns in German society is a valuable empirical contribution to the field. The three small towns presented here confirm small towns as locales of cultural diversity and migrant incorporation. They also show the limited role of ethnic subjectivation and community building and sensitise to understand cultural diversity in small towns beyond the 'migration' and 'integration' containers. By bringing together the Small-Town Research agenda (Bell and Jayne 2006; Porsche et al. 2019) with research on migration to small-scale cities from transnational mobility studies (Schiller and Çağlar 2009), small towns should be treated as already embedded in transnational space and global cultural policy developments.

Conceptualising heritage regimes as localised in Ethnicised Heritage Situations and as interrelated with local processes of (e)valuation and sensemaking is innovative for sociology, as it bridges cultural and political sociology fields. In studying Ethnicised Heritage Situations, cultural phenomena in relation to political regimes can be considered, implicitly exploring the relationship between culture and politics through a sociological lens. This further opens up both fields to studying cultural heritage and, therefore, to Critical Heritage Studies as an interdisciplinary field. I bring novel impulses to the field of migration sociology and even more so German migration sociology as so far, much research draws general conclusions from the study of metropolitan cities rather than peripheral regions of small towns.

As such, this project is among the first attempts to open up and systematise sociology to the interdisciplinary study of cultural heritage. The study of cultural heritage decisively differs from neighbouring approaches, such as collective memory (Assmann 1995; Halbwachs 1925), as cultural heritage is understood as a situated practice and social process driven by situated concerns of the present.

In looking at cultural endeavours and criteria of (e)valuation involved therein of different people and actors in three small town arenas, this research project aims to describe the relation 'between people and significant aspects of their culture and

their environment' (de Cesari 2013: 400) and to reflect on this in the framework of global heritage. The interdisciplinary view is informed by cultural anthropology, cultural and political sociology, feminist theory, Critical Heritage Studies, and, at times, philosophy, which is broad and reflects my interdisciplinary training and approach as a researcher. At the same time, the project bears perspectives that I would designate (with awareness of the politics of disciplinary boundaries in academia) as sociological, such as my choice of methodology or my approach to comparative research.

Cultural Heritage as a Force of Ethnicisation?

The field of Critical Heritage Studies sets out to rethink the cultural heritage category along developments in current societal transformations. Central to these transformations are the primary subjects of heritage governance: nation-states as composed of diverse groups with different cultural legacies and the discursive construction of communities. This urges a consideration of cultural heritage's social embeddedness in localised systems of value and processes of symbolic boundary making.

My theoretical reflections on the ambivalent life of cultural heritage in academic research as a societal phenomenon of the (e)valuation of culture, a buzzword in public policy, and a category constituent of modern nation-states as pluralised societies prompted me to introduce Ethnicised Heritage Situations as my primary research focus. In light of these, the following research question emerges on two analytical levels:

a) When and how is cultural heritage employed as a cultural repertoire to foster forms of (ethnic) group membership in the (re)production of ethnicised festivals and associations in three small town arenas in northern Germany (Ethnicised Heritage Situation)? What role do migration experiences and ethnicisation play in the emergence of Ethnicised Heritage Situations?
b) What do these processes tell us about the category of heritage in pluralised societies?

To answer this question, I explore the following sub-questions:

- What are the dominant values of cultural heritage as a repertoire of (e)valuation dominated by the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention?
- What is the role of heritage regimes and associated bureaucratic apparatuses in small-town arenas?
- Which symbolic boundaries do research participants draw on concerning their cultural endeavours?

- What are the criteria of (e)valuation people call upon concerning their cultural endeavours? Which of these overlaps with heritage as a cultural repertoire of (e)valuation?

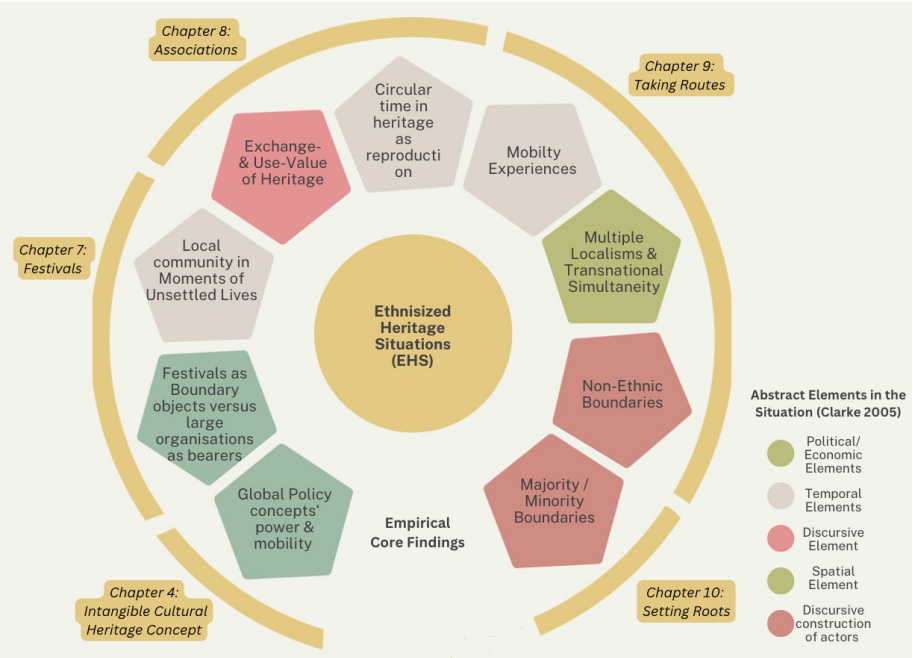
In asking these questions, this book explores how ethnicised cultural festivals and association in three small towns in northern Germany – Aurich, Cuxhaven, and Zeven – function as arenas for symbolic boundary making and for how migration experiences are expressed. Set within the broader framework of global heritage discourse negotiations in these arenas determine the sensemaking and worldmaking aspects of cultural endeavours.

Part I sets the stage for the reader to delve deeper into the project's core from three perspectives: First, the entanglements of global heritage discourse with local cultural policy through which policies shaped by actors like UNESCO always already influence local cultural policies and practices. Second, the three case studies and their most visible manifestations of ethnicised cultural endeavours – festivals and associations – are introduced in the context of their broader ecology. Third, a review of literature from Critical Heritage Studies and perspectives on cultural diversity and migration in small towns does the groundwork to position the research and its contribution to both fields. These are a further theorising of heritagisation as a social process between world- and sensemaking and an empirical contribution to the study of cultural diversity in small towns as the norm and not the exception.

Part II outlines the research project's theoretical underpinnings and develops its methodological framework. The theory part outlined in chapter five revolves around constructing a theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations as the convergence of worldmaking and sensemaking forms of (e)valuation in the research field. My model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations is built upon Clarke's (2018) 'situated concept of the situation' (Keller 2023: 67), which is the basis for her SA, my chosen methodology.

Part III and Part IV form the analytical core of the book. The question on the potential for heritage (not) to unfold in heritage situations is approached, first, from the worldmaking side of state-led and other kinds of heritage regime operations as well as civil society; and second, from research participants' boundary making and processes of sensemaking around ethnicised heritages. Each analysis chapter adds and empirically reconstructs elements relevant to Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a theoretical model. Figure 1.3. visually summarises these core elements as they appear throughout the book.

Fig. 1.3: Core Elements in Ethnicised Heritage Situations: Inspired by Situational Analysis (Clarke 2005), this graphic illustrates the main findings from empirical research as addressed in the book's chapters.



I generate the role of moments of increased societal transformation (unsettled lives) and the involvement of large organisations as national or religious heritage regime actors in settled lives (chapter 7). The prevalence of outward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation, such as recognition and expertise in the production of imagined communities (Anderson 2016), are opposed to criteria of (e)valuation oriented towards the reproduction of social life in concrete communities and associated non-linear conceptions of time (chapter 8). Then, the role of experiences of physical mobility is shown in how people attach themselves and their heritage to place in multiple, transnational, and not always ethnicised ways (chapter 9). Finally, the importance of local minority-majority relations for orientations regarding ethnicised heritages (chapter 10).

These are discursive, temporal, spatial, and political/economic elements. Set up like this, the thesis is an example of my theoretical model put into practice. In tracing and describing these Ethnicised Heritage Situations this study of three small north German towns shows the role of heritage regimes and cultural heritage as a repertoire of evaluation beyond its officialised realm. There emerge heritagisation potentialities, which hint at why it is so successful as a category and process of ac-

cumulation of symbolic resources, able to structure more relations among people in current societies. The role of migratory experiences and ethnic boundary making are necessarily left as open questions: On the one hand, their roles can be specified, but on the other there can be seen a need to 'de-migrantise' and 'de-ethnicise' research on cultural heritage while at the same time showing the continuing importance of the nation in heritagisation.

PART I: From Global Cultural Policy to the Three Small-Town Arena Case Studies

This research project investigates how cultural heritage functions as a repertoire for group construction and individual boundary work in three small towns in northern Germany from a framework of global cultural heritage discourses. I approach Ethnicised Heritage Situations from two perspectives: the worldmaking power of heritage regimes and the sensemaking of everyday cultural endeavours and their (e)valuation. The project is innovative empirically, exploring migration and cultural diversity in settings often perceived as culturally homogenous and conservative. The study is theoretically engaged, exploring the potential for (international) cultural heritage to emerge in previously unexplored territories. This involves my engagement in the complex task of theorising cultural heritage within pluralised societies.

Part I of this thesis introduces the central aspects of the research from various perspectives. Although the content presented here does not form part of the central analysis conducted in the empirical study, readers should become acquainted with the research field and the central research questions.

In chapter 2, I delve into political and economic elements that shape the Ethnicised Heritage Situation under study, thus laying the first groundwork for the theoretical framework developed throughout the thesis. Initially, I expound upon significant shifts within the global discourse on heritage, characterising it as a *"project of ideology"* (Kuutma 2013:32). These shifts pivot from national heritage narratives towards recognising and valuing culturally diverse ethnic heritages within national contexts, with a pronounced emphasis on communities as central bearers and actors within the field (2.1).

Moreover, while official international heritage regime operations may be absent from the small-town arenas under examination, they remain integral to the overarching ethnicised heritage situation. This assertion is underpinned by the diffusion and entanglement of these regimes with influential regional cultural and economic development policies. These policies, primarily informed by global discourses, can potentially influence heritagisation within the studied situation of research (2.2).

In chapter 3, I introduce and describe the case studies – Zeven, Aurich, and Cuxhaven – selected for analysis. The Dutch, Portuguese, and East Frisian festivals and associations serve as the most visible manifestations of the ethnicised heritages within these small-town arenas. Through ethnographic descriptions and additional information from literature research, I illuminate the coming into being of the festivals and associations. Additionally, I introduce vital actors who are involved and participating. I delve into the organisational and financial infrastructures that underpin the festivals and associations, delineating the mechanisms through which they are (re)produced and sustained over time. I aim to introduce the festivals and associations within a broader cultural ecology of the small-town arenas by touching upon all these aspects.

In Chapter Four, I embark on a comprehensive literature review and present my contribution to the ongoing project of theorising the category of cultural heritage within Critical Heritage Studies and my empirical contribution to the field of small-town research.

Firstly, I align myself with scholars who approach the endeavour to theorise and learn about the cultural heritage category from empirical research, adopting an "outside-in" perspective, as advocated by Susan Ashley and Sybille Frank (2016). This approach entails starting from the vantage point of migrated, ethnicised, and minority cultural endeavours, thereby offering a possibly novel perspective on the functioning of cultural heritage as a category in pluralised societies (4.1) Secondly, I make an empirical contribution to the research on cultural diversity and migration in small towns. Here, I bridge the independent research agenda of small-town research (Bell and Jayne 2009; Steinführer, Porsche, and Sondermann 2021; Wagner and Growe 2021) with research on migration to small-scale towns within the field of transnational migration studies (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2008) (4.2).

Through this dual contribution, Chapter Four aims to prepare the way for my engagement with theoretical discussions within Critical Heritage Studies while shedding light on cultural diversity and migration within small-town contexts I empirically encounter and interpret in my thesis.

2. The Entanglement of Global Heritage Discourses with Local Cultural Policy

In global cultural heritage discourses, cultural heritage is seen as a resource for constructing community and collective identity which then creates social cohesion. While official heritage institutions and vocabulary are not present in the three case studies, global heritage discourses have an impact or are shaped by developments beyond the realms of their production, as do heritage regimes (Bendix et al. 2012: 14; Durrer et al. 2023: 2; Lysgård 2019: 12). In other words, global heritage discourses might seem a far-fetched choice at first sight, as the people from the three small towns do not use this discourse or heritage vocabulary when they define the situation. They are, however, part of the situation's 'contextual whole' (Keller 2023: 76), which leads me to develop the theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

This chapter discusses how global heritage discourse and policy, as political and economic elements in the situation, are immersed in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations I study. Economic elements here are, for example, structural and regional development plans that explicitly or implicitly address the potential of the promotion of local intangible heritages for tourism and regional development. A political element would be expert discourses that lobby for intangible heritages on a local level, for example in the parliament of Lower Saxony.

Lower Saxony, located in the northwest of Germany is the country's second largest federal state when it comes to land area, stretching from the North Sea Coast to the Harz mountains. It is also a major agricultural region. The three towns chosen for this study are all located in the lowlands, the northern part of the federal state, with Cuxhaven having a direct access to the North Sea. Cuxhaven and Aurich are situated some 100 kilometres away from Bremen as the next big city, while Zeven lies 80 kilometres southwest of the metropolitan area of Hamburg. All three towns are considered *Mittelzentren* (medium-size centres), according to German planning standards. Although they are located in regions with peripheral and relatively low socio-economic status, the towns themselves are central to the surrounding rural areas that are subject to structural development programmes by the European Union. One of these programmes is to promote the region's cultural development.

The small town of Cuxhaven is one of Germany's largest fishing ports, home to approximately 48.000 residents as of 2017. As offshore industry has gradually replaced fishing in economic significance, the town increasingly operates as a seaside and spa resort town. Tourism has become one of the largest economic sectors, employing 6000 people the town in 2016. Cuxhaven's population has shrunk for many years as a result of demographic change and young people migrating to structurally stronger regions. But the town is still home to a significant number of inhabitants with Portuguese family histories and a diverse array of Portuguese-marked cultural activities take place in the town.

The town of Zeven is an economic centre of the surrounding rural area which consists of the collective municipality, also called Zeven, and the broader district of Rotenburg, which borders directly on the Hamburg metropolitan region. With a town population of 14.000, and 23.000 in the wider municipality, Zeven is repeatedly described as 'in the middle' between Bremen and Hamburg, giving the town supraregional significance as a tourism destination for day visitors. The town's main economic activities are the food industry, mechanical and plant engineering, and rubber works. Like many towns and villages in rural areas, the social infrastructure has been significantly dismantled in recent decades. For example, the local hospital was cut away amid great protest. The town is home to almost 600 inhabitants with Dutch family histories, which makes up 21 percent of inhabitants with a non-German family history, and it hosts Dutch cultural festivals. Zeven cannot be considered as much of a tourist hotspot as can Aurich and Cuxhaven. The Dutch festivals are, however, one aspect of the town's strategy to attract tourists as day visitors from Hamburg, along with the natural landscape surrounding the town.

Aurich is the second biggest town in the region of East Frisia, with 42.000 inhabitants in 2017. While the region no longer exists as an administrative union, it plays a significant role in tourism. Historically, Aurich was the residence of much East Frisian nobility; today, it serves as an administrative centre, colloquially named the secret capital of East Frisia. Its administrative institutions also coin parts of its residents' social milieu as educated public servants. Other economic spheres of importance are tourism and commerce, as well as the presence of a supraregional energy company. In this sense, the town's social fabric differs from the rest of the much more rural and agricultural region. The town is also considered the infrastructurally worst connected town in Germany, with no railroad or autobahn.

At the heart of these three towns' structural development programmes is a paradigm shift from national heritage as a homogenous entity to one of cultural diversity, ethnic and migrant heritages, and the expansion of actors involved in official heritage-decision processes beyond the nation-state. The structural work being undertaken around the towns' culture enables us to see how policy concepts from global heritage discourses 'work' on the ground, the reach it has into people's

everyday lives and livelihoods. The policy work being enacted in these three small-town arenas have Ethnicised Heritage Situations at their core.

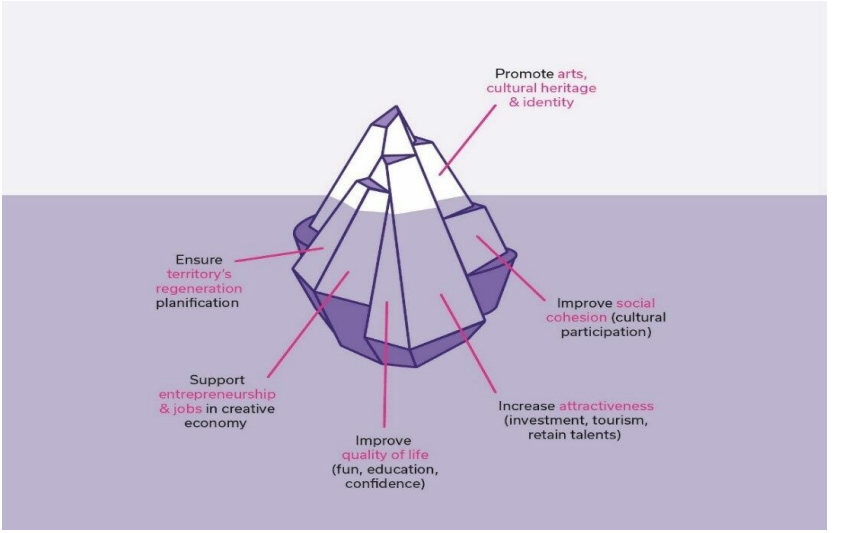
In order to see how these Ethnicised Heritage Situations is playing out in the three small towns, this paradigm shift in cultural heritage discourses needs to be outlined in the context of broader changes in cultural policy and changing understandings of what constitutes the culture that needs to be governed. The diffusion of these policies and discourses can then be seen in the daily lives of residents of Lower Saxony, including my research participants' lives. Through discursive connections to local debates among cultural policy experts and regional policies for cultural and economic development, it is possible to see the influence of global discourses around cultural heritage as elements in the researched situations that increase the potential for cultural heritage to emerge therein.

2.1 Paradigm Shifts from National to Ethnic Heritages

Preserving artistic and historical heritage is one of the main policy rationales in developing cultural policies in European nation-states (Dubois 2015: 9). While many scholars agree that contemporary cultural policies go beyond mere arts patronage, cultural policy's definition and borders as a specific policy domain are increasingly challenged and unclear. Hopes in promoting cultural heritage have entered a number of policy areas beyond promoting the arts, as the European Union's representation of cultural heritage shows (Fig. 2.1.). The iceberg model stems from a project titled 'Cultural Heritage in Action' and visualises the potential for developing towns and regions. Promoting cultural heritage is supposed to help develop regions and towns in diverse areas, such as through urban regeneration and creative economies, increase attractiveness for tourists and investments, and improve social cohesion and general quality of life, health, and well-being (Cultural Heritage in Action Project 2021).

Vincent Dubois (2015: 7) identifies three main factors driving such changes, which can be found more specifically in heritage policies. First, Dubois notes that elitist notions of culture are increasingly challenged by the existing diversity of societies and counterculture movements of the 1960s in an attempt to redefine the understanding of culture. Second, access to culture is no longer guarded by specific institutions alone but is increasingly provided through, for example, the Internet and social media. Last, the borders of cultural fields have been extended to include new spheres, such as creative industries. Moreover, these factors vary over time and, significantly, across nation-states, whose national histories of nation-building deeply influence current state-driven cultural policies.

Fig. 2.1: European Union (2021). Cultural Heritage: A Powerful Catalyst for Cities and Regions



In earlier historical phases, starting with the Enlightenment in European countries at the end of the 17th century and their development of the World Heritage concept, intellectuals and elites in Great Britain, France, and Germany began to incentivise 'national treasures' in a process to build homogenous nations and to bring across a set of universal values to its members. This is also when the public sphere with citizen subjects was emerging (Bös 2025; Harrison 2013: 44). Throughout the first half of the 20th century, nation-states took increasing control of these processes to govern and eduate their citizens. Cultural Heritage in these phases were mainly understood as national heritage. In a third phase since the 1970s, 'world' heritage organisations entered the floor, and the idea of 'universal' heritage values came to prominence in more vernacular contexts (Bös 2025; Harrison 2013: 43). In the context of globalisation, migration flows, economic restructuring, and New Social Movements, nation-states as primary bearers of heritage invested in new forms of World Heritage but simultaneously responded internally to a growing realisation that nations are ethnically and culturally diverse: 'The term 'multiculturalism' came into popular use in the 1970s to describe the development of a series of government policies to manage the 'problem' of the existence of a wide number of different ethnic groups within a single nation' (Harrison 2010: 143).

Consequently, nations are composed of ethnic and cultural groups whose heritage should be recognised and protected. The ways in which these global discourses take form in local and national contexts differs and is influenced by pre-existing discourses and practices. In Germany, cultural pluralism or multicultural models

gained influence later than in countries such as the UK or Canada. Up until today, models instead focusing on integration and social cohesion are most prominent in Germany and most other European countries (Dahinden 2012). In cultural contexts such as UNESCO debates diversity is often employed and has been adopted to German language discourses as *Diversität*. However, Sharon Macdonald (2023) observes that more often than the direct translation of the term diversity as *Diversität*, the notion of *kulturelle Vielfalt* is employed in the German context. Macdonald states that though often used interchangeably, both terms 'carry subtly different connotations. Vielfalt, which might be translated as 'variety', has a less politicised tone, putting its emphasis, particularly on the multiplicity of kinds, whereas the differences between the elements seem more central in Diversität' (Macdonald 2023: 24)

Next to the pluralisation from national to other forms of heritage (ethnic, diasporic, migrant, multicultural) and new cultural groups as bearers of heritage, the types of actors (supposed to be) involved in heritage decision-making processes has increased since the 1990s: From nation-state control to the involvement of NGOs, in some cases companies and most centrally laypeople and communities (Adell et al. 2015). More and more non-state actors are getting involved in the World Heritage regime.

The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, ratified in Germany in 2013, is the culmination of this significant ideological paradigm shift in global heritage discourse and the much slower institutional regime change. The 1972 Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage followed a notion of high culture and focused on preserving mostly material cultural heritages such as buildings with 'outstanding universal value'. Since the early 1990s, efforts from some member countries (e.g., Japan, Morocco) and new groups of academic experts from disciplines such as anthropology led to a broadening of the concept of culture on the UNESCO floor to include cultural landscapes in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention (in 1992), to relativise ideas of authenticity and originality in the Nara Document on Authenticity (in 1994) to, finally, intangible cultural heritage in an extra convention in 2003. Within this process, a broad modern anthropological notion of culture entered the context of UNESCO (Brumann 2018: 1211).

Anthropologist Christoph Brumann describes the cohabitation of different concepts of culture within UNESCO:

> The conventional, elitist notion – edifying and aesthetically pleasing accomplishments, from good manners to the canonical works of great men and womenand the anthropological notion – everything socially shared within a group, down to the most pedestrian customs for which at best a collective creator can be identified – cohabit in most people's minds, in variable combinations (Brumann 2014: 1206).

Dubois describes the consequences of such new understandings of culture for heritage-making that is no longer monopolised by the public sector as other actors enter the arena. He states that heritage policies tend to ever more '"invent" rather than only protect heritage' (Dubois 2015: 463). Valdimar Hafstein describes this process as broadening cultural policies into more policy fields:

> The rise of cultural heritage is perhaps the chief example of a newfound (e)valuation of cultural practices and objects in terms of their expediency for economic and political purposes. This is culture as a resource: a novel configuration in which culture is now a central expedient in everything from creating jobs to reducing crime, from changing the face of towns through cultural tourism to managing differences and conflicts within the population (Hafstein 2012: 503).

They are, Hafstein shows, invested and involved in the ordering of socio-symbolic difference.

To summarise, as a project of ideology, the World Heritage regime has seen significant discursive shifts: when an anthropological concept of culture broadens the aspects of culture-designated cultural heritage, attempting to democratise the heritage-making processes and promoting rather than preventing cultural diversity, the participation of communities as laypeople in heritage-decision-making processes became central. Communities are constructed as primary subjects of heritage policies with a right to culture and cultural identity (Soysal 1997: 513); they are mentioned 13 times in the 2003 Intangible Cultural Heritage convention. Moreover, cultural heritage is increasingly seen as a driver of economic development and a producer of social cohesion. Both aims are often discussed as if in a related, win-win situation. With these changes in global heritage discourses and regimes, cultural heritage has become a powerful global phenomenon, increasingly shaping the 'relationship between people and significant aspects of their culture and their environment' (de Cesari 2013: 400). The politics of heritage in the context of UNESCO-driven heritage regimes then have become a subtle politics of the everyday.

2.2 The Diffusion of Global Heritage Discourse

One way in which this paradigm shift in global discourse immerses itself into people's everyday lives is through national and regional cultural policy. Local expert debates and regional development policies expose how the discursive connection between national and regional policy emerges in the three towns' Ethnicised Heritage Situations as political and economic elements.

German cultural policy is, characteristically, comparatively decentralised, which stems from its federal history. Principal competencies lie with federal states and municipalities, who often claim their sovereignty in cultural issues without necessarily having explicit cultural politics (Burns and van der Will 2003: 134). Structured cultural policy on the federal state level often focuses on high culture and the socio-cultural, and specific laws are a relatively new phenomenon. Against this background, paradigm shifts in global heritage discourse might diffuse more slowly to local levels of heritage governance. However, they already are part of the three small towns and, therefore, have to be considered an element of Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

The discursive shift towards the promotion of intangible cultural heritage has been employed since the early 2000s by local cultural policy researchers and experts in Germany and Lower Saxony to lobby for better and more structured support of what they term *Breitenkultur* (grassroots culture) in rural Germany. The experts making these calls stem from cultural and political institutions such as the Kulturpolitische Gesellschaft (Cultural Political Society) or the Deutscher Kulturrat (German Cultural Council), as well as academia (Drews 2017; Götzky 2013; Schneider 2014; Schneider, Kegler, and Koss 2017). Grassroots culture is closely related to socio-cultural, pop, or lay cultures. Still, it includes hitherto undeveloped (in terms of cultural policy) fields of cultural and leisure association activities, particularly in rural areas. Grassroots culture includes everyday cultural and artistic activity with individual participation and civic engagement on a non-commercial, cross-policy level (Schneider et al. 2017: 31). Essential actors in grassroots culture are municipalities, while the phenomenon is based on voluntary work (Schneider 2014: 24). Researchers have, importantly, focused precisely on those areas my case studies are in, both in the geographical sense and in their focus on cultural activities in everyday life on the ground. In an edited volume on the cartography of grassroots culture in Lower Saxony, cultural policy scholar Wolfgang Schneider (2014: 196) propagates grassroots culture as a prototypical intangible cultural heritage. He argues that to catalogue forms of intangible cultural expressions, as in the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention, which have previously been overlooked by cultural policies presents a significant chance to implement much-needed reforms in national cultural policies worldwide.

The convention, Schneider writes, opens up discursive opportunities for reform in the cultural policy governance of grassroots culture in Lower Saxony as its conceptual edge largely overlaps with the aim to safeguard and support previously unrecognised Intangible Cultural Heritage practices. He goes on to underline that Intangible Cultural Heritage is all about cultural and social transformation in light of phenomena such as migration or digitalisation: 'Society is changing, it is changing, and it can no longer be localised, but is exposed to global influences. Trying to prevent this by maintaining the status quo would be anachronistic' (Schneider 2014: 196,

my translation). Cultural heritage, understood as that which protects diversity and transformation, versus that which covers what should stay the same forms a central paradox that is embedded with UNESCO's latest paradigm shifts.

In 2022, some of Schneider's and others' hopes were successful as Lower Saxony passed its first-ever *Kulturfördergesetz* (law for promoting culture).[1] One paragraph of the new law explicitly mentions the protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage as a task for cultural policy. Another paragraph is dedicated to promoting and supporting grassroots culture via the support of Lower Saxony's Höhere Kommunalverbände (cultural parliaments)[2] and other umbrella organisations.[3]

Another driver of the paradigm shift on a localised scale is the tourism industry, which is an essential factor in the economic development of rural regions. The town of Cuxhaven is the most clearly dependent on the tourism industry out of the three small towns, and develops cultural events accordingly. As Katja Drews notes, '[t]raditions, customs, and rites are also perceived as desirable, no longer just material cultural assets. They are thus becoming the focus of the tourism industry' (2017: 95–96). At the same time, the (e)valuation of such assets has to be socially and culturally sustainable (ibid: 90).

Economic aspects are also the central focal points of different structural development policies and programmes for rural areas. These are called LEADER (Links between actions for the development of the rural economy) or ELER (European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development) on the EU level, or they relate to the Commission for Equitable Living Conditions put into place by the national government in 2018, the Gemeinschaftsaufgabe 'Verbesserung der Agrarstruktur und des Küstenschutzes' GAK (Improvement of the agricultural structure and coastal protection) or Integrierte Ländliche Entwicklung ILE (Integrated Rural Development) programmes on the municipal level. The three small towns are all involved in one or more regions with specific development concepts under the umbrella of ELER, LEADER, or related national concepts of ILE, primarily mentioned in their essential function as *Mittelzentren*, regional economic middle centres.

---

1 The juridical text can be found here: https://www.bibliotheksverband.de/sites/default/files/2022-07/Nieders%C3%A4chsisches%20Kulturf%C3%B6rdergesetz%20%28NKultF%C3%B6G%29%20vom%2028.%20Juni%202022.pdf (accessed June, 4th 2024).

2 The so called 'cultural parliaments' are municipal government associations that work in the fields of culture and education. An example is the Ostfriesische Landschaft (East Frisian Landscape Association).

3 The experts' calls for immaterial heritage and grassroots culture to be recognised includes not only an ideological paradigm shift but also a demand to redistribute financial resources, as cultural policies and associated financial resources are still overwhelmingly directed towards urban areas. They state that 'more than 70 percent of the German population live outside the big cities, but less than ten percent of public funding for culture goes to small communities' (Schneider 2014: 19, my translation).

In such structural development programmes, culture is a central field of intervention, and the (e)valuation of cultural heritage is seen as an engine for a region's economic development and attractiveness. Consequently, all of these programmes engage aspects of cultural policies and development goals under the prism of the economy (Groth and Sutter 2016: 230). LEADER, the European Union programme, is probably the most influential and agenda-setting among the programmes. It is also explicitly mentioned as a potential funding resource by the German UNESCO Commission in a manual for funding measures for the (e)valuation of intangible heritages, which showcases another way global cultural heritage discourses diffuse to local arenas. The LEADER programme anchors its activities in local working groups and significantly focuses on participation and civic involvement. It thereby targets the region's inhabitants' everyday lives as a site for transformations (ibid: 232).[4]

These programmes played little explicit role in the three small towns' ethnicised festivals and associations, however. While the development plan for Zeven does not mention a Dutch minority or the region's Dutch cultural heritage (Samtgemeinde Selsingen n.d.), the Cuxhaven programme does mention its inhabitants with Portuguese family histories. These are considered good resources and points of attraction for meeting the shortage of skilled labour by recruiting professionals from Portugal (LAG Wesermünde Nord 2015: 51). In contrast, the development concept for Aurich and its surrounding region explicitly demarcates its cultural and touristic development from other areas of East Frisia (Region Mittleres Ostfriesland 2015). East Frisia, in general, is considered a best practice model by cultural policy experts and actors, two of which are the Ostfriesische Landschaft (East Frisian Landscape Association) and the Ostfriesland Tourismus GmbH (East Frisia Tourism GmbH) (Drews 2017: 77).

In their attempt to shape and propagate regional development, constructing regions as 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2016) with definable collective identity markers is a part of regional development plans. In this sense, the programmes actively promote membership formation through cultural diversity and migration. Such processes become visible in rural regions' application documents for LEADER funding, which struggle to underline their homogeneity and boundary making as a distinguishable unit. The region of 'middle East Frisia', of which Aurich is a part, is, for example, constructed in a development plan via reference to a history of peatland colonisation, which in historical reality was not limited to that specific part of East Frisia: 'They [the people in middle East Frisia] are closely linked culturally by

4 Groth and Sutter (2016) further conclude that at this point, the LEADER program can be considered following a liberal market ideology, in that its main aim is to mobilize regions' endogenous resources (e.g. its cultural heritage, voluntary work, and regional identities) to transform them into competitive sites within the European market.

a shared pioneering history of peatland colonisation and settlement' (Region Mittleres Ostfriesland 2015: 5, my translation). Another region, the join municipality of Selsingen, that Zeven is considered part of is distinguished via allegedly unique landscape characteristics, working as a functional unit in economic terms (Samtgemeinde Selsingen n.d.).

The local discursive, legal, and structural developments in the three towns can be seen to be influenced by the global heritage discourse on intangible cultural heritage, namely the instrumentalisation of its paradigm shift by local cultural policy advisers. Being significantly shaped by the new cultural promotion law as well as the presence of EU structural development programmes such as LEADER, cultural heritage became part of the three towns' agenda, increasing the potentialities for heritage, as understood in its current global project of ideology, to emerge in this hitherto 'untouched' territory.

3. Festivals and Ethnic Leisure Associations in Small-Town Arenas – Case Descriptions

The territories hitherto 'untouched' by global heritage discourses can be described as small-town arenas. They are discursive sites of negotiation and debate around a matter of concern to different social worlds. That matter is in this case the ethncised festivals and associations as cultural heritage of the towns (2012: 89, 86). The social worlds most relevant in the co-constitution of the small-town arenas of Aurich, Cuxhaven and Zeven from that perspective are diaspora and ethnicised local communities and associations, but also local businesspeople or the media. It is mainly the former social worlds that heritage makers and researchers consider to be relevant communities of practice; those groups of people who are the primary bearers or promoters of intangible cultural heritage.

To build up full descriptions of the small-town case studies, I relied on my participatory observation field notes, newspaper articles, and background library research on the festivals. There has otherwise been little research conducted on the three ethnic groups in these small-town arenas from a sociological or anthropological perspective. This might have to do with the relatively small number of immigrants from the Netherlands and Portugal to Germany overall, which on first sight can implicate less significance. Moreover, people moving to Germany from the Netherlands are rarely categorised as immigrants and more often as expats. Research on officially recognised ethnic minorities in Germany mostly focuses on the language of Low German, its most defining feature, and lies in the field of linguistic research. Some research on Dutch migration to Germany around short-distance and cross-border migration (van Houtum and Gielis 2006; Strüver 2005) shows some similarities with my research participants' realities, such as circular migration patterns, although they have to be considered a different type of group. This is because they do not commute daily between their places of residence in Germany to their jobs and lives in the Netherlands, which is a defining feature of short-distance migration in the former sense. There is little anthropological or sociological research on East Frisia and the East Frisian minority: Most of the research is linguistic (Bosse 2019; Reershemius 2017), discusses the tourist economy (Drews 2017; Fleßner 2004), or has been conducted by lay researchers (Hennig n.d.). In the 1990s, Rainer Danielzyk

et al. (1995) analysed the region's endogenous development potential from a regional development perspective. Research on Portuguese emigration is a vast field, though Germany as a country of immigration is often not the focus of such studies. Andrea Klimt (2000) traced temporal processes of identity formation among Portuguese communities in Germany from a transnational mobility studies perspective. Such processes have met changing historical conditions, from the 1960s' so-called 'guest worker' status over becoming long-term residents, the often violent arguments and actions after German reunification in 1991, and Portugal's incorporation into the European Union (ibid). The opening up of possibilities that came with becoming European also plays a considerable role in my research field, where much of the Portuguese-marked cultural landscape came into being. Nina Clara Tiesler and Nélia Alves Bergano (2012) researched expressions of cultural belonging and attachment among Portuguese communities in large cities and small towns to find their multiple attachments to local environments and the Portuguese nation of origin. They found a decline in Portuguese associations and participation, which was also narrated in my research field. Dietrich Tränhardt and Jenni Winterhagen (2012) historically reconstructed the Catholic Church's influence on Portuguese immigrants, among others. Teresa Pinheiro (2010) edited an interdisciplinary volume of aspects and trends of Portuguese emmigrations, and Félix Neto et al. (2005) conducted a study on Portuguese acculturation. Other than Klimt (2005), expressions of Portugueseness in Germany, for example through public festivals, have not been studied.

Festivals and cultural associations are considered key factors in cultural heritage by cultural institutions and researchers alike. There are hundreds of festivals listed by UNESCO under the 2003 Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage (as can be seen, e.g., in this interactive map: https://ich.unesco.org/en/dive). Sociological and anthropological approaches to studying festivals consider their broader social and political contexts. Festivals are shown to be economically, politically and culturally situated, with no straightforward relationship between their past and present or their impact on local communities (Bendix 1989). They play a central role in shaping group formations and can serve as political platforms, making them pertinent for understanding heritage regimes in cultural contexts (Cornish 2016; Kockel et al. 2019; Leal 2015; Noyes 1995).

Key to understanding the role of festivals in rural heritage contexts is how they are 'embedded in the local ecosystems of sports, culture, business and other types of associations' (Hjalager and Kwiatkowski 2018:2). Leisure associations' central role in the cultural and heritage sectors is not a recent development (Swenson 2013). Leisure societies have been active since the late 19th century, outnumbering professional societies in promoting heritagisation. Many of these societies preserved and created heritage as a byproduct of other activities, such as cycling or photography. Astrid Swenson (ibid: 128) argues that associations' activities contributed to a specific form

of heritage consciousness that diverged from elitist and 'high' understandings of culture.

But characteristic of festivals in rural areas and small-scale towns is how they become embedded into local associational life. Many of the ethnic leisure associations in the three small towns are founded upon some story of loss and preservation: The withdrawal of the Dutch troops in Zeven; the closure of the Portuguese Catholic mission in Cuxhaven; and the impossibility of an 'ungebrochene' (continuous) tradition of East Frisian folk dances in Aurich. Evoking a sense of loss and nostalgia is part of the founding myth of these associations, and it is also criterion of cultural heritage as a repertoire.

The ethnic leisure associations and festivals offer themselves for the study of heritagisation in pluralised societies as they are publicly visible engagements of the migration- and ethnically diverse history of the three towns of Cuxhaven, Aurich and Zeven. On the other hand, to study heritagisation one is well advised to consider the (re)production of these festivals in their broader social ecology. This study takes them to be part of small-town arenas composed of different, and not necessarily ethnicised social worlds.

3.1 Aurich: A New Maypole for the Town's Centre

The setting up of maypoles to welcome spring is a tradition widely practised throughout Europe, where wooden poles erected as part of yearly festivals take on various forms and are accompanied by local stories. The East Frisian storytelling around the Maypole tradition is closely entangled with one of the most influential myths of the region's overall imagined community: The East Frisians as a historical, freedom-loving and democratic people.[1] This myth stems from the history of the so-called 'Frisian Freedom', which describes privileges the local population gained from the Middle Ages on, including being freed from feudal and military obligations vis-à-vis the nobility. Instead, the region was supposedly ruled by councils elected by (a specific male group of) inhabitants. In this tradition, an author in the local newspaper is keen to point out that the East Frisians would not lead any authority to forbid the potentially subversive festivity (ON 04/2011).[2]

1 Historian Tobias Weger (2013) points out another side of this myth of East Frisian culture and history: its groundedness in the German concept of tribes and how this was employed for colonial purposes and 'völkisch' dreams. This was never discussed during my field visits as a field of conflict. Neither were such 'völkisch' categories of membership employed by research participants.

2 I decided to reference newspaper articles including the abbreviation of the newspaper title, month and year of publication throughout this thesis for lack of information often given (e.g.

Fig. 3.1: Setting of the maypole in Aurich 2018. Photo by Romuald Banik, ON 20.02.2023

The Maypole ritual in Aurich proceeds as follows: A few days before the End of April, volunteers decorate a birch tree with colourful pieces of paper. On the April 30, the tree is set up in a central square of the community in a festive march through the neighbourhood (Fig. 3.1.). The march often also includes dancing, as the community or specific groups, some of them in East Frisian traditional dress, dances around the tree to transition into the month of May. After being set up, the maypole has to be guarded until the sunrise of May 1st, as the games of stealing other community trees begin. These other communities stem from part of the city and neighbourhoods that de-centrally organise their own festivals, most of them much smaller than the central one in Aurich. A tree is successfully 'stolen' when a group from another neighbourhood manages to touch the tree, the tree then belongs to one's group. It can be released to its original owners when these deliver a crate of beer the following day.

Until 2016 the municipality traditionally set up the maypole in Aurich town centre, with local politicians, associations, and administration workers taking on the task of decorating it. However, after the pole was criticised for being six metres shorter than in previous years – 'an early sign of cutbacks?' (ON 05/2015) – 2017 was the first year without a maypole in the town's central marketplace, as the municipality's cuts in funding to cultural activities hit the festival. After protests, the local council set up a much smaller maypole in a pedestrian street nearby (ON 03/2017). However, there was no money left for a celebration of any kind. A public discussion followed about whether or not a central maypole is needed in a small town, where

no names of authors) and for reasons of anonymization. All quotes from newspaper articles are my translation.

many districts organise their maypole tradition on a voluntary and decentralised basis, and around the role of such traditions for the local youth (ON 03/2018).

When I visited the event in 2019, an association of local café and restaurant owners had organised it for the second year. While they invested some money into the celebration, it was partly donation-based. To make the festival economically profitable, they transformed it into a two-day celebration that included a live music stage, several food stalls, and a traditional 'Maischollen' dinner that involves a dish with plaice caught in spring. The association generally does not withhold its economic interest in organising the festival; its primary purpose is to make the town centre more lively and attractive for its inhabitants and tourists. The maypole was then back to its impressive height and set up with the help of a local business able to provide the infrastructure to do so. One of the association members was keen to underline the different and comparatively more challenging circumstances of organising the event in the town centre due to rules and administrative claims made by the municipality. He contrasted it with all the smaller Maypole celebrations in the town's outer districts, which are much less regulated. The character of the Maypole celebration in the town centre was quite different from the ones of smaller and more provincial celebrations.[3]

The big Maypole celebration in the city centre of Aurich felt commercial. While the afternoon on the first day of the celebration was dominated by families and friends, the later the day became, the more partygoers attended and danced to a cover band performing. Young people and punks sat in small groups and drank in the park next to the area. The catering stands sold food from local restaurants whose menus were not limited to northern German dishes but varied from Bavarian to Swabian. The setting up of the maypole and the accompanying speech by a member of the gastronomic association was documented by a local TV and radio producer, as were all the events of the association. On the second day of the celebration, May

3 The smaller maypole celebration in one of the town's districts stands in contrast to the bigger one described until now. It is organised on a volunteer basis by a local heritage society, the shooting club and fire brigade as well as horse riders from a nearby stable. The traditional march which accompanies the pole to its final place is dominated by the local population handing out drinks to their neighbours in many of the front gardens at the edge of the road, a track length of a kilometre quickly takes more than an hour to pass. Much of the march seems to be an attraction for children, who specifically enjoy the performance of the local traditional dance group. In an opening speech a member of the Heimatverein (local heritage society) as well as the local major underline the importance of the donation-based celebration for social cohesion in the village. Interestingly then, both celebrations taking place within the town of Aurich take different form and function: While one celebration is supposed to make the urban centre more attractive, the other one serves the production of a rural and village-like community in one of the towns districts (Fieldnotes; student research assistant).

1st, a representative of the German Union Association took the stage for a speech on Worker's Day.

Even though the municipality was no longer funding or organising the Maypole celebration, the district mayor took a prominent role as a volunteer paramedic and was the first one to guard the tree on the day of my visit. This reminded me that while the festival is professional and commercial, the town is also provincial, signified by social proximity even including people in official functions. A group of young people from the local sports club provided the second round of guarding the tree.

While the return of the tradition in the town centre was welcomed in the local newspaper (ON 04/2018), the association still had to react to criticism of their disregarding traditions around the festivity, such as the involvement of volunteer associations, traditional dances around the pole, or the conventional place for the maypole, the market place, which was unavailable for that year's celebration – a point that a member of the gastronomic association felt like he had to justify in his opening speech. The association of restaurant and café owners reacted to the outside criticism by promoting the involvement of a local sports club in setting up the maypole and booking a traditional dance group.

Although I did not engage with this specific dance group, I did meet and interview some members of an overall network of folk dance associations who meet regularly. The network's leading members are actively interested in lay research into the history of East Frisian dance and traditional costumes. As one of the members explained, their practice was only taken up by the association in the 1970s, when the EU provided some funding for local cultural initiatives. The founding narrative of some of the network members is related to the discovery and invention of traditional East Frisian songs, dances, and dresses since the 1970s. The association's self-description does not include the role of traditional dance during the Nazi regime; it does, however, refer to the fact that there is no 'ungebrochene' (continuous) dance tradition in Germany, as in other regions of Europe. 'Certainly, our ancestors also had their dances for certain occasions, such as weddings or harvest festivals, but unfortunately, most have been lost.' (East Frisian Traditional Dance Association homepage, my translation). One of the association's main aims is therefore to collect and reconstruct these dances. The costumes are inspired by exhibits from the town's historical museum. Moreover, a state-wide association catering to the interests of different traditional costume associations is involved in cataloguing specificities of local costumes, which, as another member was eager to explain to me, differ from region to region.

The broader small-town arena is composed of people living in the regions of North Frisia and East Frisia in Germany and West Frisia in the Netherlands. In Germany, Frisians are one of three officially recognised ethnic minorities in Germany. The region of East Frisia is increasingly dominated by tourism providing it with a broadly funded arena of cultural and heritage institutions situated in the region.

The most prominent one in East Frisia is probably the Ostfriesische Landschaft (East Frisian Landscape Association), a municipal organisation with a certain amount of autonomy and self-organisation taking on the promotion of culture, education, and research in East Frisia. Comprised of different departments working on archaeology, museum, education or the Low German minority language also hosts an extensive regional library, the 'Landschaft', with an annual budget of over 4 million Euros, can be considered the most crucial actor and funder in the overall region. However, it is by no means the only actor. The promotion of East Frisia as a brand for the tourist industry is supported by the Ostfriesland Tourismus GmbH (East Frisian Tourism Company), among others. In some ways, East Frisia is a pop cultural phenomenon, with stereotypical depictions of East Frisians as a little backward and provincial but talkative and friendly and it being possible to order East Frisian passports online.[4] The local TV and radio programme regularly hosts shows in the region's second language, Low German, and many associations promote East Frisian culture and language. The Friesenrat (Frisian Council) is an interest group with chapters in East, North, and West Frisia. A party called Die Friesen focuses on, among other things, ecological issues in the region.

In terms of cultural heritage, the cultural practice of drinking East Frisian Tea was added to the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage list in 2016. There also exist many large and small 'Heimatmuseen' [local heritage societies] and cultural events all over the region. Few of these actors, though, play a significant role in the annual tradition of setting up maypoles in Aurich town centre, an issue that is dealt with in more detail in the methodology chapter in part II.

3.2 Cuxhaven: An Original Fatima Statue and a History of the Fishing Industry

Since the early 1990s the Catholic church and its Portuguese members in Cuxhaven have organised an annual 'Procession of our Lady Fatima', celebrated worldwide and dedicated to the apparitions of Godmother Maria in Fatima, Portugal, in 1917. According to the myth, the apparition intended to bring peace to the world and renew the Catholic community, as well as producing several prophecies regarding the near future. One of the volunteer organisers and local Catholic church council members told the story of how the Portuguese priest brought an original sculpture to the German town from Portugal in his tiny car. In 2018, when my student research assistant attended the celebration, around 200 people participated (Fig. 3.2). Some representatives from the Portuguese Consulate and the local Catholic church led the celebra-

4 East Frisian Embassy: https://www.botschaft-ostfriesland.de/amtliches/ostfriesenausweis/, accessed June 4, 2024.

tion. One of the Portuguese folklore dance associations, also called rancho groups,[5] took part fully dressed, and as the local newspaper later noted. While Portuguese was the primary language in the procession, the rosary was recited in five different languages. Some people stood on the side of the street taking pictures of this 'very unusual sight', as the local German newspaper noted (CN 05/1999).

Fig. 3.2: Fatima sculpture in front of Church door in Cuxhaven. Foto: Carola Steenhof

Another Portuguese festival in Cuxhaven is the local fish festival, which has an overall commercial character. Due to the history of Portuguese workers in the town's fishing industry, this festival can, as one blogger phrases it, 'not be thought of without thinking of Portugal as well' ("kuestenglück.com", April 10, 2020, my translation).[6] The festival occurs once a year in the historical buildings of the fish auction hall, the active fish industry having moved to a new part of the harbour. The auction hall is itself a tourist attraction, playing host to gastronomy, tours of specific ships in the harbour, and music performances, some of which were by the local Portuguese rancho dance associations. Organised by a local fishing industry interest group, the festival also offers several fishing-related attractions such as a tour through the harbour.

5 Ranchos Folclóricos means folk dances and is a dance practice originating in Portugal's rural areas.

6 https://www.kuestenglueck.com/cuxhavener-fischerfest/ accessed last June 26, 2024.

The Catholic church and Caritas are central to the (re)production of ethnically marked cultural productions in Cuxhaven in the otherwise more Evangelical-Lutheran region. At the end of the 1960s, Caritas tried to find a place of residence for the immigrant workers. Responsibilities for social counselling of foreign workers and family members were informally distributed along the lines of religious affiliation in the 1960s, so Caritas was declared responsible for Catholic migrants. In 1967, a Spanish centre was established. 'At last, they will be given a place in this Stranger Land where they may feel truly at home' (CN 04/1966). Since the increase in the Catholic community was so significant (today around 1200 people), Portuguese masses began to beheld in 1975. This is described in the local newspaper as the 'birth of the Portuguese community' (CN 11/2000). While the Portuguese mission used to be responsible for several towns in the region, it has since closed and no longer plays a significant role. There is no other evidence of organised protest at the time of the mission's closure being eminent. Today, in addition to the weekly Sunday service, there is a Portuguese service every Saturday, which is held in German but in which the Hail Mary, the Our Father, and the songs are spoken and sung in Portuguese. In addition, communion classes for children with Portuguese family backgrounds are held in Portuguese, to teach children the Portuguese language and culture.

Cuxhaven's Portuguese community also projects an element of the Portuguese state via the Portuguese government representative, who resides in neighbouring Hamburg, taking part in community-relevant events. Moreover, children can take Portuguese language classes in one of the local schools financed by the Portuguese state. In 2008, a theatre play was developed and performed by students in cooperation with a school from Cuxhaven and a school from the Portuguese Twin Town, which caused a small sensation. The project occurred within the EU education programme COMENIUS (CN 12/2008). In this context, local newspaper articles repeatedly referred to the process of European unification that was already being practised so successfully in the town.

Cuxhaven began developing a differentiated landscape of Portuguese associations and gastronomy with the first explicitly Portuguese folklore festival in 1988 (CN 04/1988). Thus, various cultural associations and folklore groups were established from then on. The Portuguese Centre and a German-Portuguese association are the most significant Portuguese cultural associations in the town. The Portuguese Centre is part of events such as the Fishermen's Festival and is mainly run and organised by people with Portuguese ethnic heritage. Every Saturday, the centre offers members the opportunity to have dinner together, an offer also open to non-members and non-Portuguese people. Several times a year, there are concerts with Portuguese bands and other cultural events. During Football world cups, the centre regularly hosts a public viewing for all interested people. In 2019, the centre celebrated its 25th anniversary. The other cultural association in Cuxhaven is run and organised mainly by German citizens who do not have a Portuguese migration history, even if a Cux-

havener with a Portuguese family background usually appears publicly as its representative. The research assistant soon found out, the centre, in contrast, holds a high status as a meeting place and is certainly present in the town with events. Newspaper articles from the local newspaper show that the association is mentioned regularly and is, therefore, much more visible to the public than the Portuguese centre. It is visibly involved in Portuguese issues and cultural exchanges between the countries. For example, the cultural association is part of a cooperative project engaged in plans for the town's urban development (CN 07/1998); it promoted a town twinning with a Portuguese port town which concluded in 2000; it makes speeches at official anniversaries, and organises book donations for the local library as well as promoting an exhibition on the history of the fishing industry in a local museum. Besides these two Portuguese associations, Portuguese cultural forms are represented in the town by two rancho groups that practice and perform folkloric dances. The associations along with Portuguese food and music are sometimes represented at festivals in the town, such as at the opening night of the Intercultural Week organised by the town under the banner of promoting civil participation in an 'Engagierte Stadt' (Engaged City).

3.3 Zeven: 'Little Nijmegen'

Remnants of Dutch historical military presence in Zeven are still evident today: A Dutch café operates in the town's pedestrianised area, and an online store sells Dutch goods (most successfully selling Indonesian food) in the neighbouring town. The most famous local hotel is the site of the annual 'Matjesfest' (Soused herring festival), celebrating the start of the pickled herring season. It offers descriptions of the rooms in Dutch, English, and German. A local school still has its original Dutch name. Moreover, when the Dutch military left the town in 2006, a sculpture was given as a present, still standing on one of the town's squares.

Historically, the Dutch military strove to maintain a good reputation in the town and, probably as part of this, organised a series of festivals that are still part of the town's annual calendar: Four Evening Marches, Sinterklaas visits, and King's Day (the birthday of the Dutch monarch). In 1969, more than 5000 people attended the Four Evening Marches, a multi-day walking event with an international music show. It was described as a festival with radiant power in the broader region (Jubiläumsausgabe. 50. Zevener 4-abend Märsche 2017, Beilage der Zevener Zeitung). Municipal politicians regularly emphasised the Dutch military administration's excellent cooperation with the local administration in the local newspaper and at such events. Even today, after the Dutch military was withdrawn from the town and replaced by German soldiers, it still plays a vital role as an institution. After all, almost all Dutch people still living in Zeven have a direct biographical connection to the military, and

living in the barracks as a sort of independent enclave of the military has a specifically strong influence.

When the Dutch military left the town, there were large protests from its inhabitants. The local newspaper's headlines in 2003 are witness to this conflict as they tell the story of protest being organised: 'Impressive Solidarity With the Dutch' (ZN 06/2003) or 'Zeveners Take to the Street for the Preservation of the Casern' (ZN 06/2003). Local and national politicians advocated against closure, mainly as they could see the economic repercussions for the region's population (see chapter 7.2.3.). A compromise was found in that the Dutch military left the barracks, but a German garrison moved in. But more than 300 retired military personnel or ex-military members from the Netherlands decided to stay. In 2007, an ex-general well-connected with communal politics, initiated the founding a Dutch association and the group were provided with a clubhouse in the area of the ex-barracks, as the local newspaper titled: 'Basis for a good start. Huge Dutch traditional club opens small clubhouse' (ZN 03/2007). Since then, the club has been regularly open for coffee, Dutch national holidays are celebrated, and events, some of them of a self-help nature, are organised. A women's group organise regular excursions in the region. In this sense, the association, whose main aim is to give back to the Dutch people to whom the casern was a 'big part of home', a 'small piece of home, a place to go for coffee and a chat' (Association homepage, my translation). For the Dutch national day for the remembrance of the dead on May 4, representatives organised an event in the neighbouring memorial for a Nazi work camp in which many Dutch citizens died during the Second World War. The association informs its members and the broader public about all these activities in a small publication.

Moreover, after the withdrawal, the mayor, in collaboration with a Dutch general, suggested creating a new association to promote the town's cultural development, which nowadays is a central actor in this field in Zeven. It has a political agenda in commenting on the dismantling of the social infrastructure or the memory of preserving the town charter. At the same time, the association does not necessarily focus on this in their public image; financially and organizationally, there are a lot of mainly local businesspeople involved. An important aim is to make the town attractive for their potential employees by promoting arts and culture in the region (Homepage of the association). The association plays a pivotal role in the town's arena, among them the Dutch festivals that take place nowadays in public spaces. The association organises annual Sinterklaas processions at the Town Hall and the Four Evening Marches, with the Dutch association only being a collaborator.

Sinterklaas is one of several Dutch-marked festivals and events might be the Netherlands' most popular cultural tradition, but it is the most contested one (Rodenberg and Wagenaar 2016). Each year in November, Saint Nicholas, an imaginary Catholic bishop called 'Sinterklaas' visits the country from Spain on board a

steamship and is accompanied by his helpers, 'Zwarte Pieten' (Black Peters). The latter wear black makeup and dress in servants' costumes. Sinterklaas is publicly welcomed in many towns across the Netherlands; some broadcast the spectacle live on TV with thousands of children and adults in attendance. Maybe unsurprisingly, Black Peter's figure sparks outrage among many in the Netherlands and abroad. Its critics point out the tradition's racism and symbolic representation of colonial relations. Since some activists first publicly protested the festivities in the Netherlands in 2011, the controversy around the celebration quickly intensified, to the point where even the United Nations urged the Netherlands to stop the portrayal of Black Peter in 2015 (Sengupta 2015).

In Zeven, this Sinterklaas also arrives annually as a unique attraction at its Christmas market. The festival was first organised by a Dutch military brigade when they were stationed in the town. While the event receives no financial support from the municipality, the town hall building is provided for free. When I witnessed Sinterklaas's arrival on a rainy day in 2018, a big crowd of families were awaiting its arrival quite nervously. A member of the Dutch traditional association was already standing on stage next to a big green chair and trying to make the children in the first row sing Dutch Christmas songs. When they did not follow this call, maybe because they do not know the songs or the Dutch language, he started to play them from the sound system. Sitting in a carriage, Sinterklaas and some black-faced helpers made their way through the pedestrian streets of the town centre. The Peters handed out 'Pepernotjes', small cookies typical for Dutch Christmas times, to children. Some of the market's visitors were surprised as to where one could buy these weird 'dog cookies'. After the performers reached the town hall, they disappeared for a while, only to show up on the building's balcony. While the Sinterklaas performer read a poem, two Peters climbed along the building on rope, which enthused the children. A member of the Dutch association later explained to me that these two performers were German soldiers, while visitors from the Netherlands played the other Peters. The ordinary Sinterklaas wandering the market each day seemed rather pale and dull compared to this event. Seemingly, the escalating debate around Black Peter in the Netherlands had not yet reached this small town.

Another Dutch festival held Zeven is the International Four Evening March, which has taken place in the Dutch town of Nijmegen every year since 1910. While it was intended to be a military event for the troops' health, many civilians soon started to participate in the four-day-long daily marches.

In Zeven's version of the festival, almost every relevant local business appeared to be an official sponsor. Still, the festival's appearance was military-dominated, with marching music and a parade of flags (Fig. 3.3). Military participation in the marches has always been a point of attraction for the wider public. However, in the Netherlands it has also sparked protests in the past, especially during the peace movement in the 1980s (Dijksterhuis 2020). The biggest Four Evening Marches happen annu-

ally in Nijmegen, a city in the Netherlands, which brings reporters from a Dutch newspaper to title their visiting report with 'Zeven a small version of Nijmegen' (ZN 06/2017).

Fig. 3.3: Four Evening Marches in Zeven, view of central starting and end point. Foto: Deborah Sielert

The festival in Zeven is organised by a civil association mainly consisting of local businesspeople, but a festival visitor explained to me that it is supported by the new German military brigade. The military provided one of the leading attractions for children by hanging up a rubber army boat, transforming it into a gigantic swing and giving essential logistic and infrastructural support to the overall festival. Dutch soldiers and a military musical corps came to visit for the event, and people dressed in military clothes. The whole event felt like a typical parish fair with a note of military style, with food stands and some information provided by local associations. Every year, the march highlights a different cause: when I visited in 2018, the campaign against the closure of a local hospital was the centre of attention. An impressive number of groups participated in the march, ranging from soldiers to school and kindergarten classes to local businesses and groups of friends and families. The

members of the Dutch traditional association were visible in their orange accessories. However, other than one or two flags and the march facilitator's accent, the event's 'Dutchness' was not particularly obvious in its symbolism.

The ethnicised festivals in the annual calendars of Aurich, Zeven and Cuxhaven are embedded in the wider arena of these towns, involving not only engagement from ethnic leisure associations but also a broader social world of volunteering and a number of other worlds, such as the media, municipal politics and the local economy. They are influenced by global and national discourses and supraregional actors as well. All of these discourses and social worlds are considered in an analysis of the (re)production of the festivals and association in Ethnicised Heritage Situations as developed and put into practice in this book.

Naturally, the cultural and ethnic diversity of peripheral small towns appears more limited than in bigger cities and metropoles, it takes different forms as well. The diversity of small towns has, therefore, been subject of discussion in the growing field of Small-Town Research. Cuxhaven, Zeven and Aurich with their cultural diversity are not isolated in the periphery, but always already embedded in transnational processes crisscrossed by the mobility of people, things and ideas, as the field of transnational studies shows. Both, Small-Town Research and transnational studies are, therefore, fields of research this book aims to take from and give back to, in addition to Critical Heritage Studies.

4. Studying Cultural Heritage from the 'Limited Diversity' of Small Town Arenas – Literature Review

The field of Critical Heritage Studies emerged in the early 2000s as a response to the limitations and exclusions inherent in what Laurajane Smith (2006) termed the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse'. This framework, institutionalised through national heritage agencies and global bodies such as UNESCO, privileges expert-led, state-authorised understandings of heritage – emphasising monumental, architectural, and tangible forms rooted in Western and colonial concepts of space and time. Critical Heritage Studies points out how, through instruments like the World Heritage Convention, UNESCO's heritage management practices reinforce a top-down model that prioritises universal values over local meanings, and conservation over lived experience. Moreover, heritage researchers describe the processes through which communities are excluded from decision-making processes about the heritage that shapes their collective identities and everyday lives.

Critical Heritage Studies challenges these processes, exposing the political, cultural and ideological underpinnings of how heritage is selected, conserved and interpreted. Today, the field is thriving and interdisciplinary at its core, built on the consensus that cultural heritage's value is not inherent to heritage objects or practices but must be understood as constructed in processes of valuation. Moreover, heritage is understood to always be political and responding to societal challenges in the present, as selected elements of an (imagined) past and future are linked to the present.

Studies from the field of Critical Heritage Studies have empirically and programmatically challenged assumptions and practices of the Authorised Heritage Discourse from the perspective of lived experiences in small-scale settings. They prominently focus on the conflicts arising after a cultural endeavour has been officially listed on the UNESCO list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

While there are no official cultural heritage listings in Zeven, there is a history of festivals as part of the city's annual calendar that have taken place since the 1960s, when the Dutch military stationed in the town invented them to shape local civil-military relations. Nowadays, the festival organisation can no longer be said to be in 'Dutch hands', as many different actors, such as local associations, businesspeople

or the municipality are involved in their (re)production. Although the festivals are part of Zeven's Dutch history, neither all visitors nor all inhabitants of the town are aware of this history. They show up for the food, the fun, the childrens' activities, plain and simple. The festival is the draw – not the heritage it might honour. Though historically billed as a celebration of a Dutch tradition, many see it through other lenses: a German-flavoured folk festival, or a respectful nod to the town's military past. Few seem invested in the event's historical narrative. The appeal lies in the ease of it all: come, march, eat, play, leave – no strings attached. 'Heritage', then, is, if at all, implied and demonstrated in multiple ways.

A Critical Heritage Studies perspective advocates taking up pluralistic perspectives in order to consider the socially constructed nature of heritage as well as the social fabric of all cultural endeavours. It is, therefore, much more apt to adequately understand small town cultural pluralism than the 'God's view' perspective from above taken in Authorised Heritage Discourse, which would have likely unquestioningly considered the Four Evening Marches the cultural heritage of Zeven's Dutch minority meant to be commemorated and performed. As Leidulf Mydland and Wera Grahn formulated for their research on volunteer initiatives preserving schoolhouses in Norway:

> […] local understanding of cultural heritage becomes a social process rather than a physical object to be preserved. In other words, cultural heritage is seen as an instrument for the development of social experiences, relations, exchanges and so forth (2012:583).

As in their case as well, local understandings of heritage tend to be pluralistic and differ from what Authorised Heritage Discourse implies, namely a harmonious congruence of A heritage with A community and A collective identity.

To understand heritage as a social process also questions the role of place understood as a territorialised entity in processes of heritagisation. Denis Byrne developed the concept of the China–Australia migration 'heritage corridor' in order to underline the ways in which a Chinese heritage in Australia is constituted in a transnationally distributed and connected network of sites and objects, which include houses back in China as well as the local history of Chinese immigration to Australia. Byrne states: 'The notion of transnational simultaneity jars with the conventional idea of the heritage place as fixed, stable, and firmly situated inside the space of the nation's sovereign borders.' (2023: 342).

For a church member in Cuxhaven, to participate in the local Portuguese language mass is also a moment of transnational simultaneity that one would possibly not expect in such small-town settings. To pray in her first language and in front of a Fatima statue imported from Portugal in the 1990s produces a feeling of actually being in her country of birth. For a second-generation migrant from the Netherlands,

Dutch heritage is closely related to a family history that spans across national borders. And the debate around the racism of the Sinterklaas festival, which has globally reached the UNESCO floor, is being taken up by members of the Dutch traditional association in Zeven only to underline that such matters do not matter in their diaspora situation and rather belongs to the 'big debates' back in the Netherlands. These are just some instances of small-town cultural pluralisms sparked by mobility experiences that constitute their cultural expression as 'places in transnational meshworks' (Byrne 2023:342).

Such needed confrontations of the international Authorised Heritage Discourse with reality is what has made Critical Heritage Studies as a field thrive in recent decades.

Transnational migration studies offer a conceptual vocabulary to more adequately understand the role of mobility experiences in heritagisation processes, some of which have already been taken up explicitly in Critical Heritage Studies. However, specifically in the German context, the field has its own limitations. Much research focuses on migration and cultural diversity in big cities and metropoles, such as Frankfurt, Hamburg or Berlin. The cultural pluralism of small towns and peripheral regions, therefore, remains something of a blind spot, which can be enlightened by studying ethnicised cultural heritages located in small Northern German towns.

4.1 Critical Heritage Studies

Cultural heritage in the field of Critical Heritage Studies is often researched as an economic resource and source of valorisation or as a resource in a symbolic and social sense, a source of (e)valuation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006:189). This latter sense is most important for my research, as it includes the mobilisation of heritage in processes of in- and exclusion. This interrelation is described as heritage being *'intimately linked with identity'* (Smith and Akagawa 2009:7), as a constant '*borderwork*' (Ashley 2020:22), or as something put to strategical use to produce difference and belonging (Ashley and Frank 2016:501). Cultural heritage is always the heritage of a group, be it the national, global or ethnic community. In this context, issues of cultural diversity, such as migration and multiculturalism within the field, have prominently been addressed.[1] This study empirically explores key

1 Other axes of difference, such as the relation of gender and heritage, are much less prominent. Vanessa Whittington (2021) and Ellen Hertz (Hertz 2011), both addressed the profoundly gendered nature and contradictions of heritage regimes in their propagation of human rights, gender equality among them, and processes of gender representations and the impact of heritage policies on local cultural practices often (re)produced by women are two among few. Anna Reading (2015) analysed gendered processes in heritage curation and con-

themes addressed in Critical Heritage Studies literature. These include the role of local communities (4.1.1), the dynamics between international heritage regime operations and local communities' grassroots cultural endeavours (4.1.2), and the complexities surrounding ethnic and migrant heritage (4.1.3).

4.1.1 The Coupling of Community with Identity and its Critics

Up until the 1990s, cultural heritage was something almost exclusively attributed to nation-states, constituting them as imagined communities (Anderson 2016). Since then, many nation-states have been challenged by their internal diversity, with multiculturalism becoming an undeniable fact, as minorities speak out to be heard. Increasingly, heritage is being attributed to ethnically diverse groupings within nation-states, which goes hand in hand with a shift in the types of communities being addressed in cultural heritage policies. These are no longer abstract imagined communities but concrete communities of practice becoming the bearers of heritages, as some scholars such as Adell et. al (2015) or Noyes (2006) also note. It is in this context that the concept of heritage came to be intimately entangled with the idea of communities and their identity, the three syncing with one another in seemingly unproblematic and harmonious ways. While this conceptual triad has been influential in cultural heritage discourses and policies of the last decades, it has been a matter of critique within some corners of Critical Heritage Studies research.

The paradigm shift from national heritage to cultural diversity, multiculturalism, and community participation that culminated in the Intangible Cultural Heritage convention was a significant new phase in global heritage discourses and cultural policy (Gnecco 2015; Harrison 2013: 69). This shift is often described as being a result of interventions by non-Western nation-states to decentre Eurocentric understandings of heritage (Brumann 2018: 1210) and human rights movements (Coombe and Weiss 2015). It also occurred within the broader context of globalisation processes and neoliberal economic restructuring and policy-making (Alonso González 2019; Coombe and Weiss 2015; Geismar 2015; Kockel 2007), with some pointing at heritage policies as being a culturalisation of socio-economic inequalities and their solution (Noyes 2006:48; Taylor 2009).

As bearers of heritage and as participants in heritage decision-making processes, it was communities that became central to global discourse on heritage. As Chiara de Cesari (2013: 401) points out, communities are 'the cornerstone of recent

sumption and the potentialities for methodology in heritage research from a feminist perspective. Finally, some research suggested the usefulness of an ethics of care approach, such as developed by feminist authors Joan Tronto (2013) and María Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) for heritage preservation (Pantazatos 2018; Veldpaus and Szemző 2021).

UNESCO policies' although she emphasises how ill-defined they are in these policies. Nicolas Adell et al. (2015) describe a shift in heritage discourse from the nation-state as an imagined community to 'communities of practice' taking over, while not completely replacing the role that nation-states had before (see also Noyes 2006: 33). The turn to community can also be interpreted as a turn to civil society involvement (van der Auwera and Schramme 2011). Since the 1970s, participatory ideologies have gained significance in cultural policy and beyond, ranging from their neoliberal orientation to attempts to democratise political and social processes (Dubois 2015: 10). Much research within the field of Critical Heritage Studies deals with the entry of communities into heritage ideologies and praxis.

One of the debates that emerged in the field disentangles the meanings of 'community' in cultural policy and some heritage research, criticising its potential for homogenisation and the supposedly unproblematic linking of community with identity. Proponents of this perspective criticise the idea of local communities as 'the bottom' (Hertz 2015: 25), or 'the people' (González-Ruibal et al. 2018: 508) as idealised, reified, and homogenised in the process, leaving aside intragroup differences and the fuzzy boundaries of communities in empirical reality (Bendix 2018: 106; Hertz 2015; Waterton and Smith 2010: 5). The multiplicity of communities involved in heritage-making processes, as opposed to the idea of heritage in a single community, is also often disregarded (Labadi and Long 2010). Despite these common-sense observations, Adell et al. find that '[w]hat has been transferred successfully into the UNESCO policy-making realm is, […] the productive version of cultural identity.' (2015: 9). Heritage in this realm is always connoted positively, a position Christoph Brumann (2014) named 'heritage believing' and compares to attending church. Some go so far as to argue that it is possible to integrate reactionary and populist political positions into these notions of heritage and communities as bounded and inherently good (Galbo 2019; González-Ruibal et al. 2018).

In their conceptual history of the notion of community, Stefan Berger et al. (2020) originate heritage management's affirmative use of the concept to its historical appropriation by left-wing social movements in Britain. They argue that the idea is rarely employed by scholars in France (Durkheim, republican state) and Germany (Tönnies, National Socialism). However, this is changing, as sociologists Tine Haubner and van Silke Dyck (2021) show in the German context, where what they call 'community capitalism' is gaining ground and making invisible much unpaid but necessary labour formally provided not by civil society but by the state.

While Critical Heritage Studies is agreed on the problematic notion of community and its linking to identity in UNESCO policies and research, some scholars phrase this problem as an epistemological shortcoming, while others see it as an ontological problem. The former tend to focus on how local communities are misrepresented and misrecognised in heritage decision-making processes and call for their peers to be more strictly inclusive (Waterton and Smith 2010). Elizabeth

Crooke (2010) found that some voices can be more powerful than others within different conceptualisations and negotiations of community and heritage in UK community heritage-oriented museum projects. Brumann (2018: 1223) found that while a rhetoric of community 'as good' is present in the official realm of UNESCO policy-making, there is no actual space for local communities, the most potent communities involved are still experts and diplomats. Laia Colomer (2017) and Alexandra Dellios and Eureka Henrich (2020) find that community constructed in the name of cultural diversity is an emancipatory ground for minority concerns. Epistemologically, these scholars claim a perspective 'that shifts community from the realm of explanation to something in need of explaining' (Waterton and Smith 2010: 12). But the scholars do hold on to the concept of communities as a normative ground for political claims, often in the realm of community participation (cf. Groth 2015).

From a perspective on heritage regimes as 'technologies of governance' (Burchell et al. 1991), the other approach critiques the ontologisation of community in the heritage field. Scholars reveal how communities are produced as intelligible subject positions through a politics of truth (Coombe and Weiss 2015; Gnecco 2015). They go so far as to say that experts in the heritage field, such as archaeologists, co-produce communities in the first place (González-Ruibal et al. 2018), or that communities are a pure artefact of UNESCO conventions and regimes (Hertz 2015: 51). These authors often stress the active role of researchers in this respect and call for their reflexivity in their role as knowledge producers (Meskell 2005: 77; Noyes 2003: 8). These positions can also be considered part of the position that underlines the radical alterity of minority positions vis-à-vis regime claims on diversity (Gnecco 2015: 268).

4.1.2 Local Grassroots Communities and (Inter)National Heritage Regimes

Critical Heritage Studies often focuses on what happens when UNESCO and other heritage regimes operate in locations through officialised listing processes. While many impact studies of World Heritage exist, some of them conducted by UNESCO themselves (e.g., Galla 2012), in-depth anthropological studies are more likely to centre local processes and knowledge in order to find the frictions and points of conflict in such processes, where heritage experts often take over the definition of what constitutes specific cultural practices.

Often, this line of research concludes that heritage regime operations dismiss local knowledge and structures, act in culturally imperialist ways, and, therefore, dispose of the bearers of cultural traditions of their culture (Alonso González 2019: 42; Salemink 2016: 337). In his documentary film Flight of the Condor (2018), anthropologist Hafstein asks: 'When is protection not a means of dispossession?' As he is keen to underline, this is not merely a rhetorical question. The editors of *Heritage Regimes and the State* (2012) also conclude that while regime operations might create space for empowerment, they most often create conflict among those partic-

ipating in the process by commercialising culture or fostering particular collective identities, thereby excluding others and making invisible internal heterogeneity (cf. Kuutma 2013: 27; Salemink 2016: 338). Other studies also show the creation of conflicts locally (Kuutma 2013; Owens 2002; Tauschek 2013; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Weineck 2015). Mary N. Taylor's (2009) analysis of the Hungarian folk revival movement in Romania exemplified how regime operations in the European context are intended to be liberal, co-produce ethnonational boundaries, and homogenise as an (unintentional) consequence. Graeme MacRae (2017) focuses on the unintentional consequences of World Heritage regime operations. All these empirical studies agree that global heritage regimes and discourses have much power to stir up conflict in local cultural processes, mostly with oppressive effects. However, they do not necessarily find a consensus on the role of local agency in these processes. Many underline that regimes always co-produce spaces of autonomy and creativity for local actors (Coombe and Weiss 2015: 58; Fraser 2020: 182; Kuutma 2009: 10). De Cesari (2013) explicitly calls for heritage researchers to go beyond the top-down perspective that heritage regimes are always oppressive and that the languages of heritage are always foreign to local actors. Many studies follow this lead and take a more actor and agency-centred approach. Some show how local actors challenge regime operations and logic, how they explicitly reject or escape them (Chalcraft 2015; Geismar 2015; Svensson and Maags 2018), how alternative modes of relating to one culture coexist with metacultural regime relations (Foster 2015), or how local actors and heritage custodians strategically employ heritage to serve first and foremost local needs (Ashley 2020; Cheng, Li, and Ma 2014; Galbraith 2015; Isnart and Cerezales 2020; Salzbrunn 2015).

Most of these studies look at the coming into being or the aftermath of official UNESCO heritage listing processes being undertaken locally. But those studies that look beyond or before such official listing processes can expose more general processes of the (e)valuation of culture. Doing so from a framework of heritage can highlights the prominent role of value-regime precursors to international regime operations; it also asks us to rethink heritage starting from alternative concepts of heritage and preservation.

Regina Bendix et al. (2016: 17) point out that UNESCO value regimes always have national, religious or other precursors. Monika Salzbrunn (2015) shows that value regimes are not limited to the national scale but might also pre-exist on the town scale, and Cyril Isnart and Nathalie Cerezales (2020) show this for a Catholic religious minority. In empirical research in Bali, MacRae (2017) shows the importance of local government agencies and their regimes of value, underlining the role of scale in heritage-making processes. Anthropologist Brumann brings in an important geographical note, arguing that value-regime precursors are stronger and more institutionalised in Europe. He argues that while in non-European countries, regime intervention often prompts dramatic changes, this is

less so in European countries, where 'world heritage often adds only rather thin layers to long-established national conservations frameworks and decades- or even centuries-old local adaptions to a heritage regime' (Brumann 2016: 14). Still, ideas and concepts of culture and preservation of pre-existing regime interventions exist everywhere. A few studies from a decolonial perspective, primarily conducted on the African continent, contrast global regime ideology and values with local and alternative understandings of heritage and heritage preservation (Röschenthaler 2011; Ugwuanyi 2021). They thereby make interesting contributions to a critique and theorisation of heritage by, for example, questioning the linear model of time so inherent in it. These findings should sensitise the researcher to value-regime precursors both on an institutional and discursive level.

Critical Heritage Studies therefore presents a dichotomous approach to analysing the dynamics between heritage regimes' operations, the official UNESCO listing process, and their repercussions at the local level: they are either oppressive interventions that disrupt or even dismantle local grassroots cultural initiatives and social life, or they are narratives emphasising local actors' agency in challenging and subverting regime operations. One way to depart from this binary approach is with the concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, wherein the worldmaking power of heritage regimes and the sensemaking projects of local actors are interrelated in complex ways.

4.1.3 Cultural Heritage Between Roots and Routes

Even though Critical Heritage Studies leave behind an understanding of heritage's value as being intrinsic to objects, they agree that its construction is bound to place-making processes – of rootedness – and that nation-states as actors and 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2016) remain important in the field. Michael Dylan Foster (2015) as well as John Schofield and Rosy Szymanski (2010) point to the importance of the local in UNESCO discourse around intangible heritage. Sibylle Frank (2009:1 49) defines heritage as a process that localises a constructed and collectively negotiated past in places. Berger et al. point out that even though, in reality, strong transnational links always existed between national elites involved in the construction of national heritages, it still also remained 'often intensely vernacular and local' (2020: 325). Kristin Kuutma points to the similarly ambiguous nature of heritage as often being related to claims of 'fixed identity' (2013: 10). Hafstein (2012) states that heritage provides a sense of place and belonging on a diachronic level, while simultaneously also often being mentioned in relation to active verbs that denote change, such as to mobilise or to reshape. The rootedness of heritage-making in places understood in territorialised terms implies the West is central in constructions and understandings of cultural heritage. In this context, the connection of heritage to place is also critically recalled to underline the dominance of some places (Europe)

over others (Asia, Africa) as places of enunciation and contrasted with the 'desire to undo and "pluriversalitise" interpretative principles' (Ugwuanyi 2021: 358). Moreover, Dellios and Henrich (2020: 8) note that heritage studies scholars, often trained archaeologists or geographers, tend to privilege spatial applications of the concept over temporal ones.

Many scholars discuss heritage as being bound to the nation-state, which influences its meanings (Ang 2011; Gnecco 2015; Graham 2002; Hall 1999). However, some of these contributions were written before the paradigm shift from seemingly homogenous nation-states to culturally diverse nations; since then, ethnic groups within states have become more dominant. Others do justice to the ongoing importance of nation-states despite the supposed postnational paradigm shift. By now, ethnic groups seem to be the most important bearer of cultural heritage in policies and research alike, even though this is rarely made explicit. Instead, notions of migrant, multicultural, and diasporic heritage dominate Critical Heritage Studies research in this context.

Critical Heritage Studies is deeply committed to pointing towards power relations in heritage-making processes, and many proponents are therefore taking the perspective of those marginalised and excluded from dominant heritage regimes, doing research 'outside-in', as Ashley and Frank (2016:501) call it. In this context, migration has led to many studies combining migration and minority studies with Critical Heritage Studies. They show how the actual presence of migrants and global flows of migration challenge both the dominant imagination of heritage being rooted in place and the dominant status of nation-states as homogenous, as well as dominant ideas on the multicultural nation-state.

Stuart Hall (1999) is an early and often quoted theorist who, when speaking to heritage professionals from British cultural institutions, underlines the active but silenced role that postcolonial and other migrant populations always had in constructing British national heritage. Antonia Noussia (2003) takes a similar perspective, focusing not on national heritage but on other local heritages, and Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (2005), in an edited volume, explore the role of 'race' in British national heritage. It is no accident that such research focuses on the British state, with its solid decolonial movements and cultural studies tradition.

Other scholars taking a more affirmative stance show the importance of cultural heritage for migrants in countries of arrival and host societies. A crisis of continuity is involved in the process of leaving and arriving elsewhere (Gergova et al. 2017: 81; Giglitto, Ciolfi, and Bosswick 2022: 77). Countries of origin also play an active role in managing their emigrants' cultural practices and heritage, as Christopher Cheng and Hiu Ling Chang (2016) showed for the case of China, Sonja Gsir and Elsa Mescoli (2015) for migration within Europe, and Laurence Gouriévidis (2016) for emigration out of Scotland.

Focusing on heritage institutions like museums, Critical Heritage Studies shows and criticises how migration and migrants are represented and included in immigration museums and thematic heritage projects (Arokiasamy 2012; Naguib 2013; Smith 2017), as well as in public heritage places like the Mariannenplatz in Berlin (Stapel 2015). It is in this context of looking at how nation-states diversify their national heritage narratives to include minority positions that the notion of multicultural heritage comes up in research. If addressed, it is mostly in two ways: First, multicultural heritage is shown to be a mere trope of such narratives (Dellios 2015: 1081; Leung 2006: 172), leading to superficial inclusion of diverse heritages on the level of folklore (Arokiasamy 2012; Gnecco 2015; Leung 2006; Nikielska-Sekula 2016). Second, multicultural heritage is sometimes addressed as a utopian ideal yet to be actualised in socially just ways (Ashworth 2007: 21; Gnecco 2015: 269).

What all research on migrant and multicultural heritage introduced so far has in common is that it implicitly or explicitly researches heritage from a national framework. There is another vibrant strand of research in Critical Heritage Studies on migration that expressly rejects the 'methodological nationalism' of such frameworks (Berger et al. 2020; Byrne 2002; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), which tend to reduce the process of migration to moments of settlement and arrival. These scholars advocate transnationality, deterritorialisation, and multilocality (Byrne 2023; Dellios, 2015). They do research in both sending and receiving countries (Amescua 2013; Cheng et al. 2014). Ashley and Frank (2016) edited a special issue that focused on the impact of experiences of transcontinental mobility on countries of origin or settlement. Denis Byrnes (2023) developed the concept of heritage corridors to describe the transnational simultaneity of heritage-making in migration experiences. Salzbrunn (2015) has taken up the town and neighbourhood scale in migration research and transferred it to her study of heritage festivals in Switzerland. Colomer (2017) and Byrne (2023) have underlined that the role of mobility in heritage-making in migration should be seen not as a moment before renewed settlement but as a constant way of life for mobile subjects. While mobility is limited to its form of international migration, different kinds of mobility, some unrelated to international migration, do play just as much a role in heritage-making as this book will show.

It is the notion of diasporic heritage which most explicitly conceptualises heritage as both the setting of 'roots' and the coming to terms with 'routes'. This formulation engages the probably most used metaphor to describe diasporic situations and subjects' consciousness in diaspora studies (Gouriévidis 2016: 279). Roots and routes are critical processes of ethnicised heritage-making in the three small north German towns beyond the two cases of Portuguese and Dutch migrants but also involving East Frisian cultural practitioners without migration experience.

Diaspora heritage is also the concept that most explicitly hints towards the relation between dominant national heritage concepts and minority positions. In a

study of Alevi heritage initiatives in Turkey and Germany, Matthew Weineck (2015) describes the becoming of an explicit oppositional diaspora. In an influential paper, Ien Ang (2011: 86) opposes the concept of the diaspora to national heritage, pointing to the tensions involved in applying the concept of heritage to the diaspora due to heritage's nature as an 'essentially territorialized concept.' Ang notes that there is a danger in this conceptual fusion to look at diasporas' moments of settlement rather than moments of unsettlement. Furthermore, she hypothesises that some aspects of the diasporic experience cannot be heritagised. Her discussion ends with the need to work on seriously rethinking heritage from a diasporic standpoint.

Many heritage scholars explicitly engage with concepts and research from migration and diaspora studies. For, example, Martin Wobst (2010) recalls that diasporic understandings of cultural heritage are often more essentialist and stereotypical than imaginations of heritage in the homelands. Karolina Nikielska-Sekula (2016), referring to Rogers Brubaker (2005), focuses on diasporic moments in cultural practices and argues for an understanding of heritage in becoming. Marc Scully (2018) points to diaspora's heterogeneity when trying to find common patterns in diasporic heritage-making. In doing so, Scully explicitly references the work of Pnina Werbner on diasporas. Werbner researched, among others, the Pakistani diaspora in the UK and underlines their appearance as a bounded community situated in specific moments in time, some of whom are connected to cultural translocation processes (Werbner 2005). Moreover, she argues for the existence of a non-elitist, vernacular form of cosmopolitanism (Werbner 1999).

The diasporic and migration heritage concepts fit only two of the three small towns in my research. At the same time, the idea of ethnic heritage as argued above is not explicitly developed in heritage studies and is often taken for granted. In leaving open the role of both migration and ethnicisation in the (e)valuation processes of the three towns' cultural endeavours, I do justice to the constructed nature of ethnicity that never exists 'in itself' but always ever 'for itself' as a dependent variable (Bös 2015: 138).

In summary, Heritage scholars increasingly engage with the dynamic phenomenon of 'heritages on the move' within migration processes, challenging traditional notions of heritage tied solely to the nation-state, place-making, and rootedness. Instead, they advocate for reconceptualising heritage that encompasses the fluidity of mobile lives and routes, thereby framing heritage within transnationality, deterritorialisation, and multilocality.

4.2 Cultural Diversity and Migration in Small Towns – Between the Rural and the Urban

My research makes a significant empirical contribution to the study of cultural diversity and migration within small towns. I extend the scope of inquiry to include ethnic and migrant minorities, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and East Frisian populations, in small-town settings. Adopting a novel perspective, I bridge the independent research agenda of small-town research with the influential research conducted on migration to small-scale towns within transnational mobility studies, as proposed by scholars such as Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar (2009) or Janin Dahinden and Emmanuel Charmillot (2022). This approach sheds light on processes beyond viewing migration solely as a demographic or economic phenomenon or a challenge to social cohesion.

The key findings of my study address several aspects of the research agenda: they contribute to the broader understanding of small-town dynamics as places of *'limited diversity'* (Nell 2022:30) in pluralised societies (4.2.1), elucidate the specificities of cultural life within small-town pluralised societies (4.2.2), and provide nuanced insights into the cultural visibility of migrant and ethnic minorities within three northern German small towns, along with the sensemaking processes of local actors (4.2.3.). Building on this, I recommend, in line with scholars like Tim Leibert (2021:202), that the field of small-town research engage with the new mobilities paradigm.

Furthermore, my research addresses a significant gap in migration sociology, which has predominantly focused on urban and metropolitan centres while neglecting provincial or small-town arenas. To study small-scale settings as places also minimises an ethnic lens often so prevalent in migration sociology.

4.2.1 Small-Town Research as an Independent Research Agenda

In the early 2000s, urban theorists began to criticise the field's focus on global and metropolitan towns, leaving small- and mid-sized towns unexamined (Bell and Jayne 2006, 2009; Ofori-Amoah 2006). Importantly, they underlined the need to examine these areas not as smaller versions of big towns or simply as part of rural areas but as separate types of settlements with the potential for having specific socio-economic and cultural dynamics. Small-town research has gained momentum in the European Union, with research projects such as the Espon Town Project (Atkinson 2019) or the European Commission of Regions focusing on the integration of migrants (Gauci 2020). This development in the European context relates to the increasing significance of the idea of a Europe of regions in times of globalisation (Kolb 2007: 70). More than 50 percent of people in Europe live in small and mid-sized towns, which makes them the most common form of urban life. In

Germany, 30 percent of people live in small towns, that is, between 5000 and 20.000 inhabitants (Timpe 2023).

Twenty years after these first research initiatives, 'Kleinstadtforschung' (small-town research) as a separate research agenda is being developed by researchers and urban planners in Germany, often funded or initiated by the national government (Vennemann 2022). The field traces its roots back to different waves of sociological 'Gemeindeforschung' (community research) in small-town settings in Germany from the 1950s on (Herrenknecht and Wohlfarth 2005a; Kreichauf 2012). Importantly, rather than a real gap in research in small-town settings, there is shown to be a gap in attention and reception of research in/on small towns. While Wolfgang Herrenknecht and Jürgen Wohlfarth (2005) published an extensive bibliography of such research in Germany since the 1950s, my own preliminary research on the specific topic of migration and ethnicity in small towns hints towards a similar gap of attention, rather than a research gap.

This attention gap necessarily makes any literature review of small-town research incomplete. While it is possible to give an overview of culture, cultural policy and migration and ethnicity in small-town research, much of the research on small-town settings is empirical rather than theoretical (Robinson 2002: 549).

Urban theory has long focused on big cities and, as Robinson points out, on Western cities. The 'world towns' approach leads to urban theory seemingly being unlocated while also permeated by a Eurocentric view from the Global North (Robinson 2002: 531). David Bell and Mark Jayne add that this view from the Global North is even more limited as it only includes those big cities on top of a globally uneven hierarchy of towns. In a paradigmatic sense, they urge researchers and planners to 'think big about thinking small', and for urban theory and not to be 'wowed by the spectacular' (Bell and Jayne 2006: 5). Small towns do work in this global and neoliberal urban hierarchy. They are global and local as much as any other town or city. Building on this, John Bryson et al. (2021) point to the extraordinary geography of ordinary towns.

Research on small towns often frames such places in either a deficit-oriented view (Hannemann 2004) or as essential places with the potential to strengthen a surrounding rural economy (Steinführer et al. 2021). In both cases, small towns are not seen as separate settlement types but are positioned in opposition to big towns or peripheral villages (Steinführer 2021). What defines a small town is under debate in the field of small-town research. The most often and most institutionalised categorisation is by size. In official German administrative terms, even today small towns are defined as having 5000 to 20.000 inhabitants, a category used in statistics since the end of the 19th century. Due to urbanisation and urban growth processes, scholars like Herrenknecht and Wohlfarth (2005b: 59) consider small towns instead as settlements of 20.000 to 50.00 people, which makes all three case studies located in small towns. Other points of definition for small towns are town profiles, centrality or so-

cio-demographic characteristics, for example they are shrinking or growing (Timpe 2023). Among small-town researchers, there is a consensus to go beyond size and economic growth to define what a small town is and to consider the heterogeneity of this type of settlement (Bell and Jayne 2006; Mayer and Lazzeroni 2022; Steinführer 2021; Timpe 2023). In the German context, two types of small towns are broadly distinguished: those in the surrounding areas of metropolitan towns and those serving as important infrastructural and cultural centres in the surrounding peripheral area. Moreover, there are attempts to positively define small towns independently from other types of settlements. Anett Steinführer et al. (2016: 327) propose several structural features of small towns as either analytical or lifeworld related:

- smallness / reasonable size;
- persistence of historic urban fabric / identity of being an urban dweller;
- centrality / proximity to the open landscape;
- formal town status / symbolic relevance of urban history and town status;
- functional specialisation (residential, spa, industrial) / limited amount of opportunities for advancement;
- specific social capital / social proximity and safety in contrast to the perception of the town;
- a high share of long-established home occupiers / emotional bonds to place.

Rurality and urbanity should also be integrated as perspectives in small-town research (Steinführer 2021). The two are often seen as a dichotomy in scientific research, with small towns in between. However, rurality and urbanity should be seen as poles on a continuum, since the congruency of a place/territory with culture/lifestyle dissolves in modern societies (Bell 2010; Steinführer 2021) and places are socially constructed. Louis Wirth (1938) argued that urban lifestyles are not limited to towns. Herbert Gans (1996) later radically questioned whether it made sense to take towns as an independent subject of research. Nevertheless, the rural-urban continuum is vital to how people define the situation of and self-positioning in small towns. In the German context, small towns are most often constructed as belonging to the rural sphere or as 'places lacking urbanness' rather than as places for the construction of other and alternative forms of urbanity (Steinführer et al. 2021: 11).

Images of whiteness, traditions, homogeneity, and backwardness prevail in small towns' social and cultural imagination (Nell 2022: 37). Small-town researchers oppose this view with exposing the actual heterogeneity and diversity of life in small towns. They have long been modern, it is claimed, as processes of globalisation and mobility do not stop at town borders, and the multicultural reality clashes with common cultural imaginations. Small towns therefore challenge such cultural and national imaginations and have the potential to create room for more inclusive

views of peripheral spaces (Radford 2016). In an edited volume on 'post-traditional forms of communisation', Franz Liebl and Claudia Nicolai (2009, my translation) show how leisure associations that seem traditional for rural areas are much more post-traditional in how they actually function (e.g., regarding a growing differentiation in terms of scenes and the associational ecology or voluntary and free chosen membership in associations). Janin Dahinden (2009: 1383) points out that in her small-town research experience, all participants thought of themselves as having a culture and sometimes ethnicity, which also speaks to a globalised and modern subjectivation. Although small-town socio-cultural diversity in Germany is demonstrably increasing (Steinführer et al. 2021), it is rarely explicitly researched (except Kolb 2007). In an essay on small towns being situated 'between "organised" and "incomplete" modernity', Werner Nell argues that from a cultural studies perspective, small towns have to be understood as 'a field of action and place of negotiation of (civically) limited diversity.' (2022: 30, my translation). They are, Nell claims, characterised by an attractive but also limiting mixture of differentiation and stability, diversity and restriction. In international debates, concepts such as rural cosmopolitanism (McAreavey and Argent 2018), rural multiculturalism (Alam and Nel 2022; Krifors 2022), or translocal ruralism (Hedberg and do Carmo 2012) are sometimes developed in or applied to small-town research.

Much small-town research revolves either around demographic factors (e.g., immigration and emigration or ageing populations), with a simultaneous lack of valid statistical data, or around questions of economic development (e.g., economic growth, gentrification, positionality in the global market) (Steinführer et al. 2021; Ülker 2022; Wagner and Growe 2021). This leaves a desideratum of research on mobility, multilocality, citizenship, or sense of place about small towns, specifically in terms of theoretically 'thinking from' such places.

4.2.2 Small-Town Research on Culture and Cultural Policy

As we have seen cultural policy trends in small towns mirror more global cultural policy discourses. Generally, there is a tendency to view cultural policy not as the planning of culture but as a broader cultural approach to planning, that is, expressed in the concept of an 'economy of culture', wherein cultural policy expands into the socio-economic sphere (Barrado-Timón, Palacios, and Hidalgo-Giralt 2020; Cruickshank 2018). The English-speaking Global North, for example, has made an observable turn to community-led development and governance (Edwards, Goodwin, and Woods 2003; Grossmann and Mallach 2021; Theodos, González, and Hariharan 2021). These culture-led policy approaches are increasingly adopted by municipal governments, introducing new developments to local cultural policy (Lysgård 2016).

Bell and Jayne point out that, by definition, culture is still solely associated with big-town life, while small towns are marked by 'something less' (2006:12). Michael Fehn (2005) also states that often, there is no critical mass of local elite demanding cultural events. Culture in small towns tends to be seen as conservative and traditional, which can be a source of conflict over change but often is re-packaged as a marketing strategy (Bell and Jayne 2006: 11). The current aim of cultural policymakers is not to adjust to a national and metropolitan mainstream but to focus on endogenous potential and outstanding heritage, such as local monuments and town history. These latter movements can also be seen as a response to town planning focused on economic development alone (Kolb 2007: 63). The scarce research that explicitly addresses cultural heritage in small towns privileges the role of material heritage preservation for declining or degrading towns (cf. Klusáková and del Espino Hidalgo 2021). An article by Salzbrunn (2015), analyses local neighbourhood dynamics following the taking up of a vocabulary of heritage by the government of a Swiss city.

Anette Kolb (2007) argues that culture in small towns, if popular and leisure forms are included, is much less backwards than the dominant cultural imaginations seem to imply. Kolb suggests that in the German case cultural policies were necessary for small towns' modernisation, which was driven primarily by the influx of companies and their highly qualified workers, as well as an active cultural policy. High cultural institutions, festivals, and town celebrations are a regular part of small-town arenas (ibid.). Of course, small towns' financial and infrastructural resources are much less than big(er) towns. The Epson town research project concluded that policy resources, recognition, and support from higher-scale organisations such as the EU can never be distributed to all small towns, which is why hierarchy and competition are necessary (Servillo, Atkinson, and Hamdouch 2017).

A perspective on economic growth and processes of economic restructuring dominates much research on culture and cultural policy in small towns. Studies understand culture-led regeneration policies and the propagation of creative industries for economic growth as being adjusted to the small-town context, where corporate interests in culture and cultural heritage are often absent (Bell and Jayne 2009; Cruickshank 2018). The focus on local cultural policy is historically more participatory and communal rather than being focused on fine art and cultural capital (Lysgård 2019). Other studies focused on branding strategies (Neo and Pow 2015), public and semi-public events for the boosting of local retail (Hilpert and Merz 2020) or difficulties in the cultural development of town centres (Herrenknecht and Wohlfarth 2005b), cultural tourism (Mayer and Lazzeroni 2022) or the overall cultural political economy of small towns (Lorentzen and van Heur 2012). Çağlar (2007) compares the nomination for the European Capital of Culture of a German town and a small Turkish town; both focusing their nomination on cultural

diversity due to migrant populations and town incorporation. Çağlar found that their success in converting culture into an (economic) resource is not dependent on sophisticated marketing strategies, nor the town's demographic composition, but on their positioning within global capital flows and globally uneven hierarchies of development.

The most important finding for this study is the extraordinary role that limited associational ecology (and other 'third-sector' actors) and social proximity play in reproducing small-town cultural life. While there is a limited number of cultural milieus in relation to big towns that characterise the picture of small-town culture (Hannemann 2004), existing structures primarily based on leisure and volunteer associations, large organisations, such as the church, and local businesses all play an essential role in the field (Götzky 2013; Kolb 2007).

Local festivals are another characteristic part of small-town cultural life. Some research that does not explicitly focus on cultural policy shows that there are 'short distances' between different municipal, entrepreneurial, or volunteer actors in small-town arenas, underlining the relatively high role of single central people (Semprebon, Marzorati, and Bonizzoni 2023). In researching four small Norwegian towns' cultural policies, Hans Kjetil Lysgård (2019) points out that the objective of local cultural policy is to directly increase its inhabitants' social rather than cultural capital. In cities, cultural capital is typically assembled by witnessing culture as produced in professional institutions, such as museums or theatres to, thereby, enhance social capital. In rural places, to participate in the (folk) cultural arena is to directly engage in communitarian social interactions and enhance social capital and social cohesion. In this context, amateur choirs and theatre groups, local sports associations, and different idealistic/political associations become pillars of local cultural activity (ibid: 13). Accordingly, small-town cultural policy materialises not as spectacular cultural palaces but as participatory arenas. Lysgård describes this as one of three highly relevant localised policy and knowledge regimes in a situation of policy mobility from global to local, grasping this mobility with the help of assemblage theory. Assemblage theory is an innovative approach combining the study of global cultural policy discourse, cultural policy and cultural activity as realised locally. His approach may be the closest I have found to my conception of Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

Small-town research underscores the alignment of cultural policy trends in small towns and regions with broader global discourses. No longer conceived solely as planning cultural activities, cultural policy is rather a comprehensive approach that integrates culture into broader policies to foster political and economic development. Despite this, small towns are often perceived as lacking cultural vibrancy compared to larger towns and are sometimes considered conservative and traditional. However, small-town research seeks to transcend deficit-oriented views and embrace a cultural understanding that transcends a focus on the cultural scene of

bigger cities, comprising of theatre and museums alone. This includes acknowledging the significance of popular and leisure culture in small towns and recognising that cultural policy in these contexts extends beyond establishing cultural institutions to encompass the creation of participatory arenas, as scholars like Kolb (2007) and Lysgård (2019) emphasise.

4.2.3 Small-Town Research on Migration and Ethnicity

Research on migration and ethnicity starts from and ends with urban centres. This is true internationally, but even more so in the German-language context, with often only the biggest urban areas such as Berlin, Munich, or Frankfurt am Main the site of study. This leaves the majority of Germany as an under-researched and under-theorised immigration country. At the same time, while empirical research on migration has been conducted internationally in rural areas, including small towns, only a tiny part explicitly addresses scale and town size questions as an essential context. There is also need to focus on research that expressly starts from the insight that locality and the size of migrants' places of arrival and origin do matter for processes of incorporation of migrants and of membership formation (Morén-Alegret 2008: 549). What little research there is on ethnic minorities and ethnic membership in small towns is presented here.

Two kinds of immigration have historically dominated migration to small towns in western Germany. First, the recruitment of workers from Southern Europe and Yugoslavia between the 1950s and 1970s and the additional arrival of their family members in the 1970s (Kreichauf 2012: 12). Second, the immigration of civil war refugees, asylum seekers from the post-soviet countries in the 1990s, and Syrian refugees in 2015. Migrants often do not voluntarily choose to move to small towns but are driven there by nationwide dispersal politics that dictate the initial location and settlement of migrants with neither the migrant nor the places of settlement having a choice to contradict. Migration to small towns is still increasing nowadays (Kreichauf 2023). When it comes to research on immigration to rural areas (where small towns are often included), a boom can be seen after the so-called 'summer of migration' in 2015 (Alisch et al. 2022; Schammann, Younso, and Meschter 2020). Moreover, there is research on the effect of international migration to rural and peripheral places with hitherto little such experiences taking place under the concept of New Immigration Destinations (Erel 2011; McAreavey and Argent 2018). Less research focuses on the diversity of membership formation in small towns beyond such new or recent immigration movements.

As in small-town research in general, demographic and economic perspectives dominate research on migration (Alam and Nel 2022; van Breugel 2020; Gauci 2020). Annegret Boos-Krüger (2007) and René Kreichauf (2012) conducted research in Germany and show that ethnic segregation on neighbourhood levels does exist in small-

size settings but in different and less stark ways. A strand of research focuses on migration governance in small towns, often associated with 'integration' and integration policies in the German context. Kreichauf (2023) argues that dispersal policies on the national level leave many small towns as only temporary destinations for migrants, as 'places of containment, waiting zones and transit sites', or even 'dumping grounds' (Kreichauf 2023: 351). Peripheral areas on the one hand legitimise dispersal policies as places with space to live in. On the other hand, these policies further peripheralise towns, because immigration there has a relatively bigger effect on the local socio-economic fabric, which is rarely adequately backed up by financial help from the nation-state level of governance. This might be why some research focuses on motives for migrants to stay in rural and small-town settings more long term in order to structurally adjust (Nadler 2012; Nguyen 2020; Rühmling 2023). In 1996, Michael Bommes and Frank-Olaf Radtke analysed the different kinds of immigrant groups that municipal governments face. They show how the reaction to immigration is discursively constructed as a technical problem of the welfare state or a semantic problem of cultural integration and multiculturalism. In practice, politics is dominated mainly by political pragmatism (Bommes and Radtke 1996: 82). Heiko Geiling et al. (2011) underline the heterogeneity of Turkish immigrants and immigrants from the former Soviet Union in their milieu study of Lower Saxony. In 2023, Michela Semprebon et al. started to study the third-sector organisational ecology of small towns and their effect on local governance. They state that there is limited associational heterogeneity to be found, and smallness does not always entail increased inclusivity. Still, it is relatively easy for third-sector actors to access other public and municipal actors.

Short distances between state and civil society actors are also found by Monika Alisch et al. (2022: 155) in a study on spaces for encounters with inhabitants and newcomers in German municipalities. Associations are often discussed as an essential element in small-town membership formation. In the German context, this is most often discussed in the context of heightened social proximity in small-scale settings. Gudrun Kirchoff and Claudia Bolte (2014), for example, underline the importance of civil society actors in the form of large organisations such as church welfare organisations or volunteer associations for migrant integration. Alisch et al. (2022: 162) show that there are fewer social publics for migrants in small towns precisely because much discourse is limited to the care and support of new town members. Paola Bonnizzoni and Roberta Marzorati (2015: 14) mention that issues such as gossip and social control are often more strongly perceived in small-town settings. Martin Åberg and Ann-Kristin Högman (2015) studied the role of civil society in Swedish mall towns and find high numbers of civil and political engagement among migrants that had not been previously noted. However, this engagement generally gets little government support and often takes the form of religious associations. They also find that the permeability of boundaries to dominant Swedish culture is higher in

small towns, and there is less ethnic segregation, so transnational ties are important to migrants (ibid: 199).

The role of associations and migrant and ethnic self-organising is also an essential point in research that bridges transnational migration research and urban theory. This strand of research, established by Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009: 190), which approaches space and place as socially constructed and therefore not strictly territorialised, is not yet established in German small-town research, a bridge that I aim to build with my research. Glick Schiller and Çağlar criticise migration studies' focus on metropolitan areas and argue for the need to theorise locality and place-making in migration research. They build on urban theory, theorising scale and showing the globally uneven but interconnected capitalist developments of towns of different scales. Moreover, starting from the town as context is an opportunity to overcome the ethnic lens of migration research, which creates from, and therefore reiterates, a specific group of people as research subjects. A focus on global capital and spatial contexts is also an attempt to go beyond the methodological nationalism of migration research (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009: 197). It is important to note that what they call small-size cities are cities, not towns in the German statistical sense, which is a witness not only to the definitional challenges of small towns as discussed above but also to the dominance of global cities in migration research.

Glick Schiller and Çağlar ethnographically studied a number of non-metropolitan cities to explore multiple pathways of local and transnational incorporation, including familial, non-ethnically organised businesses, friendships, and charitable and religious networks. They find that ethnic pathways of incorporation are less viable in small-scale settings because often there are fewer ethnic concentrations as well as fewer or no ethnically organised social services, political funds, or constituents to sustain ethnic organisations (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009: 195).

Bonizzoni and Marzorati (2015) also studied incorporation processes in small towns in Italy and argue that both ethnic and non-ethnic pathways of incorporation do exist, dependent on the degree of social relationships and claims to common culture or descent. Small towns are more hostile grounds for migrant self-organisation, and their incorporation is more dependent on non-ethnic organisations and support. Juan Carlos Carrero de Salazar (2008) researched the political mobilisation of migrants in small towns and finds that if migrant organisations exist in this context, they are most often not located in the immediate local context. Amandine Desille et al. (2023) build on Glick Schiller and Çağlar's claim to counter the effect of towns turning into self-contained spaces, such as nations used to be, precisely as happens in governance-oriented research on migration. They argue that what is local might as well be national and global at the same time and, therefore, address the role of locality as simultaneously an international socio-spatial process. Krzysztof Jaskulowski (2020) takes up this strand of migration research, specifically focusing on the particularities of urban sociabilities in two semi-industrial Pol-

ish towns, focusing on middling migrants as a subcategory of highly skilled migrants. He finds that migrant sociabilities are not organised along ethnic lines due to a lack of salience in ethnic networks and instead take place in everyday places such as kindergarten or workplaces and are shaped by class as a factor of differentiation rather than by ethnicity.

Dahinden (2009: 1383), a transnational scholar who studies small towns, takes an approach very close to Glick Schiller and Çağlar. She shows that ethnic socialisation does play a role in small towns, but mainly in the form of the nation-state. Against the diagnosis of postnational processes, the nation-state possesses a considerable role in infecting hetero- and auto-identification processes. In a later study with Charmillot (2022), Dahinden shows how a small town and immigrant destination in Switzerland is continually peripheralised as an imagined community by the symbolic boundaries drawn by its inhabitants. Those boundaries are characterised by socio-economic rather than nation- or ethnicity-based markers. They depend on the specific place as much as its position in the global economy. The authors, therefore, call for the de-migrantisation of research. They, instead, study the role of mobility beyond migration in place-making, as they look at 'those who live and pass through the place' (Charmillot and Dahinden 2022: 369). Charlotta Hedberg and Renato Miguel do Carmo (2012), who employ the term 'translocal ruralism', also moved towards the mobility paradigm in migration research of small towns. In the German context, Leibert (2021) calls for integrating the mobility paradigm in German small-town research, not because he refers to a transnational mobility studies approach but because he wants to put into the focus of research the phenomenon of rural staying, meaning those immigrants that decide to stay in a town. All in all, the move from migration to more forms of mobility and on different types of migrants in research is an increase of differentiation in this strand of research, which has shown its innovative and likely development, if not yet in Germany, then in the English-speaking context.

Small-town research on migration to small towns has addressed various issues, including governance of migration policies, segregation, factors influencing migrants' decisions to stay or leave, and migrant participation in local politics. However, this research often implicitly conceptualises small towns from a functional perspective, implying an understanding of them as territorialised places.

Conversely, transnational studies view small-scale towns as socially constructed entities rather than strictly territorialised spaces. This perspective enables an understanding of how small towns and ethnicised cultural endeavours within them are situated within and influenced by transnational spaces and national and global power dynamics, including the impact of boundaries between majority and minority groups.

To approach cultural heritage as a social process of valuation as practised in Critical Heritage Studies, no longer leaves experts or global institutions such as UN-

ESCO to decide what is or is not to be valued as heritage, but focusses on negotiations around such constructions in specific settings. The theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations is developed in order to empirically and analytically get a grip on these settings, wherein small towns serve as arenas to negotiations around processes of the (e)valuation of culture.

Part II: Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a Hands-on Model to Study Pluralised Heritagisation

The supposed homogeneity and lack in diversity of small towns have been questioned by researchers from the field of small-town research and transnational mobility scholars. Small towns are, in fact, embedded in global space and shaped by forms of mobility, whether as international migration or residential mobilities, though in ways that might be different from bigger cities. Bryson et al. (2021) call to study the 'extraordinary geography of ordinary towns' as an under-researched site of globalisation and mobility as well as places of cultural diversity. As opposed to more densely populated areas and metropolitan areas, culture in small towns tends to be self-organised and not dominated by a cultural institutional landscape of theatres and museums. Political participation is, similarly, often deeply entrenched within everyday social life and less institutionalised, with individuals using the short ways between different relevant actors such as the municipality, local associations and political parties. Just as all spaces, small towns are shaped by forms of government regulation and policy regimes and co-constructed by the agency and imaginations of its inhabitants. They are socially constructed, rather than territorial spaces. Cultural diversity, as for example represented in ethnicised cultural festivals and associations in small towns, often reproduces national cultural repertoires in ways that might surprise migration scholars focusing on big cities. This does not mean, though, that processes of ethnicisation do not at times also resist the nation and question dominant majority culture.

Ethnicised Heritage Situations, a middle-range theory developed in this study, is a holistic analytical framework that allows for such study of small-town cultural diversity and processes of heritagisation therein. On the one hand, cultural heritage functions as a form of governance in regimes. On the other hand, heritagisation is a social process taking the form of everyday (e)valuations and categorisations in the small-town residents' lives whenever they employ (e)valuation criteria akin to a cultural heritage repertoire.

Ethnicised Heritage Situations encompass the analysis of these two theoretical nodes that have to be imagined as two sides of a continuum of processes of (e)vlauation. Heritage regimes operate as worldmaking aspects of heritagisation in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, and everyday (e)valuations operate as its sensemaking aspects. The two perspectives are theoretically enriched by repertoire theory approaches in sociology and the study of heritage regimes in Critical Heritage Studies (chapters 5.2 and 5.3).

The sociological approach to the analysis of situations that makes it possible to study both aspects simultaneously and in their interaction is centrally shaped by Situational Analysis as developed by Adele Clarke. This pragmatist, post-structuralist, and feminist version of grounded theory methodology is, as Clarke herself is keen to point out, more than a method (although it is also that) and more than a methodology (it is also that). Instead, she describes SA as a research programme composed of a 'theory-method package' (Clarke et al. 2018: 15), signifying that epistemology and ontology are 'joined at the hip' (Clarke 2005: 15).

In Situational Analysis, the definition of the situation is different from more classical sociological understandings, where the situation is an empirically observable face-to-face moment to be reconstructed according to the definition of the situation of people observed in the field. Instead, in Situational Analysis, the definition of the situation and its boundaries are defined by the researcher in the research process, that, therefore, needs to be centrally shaped by the researcher's reflexivity.

All things often considered in classical sociological approaches as context to concrete research situations, such as discourses and constructions of collective actors, organisational elements, non-human elements, the local and the global, and so on, in Situational Analysis form specific relations within the situation of research. In Clarke's words:

> To clarify, in SA, a situation is not merely a moment in time, a narrow spatial or temporal unit or a brief encounter or event (or at least rarely so). Instead, it usually involves a somewhat enduring arrangement or relations among many different kinds and categories of elements that have its own ecology. (2018:17)

The concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations entails and is built upon Clarke's understanding of the situation (chapter 5.4) as is the overall methodological approach of analysis in this study (chapter 6).

Ethnicised Heritage Situations also shares many commonalities with the Critical Heritage Studies field and the perspective of Laurajane Smith (2006), whose foundational text in the field situates heritage not as being passively received from the past or solely about a consensus version of history implemented by state regulation. Rather 'heritage may also be a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups' (Smith 2006: 4).

Ethnicised Heritage Situations recognises the agency of individuals, as conceptualised by the approach of repertoires of evaluation (Lamont and Thévenot 2000). It departs from a focus on the active, mindful, and therefore strategic and intentional use of cultural heritage by individuals and collective actors. By assuming that all cultural endeavours in postmodernity entail moments of reflexivity, Ethnicised Heritage Situations questions the metacultural form of heritage and instead conceptualises it on a continuum from everyday forms of (e)valuation to more generalised and institutionalised ones. Cultural heritage is a resource, a repertoire for producing membership and belonging.

5. World- and Sensemaking in the (E)valuation of Cultural Endeavours for Symbolic Boundary Making

The local newspaper in Cuxhaven introduces the annual Fatima procession as a representation of the town's Portuguese guest workers' tarditions. In doing so, it engages in processes of worldmaking, of evaluating the festival by reifying dominant discourses about the Portuguese minority in Germany as one of its so-called guest workers and defining the festival as a cultural heritage of the town. If one, however, participates in said procession, one encounters definitions of the situations quite different from those stated in the newspaper. Individuals' sensemaking that values their volunteer participation in this cultural endeavour shows no sign of connection to a history of work migration in the 1960s, as they only immigrated in the 1990s. People tend to foreground the collective effort of organising the festival as a social event, rather than as a representation of some common tradition. This coexistence of world- and sensemaking in processes of heritagisation is difficult to grasp for approaches from Critical Heritage Studies, which tend to overemphasise either the power of local grassroots sensemaking or of the domination of heritage governance over such sensemaking followed by processes of alienation, and, most importantly, thereby, address the two as opposites. The contribution of the concept of the situation by Situational Analysis as a socoiologial 'theory-method package' (Clarke 2012) gives the conceptual freedom to stay much closer to the complexity of the empirical world in which both world- and sensemaking shape culture and heritagisation in pluralised societies.

To take situations as the main units of empirical analysis also prevents starting an analysis of ethnicised heritages from their supposed bearers, reifying specific communities of migrants or people generally in the analysis. Instead, ethnicisation is but one form of symbolic boundary making that takes place in the (e)valuation of cultural endeavours, understood as a situation in the sociological sense.

Insights and theoretical concepts from the Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation centrally shape this viewpoint (Kjellberg and Mallard 2013; Lamont and Thévenot 2000). Two definitional features of cultural heritage are relevant to my conceptual framework in this context: The supposed metacultural nature of heritage and its form as a situated practice. Both these features lead me to develop

an understanding of cultural heritage as a process and practice of (e)valuation in everyday lifeworlds – sensemaking on the one hand, and of heritage as a process of (e)valuation of already existing orders of worth – worldmaking, on the other hand. Following these insights, I introduce the concepts of heritage regimes and heritage as a repertoire of evaluation as my conceptual framework to study heritage from both angles.

The distinction between heritage as a world- and sensemaking is grounded in the Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation, wherein the focus is set on how (e)valuations come into being as a process, and a distinction is drawn between two types of (e)valuation processes. On the one hand, (e)valuation is a process that is imminent to orders of worth (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006), wherein these are reproduced, and people and objects are classified and put in relation to one another. On the other hand, (e)valuation can also mean that orders of worth are generated first (Krüger and Reinhart 2016:492). Cultural sociologist Lamont (2012:205) takes this distinction and discusses valuation as a practice of *'giving worth or value,'* constructing order, and evaluation, which *'assesses how an entity attains a specific type of worth'*. Here, the world is (e)valuated according to established dominant orders. Hans Kjellberg and Alexandre Mallard (2013:16) were the ones to term the distinction one of world- and sensemaking in the opening editorial of the then-new Journal of Valuation Studies.[1]

Delineating between the sensemaking and worldmaking aspects of heritage is crucial for analysis, as highlighted by two key features in theoretical accounts of the cultural heritage category. Firstly, a consensus within the Critical Heritage Studies field posits that intangible heritage results from metacultural operations (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004). In the initial segment of my argument, I expound upon this perspective and articulate my stance toward a prevalent assertion in Critical Heritage Studies regarding heritage's emergence from metacultural operations. I assert that heritage serves as a metacultural force in worldmaking due to the generalisation and institutionalisation of specific criteria for evaluation within heritage regimes (Bendix et al. 2012). Secondly, I demonstrate that another fundamental characteristic of heritage, namely its status as a situated practice, entails processes of classification and (e)valuation in everyday life, rendering it a force of sensemaking. The concept of repertoires of evaluation (Lamont and Thévenot 2000) is the theoretical perspective I introduce across this type of (e)valuation process.

1 Although I do explicitly distinguish between world- and sensemaking in this thesis, I also consider both processes deeply intertwined. It is for this reason that I write of "(e)valuation".

5.1 Heritage as a Social Process of Worldmaking and Sensemaking

> 'What the heritage protocols do not generally account for is a conscious, reflexive subject. […] Performers are carriers, transmitters and bearers of tradition, terms which connote a passive medium, conduit or vessel, without volition, intention or subjectivity' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004: 58).

The notion of heritage as metacultural is coined by anthropologist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2004), who explains how the UNESCO listing of Intangible Cultural Heritage extends museological values and methods to living persons that it brings into this realm and who, thereby, become metacultural themselves. In this sense, it is quite paradoxical that by preserving heritage as living cultural practice, UNESCO and other heritage institutions fix and musealise them, thereby, creating something new out of what were customary cultural practices or popular culture. Heritage, in this understanding, is culture's second life, a reflexive form of culture, as Ulrich Kockel (2007) writes in his distinction of traditions from heritage. The reflexivity of heritage refers to how heritage interventions change people's relation to their cultural surroundings, where they gain a reflexive, more strategic or instrumental relation to it. This creates a sort of view from the outside; according to anthropologist Valdimar Hafstein, 'the distance this introduces between the subject and itself enables the recognition of the collective subject of cultural heritage: the cultural "we"' (2012: 514).

A minor strand of Critical Heritage Studies scholars convincingly questions the metacultural nature of heritage by arguing that all culture is metacultural in (post)modernity, thereby calling into question the existence of two empirically or analytically separable modes of culture (Bendix 2011: 6; Tauschek 2011; Tschofen 2012). Regina Bendix notes the amount of time that has passed since Kirshenblatt-Gimblett introduced the notion of metacultural mechanisms in the 1990s, a period in which the number of cultural heritage designations has grown immensely:

> Given the density of heritage nominations and the space they occupy on economic and political stages, I argue in favour of no longer attaching a 'meta' to these processes: They are now themselves part of the cultural toolkit and, considering some actual or becoming World Heritage sites, are more important than the intangible cultural heritages, tangible cultural monuments and cultural landscapes themselves that are to be honoured (Bendix 2011: 6, my translation).

Bernhard Tschofen similarly states that doing culture and doing heritage have become almost congruent in the current age: 'Today (and maybe in modernity in general), the 'metacultural' is the usual mode of application.' (2012: 37).

Markus Tauschek (2011: 60) builds on German folklore and ritual studies to make an argument that is less time-diagnostic and more theoretical, namely that first and second-hand cultures are identical. There is no metaculture, Tauschek says, only culture. By this he means that reflexive moments concerning cultural practices prevail in scientific contexts and the doings of people on the ground:[2]

> Reflexive aspects that have been produced through metacultural mechanisms can become habitus again and vice versa. This is the way since the invention of tradition culture as a process works. Reflexive traditions are constantly in the flow, involving reflexive and habitual elements that are constantly rearranged (Tauschek 2011: 56).

Kristin Kuutma (2013: 28) argues that the metacultural is permanently embedded in the cultural. Therefore, the new cultural forms created by metacultural heritage regime operations must be seen as permanently embedded in local culture.

I do not follow the above definitional claims of heritage being metacultural in the sense of a reflexive access to or second life of culture. Instead, it is more useful to look to alternative understandings of heritage's metacultural nature as developed by scholars such as Dorothy Noyes (2015) or Pablo Alonso González (2019). These authors do not consider heritage as a second life of an otherwise authentic culture but as a historically specific form of symbolic accumulation by dispossession:

> By virtue of being hailed into ICH [intangible cultural heritage], cultural forms are transformed into comparable objects. When Prince UNESCO comes calling, the slipper must be made to fit a disappearing local dialect, a vibrant communal festival, a suspect healing ritual, a court dance, a style of mask: phenomena at different scales, differently embedded in social life, different in status and visibility, now become the same kind of thing. (Noyes 2015: 300)

To Noyes, understanding heritage as metacultural and how heritage is addressed in public policy is a process in which the incomparable is made comparable, thereby ascribing a global exchange value. Alonso González (2019: 24) provokingly states that UNESCO acts like a central bank, legalising globally interchangeable heritage and producing new forms of sociality.

The process of cultural heritage listings in heritage regimes and the associated (e)valuation criteria are formalised, even under constant negotiation (Brumann 2018). In this understanding of heritage's metacultural nature as assigning it an

2 The idea of all culture being reflexive can also be found in Niklas Luhman (1999), who analysed the very idea of culture being related to the experience of difference and comparisons, and categorizes the idea of culture as a second-order observation and mode of comparison in modernity.

exchange value, heritage is not a second life or separate reflexive mode of cultural production, but is a specific, powerful generalisation and institutionalisation of what societies consider valuable, an 'outstanding universal value', for example (Schäfer 2016).

Heritage scholar Christoph Brumann (2014b) has already termed elitist and anthropological understandings of culture circulating in UNESCO decision-making processes on heritage listings a process of 'worldmaking'. This term can be usefully theorised for cultural heritage within the Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation, positing such highly institutionalised forms of (e)valuation and their use in the (e)valuation as worldmaking. Heritage regimes (Bendix et al. 2012) are the theoretical concept that are the most helpful in accessing this type of (e)valuation in the research field.

In Critical Heritage Studies, intangible cultural heritage is not merely an officialised system of classification but a continuously and performatively constructed and situated social practice oriented towards the present. This is the second defining feature of cultural heritage: sensemaking.

Tauschek points out that 'what in the context of heritage regimes is called intangible heritage is also performative culture that has very different sociocultural values in and for certain groups.' (2011: 51). Heritage, then, is not primarily about an ordering of the past but about relationships with the present and the future, an active process of assembling objects, places, and practices and a creative engagement with these (Harrison 2013: 4). In other words, it is a process and a value-added or value-laden practice (Ashworth et al. 2007: 3). It is this perspective on heritage as always being situated in practices and practised in situations that makes it a sensemaking force

Tauschek (2011) proposes a 'two-way approach' to studying cultural heritage.[3] He suggests not entirely giving up on the idea of heritage as metacultural operations but being careful to distinguish between concepts (heritage interventions, bureaucratic structures, etc.) that I have described as worldmaking, and content (traditional practices, performances, rituals, etc.) and the relationship between the two as shaped in specific local situations, that I describe as sensemaking.

The equivalent of this understanding of sensemaking in Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation is the practice of giving worth or value (Lamont 2012: 6). This type of (e)valuation in Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation, however, is much less a focus

3 Others do similarly: In an editorial titled "UNESCO on the Ground," Foster invents the notion of 'esocultural' to study how the metacultural intervenes in the cultural: 'what we are trying to unpack is something even tighter, more localized, and more limited—the microcultural or, to coin a term, the esocultural, with the prefix eso- suggesting "within" in contrast to the "above" and "beyond" of meta.' (2015: 146).

of empirical research. Stefan Hirschauer (2017: 9), therefore, proposes that (e)valuation has to be studied more as a range of fundamental social processes (distinguishing, comparing, categorising, classifying, valuing, evaluating) rather than only particular and standardised modes of assessing, such as rankings, dating platforms, or heritage lists.

In organisational sociology, the concept of sensemaking was introduced by Karl Weick (1995) as how people in organisations co-create reality by retrospectively making sense of situations they find themselves in. Andrew Brown et al. describe it as going beyond meaning-making:

> Sensemaking thus involves not merely interpretation and meaning production but the active authoring of the situations in which reflexive actors are embedded and are attempting to comprehend. People engage in partially overlapping processes in which they construct 'realities' and then retrospectively make sense of them in a continuing dialogue of discovery and invention in which identities and social worlds are concomitantly referenced and fabricated. (2015: 267)

Actors orient their sensemaking along the prevalent criteria of the social worlds they live in, and it is bound to situations such as Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Organisational sociology underlines the agency of actors in situations, as does Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation, for example, in the form of Lamont's and Laurent Thévenot's concept of evaluation repertoires as 'elementary grammars that can be available across situations and that preexist individuals, although they are transformed and made salient by individuals' (2000: 5). Such cultural repertoires are actively employed in individuals' sensemaking.

It is important to clarify that sensemaking and worldmaking in (e)valuation processes interact, and the distinction is often merely analytical. They can be studied empirically not as separate practices but as a continuum of levels of generalisation (Nicolae et al. 2019: 14). As Hirschauer states for the processes of Human Differentiation, *Humandifferenzierung*, which describes lingual, physical, and spatial processes of categorising people and leads to reified memberships in societies:

> Thus, discursively disseminated categorisations can be reflected in habitualized language use or vocabularies that guide everyday interactions and group processes. […]. Everyday categories can also be formalised and systematized through expert discourse and become entrenched in statistics, documents, and administrative settlements that normatively endow categories with validity, making them, in turn, the points of reference for interactions. (2017: 12, my translation)

Such perspective on processes of (e)valuation and catgorisation can be made productive in the study of heritage. Cultural heritage then appears as a highly

specialised and standardised mode of (e)valuation and classification that finds its way into and is produced by fundamental social processes in everyday lifeworlds. This is specifically useful in understanding how heritage works in the social. I agree with Benjamin Weineck (2015: 8) that a cultural heritage framework's analytical strength in research is precisely being able to study the connection of heritage regimes and governance with individuals and their strategies of classification via cultural repertoires of (e)valuation.

In this study of three small northern German towns, I gathered data from both ends of the continuum of world- and sensemaking, so to say, by adding the concept of cultural repertoires of evaluation and symbolic boundary making as developed by Lamont next to heritage regimes. Lamont's work can be situated within Sociology of Valuations and Evaluation, which already underpinned the insight in this sub-chapter. This conceptual framework allows me to develop the holistic theoretical model of Ethnisiced Heritage Situations as my project's central object of analysis.

5.2 Heritage as a Cultural Repertoire for the Production of Membership

The non-metacultural aspect of culture, meaning a supposedly non-reflexive and everyday form of doing culture within discourses around intangible heritage has been described as a repertoire in heritage research. The notion has been employed by scholars such as Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2004: 60) and Helmut Anheier and Yudhishthir Raj Isar (2011: 4), who contrast it to notions of archive or repertory, which, in their view, more accurately capture heritage's metacultural essence. Cultural sociologists Lamont and Thévenot, coming from a theoretical tradition of repertoire theory, define repertoires as: 'elementary grammars that can be available across situations and that preexist individuals, although they are transformed and made salient by individuals' (2000: 5). Their concept of 'cultural repertoires of evaluation' does not differentiate between reflexive and non-reflexive forms of employing such repertoires (2000). Different approaches to 'repertoire theory' gained prominence in the 1980s when sociologists sought to understand culture's role in shaping action without deterministic views (Vaisey 2019). Ann Swidler's (1986) article 'Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies' is foundational, proposing that culture acts as a toolkit rather than a set of values directly determining action. [4]

4 The concept has varied origins across fields. Charles Tilly's 'repertoires of contention' describe known methods of opposing public decisions and are often used in social movement research such as by Della Porta (2013). Mark Steinberg (1999) analysed 19th-century English cotton spinners' discursive repertoires. Debates on cultural repertoire theory have been documented in the Comparative and Historical Sociology Section of the American Sociological Association's newsletter (*Comparative & Historical Sociology* 2002). Ilana Friedrich Silber highlighted the lack of a unified front in repertoire theory, noting differences in theoretical issues

Cultural repertoires of evaluation can be used to comprehend how individuals value the ethnically marked cultural production in which they are engaged. The concept can also be used to study how membership and a sense of belonging are produced in these processes of (e)valuation. In researching the three small towns, the concept can be used to explore which criteria of (e)valuation people mobilise constitute a heritage repertoire, as understood through intangible heritage. In essence, heritage repertoire criteria are already accessible in the everyday activities of the town inhabitants I met, and they subtly influence their lives. This sensemaking may exhibit commonalities with the worldmaking of heritage regime institutions and discourses to align with in the future.

5.2.1 Heritage as a Cultural Repertoire of Evaluation

Social groups and individuals use repertoires of (e)valuation in various ways, influenced by the social worlds in which they are engaged. They can potentially transform or shift the repertoires, which, as cultural structures, both enable and constrain individual action. Next to Swidlers' conceptualisation of culture as a 'toolkit' (1986), Lamont's and Thévenot's sociologiy of (e)valuation is also explicitly built upon the work of Luc Boltanski and Thévenot (2006) on orders of justification and Lamont's examination of Pierre Bourdieu's work. However, she approaches the question of how people employ cultural systems of classification in action empirically and inductively by essentially not presupposing the stability of such systems and instead study which classifications and orders actually matter in everyday life. In an interview with Anders Hylmö, Lamont describes that the categorisations people employ differ in different societies and geographical spaces (2019: 168). Americans of the upper middle classes do, for example, embrace a cultural laissez-faire different from more rigid classification systems in France.

'National cultural repertoires of evaluation' are a theoretical tool used for comparative cultural sociology that avoid the culturalist pitfalls of more traditional research on national cultural differences (Lamont and Thévenot 2000: 1). Research on national cultural differences traditionally focused on either the universality of the national idea or on the specificity of its cultural manifestations, such as banal nationalism in everyday life (Bonikowski 2017: 149). Lamont and Thévenot (2000: 1) propose a middle-ground solution to these two poles to make possible a non-essentialist form of comparative research: They combine their analysis of national cultural repertoires with a focus on public conflict around multiculturalism or pluralism, thereby focusing on the often conflictual relation of different criteria of (e)valuation in and across repertoires. Mirroring Swidler's toolkits, these provide cultural

and the inclusion of non-discursive practices. Michele Lamont (2012) linked repertoire theory to frame analysis, national narratives and orders of justification.

tools that are 'unevenly available across situations and national contexts' (Lamont and Thévenot 2000: 1). As Bart Bonikowski states for nationalism research, the main advantage of this assumption is that 'not only is the nation itself [I might add national heritage regimes in my case – D.S.] pervasive and deeply institutionalised, but the same may be true of the range of options available to everyday people for conceptualizing the nation's meaning.' (2017: 164).

In their edited volume, Lamont and Thévenot (2000) present different case studies and reconstruct the saliency of different (e)valuation criteria in the national repertoires of the USA and France. Their analysis of cultural repertoires of evaluation provides structure to these repertoires, identifying the (e)valuation criteria involved in symbolic boundary work. Furthermore, they aim to elucidate when and how individuals draw upon these repertoires to make sense of their everyday lives and to justify their actions.

But while the socio-political power of national repertoires is impactful and persists over time, I agree with Ayelet Banai and Avihu Shoshana (2019: 4) that other repertoires also shape membership formations. This can be in the form of the transnational, such as in global cities or diasporic situations, or in subnational repertoires, in province, region, or district, for example. This study is therefore not only limited to the comparative study of national cultural repertoires but also pays attention to their interrelation with subnational repertoires, such as categories associated with small town repertoires or transnational repertoires, such as heightened in situations of migration.

Applying cultural repertoires of evaluation as a conceptual tool in my research project means taking an inductive empirical approach, which is different from the orders of worth approach by Boltanski and Thévenot (2006). With Lamont (2019: 114), instead of constructing several preliminary criteria of (e)valuation and their associate orders of worth, I look for them in the material 'bottom-up.' Still, global heritage discourse poses some essential hints about what heritage as a repertoire entails, such as approaching cultural heritage with categories of recognition of communities, or economic regional development.

Lamont's and Thévenot's empirical approach to repertoire theory addresses a significant challenge in studying cultural repertoires: the question of their content and inner structure. Many existing repertoire theory approaches struggle to reconcile cultural repertoires' flexibility with the need to establish some organisational principle for these entities (Silber 2003: 432).[5] However, their work provides a solution to this dilemma by empirically delineating criteria of (e)valuation as grammars

5 Silber bemoans that Ann Swidler's toolkit approach provides us with a 'largely unstructured approach, which proposed no internal distinctions or any principle of internal organization that may have guided us, or the actors, in putting some order within their respective "cultural tool-kits".' (Silber 2003: 431).

for social action. The idea of grammars as a sort of inner logic of repertoires, their content, allows me to address some interesting aspects of how the category of heritage functions. It is possible to move beyond mere constructivist understandings of cultural heritage by identifying and analysing the (e)valuation criteria in cultural heritage repertoires. As Birgit Meyer and Mattijs Port (2018 :3) emphasise, heritage's socially constructed nature should be the starting point, not its end point.

5.2.2 Heritage and the Socio-Symbolic Organisation of Difference: Symbolic Boundaries

Research on ethnicised boundary making often assumes that the specific cultural elements chosen to delineate such boundaries are inconsequential, the 'cultural stuff' – so to say – does not matter at all (Barth 1969: 15). But with the concept of heritage as a cultural repertoire that can be ascribed a number of categories of (e)valuation as the inner structure/grammar, the causal significance of culture for symbolic boundary making emerges. One can then ask how cultural heritage shapes and influences processes of ethnicised boundary making as processes of in- and exclusion.

This research studies Ethnicised Heritage Situations. While I have mainly been discussing my approach to the term heritage, I will now illustrate my use of the term ethnicised. To call it ethnicised and not ethnic is deliberate; it underlines the processual nature of ethnic membership formations that are explicitly not understood as primordial or premodern. As Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1975) see it, the word 'ethnicised' is distinctly modern in the context of group membership formation in multicultural societies. Here, the ethnic groups refer to 'minority or marginal subgroups at the edges of society' (Glazer and Moynihan 1975: 5). The equalisation of ethnicised heritage with minority heritage can also be found in Critical Heritage Studies, where ethnic heritages are marginal to and potentially subvert dominant national heritages. Mathias Bös and Antonio Chiesi (2013: 20) point out that most cultures in nation-states are also ethnic. Claire Alexander et al. (2007) show that in dominant national discourses, ideas of culture, community, and nationhood are often conflated. These discourses ascribe abstract versions of community to ethnic minorities, which are challenged by the concrete communities created through personal networks, friends, and family.

The voluminous literature on cultural repertoires often explores how repertoires contribute to establishing or negotiating ethnic and other symbolic boundaries. In an article examining the phenomenology of ethnicity among Mizrahi Jews in three countries, Shoshana and Banai (2019) offer insight into how dominant cultural repertoires influence the lived experience of ethnicity. Their conceptual framework contributes to studies focusing on migration regimes and bureaucratic encounters by highlighting the role of cultural repertoires in shaping individuals' experiences. Drawing on the work of Richard Alba (2005), Banai and Shoshana (2019: 4) dis-

tinguish between solid and weak repertoires wherein the former are 'readymade' and the latter are smaller. Similarly, repertoires can be based on bright, that is, unambiguous, boundaries, or on blurred boundaries, wherein there is a zone for people to locate themselves on either side of the boundary.

In the context of my research on sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, akin to Michael Billig's (1995) concept of 'banal nationalism', ethnic membership is (re)produced in everyday lifeworlds. However, the significance of ethnic identities may vary, and individuals may not always prioritise or emphasise ethnic affiliations (Zifonun and Muller 2010). Additionally, the mere use of ethnic categories in speech by individuals does not necessarily indicate the presence of collective forms of ethnicised subjectivation (Bohnsack and Nohl 2002).

The selection of my cases – Portuguese, Dutch, and East Frisian – demonstrates that ethnicity is not exclusive to ethnic minorities nor is it inherently tied to migration experiences. Ethnicised groups are cultural groups, from a historical perspective, closely related to racialised or nationalised groups (Hall 2017). The idea of a homogenous nation represents a specific form of ethnicised membership formation where 'ethnic features and state authority' (Bös 2005: 20) are melded.

I understand ethnicity as a construction that becomes effective as a 'real fiction', a construction with real consequences (Thomas and Thomas 1928). Following Max Weber (1985), it is central that those involved in an ethnic group have a shared belief in their ancestry. In this sense, ethnicity is never the cause of a specific (collective) action but rather arises (or does not arise) in processes of change and action. Methodologically speaking, ethnicity is always a dependent variable. In Marxian terms, it is never in itself but always only for itself (Bös 2015: 138). Herbert Gans (1979) has coined the concept of 'symbolic ethnicity' to describe how third or fourth-generation US immigrants resort to purely symbolic forms of boundary making without the need to be a part of ethnic cultures or organisations. In the context of East Frisian and Dutch research participants, 'ethnic options' help understand their boundary work. Mary Waters (1990) uses the term to describe that ethnicity for white European descendants in the US is optional and can or cannot be employed from their family histories.

Bös clarifies the relationship between ethnicity and culture in a way that resonates with my research findings on how heritagisation and ethnic boundary work relate in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. While ethnicity is closely intertwined with heritagisation, they are not synonymous:

> Given its reflexive nature, ethnicity is always a cultural phenomenon, but ethnicity is not the same as culture. Culture encompasses the meaning, structure, and praxis of human beings in their material and nonmaterial aspects. In the ideal typical case of a totally isolated human group, culture might be congruent with the borders of a (protoethnic) group, but in real life, owing to the diffusion of things,

> ideas or common traditions, culture is never limited to a single group. (Bös 2015: 139)

While I explain the role of culture and cultural heritage as sense- and worldmaking, I do not predicate this analysis solely on assumed or perceived ethnic group membership.

The misperception that a form of cultural heritage is somehow congruent with a group is often a consequence of the high (e)valuation of one type of membership seen as the 'master membership' that trumps all others, like the nation-state or an ethnic or racial group. Georg Simmel (2009) developed the idea of analysing groups as a cultural phenomenon. As he noted, subjectivation involves being part of a web of group affiliations, meaning multiple memberships play an essential role. We are all members of many different groups: for instance, in a family, a football club, an enterprise, in a group of women, in a nation-state, or even humanity. Our lives are characterised by a complex set of affiliations to groups of all kinds, and each individual is further characterised by their configuration of unique group memberships (Pescosolido and Rubin 2000: 56).

In this web of group affiliations, I ask which symbolic boundaries research participants draw on concerning their cultural endeavours. Frederick Barth's (1969) theory of ethnic boundary making processes focuses on the relational character of ethnicities and the role of 'ethnic markers' in stabilising group membership. Andreas Wimmer (2008) developed a comprehensive approach to the study of ethnonational boundaries, and he underlines, among other things, variations in groupness in such processes and their influence on the structures of social networks and access to resources.

Lamont and Virág Molnár (2002) are prominently associated with studying symbolic boundaries within comparative contexts. Their work comments on Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital and fields, challenging the assumption that the content of boundaries remains consistent across various situations. Instead, they study symbolic boundary work as a form of sensemaking in situations where a plurality of criteria of (e)valuation are being taken up by individuals. Lamont and Molnár define symbolic boundaries as:

> conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality. […] Symbolic boundaries also separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group. They are an essential medium through which people acquire status and monopolize resources. (ibid: 172)

They further describe such boundaries as mental maps of symbolic distinctions that produce processes of in – and exclusion (Lamont and Molnár ibid:172).

Lamont (2014: 815) takes an approach that is as comprehensive as Wimmer's but less structuralist. She studies different types of symbolic boundaries and tries to determine their role in reproducing inequality. Her focus is on 'micro-cultural processes' that are not always oriented towards instrumental goals, such as gaining resources, and that do not solely depend on the actions of dominant actors. They can be embedded in routine (ibid: 817), which makes her perspective very helpful in studying symbolic boundaries and the sensemaking of research participants in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

In this study, I employ the framework of cultural repertoires of evaluation and symbolic boundary making proposed by Lamont et al. to investigate the role of heritage as a situated practice of everyday (e)valuations in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. This conceptual framework serves two primary purposes. First, it allows for exploring heritage's internal logic and content as a cultural repertoire of evaluation, shedding light on how heritage functions as a category within pluralised societies. Second, it facilitates the analysis of how cultural heritage influences processes of symbolic boundary making and the formation of memberships within these contexts. Through an abductive, not deductive theoretical approach, my empirical study delineates the specific contents of heritage as a cultural repertoire and identifies the types of meaningful (to the research participants) symbolic boundaries drawn in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

5.3 Heritage Regimes

Next to heritage understood as a cultural repertoire of (e)valuation employed in everyday life, heritage regimes are also an essential concept helping to analyse the worldmaking aspect of heritagisation. Cultural heritage and its role are so entangled with national and international cultural policy and, therefore, are essential instruments by which governments and non-governmental actors 'regulate the space and subjects they seek to govern' (Groth and Sutter 2016: 43). Heritage regimes allow for this worldmaking aspect of cultural heritage to be studied; they are power-ridden spaces, sometimes tied to specific institutionally influential people, like heritage experts, wherein heritages and classifications are generalised and institutionalised. When heritage regimes are investigated through a Critical Heritage Studies lens, together with ideas from migration studies on mobility and migration regimes, it can be seen that heritage regimes are about both domination and power in their enabling form.

As opposed to understanding heritage as an entity governed by outside forces, the heritage regime concept includes politics and governance and, centrally so, the

role of the nation-state in making heritage and associated citizen subjects (Geismar 2015: 73).[6] The idea of the regime is based on international regulatory theory: it comprises a set of rules and norms regulating the relations between a state government and society on a global level. Or, in the words of international relations scholar Steven Krasner, 'sets of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations' (1982: 186). Often, on a level of international regulation, negotiations end in the production of conventions or treatises, accompanied by the formation of associated institutions and organisations (Bendix et al. 2012: 13). Specialist organisations and standardised governance protocols are established in response to the recurring need for decision-making and rule generation. These institutions, exemplified by intergovernmental committees tasked with advancing UNESCO's heritage conventions, also monitor the advancement of convention objectives and address emerging issues.

The edited volume by Bendix et al. (2012) that first introduced the concept of heritage regimes into Critical Heritage Studies expands the understanding of regimes within international relations by embracing a more flexible approach, influenced by Foucauldian perspectives on governance, that understand regimes not merely as international regulatory systems and abstract state systems of domination but also as modes of power that produce and reproduce specific subjects to be governed in processes of subjectivation. This departure from conventional understandings of regimes is essential because traditional governmental frameworks need to capture more fully the complexities of entities like the UN. As a result, non-state actors, organisations, and various processes must be incorporated into the analysis. Both governmental bodies and other governance actors contribute to establishing bureaucratic structures and implementing procedures outlined in treaties and conventions. This process often requires adaptation and translation across different levels, from the international to the state and local levels (ibid).

A similar evolution in understanding regimes has occurred within migration and mobility research. Initially viewed as networks of rules and norms, the concept of migration regimes has expanded to encompass migrants' agency in navigating, circumventing, and resisting practices of control or mobility within these regimes

6 In a review article, Thomas Schmitt (2015) provides a structured analysis of the applicability of realistic and neorealistic, interest-based, and cognitive or knowledge-based regime research approaches to studying the genesis of a World Heritage Regime. Interestingly, he concludes that while the latter approaches 'with their emphasis on the importance of new ideas, epistemic communities [...] and role expectations in respect of state governments' (ibid: 18) are most helpful for analysis, there is, in many respects, no conceptual space for a World Heritage Regime in any of these approaches.

(Pott, Rass, and Wolff 2018). Additionally, there is a recognition of the role of discourses and ideologies rooted in histories of colonialism and racialisation and their impact on migration regimes. Moreover, contemporary discussions on migration regimes also consider their role in perpetuating social inequality and shaping the identities of citizens and non-citizens (Romens 2021: 405).

In this line of migration regime research, a regime is not a repressive political system but 'refers to complex scenarios with a multitude of actors, unclear power structures and emergent rules' (Rass and Pott 2018: 25). According to migration scholar Jochen Oltmer (2018), migration regime research is not apparatus-centred, focusing on the nation-state's power alone. Instead, a regime is a 'contact zone, an arena in which more or less powerful actors, ranging from persons to organisations and state institutions, constantly negotiate the migration regime's structure and hierarchy' (Rass and Pott 2018: 35).

The concept of heritage regimes, then, is more than just an abstract denominator of state power. Such perspectives call for an analysis of how the regime is made up of interactions. This can be done by analysing micro-level situations to see how the regime interacts with the constitution of local society and for example migration movements therein, which is precisely what I do with an analysis of heritage regime actors and discourses in the context of the negotiations around ethnicised minority heritages in the three small town arenas of Cuxhaven, Zeven and Aurich.

Even though there is no standard definition of the concept of migration regimes, its development, for example, in German migration sociology, makes more apparent relevant aspects of heritage regimes in a broader understanding. They involve negotiations over power in different territories, such as in state-level regulation and bureaucratic apparatuses, including organisations, as well as dominant discourses and ascribed intelligible collective and individual subject positions, which can be called 'places of recognition' (Taylor 2009: 41). The economy is a further site of power struggle that, although not central to migration regime research, is to heritage regime research.

The worldmaking force of cultural heritage is well established in heritage regime research. Culture, in general, and cultural heritage in particular have become powerful global phenomena that shape the relations between people and their cultural endeavours more and more. Kuutma probes 'cultural politics not as an 'always already,' but as an emergent framework formed in the nexus of culture, management, and community' (2013: 31).

Accordingly, scholars employing the concept of heritage regimes call to study them on a continuum from sensemaking in everyday lives and the worldmaking of heritage regimes, even though they might not explicitly use these terms. Bendix et al. (2012:14) argue that 'the implementation of the international heritage regime on the state level brings forth a profusion of additional heritage regimes' on local or regional levels. Cristina Sánchez-Carretero (2013) found in her study in Galicia, Spain,

that several heritage regimes – in the plural – are employed by different social actors: Spanish and Galician national-level regimes and the church and a municipal-level regime. Heritage regime scholars also call for specific and rigorous research at the periphery of state authority and international heritage regime power because even though a hegemonic Authorised Heritage Discourse (Smith 2006) dominates many aspects of heritage-making as a socio-political practice, the often so-called 'communities of practice' addressed by regimes do practice cultural heritage in their everyday sensemaking.

Consequently, as Chiara de Cesari frames it:

> It is crucial […] to understand these processes from below […], which means to understand the reasons why a group of people decides to appropriate the language of heritage to further their goals, and the kinds of imaginaries and expectations elicited by the heritage discourse. (2013: 406)

My concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations is therefore a contribution to systematically studying heritage-making processes from below, however in a way that allows to understand the relation between everyday sensemaking and the worldmaking power of heritage regimes in heritage situations.

5.4 Synthesis: The Model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations

Heritage regimes and heritage as a repertoire of (e)valuation in the production of difference are the theoretical and conceptual frameworks I started with in the research process. They allow me to look at worldmaking processes as generalised and institutionalised heritagisation processes and sensemaking by ordinary individuals in their volunteer cultural endeavours. Applying these two perspectives to heritage regimes and everyday symbolic boundary making, to individuals and processes of governing, is precisely the analytical strength of a cultural heritage framework in the context of neoliberal times it gained its momentum. As Weineck states:

> The conduct of contemporary (neo-liberal) government relies on enhancing individual and collective agents ('communities') ability to act upon themselves, rather using ideas of freedom, self-fulfilment, and responsibility than domination, law or coercion. (Weineck 2015:8)

The exercise of power in heritage regimes is not one that shows itself in processes of domination, but of self governance and subjectivation that can be traced in the study of how regimes operate in particular situations. This is precisely what the theoretical

model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations allows researchers and heritage experts to do.

Adele Clarke uses the situation as her basic unit of analysis, and her conceptualisation is central to the concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations for more than just analytical reasons. In much sociological theory, the concept of the situation is understood in concrete terms as a situation of interaction in the here and now, bound by place, time, and social situatedness attached to the knowledge and definition of the situation of the people in the field involved in that concrete situation.

David Diehl and Daniel Mc Fahrland (2010: 1715) term the concept of the situation in sociology a 'black box' and Andreas Ziemann (2013: 9) states that the idea was suppressed from many sociological and philosophical academic debates.[7] Robert Gugutzer describes the common ground of possibly all sociological theories of the situation:

> People live in situations at all times. Situations are the 'primary homes, sources and partners' of all human behaviour, experience, imagination, expectation, desire or will. Situations frame and shape human thoughts, feelings and actions, just as they are created, stabilised or transformed by them. (2017: 155, my translation)

Anselm Strauss, a major influence on Clarke, considers the communicative and interactive elements of individuals and small groups central to the definition of the situation in research (Egloff 2015). Erwin Goffman (1974) most clearly developed a concept defined by face-to-face interaction that is, therefore, limited in space and time.

Clarke addresses the situation concept in Strauss's and Corbin's grounded theory methodology. She states that it focuses on action and interaction, leaving other elements of the situation as contexts to a situation to be analysed in their 'conditional matrices' (2018: 45–47). If my research field were to have such definitions of the situation, then global heritage regimes and discourses would be the mere context for my analysis because officialised heritage institutions and heritage vocabularies in my research field are relatively absent at first sight.

Clarke's (2018: 17) conceptualisation of the situation as a basic unit of analysis offers a way to analyse small-town arenas as spaces where heritage regime discourses and vocabularies are not mere contexts but are intrinsic parts of the situation of research. She bases the concept of the situation theoretically on the works of William Thomas, Donna Haraway, and John Dewey, as well as many others (Karl Mannheim,

7 The invention of the concept of the definition of the situation is generally credited to W. I Thomas and Dorothy Thomas developed it in studies on immigration and reform pedagogy to describe the interactions between individuals, groups, and cultures and the differing rationales, perceptions, and value orientations in their actions (Egloff 2015).

Norman Denzin, Brian Massumi). However, her argument for its development is always oriented towards its methodological qualities and practicability in concrete empirical research practice. This means the concept is well developed for empirical research but is only rudimentarily theorised.

Due to Clarke herself under-theorising the concept of the situation in favour of its usefulness in empirical research, Reiner Keller's interpretation of her use of the concept is useful. Keller first translated her work to German and is the one who explicated Clarke's work as the 'situating of the situation' (2023: 67), distilling a theoretically more straightforward argument. Clarke argues that pragmatists' definition of the situation ignores the situatedness of phenomena and research itself in ways that Haraway (1988) described as situated knowledge. They also neglect the role of non-human actors in situations and the role of different social worlds coming together in discursive arenas. Most importantly, the situation in concrete terms with a context to it blinds the situation's role of co-constitution in a complex relational ecology of elements. This leads Clarke to claim that 'there is no such thing as context' (Clarke 2009: 208), meaning that the contexts are present in the research situation, co-constituting it.

With Clarke, situations are not in the here and now, among attendants, but often things or arrangements such as cloning, reproductive medicine, or, in the case of my research, the emergence of cultural heritage. In a reflexive move, Clarke defines the research process as a situation to be determined by the researcher.

For this argument, Clarke first builds William Thomas's concept of the situation as introduced for everyday action. Thomas and Znaniecki state that '[e]very concrete activity is the solution of a situation.' (1918: 67). This does not mean, as Keller (2023: 75) points out, that in a given situation a specific problem emerges, but rather it is understood as people actively intervening (or not doing so) in a situation, for example buying a bus ticket. This leads me to ask: Who is involved in the (re)production of ethnicised cultural production and why? What 'problems' are people solving with their involvement? What are the criteria of (e)valuation and repertoires they call upon in doing what they do?

According to Keller, Clarke also takes up Dewey's thinking on the logic of doing research. Not only is everyday action built upon definitions of the situation, but day-to-day research action also requires the situation be defined. For Dewey (1938, quoted in Clarke et al. 2018: 47), the situation of research is a 'contextual whole' (ibid), wherein researchers aim to solve and work on specific problems by 'transferring them from a state of indeterminacy – "What is the case here?" – into a provisional, revisable, but well-founded form of determinacy – "That is the case here"' (Keller 2023: 77). An undefined situation in the research context only becomes a problem through the research process. This research aims to systematically explore and transform definitions of the situation via methods that guide the direction towards 'warranted assessability'. The research process itself is a situation of action. In Clarke's words,

'the situation in SA is a distinguishable and loosely connected entity whose contours are empirically determined in the research' (2018: 49).

This does not imply that definitions of the situation of those researched and observed in the field are unimportant. Clarke repeatedly urges her students to stay close to their empirical material and theorise without aiming towards any 'grand theory'. It merely follows, as is common knowledge in feminist research practice, that situations are co-constituted by different participants and, therefore, by various definitions of the situation, including my perspective. As the researcher, I define the research situation's boundaries within the research process. Determining the research situation's boundaries is an open process that involves the situation as an emerging phenomenon. This allows me to use the concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations not only as an analytical tool in empirical research but also as a way of learning about the category of heritage in more abstract terms.

The researcher, Clarke states, has to decide which elements are part of the broader situation and which are not:

> If it seems to matter, as the analyst, you should stretch the boundaries of the situation to include it in the analysis. If not, don't, but memo it and revisit these boundaries of the situation again later. Decisions made during the research process don't need to be final. Nothing is written in cement until publication. This is one facet of what it means to say the situation is 'emergent.' (2018: 17)

To summarise, Clarke departs from classical sociological understanding of the concept of the situation as she finds a way to 'situate the situation of research' (Keller 2023:67) in two ways. Her definition clarifies the role that different definitions of the situation play in the research situation as a process of knowledge production, including the researcher's definition prominently. Second, the situation with Clarke is 'emergent' as it constantly develops. Individuals and collective actors in Ethnicised Heritage Situations bring and act upon categories of (e)valuation as definitions of the situation that are negotiated and coexist within the situation, including such definitions of the situations that would be considered as mere 'context' to a situation in more classical sociological theory. These multiple definitions may or may not stem from a cultural heritage repertoire, making the latter emerge, or not emerge, in the situation. A possibility that unsettles the sphere of heritage management and even much Critical Heritage research that tends to presuppose the importance of cultural heritage to human beings as a constant.

Ethnicised Heritage Situations therefore constitute my main research object, as does the situation understood broadly in Situational Analysis. As a concept claiming a holistic perspective on local cultural ecologies, Ethnicised Heritage Situations involve the coming together of heritage regime aspects – worldmaking – with everyday criteria of (e)valuation – sensemaking – including my interpretations in the

research process. Ethnicised Heritage Situations is an empirical, analytical tool but, on a more abstract note, provides an approach to understanding the potential for heritage to emerge. It thereby opens up the possibility for heritagisation not to happen in specific situations, for the (e)valuation of culture to stay non-generalised and flexible, suiting people's everyday social needs rather than a more abstract principle of (national) membership or nostalgia of a lost past.

Already Diehl and McFarland underline the situation's principal openness for 'contingency and creativity, process and emergence, and cognition and emotion' (2010: 1713). Clarke also underlines the openness of situations referencing Michel Foucault's concept of 'conditions of possibility' (Clarke 2018: 28), wherein an episteme provides the necessary framework for the possible appearance of a given list of entities.

There is an openness to the emergence of cultural heritage as a category in heritage situations that can also be described as a virtual potentiality to be updated or realised. This differs from looking for equivalences to heritage in territories where officialised heritage regimes and vocabulary play a minor role. Instead, my focus on the potential for heritage to emerge is based on the assumption of heritage's metacultural nature, a generalised and institutionalised type of (e)valuation that is exchange-oriented. Alonso González, whose research approach was inspirational for this thesis, terms such analysis 'categorical criticism' and states: 'Categorical criticisms analyses precisely why heritage is not a significant category for many people, and to map its emergence in the field as it appears in different social spheres' (2019: 42). Ethnicised Heritage Situations do not approach cultural heritage as deus ex machina but allow us to analyse its emergence in relational and entangled ways.

The concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations can therefore be used as an analytical tool and a theoretical concept to better understand the emergence of cultural heritage in pluralised societies. In Ethnicised Heritage Situations, heritage regimes and their worldmaking are entangled with the sensemaking of individuals and social worlds that draw on heritage as a cultural repertoire to draw symbolic boundaries and produce belonging. Consequently, the research process has to be understood as a heritage situation that I have dominantly constructed as a researcher. It comprises many other heritage situations to be reconstructed in empirical research.

Heritage situations provide an opening and a possibility for cultural heritage as a metacultural category to emerge. At the same time, as I will come to show, they are an analytical tool to analyse local cultural ecologies with different kinds of elements holistically and, as always, already integrated into global cultural processes and policies.[8]

8 The concept of heritage situations shares commonalities with assemblage theory (DeLanda 2016) or Foucault's dispositive analysis (Foucault 1978) in terms of complexity. Its grounding in empirical analysis allows more precision than to state the co-constitution of situations by

The research undertaken for this project provides a relational analysis of different elements in the situation of research, and thereby provides empirical substance for the concept of heritage situations' 'operationalisation' via a description of a number of relevant elements in the situation such as for example the role of the mobility of concepts circulating in global heritage discourse (chapter 2), of economic gains (chapter 7) the reproduction of the social sphere (chapter 8), multiple localisms (chapter 9) or majority-minority relations (chapter 10), all of which may or may not be part of the emergence of cultural heritage. To analytically reconstruct these elements is to take seriously different definitions of the situations within the situation, including my own ones as the analyst. It is in this context that the reflexivity of the researcher as the one delineating the boundaries of a situation becomes a central methodological challenge in research.

different elements. My concept of heritage situations aligns with SA in that they both do not end with this finding of multiple elements in a situation but allow one to give attention to the specific relations between them as they form (Clarke 2018: 95).

6. Being Situated: Situational Analysis as More Than a Method of Research and Analysis

In a pervasive ethos of academic capitalism that often glorifies the extraordinary and emphasises innovation and groundbreaking revelations, the seemingly ordinary nature of my research terrain – small-town life, under-researched minorities, and everyday cultural sensemaking – at times raised doubts and anxieties within me during the research process. I wondered whether delving into the nuances of these seemingly banal yet profoundly significant aspects of society would be perceived as trivial. At the same time, in my chosen role as a critical scholar, I demanded of myself to conduct an inquiry that has the potential to work towards social justice. Consequently, during the research and writing process, I tended to write and think for different audiences of academics and non-academics.[1] I had to remind myself of the role of a PhD: A dissertation is, first and foremost, a meaningful way to establish oneself as a researcher and scientist, with the possibility of it being transformed for other audiences and purposes afterwards.

My initial engagement with the field of Critical Heritage Studies focused on the governmentality of heritage listings, the inclusion of cultural practices into a symbolic and economic global market, and their effects on the local social fabric. It deepened my critical distance towards cultural heritage as a category and project of ideology, its conservative appropriations and history in nation-building processes.

Christoph Brumann considers such strong positionalities of researchers to be expected in the field. He describes the three categories heritage researchers and managers fall into: 'heritage believers'; 'heritage atheists'; and 'heritage agnostics' (2014a: 174). Heritage believers endorse conservation and consider heritage inherently good because it serves education, economic development, reconciliation, nation-building, or world peace. Initially, I positioned myself as a heritage atheist, which is opposed to heritage belief.

1 I have discussed the trouble this has gotten me in an article reflecting my research experiences for my Master's thesis project (Peeck and Sielert 2019).

> [D]espite, or perhaps because of, the hegemonic position of heritage belief in wider society, much work in the social sciences is informed by heritage atheism. By this, I mean a fundamental doubt about the value of specific heritage items or heritage as such. In this view, heritage is not a naturally positive force and instead serves all kinds of dubious or outright objectionable purposes that are not immediately obvious. (ibid)

In this position, the researcher's primary responsibility is to unveil the true nature of heritage by removing its facade and revealing it as inevitably something less appealing than how it is portrayed. Accordingly, in an arena where official heritage policies or vocabulary are absent at first sight, I wanted to map out the social fabric of the places that stand in danger of being alienated by structured cultural policies influenced by global heritage discourse.[2] I did find powerful heritage regime actors in the field and reconstructed quite some criteria of (e)valuation akin to a heritage repertoire. I realised there is no straightforward relation or distinction between a local cultural arena and global heritage regimes. This experience prompted me to follow Brumann in his third approach to studying heritage, which he terms 'heritage agnosticism'. Inspired by scholars studying religion, Brumann states:

> Heritage agnosticism doesn't share the certainties of heritage atheism. Whether heritage is indeed culpable of the usual sins is a matter of empirical investigation, and the possibility of surprises must be allowed. But heritage agnosticism doesn't share the unconditional commitment of heritage belief either, aware as it is of the social construction of all heritage categories and standards. (2014a: 179)

The theory-method package of SA served as a valuable approach to navigating these individual 'conditions of production' connected to my subjectivity as a researcher and inherent in my research project. From my theory chapter and beyond, it should become evident that conducting a Situational Analysis is applying a method, but it is also much more than that. Its conceptual vocabulary including 'the situation' of inquiry, 'social worlds' and 'arenas' is central to my theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, as well as its ontological and epistemological assumptions shaping my own approach.

In critical qualitative research, specifically in a field that is so interrelated with policy areas and practitioners, the researcher's transparent positionality is of central importance. Still, selecting a method should primarily align with the subject of

2 Rereading this concern after the elections for the European Parliament in 2024 with right-wing and fascist parties gaining immense momentum, this concern, which is still true, is nevertheless relative as to what can be considered the main threats to the social fabric of small towns in peripheral areas.

research and research questions rather than solely catering to the researcher's subjective conditions.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the definition of my research subject within SA is intertwined with the method's theoretical framework and co-constructed by me as a researcher. This aligns with quality criteria in qualitative social research as outlined by Jörg Strübing et al., particularly the criterion of the 'Gegenstandsangemessenheit' (appropriateness of the subject matter), 'a way of producing the object of the research object, which takes the empirical field seriously and methods, questions and data types to a continuous ongoing adjustment requirements' (2018: 83, my translation). This criterion emphasises producing the research subject in a way that continuously adjusts to the empirical field, considering a crucial starting point to be how research participants define the situation, not merely reflecting the empirical world.

Other criteria for qualitative social research further guide the quality of the research: empirical saturation (how well the analysis is anchored in the data); theoretical pervasiveness (the quality of and irritating power of the theoretical references); textual performance, and originality (Strübing et al. 2018).

The chapter is composed of two parts: First, I introduce the project's core epistemological grounds, and Situational Analysis as a research programme that was well suited for my interdisciplinary research interests in the field of migration and ethnicity. These posed some ethical challenges and were guided by a number of central sensitising concepts. I then outline the research process, starting with the first decisions made in terms of research questions, places to study and the data sample, to the types of data collected and the analysis process. Central throughout all stages of the research process was the abductive moving between empirical data analysis and conceptual formation. I collected most data during a number of short research stays in the three small towns, which included interviews, some ethnographic observations and the gathering of local newspaper articles. Situational Analysis as a research programme is suited to analyse different types of data aiming towards a cohesive understanding of the situation of research. In doing research in the field of migration and ethnicity, the constructivist and feminist approach of Situational Analysis allowed me to avoid a number of pitfalls, such as presupposing the relevance or even presence of stable ethnic groups as social worlds in the small towns, what Brubaker terms 'groupism' (2002), or to assume the relevance of mobility experiences to be limited to migrant minorities' sensemaking. Moreover, the research process was conducted as self-reflexively as possible, with my role as a researcher being a relevant element to be mapped out and analysed alongside the other data. The epistemological grounds laid out in my chosen research programme, therefore, found their way into my decision-making as to the concrete shape of the research process as well as to my approach to writing.

6.1 The Epistemological Grounds of Situational Analysis as a Research Programme

6.1.1 Staying with and Positioned in the Data Instead of in Disciplinarity

Academia's social and organisational structure is set up in disciplines, which remains a powerful barrier towards multi- or interdisciplinary research and developing my self-understanding as an interdisciplinary scholar. Throughout the project, I realised that my research could not solely be placed in the field of cultural sociology and is instead influenced by research and reflections from the much broader interdisciplinary fields of Critical Heritage Studies and Small-Town Research, which involve perspectives from disciplines such as archaeology or social work. In this sense, this project is intended to be an opening up of cultural sociology to the interdisciplinary fields of small-town research, that is, the specificities of cultural endeavours in provincial regions and to Critical Heritage Studies, that is, the study of cultural heritage as a phenomenon.

The theoretical grounds from which Clarke builds SA are interdisciplinary, stemming from symbolic interactionism, Foucauldian discourse analysis, science and technology studies, feminist standpoint epistemologies,[3] and, centrally, social world/arena theory. The latter focuses on meaning-making amongst social worlds, understood as group actors engaged in collective action (Clarke and Leigh Star 2008: 113).

Doing a SA involves three kinds of such mapping techniques (Clarke et al. 2018: 104). In situational maps, all elements in a research situation and their relationality are specified. Social world/arena maps help reconstruct central arenas of concern that serve different social worlds as a space of negotiation. Finally, positional map structure discourses a discursive position in the situation, which I used in my research process.

Jan Kalenda argues that social science disciplines frequently focus on specific aspects related to a situation, such as the mindset of individuals, their emotional experiences, the material components present, the discourses they engage with, or simply the actions and conduct of the individuals involved.

> What makes the SA approach different is its emphasis on the fact that all these elements create the research situation and that we cannot focus on just one of them, as this would break it away from its relations to the other elements of the situation that constitute it. (Kalenda 2016: 346)

3 Offenberger (2019) has shown how the feminist legacy of SA tends not to be recited in the German reception of it.

Understanding SA's inherent interdisciplinarity helped me not doubt going along with my subjectivity as a researcher while validating my interdisciplinary approach with a recognised method.

To do research in an interdisciplinary way in Situational Analysis means to stay with the data in the practice of mapping. Clarke emphasises staying with the data in the field and theorising without prematurely closing the data analysis. This approach aligns with an agnostic position, where the researcher remains open to the data's complexities. Additionally, Clarke advocates for including the researcher's positionality in the research process through reflexivity. This practice helps to balance my tendency towards being a heritage atheist, allowing the researcher to acknowledge and navigate their perspectives without outright denial. In essence, maintaining an agnostic stance and integrating reflexivity contributes to a more nuanced and open-ended exploration of the research subject.

Incorporating my voice and reflective moments into the analysis chapters, I seize the opportunity to enhance the intersubjective comprehensibility and situatedness of the knowledge I have generated. Each analysis chapter commences with a puzzle – an anecdote drawn from the research process that struck me as surprising and significantly influenced the paths of my analysis. The decision to do so stems from Clarke et al. (2018: 197) strongly advising researchers to go along with such moments of surprise in field research and data analysis. In ethnographic fieldwork, these puzzles serve as 'moments of nonrecognition' (Glick Schiller, Çağlar, and Guldbrandsen 2006). They represent instances where constant questioning of the relationship between elements in the research situation leads to shifts in concepts and research questions, challenging initial assumptions. This approach enriches the analysis by embracing the unexpected and adapting to evolving insights within the dynamic research context.

6.1.2 Heritage Regimes, the Heritage Repertoire and Boundary Work

The concept of *the definition of the situation* is the theoretically most stimulating aspect of Situational Analysis. The situation of research is no longer defined in classical sociological terms as a face-to-face moment to be analysed. Instead, the situation of research is, as outlined in constructivist research approaches, centrally influenced by decisions made by the researchers as to, for example, the boundaries of a given situation. Moreover, the situation is composed of different kinds of elements (political, non-human, discursive, historical, etc.), including those that would normally be considered mere context to researched situations in classical sociological understandings (See fig 6.1. for a template showing possible types of elements in situations).

Fig. 6.1: Situational Analysis Ordered Situational Map Template (Clarke 2018)

Individual Human Elements/Actors	***Non-human Elements/Actants***
e.g., key individuals and significant (unorganised) people in the situation, including the researcher	e.g., technologies; material infrastructures; specialised information and/or knowledges; material "things"
Collective Human Elements/Actors	***Implicated/Silent Actors/Actants***
e.g., particular groups; specific organisations	As found in the situation
Discursive Constructions of Individual and/or Collective Human Actors	***Discursive Construction of Non-human Actants***
As found in the situation	As found in the situation
Political/Economic Elements	***Socio-cultural/Symbolic Elements***
e.g., the state; particular industry/ies; local/regional/global orders; political parties; NGOs; politicised issues	e.g., religion; race; sexuality; gender; ethnicity; nationality; logos; icons; other visual and/or aural symbols
Temporal Elements	**Spatial Elements**
e.g., historical, seasonal, crisis, and/or trajectory aspects	e.g., spaces in the situation; geographical aspects; local, regional, national, and global spatial issues
Major Issues/Debates (Usually Contested)	**Related Discourses (Historical, Narrative, and/or Visual)**
As found in the situation; see positional map	e.g., normative expectations of actors, actants, and/or other specified elements; moral/ethical elements; mass media and other popular cultural discourses; situation-specific discourses
Other Kinds of Elements	

In this chapter, I delve into how Situational Analysis has enabled me to navigate and sidestep particular challenges commonly associated with research in migration and ethnicity and challenges in the study of culture as a causal mechanism addressed in repertoire theory. Constructivist-oriented ethnicity research and diaspora and migration studies highlight some of these challenges faced by research and policy when using an ethnic lens or employing ethnic/diasporic groups as the basic unit of analysis. Issues such as internal diversity, 'superdiversity' (Vertovec 2007), and variations in groupness (Wimmer 2010) underscore the need for re-

search designs that address the pitfalls of 'groupisms' (Brubaker 2002; Werbner 2015), 'methodological nationalism' (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002), and ethnicity bias (Fox and Jones 2013). Scholars advocate for strategies that recognise de-ethnicisation processes to avoid reinforcing the reification of groups. Additionally, there is a call to de-ethnicise research designs when necessary by not presupposing the importance and existence of clearly bounded ethnic groups (Dahinden 2009; Fox and Jones 2013; Glick Schiller et al. 2006). Janin Dahinden (2016) takes this approach a step further by proposing strategies to de-migrantise research, aiming to avoid uncritically reproducing categories of an institutionalised nation-state migration apparatus. To study small town arenas as places struck by mobilities of all kinds, whether residential, social or indeed international is a perspective helpful in de-migrantising and de-ethnicising research designs.

In the study of arenas, Situational Analysis, being grounded in social world analysis, allows us not to presuppose the relevance of (ethnic) communities and other groups in the field and in peoples' sensemaking. The decision as to which social worlds are relevant in a given situation is to be made in and with the empirical material and never in advance. Situational Analysis's post-structuralist and feminist approach sensitises towards the constructed nature of meaning and therefore cautions to reify cultural repertoires as too easily determining action or social structures, something that has often been described as the culturalisation or ethnicisation of phenomena. One of my main research interests is to determine the role of migration as a taking of routes and ethnic boundaries in how people value the cultural productions they are involved in, such as festivals and associations. It is also relevant because the moments when heritage is employed as an evaluative repertoire are the points at which symbolic boundaries in such sensemaking are drawn. The art of creating a research design sensitive to these dangers is one that can 'capture the complexity of social experience in ways that do not privilege – nor censure – ethnicity' (Fox and Jones 2013: 391), or, it should be added, migration experiences.

These insights had tangible consequences in my research practice. I chose to compare three cities based on their substantial ethnic and migrant minority populations and the observable presence of Ethnicised Heritage Situations within them. I refrained from presupposing the importance of these inhabitants as collective actors or communities in the field. I avoided assuming the relevance of ethnic subjectivation and boundary making to the individuals I encountered. This approach aligns with the principles of Situational Analysis for two reasons.

First, as previously explained, Situational Analysis centres on the situation and the interplay between human and non-human elements, allowing for a nuanced examination of social ecologies. Within these elements and their relationality in situations, the role of collective human actors or the discursive construction of collective actors is one aspect among many. By employing Situational Analysis, I concentrate on understanding situations in which ethnicity, as a form of symbolic boundary

making, may or may not be produced in everyday life, encompassing various forms of experience. This analytical approach helps me to avoid uncritical assumptions regarding the significance of ethnicity for individuals and ethnic groups as collective actors.

Second, I study Ethnicised Heritage Situations in small-town arenas and subscribe to the city scale level, which is another point that draws my research away from taking ethnic communities as the basic units of analysis or assuming their relevance in heritage situations. Grounded in the work of Anselm Strauss (1978), particularly his social world approach rooted in US-American pragmatism, Clarke has embraced and expanded grounded theory and systematically integrated Strauss's perspective into her research programme (Clarke et al. 2018: 149). In the arenas of concern, multiple social worlds come together to debate and negotiate particular issues. As discursive sites, narratives about themselves and others are constructed in arenas. In the context of my research, the small towns that are my research field are understood as arenas: not territorial entities or containers but socially and discursively constructed in human relations. Within these arenas, I focused on how the production of the towns' ethnicised (Portuguese, East Frisian, Dutch) heritages is negotiated in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

Social worlds are the principal affiliative mechanism via which people organise their social life, and they align their sensemaking and criteria of (e)valuation while they most often participate in and are committed to more than one social world. As a collective actor, they can be leisure groups, a profession, and an academic discipline, more or less institutionalised groupings with 'life of their own' as a collective (Clarke et al. 2018: 148). They can be small or vast groupings that share some primary activity, goal, resources, and sites (ibid: 14). Sometimes, more formal organisations can evolve out of social worlds, but often, they are more loosely bound. Within the context of the World Heritage regime, 'local communities of practice' are one of the leading social worlds addressed and presupposed by intangible heritage policies as bearers of such heritage.

Clarke et. al (ibid: 148) underline that social worlds and arenas are changing and dynamic, a 'reopening that which seems closed is always possible', thereby profoundly relational. Having social world and arena analysis in my theoretical framework allowed me to analyse the operations of heritage regimes and associated bureaucratic apparatuses, their worldmaking, in the small-town arenas and sensitised me to how the arenas, their ethnicised heritages and social worlds are constructed from different perspectives (accessed at times via specific types of data). These different perspectives describe the development of or discursive construction of social groups and organisations as collective actors and their ways of drawing symbolic boundaries along differing criteria of (e)valuation. Using social world and arena frameworks of analysis means that maps can reconstruct

the powerful worldmaking of relevant actors in Ethnicised Heritage Situations and collective landscapes of membership formation via symbolic boundary making.

Despite my theoretical awareness not to overly culturalise phenomena and actions influenced by other societal factors, there remains the risk exposed by repertoire theory in cultural sociology to the challenges of engaging in causal explanation that precede specific situations. In these situations, analysing the situatedness of action would have been the more appropriate analytical approach. The reconstruction of how research participants use cultural heritage as a repertoire to draw symbolic boundaries – their sensemaking – was primarily conducted through positional analysis. This discourse-analytical method opens up the data in Situational Analysis, allowing me to reconstruct people's repertoires of (e)valuation, explaining their sensemaking and action strategies.

Clarke's concept of the situation supports engaging in such a causal explanation. In an article on culture as a causal explanation, Matthew Norton (2014) argues that opening the black box of an action's situation and understanding how it functions enables one to comprehend culture in action by specifying cultural mechanisms without sacrificing the deeply intersubjective and relationally organised nature of sensemaking in social life. Norton emphasises that 'actors realize cultural systems qua systems in situational interactions, and this mechanism is essential to understanding the causality of culture.' (ibid: 143).

My primary focus on studying Ethnicised Heritage Situations in small-town arenas is framed using Situational Analysis's conceptual and epistemological vocabulary. This approach helps me sidestep the pitfalls of groupism in studying migrant and ethnic minorities. Additionally, employing social world and arena analysis enables examining the powerful worldmaking processes involving cultural heritage regimes and actors. Finally, the concept of the situation facilitates the study of repertoires of evaluation and criteria of (e)valuation as a form of causal explanation that extends beyond individual situations.

6.1.3 Sensitising Concepts in Situational Analysis

Within Situational Analysis's theory-method package, sensitising concepts is a crucial research strategy (Clarke et al. 2018: 54). In qualitative empirical research, sensitising concepts are theoretically or literature-driven, as well as at times early data analysis-driven assumptions that shape the researcher's' perspectives and therefore analysis process. The researcher enters the research process with such concepts and refines them throughout. Developing such concepts is, therefore, a central step in theorising as an outcome of a research project. This underlines Situational Analysis's paradigmatic openness for the new to emerge, as sensitising concepts are not definite or unchangeable throughout the research process, they instead accompany it in flexible ways.

The Ethnicised Heritage Situations concept emerged only towards the end of my research process and can still be considered a sensitising concept, albeit a more theoretically substantiated one. However, several other and more hands-on central concepts developed my research process and led me to emerge with the Ethnicised Heritage Situations paradigm. These are: entrepreneur/maverick, boundary objects, taking routes, and setting roots.

In grounded theory-oriented research, developing (middle-range) theories generally follow an inductive approach that start from the data rather than from preexisting theories. Middle-range theories in sociology fall between abstract 'grand theories' and concrete empirical observations. Different strands of grounded theory research take different stances on what is meant exactly by 'grounding analysis in the data'. Clarke, sharing this with Kathy Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory, follows the Straussian route rooted in symbolic interactionism, where this orientation involves an active researcher to strive towards interpretation accuracy, rather than passivity and positivist approaches to the data. This also moves research from purely inductive to abductive approaches, meaning that analysis moves forward and back between the data-specificities and conceptual formation. The researcher's interests and situatedness highly influence this process; as I have shown, Clarke et al. (2018: 118) goes so far as to argue that the researcher defines the borders of the research situation, with self-reflexivity in the research process becoming central (Zaidi 2022: 5). Practising this at every step of the research process does not produce subjective analysis but rather analysis that does justice to the complexity of the empirical world. In this sense, sensitising concepts are also reflexivity tools, as they build the researcher's prior knowledge, interest, and presumptions into them.

Shehr Bano Zaidi finds that sensitising concepts are closely bound up with concept formation, albeit not in definite terms. She applies a variety of others' labels – 'methodological' or 'heuristic' device or 'guiding principles' that describe 'initial ideas to pursue', possibly shaped by disciplinary perspectives – to give direction for research but to leave space (2022:3). They give direction for research but leave space open for new possibilities to arise from the analysis of the empirical world, which is why they can change during the research process. In Situational Analysis, generating sensitising concepts is integral to grounded theorising wherein the main goal is not to produce a grand theory which overgeneralises or abstracts research findings, but rather to theorise in an ongoing 'modest and partial but serious, useful, and provocative grounded analysis' (Clarke et al. 2018: 55).

Sensitising concepts allow the researcher to frame and focus the research and to situate it in the extant literature without prematurely terminating the analysis (Clarke et al. 2018: 122). I share with Sarah B. Evans-Jordan (2023) the experience of feeling 'unsettlingly unsettled' by Clarke et al.'s call to stay with the mess of inclusive situations and the ongoing conundrum of not terminating analysis too early. My research process often consisted of striving towards some closure, some findings

to hold on to, and stating that my research was an instance of X or Y. Only because I pushed myself to stay with the analysis did I arrive at the concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations as my definition of the situation and the operationalisation of its elements in small-town arenas in northern Germany.

With Clarke et al., heritage situations themselves are sensitising concepts, as they write: 'A key aspect of Situational Analysis as an interpretative approach is focused on the sufficiency of grounded theorizing through the development of sensitising concepts and integrated analytics' (2018: 54). I would like my concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations to be understood as a holistic device, a tool to approach the nexus of intangible heritage, belonging, and the social in its complexity from various perspectives.

Earlier in the research process, I mapped out a number of other sensitising concepts, namely the concepts of entrepreneurs/mavericks in social world/arena analysis and the question of the role of taking routes and setting roots in the places under study.

'Over the years', Susan Leigh Star and Clarke (2007: 117) report, 'a toolbox of useful concepts with which to think about the relational ecologies of social worlds, arenas and their discourses has been generated.' In chapters 7 and 8, I employ the concepts of entrepreneur/maverick and boundary object to better understand the role of festivals and the motivations of individual highly engaged volunteers in the small-town arenas' relational ecology. Entrepreneurs are individuals or organisations that exist across different social worlds and have a powerful role in shaping rules within them. Mavericks position themselves at the margins of or in opposition to social worlds (Clarke and Leigh Star 2008: 118). Boundary objects are entities at the intersections of diverse social worlds, serving mutual concerns, though they only loosely bind social worlds together (ibid: 121). The relevance of these concepts for my analysis stems directly from the data, and my initial analysis aimed to find what is comparable across cases.

One of my central intentions in this research project is to determine the role of migration experiences in how people employ heritage as a repertoire to produce difference. This is evident in the choice of cases, wherein the Dutch and Portuguese minority inhabitants of Zeven and Cuxhaven do indeed have international migration experiences, the research participants from Aurich in East Frisia, however, do not. In all their cultural endeavours, though, ethnicisation played some kind of role. My choice of making 'taking routes' instead of the originally chosen 'migration expericences' a sensitising concept, is witness to the fact that I found mobility experiences do play role in all three cases. Setting roots became another sensitising concept, though not from my research interest or previous knowledge, but rather as an in-vivo concept stemming from the data. Both sensitising concepts are codes stemming directly from participants' verbatim or their perspective referring to 'common sense language and knowledge' (Zaidi 2022: 3).

6.2 Inside the Research Process

Situational Analysis comes with a theoretical legacy that is well suited for my research project. As a well-developed interpretative qualitative research programme, Situational Analysis provides researchers with hands-on advice on how to do profound empirical analysis. Researchers nowadays can profit from Situational Analysis handbooks that provide detailed and honest insight into all steps of an Situational Analysis research project (Clarke, Friese, and Washburn 2015; Clarke et al. 2018).[4] The rest of this chapter outlines the concrete, 'hands-on' aspects of my research process as a Situational Analysis project: From the first situational maps that helped to decide what to concretely compare in the three case studies (associations and festivals), via data gathering, to social world/arena maps and positional maps as tools to reconstruct the worldmaking and sensemaking aspects of the (e)valuation processes of people engaged in Dutch, Portuguese and East Frisian associations and festivals. Situational Analysis approaches the analysis of situations of research from different perspectives and different kinds of data, allowing for a level of complexity while also generalising findings in the process of theorising. I found that worldmaking does appear in the form of heritage regime operations of, for example, large organisations in the arenas, such as the church of the military or in the form of criteria of (e)valuation associated with global heritage discourses, such as recognition or the reification of collective identities. At times these worldmaking aspects of Ethnisiced Heritage Situations harmoniously coexist with individuals' and actors' sensemaking in the small-town arenas, but often they follow different logics, and other times they are a cause of conflict. To reconstruct these dynamics, it was helpful to combine Situational Analysis with an explicitly comparative research design that structures different kinds of comparisons.

6.2.1 Composing a Comparative Research Design: Data Gathering as an Iterative and Reflexive Process

As a hands-on empirical method, Situational Analysis involves several mapping techniques that must be understood as analytical tools rather than as visual representations of research findings and that replace the 'conditional matrix' of more traditional grounded theory (Clarke et al. 2018: 16). Maps are grounded in empirical data and can include different types of data. In my case, I undertook ethnographic observations, analysed local newspapers, and conducted interviews (Fig. 6.2.). The data sample I gathered consists of 12 interviews, 132 newspaper articles, seven

4 I further benefited from the Situational Analysis Working Group's peer feedback. We meet regularly to discuss each other's maps or challenges encountered in the research process. For more information visit: https://situationsanalyse.jimdofree.com/ (accessed June 6, 2024).

ethnographic field visits, and 11 participatory observations. While I transcribed the interviews, the other data types entered analysis directly via mapping. The interview quotes in this thesis were edited, tightened and translated in cooperation with my student assistant, Julia Frisch.

Fig. 6.2: Overview of data gathered and analysed in the research project

Type of Data	**Case & Amount**
Interviews	Expert interviews (3) Zeven (5) Aurich (3) Cuxhaven (4)
Local Newspaper Articles	Zeven (29, 1963–2018) Aurich (14, 1995–2018) Cuxhaven (89, 1966–2018)
Ethnographic field stay with participatory observations	Zeven (3) Aurich (2) Cuxhaven (2, by student assistant)

In accordance with grounded theory, theoretical sampling is the sampling method of choice in Situational Analysis and in this project. It involves iteratively gathering and analysing data to refine and develop theoretical categories, rather than relying on pre-defined sampling strategies. Traditional grounded theory sampling, then, is a matter of 'constant comparison'. Data gathering is finished when one feels the sample to be saturated in that not many new findings emerge in this iterative analysis process. At times, practicalities such as the limited amount of research field visits or an assigned budget do interfere with saturation as a criterium of data sampling. Importantly then, decisions on which data to gather in theoretical sampling are made in communication with preliminary data analysis from the very beginning of a research process to its end. For example, local newspapers only entered the data sample at a later stage in the research process in order to make more visible how dominant discourses enter the local small-town arenas.

One of the big challenges in this project in terms of developing a feasible comparative research design was its multi-sitedness, including three case studies on Portuguese, Dutch and East Frisian cultural productions, with no clear idea of what and how to concretely compare these. From discussions in cultural anthropology, I was aware that ethnicised cultural productions might, in fact, not be so easily comparable in their singularity as empirical phenomena. I determined that I was less interested in comparing specific singular cultural productions (e.g., one festival with an-

other) than in comparing (e)valuation processes and criteria associated with these cultural productions as world- and sensemaking. Sociologists theorising comparison in sociological research, such as George Steinmetz (2004), Joachim Matthes (1992), or Irene Bloemrad (2013), explicitly advise doing comparative analysis at the level of generative causal mechanisms (Steinmetz 2004), of 'cultural exchange processes and their regulations' (Matthes 1992: 94) or 'causal mechanisms' (Bloemraad 2013: 28). This is so as not to compare empirical events on a phenomenological level that prove to be particular, and that, as Matthes (1992) points out, can only be made comparable by the invention of abstract and, too often, Eurocentric categories, such as the family.

And still, at the beginning of the research process, I was challenged to make decisions on a 'tertium comparationis', in the sense of finding an entry point into gathering data that is more concrete than 'ethnicised cultural productions'. Already in these first steps of composing the research project and in finalising the research design, situational and relational maps as well as memoing – the making of notes along with mapping – played a crucial role.

Maps help to 'open up' data from different perspectives early on in the research process, focusing on elements in the overall research situation and relations among them (situational maps and relational situational maps), main collective actors in the arenas (social world/arena maps) and discourses (positional maps). The maps became analytical tools to be developed and recomposed at different stages of the research project.

The first decision I made was to focus my analysis on three small-scale settings in three small towns: Zeven and Cuxhaven, with their significant Dutch and Portuguese minorities respectively, and Aurich as a small town in the region of East Frisia.[5] This decision moved me towards a clearer definition of the research situation, however, it was only made after I explored the broader field of Dutch, Portuguese and East Frisian actors and platforms in Germany. I documented this process by encircling my research situation in preliminary memos. Memoing is a technique in qualitative research, where researchers record their thoughts, reflections, and interpretations throughout the research process, either in text documents, hand-written drafts or in analysis software such as MaxQda, where

5 After deciding on three small towns as research sites, I gathered primary statistical data on the towns' number of inhabitants, economic sectors, and the composure of inhabitants with a so-called migration background. As is known from small-town research, there is a lack of statistical data available on such places that shows the level of regionality necessary for comprehensive analysis (Porsche, Steinführer, Beetz, et al. 2019: 6). The Mikrozensus 2017 census data confirmed the Dutch and Portuguese inhabitants of Zeven and Cuxhaven in significant numbers and further solidified my choice of field research sites.

memos can be attached to single codes. I memoed in a MS Word document. By the end of the project, these memos amounted to more than 30,000 words.

To then familiarise myself with the research situation, I conducted desktop research on the small towns and their ethnicised cultural productions and actors, undertook a literature review, and interviewed three academic experts on the minorities in question. This early data was the basis of my first situational and relational maps. Situational maps and relational maps detail relations among all elements in a situation. Clarke et al. explicitly suggest preliminary situational maps and early memos to encircle the research situation and grasp its complexity. They state that 'this preliminary version of your messy situational map will likely not be particularly empirical or research based, though you may, of course, be somewhat familiar with the substantive topic and its literature' (2018: 111). Memoing is also encouraged as a constant and vital practice in situational analytical research (Clarke et al. 2018: 112).

Using selected relational analysis in situational maps, I worked out which events or actors could be the focus of field research. Initially, it looked as if specific historical points in time, such as the withdrawal of Dutch troops from one of the towns or the closure of the Portuguese mission in another town would become the focal point of the field research and data gathering (See Fig. 6.3).

After further mapping, I chose to focus on those individual and collective actors in associations that (re)produce public festivals as part of the towns' annual calendars nowadays. The main reason for this was that the relational situational map revealed more (diverse) relations between elements in the situation, making it more feasible to study the diverse sensemaking of those involved in cultural endeavours in the here and now, paying dues to the presence-orientation of cultural heritage, beyond a mere nostalgic perspective of what has been lost in specific historical moments (Fig. 6.3).

The early maps created in this phase still make determining units of comparison, associations and public festivals, comprehensible. The situational maps initially allowed me to represent the situations' particularity in the three towns to be expressed without defining observation units in advance. The relational analysis then allowed me to determine a tertium comparationis.

I limited producing situational maps to single case studies and to the beginning of the research process, as they appeared too complex and confusing for further analysis.

Fig. 6.3: Situational Map with Relational Analysis

After the main decisions on the research field and tertium comparationes were made, I accessed the field by contacting ethnic associations in the small towns, asking for permission to participate in one of their events. Highly engaged volunteers, whom I describe as entrepreneurs within the small-town arena and different social worlds, functioned as gatekeepers and sometimes referred me to other possible interviewees or forwarded a call for interviews via their mailing list. At the beginning of my studies, I strongly felt what Rolf Lindner (1981) described as 'the researcher's fear of the field' (Lindner 1981, my translation). A fear that Lindner traces back to field research essentially being a moment of social interaction between the observer and the observed, a moment of reciprocity. For the researcher, observing something special is a conversation at one's coffee table, something much more every day for the interviewee. The reciprocity, Lindner argues, is the main methodological problem of participatory observation, wherein the observer 'is caught up in the very web of social interaction which he observes, analyses and reports' (Lindner 1981: 51, my translation). In my case, researcher anxiety led me to postpone answering responses to my call for interviews, made me take another 5-minute walk around the neighbourhood before ringing a doorbell, or led me to sit in the corner at an event doubting the legitimacy of my presence there. I was conscious about not introducing the con-

cept of cultural heritage, which was not a part of people's definition of the situation, or not addressing people I met as members of a migrant or ethnic grouping. Lindner argues that the fears are 'an expression of the image that the researcher has of the image that the designated research subjects have of the researcher.' (1981: 54, my translation). In moments of interaction in the field, the otherwise unequal relationship between researcher and researched becomes equal in that sense and might even turn around. Lindner concludes that it is essential to take these seemingly 'disruptive disruptions' of the research process as a source of data that can be mined if one manages to be reflexive about it, which does not come as a surprise to a researcher trained in feminist research methods. Feminist research has long questioned the objectivity of knowledge production, underlining how social structures of inequality as well as standpoints and positionalities of researchers therein shape what knowledge is being produced in academia. The exchange with my close colleagues was essential for coping with anxieties and better interpreting moments that need such reflexivity in the field research process.

It is crucial to make transparent that I did have help in the field from a student assistant who gathered the data in Cuxhaven, which was explicitly helpful due to her knowledge of the Portuguese language, which proved to be essential in field access and helpful during interviews. All but one interview in the overall sample of this thesis was conducted in German, which is an essential indicator for the minority, but not profoundly disadvantaged or excluded minority status of the participants in this research.

My student assistant Carola Steenhoff and I collaborated closely throughout this project. Her meticulous field notes and insightful interview material proved indispensable resources for the analysis. In retrospect, active participation in the field research phase significantly impacts the depth of understanding. During the analysis, there were instances where I initially felt a degree of uncertainty about my findings. Relying on a specific intuition or instinct (for lack of a better term) played a crucial role in determining the plausibility of my conclusions. In these moments, I frequently sought validation by engaging in discussions with Carola to refine and solidify the aspects of my thesis.

Carola conducted two short-term ethnographic field visits and four interviews in Cuxhaven. I spent three short ethnographic field visits in Zeven, visited four events, and conducted five interviews. I visited Aurich twice, one together with Carola, where I conducted three interviews. The interviews lasted 1–2.5 hours and took place in people's homes (see Figure 6.4 for a list of interviewees), often alongside partners, children or dogs.

Fig. 6.4: List of pseudomised research participants' names and their positioning vis-à-vis local ethncised social worlds and associations

Case Study/ Positioning	**Ethnic entrepreneur**	**Maverick**	**Outsider**
Cuxhaven	*Christina* *Rafael*	*Marta*	*Luis*
Zeven	*Hilde*	*Rubens & Merle* *Joris*	*Sebastian*
Aurich	*Clara* *Richard*		*Lena*

Fig. 6.5: Questions from Interview Guide

Narrative opening questions:

- **I would first ask you to tell me your life story as you have experienced it, especially with regard to how you got to where and who you are today.**
- **What is it like to live, work and grow up in XXX? What does everyday life here look like for you?**

Other questions

- Do you feel at home here? When do you feel most 'at home' and why?
- How would you describe the people in XXX? Who do you feel close to/similar to, who is rather different?
- What would you say characterises the culture here in XXX? Compared to XXX?
- If you could invite 12 people to XXX, what would you show them about your life here?
- You have already mentioned XXX (e.g. volunteering), where being Dutch/Portuguese/East Frisian plays a role. Are there other occasions or areas in everyday life where this is the case?
- What role do the association's activities play for you?
    - Is it important to you that the organisation/the festival lives on in the long term, that a younger generation takes over at some point? Will that happen?
    - This festival also exists in XXX and XXX? Would you say it is special here?
    - How much do the reactions of the wider public here in XX to your activities mean to you?
- You have had experience in two countries. What do you do differently here than there?
- (How) do you maintain contact with your country of origin? What does this contact mean to you?

I constructed the interviews as problem-centred (Witzel 2000),[6] with two initial narrative questions. These questions were broad and were meant to trigger a more extended narrative in an attempt not to prime the narrative along an ethnic lens. I first asked: 'tell me your life story as you have experienced it, especially with regard to how you got to where you are and who you are today.' I underlined that I would try not to disturb their narrative. I then asked, 'What is it like to live, work and grow up in XXX? What is everyday life like for you here?' Later in the interview I asked more specific questions, such as where they feel at home, which kind of people in the city they do or do not feel close to, and about their volunteer work and the festivals (See Figure 6.5. for the complete interview guide).

As the interviews contained most personal data, anonymising the data is of central importance here. I intended initially to use pseudonyms for individual research participants and the three small towns. However, I realised that not naming the towns does have disadvantages as to the use of pictures, the quoting of newspaper articles and most importantly, a description of specific worldmaking aspects, such as policies, development plans, or regime actors central in the fields. This decision had implications for my publication-oriented work of anonymising the data. Werner et al. (2023) point out that anonymisation in social research entails much more than pseudonymisation. The task starts with data management and storage aspects, and the publication of research findings entails many decisions to be made throughout the research process. They state:

> This is an issue that appears simple on the surface, but on closer examination reveals blind spots and complexities. Anonymization is particularly time-consuming in qualitative studies with few participants, which may be conducted in small towns or manageable communities. (Werner et al. 2023: 3, my translation)

All interviewees consented to my use of their words for this and potential later research projects in accordance with the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). All data that can serve to identify research participants directly is and was accessible only to myself and to my student assistant for limited amounts of time. I cut out of the text contextual data analysis that can be related to individual research participants and that was not relevant to the analysis. This includes the names of third parties, family relationships, affiliations to groups, locations (e.g. cities), institutions or roles, competencies and geographical references. (ibid: 10) This meant the exclusion of all data that could potentially be harmful to individuals, such as their

6 Witzel describes his interview method as 'inductive-deductive' (2000: 2, my translation). It is based on theory-generating procedures of Grounded Theory and opposes both deductive approaches as well as naive-inductive approaches to empirical research, which pretend the research is not situated in that researcher' enter the field and analysis with an interest and with presumptions.

sexual orientation. My anonymisation strategy can generally be described as oriented toward publication (ibid:13). The concrete techniques I used were not naming, as well as generalising and pseudonymising data points.

My ethnographic field research phases were relatively short and focused on specific events and moments of interaction. They can be described as 'focused ethnography' (Knoblauch 2013), a form of ethnographic practice taking place in one's own culture and for a limited amount of time. During the short-term ethnographic visits of one or two nights, Carola and I soon came to realise that it was the informal conversations that were of great importance to understand the heritage situations better. These conversations were especially important in that many of the most useful ones happened with people we would not have associated with being active in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations, such as local businesspeople or important individuals without official roles in the associations. Our field notes became important places to document these conversations. Another moment of change in the sampling strategy regarding the interviews was when we realised that it was very important for people to position themselves via other members of the ethnic associations or an ethnic/diaspora community more broadly. This was when we found mavericks – people positioned at the margins of or opposed to the social worlds – to become a part of the interview sample alongside the entrepreneurs, who occupied a central position in and across the social worlds.

In the earlier stages of the research process, I decided to read local newspaper articles to gain background knowledge on the festivals and associations in the small towns and only later on included them in the data sample. Some of the more recent articles were accessible online; for most, I visited the local newspaper archive or contacted newspapers to send requested articles. In the case of Aurich, I included 14 articles in the sample, ranging from 1995 to 2018. In Cuxhaven, the sample was bigger with 29 articles ranging from 1966, when the Spanish centre was opened, to 2018, when a new executive board of the German-Portuguese Cultural Association was elected. In Zeven, I got a bit lost in the archive and included 89 articles from 1963, when the arrival of the Dutch military garrison in the city was announced, to 2018, when the Four Evening Marches festival turned 50 years old.

To sum up, the analytical practice of mapping is central to a Situational Analysis project from its very beginnings, laid out here to compose a research design, and in the process of gathering data along the principles of theoretical sampling. Mapping along with consistent memoing, while gathering different types of data from desktop research, expert conversations and later on from ethnographic observation, newspaper articles and interviews, is an iterative process of abduction, a constant moving between empirical data and theorising. The goal of this theorising in Situational Analysis is to understand the situation of research more clearly, a process that urges the researcher to actively reflect on and make transparent choices during the research process. It is this iterative process that leads to theorising and, in

my case, the development of Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a theoretical model. While I have so far described the ways is which mapping helped to decide on a tertium comparationes, the associations and festivals in all three towns, other kinds of structuring comparisons became central in these later stages of the research process.

6.2.2 Doing Situational Analysis

My Situational Analysis praxis was centrally composed of three techniques: open coding of the interview material, mapping, and memoing. The interview material takes a unique position in the research as I only coded the interviews, not the other types of data, field notes and newspaper articles. This is because my main research interest was how the research participants draw symbolic boundaries and value the cultural productions they are engaged in from a subjective perspective.

Upon completing the interview transcription, I conducted three rounds of open coding, a pivotal initial step in the grounded theory research methodology, which encompasses two to three distinct coding phases, not all of which play a role in Situational Analysis. During open coding, I systematically coded segments of the interview material. Initially, my first code list was interview-specific, yet I continuously made memos about recurring aspects across different interviews. This laid the foundation for my second code list, which highlighted codes spanning interviews within a case.

This process resulted in the identification of 137 codes encompassing 728 coded segments. In the third phase, I employed MaxMaps as a visual analysis tool to cluster the codes around 'more enduring and analytically ambitious conceptual categories', as emphasised by Clarke et al. (2018: 5). As the codes evolved into more abstract representations during the open coding process, a fusion of bottom-up and top-down codes emerged through an abductive process. For instance, I systematically grouped various codes under broader categories, such as forms of boundary making or volunteer engagements, employing visualisations to enhance conceptual clarity.

The focus in Situational Analysis transitions to mapping after the open coding stage, while the relation of codes to maps remains unclear. Clarke (2018: 27) advises not to put codes on maps but rather to use coding to first break up the material. In my case, the ideas for specific maps and their content emerged from the open coding process and the memoing that went along with it.[7]

The project's central challenge at this stage in the research process lay in the various moments where comparison played a role. There is the question of the tertium comparationis in the early stages of the research process, along with the logic of

7 Templates of all three kinds of maps that I used for my own maps can be found here: https://study.sagepub.com/clarke2e/student-resources/templates (accesses June 6, 2024).

theoretical sampling, as outlined in the previous sub-chapter. Beyond this, the research questions primarily concern how individuals within specific arenas compare themselves to others, a process that gives rise to symbolic boundary making and, potentially, group formation. In this sense, comparison itself becomes an object of empirical investigation. Finally, the project also examined how processes of (e)valuation operate in relation to the cultural practices and productions in which people participate – amounting to a comparative analysis of fundamental social processes. Situational Analysis enables the explicit and systematic integration of these diverse modes of comparison, which are central to sociological research (Sielert 2023). Comparison within this framework becomes a reflexive method, encompassing both abstract comparisons of social processes by the researcher and comparisons as an empirical object of investigation.

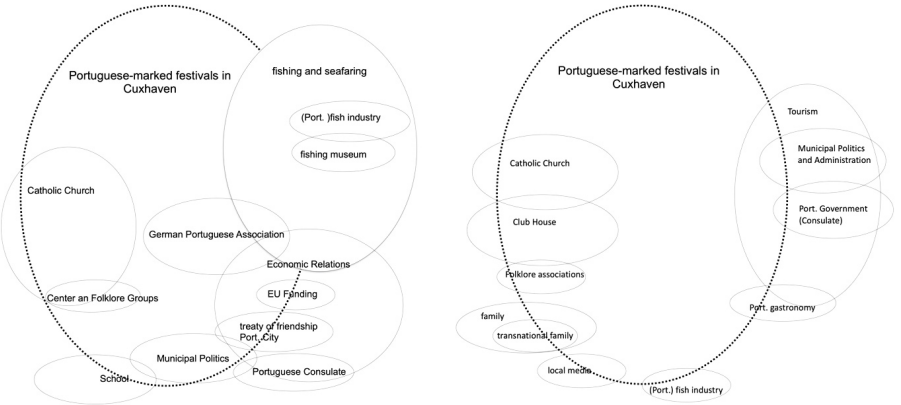
I profited from the eclectic work already being done by Clarke and others on doing comparative analysis in Situational Analysis (Sielert 2023). Some researchers have used Situational Analysis for explicitly comparative research designs (e.g., Schulte-Römer 2015; Shim 2005). In key Situational Analysis publications, there are aspects in which comparison appears as a research method. The 'method of constant comparison' (Glaser 1965) in data coding is most relevant, as already practised in grounded theory and partly in Situational Analysis. In addition, there is a practice of 'comparative mapping,' in which data types are analysed in separate maps to make the results comparable (Clarke et al. 2018: 235).

I produced social world/arena maps limited to one specific data source, such as participant observations and newspaper articles; maps limited to the data of a small-town arena; and maps integrating all three cases. The former helped focus the analysis on what is different across cases, while the latter showed what is similar.

As I have argued elsewhere (Sielert 2023), social world and arena maps are well suited to analyse comparisons at the level of the actors' practices of comparison (their definition of the situation), which draw symbolic boundaries between social worlds in the field. Social world/arena maps are a relational ecological form of organisational analysis (Clarke and Leigh Star 2008). Their empirical questions are: 'Who cares about which issues, and what do they want to do about them?' (Clarke et al. 2018: 148). Social world/arena maps proved to be especially fruitful in my research process not only to get a first overview of which actors participate in the (re)production of ethnicised festivals in small town arenas but also to analyse the role of the heritage regime's operations as state and otherwise governmental regulation via institution and organisation active in the arenas. In contrast to Barney Glaser's (1965) 'method of constant comparison,' the proximity to the empirical material and the correspondingly low level of abstraction means that the differentiations of the empirical world remain visible as differences in the various actors' boundary-drawing processes. Nevertheless, the maps also make it possible to visualise affiliation

formations through social world relations in ethnically marked cultural production. It was these kinds of maps that were most differentiated per case and type of data

Fig. 6.6 & 6.7: Social World/Arena Maps based on newspaper articles (left) and ethnographic observation (right)



For example, it proved productive to confront the social worlds and symbolic boundaries constructed by dominant discourses and narratives about the small towns' minority inhabitants in newspaper articles with less dominant narratives and observations in the field (Fig 6.6 & 6.7). In the case of Cuxhaven, I found that while the dominant narrative in the local newspaper is to bind the city's Portuguese heritage to a history of its so-called 'guest workers,' for people in the field or within events, this history was somewhat absent.

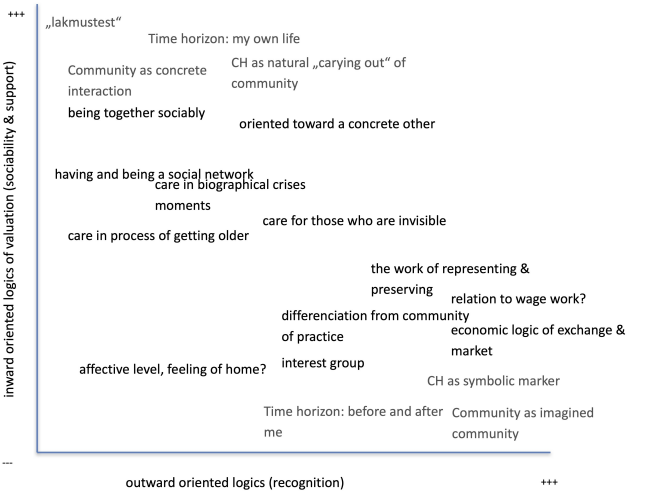
Integrative maps that include data from all three cases are more abstract and already involve a certain amount of the research analysis; at times, they are an outcome of conducting maps per case or data. They operate on a level of scientific comparison, the comparison of social processes, rather than comparison as a phenomenon in the research field. Emile Durkheim (1984), for example, posited that comparison is not a particular branch of sociology, but all sociological work is comparative per se. Theory provides the framework within which different empirical objects can be compared.[8] The integrative social world and arena maps tended to move to this level of abstraction, which simultaneously focuses on what is similar rather than different across cases.

All positional maps conducted for this project were integrative, which means that they were constructed using all kinds of data from all three case studies. Po-

8 I have discussed the problematic side of this assumption in Sielert (2023).

sitional maps offer ecologies of positions taken or not taken and contested issues in empirical situations. They bring elements of discursive analysis to the research process, which proved helpful for my reconstruction of relevant cultural repertoires (Lamont and Thévenot 2000). The focus in positional maps is not on individual and collective actors that employ such repertoires but on the criteria of (e)valuation that constitute them.

Fig. 6.8: Positional Map, integrative of all data and all cases



Positional maps are traditionally thought to map discourses and discursive positions in the material. Sarah Glück (2023: 18) argues that instead of taking discourses as a basis for positional maps, it is also possible to map out narrative structures with their help. In the context of my research, positional maps proved helpful in reconstructing different criteria of (e)valuation that, taken together, hinted toward relevant cultural repertoires of (e)valuation in the field and their content (Fig. 6.8.). This allowed for comparing different criteria of (e)valuation of cultural productions as causal mechanisms for boundary making. I, for example, mapped out the heritage repertoire from a more active approach of making and appropriating heritages to a more passive-oriented receiving of heritage or was able to reconstruct more in-depth the contents of small-town-repertoire participants in the studies drew upon in symbolic boundary making.

Overall, I produced almost 20 versions of the social world and arena maps in analysis, which I developed throughout the research process and played with in the analysis. They first allowed the structuring of the comparative research design of the project. Second, they allowed me not to give up on the empirical material's complexity (and to stay open, as Clarke calls it) and to reach a certain level of productive analytical clarity.

As a tool for qualitative inquiry, I experienced producing and reworking maps as real work, which was sometimes tiring. I always had to make several maps before key insights jumped out at me. I use the language of insights 'jumping out' at me consciously to indicate how it felt in the moment and to underline how maps make the material speak for one's research interest – a process Strübing names 'abductive flashes' (2002: 324, my translation). At the same time, the maps enabled a transparency in the way I came to certain conclusions, which is, despite how it feels in the moment, much less a sudden instance of 'jumping out' but of hard analytical work.

6.2.3 More than Wrapping up – Writing as an Analytical Process

Writing played a foundational role throughout the entire trajectory of my research process. This encompassed various stages, ranging from crafting an initial project grounded in the existing literature to the ongoing practice of memoing, early drafts of chapters, and the formulation of conference papers addressing specific facets of the project. It extended to the critical process of translating intricate analytical maps, which inherently lack self-explanatory clarity, into cohesive written narratives in analysis chapters. Finally, the core writing phase involved synthesising the research findings and theoretical contributions into a coherent scholarly work, which in its initial phase involved a lot of freewriting in a 'stream of consciousness' style. Writing played a huge role in these later stages of the analysis process.

Writing is, as has been argued by qualitative and ethnographic researchers,[9] not a mere 'means to communicate research, but as its very aid. Writing is not just of research but as research.' (Mitchell and Clark 2021: 1). Writing involves interpretation at every step and must be considered a research method in itself; it helps to reflect on the data critically and becomes a means to enhance qualitative analysis. The meaning of the final thesis text is constructed in a fusion of horizons as an author and reader (Mitchell and Clark 2021). Accordingly, Strübing et al. (2018) added the category 'textual performance' to the list of quality criteria in qualitative research.

While I was very aware of and trained in the important role of memoing and writing an exposé as part of the research process, I have to admit that the step of

9 See, e.g., the Writing Culture debate of the 1980s/1990s (Zenker 2014).

putting my analytical maps into writing analytical chapters and the analytical process that evolved in composing these chapters came as a surprise to me. While I did have experience writing an empirical research project for my M.A. thesis, until starting the PhD my writing experience was of the structured sort. I constructed lines of content and analysis in advance and had to write down these insights. In light of the years-long process and complexity of a PhD project to be published as a book, I ultimately had to change my habitual writing practices.

A first breakthrough in this respect came when I accepted that this phase of 'writing up' the project would sometimes be frayed and messy. I then embraced this aspect of writing and started to produce many pages of freewriting, asking myself questions like 'What will be the content of this chapter?' or 'what do I want to say here?'. With a lot of analytical work and clarity, the development of my overall narrative arose from this freewriting.

To begin to put my analytical maps into words[10] on a mere descriptive level was another step of writing that helped in the process. This also involved reviewing all my maps and memos to decide which results would become part of the final project and where to place them. Clarke et. al. strongly recommended going along with the feeling of surprise in the research process when making this decision. They write:

> We are always very happy when researchers discuss being surprised at an outcome of an SA project, because it usually means they are working very hard and confronting themselves as well as the data in seriously reflexive ways. (2018: 179)

Taking 'moments of nonrecognition' (Glick Schiller et al. 2006) as the starting point of each chapter, I followed their advice to go with the surprises.

Another of Clarke et al.'s suggestions in finalising a Situational Analysis project through writing that I found extremely helpful is to produce a final project map out of situational maps.

> SA project maps are, quite simply, maps of particular projects or of facets of particular projects prepared for presentations, research reports, published articles, or books. They are no longer maps pursued to further one's own SA, but instead are tailored to explicate particular aspects of that analysis for intended […] audiences. (ibid: 202)

It was in this last step of putting my central social world/arena and positional maps into such a final situational project map that I managed to most clearly develop my

10 Special thanks to Anna-Lisa Klages and Tobias Fitzek, who accompanied me in this process through regular online exchanges.

concept of Ethnicised Heritage Situations and the operationalisation of elements in this situation.

This chapter has outlined how Situational Analysis provided the groundwork for this study's research design and analysis. It enabled me to bring together theory, data, and emergent conceptual contributions in a reflexive manner. By working through the complexity of the three small towns, mapping proved particularly generative: it not only highlighted contrasts between everyday experiences and dominant representations in the literature and mainstream media but also structures comparisons and at times unexpected connections across the case studies. The iterative process involving mapping, memoing and coding showed how particularities of cases and experiences complicate generalised accounts, while also revealing patterns across cases by comparing the ways in which people categorise one another or (e)valuate their cultural doings.

The analysis process was not linear but abductive – moving back and forth between the empirical and the conceptual. Rather than treating theory as imposed from the outset, insights from the data are theorised, while theory in turn guided some of the questions I asked of the data. This dynamic interplay was central to the development of Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a theoretical model, which emerged not as an abstract construction but through the grounded, comparative work of Situational Analysis. This lays the foundation for the chapters that follow. The Ethnicised Heritage Situations model is taken forward as both an analytic and conceptual lens, allowing me to explore the processes of worldmaking and sensemaking that unfold in and across the towns.

PART III: Worldmaking of Heritage Regimes in Ethnicised Heritage Situations and the (Dis)Contents of Heritage as a Cultural Repertoire

The website 'Dive into Intangible Cultural Heritage' offers a colourful visual and engaging way to get acquainted with the almost 800 cultural elements and expressions listed as Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO. Different listed elements are linked through an interactive network of nodes and lines. When clicking on a concept – for example, 'music' or 'rituals' – the map highlights related elements as circles connected by branching lines, implying that practices from different regions or traditions share common themes. Each node can be selected to reveal more information, which in turn expands the network further and shows new connections.

As fun as it is to browse the map and to travel the world from the comfort of home, the impression one gets is that all these particular cultural endeavours and forms linked in a common web are part of a market of cultural diversity spanning the globe. This blatantly exemplifies an important aspect of heritage policies' worldmaking – understood as highly institutionalised, generalised (e)valuations: Their power to turn cultural endeavours and forms as diverse as 'Traditional skills of loincloth weaving in Côte d'Ivoire' and the 'Manufacture of Cowbells' into comparable objects, linked by the concept of 'family' (Noyes 2015).

Eight out of the many concepts on the map carry the notion of 'community' in their name, ranging from 'community participation' to 'community centres'. The 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage mentions the concept 11 times in formulations that pose a cultural heritage belonging to a community, thereby posing an intimate entanglement of local culture with group formation and identity claims (Adell et. al 2015). This is another aspect of heritage policies' worldmaking processes.

While elements of these operations of worldmaking are present in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations of Zeven, Cuxhaven and Aurich, the much more prevalent

core elements found in the sensemaking processes and organisational setup of the heritage festivals during this study confront the assumed relevance of such institutionalised (e)valuations of global heritage regimes.

The genesis of the ethnicised festivals in the three small towns can be considered the product of national and religious heritage regime operations with large supraregional organisations rather than an ethnicised community of practice as their bearers. As for the cases of Cuxhaven and Zeven, this confirms what Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009), among others, have found out about the relatively minor role of ethnicity in integration pathways in small cities and the reliance of migrant self-organisation on supraregional organisational actors (see also Åberg and Högman 2015; Bonizzoni and Marzorati 2015; Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Kirchhoff and Bolte 2014; Semprebon, Marzorati, and Bonizzoni 2023). However, festival (re)production is and always was led by individuals 'on the ground'. There are local businesspeople, as often in small town cultural settings (Hjalager and Kwiatkowski 2018; Lysgård 2016:4), involved in the (re)production of the ethnicised festivals. Still, the volunteer-based nature of the work involved in festival organisation is noteworthy. My initial contact in the field was with entrepreneurs – understood as highly engaged volunteers that are engaged in different social worlds, such as local media, local politics and associational life – who acted as gatekeepers to other research participants and whose lengthy interviews shaped my perspective. I contacted them via their membership in ethnic associations that deliberately identify themselves as members of a specific ethnic group, as evident in their names such as 'Portuguese', 'East Frisian', or 'Dutch'. Among these associations is a religious and ethnic group under the auspices of the Catholic church in Cuxhaven, along with ethnic and cultural associations in Zeven and Aurich. These associations often have physical manifestations in clubhouses, cultural centres, or, in the case of Cuxhaven, within the local Catholic church.

The historical link between Cuxhaven and Portuguese immigration is visible in current events celebrating or presenting the local fish industry, which almost always involve an element of Portuguese food folklore. When one Cuxhaven inhabitant who immigrated to the town and used to work in the – by now decreased – fish industry is asked about the fishermen festival he states: 'Where fish used to be sold nowadays something is being celebrated, which doesn't even exist anymore in Cuxhaven – isn't that an irony of fate' (CN 06/2011). Performative moments of Cuxhaven's Portugueseness, in other words, exist even though there is no local Portuguese community whatsoever centrally invested in the festivals' (re)production. For the local Portuguese folklore dance group, an interviewee in Cuxhaven was keen to point out that a performance on the festival stage is a welcoming moment, but understood it as not more than a 'job' that facilitates their much more inward-oriented social events in less public spaces. This inward orientation towards the reproduction of social life is similarly true for the folklore dance group that performs in front of Aurich's may-

pole once a year. The engagement of individuals in such cultural endeavours follows an orientation that favours sociability over public recognition, and supporting each other over professionalised displays of their activities. Dominant heritage regime criteria of (e)valuation such as recognition, expertise, or consumer orientation (Brumann 2018; Waterton and Smith 2010) were less prevalent than those that can be said to practice an ethic of care emphasising attentiveness, responsibility, competence and responsiveness in caring relationships (Tronto 1993). This orientation that comes back to the use value of cultural productions poses a so-far undertheorised gendered matrix of heritage.

The entrepreneurs I interviewed as volunteers highly engaged in the social worlds of relevance in the field have considerable power in establishing the ethnicised festivals as boundary objects, thus delineating the borders between interpretive communities. Boundary objects are flexible concepts, artefacts or practices that different social groups can adapt to their own needs, enabling coordination and collaboration without requiring full consensus (Star and Clarke 2007). At the other end of such boundary work but no less important are mavericks, who position themselves on the outskirts of local minority groups. I initially tended to understand all festivals as boundary objects, that is, entities at the intersections of diverse social worlds, serving mutual concerns (Star and Clarke 2007:118). But through my research, I found that they are in the cases of Aurich's Maypole celebration and Zeven's Four Evening Marches nowadays but not in the case of Cuxhaven's Fatima procession.

Generally during fieldwork, I was troubled by the seemingly harmonious and non-conflictual course of all of the events I visited. There was rarely a sign of the festivals or associations being places to negotiate identity claims or to compete over resources. I soon understood that almost all of their history involved such 'unsettled times' in the past, though not anymore. Ann Swidler distinguishes between two models of culture, wherein culture operates differently: one in which it accounts for continuities in 'settled lives', where it is intricately integrated with action, and another in periods of social transformation where ideologies, explicit and highly organised meaning systems (both political and religious) establish new styles or strategies of action (Swidler 1986). Such temporal elements influence the Ethnicised Heritage Situations under study here. The moments that I entered the field were relatively settled, which accounts for the lack of conflict over the festivals as representations of the small-town arenas' Dutch, Portuguese or East Frisian heritage.

This situational framing has to be kept in mind during the analysis of Ethnicised Heritage Situations in the next two chapters. This focus on the ethnicised festivals and associations of the three towns brings to light a somewhat paradoxical relation of world- and sensemaking in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations: An ethnicised community of practice is either absent as bearer of the festivals or, when a concrete community matters to individuals, it is with an orientation much different

from the one worldmaking processes of heritage regimes and associated criteria of (e)valuation seem to imply.

7. The (Re)production of Ethnicised Festivals: Large Organisations and Boundary Objects in the Absence of a Community of Practice

When a member of the Dutch traditional association in Zeven offered to accompany me to the annual Sinterklaas festival and arrival at the City Hall, I did not know what to expect from this highly contested Dutch national festival being staged in a small German town. However, when I arrived in front of the building and met her, I quickly realised that I did have presumptions. I expected the people active in the production and performance of the event to be predominantly Dutch and maybe even members of the Dutch association. To my surprise, while Sinterklaas himself and some of the Black Peters were Dutch, the majority of the other actively involved people were non-Dutch, mostly German: The Black Peters that abseiled from the wall of the town Hall were German soldiers, and the organisers behind the event was a local, business-led civic association. At a coffee table with all involved after the performance, my companion was flustered:

> It is sad that the civic association of local businesspeople always leave the Sinterklaas festivities directly afterwards, missing out on sitting together at the long 'Kaffeetafel.' This is so German. (quoted in field notes)

While the woman regularly attends the festival, including its inner circle meetings afterwards, she is motivated to do so in her representative function for the local Dutch association and not out of individual passion. Instead, she is an outsider to the festival's (re)production. In her experience, the festival lost its Dutch character when the initial organiser, the Dutch military garrison in Zeven, withdrew.

Contrary to expectations, the absence of a bounded community of practice in the genesis of the festivals in Zeven, Aurich, and Cuxhaven emerged as a perplexing observation in the course of my research. Across the three towns, large supraregional organisations such as the military, the church, or the municipality (components of national or religious heritage regimes) played a central role in the festivals' founding moments. However, at points in time these organisations withdrew from or-

ganisational responsibilities, and voluntary workers subsequently assumed the primary organisational role. Notably, this organisational shift did not involve ethnically marked communities of practice but associations and interest groups comprised of small-scale entrepreneurs in the region.

This chapter inquires into which actors are involved in (re)producing the festivals and explores the underlying reasons for their involvement, delving into their criteria of (e)valuation. The first part shows how large supraregional organisations are the founders of the festivals. The second part delves into the reproduction of the festivals after their withdrawal from the arena. While some festivals evolve into boundary objects, others, such as the one in Cuxhaven, are taken over by other large organisations. Where large organisations become absent, various social worlds collaborate on relatively loose terms, participating with varying intentions and motivations.

The national and religious heritage regimes at play in the festivals' founding moments have considerable worldmaking powers. At the same time, small-scale and more significant business actors in the arenas play a role in forming the economic criteria of (e)valuation within them. The regimes operate through the presence of large organisations, but notably absent from them are the clearly bounded communities as the primary bearers of the festivals' heritage. Even though they appear ethnicised, the festivals are essential pathways of incorporation for Dutch and East Frisian inhabitants of the towns not because they facilitate one to 'become' ethnic; but give opportunity to connect socially.

Organisations, then, are integral to heritage regimes, even before official heritage interventions occur. This challenges the notion of communities as being the exclusive recipients or bearers of heritage. Conceptualising them as such risks inadvertently creating these communities rather than simply strengthening existing ones.

Similar instances to the one of Sinterklaas festival in Zeven can be reconstructed in all of my three case studies. In reflecting on his first year of organising the new Maypole festival in Aurich, a businessperson and main organiser discussed an interaction he had with traditional associations:

> In our first year of organising the Maypole tradition in Aurich, we didn't have a folklore dance group, only a rock band. People critiqued us for this, so we booked a local East Frisian dance group this time. That was it. (field notes)

From these observations, I titled this chapter with the notion of the 'absence' of a community of practice; in my case studies there is no congruency between an ethnicised community of practice and a festival.

7.1 Large Organisations as Heritage Regime Actors in the Festivals' Founding Moments

It is striking how critical a role different types of organisations played in the ethnically marked festivals in Cuxhaven, Zeven, and Aurich, especially at the moment of their tradition being invented (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). In Zeven, this organisation is the Dutch military, in Cuxhaven, the Catholic church, and, when it comes to the fish festival, an interest group of local and globally active corporations. In Aurich, organisations like the Ostfriesische Landschaft (East Frisian Landscape Association), an explicit heritage institution, is among many important regional organisational actors. In the case of the Maypole festival in the town centre, the municipality and its administrative bodies were central.

These large organisations founded all of the festivals under study. By 'large,' I am emphasising that they are local outposts of supraregional organisations with a considerable amount of bureaucratic and financial power and organisational differentiation, and they are embedded in an upscale network of national, economic, or religious organisations and heritage regimes. This is opposed to smaller organisations, like local associations or regional interest groups, who rely on members' financial remittances or generally have much smaller financial households and no upscale organisational structure.[1] The founding moments of the festivals in all three cities and the large supraregional organisations as representatives of national or religious heritage regimes therein show the role of worldmaking in the genesis of such ethnicised events. In other words, they show that in these cases, there was no local community of people aiming toward being represented in festivals and taking the appropriate bottom-up initiative.

Fatima processions are celebrated by Portuguese diaspora communities worldwide, wherein, just as the case of Cuxhaven, prayers are often said not only for the Portuguese Catholic community but for the universal Catholic Church (Dumont 2003). So while the festival appears as Portuguese to the town's public, in the eyes of the church members organising it the festival is first and foremost Catholic. This becomes clear when Christina describes praying the rosary:

1 I use 'supraregional' to denote the organisations' framework of action as national or global, as opposed to more local actors, and to position them as actors in different heritage regimes. It did not feel necessary to my argument to go into debates about typologies of organisations. Such debates can be found elsewhere, see Apelt and Tacke (2012); Eldridge and Crombie (2013).

> So today we prayed in six different languages – the rosary. And in that sense the person next to me… It does not matter what he is, at that moment he is a Catholic. (Christina)[2]

Or when she made clear that in the halls of the church, everyone is the same as a Christian:

> The Portuguese and German flags, that means that we are a community together, only together we are something. In the Catholic church, there are no German, Portuguese and Chinese people; in the Catholic church, there are only Christians. (Christina)[3]

The local Portuguese mission under the leadership of the Portuguese priest first organised the Fatima procession in Cuxhaven. The institutionalisation of Catholic missions for foreign work migrants in Germany that began in the 1960s is an essential precursor to the associations that shape the small-town arena today. As Dietrich Thränhardt and Jenni Winterhagen underline, 'From the beginning, Catholic missions shaped patterns and themes of migrant self-organisation that continue to influence the integration process today' (2012: 200). A study conducted in 2007 found that over 20 percent of young Catholics in Germany hailed from immigrant families. These individuals exhibited higher religiosity than their counterparts without immigrant backgrounds, where only one in four identified as 'religious' or 'very religious'. The church's main aim was to provide pastoral care in the worker's mother tongue, which was soon accompanied with support by social workers from different countries of origin. They offered the migrant workers helpful knowledge for handling everyday life in a foreign country and organised activities to produce a sense of community and support among one another.

The local Cuxhaven newspaper reported in 1966 that a Spanish cultural centre was to be opened. 'The Spanish and Portuguese breathe in a sigh of relief' (CN 04/1966) as they finally find a place for themselves to 'feel at home in a foreign country' (CN 04/1966), the paper stated. In the following decades, especially since the 1990s, two differentiated association landscapes, a Portuguese and a Spanish one, have developed. Tränhardt and Winterhagen (2012) point out that in the early years after immigration, contact with other local Catholic communities was scarce and not pushed for by the mission administrations. Only when local Catholic communities were increasingly dying out and suffering from a lack of community

2 *„Also wir haben heute in sechs verschiedene Sprachen. den Rosenkranz gebetet. und insofern und der neben mir ist ob. Es spielt keine Rolle was er ist. in dem Moment ist ein Katholik." (Christina)*

3 *„Die portugiesische und deutsche Fahne, das bedeutet, dass wir zusammen eine Gemeinschaft sind, nur zusammen was sind. In der katholischen Kirche gibts keine Deutschen ((unverständlich)) Portugiesen und Chinesen, in der katholischen Kirche gibts nur Christen." (Christina)*

participation did they reach out to the more lively and active neighbouring missions. Since the 2000s, debates around integrating Catholic missions into the local German Catholic Church led to the closure of some missions, such as the one in Cuxhaven in 2006.

In comparing Italian, Spanish, and Croatian missions in Germany, Thränhardt and Winterhagen show how different ideological presumptions form their work. Interestingly, the presumptions in this context relate not only to the specificities of migrant workers as members of the community in Germany but also to the history and current developments in the countries of origin: 'For the Spanish priests, integration meant above all integration through education. They developed a successful double strategy of regular German school and supplementary education for the immigrants' children.' (2012: 212, my translation). Consequently, one can assume that a focus on educating young people with a Portuguese family history in language classes and church confirmation groups today comes from this specific history.

The Catholic church played a direct role in the genesis of Cuxhaven's Fatima festival and an indirect role in the other ethnicised festivals and cultural endeavours, as it was the institution first providing space for local Portuguese immigrants to meet and connect. The church established the Fatima procession through the town centre with a Fatima sculpture imported from Portugal by the then-local priest, as Christina narrated:

> Priest N. in his Golf… he travelled from Portugal in the Golf he had at the time, and I can still remember exactly how he said: 'A man and a woman, we came from Portugal together. I took her with me, right? And she was lying in the car, and I was in good company for the whole drive' (Christina).[4]

Indirectly, the church played an essential role in migrant self-organisation, evident in the landscape of Portuguese associations in Cuxhaven today. The church, however, is not involved in organising the second festival that I researched in this locale, the local fish festival organised by a local interest group of supraregional corporations active in the fish industry. This festival is primarily a culinary festival and is only ethnicised as Portuguese secondarily. In contrast to the small-scale entrepreneurs I will address in the next section, these corporations have a supraregional scope of action, so I typify them as large organisations. Taking place since 1994, the fish festival is a pillar of the town's use of old harbour buildings. The festival organisers see it as a part of 'targeted PR and press relations' as well

4 *„Pfarrer Nelsen in seinem Golf… er ist mit dem Golf, den er damals hatte, aus Portugal gereist, und ich kann mich noch genau daran erinnern, wie er sagte: „Ein Mann und eine Frau, wir sind zusammen aus Portugal gekommen, ich hab' sie mitgebracht, ne? Und sie lag da im Auto und ich war in guter Begleitung die ganze Fahrt". (Christina)*

as 'joint marketing measures' (Association homepage, my translation). The festival comprises of a culinary event that involves eating fish accompanied by music and 'some Portuguese folklore' (Association homepage, my translation).

A Dutch National heritage regime instituted by a Dutch military organisation and its garrison in Zeven is the most important actor in the birth of the Dutch festivals in the town, specifically Sinterklaas and Four Evening Marches.[5] When in 1963 a Dutch military brigade was installed, the military administration immediately started organising festivals in the town. This was the case in Zeven, but also happened in at least one other town with brigades, Blomberg (Graf 2010). These activities can be seen in the context of the military's and, therefore, the nation-state's policies and practices regarding military-civil relations. On the one hand, public festivals were part of life in the barracks as a sort of enclave, a 'total institution' (Goffman 1961), providing soldiers and their families with their everyday needs as if they were in the Netherlands. Hilde, an active volunteer in the Dutch association of Zeven, described the situation like this:

> Back then, we had everything in the barracks. Our eldest went to a Dutch school, there was a Dutch club for every sport, we had a citizens' office, we didn't need anything German. Tennis, swimming, all that was done in the barracks.[6] (Hilde)

Maybe, in this context, the festivals also produced an image of the citizen-soldier (Burk 2002). On the other hand, the festivals attempted to increase the local population's acceptance of the Dutch soldiers.[7] Although Dutch military members and their families were already largely welcome in the town, bringing money and boosting the economy, newspaper articles from the time show that there were more minor conflicts with the local population. One article discussed fights between the young male soldiers and the local population. A newspaper article titled 'General S. Regrets

---

5 While the Catholic Church heritage regime dominated the start of the Portuguese-marked arena under study and still does dominate, it is not the only actor, as the Portuguese state of origin also always played a considerable role, although not so much in cultural endeavours. In Cuxhaven the Portuguese Foreign ministry has always played an active role, mainly in the form of a consulate based in the neighbouring bigger town. Its representatives and administration workers regularly visit the town for festivities. The consulate has also paid for some language courses in the past and is involved in developing economic partnerships between regions in Portugal and Cuxhaven. The active management of emigrant populations by countries of origin is a well-known phenomenon, specifically in cases where the countries are dependent on the emigrants through, for example, revenue.

6 *„Damals hatten wir alles in der Kaserne. Die Älteste war damals auf einer niederländischen Schule, es gab für jeden Sport einen niederländischen Verein, wir hatten ein Bürgerbüro, ja, wir brauchten nichts Deutsches. Tennis, Schwimmen, alles hat man in der Kaserne gemacht". (Hilde)*

7 Such policies are nowadays instituted by NATO and are called CIMIC (Conception, implementation and development of civil-military cooperation).

Incident' (ZN 06/1963). As Andrea Graf (2010: 60) found in a NATO mission in the German town of Blomberg, organisation and participation in the Sinterklaas festival was popular among the soldiers, as it officially counted as working time.

In the case of Aurich, the genesis of Maypole traditions in the town with its neighbourhoods goes far back; their origins are unclear to historians, and often no major institution takes the lead in their organisation. However, until 2016 the municipality organised and financed the main Maypole tradition in the centre of Aurich. Being a 'subscale' of the German state, the municipality is not a large organisation, but it does have an amount of organisational power and resources at hand. Therefore, the Aurich Maypole festival is operated by an organisation that can be considered part of a national heritage regime until 2016.

All of these cases demonstrate the role in establishing the festivals is played by national heritage regimes at the municipality and Netherlands country-of-origin levels, a Catholic heritage regime, and corporate-oriented activities. These regimes manifest through prominent organisations such as the Catholic Church's missions, a corporate interest group, the municipality, and the Dutch military. These findings challenge the underlying assumption of communities of practice being ontologised in heritage management and, at times, in research. In my case studies, and likely in many other instances, it is not a community but highly institutionalised and powerful organisations that initiate and invent local cultural productions. UNESCO is among the most visible in current global heritage regime discourses.

7.2 The Effects of Transformation in Small-Town Arenas: Festivals as Spaces of Commerce and Encounter

The 2000s marked a period of upheaval and transition in all three north German towns. The large organisations previously involved withdrew from the festivals' (re)production for varying reasons, transforming the towns' once relatively settled times into a stage of 'unsettled lives,' to borrow cultural sociologist Ann Swidler's (1986) conceptualisation of culture's functioning in settled and unsettled lives. By the time of my field research, the arenas were reorganised, new action strategies had been established, and times were relatively settled again.

7.2.1 Economic Criteria of (E)valuation in Small-Scale Corporate Activity

In 2017, the Aurich municipal government cut back on cultural expenses and stopped financing and organising the Maypole festival, which then did not take place that year. After some debates in the local newspaper, an interest group of local small-scale restauranteurs took on reviving celebrations in the town centre in 2018. When the military withdrew from the town of Zeven in 2006, a voluntary association mostly

made up of local businesspeople took over the organisation of the Dutch festivals in the yearly calendar. Meanwhile, the Fatima procession in Cuxhaven is still organised by the Catholic church, though the Portuguese mission was closed in the early 2000s, a process painful to its members at the time, as one of them told me. The other big festival, the fish festival, is still and always was organised by the association of supraregional and local corporations with an explicit economic interest.

A comparison of the social worlds and other actors in all three towns shows the relevance of local business makers as actors, often the main organisers, of the festivals. Their involvement is testament to economic (e)valuation criteria in the field, which usually does not dominate the overall festival appearance or imply its commercialisation.

In all studies, the businesspeople are not only intentionally and actively involved in the (re)production of local festivals but are also their main organisers, sometimes sponsors. At the same time, the festivals' labour is mostly voluntary. The business actors have generalised interests, such as entertaining visitors, creating social cohesion, or promoting interest in the activities and topics associated with the festivals. However, they do also have specific economic interests.

These economic interests include focusing on the tourism industry or creating direct financial revenues. For example, in the case of Zeven they aim to make the town an attractive place to live for current and possible future employees. As a member told me, there are many local businesspeople active in the association, so the association aims to make Zeven 'and the surrounding villages attractive and liveable for the people through a variety of events' (Association homepage, my translation), 'people' also referring to possible employees. Both the Zeven association and the Cuxhaven corporate organisational interest group have an interest in marketing the area where their festivals take place, with a focus on their specific local characteristics. The Sinterklaas festival and the Four Eveneing Marches are promoted beyond the region. The restauranteurs in Aurich and the fish industry in Cuxhaven want to make the town more attractive to tourists and locals and use the festival as a space to promote their products. Tourism, though, can only be said to be a primary driving factor in Cuxhaven, whose overall economy is tourist-based.

While the local entrepreneurs do not explicitly go about their activities in the festivals in a vocabulary of heritage, their engagement is part of a wider discourse around the cultural and civil society development of provincial regions in Germany. Local businesses are being addressed in their 'Corporate Cultural Responsibility (CCR)' (Steinkellner 2015) to be active agents in funding and infrastructure in the cultural development of regions. Culture, for them, is a 'locational and economic factor' (Götzky 2013: 119). Moreover, in the context of promoting volunteering in civil society, businesses are called upon to motivate their employees to take over volunteering roles to become involved in 'corporate volunteering' (Klein 2005).

There is a difference in how visible and prominent commercial criteria are for the different small-town arenas and their festivals. Most obvious is probably the commercial interest in the Cuxhaven fish festival, which is also supported by my observation that Portuguese restauranteurs or folklore dancers regarded their participation in the festival as a 'job' (fieldnotes). The festivals in Aurich and Zeven are much more typical small-town festivals, in that corporate actors are involved without commercial criteria dominating the festival. In a large-scale quantitative study of rural festivals and local entrepreneurship in Denmark, Anne-Mette Hjalager and Grzegorz Kwiatkowski come to the following conclusions, which mirror my research results:

> On the one hand, the results show that very few of the surveyed festivals are entirely commercial and that commercial objectives are, due to ideological and relational reasons, generally low-ranked by organizers. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that local businesses actually participate in rural festivals' ecosystems and that there are numerous mutual interactions among local businesses, festival organizers and residents […]. (2018: 1)

After the municipality's withdrawal from the Maypole festival in Aurich and the Dutch military from the Dutch festivals in Zeven, local business makers jumped in as the main organisers. However, in those moments of rupture, wherein the future of the festivals was unclear, an opening for new social worlds and actors to get involved appeared. Even though the interest groups have considerable organisational power in the festivals' (re)production, they neither label the festivals as their own nor do they dominate them with a commercial interest. In researching the (e)valuation of heritage festivals in Switzerland, Regina Bendix has argued that different criteria of (e)valuation should be understood as a spectrum, 'ranging from passion to economic calculation' (2018: 190), where both can be simultaneously present. At least so in settled times, where there is, to my knowledge, no conflict among the social worlds and actors participating in the festivals between 'culture and commerce, politics and entertainment, or tradition and regeneration' (Frost 2016: 3).

7.2.2 Ethncised Festivals as Boundary Objects

In heritage literature, festivals are identified as potential boundary objects (Clarke and Leigh Star 2005: 118), representing elements in the dialectical relations between people and things integral to heritage-making processes (Chidester 2018). On the interrelation of materiality and heritage, David Chidester (ibid) shows how boundary objects, including intangible heritages like rituals and festivities are being transformed through cultural policy and regulatory mechanisms. At the same time, heritage policy practice tends to assume that cultural heritage fosters clearly identifi-

able collective identities on a more discursive level, and social coherence on a level of praxis among those ascribing to such, and other, identities.

Both these assertions come into question when examining the three small towns' festivals. First, as to the understanding of heritage as boundary objects, the cases of Zeven and Aurich present a process where festivals that might already be part of a town's cultural heritage become boundary objects following the *withdrawal* of large organisations' involvement, hinting toward the fact that cultural heritage can but does not have to be understood as a boundary object. What follows details the situation after the transformation processes in the organisational structure of these two towns' festivals – the Maypole in Aurich and the Four Evening Marches and Sinterklaas in Zeven – and presents Cuxhaven in contrast, as the festivals here remain in the organisational hands of the Church and the fish industry association. Second, none of these festivals in the three towns can be said to distinctly generate or solidify the social cohesion of an ethnically marked local community of practice. This is due to the functioning of the festivals as boundary objects serving different social worlds and interest in Aurich and Zeven, and the dominance of large organisations and their interests in Cuxhaven. The festivals' visible cultural expression and their organisational and social fabric can be systematised differently in Zeven and Aurich, with less ethnicisation and an integrative function as boundary objects from Cuxhaven, with its ongoing dominance of large organisations in organising the festival. These different organisational setups lead to the interplay of world- and sensemaking within these ethnicsed heritage situations, taking different forms and grounding the festivals' differing relationships to cultural policy and regulatory setups.

The festivals in Zeven and Aurich function as boundary objects after the withdrawal of large organisations. They bring together various social worlds, including local business associations, municipalities, the military, schools, voluntary associations, and interest groups, which has an integrative effect and blurs or even pluralises their perception as group in the wider public. In Zeven, the local business association organises Four Evening Marches and Sinterklaas festival with involvement from the Dutch association. The municipality provides the infrastructure, the military supports its execution, and all kinds of local entrepreneurs, schools, kindergartens, and interest groups participate, especially so in the marching event. A similar array of actors (excluding the military and schools, adding the union) participate in organising the Aurich town centre Maypole event. Despite the diversity of organisers participating in the festivals, each participant engages in a larger process of social transformation by tailoring their engagement with the festival according to their local context. It is this processural nature that defines boundary objects; they can be interpreted differently by different communities of practice and transformed based on the perspective of each interacting group.

One can participate in the Aurich and Zeven festivals without 'becoming ethnic', or nationalised in any sense, which is another sign of those festivals functioning as

boundary objects. Nowhere in Aurich's two-day Maypole festivity was it marked as specifically East Frisian, neither by the participants nor via material objects such as banners or food stands. Instead, the atmosphere wavered between a majority folk festival or a more commercial event with local restaurateurs aiming to act together in their interest of promoting the city centres' attractiveness. While at Zeven's Four Evening Marches there is a presence of some 'oranje' coloured accessories, a facilitator with a Dutch accent, and a Dutch national flag, I was surprised to hear from an ex-inhabitant of the town that she participated regularly, but she did not know that the festivity is related to the Netherlands in its genesis. This means that despite the festival's history with the Dutch military stationed in the town, it is not clearly ethnicised as Dutch, with many different local actors negotiating its appearance and organisational setup. In both cases, there is no clearly bounded ethnicised community organising these festivals. And in both cases, one can participate in the festival to pose as a majority in the towns, as well as participate in opposition as an ethnicised minority. This also means that the festivals are not 'naturalised' objects, fully integrated into any specific community of practice or social world. They are not taken for granted and are not clearly combined with the production of belonging within a community. As Star and Bowker point out for boundary objects, they arise from situations where 'two or more differently naturalised classification systems collide.' (1999: 297). Both the Four Evening March festival and the Maypole festival, in their role as boundary objects, are rather extensive, integrating a vast array of social worlds from the overall small-town arenas. The festivals' function here is not the production of a rather homogenised group of Dutch or East Frisian inhabitants of the towns representing their common traditions. Instead, they bring together different social worlds and actors to negotiate and (re)produce the festivals as boundary objects in the absence of a clearly bounded community as bearers of the festivals or a clearly ethnicised discourse surrounding them.

In Cuxhaven, instead of serving as an integrative event within the small-town arena involving many actors and social worlds – a boundary object – the Fatima procession and fish festivals are still organised by single main organisations, the church and an interest group of supraregional corporations. Cuxhaven's small-town arena of Portuguese-marked events and associations appears more differentiated, with various festivals and events scattered in different places. They, therefore, lack the same extensive integration of social worlds seen in Aurich and Zeven.

The Portuguese Fatima procession is organised by the Catholic church alone, with other Catholics joining in individually, maybe sometimes a rancho group in traditional dress. The local fish industry manages the fish festival, with only some Portuguese culinary businesses having a presence there and the rancho group performing. The fish festival has an explicitly commercial atmosphere, as the yearly event is a main attraction for tourists and is advertised accordingly beyond the borders of the

town. This differentiation within the arena continues in the landscape of ethnically marked associations in Cuxhaven and their lack of relationship among one another.

A notable gap appeared between the newspaper discourse and the ethnographic experiences of my research assistant in Cuxhaven. An ex-worker in the fish industry who spoke of losing his job a long time ago and who was interviewed by a local newspaper talks about the fish festival that takes place in one of the old industrial halls illustrates this gap as he points out that there is no fish sold anymore where the event takes place in. In another instance, an interviewee involved in voluntary work was keen to distinguish between those fish workers and herself, who managed to get an education, which hints toward symbolic and social boundaries among Portuguese inhabitants of the town due to social stratification. Generally, Cuxhaven Ethnicised Heritage Situations seems to be constituted by dominant discourses regarding the town's history of the fish and the Portuguese 'guest workers', rather than a collaboration of different social worlds and actors in festivals as boundary objects.

With the above exception, local newspaper discourse solidifies this impression: the journalists as authors of articles and the officials interviewed for articles narrated the town's history of the fish industry. This is similar in other cases of the local municipalities and institutions activities. Relating to their Portuguese inhabitants: There was a special exhibition on the history of the fish industry in the town, and a town-twinning project was developed along the town's coastal position. These discourses dominating the small-town arena in Cuxhaven construct an abstract and homogenous group of the Portuguese as ex-guest workers.

When examining the self-presentation of associations or individuals within the Portuguese community through ethnography and interviews, a prominent connection of Portugueseness with the fish industry workers was noticeably absent. Strangely, this historical connection was seldom mentioned by interviewees or other people met during the fieldwork in the town. This history typically only arose when individuals sought to draw symbolic boundaries between themselves and earlier immigrants who may not have experienced the same level of social mobility. As with other histories of migration, it is the second and third generation of migrants or migrants settling in the 1990s that gained higher educational qualifications and higher paid jobs in Cuxhaven, making them a part of the towns (lower) middle class. And it is this group of people that was encountered during field research that was involved in Portuguese associational life. The local associations primarily promoted Portuguese cuisine, music and traditional dance. In this capacity, they preserve Portuguese cultural heritage in Cuxhaven, albeit primarily through cultural expressions rather than a comprehensive narrative of Portuguese history and not necessarily in the form of the most visible expressions of Portuguese history in the town: the fish festival and the Fatima procession.

Essentially, two different forms of world- and sensemaking have been described as part of the Ethnicised Heritage Situations in Aurich and Zeven, as well as Cux-

haven. In the former two cases, the worldmaking power of large supraregional organisations ceased after the festivals, as visible cultural expressions became boundary objects, integration into different social worlds and their sensemaking in (re)producing the festivals. In the latter case, there is a notable gap between dominant newspapers and the lived experiences and sensemaking of the town's Portuguese inhabitants that were interviewed and observed in going about their cultural endeavours as to what constitutes the Portuguese heritage and history of the town.

In all three cases, the festivals cannot be said to generate or solidify the social cohesion of a clearly bounded and ethnically marked local community of practice. Rather, the festivals serve to negotiate and stage both world- and sensemaking aspects: Economic criteria of valuation play a role in both aspects, and ethnicised and other group boundaries are made, unmade and remade (Leal 2015).[8]

7.2.3 The Making of Ethnicised Communities in Unsettled Times

In none of the three case studies was a bounded ethnic community of practice to be found as organiser of the festivals, regardless of whether large organisations were supporting them. But during the time I conducted my research the towns could be considered relatively settled. Ann Swidler distinguishes between two models of culture, wherein culture operates differently. In settled times, culture accounts for continuities in 'settled lives', and cultural endeavours are intricately integrated with action without large conflict. In contrast, in periods of social transformation, 'ideologies – explicit, articulated, highly organised meaning systems (both political and religious) – establish new styles or strategies of action.' (Swidler 1986: 278). In such unsettled times, communities, particularly ethnicised ones, are explicitly employed for political claim-making and struggles for social justice, as can be seen in the case with First Nation initiatives in the US or national minority claim-making in a Central Europe of moving national borders, where culture becomes entangled and integrated with action (Swidler 1986: 278). In what follows, an example from Zeven shows how different the situation can be when lives and times become unsettled, and how the festivals in the town became engrained in highly ideological discourses. The case of Zeven shows how a diaspora community with seemingly clear boundaries responds to and is constructed by a crisis.

In the early 2000s, rumours reached Zeven that the Dutch foreign minister was considering withdrawing the Dutch troops and closing the barracks to cut back

8 This takes place in a tension field of dominant majority and minority positions. Chapter 10 will delve deeper into the role that majority and minority relations as well as processes of boundary making in the ways that my interview partners engage their ethnic and migrant heritages.

on military spending – local politicians were alarmed. A withdrawal would mean the loss of more than 4000 inhabitants from the town. The economic setback, they feared, would be devastating: As the municipality's finances is partly dependent on the number of inhabitants, it would significantly decrease. Moreover, many military personnel had bought houses, and selling them all simultaneously would leave the housing market in shatters. And what about the purchasing power of the Dutch inhabitants of the town? What about the German employees in the barrack kitchen? Dutch inhabitants of the town, like a teacher at the Dutch school with a husband in the military, saw personal family drama ahead: Will she find a job back in the Netherlands? Will they be able to sell the house at a reasonable price? And how does she share the news to her ten-year-old son?

A meeting was quickly called by local politicians, and the participants voted to organise a protest march and a collection of signatures against the closure. More than 2000 inhabitants of the town marched 'in solidarity with their Dutch neighbours' (ZN 06/2003). Protest banners read, 'If the Dutch leave, we are in need', or '5000 Dutch friends have to stay'. While the march was led by people in official function such as the mayor, local politicians, and politicians from the German parliament, who travelled to the town in support, apparently many families with with small kids and people on bikes, 'whole streets of houses' (ZN 06/2003) followed. 'If it was not for the protest banners and some serious faces, one could have thought to witness a big family excursion' (ZN 06/2003), one journalist said of the atmosphere at the event. A local station radio show gathered many actors in a debate, such as a major, a teacher, a headmaster, and a Dutch general. In their alarmist statements, a standard narrative arose: While the financial setback would, of course, be intense, what would be even more devastating is the loss of what was 40 years of German-Dutch cohabitation in the town.

From this crisis, the festivals and other aspects of the ethnicised cultural endeavours became involved in more immense ideological formations, and a bounded Dutch community as town inhabitants was constructed. The people in official political or administrative function propagated that in this cohabitation of two *Völker* (nations), with *Völkerverständigung* (international understanding) having existed on the ground for many decades. They further drew on values of European integration ('40 years of lived integration'), German-Dutch foreign relations, and good neighbourhoods. In one case, the situation in Zeven was even seen as an exemplary case of Germany 'coming to terms with the past'.[9] These ideological formations involve a model

9 The concept of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* circulates in German cultural policy and describes the effort to critically engage with and assume responsibility for the legacy of National Socialism. In this official discourse it entails institutional, cultural, and educational practices of remembrance aimed at fostering historical consciousness and safeguarding democratic values.

of two nations/people coming together in intercultural exchange. In another case, an interviewee discussed the coming into being of a particular third kind of mentality, which, however, he stated, relied on the two mentalities upon which it was built. A TAZ newspaper article described the celebration of 40 years of Dutch presence in Zeven, under the light of the looming withdrawal of the troops, and was peppered with anecdotes about the cultural differences between Germans and Dutch people (TAZ 2016).

A general noticed that

> Germans and Dutch people are somehow related like brothers. However, if one plays football against the other, the Dutch treat the deserved second place to the Germans […] The Germans always wonder how to make a product better, while the Dutch ask for the best price. (TAZ 2016, my translation)

Narrations of the friendly and beneficial coexistence of the town's Dutch and German inhabitants dominated the discourse. In this context, German participation in Dutch festivals was mentioned as one such instance of coming together; German-Dutch marriages are another such instance in everyday life. 'This coexistence of the peoples,' the radio show host concluded, 'permeates all relationships in Zeven' (Radio Bremen 09/2003).

In this politically tense discourse around the withdrawal of the Dutch military from Zeven, then, the coexistence of two different peoples is positioned as an exemplary model of actually living through European integration and intercultural understanding to make clear the loss the town faces through a withdrawal of troops. What was, in Swidler's (1986: 279) words, tradition or almost common sense in settled times in Zeven, the coexistence and joint participation in Dutch festivals reached the realm of ideology in unsettled times. Dutch cultural production in the town suddenly became 'fraught with significance'. Taken-for-granted praxis and action strategies, for example, how and by whom the festivals are (re)produced, become troubled, and new action strategies must be invented. In the propagation of 'intercultural dialogue' and 'European integration' as highly normative ideologies, symbolic boundaries between the Germans and the Dutch of the town are drawn, and a Dutch group of inhabitants of the town is constructed as a relevant social agent in this moment of crisis. The festivals appear more Dutch than they did in settled times.

The announcement of the Dutch military's withdrawal from Zeven represents a highly situational moment where a bounded community momentarily emerges and takes action. In this instance, a political stance regarding festivals comes to the forefront, presenting an opportunity to discursively align with global cultural discourses, specifically those surrounding *Völkerverständigung* and EU integration. In

today's context, almost two decades later, a similar discourse would likely be framed regarding the town's multicultural heritage or related themes.

In Zeven, an ethnicised community of practice advocating for recognition surfaced only in a moment when the entire small-town arena faced the prospect of losing a significant and financially robust portion of its inhabitants and an empty barracks. Salzbrunn (2015) came to similar conclusions in a town district in Switzerland; and Pnina Werbner has shown similar dynamics for Pakistani diaspora communities in England, wherein such communities might not always exist with clear boundaries. Werbner found that although diasporas do have boundaries, they are 'defined and highlighted situationally, dialectically and over time, in action, through performance and periodic mobilizations' (2015: 51). Heritagisation in Zeven in the early 2000s can be seen as a coping mechanism for moments of uncertainty and the prospect of loss (Harrison 2013: 227). To include an attention to the functioning of culture in settled and unsettled times into the analysis of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, then, is an aspect of temporality that situates the nexus of heritage-community-identity in time.

7.3 Conclusion: On Imagined Communities of Practice

The shift toward considering communities as the carriers of cultural production and intangible heritages in cultural policy is a vigorously debated topic in Critical Heritage Studies. Many proponents of the debate caution against predefining ethnic or religious communities, as it can sometimes result in their production in the first place (Coombe and Weiss 2015; Salzbrunn 2015). Ellen Hertz even characterises communities as a 'pure artifact' of UNESCO conventions (2017: 51), which tends to idealise and homogenise local processes characterised by internal heterogeneity and fuzzy boundaries. The findings in this chapter further support the need for caution in assuming communities are the inherent bearers of heritage and instead show the situatedness of heritagisation and community formation as social processes.

The Fatima procession and fish festival in Cuxhaven, the Four Evening Marches and Sinterklaas in Zeven, and the Maypole festival in Aurich are all events wherein the specific ethnicised history of the three towns becomes publicly visible. From the perspective of social world analysis, they were and/or are all organised by large supraregional organisations that can be considered significant players in heritage regimes. When some of these organisations withdrew as the primary organisers in Zeven and Aurich, volunteer associations and interest groups of local businesspeople stepped in and assumed a prominent role. This important role played by local corporate actors and the voluntary sector confirms what small-town research has found specific to cultural life in small towns (see, e.g., Hannemann 2004; Hjalager and Kwiatkowski 2018; Kolb 2007; Lysgård 2016). Small-town research on migrant

participation has also shown that the relevance of large organisations is, in these cases, an effect of the lack of migrant self-organisation and ethnicised organising (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Kirchhoff and Bolte 2014).

The festivals in Zeven and Aurich can be seen as boundary objects. The crucial insight from this chapter is the absence of a community of practice as the bearer of the festivals as heritage. Instead, my analysis of the festivals found them to be 'spaces of encounter', wherein interpretative communities draw boundaries and are motivated to participate by different (e)valuation criteria. I have also demonstrated that most festivals have become economic value production and consumption spaces.

In exploring who can be considered bearers of the festivals and how they are (re)produced, I have gained crucial insights into the Ethnicised Heritage Situations of the small-town arenas. There are some important political and economic elements as worldmaking powers in heritage situations. Structured cultural policies or a heritage vocabulary did not play a role, nor have official heritage initiatives been launched. Even in this absence, I can identify multiple heritage regimes operating. Similar to Christina Sánchez-Carretero's analysis of the preservation of the Camino de Santiago in Spain, where she states that '[r]egimes in the plural are critical in this case study as there is no single regime controlling the governance of heritage initiatives' (2013: 153), the same holds valid for the (re)production of the festivals in my case studies.

In Cuxhaven, a religious regime of the Catholic church and its former Portuguese mission continues to play an important role. National heritage regimes can be found in the cases of military operations in Zeven and municipal politics in Aurich. Nowadays, economic heritage criteria play a leading role in the reproduction of festivals. This regime, however, is far from what heritage scholars consider the 'heritage industry' (Hewison 1987) or closely related to the tourist industry. Instead, local businesspeople are engaged in the arenas for various purposes revolving around culture as a factor to strengthen the towns as economically successful sites, though not in the sense of 'creative cities' or similar branding strategies for urban centres. Instead, they are an integral part of the festival's ecology, which centres around social rather than cultural capital. This might be a specificity of heritage situations in small towns (Lysgård 2019; Steinführer et al. 2016).

Upon examining potential and ethnicised communities of practice during the cities' ethnicised public festivals in settled periods, there appears to be no potential for heritagisation led by ethnicised communities of practice. Instead, the functioning of large organisations as heritage regime institutions and economic criteria of (e)valuation already active in the field resemble a cultural repertoire of heritage and, consequently, contribute to its potential for actualisation.

As UNESCO is an essential organisation in the global heritage regime, other large organisations appear as actors of national, religious, or economic heritage regimes and take on the central role of festival organisers. This is not to say that

they intentionally employ global discourse but rather to emphasise that different 'regimes of comparative cultural (e-)valuation' (Bendix 2018: 128) always already prevail transitions into and interventions toward official heritage interventions by UNESCO or associated actors.

The idea that a heritage regime intervenes in and penetrates, alienates, or commercialises local communities of practice in profound ways is, of course, correct in many instances, as research has shown. However, in my case, similarly to the carnival in Binche, Belgium, as Tauschek (2011) shows, the field is saturated with heritage regime institutions and criteria of (e)valuation akin to a cultural repertoire of heritage already. This might affect how other official heritage regime interventions and vocabularies in the name of intangible cultural heritage actualise in the three small-town arenas.

The second important element that is central to the heritage situation in Zeven is a temporal one. While I conducted my study in relatively settled times, a bounded and explicit community of practice did appear in unsettled times when the Dutch military and its members threatened to be withdrawn from the small-town arena.

Together, these findings show that not all cultural productions and 'doing culture' serve to produce and/or stabilise (ethnic) forms of community and membership in everyday lifeworlds. If one also understands intangible heritages as a sort of doing culture, this conclusion applies here, too. In playing with the notion of 'imagined communities' (Anderson 2016), in the intangible heritage regime, the communities of practice themselves might also be imagined.

8. The Social Use Value of Heritage for Engaged Volunteers: On the Reproduction of Leisure Associations as Concrete Communities

One afternoon during my field research, while visiting two entrepreneurs in the East Frisian traditional dance world in their home, I experienced a moment of non-recognition (Glick Schiller et al. 2006). I wrote in my field notes:

> I am surprised at how involved they are in the production of East Frisian cultural events that can be considered heritage and how little they speak of authenticity or originality simultaneously. Handling rediscovered, imitated, and reinvented traditions seems reflexive and almost playful. There is none of the seriousness I associated with the (re)production of ethnicised culture in the participants' lives. (field notes)

Not only does this impression stand in stark contrast to my presumptions on heritagisation as a process of worldmaking, but it also differs from the stories the ethnic associations tell of themselves. While disseminating heritage is considered an important goal or even a part of their praxis, the volunteers I encountered seldom explicitly employ the cultural repertoire of heritage or its associated (e)valuation criteria in their discussions, despite its accessibility through their organisational contexts. The most active volunteers within these associations rarely articulate an explicit narrative of loss or use heritage-related vocabulary when discussing their motivations.

While the absence of communities of practice in the three towns' ethnicised festivals during settled times is, as shown in the previous chapter, filled by large oganisations, these volunteers also play a central role. This centrality of volunteering to small town arenas and intangible heritage-making has been pointed out within small-town research and Critical Heritage Studies, and in the cases of Aurich, Zeven, and Cuxhaven it is ethnic associations that occupy a pivotal role in these small-town arenas' volunteering spaces.

Through interviews and informal conversations with the ethnic associations' highly engaged volunteers, this chapter brings their similar motivations into focus.

Examining the volunteers' criteria of (e)valuation concerning their cultural endeavours helps to distinguish world- and sensemaking aspects of the heritage situations in the towns. These quasi-discursive elements of the Ethnicised Heritage Situations show that the volunteers are primarily oriented around reproducing social life in concrete communities, emphasising sociability and support rather than centring on criteria derived from a heritage repertoire such as recognition, expertise, or consumer orientation (Brumann 2018; Waterton and Smith 2010). A focus on the use value of heritage should not be overlooked, and this chapter highlights the profoundly gendered nature of such orientations. This, in turn, holds implications for comprehending heritage situations and the construction of the heritage category as articulated in global heritage discourse.

Individual volunteers play a crucial role within their respective social worlds and formal organisations and in navigating various social worlds by interacting with other associations, local businesspeople, or municipal entities. In a sociological sense, these volunteers can be conceptualised as entrepreneurs, drawing from the perspectives of Adele Clarke, Susan Leigh Star (2007) and Howard Becker (1973). They may even be considered ethnic entrepreneurs (Thomson 2011). In this sense, they are engaged in sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations but also have a certain amount of power for worldmaking. Some individuals hold leadership positions in ethnic voluntary organisations, frequently representing their associations and social worlds and acting as spokespersons in local media.

The volunteers demonstrated a criterion of sociability and support through a focus on the pleasure of get-togethers and support for community members in need. These are inward-oriented, emphasising 'home identities' (Kockel et al. 2019: 6) and focusing on reproducing local social life. Consequently, this chapter engages with the social use value of heritage, which is associated with concrete communities of practice rather than abstract imagined communities, and it exemplifies how these coexist with exchange-value-oriented criteria in heritage situations. Heritage regimes' worldmaking, instead of merely assigning an exchange value to heritage practices and potentially disrupting local social fabrics, has the potential to rearrange the relationship between use-value-oriented activities (represented by inward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation) and outward-oriented activities linked to exchange value, both of which are inherent in heritage situations.

To state that the entrepreneurs' orientations are gendered does not imply that all of them who identify as female employ solely female-gendered criteria and vice versa. Instead, this argument is based on the association of care and responsibility to others with female-gendered approaches to ethics and individual rights, and justice with a male-gendered approach to ethics. I situate the criteria of support and sociability as practising an ethic of care. Joan Tronto defines an ethic of care as

> a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web. (1993: 103)

An ethic of care names care as a necessity for all and recognises dependence, not independence, as a fundamental human condition. This has consequences for re/theorising the category of cultural heritage in pluralised societies.

A number of entrepreneurs' volunteer work in the cultural associations predominantly shows such an orientation in their sensemaking, which is marginalised in the worldmaking of global heritage discourse. I conclude, then, that the call for increasing participation of laypeople in heritage management and the call to include local grassroots cultural actors imply a specific kind of stakeholder. Global heritage discourse constructs them as male-connoted subjects, focusing on outward and exchange-value-oriented criteria of (e)valuation associated with constructing abstract (national) imagined communities (Adell et al. 2015; Anderson 2016). Criteria oriented inward toward a concrete community of practice and the reproduction of social life are often overlooked. These activities and motivations are historically primarily assigned to women, even if not always only performed by women. This leads me to reflect on and theorise the possible gendered matrix of heritagisation along the lines of the time-politics of care and the difference between heritage's use value and exchange value. Heritage, in the former case, appears as an unintentional consequence of other activities.

8.1 Outward-Oriented Criteria of (E)valuation As an Aspect of the Heritage Repertoire: Recognition, Expertise & Consumer Orientation

Two ideal types (Hekman 1983) of individuals appear as entrepreneurs in my research fields.[1] Both these entrepreneurial orientations can coexist within the same individual's involvement in volunteer activities, albeit in different measure. The first type can be termed outward-oriented: an entrepreneur applies criteria of recognition, consumer orientation, and exchange when engaging in volunteer work, all centred around the exchange value of heritage. The second, inward-oriented type is driven by an interest in (re)producing social life through criteria of support and sociability.[2] While both types of criteria may be present in the worldmaking and sense-

1 There is a field of research on volunteering which gives a much more detailed and differentiated insight into motivations for volunteer work. For the German context, see, e.g., Corsten and Kauppert (2007); Haumann (2014); Kals, Strubel, and Güntert (2021).

2 Leisure researcher Cora Baldock asserts that volunteer work occupies a unique position between the public and private spheres, describing it as 'essentially unwaged labour carried out

making endeavours of individuals engaged in volunteer work, my primary contribution lies in uncovering the prevalence of inward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation.

While I was not seeking to solidify a specific gender association with particular entrepreneurial motivations, outward-oriented criteria were more frequently observed in the narratives and endeavours of the male entrepreneurs I encountered in the field – though not exclusively so. These entrepreneurs tend to be more publicly visible than their inward-oriented counterparts. Some actively participate in local politics, garnering representation in the media and often serving as spokespersons in public discussions. Notably, such individuals in Cuxhaven and Zeven self-identify as well-integrated members of the majority society. In certain instances, they explicitly differentiate themselves from their fellow ethnicised inhabitants of the town. It is imperative to view these observations as tendencies rather than a definitive representation of the empirical landscape, and the examples provided serve as exemplars rather than representatives of the broader context.

One position entrepreneurs take is to (e)valuate their cultural endeavours and their involvement via their *positioning as experts*, especially in relation to other ethnicised inhabitants of the cities. Rafael from Cuxhaven is an example of this position. Rafael is very visible as a Portuguese inhabitant of Cuxhaven, primarily via appearing in a representative function in the local newspaper and in public events related to the town's Portuguese history. He is a member the local association, and in 8 out of the 51 newspaper articles analysed, he is mentioned as being involved in the establishment of Portuguese traditions and culture. In an informal conversation between Rafael and my student research assistant, he seemed uncomfortable with being attributed as 'The Portuguese' of the town, saying he feels wholly integrated. He distinguished himself from fellow residents because of his knowledge of the history of Portuguese immigration to the town.

Richard in Aurich was also keen to underline his expertise and special interest in the town's history to me. Together with another local entrepreneur, Richard is involved in the association of small-scale businesspeople which organises the central Maypole festival in the town. I met him for an informal meeting in his capacity as a member of the restaurateur association and conducted an interview with him. As a volunteer entrepreneur, he is involved in several activities ranging from local media

within the public sphere' (1998: 23). Historically, volunteer work became institutionalised in the 18th and 19th centuries, predominantly practised by middle-class women in practical help charities. This has led to persistent gender stereotypes linking volunteer work with women's domestic roles and altruistic motives, especially in the social services (Stebbins and Graham 2004: 16). Feminists view volunteer work as unpaid labour within patriarchal structures, emphasising compulsory altruism (Baldock 1998). Alonso Gonzalez (2014: 372) discusses volunteer work on Spain's pilgrim ways as part of the 'way's community' and heritage commons. Silvia Federici (2012) highlights that women have historically been responsible for the reproduction of the commons.

to communal politics. In the past, he developed an archive of the town's historical sights and histories. He told me:

> And then I stumbled across so many things that he had collected about the history of this town. And suddenly I had a completely different approach to it, and I said, 'woah, that's really interesting, I never knew that.' And all that stuff with those old counts here, and the whole East Frisian history, that never interested me. Well, and then I suddenly developed this new perspective. Which is surely related to the fact that the big city was beginning to get on my nerves. And so I started becoming increasingly interested in Aurich, and then I opened my own website, and made the history of Aurich accessible in a different way, in the digital world. (Richard)[3]

After creating the archive, the local newspaper approached Richard to do more archival work for them. He went on to receive quite some recognition for his expert knowledge and skills from the local media and the town government.

Underlining expertise as a criterion of (e)valuation overlaps with the heritage repertoire constructed by dominant global heritage regimes. As shaped by UNESCO policies on intangible heritage, global heritage discourse also focuses on laypeople's participation in nomination processes. Meanwhile, the role of experts and expertise in the process remains omnipresent despite the discursive shift towards lay communities' involvement (Brumann 2018: 1223). Paradoxically, the need for experts and expertise might increase due to more complex application processes.

The second outward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation that emerged among the entrepreneurs was on an economic register. In the previous chapter I laid out the economic interests in producing the festivals by local businesspeople who are organised in 'interest group'-type volunteer organisations. Here, I want to point to a different kind of economic criteria of (e)valuation, namely the approach of some entrepreneurs to formulate their volunteer work in a *language of efficiency, exchange, and waged work*. This is a type of criteria of (e)valuation that entrepreneurs from Aurich expressed. Richard, for example, said:

> Basically, it's the same in the commercial sector, when it's good or profitable, there's that pretty saying, 'it's so easy to do something nice for people, so why

3 *„Und dann fielen mir so viele Dinge in die Hand, die er gesammelt hat über die Geschichte dieser Stadt. Und plötzlich hatte ich da einen ganz anderen Zugang zu, und hab' gesagt, boah, das ist ja interessant, wusste ich ja gar nicht.' Und mit diesen ollen Grafen hier, und die ganze ostfriesische Geschichte, das hat mich ja nie interessiert. So, und jetzt entwickelte ich da plötzlich so einen Blick. Was sicherlich auch damit zusammenhängt, dass mir diese Großstadt so langsam auf den Geist gegangen ist. Und nun fing ich also an, mich hier zunehmend für Aurich zu interessieren, und machte dann auch eine eigene Webseite auf, und hab' dann irgendwie die Geschichte Aurichs mal anders aufbereitet, also in dieser digitalen Welt."* (Richard)

> don't we?' Because of course, it has an economic aspect as well. If you create something that's fun for people, I'll say here's another 10 €, well done. Then you'll get a donation. But if what you're doing is shit, and it isn't well received by people, and they say, 'what a load of crap', well, then you look stupid, and that might be deserved. (Richard)[4]

Richard argues that the success of volunteer work activities and cultural production in this context depends on the market attractivity for the consumers of the productions. Clara, from Aurich, is also interested in preparing the local museum she is involved in for the eyes of (tourist) consumers.

Clara was not born in East Frisia but moved there years earlier to live with her husband. Both of them are highly engaged in traditional dancing and are involved in volunteering activities. Clara is member of a traditional dance association, an umbrella association bringing together different local groups, and is involved in a *Heimatverein* (local heritage society). In both contexts, she initiates and organises regular events. In her function as an entrepreneur who hosts events and writes histories, Clara's approach to her work influences the moral rules and criteria of the (e)valuation of social worlds and networks she is involved in.

As a member of a local heritage society, Clara wants to take the initiative for the building's renovations, especially so since much of the town's other infrastructure had been lost or closed down:

> I find that important. The Heimatverein, which includes the folk dancing group, they dissolved the museum. And now, there is no museum anymore, and I've already said before, 'it's an absurdity that a district town doesn't even have a local heritage museum, not even a room, a small house, where a few things are exhibited.' And we're working on that now, us women, making sure we nudge the Heimatverein in the right direction, and that we always have a bit of external impact and establish some areas of focus to ensure that we are open and offer insight into our town. And, of course, that we satisfy the tourists as well, and that we have something to offer in, in this town. (Clara)[5]

---

4 "*Es ist ja es im Grunde auch im kommerziellen Bereich so, also wenn es gut oder wirtschaftlich ist, da gibt's diesen schönen Satz, ‚es ist so einfach, Menschen eine Freude zu machen, warum tun wir es nicht?' Es hat ja auch 'nen wirtschaftlichen Aspekt. Also, wenn man eine Sache aufzieht, die den Menschen Spaß macht, dann sag ich hier, hast du noch mal zehn Euro, toll gemacht. Dann bekommst du auch eine Spende. Wenn man Scheiße baut, was bei den Leuten nicht ankommt, wo die sagen ‚was für ein Mist', ja, dann stehst du doof da, und vielleicht auch mit Recht.*" (Richard)

5 "*Das finde ich ganz wichtig. Der Heimatverein, da gehört hier die Volkstanzgruppe auch dazu, die haben diese Pelde-Mühle und das Museum da aufgelöst. Und jetzt gibts ja kein Museum an sich mehr, und da habe ich auch schon gesagt, 'es ist ein Unding, dass so eine Stadt noch nicht mal ein Heimatmuseum hat, nicht mal einen Raum, ein Zimmer, ein Häuschen, wo ein paar Sachen ausgestellt sind.' Und da sind wir jetzt mal dran mit den Frauen, dass man da so guckt, dass man den Verein mal wieder*

To have an impact on the broader public, to satisfy tourists and to possibly attract more is an important criterion of (e)valuation for Clara when she engages in volunteer work to renovate the local museum. Richard makes very explicit comparisons between economic events and the local festivals he participates in. Both, therefore, are oriented towards possible consumers of their cultural practices, which overlaps with the heritage regime repertoire of global discourse stressing touristic development and underlining the need to present cultural productions appealingly (Waitt 2000). Heritage research similarly often focuses on economic revenue potential or audience participation in heritage festivals (Kockel et al. 2019: 1).

Clara's words also show a specific way to value the museum as a means to *gain recognition*. When she said the association should regain some external visibility, she also said between the lines that the work of preserving and displaying the town's heritage is important for the town to be recognised. Recognition is the third outward-oriented criterion of (e)valuation that I found in the material. Quite in contrast to the majority of entrepreneurs, some entrepreneurs want to be visible to the broader public and recognised for their cultural endeavours.

In the context of his German-Portuguese association, Rafael is doing a lot of work within the more institutional realm, actually inscribing the Portuguese of Cuxhaven into the local library with a donation of Portuguese books or co-organising an exhibition on the fish industry in the local museum. However, he does not explicitly employ recognition as a criterion when discussing his activities. Christina is more explicit here.

Christina lives in Cuxhaven. In her teenage years, a family visit turned into a permanent residence. She is an active member of a Portuguese group in the town's Catholic church and presents herself as very religious. This means that she is not a member of an ethnic volunteer organisation in the strict sense. Still, she is doing volunteer work in the local Catholic church, focusing specifically on representing the interests of the local Portuguese church members. This gives her considerable power of speech within the Catholic community. My student research assistant met her during a very crowded and long evening in the Portuguese cultural centre, which involved live music, food, dancing, and kids running around all evening. She was ready to be interviewed but soon proposed other people to meet and activities to participate in. Her entrepreneurial function is very clear in the following story, as written down in my student associate's field notes. Christina invited her to participate in the Portuguese youth communion group led by the local non-Portuguese-speaking priest. The priest took her presence as an incentive to discuss the youth's Portuguese family history. In her field notes, she wrote:

---

in die richtige Richtung stubst, und immer irgendwie ein bisschen Außenwirkung hat, und ein paar Schwerpunkte setzt, dass man eben offen ist, dass man eben auch Einblick bekommt. Und die Touristen natürlich auch befriedigt, und dass man eben auch was anbieten kann in, in dieser Stadt." (Clara)

> When asked if they would like to move to Portugal, most say no way […] For most of them, the quality of life in Germany is higher. One boy says that Portugal is complete shit and that's why he doesn't want to go there. At that moment Christina comes in and is slightly annoyed, she generally seems to me as if she wants to control the communion lessons and what the children tell me or what the priest asks. Christina tells the children to have respect among themselves. The priest seems to find this funny, including the fact that the boy said Portugal sucks. When Christina gets upset, the priest starts laughing and tells her to let the kids talk. The priest asks Christina about the health insurance system and unemployment benefits in Portugal and asks how it is there, Christina reacts angrily and says that Portugal is not the Third World, but in Portugal it is regulated the same way as in Germany. She speaks to the children in Portuguese and says they should respect each other and respect the opinion of each other, she also warns the children about the priest and points out that he sometimes says things that are not right or stupid. (field notes, research assistant)

Whether successful or not, this is an example of how Christina tried to implement her moral rules around how the young people discuss their Portuguese family heritage and country of origin. This ability to make strong moral claims is what makes an ethnic entrepreneur in discursive arenas.

Cristina's founding story of the Portuguese community begins with instances dating back to before she was born. When asked about how important it was to her for the Portuguese inhabitants to show their presence in town in the annual Fatima procession, she replied:

> Well, it's like that; we are not walking through the cities out of pleasure alone or for the sheer hell of it [*Dollerei*], right? We want to show the world Maria is here. Maria is God's mother, or the mother of Jesus, and we are proud to be Portuguese, where Maria has appeared a hundred years ago. (Christina)[6]

In this narrative, Cristina exhibits an outward orientation. The town's Fatima procession is a crucial instance for her to express a visible presence as a Portuguese Catholic in the community. Consequently, the procession is not an isolated event but a means to demonstrate a proud presence. This outward orientation, directed towards a more comprehensive public sphere, places the festival amid a conflicting politics of recognition.

---

6 *I: „Ist es auch wichtig für sie hier in der Gruppe. Präsenz zu zeigen in der Stadt?" Christina: „Das ist ja so, wir laufen durch die Städte, nicht aus Spaß und Dollerei, ne? Wir möchten schon der Welt zeigen, Maria ist da, Maria ist die Mutter Gottes, oder Jesus seine Mutter, und wir sind stolz, Portugiesen zu sein, wo Maria erschienen ist vor hundert Jahren".*

One can assert that Cristina strives to carve out a space within the town's hegemonic cultural values framework (Fraser 2000: 113). In other words, she seeks to integrate the Portuguese Catholic procession into the town's arena. This aligns with claiming recognition and asserting cultural significance in the broader community.

Similarly, a volunteer at the Portuguese cultural centre emphasises the importance of visibility to the town's German population. Recognition becomes a key factor as they aim for the German population to acknowledge and partake in the vibrant community life flourishing within the centre. Both entrepreneurs in Cuxhaven and Clara in Aurich employ recognition as a criterion for (e)valuation, akin to heritage as a repertoire, as expressed in the formulation that heritages are 'promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity' within the Intangible Heritage Convention (UNESCO 2003).

The criteria of expertise, consumer orientation, and recognition, then, are outward-oriented, extending towards the broader small-town arenas or even a more expansive public sphere. They further serve as symbolic markers, in the sense of more classical national repertoires such as being concerned with propagating and preserving specific languages, or symbolic practices, in demarcating towards a majority society. In terms of articulations of community, this orientation and criteria resemble an imagined community (Adell et al. 2015; Anderson 2016) where practising Portuguese or East Frisian heritage is an actuality of a national or regional (and religious) community which exceeds personal interactions and one's life span. When employed as criteria for (e)valuation, these criteria are also integral components of heritage, characterised by a cultural repertoire dominated by UNESCO.

I contend that heritagisation should not be viewed merely as a process where cultural productions acquire a second metacultural life. Instead, it should be understood as a potent generalisation and institutionalisation of specific criteria of (e)valuation as part of a heritage regime and of a project of ideology. As elucidated by heritage research, this process involves transforming the incomparable and partial into something comparable (Alonso González 2015; Noyes 23). It can include processes of commodification (Rodzi, Ahmad Zaki, and Syed Subli 2013), fetishisation (Alonso González 2019), or alienation (Hafstein 2018). In outward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation that are oriented toward a majority society or consumer 'other', in the way described so far, the cultural production of the entrepreneurs' volunteer efforts are assigned a sort of exchange value, that makes otherwise particular cultural endeavours comparable. A process that has also been described as an effect of global heritage policies (Noyes 2015; Alonso González 2019). They are addressed as representations of pluralised societies to be consumed or expertly presented here and could as well be elsewhere. They assume an exchange value and embody the broader dynamics of cultural (e)valuation of heritagisation as worldmaking. They do so in a way that is not similar to the (neoliberal) heritage regime (e)valuation processes in the context of touristic development or the heritage industry. Still, regarding my primary

research question, the entrepreneur's worldmaking power lies in the overlap of their criteria of (e)valuation with dominant global heritage discourse, which accounts for an increase of the potential for heritagisation to emerge in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

The quasi-overlap of entrepreneurs' cultural productions and dominant heritage repertoires places them in an intriguing relationship with heritage regimes and their discourses. They are both lay individuals and heritage experts, a subject position UNESCO-related regimes aim to foster through their promotion of participation, volunteer work, and the engagement of stakeholders in heritagisation processes. Consequently, unlike other positions I will discuss, these entrepreneurs hold a subject position within heritage regimes; a subject position closely entangled with heritage's exchange value in the above sense.

8.2 Inward-Oriented Criteria of (E)valuation

Quite in contrast to the above temporal frame of wanting to preserve the activities of ethnic associations beyond one's biographical life span, Hilde from Zeven tells the story of her association as one that started within her lifespan and will most probably end within it as well. She represents the second ideal type of entrepreneur in this study's small-town arenas. This type is primarily oriented toward the reproduction of concrete communities, an inward-oriented sensemaking that pertains to heritage's use- rather than exchange value.

Hilde lives with her husband in Zeven and is an active member of a Dutch association. While she used to work back in the Netherlands, moving to Zeven because of her husband's job in the military ended her career. In a way, volunteer work, in which she was always involved, replaces the work she used to do for wages. She has experience of doing volunteer work all her life and has not been limited to Dutch-related activities. For example, she also took a position in a local sports club at which her children were members. Part of her power to shape the rules and criteria of the social worlds she is involved in comes from her official position in the Dutch association, as is the case with all volunteer entrepreneurs in this chapter. However, being the wife of a highly decorated ex-general of the Dutch military also seems to strengthen her position.

Instead of investing in the survival of the association's structures and activities beyond their biographical lifespan, for the type of (e)valuation criteria that Hilde employs, other motivations lie on top. These are motivations that are inward-oriented towards the (re)production of local social life. Two types of criteria of (e)valuation became apparent: First, sociability, which is oriented towards being together sociably with no other purpose. Second, support, which showed itself in several different ways of 'caring for' one another. The stories of individual volunteers in the

arena shows how they pertain to practising ethics of care that function in cyclical rather than linear modes of time. They also underline heritage's use value, an often overlooked and gendered process that is marginalised in heritage situations, something that potentially underlies all heritagisation processes.

8.2.1 The Joy of Getting Together: Sociability as A Criterion of (E)valuation

As detailed in the chapter introduction, I was genuinely taken aback by the prevalence of *sociability* as a critical criterion of (e)valuation. This realisation struck me during a visit to Clara's living room, where I sat alongside her husband, absorbing her narratives about various dance variants. At this moment, I was surprised by how her storytelling revolved around rediscovering, imitating, and reinventing traditions, including a sense of almost reflexive playfulness. Despite my initial expectations of traditions and provincial life being potentially conservative and rigid, I found myself charmed by their enthusiasm not for adhering to the 'proper' way of doing things but for the sheer fun and enjoyment of their activities.

This experience reveals my journey and initial estrangement from my research topic and field. Lacking biographical experiences related to similar ethnicised cultural productions, I initially needed to grasp the profound importance of such rituals and associations for reproducing local social life. Furthermore, entering the field with a perspective that regarded cultural heritage as a nationally dominated conservative phenomenon, constructed with an essentialising effect, left me somewhat startled by the playfulness and high levels of reflexivity exhibited by the individuals I encountered. Had I delved into literature on sociability, such as Georg Simmel (Simmel and Hughes 1949), beforehand, I would likely have been less surprised by these findings.

The living room scenario represents a specific instance in which an explicit heritage repertoire within heritage situations is set aside in favour of a repertoire of a more sociable orientation. Clara further actively deprioritised a focus on representation and recognition, even in situations where her dance group is invited onto a stage to perform:

> We arrived in traditional costume, and nobody was there. But of course, we still had a lot of fun together, and afterwards, we drank tea and ate cake and did some nice dances, and sometimes it started to rain. But there was really nothing going on. That's not really that important. We do know someone who's in the newspapers constantly, who presents himself all the time; and I said I don't do that. It is not about being a 'Rampensau' (upstaging everyone). (Clara)[7]

7 "*Wir kamen da in Tracht an, und niemand war da, aber wir hatten natürlich trotzdem viel Spaß zusammen, und hinterher Tee getrunken und Kuchen gegessen und haben schöne Tänze gemacht, und manchmal fing es auch an zu regnen. Aber da war wirklich nix los. Es ist eigentlich nicht so wichtig.*

Instead of representing, she underlines a leisurely character and repeatedly names 'having fun' as one of the most important purposes of her dance activities. She calls her volunteer work her hobby, which relaxes her after a long day at work. Dancing, then, is something she does for the sake of dancing; no traditional dresses or other means of representation are needed.

Christina from Cuxhaven similarly used an affective vocabulary of fun and joy when she described her volunteer work preparing the annual Fatima procession. She put particular emphasis on being sociable, on a 'being there together', as the source of this joy:

> It is all about the anticipation and one laughs a lot, that is something special. I think it's sad if people don't experience this, they don't know what they lose, this joy, the communication and being there together. (Chrstina)[8]

Sociability is a dominant criterion of the (e)valuation of the associations' cultural activities from its organisers' perspective.[9] They describe their activities as a sphere outside the home and work life. With Simmel, sociability is a play-form of association, corresponding to art and play in that the joy and pleasure of getting together builds an end in itself, with no other rational or utilitarian purpose: 'In sociability, whatever the personality has of objective importance, of features which have their orientation toward something outside the circle, must not interfere' (Simmel and Hughes 1949: 256). Sociability is important in the processes of the genesis, reproduction, and (e)valuation of group membership. It is directed inwards and supports social cohesion within a community, while it is vulnerable to differences between individuals from 'real life'. In sociability, the get-together is an end in itself, and there is no role or duty for individuals except to enjoy being together. At the same time, this sociability is built on an illusion of equality if seen from the outside, which makes it fragile to outside interference on an experiential level.

Wir kennen auch jemanden, der ständig in der Zeitung abgebildet, ist der ständig sich so präsentiert, und da habe ich gesagt, das mag ich gar nicht. Also es ist nicht dieses, als Rampensau dazustehen." (Clara)

8 *„Die Vorfreude die Vorbereitung, man lacht viel, und das ist was Besonderes. Ich finde nur schade, wenn andere Menschen sowas nicht kennen. Die wissen gar nicht, was sie dabei verlieren, diese Freude, dieses Mitteilen, dieses Miteinander da sein.*" (Christina)

9 Sociability as a concept in (empirical) research has not been a focus of systematic sociological theorisations. However, it has played a role in much research such as ethnographic and geographic work on the social dimension of space, work, or inequality (Daniels 1985; Oldenburg 1999; Portes 1998), in organisational research on sports and cultural associations (Giulianotti 2005; Hoffmann 2003; Kleine and Fritsch 1990) or as in aspects of cosmopolitanism and transnationalism in domains of everyday interaction (Glick Schiller, Darieva, and Gruner-Domic 2011; Gowricharn 2017).

Clara's place of dancing is disturbed by interference from work or home, which she described as instances of 'real life.' She told me that housework piling up at home distracts her from the sociable moments of volunteer activities. She described a conflict of objectives between home and volunteering. Hilde in Zeven also highlighted potential conflict lines within the protagonist's life, particularly showcasing that a more explicit language and vocabulary of heritage recognition may clash with everyday sociability. The conflict manifests in defining the boundaries of belonging to the Dutch diaspora community in the town. Hilde expressed discomfort with individuals attending festivities solely to boast about their affinity for drinking Dutch coffee and indulging in Dutch cookies:

> They found and married a German girlfriend, didn't have anything to do with the barracks for years. And then: 'ooh, something Dutch…' Well, they all have a different history. Suddenly, they are pleased about 'a kopje koffie en een koekje'. They get excited about very different things than we do. And they live and do everything in German, and that's interesting. (Hilde)[10]

Hilde draws a distinct line between regular soldiers integrated into the German-speaking sphere and her group. For her, speaking Dutch and embracing Dutch customs are everyday practices for the club members, pursued solely for joy and pleasure. The seemingly non-reflexive sociability she seeks is disrupted when a group demarcation becomes evident, with others positioning themselves towards a Dutch heritage made explicit. Such explicit narratives cast these individuals almost as traitors to her understanding of the communal gatherings.

Clubhouses, where associations and cultural events often occur, are frequently appropriated by strong female volunteer entrepreneurs. Sociability, oriented towards the reproduction of social life, fosters essential social connections for the interviewed women. Another criterion of (e)valuation aligning with this orientation is an emphasis on everyday solidarity and support.

8.2.2 To Care for an Other: Support As a Criterion of (E)valuation

One criterion of (e)valuation evident in the interviewees' portrayals of ethnic associations is support. Associations serve as crucial support structures for their members in their everyday life situations, often revealing instances of *caring for others*. In

10 *„Die hatten in der Zwischenzeit eine deutsche Freundin gefunden, haben die geheiratet, hatten jahrelang nichts mehr mit der Kaserne zu tun. Und dann ‚aha, etwas holländisches…' Die haben eine andere Geschichte. Sie freuen sich auf einmal über ‚eine Kopje Koffie en een Koekje'. Die freuen sich dann auch über ganz andere Dinge, als wir uns dann darüber freuen. Und die wohnen und leben und machen alles auf Deutsch, und das ist interessant.*" (Hilde)

the case of Cuxhaven, this primarily revolves around assisting newcomers grappling with bureaucratic challenges in a foreign country:

> Well, we had our relatives here, and we had M., who is here for longer already, and he helped my parents a lot, of course, with finding a house, and work, and figuring out insurance. Which, you know how it is, here in Germany, of course, bureaucracy and all that shit. He took them by the hand, and that was good for all of us and is still the same today. If O., or M., or my mother hear that someone is new here in Germany, they take them by the hand, invite them to the cafés. (Luis)[11]

In Zeven, the focus shifts toward addressing the association's ageing population. There arises a need to care for them to prevent feelings of loneliness. As one member of the association explained:

> There are also older military people here who don't have much family. And it is important that they have a place where they can talk to other people. (Rubens)[12]

Hilde focusses on the care for those in situations of illness and crises and is motivated by her religious ethics and morals:

> It's not important what one person or another says you're supposed to do. No, it is more about life and looking out for one another. And that's what I find in the association right now. There is no religion, but people care for one another, for example, when someone is in hospital… (Hilde)[13]

A younger ex-inhabitant of Zeven described how, during a life crisis after an accident, his father was helped and motivated by his activity in the Dutch association:

> Since then, he's been involved and very active. And he does volunteer work there, and all that is incredibly meaningful for him. My father had [illness C] in 2000, and

---

11 *„Ja, wir hatten ja hier unsere Verwandten, und dann hatten wir M., der ist schon länger hier, der hat meinen Eltern natürlich viel geholfen, mit Wohnungssuche und Arbeit und Versicherung klären. Also, es ist ja, hier in Deutschland, natürlich, Bürokratie und so'n Scheiß. Der hat die natürlich an die Hand genommen, und das war schon gut für uns, das wird ja heutzutage immer noch weiter gelebt. Wenn O., oder M., oder meine Mutter, wenn die hören, dass jemand neu hier in Deutschland ist, werden die an die Hand genommen und in Cafés eingeladen.*" (Luis)

12 *„Es gibt auch ältere, militärische Leute, die nicht so viel Familie haben. Und es ist dann auch doch wichtig, dass die dann irgendwo einen Platz haben, wo sie andere Leute sprechen können.*" (Rubens)

13 *„Es nicht so wichtig, was der sagt oder der sagt, was man tun muss. Nein, es ist mehr das Leben und sich nacheinander umzusehen. Das finde ich dann auch jetzt im Verein ein bisschen zurück. Da ist das keine Religion, aber man sieht nacheinander um, zum Beipsiel, wenn jemand im Krankenhaus liegt…*" (Hilde)

> then he couldn't really work anymore, and then there were long years of a, well, not so great working situation, where he had to work off the books, and all kinds of things. And the association really helped him a lot, was my impression. That he can be involved in the association, and with the Dutch community, with the older people who are united there, and active, who meet there for brunch and everything. He has his friends there, too, and it's fun for him, and he's working towards goals. Recently, he made pins, these badges, creative things, and now he's handing them out to everybody, all proud. It really means a lot to him, that association. (Sebastian)[14]

In both of these diasporic situations, the focus on whom to care for and how appears to continue the association's specific histories. In Zeven, the will to support one another is linked to the void left by the Dutch military barracks as an infrastructure in people's lives. In Cuxhaven, conversely, the emphasis on newcomers stems from the origin of Portuguese and Spanish associations initiated by the Diakonie in the 1970s, with a primary focus on aiding newcomers to integrate into the town.

The support of each other in everyday life situations generally as well as in vulnerable moments such as ageing or health problems is a huge motivation for entrepreneurs in volunteer associations across all three case studies, as Clara from Aurich, among others, shows. Clara also employs the criteria of support and solidarity, albeit more abstractly. She discusses her '*Helfersyndrom*', her innate need to help others, as part of her effort to improve the world. At least discursively, her access to these criteria extends beyond a specific group of East Frisians to encompass the world.

Both sociability and support are (e)valuation criteria oriented towards reproducing social life among the inhabitants of the three towns. In their work in associations, ethnicised heritage and its preservation for future generations is not the primary focus. On the contrary, the time horizon of these inward-oriented (e)valuation criteria is limited to the participants' biographical lifespan. The constructions of belonging and community challenge reified or abstract ideas of community as imagined, as they are oriented to concrete personal networks.

---

14 „*Seitdem ist er da drin, und auch sehr aktiv. Und engagiert sich da ehrenamtlich, und es gibt ihm auch wahnsinnig viel. Mein Vater hatte 2000 [Krankheit C] und konnte dann nicht mehr richtig arbeiten, und dann gab es lange Jahre von, ja, nicht so toller Arbeitssituation, dass er irgendwie obskur musste, und alles Mögliche. Und der Verein hat ihm da sehr geholfen, hatte ich das Gefühl. Dass er sich da engagieren kann, auch mit der holländischen Community, mit den älteren, die darin vereint sind, und sich engagieren, und sich da zum Brunch treffen und alles. Da hat er auch seine Freunde, und das macht ihm Spaß, und er organisiert das Ziel. Er hat neulich gerade so Pins gestaltet, so Anstecker, so kreative Sachen, und verteilt die jetzt an alle ganz stolz. Ihm gibt es sehr viel, dieser Verein.*" (Sebastian)

If one can derive a form of heritagisation from these orientations, heritage is understood as the natural continuation of a concrete community of practice.[15] This understanding becomes particularly apparent in moments of disruption, such as the case with maverick members of the Dutch association and their approach to a 'gezellig kopje koffie en koekje' (a sociable cup of coffee and a cookie).

The dominant global discourse often implies a certain amount of strategic initiative as part of a repertoire of heritage; in contrast, heritage production from the perspective of inward-oriented criteria of (e)valuation is somewhat unintentional. Although something inevitably remains from their cultural endeavours, whether it be the name of a clubhouse or a yearly festival, the aim for these to survive is not the primary orientation or motivation of the volunteer entrepreneurs. There is no discernible reflexivity or intentional politics in this direction, yet heritagisation is still co-produced. The immediate use value of their engagement in cultural endeavours dominates the entrepreneurs' motivations presented here.

The entrepreneurs' activities and their caring motivations are historically mostly assigned to women, even if not always only performed by women. Much research on volunteering assumes that volunteers are propelled by the needs of others (Overgaard 2019). This inward-oriented criterion of (e)valuation towards an Other in a caring way can be comprehended as being fuelled by an ethic of care. Ethics of care, a feminist approach to ethics, critiques dominant, particularly utilitarian, moral theories as male-centric, as they often minimise values and virtues associated with women or roles deemed 'feminine'. A care ethic is rooted in the fundamental dependency of all human beings within networks of social relations. According to Maureen Sander-Staudt in the Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 'Care ethics affirms the importance of caring motivation, emotion, and the body in moral deliberation, as well as reasoning from particulars' (2011).

Philosophers such as Tronto elevate care-ethical thinking to the realm of political philosophy, a bit like Clara from Aurich does when she extends her '*Helfersyndrom*' to a world society. Tronto (2013) advocates for shifting societal and democratic considerations away from the perspective of waged work and exchange to one centred on care as work and an orientation towards others and gifts. Critical Heritage Studies have also addressed ethics of care as a potential normative foundation for heritage management practices (Arauz 2021; Ireland and Schofield 2015).

15 In the cases presented here, this community refers to the group of members of an ethnic association or Catholic mission. Other forms of concrete communities exist in the material, albeit not the primary focus of my analysis. For second-generation inhabitants in Cuxhaven and Zeven, as well as for an ex-inhabitant of Aurich – whom I position as outsiders or mavericks in relation to my field of research – the family serves as the main ethnicised unit of community.

The fact that an ethic of care drives the cultural endeavours of central volunteers in the small-town arenas has at least two consequences for how we theorise the category of heritage in global discourse, one addressing concepts of time, the other addressing concepts of the use value and (unpaid) labour feeding the (re)production of cultural heritages.

First, there is a temporal aspect to care, framed as a circular process. The timing of care becomes dominant for actors in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations, highlighting the cyclical nature of caring practices and the phased nature of time in the care of small children (De Angelis 2006: 1). It underscores the ongoing and reciprocal nature of care within social relationships, challenging linear and transcendent models of exchange prevalent in other moral theories. This temporal dimension aligns with caring motivation and orientation towards others, as advocated by the ethics of care. Most importantly, when an ethic of care is so involved in the ethnicised cultural productions and practices of volunteers in my research field, the linear model of time central to cultural heritage has to be radically questioned. J. Kelechi Ugwuanyi (2021). has done this from a decolonial framework when he confronts dominant heritage knowledge systems with indigenous concepts and heritage ontologies from the Igbo in Nigeria, whose heritage re-emerges annually or periodically in circular ways.

I also observed that those female interviewees who most prominently focused on everyday support in their activities described their volunteering most clearly as work, not as a leisure activity or a labour of love. Hilde, for example, described how complex the competencies needed for her volunteering are and how much time needs to be invested, all of which keeps her constantly in 'busy mode' between being present and planning the events as places to get together:

> Um, it's not that demanding. Last month we had Mosselen and the Bock Beer Festival. I don't really have much to do for that, but I just need to hear if everything has been planned and all that. But you do have to get together, you're supposed to be there. One group visited [factory M], they were busy. And that morning someone explained how it is with the difference in inheritance here in Germany, which also needs to be accounted for. I really just need to coordinate that. But you're supposed to check everywhere, is this planned, is that planned, and is this really planned? Just yesterday, I didn't have anything important to do, but you're supposed to be there and we were invited to the town, otherwise I would have gone to the Christmas market. So I was there at two. And that requires a bit of planning. (Hilde)[16]

16 *"Äh, ist nicht so anstrengend. Letzten Monat haben wir Mosselen und Bockbier-Feier gehabt. Brauch' ich weiter eigentlich nichts dran zu tun, aber nur zu hören, ob alles geplant worden ist oder so. Aber man muss beieinander kommen, man soll da sein. Eine Gruppe hat [Fabrik M] besucht, die hatten zu tun. Und an dem Morgen hat einer erklärt, wie das mit dem Unterschied in Erbschaft ist. Muss man auch für sorgen. Ich brauch das nur eigentlich abzustimmen. Aber man soll überall gucken, ist das*

For many of the female entrepreneurs in Zeven, volunteering replaced the life of paid labour they had before moving with their husbands to Germany. This leads me to the second insight my findings can bring forth in this section: a focus on the importance of the use value of heritage and the gendered nature of doing the work to (re)produce heritages.

The notion of use value is occasionally discussed in heritage research, often juxtaposed with non-use value, which pertains to the value a heritage site holds for individuals who do not directly visit it (Pagiola 1996). Critical Heritage Studies revolves around the proactive uses of heritage by groups of people (Smith 2006). In this context the concept of use value can be used in a more abstract and conceptual sense, drawing inspiration from a Marxian analysis of commodities (Marx and Mandel 1990: 125) and how this is taken up by Arjun Appadurai (1986), who states that in the context of social life, the use value of heritage refers to its utility in satisfying needs and wants, as afforded by its material properties.

The work and care ethics associated with the entrepreneurs' volunteer activities can be understood as contributing to the satisfaction of basic needs within concrete communities and beyond, aligning with the broader concept of social reproduction of life. The commodification of heritage practices has been described as transforming a 'community's culture, developed over years or even centuries, created through ordinary spontaneous evolution under principles of use value' (Rodzi et al. 2013: 416) – elements essential to the social fabric and essence of everyday life – into objects of exchange value.

In my exploration of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, it is clear that criteria of (e)valuation related to the ethics of care are often overlooked in global heritage discourse but are central to the volunteer efforts of entrepreneurs. The mostly, but not exclusively, female volunteers who are the main protagonists of this work do not have a subject position within dominant heritage discourses as heritage's use value, and circular conceptions of time are not subject to these discourses. Gendered care ethics challenge the male-connoted ethical ideals of individual autonomy and justice with interdependency and intimacy. In this situation, volunteer entrepreneurs' value orientations, heritagisation as worldmaking, and sensemaking are interrelated.

---

geplant, ist das geplant und ist es auch wirklich geplant? Jetzt gestern, ich hatte nichts Wichtiges zu tun, aber man soll da sein und in die Stadt wurde man eingeladen, sonst hätte ich mal erst ganzen nachmittags nach den Weihnachtsmarkt gegangen. Jetzt war ich da um zwei. Und das muss man ein bisschen planen." (Hilde)

8.3 Conclusion: The Use Value of Heritage in Concrete Communities and its Gendered Matrix

Cultural scholar Doreen Götzky's (2013) dissertation on actors, strategies, and discourses of cultural politics in Lower Saxony underlines the importance of grassroots culture, volunteer activities and associations in peripheral places. However, she also cautions us about such associations' role and participation in the worldmaking efforts of more structured cultural policies. She writes,

> It can be assumed that there are limits to the implementation of networking strategies in more traditional areas of grassroots cultural association life. The networking of associations with similar profiles beyond local boundaries can overwhelm their structures because they do not correspond to the actual purpose of these associations. (Götzky 2013: 283, my translation)

Sara Ross (2016) describes similar moments of conflict arising in culture-led regeneration strategies in Toronto between the use- and exchange values of cultural endeavours. Heritage scholar Ellen Hertz also finds that lace makers or an association of skittle-game players in Switzerland, when presented with the opportunity to be listed as Intangible Cultural Heritage, 'spoke mainly about the pleasures of their get-togethers', 'expressed reluctance to enter […] needlessly bureaucratic procedures', or were 'unmotivated by a desire to promote anything but middle-aged fun' (2017: 48). Leidulf Mydland and Wera Grahn (2012: 564) note that volunteers' motivation to reproduce cultural heritage, specifically when they are not officially listed or preserved by heritage authorities, is to spend time and money to maintain common social institutions in local society, not to preserve heritage for the future. When Andreas Pantazatos argues that the ethical concepts of care and respect should be the origins of archaeologists' stewardship for local heritages, he starts his argument by stating that there are many cases wherein local communities deny links with their heritages, which 'defies the idea that all humans are interested in heritage and particularly their own' (2018: 128). And Loes Veldpaus and Hanna Szemö (2021) also propose replacing the concept of 'protection' of material heritages with 'care' to create new perspectives on the relationship between a historic environment and the people living in it. I suggest following this axis not only to rethink conservationist practices, as these scholars do, but to take it as a starting point to rethink the category of cultural heritage.

The findings presented in this chapter bolster these claims, underlining the important role of social proximity as social capital in cultural endeavours in small-town settings (Alisch and May 2011; Steinführer et al. 2016). Moreover, sensemaking and worldmaking aspects of heritage situations and their consequences can help us to think about, or rethink, the category of heritage.

Two ideal types of entrepreneurs emerge as significant in the social world of volunteering and ethnic associations. One type primarily employs outward and exchange-value-oriented criteria of (e)valuation in their activities, focusing on expertise, consumer orientation, and recognition – all elements associated with heritage as a cultural repertoire dominated by UNESCO. The other type of entrepreneur, more prevalent in my field research, operates with inward- and use-value-oriented criteria of (e)valuation, specifically sociability and everyday support.

Both types of criteria can enter into a conflictual relationship due to the associations' fragility as sites of sociability. These spaces are not neutral grounds for encounters but are susceptible to external influences, such as the home or an explicit heritage vocabulary. Simultaneously, they serve as places for entrepreneurs to build vital social networks that reproduce social life. Cultural heritage, then, can be considered an unintentional consequence of the cultural endeavours of the entrepreneurs discussed in this chapter, whose main focus is the reproduction of concrete communities. Such communities are personal; they are not linked to abstract national identity or homogeneity ideals. I contend that the vulnerability of such cultural places to outside influences stems from how criteria of support and sociability are influenced by understandings of volunteer work as care work and motivated by an ethic of care that is performed through ties of trust and emotion.

In a different but comparable context of citizenship education policies focused on language, Sociologists Claire Alexander et al. (2007) argue that policy and politics are dominated by an unreflective and under-theorised idea of community, as some scholars have identified for heritage policies. The first step to not reinforce this in the context of minority cultures is to resist the over-acculturation of ethnicity. To underline the use value orientation of the entrepreneurs and communities as concrete networks in the small-town arenas and their orientation towards reproducing social life is to do precisely that. The shift from imagined communities to concrete communities of practice in global heritage discourse (Adell et al. 2015) is not absolute and bears the potential for conflict.

The entanglement of cultural endeavours with care leads to circular notions of time, eluding the heritage category's basis in linear time. Moreover, instead of emphasising heritage's exchange value, the focus is shifted to its use value – the capability to satisfy basic social needs and wants.

The disregard of dominant heritage regimes for alternative motivations to engage in cultural endeavours is rooted in their inherent exchange value orientation. Furthermore, this exchange value orientation can be seen as inherently male-centred. This chapter focused on quasi-discursive elements within heritage situations that allow for the study of heritagisation as a complex interplay of various (e)valuation criteria, shedding light on the gendered dynamics within these processes related to the use value of cultural endeavours in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

At the same time, the prevalence of an orientation towards heritage's use value does not imply that its exchange value is entirely irrelevant in the research field. Instead, both use and exchange values are inherently related, and sometimes conflictive, within heritage situations. In his book *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Appadurai critiques simplistic oppositions between a romanticised use value of gifts that conflates the concept with the notion of *Gemeinschaft* and capitalist logics of exchange value in anthropological research. He states: 'Gifts, and the spirit of reciprocity, sociability, and spontaneity […] usually are starkly opposed to the profit-oriented, self-centred, and calculated spirit that fired the circulation of commodities' (1986: 11). My findings resonate with his critique and makes it relevant to the field of Critical Heritage Studies. In this context, heritage situations reveal the intricate interplay between both aspects, centring the role of cultural endeavours in volunteering as care work and motivated by an ethics of care as the quasi-invisible underside of all heritagisation. The volunteers' experience in the three small towns challenge a simplistic dichotomy, offering a more complex understanding of the dynamics between worldmaking and sensemaking aspects of cultural endeavours in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

Part IV: Unsettelling Ethnic, Migrant and Unilocal Heritage: Following Symbolic Boundary Making in Sensemaking Processes

Research participant Luis, who has lived in Cuxhaven since he was five and whose family stems from Portugal, has an ambivalent relationship to Portugal and his Portugueseness. On the one hand, he craves Portugal as the country offering him the a potentially carefree and easy life, a place to follow the 'bon-vivant' aspects of his being. On the other hand, Portugal is the country he cannot return to due to its catastrophic economic situation, offering no opportunities to young people in their 20s. In both narratives, Luis draws a symbolic boundary constructing what it means to be Portuguese in Cuxhaven. Following this, one could assume with Frederic Barth, that the 'cultural stuff' – language, food, folklore dance practices, attire, mentalities, landscape elements, cultural repertoires etc. – addressed in ethnicisation do not really matter to the process of ethnic boundary making itself (Barth 1969: 15). An analysis of the symbolic boundary-making processes in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, however, shows that the cultural endeavours and landscape of variations in sensemaking are organised along some criteria and moments that can be reconstructed in comparative analysis. Andreas Wimmer also argues that ethnic boundary making is often organised historically around 'dramatic cultural ruptures' (Wimmer 2010: 111), such as migration or conquest.

Part III of this book has shown that unsettled times do indeed change the discursive and concrete arena of ethnicised cultural festivals and associations to align with heritage regimes' worldmaking. A clearly bounded local communities of practice comes into being. Outside of such moments, the the three small towns' ethnicised heritage are shown to be largely lacking in an ethnicised community of practice. Part III also thematised highly institutionalised, outward-facing (and male-connoted) worldmaking that heritage repertoires tend to prioritise as being at odds with the use value that participants experience in their everyday reproduction of social life within their festival organisation and participation.

If we shift to sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations – to a perspective that focuses less on institutionalised practices and more on the ordinary, everyday processes of (e)valuation – we can begin to see how those operating within these dual spaces draw their symbolic boundaries, and how people employ heritage as a repertoire to produce both difference and belonging. In this use of heritage as a repertoire, certain elements can be seen to organise the relationship between boundaries and 'their' cultural stuff. As individual and collective actors draw on this 'cultural stuff' to construct symbolic boundaries and (e)valuate heritage situations, it becomes clear that their experiences of mobility play a decisive role in shaping processes of ethnic membership formation and the emergence of heritage situations. Mobility experiences – understood as moments of detachment from, and re-attachment to, new places – prove to be a central organising principle of boundary making and, thus, of the aspects of Ethnicised Heritage Situations examined in Part IV. For the research participants, sensemaking occurs precisely through these ruptures, around which their symbolic boundary making is organised.

Part IV therefore introduces how taking routes and setting roots, understood as processes of de/attachment to place, are complexly intertwined in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. The concept of 'taking routes' has been instrumental as a sensitising concept throughout the research process, reflecting my interest in the role of migration experiences in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. While I started focusing on migration as a specific form of mobility, other forms of physical mobility, such as residential and travel, also came to play a role. Additionally, 'setting roots' emerged as an in-vivo code in the material and became a sensitising concept derived from the research participants' language and expressions (Zaidi 2022: 3).[1] Individuals discussed having 'roots' or forms of 'homing' in the interview material, reflecting their place of upbringing or efforts to integrate into the small-town arenas and German national culture.

In Critical Heritage Studies, the taking of routes is mainly associated with migration as a form of mobility and is all too often limited to moving from 'here' to 'there'. This produces an imaginary of 'dual-territoriality' (Ang 2011: 92) that stems from the close relation of the concept of heritage to the nation and does not do justice to the complexity of the diasporan experience (Ang 2011: 92). Therefore, some heritage scholars studying migration call for a broader perspective on heritage and mobility as an ongoing process (e.g. Byrne 2002; Dellios and Henrich 2020).

Transnational and globalisation scholars define mobility as the predominant way of being in postmodern times (Pries 2001: 9). I employ the sensitising concepts

1 At first I was hesitant to use the notion of roots, as it suggests territorialised understandings of homing that do not do justice to the actual mobility of peoples. However, I find it useful as a pair with the concept of routes to make my argument. I understand it here as not only having pre-existing roots but more as the setting of roots in a new place.

of 'taking routes' and 'setting roots', taking from the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry 2006), wherein setting roots and taking routes are understood as ongoing, dynamic, and entangled processes of detachments/upscaling and attachment/regrounding. Sara Ahmed et al., for example, start their empirical research from an understanding that 'Being grounded is not necessarily about being fixed; being mobile is not necessarily about being detached' (2020: 1). Processes of placement and migration are simultaneous and context-dependent, happening on different scales – they are not opposites. All forms of mobility instead shape local places and vice versa: the phenomena of 'desire paths', physical steps that pound a route in the grass for others to follow along, provides a useful metaphor, or the process which has been described as 'infrastructural or institutional moorings that configure and enable mobilities' (Hannam, Sheller, and Urry 2006: 3).

But as Anthias (2008: 15) points out, being dislocated from one location, such as the nation, does not necessarily imply dislocation in terms of other places, such as social class. For processes of symbolic boundary making, this suggests that dimensions of belonging are not mutually exclusive. Individuals may navigate multiple boundaries simultaneously in their lives. I found no 'master membership', meaning a form of membership, like belonging to a Portuguese diaspora or being a soldier, that dominates all other groups they feel a part of in any of my research participants.

As a consequence of the new mobilities paradigm's conceptualisation of mobility and immobility, criticism is directed towards the notion of the nomadic, cosmopolitan and mobile subject for privileging a particular male and cosmopolitan form of mobility, which excludes those who cannot move as freely. 'Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship.' (Hannam et al. 2006: 3). In this context, it is essential to specify the status of my research participants. From a global perspective, they are relatively privileged as European citizens, able to move freely on the continent for travel, residential changes, or working migration. All the people I met had some mobility experience: for some, this meant migration, while for others, it involved travelling the world or residing in a metropolitan city for a certain period of their lifespan. Almost all of them migrated voluntarily, or their parents migrated voluntarily; they can be considered a part of the (lower) middle class, a status that Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven sometimes only acquired in the process of mobility or as second-generation migrants, and all of them spoke the German language. Consequently, the importance assigned to continuous mobility experiences as opposed to departure and arrival experiences in Ethnicised Heritage Situations is situated within the context of Europe's governance of mobility, reflecting the political dimensions of taking routes.

The shift to sensemaking in Part IV offers new material for reconsidering prominent assumptions about the category of cultural heritage in global heritage discourse. Depending on the type of mobility, experiences of movement can prompt forms of heritage that exist for individuals across multiple localisms in

transnational simultaneity. To reground in a new place also means encountering minority/majority boundaries whose permeability shapes how heritage is employed as a cultural repertoire – often more decisively than membership in an ethnic community imagined as bound by fate. This perspective again challenges overly simplistic and uncritically positive links between heritage, identity and community, and oposes it with the complexity of relations between all elements in Ethnicised Heritage Situations.

9. Coming to Terms with Routes: Mobility Experiences, (Non)Ethnic Subjectivation, and Cosmopolitanisms in Heritage-Making

Place attachment, a significant aspect in both standard and scholarly approaches to cultural heritage, is often conceptualised in territorialised forms, encapsulated in cultural heritage discourse as the representation and recognition of one's ethnic roots and as a homogenising force (Berger et al. 2020; Frank 2009; Kuutma 2009). At times, this is the case in the form of strategic essentialism in political claim-making (Chakravorty Spivak 1988), for example when indigenous groups fight for their collective land ownership. Small towns as a specific type of settlement are often implicitly conceptualised with a territorialised or functionalist rather than a constructivist understanding of space in small-town research. However, a reconciliation with experiences of mobility, emphasising routes, non-ethnic forms of belonging, heterogeneity, and cosmopolitan attitudes primarily shapes the place attachments of the individuals under study. This sensemaking is where the small-town arenas are situated within transnational and global space (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2009).

The sense of attachment to the small towns emerges as a crucial and explicitly non-ethnic form of belonging, expressed consistently across all cases. The participants construct the small towns as simultaneously urban and rural. They engage in discourses around what signifies the small-town arena and co-construct the contents of a 'small-town cultural repertoire'. When explicit references are made to an ethnic minority or national heritage, such as traditional dance, costumes, or languages, these ethnicised heritages contribute to heterogeneity and homogeneity in the small-town arenas.[1]

1 This key finding is mirrored in the process category of ethnoheterogenesis that encompasses the genesis and continuously shifting social forms of ethnicities. Nina Clara Tiesler states the concept acknowledges 'that the coming-into-being of ethnicities is an ongoing process that typically involves de-ethnization as much as ethnization, forces of both hetero- and homogenization as well as a diversity of ethnic membership roles and multiple "ethnic options".´ (2015: xi). I could, accordingly, state that ethnic heritages are always ethnoheterogeneous.

Individuals with migration experience do give specifics around place de-/attachment, which still aligns with the finding that there is no ethnic 'master membership' in the research participants' sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. First, their existence in multiple localities (towns, nations, local diasporic communities, regions) is a form of vernacular non-elitist cosmopolitanism, drawing from Pnina Werbner's (2006) conceptualisation. Second, this narrative highlights instances where individuals express place detachment by adopting an explicit cosmopolitan attitude, a noteworthy phenomenon where mobility experiences are transformed into a type of heritage. This chapter, therefore, introduces mobility experiences as temporal, with multilocality and transnational existence as spatial and non-ethnic boundary making as discursive elements in the three towns' Ethnicised Heritage Situations. They appear in the centre of the research participants' sensemaking, though only at the margins of global heritage discourse.

The 'moment of nonrecognition' (Glick Schiller et al. 2006) behind this chapter is how physical mobility experiences shaped the life stories of all my case studies, even those from East Frisia with no migration background. People in Cuxhaven and Zeven had experienced EU migration through border crossings. Dislocation significantly impacted the participants' narratives, echoing Werbner's (2005) observation that migration initiates a process of encountering new environments and landscapes, altering migrants' consciousness and expectations, alongside changes in their home countries and social circles, often leading to a sense of estrangement upon return. Christina from Cuxhaven expressed such a feeling of estrangement:

> Well, the culture, for example, the quote-unquote Portuguese culture that you live here is different from the Portuguese culture in Portugal. Because of course, that's the way it is, in Portugal, the world keeps turning as well, right? So, life goes on. We can't keep up with those developments a hundred percent, since, after all, we live in Germany, but the roots are the same, those always remain. (Christina)[2]

Christina shares her experience of dislocation, feeling disconnected from developments in Portugal, her home country. She sees both 'foreigners' and 'Portuguese emigrants' sharing this disconnection. In Cuxhaven, all interviewees migrated from Portugal as children with their parents or as young adults seeking employment. Their narratives invariably begin with their migration experience, highlighting the challenges such as language acquisition, managing family visits, engaging with the local diaspora, and adapting to the German job market or education system.

2 *„Also die Kultur zum Beispiel, die portugiesische Kultur, in Anführungsstrichen, die man hier auslebt, ist anders als die portugiesische Kultur aus Portugal. Das ist ja so, in Portugal geht die Welt ja auch weiter, ne? Also geht das Leben weiter. Wir kriegen diese Entwicklung nicht hundertprozentig mit, weil wir nun ja schließlich in Deutschland leben, aber die die Wurzeln sind die gleichen, die bleiben immer.*" (Christina)

In Zeven, most interviewees moved from the Netherlands as part of or affiliated with the Dutch military. Only one, a second-generation migrant, lacked migratory experience but maintained contact with Dutch family members. While migration challenges appeared more pronounced for those from Portugal, dislocation still affected Dutch immigrants in Zeven, as seen in Hilde's advice to her daughter, who migrated to Australia, emphasising the need to process such a life-altering experience. Still, it becomes clear that she does not seem to frame her own relocation as a 'leaving behind of everything', as opposed to her daughters:

> We agreed that we would try to see each other every year, but we wouldn't come visit the first year. You need all four seasons somewhere. That is so important. And we were so well-prepared, but still, you just can't imagine leaving everything behind. In good or in bad times. (Hilde)[3]

In Zeven, women faced explicit challenges when migrating, leaving behind their careers in the Netherlands to join their husbands. This transition often meant shifting from a working role to that of a homemaker and unpaid volunteer, as previously explored. Many of these women lived mobile lives, balancing caregiving responsibilities for family elders in their home country.

A striking observation was that participants from my East Frisian study also discussed significant moves in their life narratives. These relocations typically involved transitioning between urban areas and returning to provincial East Frisia. Participants often emphasised the value of living in Aurich/East Frisia and how their attachment to the region grew stronger after experiencing life elsewhere.

Experiences of dislocation relevant to my research participants' sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations extend beyond international migratory encounters; they also manifest when transitioning from rural East Frisia to a metropolitan city or when exploring the world as a young student. In all three case studies, experiences of dislocation serve as a central anchor point in individuals' biographical narratives, irrespective of whether they migrated internationally or not.

Rather than associating ethnicised heritages exclusively with a specific territory and ethnic origin, the research participants construct heritage as a process of coming to terms with routes and, for some, reconciling with simultaneous existences in multiple places.

---

3 *„Wir haben miteinander ausgemacht, wir versuchen, jedes Jahr einander zu sehen, aber das erste Jahr kommen wir nicht. Ihr braucht alle alle vier Jahreszeiten irgendwo. Das ist so wichtig. Und wir waren so gut vorbereitet und doch ist es so, man kann nicht vorstellen, alles hinter sich zu lassen. In guten oder in schlechten Zeiten."* (Hilde)

9.1 Mobility Experiences as a Unifying Thread: The Small-Town Boundary and Heterogeneity as an Effect of Heritage-Making

A symbolic boundary of significant importance to all research participants transcends ethnic considerations; it revolves around their membership in the small-town arenas of Cuxhaven, Aurich, or Zeven. The boundary of being a small-town resident was often more central to my interviewees' life narratives than any ethnic boundaries, and it intertwined with their experience of mobility. As Janin Dahinden and Emmanuel Charmillot. show for the small-scale boundary of 'the Valleyers', a peripheral(ised) place in Switzerland, 'the mobility of people within the valley is the first important dimension underlying the symbolic boundary of "Valley-ers".' (2022: 371). Mobility plays a similar role in my case of Zeveners, Aurichers, or Cuxhaveners.

9.1.1 Small Town Localisms

In small-town research, rurality and urbanity are not understood as opposed to one another but as two poles of a continuum (Steinführer 2021). Similarly, the individuals I interviewed construct their attachment to the small-town arenas on a continuum between centrality and provinciality. They employ what can be conceptualised as a small-town cultural repertoire, wherein neither centrality nor provinciality is addressed in positive or negative terms, and small towns are constructed as sitting 'in between'. They reference many of the life-world-related structural features of what might define small towns as a reasonable size, to identify as urban dwellers, social proximity and safety as opposed to bigger cities, emotional bonds to a place, or to give the urban centre a symbolic status (Steinführer et al. 2016: 327).

A small town's symbolic boundary can therefore be drawn along a rural-urban continuum and deficit-oriented as well as positive (e)valuations of living in a small-town arena. There also emerged an entanglement of people's place attachment to small towns with family/biographical heritage, social proximity, and landscape elements.

When the research participants residing in Aurich discussed their attachment to the town, mobility experiences stemming from moving (back) to the small town from a metropolis in Germany were almost always central. For them, valuing small-town life is related to experiences of having lived a metropolitan life. Social proximity and proximity to open landscapes are essential categories of small-town repertoire, signifying its more rural side. These elements were addressed as positive attributes of small-town life and can be situated on the provincial side of the rural-urban continuum.

Richard and Clara from Aurich described the town's reasonable size and social proximity favourably. Richard underlined how he goes everywhere by bike, even for a stroll or to take exercise in nature, which he can easily do due to the town's proximity

to the open landscape. His (e)valuation of Aurich as a small town is interlinked with when he left the province to live in a big city. Only when his father died did he return to Aurich to resettle and find his interest and love for the town's East Frisian history. He stated:

> The big city is tremendous. Just, at some point, well, when my father died… of course that messes with your head, you have to clear out the apartment and then all the childhood memories come back and all that jazz. And then I stumbled across so many things that he had collected about the history of this town. (Richard)[4]

Richard juxtaposed his experience of living in a big city with the intimacy and emotions of returning to Aurich to a place of family heritage, where his father's death led him to stay and become actively involved in the town's heritagisation. His whole life narrative, the whole interview, so to speak, is permeated by the contrast between having lived in a big city and the provincialism of his life in Aurich. After living in both worlds, he takes a localist position, as he is deeply attached to the town of Aurich. His family and the town's local heritage are entangled, which can be interpreted as an expression of the social proximity and place attachment of a small town's cultural repertoire.

Clara, another research participant active in Aurich also values the social proximity of living there. She described a feeling of coming home after her experiences of having grown up and lived in more metropolitan cities:

> When we leave for a few days, I'm already looking forward to coming home as we leave. I mean, the openness that I think is really there at every opportunity, including in shops, at the cash register in the Aldi for example. It's a bit different in cities. Here, you always strike up conversation, even when I've never been there before. Immediately, you encounter people who are open… I mean, I can't think of any moment where I don't feel at home here. (Clara)[5]

Only through her experiences in other parts of the country can Clara appreciate and feel at home in her East Frisian town. For Clara, to come home is to enter an open

4 *„Also Großstadt, tolle Nummer. Bloß irgendwann, ja gut, als mein Vater starb… das ist ja auch so eine Psychonummer, da muss man ja dann die Wohnung auflösen, dann kommen die ganzen Kindheitserinnerungen und laber Rhabarber. Und dann fielen wir so viele Dinge in die Hand, die er gesammelt hat über die Geschichte dieser Stadt.*" (Richard)

5 *„Wenn wir zum Beispiel jetzt ein paar Tage wegfahren, da freue ich mich schon beim Wegfahren auf's nach Hause kommen. Also die Offenheit, die, ich meine, schon da ist, bei allen GeZevenheiten, auch in Läden, auch bei Aldi an der Kasse, zum Beispiel. In Städten ist das ein bisschen anders. Hier kommt man immer in's Gespräch, obwohl ich noch nie da war. Gleich begegnen einem offene Menschen… Also ich wüsste keinen Moment, wo ich mich hier nicht zuhause fühle.*" (Clara)

and, compared to her experiences in big cities, much less anonymous social environment This is but one instance, where mobility experiences that are not linked to migration are crucial in place attachment and in the construction of a towns 'small-townness'. Place attachment increases the possibility for cultural productions in Aurich to emerge as heritage.

Being an Auricher also means living near nature and beautiful landscapes. Richard pointed out that landscapes are another essential element of small-town cultural repertoire. In an anecdote, he told me about different approaches to caring for nature and climate and described proximity to open landscape:

> What fascinates me, or surprises me, is that, even in this region, where people have known the environment in a down-to-earth way for generations, right, the rangers, the hunters, the farmers, truly for generations, that we have a phenomenon here that I really only know from the big city. From that kind of corner, the Greens. That's a party that developed in the metropolises. And complete, I would say, complete academic baloney. Abstract. That really surprised me, and kind of shocked me as well, that that academic nonsense has been painted over the rural traditions for environment and nature at this point. And of course, they came after ideological hunters first, they're the ones who make the animals die, the rangers were evil as well, who fell the trees. Well, if someone gets rid of my embankment hedge, then immediately someone will come and report that person and then it will cost them 21.000 €. Even if it's your own hedge. Or if you fell a tree in your own backyard, even if it's half dead already. That is so insane, I find it amusing. I mean, if you know Hamburg. Marzahn is really just high-rise buildings. Like, really, basically battery cages for humans. When they make the kind of fuss that is typical here, I fully understand that. They fight for every tree, they have to. But if I look at the people here, these people, really, it's just completely neurotic. We're surrounded by trees here.' (Richard)[6]

6 *„Was mich natürlich ein bisschen fasziniert, oder verwundert, ist, dass selbst in dieser Region, wo die Menschen das Umweltthema über Generationen bodenständig kannten, ja, also die Förster, die Jäger, die Landwirte, also über Generationen, dass wir hier sozusagen ein Phänomen haben, dass ich eigentlich nur aus der Großstadt kenne. Aus so einer Ecke, die Grünen. Das ist eine Partei, die ist in den Metropolen entstanden. Und völlig, ich sag mal, völlig universitärer Quark. Abstrakt. Das hat mich schwer gewundert, und zum Teil auch geschockt, dass dieser universitäre Unsinn sich inzwischen schon auch über die ländlichen Umwelt- und Naturtraditionen gelegt hat. Und die haben natürlich als erstes ideologische Jäger rausgebissen, das sind ja die, die die Tiere tot machen, die Förster waren ja auch böse, die die Bäume fällen. Also, wenn hier jemand meine Wallhecke wegmacht, dann kommt sofort irgendeiner und zeigt die an und dann kostet das 21.000 €. Auch wenn es die eigene ist. Oder einen Baum fällen im eigenen Garten, auch wenn der schon halb tot ist. Das ist so irre, also das finde ich amüsant. Also, wer Hamburg kennt. Das ist so wirklich Hochhaus, Marzahn. Also wirklich sozusagen die Legebatterie für Menschen. Wenn die so einen Zinnober machen, wie das hier üblich ist, dann habe ich volles Verständnis dafür. Es wird um jeden Baum gekämpft, muss auch. Aber wenn ich mir die hier angucke, die hier, wirklich, das ist einfach völlig neurotisch wir sind hier von Bäumen umstellt"* (Richard).

Valuing nature, open landscapes and social proximity are also relevant criteria of (e)valuation for people who (e)valuate Cuxhaven or Zeven. Research participants from Cuxhaven, for example, described their mentalities as open-minded and internationally oriented due to the proximity to the seaside and corresponding trade. And a research participant from Zeven underlined the amount of nature and space that living in the town means.

Besides that, the low cost of living, the calmness of living in a small town, and the solidarity and support among one another were praised repeatedly with regard to residing in Zeven. Joris underlined good neighbourly relations in Zeven, as did many other people I talked to in the town. Marta from Cuxhaven attributed the town a rather provincial status, stating 'I think it's a bit, well, calmer in Cuxhaven. A town.' (Marta).[7]

Christina also praised Cuxhaven's provinciality and calmness, comparing it to bigger cities:

> Cuxhaven is a little piece of heaven. When you look around at what is happening in Germany, with adolescents, drugs… Cuxhaven isn't completely safe from all that, but in comparison, Cuxhaven is pretty much what teens would call dead boring. For me, I find that nice. Cuxhaven is a city where you can relax and recuperate, body and soul. (Christina)[8]

In the cases of Dutch people in Zeven and Portuguese people in Cuxhaven, these positive attributes of their place of residence are most often, as is the case with people from Aurich, addressed relationally when comparing the towns to bigger metropolises. Countries of origin are another referent for the people with migration experience.

All these examples show how an experience of residential mobility prompts my research participants' sensemaking of a small town's symbolic boundary. Their attachment to their small-town arenas of residence, which I consider a potential for (non-ethnic) heritagisation, is closely related to their experience of taking routes. And the taking of routes in turn is nothing else but a moment of upheaval, an encounter with difference, that can be considered an important prerequisite of all heritagisation (Wobst 2010; Luhmann et al. 2022).

Being a small-town inhabitant in these case studies, then, is to value provinciality: to see social proximity and proximity to nature and open landscapes as positive

---

7 *„Ich glaub', das hier in Cuxhaven ist ein bisschen, also, ruhiger. Eine Kleinstadt."* (Marta)

8 *„Cuxhaven ist ein Stückchen vom Himmel. Wenn man sich umsieht, was in Deutschland geschieht, mit den Jugendlichen, Drogen… Cuxhaven bleibt auch nicht erspart davon, aber im Vergleich ist Cuxhaven relativ, wie die Jugendlichen sagen, tote Hose. Für mich find ich das schön. Also, Cuxhaven ist eine Stadt, da kann man sich erholen, Körper und Seele."* (Christina)

attributes of small-town life. As to the provincial status of small towns, deficit-oriented views also prevailed in the interview material. Some of these views referred to the very same social proximity that has been addressed in favourable terms elsewhere. Moreover, people from both Aurich and Zeven discussed how the towns are infrastructurally drained, specifically their centres. Furthermore, a research participant in his 20s told me what has to be done politically to prevent people from leaving the town, and he was keen to underline that he only understood the infrastructural difficulties of the town he grew up in after having left it for a while. He stated:

> It's kind of being bled dry, and that makes absolutely no sense at all. Neither the hospital closing, nor the fact that there is no rail connection. And there is a bunch of industry and commerce stuff coming to Zeven right now… After all, Zeven wants to be a regional centre, and at the same time its infrastructure is being bled dry, and it's all a bit contradictory. (Sebastian)[9]

One of my interview questions was about the places in and around their small towns of residence that research participants would take visitors to. Answering this question almost always started with a visit to the next big city. This means that all my interviewees were oriented towards bigger cities in this sense. And still, there was also, at times, urbanness instead of provinciality ascribed to the small towns themselves. Small towns are, after all, situated on a continuum of provinciality and centrality.

Richard, who enjoys cycling and taking exercise in the open landscape surrounding Aurich described himself as an urban dweller actively involved in reproducing and recognising the town's historic urban fabric. He gave the town's history a high symbolic relevance and the long-established structures for solving social-ecological problems. He also described Aurich as being a bit different from the rest of rural East Frisia due to its city status and relatively highly educated bureaucratic classes working in administration or secondary schools, while at the same time 'not being a university city' (Richard). Aurich, he gave the impression, is situated somewhere in the middle of the continuum between urbanity and rurality, between centrality and provinciality.

Such positionings can also be found in the narratives of people I interviewed in Cuxhaven. Luis, for example, posited Cuxhaven as urban when he distinguished it from his rural upbringing in Portugal. Asked about what signifies Cuxhaven's cultural landscape, he only half-jokingly stated 'money!' (Luis), saying that you can find everything you want on one central shopping street.

---

9 *„Das wird irgendwie ausgeblutet, und das ergibt überhaupt gar keinen Sinn. Weder, dass das Krankenhaus schließt, noch, dass es keine Bahnverbindung gibt. Und nach Zeven kommen gerade lauter Wirtschaftssachen… Zeven will eben Mittelzentrum sein und gleichzeitig wird die Infrastruktur halt ausgeblutet und das ist ein bisschen widersprüchlich alles.*" (Sebastian)

Dutch immigration to Zeven seems to have pushed the town toward urbanity in its inhabitants' perception. Many people were keen to tell me that the Dutch brought economic wealth and prosperity. Hilde remembered that their arrival in the 1960s was received in ambivalent terms by Zeven's inhabitants. On the one hand, the foreigners caused suspicion. On the other hand,

> People were happy about all the Dutch people living here. They had a bit more money, which meant they could buy more. So, Zeven was a bit more affluent, you could really feel that. At the time, we didn't have to pay sales taxes, and when you lived abroad, you received an allowance as well. (Hilde)[10]

They changed the provincial attitude of former inhabitants with their open-minded and fun attitude, as well as by entering relationships ships and marriages with German residents. Interestingly, the presence of many Portuguese people in Cuxhaven did a similar thing with the urban-rural continuum, as the diaspora community to Marta, one of my interviewees, gave the town a 'pioneering status' in rural Germany.

Immigration of non-German people, then, potentially alters the lifeworld-related features of small towns as experienced by their inhabitants, nudging them towards centrality and urbanity. It becomes evident that the construction of small towns as entities with distinct features and personal attachments is always juxtaposed with other places, such as larger metropolitan cities or locations in the immigrants' countries of origin. In the three small towns, such constructions are often prompted by experiences of actual physical mobility between these places, although research suggests that such travels can also be imagined.

Furthermore, the key criteria of (e)valuation within a small-town repertoire emphasise what the research participants define as lifeworld-related features that contribute to the unique position of small towns along a rural-urban continuum: social proximity, proximity to nature and open landscapes, infrastructural conditions, and population density. The small-town boundary, then, as a non-ethnicised form of symbolic boundary, holds significant importance in my research participants' local sensemaking processes.

9.1.2 Ethnicised Heritages as Regional: Producing Heterogeneity

Regional localisms also emerged as significant boundaries in my case studies. Individuals frequently referenced ethnicised heritages, linking them to specific regions

10 *„Man hat sich gefreut, dass die Holländer hier alle gewohnt haben. Die hatten etwas mehr Geld und konnten auch mehr kaufen. Also war der Wohlstand in Zeven etwas besser, das konnte man richtig spüren. Wir brauchten damals keine Mehrwertsteuer zu bezahlen und wenn man im Ausland lebte, bekam man auch Zuschuss.*" (Hilde)

of origin and forging connections between people and their respective places. This phenomenon heterogenises Dutch or Portuguese diaspora membership and contributes to the deconstruction of East Frisia as a homogeneous imagined community. Regional localism was evident in various aspects, including discussions about mentalities, language, food, and folklore dance costumes.

In Zeven, the significance of regional origins emerged as a noteworthy theme among several research participants. For instance, Joris highlighted the historical context and cultural distinctions he associates with the region of Brabant, his place of birth. He invoked a sense of regional pride while critiquing perceived cultural hegemony from other parts of the Netherlands:

> I'm from Brabant. We're the oppressed South, from before, by the Lords at the time in Holland. Well, and it's our own fault of course, what with the fruit from Holland, and the vegetables from Holland. But we're the Netherlands, and Holland is north and South Holland, and Utrecht is Utrecht, and Brabant is Brabant. We're Brabantians, and everything above that sewer there, those are Hollanders. (Joris)[11]

Additionally, the term 'Holland' as an everyday reference for the entire Netherlands is noted. This linguistic phenomenon is particularly prevalent in Germany, where 'Holland' is often used interchangeably with 'the Netherlands.'

Another participant, Hilde, underscored the contrast between living in the Western part of the Netherlands and her provincial life in Zeven. She described the Western region as stressful, suggesting a perception of urban hustle and bustle compared to the presumably more tranquil atmosphere of Zeven.

> We're from the Western Netherlands. Life goes very fast there. A lot of industry, a lot of work, a lot of people, a lot of everything. And everything is fast, fast, fast. It's all supposed to be done by yesterday. You get used to it. That's the pace. But here, it's much less. (Hilde)[12]

In general, she went on to state, people from different regions in the Netherlands 'think differently', just as people from the German South vary from the ones from the north, as well as mentalities in metropolises differ from small towns:

---

11 *„Ich komme aus Brabant. Und wir sind ja der unterdrückte Süden, von früher, von den Herren damals in Holland. Ja, und natürlich selbst schuld, mit dem Obst aus Holland, und dem Gemüse aus Holland. Aber wir sind die Niederlande, und Holland ist Nord- und Südholland, und Utrecht ist Utrecht, und Brabant ist Brabant. Wir sind Brabanter, und alles über der Kloake da, das sind Holländer.*" (Joris)

12 *„Wir sind aus dem Westen der Niederlande. Das Leben geht da sehr schnell. Viel Industrie, viel Arbeit, viele Leute, alles viel. Und alles schnell, schnell, schnell. Gestern soll es fertig sein. Daran gewöhnt man sich. Das ist das Tempo. Aber hier ist es viel weniger.*" (Hilde)

> You've been to the Netherlands, so you've seen that people in the Western part of the Netherlands think differently than in the north or the South. They're different people, like here in Germany, people in Bavaria think differently than people in Schleswig-Holstein. People from big cities think differently, and in Stuttgart they think differently than in Hamburg. (Hilde)[13]

While many interviewees in Zeven were keen to describe to me the regions they came from and the mentalities they associated with these regions (e.g., the industrialised, stressful west of the Netherlands, the conservative Bible belt), regional belonging played as much of a role in the case of Cuxhaven and Aurich. This regional attachment was evident in narratives of origin or accounts of individuals from specific regions in Portugal integrating into Cuxhaven and in the materialisation of regional origins through traditional dresses worn in local folklore groups and language.

In Cuxhaven, there are occasions when the fish festival coincides with the Catholic Fatima procession. During these moments, the two local rancho groups that perform in the fish festival are also invited to participate in the procession, wearing their traditional attire.

> Well, Portuguese folklore, our tradition... today they danced in the fish festival, and I told them, you don't have to get changed, it's beautiful if you march like this, because it shows our traditions even more. And, after all, we're all from different regions in Portugal. (Christina)[14]

On the one hand, the dresses represent 'our tradition', meaning the Portuguese life of Cuxhaven, a form of homogenisation. On the other hand, as artefacts and as migrated heritage, they show the different regional origins of the people wearing them:

> For example, one shows the rich widow, the black one, that's from around Aveiro, and then we have the typical fisherman from Vila do Conde, that's a totally different area, and then we have the one from Viana do Castelo, that's the one with all of that gold. So, every traditional dress represents a city in Portugal. (Christina)[15]

---

13 *„Du warst in den Niederlanden und du hast auch mal feststellen können, dass Leute im Westen der Niederlande anders denken als im Norden und im Süden. Das sind unterschiedliche Leute, wie hier in Deutschland, Leute in Bayern denken anders als die Leute in Schleswig-Holstein. Leute aus der Großstadt denken anders, und in Stuttgart denkt man anders als in Hamburg.*" (Hilde)

14 *„Also, portugiesische Folklore, unsere Tradition... heute haben sie im Fischerfest getanzt, und dann hab' ich gesagt, da braucht ihr euch nicht umziehen, das ist wunderschön, wenn ihr so lauft, weil das noch mehr unsere Tradition zeigt. Und wir sind ja alle aus unterschiedlichen Orten in Portugal.*" (Christina)

15 *„Die eine zeigt zum Beispiel die reiche Witwe, das ist die Schwarze, das ist so aus der Ecke Aveiro, und dann haben wir den typischen Fischer von Vila do Conde, das ist eine ganz andere Ecke, und dann haben*

Of course, Christina added, sometimes people wear dresses from a region they do not originate from, as the Portuguese group in Cuxhaven comes from diverse backgrounds. Beyond being mere garments, the dresses serve as tangible embodiments of the regional origins of the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven and signify a process of internal heterogenisation.

Traditional dress is also a means of heterogenisation in Aurich, wherein regional origins are posited against the unified region of East Frisia. Clara was keen to underline that there is no such thing as an East Frisian traditional dress:

> Well, the dancing dress is not really East Frisian, or only partly, when they put on blue striped or blue printed garments. For example, in Emden, they have red clothes, I'm not sure why. In the north they imitated Thälmannstracht, or whatever it's called, so they have dark blue and wine red, and everyone is wearing these funny hats. I guess they found some kind of documentation or pictures. I don't know exactly at the moment, since we are still trying to establish that. (Clara)[16]

Intra-regional boundaries within East Frisia were also drawn between the mentalities of dance groups coming from one of the East Frisian Islands or the mainland, as well as coming from small towns versus coming from a rural area:

> People from Borkum are totally different from those from Juist. Well, I only know the ones in the groups, but one has a certain Habitus, and it means something. The Wangerooger Damen, they're a women's group as well, and it's the same with the people from Aurich, there are a few… I don't want to say stuck up, but it kind of fits, when they say they're from Aurich. (Clara)[17]

In other words, there is no explicitly East Frisian traditional dress or mentality to be found; rather, the costumes signify intra-regional differences such as being provincial or more urban or living on or off the coast. Next to traditional dress and mentalities as ethnicised heritages, language use was also employed for regional boundary

---

wir die von Viana do Castelo, das ist die mit dem ganzen Gold. Also jede Tracht zeigt eine Stadt in Portugal." (Christina)

16 *„Naja, also die Tanzkleidung ist nicht so ostfriesisch, weil die sich blau gestreifte oder blau bedruckte Sachen angezogen haben. Zum Beispiel Emden, die haben so rote Kleider, wie die darauf kommen, weiß ich auch nicht. Im Norden haben die auch so 'ne Thälmannstracht, oder wie das heißt, nachgeahmt, die haben dann auch so dunkelblau und weinrot, und alle haben so komische Hüte auf. Da haben die wohl irgendwelche Dokumentationen oder Bilder gefunden. Ich weiß es momentan nicht so genau, weil wir das ja erst erarbeiten wollen.*" (Clara)

17 *„Die Borkumer sind ganz anders als die von Juist. Also, ich kenn' jetzt nur die aus den Gruppen, aber man hat ja so einen gewissen Habitus, und irgendwas ist da so dran. Die Wangerooger Damen, das ist auch eine Damenriege, und bei den Aurichern ist es auch so, da sind so einige… ich will nicht sagen hochnäsig, aber es würde so dazu passen, wenn sie meinen, sie kommen aus Aurich.*" (Clara)

making, as an accent allows for distinctions, such as discerning whether individuals come from the north of Portugal or speak in a strong Porto dialect.

The boundary-making processes I observed in relation to the mobility experiences of my research participants across all three case studies were dynamic and situated. They are not limited to determining ethnic membership and instead indicate that boundary – and heritage – making involve the often alleged homogenisation and heterogenisation. My analysis further reveals that these processes are relational regarding geographical experiences.

Forms of ethnic heritage such as traditional dress, mentalities, or languages are treated as 'cultural stuff' (Barth 1969) in symbolic boundary-making processes, serving both the homogenisation of (national/minority) membership and, more importantly, its heterogenisation along regional lines.

Taking a mobility lens means it is possible to transcend the notion that migrants are the primary carriers of mobility-laden heritages. In doing so, the concept of migrant and ethnic heritages as homogeneous minority heritages within majority society can be challenged, as can the presupposed dominating significance of ethnicised heritages for minority populations in the first place.

Instead, the Ethnicised Heritage Situations in these small-town arenas is characterised by a complex landscape of simultaneous memberships as place attachments. This sensemaking is opposed to linear developments towards social cohesion or homogenisation assumed in much heritage regime worldmaking (Hertz 2015; Noyes 2015). All mobility experiences and experiences of detachment give rise to localisms and a sense of place attachment. Attachment to the small towns of residence, characterised by features that are neither entirely rural nor urban, emerges as a crucial non-ethnic boundary across all my case studies. When ethnicised heritages are explicitly addressed, they are not solely utilised in processes of ethnic homogenisation but also contribute to heterogenisation. In what follows, I will delve deeper into the finding that just as homo- and heterogenisation processes work together in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations under study, so do modes of attachment and detachment, and they do so in specific ways for the people I met with migration experience from the Netherlands or Portugal.

9.2 Navigating Migration Experiences: Cosmopolitan Attitudes

It appears that migration heritage and potentially all, or at least most, minority (and majority) heritages are marked by mobility. While these findings are consistent across my case studies involving both migrant and national minorities in the three small towns, I also observed distinct forms of boundary making and subjectivation with those people that re-grounded in northern Germany with international migration experience. Two kinds of cosmopolitan attitudes emerge to shape the Ethni-

cised Heritage Situations under study: thin and thick cosmopolitanisms. As Victor Roudometof describes:

> The reality of internal globalization (or glocalization) is responsible for transforming people's everyday lives irrespective of whether they are transnational or not. Glocalization leads to two different versions of cosmopolitanism: first, a thick or rooted or situational cosmopolitanism and, second, a thin cosmopolitanism, whereby detachment allows for transcending the boundaries of one's culture or local. (2005: 113)

The mobility experience which itself transforms into heritage for my research participants can therefore be constituted as thin cosmopolitanism.

Thick, or rooted cosmopolitanism has also been described as 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' (Bhabha 2017; Werbner 2006) or 'everyday cosmopolitanism' (Vertovec 2009), underlining the existence of cosmopolitanism across class positionings and travellers' relative power and status. Advocates of such concepts refuse to see rootedness in territory and culture and cosmopolitan openness as oppositional. This implies that local, cosmopolitan, and national postures are not seen as absolutes; I can see them as relations of degree. No single dimension of belonging excludes other boundaries drawn simultaneously and in the same life. Different localisms or dimensions of belonging exist in the three small towns where there is no one 'master membership' for any of my research participants.

9.2.1 Multilocal Cosmopolitanism

Joris and Luis, two research participants who position themselves as mavericks or outsiders to a local Dutch or Portuguese community, describe fellow compatriots in Cuxhaven and Aurich as exclusive, at times arrogant. They employ this as a reason for their detachment, positioning themselves instead as open-minded while simultaneously underlining their emotional attachment to their countries of origin. In doing so, they emphasise their capacity to engage multiple national cultural repertoires. Together with Christina, they articulate overlapping attachments to different places that can be described, following Werbner, as a multilocal and 'rooted' cosmopolitanism. Such orientations allow for simultaneous attachment and detachment: as in Joris and Luis's ambivalence toward their compatriots, or Christina's sense of belonging in two places while also experiencing a temporal rift between them.

According to Werbner (1999), being cosmopolitan does not mean being completely detached. It is also an attitude or worldview not limited to elites and nomad travellers; it can be expressed by working-class and other less privileged people. She refers to people operating within the concepts of 'vernacular cosmopolitanism' (Bhabha 2017) or 'rooted cosmopolitanism' (Appiah 2010), who do not abandon ties

to morally and emotionally significant communities – families and ethnic groups – while remaining available to the world. They may feel sentimentally attached to several homes in different countries (Werbner 2006: 7).

Werbner's notion of rooted cosmopolitanism, applied to Pakistani diasporas in Britain, highlights participants grounded in localist attachments while being transnationally engaged and open-minded:

> There are Scottish Pakistanis and Welsh Pakistanis. Pakistani membership in Britain or Europe is thus mediated by several different dimensions of 'belonging.' Cosmopolitanism, in other words, does not necessarily imply an absence of belonging but the possibility of belonging to more than one ethnic and cultural localism simultaneously. (Werbner 1999: 34)

This multilocality also emerged in the three small towns I studied. My research participants expressed multilocal attachments and, at times, detachments – a vernacular form of cosmopolitanism that challenges the idea of migration as a linear process from dislocation to settlement (Byrne 2002). Migrant heritages are constructed in a transnational simultaneity that does not exclude being 'rooted' or taking localist postures.

Christina, who migrated to Cuxhaven from Portugal, expresses attachment to more than one location:[18]

> Well, many Portuguese say when they travel home, they're foreigners there. I don't have that problem. When they say they feel like foreigners, I can't relate to that. If I'm here today, I'll feel at home, if I'm in Portugal tomorrow, I'll immediately feel at home again. (Christina)[19]

She distinguishes herself from other Portuguese inhabitants, emphasising her integration and success. At the same time, she experiences a temporal rift, describing Portuguese heritage in Cuxhaven as 'always a step behind' Portugal regarding music and folklore:

---

18 I should also point out how situated such attitudes are. Many of my interviewees from Cuxhaven discussed how their feeling of belonging and ascriptions change whether they are in Portugal or in Germany. Those who used to be Portuguese in Germany and felt at home there came back after several years and transformed into being German in Portugal. I will not always be able to do justice and represent this form of situational importance. However, I will come back to it where I find it important to be mentioned in the context of my analysis.

19 *„Also, viele Portugiesen sagen, wenn sie nach Hause fahren, sind sie da fremd. Ich hab' dieses Problem nicht. Wenn sie sagen, sie fühlen sich fremd, kann ich es nicht nachvollziehen. Wenn ich heute hier bin, fühle ich mich zu Hause, wenn ich morgen in Portugal bin, fühle ich mich sofort wieder zuhause.*" (Christina)

> Well, the culture, for example, the quote-unquote Portuguese culture that you live here is different from the Portuguese culture in Portugal. Because of course, that's the way it is, in Portugal, the world keeps turning as well, right? So, life goes on. We can't keep up with those developments a hundred percent, since, after all, we live in Germany, but the roots are the same, those always remain. Just, maybe they changed something about the music for a folk tale. It's just like it is here in Germany, we aren't standing still here either, right? And us Portuguese who live somewhere else, of course we're always a step behind. I don't mean that in a negative way, but we need a bit longer for these developments. We can't grow alongside them because we aren't living alongside them. (Christina)[20]

Christina's example highlights how attachment to multiple localisms introduces a temporal dimension to heritagisation: heritage is experienced not only in space but also in time, as she maintains links to both her country of origin and her current residence. Her ability to feel at home in two places simultaneously reflects a highly situated form of rooted cosmopolitanism. One reason she quickly adapted to Cuxhaven was the presence of a loosely bound Portuguese diaspora already living in the small town. Her attachment to the town's Portuguese heritage does not preclude an attachment to Portugal, showing that multilocal cosmopolitanism can coexist with sentimentally grounded belonging.

Joris and Luis navigate local diaspora communities as self-defined outsiders or 'mavericks.' Unlike entrepreneurs, mavericks were once part of ethnic associations but later disengaged from their conventions, maintaining only loose connections (Becker 1973: 708). This position creates a conflictual and analytically revealing relation to local ethnicised social worlds. In both Cuxhaven and Zeven, they actively detach from local diaspora communities while emphasising attachment to their countries of origin and Germany, legitimising these boundaries through different national cultural repertoires encountered in their mobility experiences.

Luis lives in Cuxhaven. At the time of the interview, he was in his 20s and had lived in Portugal only for the first four years of his life. Since then, he has experienced Portugal during family visits, so his narration of going to Portugal on holidays sometimes sounded like a tourist's story. He is very family-oriented, even though he is

20 *„Also die Kultur zum Beispiel, die portugiesische Kultur, in Anführungsstrichen, die man hier auslebt, ist anders als die portugiesische Kultur aus Portugal. Das ist ja so, in Portugal geht die Welt ja auch weiter, ne? Also geht das Leben weiter. Wir kriegen diese Entwicklung nicht hundertprozentig mit, weil wir nun ja schließlich in Deutschland leben, aber die die Wurzeln sind die gleichen, die bleiben immer. Nur vielleicht haben sie bei einem Volksmärchen an der Musik was geändert. Es ist wie hier in Deutschland, hier bleibt man ja auch nicht stehen, ne? Und wir Portugiesen, die woanders leben, natürlich hängen wir immer einen Schritt zurück. Das ist nicht negativ gemeint, aber wir brauchen ein bisschen länger für diese Entwicklung. Wir können nicht mitkommen, weil wir da ja nicht mitleben.*" (Christina)

keen to differentiate from his family's Portugueseness and expectations. While his relationship with his family is ambivalent, Luis was quite evident in making a difference between fellow Portuguese people in the town and himself, which, in a way, de-minoritises his status in Cuxhaven. He positioned himself as an outsider in this respect. Discussing his social life, he prioritised his German friends, whom he trusts more:

> It's difficult to trust your own people, and it shouldn't be like that, but it's difficult. I prefer confiding in my German friends. With them, I know it's safe. (Luis)[21]

He also critiques fellow Portuguese in Cuxhaven:

> Well, there are just some people here, from our culture, who are idiots. Complete idiots, because they just love talking badly about others without ever having really gotten to know them, or knowing what they really do. And of course, we distance ourselves from those people accordingly, just like there are many Portuguese at my work whom I have distanced myself from, and I only say hello and goodbye to them now. (Luis)[22]

Another interviewee, Marta also described the Portuguese community in Cuxhaven as a closed group where word travels fast:

> Well, sometimes they talk too much and say things that are wrong, like rumours, for example, 'oh, I heard that such and such person…' (Marta)[23]

Joris, whom I would position as a maverick in the social world of Zeven's Dutch association, described his relation to his 'fellow compatriots' in the town in quite similar terms; he mistrusts them and finds them too superficial. Just like Luis, Joris regularly visits the social spaces of the Dutch clubhouse but positions himself at the borders of this social world, whose conventions and ways of being he does not want to be a part of. He described some excluding and negative experiences in the clubhouse and a lack of feeling to be accepted for who he is.

---

21 *„Es ist schwierig, seinen eigenen Leuten zu vertrauen, und das sollte eigentlich nicht so sein, aber es ist schwierig. Ich vertrau' mich lieber meinen deutschen Freunden an. Da weiß ich, da ist es safe.*" (Luis)

22 *„Also, hier gibt es einfach Menschen aus unserer Kultur, die sind Idioten. Richtige Vollidioten, weil die es einfach lieben, schlecht über andere zu reden, ohne die vorher richtig kennengelernt zu haben oder zu wissen, was die wirklich tun. Und von solchen Leuten distanzieren wir uns natürlich dementsprechend, genauso wie ich mich auch von vielen Portugiesen auf der Arbeit distanziere und nur noch hallo und tschüss sage.*" (Luis)

23 *„Also, manchmal sprechen sie zu viel und sagen Sachen, die falsch sind, also Gerüchte, zum Beispiel, „oh, ich habe gehört, dass die hier…*" (Marta)

Joris was in his 60s when I met him for the interview. He came to Zeven for a job in the military, which he left quickly after building a life in the town, including marrying a German woman, having children, and buying a house. He proudly described his successful career, despite many hardships. He was keen to underline the 'Germanness' of his life and social contacts in Zeven and how he feels accepted as part of his wife's family. His main issue with the members of the traditional association is a feeling of not being one among equals, as some of them feel entitled to reproduce the 'command and obedience' structure even after leaving their military posts:

> Most of them are ex-soldiers, military. I was a staff sergeant and there are a couple others, the lowest was a simple serviceman. And the sergeants, the officers that weren't colonels and all that, those are often people who say, 'no, I'm a civilian just like you.' But all the others, for 40, 45 years, they always called the shots. They told people to jump, and they jumped. No, no, there was nothing like that in the Dutch army. But they gave orders and others did what they told them to do. And now they're all walking around thinking that they can still do that, and sometimes they treat us that way. (Joris)[24]

In this hierarchy, Joris feels at the lowest point as an ex-soldier and civilian. Just like Luis, Joris underlined the 'Germanness' of his network of friends, whom he trusts more:

> When you're accepted by north Germans, you're accepted for life. Not so with the Dutch. They're like vacation acquaintances, really. Terrible. When I learned the difference, I thought, what is wrong with these people? They're so fake, saying things indirectly and 'oh, how nice' and all that. Building their own image, that's what they do with you. (Joris)[25]

Joris, Marta, and Luis, as outsiders and mavericks, differ from ethnic entrepreneurs in how they relate to local nationalised diaspora communities. While some en-

---

24 *„Die meisten davon, das sind Ex-Soldaten, Militär. Ich war Stabsunteroffizier und da sind noch so ein paar, der niedrigste war ein einfacher Soldat. Und die Unteroffiziere, wenn es keine Offiziere sind, die Oberst und so waren, das sind dann schon mal Menschen, die sagen, nee, ich bin Zivilist wie du auch.' Aber die anderen, die haben alle 40 Jahre, 45 Jahre, immer das Sagen gehabt. Die haben gesagt, springen, und die Leute sind gesprungen. Nee, nee, sowas war in der niederländischen Armee nicht. Aber die haben befohlen und die anderen haben gemacht. Und jetzt laufen die alle rum und denken, dass sie das immer noch können und gehen auch manchmal so mit uns um.*" (Joris)

25 *„Wenn man bei den Norddeutschen einmal akzeptiert ist, dann ist man das sein Leben lang. Bei den Niederländern nicht. Das sind so Urlaubsbekannte, wirklich. Fürchterlich. Als ich dann den Unterschied kennengelernt habe, habe ich gedacht, was ist denn jetzt kaputt? Die sind so falsch, durch die Blume und sowas und ‚ach, wie schön' und sowas. Sich selbst profilieren, das machen sie mit Ihnen.*" (Joris)

trepreneurs draw boundaries based on Dutchness or Portugueseness versus German ways, these mavericks are less attached to local communities and their heritage, instead affiliating with German friends and networks. This does not mean they lack national belonging; both Joris and Luis demonstrate a strong emotional connection to their countries of origin. Joris, for example, was keen to tell me that he likes being 'Oranje' (the colour of the Dutch football team):

> I think it's nice to be Oranje. And I'm proud to be Dutch, as well. (Joris)[26]

> By the way, I'm Oranje like hell, which means I support the king to no end. And, as an aside, I find it beautiful to support the king. So, I'm a royalist, maybe? (Joris)[27]

He told me that he gets emotional when it is the (then) king's birthday. Similarly, Luis expressed his affective attachment to Portugal when he described how it is his country of choice, a country that he would go back to if he could, a country where his heart and soul lie. In navigating their relation to 'fellow compatriots', Joris and Luis continuously construct German and Dutch/Portuguese national cultural repertoires. They employ these repertoires as a way to ethnicise specific 'cultural stuff' such as values or character traits in order to draw (and redraw) boundaries.

And they do so in situated and context-specific ways. In moments where Luis described his success in terms of education and career, he switches the way he employs national cultural repertoires. Luis has two very different narrations regarding Portugal as his country of origin. I have described these two narrations as 'Portugal as a heaven' regarding the sphere of culture and society, and 'Portugal as a failed state' regarding politics and the economy. The latter narration came into play when Luis discussed why people leave the country or why he cannot return. He painted a picture of Portugal as an economically drained country with a history of civil wars and an incapable government:

> People talked a lot about, okay, what really happened in Portugal? All of the wars, the scandal at the time… I actually still remember, we were all sitting at the dinner table, and we all looked out of the window and there were policemen who were holding something back. Because there was a civil war back then. It was terrible at the time, because of course, the people earned very little, and the state kept a lot. Of course, it's only with time that all that began to go back to normal, and while people can live, you can't compare what would be a full-time salary there

26 *„Ich finde das schön, Oranje zu sein. Ich bin auch stolz, Niederländer zu sein."* (Joris)

27 *„Ich bin übrigens Oranje wie die Pest, also ich bin königsgesinnt bis zum geht nicht mehr. Und das mal eben so zur Information, ich finde das sehr schön, königsgesinnt zu sein. Also, ich bin Royalist, vielleicht?"* (Joris)

> with here. They're dimensions apart, and that's, in my opinion, in large part due to the country. (Luis)[28]

At the same time, Portugal, his holidays there, and his family are places of longing for Luis. This feeling culminates in the statement that his body is in Germany, while his soul and mind reside in Portugal, even extending to his end-of-life wishes:

> I also firmly believe, if I were to, well, let's say, kick the bucket, and I were dead, well, my personal wish would really be to actually be buried there. So, not here, because here I know, okay, I'm here, like, my body is here, but it wouldn't be the same. My wish is also, and even in the future it will actually always stay that way, when I die, I want to be buried in my village, and if possible, even next to my parents as well. (Luis)[29]

Luis states that Germany means hard work for him and everyone around him. Quite in contrast, his firm 'bon-vivant' side is wholly bound to being Portuguese and only feels satisfied during his holidays to the country. His soul, he tells us, always remains much longer abroad than his body. And if he would have the option to return with a job prospect, he would immediately do so:

> Well, I would, if I had to choose right now, today, 'I'll give you a job there', with a monthly net salary of at least 1.2 thousand, I would move there. I wouldn't have a problem with it because I personally feel more comfortable there, since that's my country. (Luis)[30]

---

28 *„Man hat viel darüber geredet, okay, was ist in Portugal wirklich alles passiert? Die ganzen Kriege, der Skandal damals… Das weiß ich sogar noch, da saßen wir alle am Essenstisch, und da haben wir alle aus dem Fenster geguckt und da waren irgendwelche Polizisten, die irgendwas zurückgehalten haben. Weil, das war damals Bürgerkrieg. Das war schlimm zu dieser Zeit, weil natürlich, die Leute haben wenig verdient, und der Staat hat viel behalten. Das hat sich natürlich im Laufe der Zeit erst alles normalisiert, und die Leute können zwar leben, aber man kann ein Gehalt, was da Vollzeit ist, nicht mit hier vergleichen. Da sind Dimensionen dazwischen, und das liegt, meiner Meinung nach, viel an dem Land.*" (Luis)

29 *„Ich würde jetzt auch stark behaupten, also, wenn ich jetzt, sagen wir mal den Geist aufgeben würde, und ich wäre tot, also, mein Wunsch wäre es auch persönlich wirklich tatsächlich da beerdigt zu werden. Also, nicht hier, weil hier weiß ich, okay, ich bin hier, also, mein Körper ist hier, aber das wäre nicht das gleiche. Also, mein Wunsch ist es auch, tatsächlich auch in Zukunft wird das immer so bleiben, wenn ich sterbe, will ich in meinem Dorf beerdigt werden, wenn's geht sogar noch neben meinen Eltern.*" (Luis)

30 *„Also ich würd', wenn ich jetzt heute entscheiden müsste, ‚du kriegst da von mir nen Job', und ich würde da mindestens 1,2 netto raushauen, ich würd' dahinziehen. Ich hätt' da keine Probleme mit, weil ich mich persönlich da wohler fühl', weil das mein Land ist.*" (Luis)

Joris and Luis reject belonging to local nationalised communities, legitimising this boundary through Portuguese, German, and Dutch national repertoires. As Luis's case shows, they do so in differing, situated ways, reflecting a broader pattern across countries and political cultures. This aligns with Bonikowski's extension of Billig, describing nationhood as a cultural repertoire: 'Not only is the nation itself pervasive and deeply institutionalised, but the same may be true of the range of options available to everyday people for conceptualizing the nation's meaning' (Bonikowski 2017: 164).

The presence of these multilocal vernacular cosmopolitan attitudes – expressed through attachments, detachments, and navigations of national cultural repertoires – indicates that such experiences are a prerequisite for the formation of migrant heritage within the Ethnicised Heritage Situations of Zeven and Cuxhaven. This challenges conventional notions of migrant heritage as a linear movement from a national 'here' to a national 'there'; instead, heritage-making emerges as a process of coming to terms with routes, grounded in multilocality.

9.2.2 Detached Cosmopolitanism

I also observed thin and 'detached' forms of cosmopolitanism in cases of people with migration experience, an example of Ien Ang's (2011) call to fundamentally rethink how the experience of migration itself is transformed into heritage. When my research participants expressed such an attitude, mobility became a kind of heritage.

After growing up mostly in Portugal, Marta is now at school in Cuxhaven. When we talked about her future, she based her ambitions around her mobility heritage and language skills:

> I would like to be a flight attendant. I think that would be something for me because I like languages. I could already speak Portuguese, and then I learned English, and I can understand Spanish as well. And then I came here and learned German, and in Portugal I also learned French. (Marta)[31]

As ethnographer Christine R. Yano (2011) argues, the image of a flight attendant, specifically developed for the marketing images created around Japanese-American flight attendants in the 1950s, is strongly related to an image of cosmopolitanism that has been shown by research looking at the care work aspect to be bifurcated by racial and ethnic boundaries (Alex Jong-Seok Lee & Kathreen Barry). Jong-Seok Lee

31 *„Ich möchte gerne Flugbegleiterin werden. Ich glaub', das ist was für mich, weil ich gerne Sprachen mag. Ich konnte schon Portugiesisch, und dann habe ich Englisch gelernt, und Spanisch kann ich auch verstehen. Und dann bin ich hierhergekommen und hab' Deutsch gelernt, und in Portugal habe ich auch Französisch gelernt.*" (Marta)

shows that Emirates Airlines flight attendants are involved in reproducing hierarchies that are part of the airline's work culture not to endanger their 'privileged, yet precarious, cosmopolitan status', and to 'disavow being associated with the labour migrants deemed less desirable.' (2018: 128). Marta's image of being a flight attendant seemed to be shaped by the cosmopolitan image only, and she was also keen to underline that she has no vision of staying in her current residence in Germany.

Sebastian in Zeven was similarly young, as he has just finished university studies. Born in Zeven, his mobility heritage consists of his history of studying in several countries, travelling the world, and moving between his German and Dutch families. He is self-reflexive about the role of colonialism in the history of the Dutch empire when he narrated his travels to South Africa:

> In 20xx I was in South Africa. With the Afrikaans language, I always found it fascinating that I could understand a lot. And district names like 'Delft' or 'Leiden' always brought a smile to my face, though a rather painful one, as my next thought was shaped by the knowledge that all of that came to South Africa through colonialism. (Sebastian)[32]

What both interviewees have in common is a focus on the role of language skills in regard to their cosmopolitan positioning. While these two protagonists belong to a 'younger' generation, a couple I interviewed as members of the Dutch traditional association, who are not soldiers but a teachers/actor and a housewife, were keen to distinguish themselves from ordinary Dutch people who have not left the country as they did:

> But it's also important to note, if you move abroad, you're already not average anymore, since most Dutch people stay living in Holland. But if you do that differently, if you decide not to work in Holland anymore, but to work here in the barracks or at the school, those really are different people. We always travelled a lot. She went on a trip around the world. I've been travelling to Afrika and Asia and so on since '78. The people who are here aren't average Hollanders. (Merle)[33]

---

32 *„In 20xx war ich in Südafrika. Bei der afrikaansen Sprache fand ich es immer sehr spannend, dass ich viel verstehen konnte. Und bei Stadtteilnamen wie ‚Delft' oder ‚Leiden' hatte ich immer ein Schmunzeln im Gesicht, wenngleich ein eher schmerzhaftes, wenn im nächsten Gedanken dann mitschwang, dass das alles auf kolonialistischem Wege nach Südafrika gelangt ist.*" (Sebastian)

33 *„Aber wichtig ist auch, wenn man ins Ausland zieht, dann ist man schon nicht mehr Durchschnitt, denn die meisten Niederländer bleiben in Holland wohnen. Aber wenn man das anders macht, wenn man sich entscheidet, nicht mehr in Holland zu arbeiten, aber hier in der Kaserne oder an der Schule zu arbeiten, das sind schon andere Leute. Wir haben immer viel gereist. Sie hat eine Weltreise gemacht. Seit '78 mache ich Reisen nach Afrika und Asien und so. Was hier ist, das ist nicht der Durchschnittsholländer.*" (Merle)

Here, one can see how mobility experiences are employed to draw boundaries to all kinds of localisms or national attachments. On such thin cosmopolitanism, Roudomentof states: 'Locals are likely to value being a native of their country, having the country's citizenship and having a sense of belonging to its dominant national group. [thin] Cosmopolitans are likely not to value these attributes.' (2005: 125).

All three research participants express place detachment rather than attachment, which escapes most understandings of cultural heritage, even of intangible cultural heritage as territorialised and ethnic. These 'thin cosmopolitans' instead turn their mobility experiences into heritage in and of itself. Their mobility heritage makes them able to be citizens of the world. Coming to terms with routes via migration or diasporic heritage, then, is more than a story of dislocation and settlement in a new place. It is shaped by multilocal attachments, sometimes cosmopolitan detachments, and a transnational simultaneity.

9.3 Conclusion: Ethnicised Heritage Situations and Taking Routes in the Absence of a Master Membership

Two pivotal insights emerge from these findings that have implications for Critical Heritage Studies and Small-Town Research. First, the role of non-ethnic boundary making in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, as well as heterogeneity, cosmopolitan attitudes, and multiple forms of national membership in ethnic boundary making. Second, by exploring the role of mobility experiences in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, an argument arises that re/theorises cultural heritage.

The symbolic boundary of the small town is central to my research participants' lives most of the time, even though some of them are also migrant or diasporic subjects. In drawing that boundary, they engage with (e)valuative criteria from a small-town cultural repertoire as sketched out by Anett Steinführer et al. (2016) for a small-town research agenda. Even if ethnicised heritages do play a role, it is crucial to keep in mind that such heritages are always involved in processes of heterogenisation as well as homogenisation. Heritage research needs to consider the possibility that mobility experiences, sometimes materialised in artefacts such as traditional dress, language, or food, have the potential to produce heterogeneity rather than merely cohesion and homogeneity. This is yet another element, though not necessarily rupture, that the relation between symbolic boundary making and the 'cultural stuff' (Barth 1969:15) employed to draw them in Wimmer's words, is 'organized by' (Wimmer 2010:111).

The primary relevance of non-ethnic symbolic boundaries and the heterogeneity of ethnic boundary making I found in my research participants' sensemaking highlights the real difficulty in constructing those ethnic subjects that are supposed to take the 'places of recognition' (Taylor 2009: 41) frequently opened up by heritage

policies. I suggest that it might be necessary for heritage scholars to de-ethnicise research on migrant heritages. This could help minimise the danger of reproducing the reification of culture outlined in UNESCO's heritage convention, even if unintentionally, for example, binding groups of people in Europe to a territory (ibid).

Next to the co-presence of ethnic and non-ethnic symbolic boundaries and the absence of a 'master membership', the topic of mobility experiences emerged central to the lived experiences of research participants. When Laia Colomer discusses Third Culture Kids as global nomads, a privileged group of people that grew up moving globally, she argues that heritage studies have

> to move its analytical eyes from past elements that have been fixed geographically and culturally to places and materialities representing mobile lives. The latter not only represent the departure and arrival of people, both physically and metaphorically (as is common in the heritage of migration and postcolonial studies) but their continuous flow and mobility and how this experience develops in other visions. (2017: 923)

Individuals from Zeven and Cuxhaven with migration experience live in a continuous flow of de-/attachments due to their multilocal attachments and existence expressed in vernacular cosmopolitan attitudes that are explicitly not detached. These attitudes involve a simultaneous affiliation with multiple memberships that, if not related to being a small-town resident, are primarily framed around national memberships to a concrete nationalised diaspora community, the German nation, or their nations of origin. This supports findings from transnational studies that ethnic pathways of incorporation for migrants in small-scale cities are often framed around national membership (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2008).

For some, their mobility experiences prompt aspirations for detachment from specific places, making their mobility experiences their heritage. Cosmopolitans are born from migration experiences more than any other mobility experience. When Stuart Hall (Hall and Werbner 2008) reflects on the sense of loss involved in living in diasporas, he describes himself as a 'cosmopolitan by default'. Moving across national borders and regrounding in a new place might be more related to feelings of loss than moving from a metropolitan to a small-town environment.

However, going beyond Colomer's insight that the analysis of heritage has to take mobility and not groundedness as the starting point for the analysis of privileged 'third culture kids" heritage-making, it can be said that mobility experiences prompt heritagisation beyond the lives of global nomads or even less privileged international migrants. All heritagisation, particularly minority heritage-making addressed here via place attachment and localist attitudes, involves grappling with routes. These routes need not be international but can lead from urban centres to small towns, as in Aurich.

This critical insight should prompt a shift in focus within Critical Heritage Studies and the small-town research agenda towards the study of im/mobilities. Furthermore, it suggests that small towns, if not solely understood in territorialised terms, are part of global and transnational spaces, as argued by Glick Schiller and Çağlar (2009), a perspective reflected in my research participants' sensemaking.

This key finding also has consequences for theorising cultural heritage. It decentres the idea of migrating heritage and centres the, perhaps almost anthropological premise of the ontological entanglement of cultural heritage, mobility, and comparisons that Niklas Luhmann discusses when engaging with the notion of 'culture' as a historical concept. The idea of culture, Luhmann states, is a modern phenomenon that is entangled with processes of comparison to the alien. Culture always occurs on the level of a 'second-order' observation: 'The articulation and formulation of culture replaces the world-invariant forms of being on the basis of comparative observations – through reflection' (1999: 49). Ethnicised heritages, if not all, are about coming to terms with the experiences of difference encountered by taking routes, be they actual physical routes or other forms of mobility. Heritage scholar Martin Wobst (2010) goes so far as to argue that heritage is nothing else but recognisable difference.

I follow Stuart Hall's (1999) call on cultural heritage to refrain from thinking about roots and instead focus on their interplay with the experience of taking routes. This is the consistent consequence of constructivist understandings of heritage in pluralised societies. It does not mean heritage-making is not profoundly driven by foundational questions such as 'Where do I come from? Where do I belong?' as the next chapter will show, the concept of setting roots is significant in the research field. It simply means not answering these questions with a call to roots.

10. Setting Roots: Permeable Boundaries in Majority National Cultural Repertoires

It is clear that migration experiences do occupy a pivotal role in my research participants' heritage-making activities. But as my conversations with them developed, it became clear that when they used a language of heritage to describe their active participation in local sensemaking, their migration experience was less central than their positioning vis-à-vis the dominant German national cultural repertoire. Small towns are not only embedded in global and transnational spaces but are also situated within national dynamics. While my research participants did discuss the preservation of roots, they also talked about the making of a home, of setting roots in the small-town arenas.

As the last chapter showed how there is a need to de-ethnicise research on cultural diversity, cultural heritage, and migration, this chapter appeals to also de-migrantise (Dahinden 2016) such research, underlining the need to avoid overemphasising the role of migration experiences in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Studies on migration and ethnicity find that dominant national cultural repertoires shape migrants' and other minorities' symbolic boundary-making processes, including their identification with ethnic memberships (see, e.g., Banai and Shoshana 2019: 17). Andreas Wimmer (2008: 984) describes the high stability of boundaries towards 'Germanness' across generations, and Andrea Klimt (2000: 264) shows the legal and 'ideological impermeability of Germanness' for Portuguese immigrants historically. In comparing the German national cultural repertoire in the late 1990s with the repertoires of France and the US, Richard Alba (2005) finds that for Turks in Germany, 'bright boundaries' that involve no ambiguity as to their membership in a minority group exist between the dominant repertoire and the possibilities for minorities to access it or become part of it. With bright boundaries, individuals are unmistakably positioned as a minority to a majority, they clearly know on which side of the boundary they are on. Here, assimilation is anticipated to manifest as crossing boundaries, often felt by the person as a transformation similar to conversion. This process involves departing from one group and shedding signs of belonging to it (Alba 2005: 22). Alba (ibid: 25) found blurred boundaries in the US, where individuals lack a clear definition or certainty in relation to the dominant

cultural repertoire's boundary; they are being viewed as belonging to both groups on either side of the boundary simultaneously, or they fluctuate between appearing as a member of one group or the other at different times. Alba's conceptualisation of bright and blurred boundaries is also central to Banai and Shoshana's (2019: 12) research on the relocation of Mizrahi Jewish ethnicities in three countries. They found that a relatively strong national cultural repertoire, with the experience of a bright boundary not to be easily crossed in the case of Germany, shaped the ways in which Mizrahi Jew inhabitants of Germany identify as ethnic.

This chapter focuses on the interplay between my research participants' ethnicised heritage-making as a form of sensemaking and the dominant national cultural repertoire in Germany. It draws on insights from Critical Heritage Studies, particularly the concept of diaspora heritage, which has been employed to explore the dynamic relationship between majority and minority heritages (Ang 2011; Arokiasamy 2012; Nikielska-Sekula 2019). This relationship between majority and minority positionings, which reflects local power dynamics, emerges as a significant factor in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, often overshadowing the impact of migration experiences.

In other words, the East Frisian inhabitants of Aurich and the Dutch inhabitants of Zeven show similarities in the ways they explicitly speak of ethnicised heritages. This specific language of ethnicised heritage differs from the one employed by Cuxhaven's Portuguese inhabitants, showing that it is not migratory experiences that determine the employment of a heritage repertoire. Instead, this disparity arises from the local power dynamics, where the blurred boundary to the dominant German culture proves porous for Dutch and East Frisian individuals, making their ethnic identification an option (Waters 1990). Opposed to that, this bright boundary is considerably robust for Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven, whose ethnic marking is much less a question of choice.

In Zeven, attempting to trace a language of heritage presented a puzzling challenge in the analysis process, which provided me with the moment of non-recognition (Glick Schiller et al. 2006) that serves as a foundational point for the content of this chapter. Zeven's Dutch heritage, including visible landmarks in the cityscape such as sculptures, Dutch cafés, the old Dutch school, and Dutch festivals, was not framed by the participants as an intentional act of creating or appropriating heritage. Instead, they are perceived as 'what has been left' after the military withdrew from the town. Joris articulated this perspective: 'Those are the things where we can say, look, we did leave something good behind.' (Joris).[1] In a similar vein, when talking about the Dutch school after it closed, Sebastian said:

1 *„Das ist doch, wo wir dann sagen können, guck mal, wir haben doch was Gutes zurückgelassen."* (Joris)

> Well, they kept the name, so the Dutch influence was retained there, only in the name. The teachers were from the German secondary school. I don't know what happened to the teachers from the Dutch school. (Sebastian)[2]

I would not have expected this passiveness in terms of the town's Dutch heritage and was perplexed by certain Zeven participants' eagerness to emphasise their active engagement in a heritage of the German-dominant population.[3]

This inclination towards the German national cultural repertoire therefore needs exploring and comparing to how ethnicised heritages are actively addressed in the other two towns. There are parallels between the instances in Zeven and Aurich of an active appropriation of ethnicised heritage pertaining to a German cultural repertoire or one that is deliberately fashioned in opposition it. In contrast, Portuguese heritagisation takes on a more inward-oriented trajectory, giving rise to transnational moments for the participants. These accounts of transnational simultaneity reflect the intensity of rupture experienced by the people I met that migrated to Cuxhaven. Such dislocation can create a sense of division between mind and body, where the mind remains tied to Portugal while the body labours in Germany. In this context, even a visit to a Portuguese restaurant can create what might be called a transnational moment – a brief reunification of the body, mind and soul separated by migration.

The process of setting roots in the small-town arenas and drawing ethnicised boundaries therein is shaped by the relation individuals experience vis-à-vis the accessibility of the German national cultural repertoire. While it is possible to be both Dutch/East Frisian and German simultaneously, the boundary is much stronger and therefore bright, for the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven.

10.1 Blurred Boundaries: The Relevance of a German Majority Cultural Repertoire for Setting Roots in Zeven and Aurich

For some research participants, Dutchness and East Frisianness function as what Mary Waters (1990) describes as an 'ethnic option' – a flexible, symbolic identity that can be selectively claimed or downplayed. In practice, this option often leads participants to orient themselves more strongly toward the dominant German cultural repertoire, using their Dutch or East Frisian heritage strategically rather than as a

2 *„Also, der Name wurde behalten, also wurde der niederländische Einfluss da behalten, nur im Namen. Die Lehrer waren halt die vom Gymnasium. Ich weiß nicht, was mit den Lehrern von der niederländischen Schule passiert ist.*" (Sebatian)

3 It would be an interesting task to go back to the material and to ask in how far this orientation was partly prompted by my role as a 'majority-German' researcher in the interviews.

fixed marker of belonging. The choice to foreground German cultural belonging over ethnic heritage becomes a significant dimension of their sensemaking within the Ethnicised Heritage Situations of these small-town arenas.

10.1.1 Orientations Toward the Dominant German Cultural Repertoire

Research participants in Zeven explicitly employed a language of integration and underlined their active participation in German national cultural heritage. In other words, they illustrated their boundary crossing towards the dominant cultural repertoire. Hilde, for example, described her process of settling in Zeven and getting her children involved in German associations:

> And then my husband worked for five more years in the barracks, and in 2000, we said, we're staying here in Zeven. We bought this house, starting in '99 we lived here and didn't do everything in the barracks anymore. We wanted to properly integrate ourselves here, because we had decided to stay here when he retired, and that's what we did […] But our children as well, they were in the German track and field club and they also participated in other clubs. We found it very important for them to integrate themselves a bit as well, even though there was the Dutch school. All children are open and free and everyone speaks different languages, that isn't an issue at all. These days it isn't so uncommon, of course, but back then, in the '80s, it was uncommon then. (Hilde)[4]

To Hilde, buying a house or becoming a member of German sports clubs is a very conscious choice to integrate into the small-town arena, and she was keen to add that by doing so, they occupied a pioneering role in the 1980s. It might be true that during that time when the Dutch military barracks still functioned as a sort of enclave providing their soldiers and families with everything needed in life, choosing to move out and engage in other kinds of leisure activities was the exception rather than the rule.

Next to the language of integration in Zeven, a second form of orientation towards German, majority culture emerged. Some participants I met and interviewed

4 *„Dann hat mein Mann noch fünf Jahre auf der Kaserne gearbeitet, und in 2000 haben wir gesagt, wir bleiben hier in Zeven. Wir haben dieses Haus gekauft, seit 99 haben wir dann hier gelebt und nicht mehr alles in der Kaserne gemacht. Wir wollten uns hier auch richtig integrieren, weil wir uns vorgenommen haben, wenn er pensioniert wird, hier zu bleiben, und das haben wir dann auch gemacht […] Aber auch unsere Kinder waren bei dem deutschen Leichtathletikverein, und die haben auch andere Vereine besucht. Wir haben es sehr wichtig gefunden, dass sie sich auch ein bisschen integrieren, obwohl es die holländische Schule gab. Alle Kinder sind offen und frei, und alle Leute sprechen unterschiedliche Sprachen, das ist überhaupt kein Thema. Heutzutage ist es natürlich nicht so unüblich, aber damals in den 80er Jahren, da war das unüblich.*" (Hilde)

were keen to mention that they actively participated in German traditions and critical historical events. Hilde told me of her and her daughters' experiences traversing the border to the German Democratic Republic:

> In 88 we celebrated Christmas with 150 conscripts in Berlin. It was very interesting. We crossed the border with all the soldiers and all of us had to hand over our passports. That was a special experience, but of course it's horrible that the wall was there. […] Our eldest daughter went to the German secondary school, and she visited the GDR for two weeks, with the school. That's an experience that lasts a lifetime. And later, they could also really understand what it meant for people here when it wasn't like that anymore. In the Netherlands, you hear about it in the news, but here, we saw it, we felt it, we experienced it. (Hilde)[5]

To physically experience the border crossing to the GDR in the late 1980s was for Hilde an embodied and active reproduction of a German national cultural repertoire, 'to see it, to feel it.' In similarly active language, she described to me how she learned to tie traditional German wreath for Christmas:

> Two days ago, I got a wonderful compliment from our neighbour, they're traditional German people. I've been learning wreath tying, and for the first couple of years, I was only allowed to assist the others. Now they let me tie as well, and I was putting my wreaths for Christmas outside. They both weren't decorated yet, and then came our neighbour who said, 'oh, you tied them tightly!' And I said, 'yes, I learned that from you!'(Hilde)[6]

Hilde seems to value practising tying the wreath to get the recognition of her 'traditional German' neighbours. Again, a language of actively producing an ethnicised heritage is reserved for participating in the heritage of the dominating population rather than what has been 'left behind' by the Dutch military.

---

5 *„In ´88 haben wir mit 150 Wehrpflichtigen Weihnachten gefeiert in Berlin. Das war sehr spannend. Da sind wir dann über die Grenze mit all den Soldaten, und alle sollten ihren Pass vorzeigen. Das war etwas besonders, aber ist natürlich fürchterlich, dass die Mauer da war." […] Unsere älteste Tochter, die hat dann das Gymnasium besucht, und die war mal zwei Wochen in der DDR, mit der Schule. Die Erfahrung kriegt man für das ganze Leben mit. Und die konnten dann auch später richtig verstehen, was das hier bewegt hat, als das nicht mehr so war. In den Niederlanden hört man das in den Nachrichten, aber hier hat man das gesehen, man hat das gefühlt, man hat das gespürt."* (Hilde)

6 *„Ich habe vor zwei Tagen ein wunderschönes Kompliment von unserer Nachbarin bekommen, das sind traditionelle deutsche Leute. Ich habe Kranz binden gelernt, und die ersten Jahre durfte ich nur anreichen. Jetzt darf ich auch binden, und ich habe meine Kränze für Weihnachten draußen hingelegt. Die waren beide noch nicht geschmückt, und dann kam die Nachbarin, die hat gesagt, ‚oh, du hast fest gebunden!' Dann habe ich gesagt, 'ja, das habe ich von dir gelernt!'"* (Hilde)

Joris, another research participant, was keen to show how familiar he is with a kind of humour that he ascribed to the German national cultural repertoire:

> Well, back in my day, there were comedians like Otto Waalkes, Heinz Erhardt, or maybe Karl Valentin as well, and that was really a long time ago. They were funny. And now you think, come on, do they show anything other than comedians on TV anymore? And I also think much of it is… in the Netherlands we call it underwear humour. It's below the belt. Well, weirdly enough, people in Germany also say that schadenfreude is the best kind of joy. (Joris)[7]

To explicitly engage with an aspect of a German national cultural repertoire, be it German historical events, forms of humour and TV culture, or the tying of wreaths, is one way the Zeven research participants describe their setting roots in a new place. In a way, Joris and Hilde show how capable they are of employing a German national cultural repertoire since they were confronted with it in their relocation process. Setting roots in the small-town arenas means such active engagement with the dominant German national cultural repertoire and the dominant populations' heritages. I describe this as an orientation towards the German-dominant cultural repertoire.

Aurich's small-town arena also contains orientations toward a German national cultural repertoire, albeit in different ways. On the one hand, being East Frisian in Aurich is a majority position, and a language of integration was employed to address the need for new inhabitants to become part of this majority. On the other hand, there is a recurring narrative of East Frisia as a national minority different from the 'rest of the republic' due to their different heritages.

Clara moved to East Frisia in her 30s and told her story about integrating into the region. She learned to speak the local Lower German language and got used to and learned to appreciate people's ways of living and doing things. She contrasted this experience with that of her new neighbours from another part of the country:

> Of course, you have to be open to everything. A couple of houses down, we had neighbours that moved here as well, but they were older when they came here from Bielefeld. So of course they aren't in contact with East Frisians like I am, since I married an East Frisian and have been a part of the family and experienced all of the traditions. They had moved here, and they knew the people in the neighbourhood, but other than that, they didn't have many East Frisian acquaintances. And

7 *„Also in meiner Zeit gab es Otto Waalkes, Heinz Ehrhardt oder vielleicht noch Karl Valentin, und das ist ja schon lange her. Die waren witzig. Und jetzt denkt man, sag mal, kommt da noch irgendwas anderes im Fernsehen als Komiker? Und dann finde ich schon da ist viel… in den Niederlanden nennen wir das Unterhosenkomik. Das geht unter die Gürtellinie. Man sagt in Deutschland ja auch komischerweise 'Schadenfreude ist die schönste Freude'.*" (Joris)

> of course, they had issues with the language, and when the neighbours were talking to each other in Lower German, they always complained a bit, which I think is really unacceptable. You can teach yourself to understand it, and if it's difficult for you, you need to put in the effort. (Clara)[8]

For Clara, newcomers from other parts of Germany must engage with and integrate into the ethnic ways of living and heritages of East Frisia to do the work she did in that situation. This focus on the specificities of an East Frisian cultural repertoire implies a boundary drawn towards a German national cultural repertoire.

The orientation towards a dominant culture in the case of Aurich most clearly shows itself in the talk of East Frisia being different from 'the rest of the republic,' which is mainly constructed as being metropolitan rather than provincial. The notion of the 'rest of the republic' implies that East Frisia is, in fact, considered a part of the Republic of Germany, as this quote from a woman who grew up in the region but by now lives elsewhere in northern Germany shows:

> When you get older, at some point, of course, you start school. At the time there was a conveniently located elementary school in the area, and two schools had been combined to make this school, so it wasn't small. We had the same teacher that had already been my parents' teacher, and rules that were a bit different from the rest of the republic, at least according to conversations I've had looking back on those times with friends from other parts of the republic. (Lena)[9]

There is a dominant myth that East Frisia is founded upon resistance to German unification attempts and nation-building. Richard ironically referred to this when he said: 'I think, since East Frisia is kind of on a peninsula, it's separated from the "Reich" a bit' (Richard).[10] By relating East Frisia to the 'Reich', Richard also references an

---

8 *„Man muss natürlich auch offen für alles sein. Wir hatten auch mal ein paar Häuser weiter Nachbarn, die waren auch zugezogen, aber erst im Alter aus Bielefeld. Die haben natürlich keinen Kontakt wie ich zu den Ostfriesen, weil ich ja auch mittlerweile einen Ostfriesen geheiratet habe, und da in der Familie mit drin gewesen bin und alle Traditionen miterlebt habe. Die waren zugezogen, hatten die Nachbarschaft, aber sonst nicht so viel ostfriesische Bekannte. Und die hatten natürlich Probleme mit der Sprache, und wenn die Nachbarn sich auf Plattdeutsch unterhielten, dann waren sie immer so ein bisschen am rummeckern, was ich überhaupt unmöglich finde. Da kann man sich reinhören, und wenn es nicht geht, muss man sich Mühe geben.*" (Clara)

9 *„Wenn man größer wird, kommt natürlich irgendwann der Schuleintritt. Damals gab es ganz praktisch eine Grundschule vor Ort, für die zwei Schulen zusammengelegt wurden, also keine kleine Sache. Wir hatten den gleichen Lehrer, den schon meine Eltern als Lehrer hatten, und Regeln, die sich vom Rest der Republik ein bisschen unterscheiden, zumindest was man später so mit Freunden aus anderen Teilen der Republik reflektiert.*" (Lena)

10 *„Ich glaube, weil Ostfriesland ja auch so ein bisschen auf einer Halbinsel ist, ist es ein bisschen vom ‚Reich' abgetrennt.*" (Richard)

integral part of East Frisia's founding narrative as a region of free and democratic people opposing the outside influence of the Prussian monarchy and German nation-building.

The historian Tobias Weger (2013) traces the intricacies of the idea of East Frisia as a region to nation-states, using the example of the 'Großfriesische' movement in the 1920s and 1930s. He states that regions are, up until today, often constructed as quasi-natural, historically grown opposites of nation-states. They were supposed to have the potential to 'reduce the preponderance of the nation by opening up an alternative means of identification' (Weger 2013: 144, my translation).

As opposed to the 'völkisch' ideas of an East Frisian Reich that was part of the 'Großfriesische' movement and that Weger deconstructs in his article, Richard approaches the topic in a much more ironic and reflexive way. He constantly underlined the constructed nature of the idea of East Frisia as a homogenous region and instead referred to it as an instance of 'small Europe':

> The former director [of a heritage institution] once said so beautifully, if we go back even further – so, all the chieftains who split each other's fontanels and beat each other up in the 13th and 14th centuries – that's actually little Europe. (Richard)[11]

Still, the region's East Frisian heritage is often constructed in tension between the German nation and its dominant cultural repertoire.

Another instance of such an orientation in Aurich is when a metropolitan high culture is constructed as part of the German cultural repertoire. Richard propagated the heritage value of certain 'red-brick' buildings in Aurich against the impressive and apparent value of buildings in Germany's metropolises:

> Of course we don't have buildings here in the style of St. Michael's Church in Hamburg or the Cologne Cathedral. But if you look beyond what's visually impressive, and know a bit about the history of a building, because one of those local historians found something out in the fifties… They researched really meticulously: what was here, and which count put a brick somewhere, and who knows what else, all these funny stories. When you go through the town with that background knowledge, these bricks suddenly start speaking to you. […] It's exactly what I said earlier about the Lamberti church tower. The tower itself isn't particularly attractive, but the story behind it is. (Richard)[12]

---

11 *„Der frühere Leiter [einer heritage institution] hat mal so schön gesagt, wenn wir noch weiter zurückgehen – also, die ganzen Häuptlinge, die sich ja hier gegenseitig im 13. Und 14. Jahrhundert, die Fontanelle gespalten haben, und sich geprügelt haben – das ist eigentlich klein Europa.*" (Richard)

12 *„Natürlich haben wir hier nicht Gebäude im Stile eines Michels in Hamburg oder Kölner Dom. Aber wenn man nicht unbedingt nach toller Optik geht, sondern so bisschen was über die Geschichte eines*

In this quote, the tangible heritage of Aurich is weighed and valued against urban heritage in the form of metropolitan 'mega-buildings' in the 'rest of the republic.' At the same time, it also clarifies that in all heritage-making, tangible and intangible processes are inseparable, and there is always an active moment of ascribing value to certain cultural artefacts and practices involved in turning something into heritage. Richard tells that 'the stones begin to speak' only through the investment of lay historians. To reveal the heritage value of historical buildings in Aurich to Richard is to make it, rather than passively transmit it, in opposition to the more obvious value of significant sights which are already a part of the German cultural repertoire.

In the case of Aurich, then, East Frisian heritage is constructed in opposition to the German-dominant cultural repertoire while simultaneously being a (minority) part of it. In Zeven, the participants underlined the active aspect, the agency of participating in the heritage of the dominant population. Both orient towards participation in or opposition towards a dominant German national cultural repertoire when they employ an explicit language of heritage as something to be actively made. This exemplifies the blurred boundary (Alba 2005: 25) between the dominant German national cultural repertoire as experienced by these research participants.

Coming from the other side of the majority-minority boundary, there is a tendency for the majority of small-town arenas of Aurich and Zeven to incorporate elements of minority groups. Building on a comparative social world/arena analysis of the towns, the ethnicised festivals are situated at the centre of the broader small-town arenas. The Four Evening Marches of setting to the Maypole are differently integrative than the Fatima procession in Cuxhaven. While in Zeven and Aurich, many actors and social worlds participate, this is not the case in Cuxhaven, where different festivals are 'scattered' across the arena. In being so differently integrative, the festivals serve various functions within the arena, either stabilising it as a sort of praxis side or pluralising it by pluralising 'Portugueseness'. Based on the distinction, one can say that in the cases of Aurich and Zeven, the cultural repertoire associated with the festivities is much less ethnicised, weaker, and more related to the relatively ambiguous group of being an inhabitant of those towns, a member of the majority culture. The festivals, or at least aspects of them, are incorporated into the majority culture.

Gebäudes weiß, weil das irgendwer von diesen Heimatforschern in den fünfziger Jahren herausgefunden hat… Die haben wirklich ganz akribisch geforscht: Was war denn hier, und welcher Graf hat irgendwo einen Stein hingelegt, und weiß der Henker, witzige Geschichten. Wenn man mit diesem Hintergrundwissen durch die Stadt geht, dann fangen diese Steine plötzlich an mit einem zu reden. […] Das ist genau das, was ich vorhin mit dem Lambertiturm meinte. Der Turm ist an sich jetzt nicht irgendwie attraktiv, aber die Geschichte dazu." (Richard)

10.1.2 Dutchness and East-Frisianess as an Ethnic Option

For the research participants from Zeven and Aurich to set roots in the small-town arenas, fluency in navigating German and Dutch / East Frisian cultural repertoires is key. This is an outcome of the possibility for both groups to quickly traverse the boundary to be a member of the German majority society. This contrasts previous research that highlights the firm boundary toward 'Germanness' in Germany for certain groups of people (Alba 2005; Banai and Shoshana 2019; Klimt 2000; Wimmer 2008) and shows that different positionings can exist vis-à-vis this boundary by different ethnicised minorities.

Being East Frisian does not exclude simultaneously being German. People with a Dutch family history in Zeven have the same option of being either German or Dutch in Germany. This option was expressed differently by different participants, showing that being Dutch is an ethnic option (Waters 1990).

First, the blurred boundary and ethnic option is shown by how fluently one moves from a Dutch cultural repertoire to a German one:

> My husband got his hunting licence, and he generally does all of that in German. He's a member of the Dutch traditional association, but he does pretty much everything with the Germans. (Hilde)[13]

Second, some research participants in Zeven explicitly expressed a duality in their lived experience: 'You do everything twice here. I read German and Dutch. I do work for German offices and for Dutch offices.' (Rubens).[14] In other words, one does not have to decide to be either German or Dutch, an experience the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven, as I will come to show, do not have. A research participant from Zeven wrote to me in an email:

> Not that I ever felt like I had to choose between the two 'identities', that wasn't the case at all. But I was aware that my experiences were somehow 'different', 'bifurcated', and that it wasn't that way for other 'just German' children. (Sebastian)[15]

Sebastian was born and raised in Zeven by a German mother and a Dutch ex-soldier father. Regarding this quote, I have to add a note of caution from the research pro-

---

13 *„Mein Mann hat seinen Jagdschein geholt, und das macht er eigentlich alles auf deutsch. Er ist Mitglied vom niederländischen Traditionsverein, aber er macht eigentlich alles mit den Deutschen.*" (Hilde)

14 *„Man macht alles doppelt hier. Ich lese Deutsch und Niederländisch. Ich mache Arbeit für deutsche Castingbüros und für niederländische Castingbüros.*" (Rubens)

15 *„Nicht, dass ich mich jemals gefühlt hätte, als würde ich mich zwischen den beiden ‚Identitäten' entscheiden müssen, das auf keinen Fall. Aber, dass meine Erfahrungen irgendwie ‚anders', ‚zweiteilig' waren, und andere ‚nur deutsche'" Kinder das so nicht hatten, war mir bewusst.*" (Sebastian)

cess instead. It is a story that shows the importance of the research situation and the moment of interviewing for the kind of knowledge that I construct in my analysis. I have discussed this tense field of reconstructing and creating differences in qualitative research elsewhere. Sebastian told me that he never had to decide whether he was Dutch or German, and this was consistent throughout my exchange with him. However, a focus on his Dutchness, being 'different' and somehow 'bifurcated' is a part of the narrative created in an email several days after the interview. Initially, he had told me:

> In my family, well, in my German family, it doesn't really matter. I mean, it's always noticeable, because my father has a Dutch accent. My Dutch aunt on the German side of my family has a slight Dutch accent as well. So, it's always kind of in the back of your mind, but it's not a topic of conversation. (Sebastian)[16]

The email he wrote after the interview contained much more detailed information about his Dutch and German heritage, his consumption of Dutch media, and his childhood memories of eating Dutch food. He rarely addressed these topics in the interview. Being Dutch during the interview meant having a family back in the Netherlands, and all things about Dutch culture were happening 'there' rather than 'here'; they were only symbolic (Gans 1996).

Sebastian's change in narrative shows how my questioning as a researcher, even though I did all I could not to prime or bias my interviewees by focusing on their migration history, did affect how he thinks about himself and his Dutchness. Rather than being a symbolic form of identification he resorts to only during family visits in the Netherlands or when his aunt brings *pepernotjes* for Christmas, Dutchness appears to have become more of a serious option after our conversation.

Still, Dutchness for Sebastian is clearly an ethnic option in Mary Water's (1990) sense. Waters invented the concept of 'ethnic options' to describe how ethnicity for white European descendants in the US is optional, a choice of which they might also have several in their family history. People with ethnic options can invoke their ethnicity when they want and in their desired ways. And they do have the possibility of having their ethnic identification of choice recognised and validated by broader society: 'To possess ethnic options in any real sense must mean that groups are actually able to assert at least some images and identities they desire, in a variety of social contexts and especially in public spaces' (Song 2001: 64).

16 „*In der Familie, also in meiner deutschen Familie, spielt es nicht wirklich eine Rolle. Ich meine, man merkt es immer, weil mein Vater einen holländischen Akzent hat. Meine holländische Tante auf deutscher Seite hat auch einen leichten holländischen Akzent. Also, man hat es irgendwie immer im Hinterkopf, aber es ist nicht Thema.*" (Sebastian)

Again, an ethnic option is evident when Sebastian told me of how he got out of compulsory military service in Germany. It was only during this process that he discovered he could get a Dutch passport, which would have been another reason to opt-out.

> What I also found out only some years ago, is that I have Dutch citizenship as well. I didn't know that. It was around 2021 when I found that out. It was more of a coincidence, because I wanted to register, or deregister, or something, at the citizens' office, and then the woman at the office said: 'It's recorded in our system that you have Dutch citizenship as well.' I had gotten it at birth, but I didn't know. I hadn't really been aware of that. I don't have a passport, but I could request one if I wanted. (Sebastian)[17]

Finding out he was Dutch and German and the privileges that came with this came to Sebastian as a big surprise. This option he was initially not aware of, just as my interview seemed to have made him very aware of the Dutch influences in his childhood.

Ethnic identification for the Dutch inhabitants of Zeven and the East Frisians of Aurich is optional, as is their engagement in actively constructing ethnicised heritages in the small-town arenas. When research participants from Zeven or Aurich employ an explicit language of heritage, they are oriented towards German majority culture. I argued that this is due to the highly porous blurred boundary between Dutchness and Germanness and East Frisianness and Germannes in Germany. The local situation of power, as expressed in majority-minority boundaries in my case studies, is more important to the setting of roots aspect of sensemaking in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations than whether one has migrated to a small town in Germany.

Sebastian described his experiences with other children with Dutch family history in kindergarten and school: 'In my area, many of the people with a Dutch background went to the Dutch school. And in the town, they still spoke German and everything. I mean, fluently' (Sebastian).[18] This kindergarten story can be nicely contrasted with a similar but different story from Luis in Cuxhaven, whose narrative

17 *„Was ich auch erst vor einigen Jahren erfahren habe, ist, dass ich auch die niederländische Staatsbürgerschaft habe. Das wusste ich nicht. Das war 2021 oder so, als ich das erfahren hab. Das war mehr zufällig, weil ich mich beim Bürgeramt anmelden wollte, oder abmelden, oder irgendwas, und die Dame auf dem Amt dann meinte: ‚Es steht in unserem System, dass sie auch die holländische Staatsbürgerschaft haben.' Die hatte ich bei Geburt bekommen, aber das wusste ich nicht. Das war mir so nicht bewusst. Ich habe keinen Pass, aber ich könnte ihn beantragen, wenn ich wollte.*" (Sebastian)

18 *„In meiner Umgebung sind einige von denen, die einen holländischen Hintergrund hatten, dann auch auf die holländische Schule gegangen. Und im Ort haben die trotzdem Deutsch gesprochen und alles. Also, fließend.*" (Sebastian)

quite in contrast is an example of the bright boundary experiences from individuals between Portuguesness and Germanness in Germany.

10.2 Bright Boundaries: Producing a Transnational Moment for Majority Culture in Cuxhaven

Luis's experience in kindergarten symbolises the bright boundary between the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven and the dominant German national repertoire. Unlike the fluid movement between Germanness and Dutchness described by Sebastian from Zeven, Luis's experience suggested a clear separation. His experience reflects the persistence of symbolic boundaries:

> When I came here, my childhood was of course a bit more difficult, since I could barely speak German. But in preschool I of course met many Portuguese children who were born here. Of course, things were a bit easier then. After that, it went really well and I quickly understood German. Then, at some point, I entered kindergarten, elementary school… I ended up having to take Portuguese classes, but that wasn't until sixth or seventh grade, when it got bad. My Portuguese got bad, really bad, I mean, I could barely speak it. (Luis)[19]

While the German language was accessible for Luis, being German never seemed to be an option. But at the same time, by coming closer the German language, he left behind Portuguese in the process.

Two other research participants described similar experiences but reacted in a different way when they explained the need to keep one's roots in the Portuguese homeland in order to set roots in Cuxhaven. One said:

> We actually don't necessarily need to integrate, the others need to adapt to us as well for a change. We have to fight for our roots. If you abandon your roots, at some point, you won't exist anymore. (field notes research assistant)

The other one added:

19 *„Als ich hier war, war meine Kindheit natürlich ein bisschen schwieriger, weil ich kaum deutsch konnte. Aber im Kindergarten habe ich natürlich viele portugiesische Kinder kennengelernt, die hier geboren wurden. Das war dann natürlich ein bisschen einfacher. Danach ging das voll gut, und ich hab' schnell das Deutsche aufgefasst. Dann kam ich irgendwann in die Vorschule, in die Grundschule… Später musste ich zum portugiesischen Unterricht, aber das fing erst in der sechsten oder siebten Klasse an, als es schlimm wurde. Mein Portugiesisch wurde schlimm, richtig schlimm, also, ich konnte es kaum sprechen.*" (Luis)

> If you give up your roots, what identity will you have tomorrow? Namely none. You need your roots in order to still have an identity tomorrow, when you move to another country. (field notes research assistant)

All of the research participants' experience indicate the bright nature of the boundary between being Portuguese and being German for the Portuguese inhabitants in Cuxhaven. In the case of bright boundaries for Alba,'there is no ambiguity in the location of individuals with respect to it' (2005: 24), and to assimilate means to cross the boundary towards the other side, which similarly leaves little ambiguity towards an individual's location.

A conversation with E., who has lived in Cuxhaven since the 1970s when her father, working in the fish industry, moved the whole family, is exemplary of how research participants in the field experience this bright boundary:

> She tells me she has the feeling that everyone is always talking about integration, but they actually don't live it themselves. She is mostly referring to the Germans. She tells me that she has a small house in Cuxhaven and that her neighbours haven't said hello to her for 20 years and only respond when she speaks to them. (field notes research assistant)

E. describes experiencing a bright boundary as a matter of attribution that lies outside of her strategies for action. She experiences this as a sort of double standard if one considers local discourses about integration.

In a study conducted in Cuxhaven between 2012 and 2016, Leonie Wagner (2016) reconstructed the history of migration, integration policies, and offerings in the small town from the perspective of experts who work in migrant inclusion as social workers and in the town's administration. The study shows that the experts see a big part of the population with a Portuguese migration background from the second or third generation as integrated well into upward social mobility. However, the Spanish are integrated better. Nevertheless, the study also thematised the experts' perception of the majority population and the Portuguese community living in 'two separated worlds' with little dialogue and strong segregation. To some experts, it seems evident that the Portuguese constitute a bounded community. Their presence is described in a 'problematic' manner, being portrayed as migrants facing challenges in integration, in need of resources, and lacking proficiency in the local language.

Being Portuguese in Cuxhaven means one does not have different ethnic options available that lead to recognition and validation by the wider society, which is a vast difference from being Dutch or East Frisian in similar small-town arenas. Instead, the Portuguese population in Cuxhaven is ethnically marked in their cohabitation within the town. These interpretations overlap with a study from Jaine Beswick and

Alicia Pozo-Gutiérrez on Portuguese and Spanish immigration to Great Britain. Due to the bright boundary experienced by Portuguese inhabitants of Great Britain, they argue, '"social class" emerges as a key variable, not only in terms of belonging to particular social strata at the time of arrival but more importantly, in terms of aspiration.' (2010: 57). Just as Luis from Cuxhaven distinguished himself from a local nationalised Portuguese community, another research participant that was encountered informally in the field made much more explicit this distinction along the lines of social class:

> He also addresses the topic of integration. Although he is committed to relations between Germany and Portugal and also helps 'new' Portuguese people in Cuxhaven, he doesn't actually seem to have a high opinion of them. Because, in his opinion, they don't try hard enough to integrate and learn the German language. He says that he tried to teach them the 'Ö' and that they just couldn't manage it because they weren't trying hard enough. (field notes research assistant)

As opposed to his fellow compatriots, this research participant states that he has left behind the smallness of the Portuguese group of inhabitants in Cuxhaven, which has everything to do with social mobility. He is an entrepreneur in the small-town arena social worlds, as is Christina, who similarly underlined the professional qualifications that distinguish her from fellow and unskilled compatriots. The relevance of social class and upward mobility in Cuxhaven's small-town arena Ethnicised Heritage Situations establishes the role of the local power situation in my case studies. It is a consequence of the low permeability experienced by Portuguese inhabitants toward the majority cultural repertoire.

Beswick and Pozo-Guitérrez further find that, as opposed to the Spanish population of UK, Portuguese cultural practices in the UK had not yet been turned into something symbolic and capitalised by the migrants themselves and the majority society to promote integration and multiculturalism. Instead, 'in the Portuguese case, however, essentialised symbols are only valued within the group' (2010: 58).

In their study on Mizrahi Jews in Israel, the US, and Germany, Banai and Shoshana describe this inward orientation as an agentic choice for the Mizrahi Jews in Germany arising out of the impossibility of traversing the boundary to Germanness. 'The exclusiveness of German national identity enables and even invites, the "choice" by our interviewees to renew their connection with Mizrahiness in its "lite" form.' (2019: 14).

The perceived inaccessibility of majority positions, maybe paradoxically, provides a space for the Portuguese minority in Cuxhaven's agentic choices to foster other forms of cultural and symbolic group formation. How the people I met in Cuxhaven refer to or experience Portuguese heritage speaks to alternative agentic choices.

Their ethnic identification, which differs from that of Mizrahi Jews in Banai and Shoshana's agentic choices, is much less voluntary. However, the agentic choice produced by the bright boundary to the German-dominant cultural repertoire is to stage an inward-oriented transnational moment in practising ethnicised Portuguese heritage in the small-town arena. This is opposed to the orientation towards the majority population's heritage, which were evident in the Ethnicised Heritage Situations in Zeven and Aurich.

When visiting the Catholic-Potuguese mass, when eating in the Portuguese cultural centre or one of the Portuguese restaurants, people told me they feel like they were in Portugal on an affective level. Christina expressed it this way when narrating her experiences in the local Portuguese mass:

> The German mass is an exclusively German mass, and the Portuguese one is a mixed mass. And when I say the Lord's Prayer in Portuguese and say the Lord's Prayer in German, I feel differently. In my own language, I feel almost every single word I say. In German, I speak along because the others are speaking as well. While I feel it too – after all, it is the Lord's Prayer – it's different. I can say that with a hundred percent certainty. I don't want to say better or worse, but definitely different […] For us Portuguese, the Portuguese mass is a piece of home. In this one hour, hour and a half you're there, you forget that you're in Germany, in Cuxhaven. In that moment, you think… you don't even think, you are in Portugal. (Christina)[20]

Christina also had a feeling of being home because of the immediate presence of so many Portuguese people in Cuxhaven after her arrival:

> I didn't have any difficulties, I didn't have any problems starting out or issues adjusting. I came here and immediately knew many Portuguese people, and there were a lot of Portuguese people here, and, i don't know, I felt at home right away. (Christina)[21]

---

20 *„Die deutsche Messe ist eine rein deutsche Messe, und die portugiesische eine gemischte Messe. Und wenn ich das Vaterunser auf portugiesisch bete und das Vaterunser auf deutsch bete, ich fühle dabei anders. In meiner eigenen Sprache fühle ich fast jedes einzelne Wort, das ich spreche. Auf deutsch spreche ich mit, weil die anderen auch sprechen. Ich fühle es zwar auch, das ist ja das Vaterunser, aber es ist anders. Das kann ich mit hundertprozentiger Sicherheit sagen. Ich möchte nicht sagen besser oder schlechter, aber auf jeden Fall anders […] Für uns Portugiesen ist die portugiesische Messe ein Stück Heimat. In dieser einen Stunde, anderthalb Stunden, die man da ist, vergisst man, dass man in Deutschland, in Cuxhaven ist. Man denkt in dem Moment… man denkt gar nicht, man ist in Portugal.*" (Christina)

21 *„Ich hatte keine Schwierigkeiten, ich hab' keine Eingewöhnungsschwierigkeiten gehabt, oder Einstiegsschwierigkeiten. Ich kam hierher, und ich hab'sofort ganz viele Portugiesen gekannt, und es waren auch viele Portugiesen hier, und, ich weiß nicht, ich fühlte mich gleich zu Hause.*" (Christina)

For another research participant, this presence amounts to being able to do everything as if one is in Portugal, without having to be capable of speaking German:

> I can, well, if I wanted to, I could speak Portuguese every day, or only speak Portuguese. That's why many people here in Cuxhaven can't speak German very well, because you don't really need it. Businesses or companies always have a Portuguese person who can explain things, or if you're sick, there's also a doctor who speaks Portuguese or Spanish. (Marta)[22]

How Christina and others relate to ethnicised heritages, such as the Portuguese mass or the Portuguese cultural centre, or to speaking Portuguese, is an essential aspect of their setting roots in Cuxhaven. In those moments, one can feel as if being in Portugal. This is an orientation not towards German-dominant culture but towards the Portuguese homeland. Werbner also found such transnational moments in her empirical studies of Pakistani diaspora life in Great Britain, defining them as an 'illusion of simultaneity […] as an important experiential force, especially within transnational families.' (2013: 108). Klimt (2000: 277) argues that the ability of Portuguese immigrants in Germany to inhabit transnational space increased with Portugal's entry into the European Union in the 1990s.

On the one hand, these narrations of transnational simultaneity answer what I have already described as the severity of the dislocation that the people I encountered in Cuxhaven experienced. This dislocation sometimes leads to a splitting of mind and body, of a feeling of the mind and soul still being in Portugal while the body is working hard in Germany. Therefore, the mass or a Portuguese restaurant visit produces what one could call a transnational moment. This moment bears within it a reunion of the body/soul and mind separated by migration.

On the other hand, the narration of transnational simultaneity is related to the bright boundary and, therefore, to the local position of power that the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven experience vis-à-vis the German-dominant cultural repertoire. Because the permeability of boundaries to German majority positions is strong for the Portuguese people in Cuxhaven, they are provided with such transnational moments as an agentic choice that the people in Zeven with a migration experience from the Netherlands do not have. More importantly, they probably do not need it due to their very different positioning in the local situation of power as a majority-minority boundary.

---

22 *„Ich kann, also, wenn ich das möchte, ich könnte jeden Tag portugiesisch sprechen, oder nur portugiesisch sprechen. Deswegen können viele Leute hier aus Cuxhaven nicht so gut deutsch, weil man das eigentlich nicht braucht. Es gibt bei Firmen oder Unternehmen immer einen Portugiesen, der etwas erklären kann, oder wenn du krank bist, gibt es auch einen Doktor, der portugiesisch oder spanisch spricht.*" (Marta)

What Werbner concludes as a paradox in the translocation of the culture of Pakistani-British migrants, then, might not hold for more privileged migrants from the Netherlands. It does, however, mirror what I found in the case of Cuxhaven's Portuguese heritages: 'The first and perhaps apparent paradox is that to sink roots in a new country, transnational migrants in the modern world begin by setting themselves culturally and socially apart' (Werbner 2005: 2).

For the Portuguese inhabitants of Zeven, then, the boundary to a German majority cultural repertoire presents itself vividly, and being marked as Portuguese often arises from attributions by the majority society. This positioning vis-à-vis the majority-minority boundary leads to an inward orientation, where individuals make agentic choices, particularly evident in the transnational moment created in the cultural centre of Portuguese mass in the church. While I advocate to make the notion of routes rather than roots concerning heritage more prominent, the term 'roots' is used by research participants in Cuxhaven, who employ it dually to assert that setting roots in Cuxhaven necessitates maintaining ties to Portugal as their place of origin. It is in this sense, that heritagisation in Ethnicised Heritage Situations is about both routes and roots.

10.3 Conclusion: The Importance of Local Relations of Power in Ethnicised Heritage Situations

The East Frisian and Dutch inhabitants of Aurich and Zeven experience a blurred boundary to the majority culture wherein their ethnic identification is an option. They can exist on both sides simultaneously and orient their heritagisation towards German majority culture. In contrast, the Portuguese inhabitants of Cuxhaven perceive a bright boundary for majority culture, leading them to create ethnicised heritages as transnational moments. While their heritage-making is oriented towards their countries or regions of origin, it is not a nostalgic adherence to a lost tradition but a situated product of locally grounded processes of inclusion and exclusion. It is also another way ethnic incorporation pathways in small towns form national membership (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2008: 47).

These findings underscore the deeply situated nature of all Ethnicised Heritage Situations, emphasising the importance of local power dynamics. Formulated differently, they show that small-town arenas, if not understood in territorialised forms, are embedded in transnational space and within the uneven power structures of the nation-state that influence Ethnicised Heritage Situations in all three cases, with and without migration as an essential aspect to them.

The role of migratory experiences has been reevaluated, leading me to argue that, within the context of cultural heritage still firmly tied to the nation, it may be more apt to broadly conceptualise migrant heritages as minority heritages in lo-

cal situations of power. This chapter advocates for a de-migrantised approach to research on cultural heritage and diversity. It emphasises the necessity of not overemphasising the role of migration experiences in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. This does not negate the significance of the experience of dislocation in migration; instead, de-migrantising in this context suggests not taking this influence on heritage-making for granted.

In Critical Heritage Studies, diaspora heritage is frequently invoked to explore the dynamic relationship between the national majority and diaspora heritages, constructed in dislocation and relocation moments. The sensemaking of my research participants, however, reveal that their ability (or lack thereof) to navigate boundaries to a German majority cultural repertoire significantly influences their ethnicised heritagisation.

Diasporas have often been described as paradigmatic transnational communities (Tölölyan 1996). Cultural analyses of diasporic life have highlighted how experiences of dislocation and relocation foster a form of community consciousness characterised by multiple attachments and layered identities, combining elements of both rootedness and mobility (Clifford 1994). Alexander argues for an 'engagement with both "roots" and "routes", with the places where movement ceases and where identities and explanations cohere – however momentarily' (2017: 1544) in the study of diaspora. My findings align with these perspectives, as I discovered that taking routes was necessary. Additionally, setting roots emerged prominently during the research process as a critical aspect of my research participants' sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. As interpreted here, setting roots is not identical but connected to preserving one's roots. It should be understood not as a fixed and essentialist concept but within the framework of ongoing dislocation and relocation processes articulated by diaspora and new mobilities scholars. In my heuristic analytical concept of a Ethnicised Heritage Situations, the findings in this chapter provide nuance to the construction of national, migrant, ethnic, and majority/minority constructions of collective human actors, as per Adele Clarke's sense (2005), and their relationality to heritage-making in a given situation.

11. Conclusion – Ethnicised Heritage Situations in Small-Town Arenas. A Holistic Perspective on Cultural Heritage

Cultural Heritage, or the German term *Kulturerbe*, has long left the mustiness of the olden days where it was associated with nationalism, conservatism and old buildings that had been standing for hundreds of years. In recent decades, UNESCO policies and listings have played a considerable role in these changes, especially the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage, ratified in Germany in 2013. National heritage is no longer considered homogenous, with states called upon to recognise their internal cultural and ethnic diversity. Intangible cultural heritage is a central means to do so and is an influential concept on all scales of cultural policy promoting social cohesion. The international heritage regime operates not solely from the perspective of important global actors and official listing processes but also from the grassroots level.

The three small-town arenas of Aurich, Cuxhaven, and Zeven in northern Germany with their East Frisian, Portuguese or Dutch cultural productions show why local individuals and groups might adopt a language of heritage. Through analysis of the ways in which people (e)valuate their cultural doing and draw symbolic boundaries in the context of ethnicised festivals and associations, the theory of Ethnicised Heritage Situations emerged. Ethnicised Heritage Situations was put into practice to describe and analyse different elements relevant to heritagisation processes holistically and in comparative perspectives.

All research participants were involved in some capacity with Portuguese, Dutch or East Frisian cultural associations or in the (re)production of ethnicised festivals. Examples of these festivals include the Maypole setting in Aurich, the Fatima procession in Cuxhaven, and the Four Evening Marches in Zeven. They are the most visible representations of the towns' Dutch, Portuguese or East Frisian history and heritage, and they are central for small-town volunteer-based grassroots culture. They are, moreover, culmination points for individuals in the field to position themselves vis-à-vis different membership options. For Joris, to be in the club house on a Dutch public holiday is to feel simultaneously estranged from other members of the local

Dutch community and to be intensely emotionally attached to the Netherlands. For Marta, the Portuguese events and places are but a reminder of her multicultural upbringing and the potential to make use of that in her future as a cosmopolitan-oriented stewardess. A local restaurateur and organiser of the Maypole in Aurich made the festival appear more East Frisian only after visitors critiqued him accordingly.

The ethnic minority and migrant groupings in the three towns are all European citizens with the corresponding rights regarding mobility opportunities and social security. Most of my research participants could be considered (lower) middle class. The perspective taken in this book, then, is not one from the margins in this respect. And still, in Ethnicised Heritage Situations, certain temporal, spatial, and political/economic elements appear to be discursively central to the situation but are only at the margin of abstract global heritage discourse. My analysis has highlighted that 'heritage lists' – repertoires of evaluative criteria applied to cultural endeavours – do circulate in the research field. However, these are never definitive, are negotiated situationally, and are sometimes discarded in favour of other criteria or reinstated at specific moments.

One such moment of reinstatement was the unsettling of life in Zeven when thousands of Dutch military personnel and their families were withdrawn from the town's barracks, and the subsequent political upheaval that brought about a seemingly clearly bounded community of Dutch inhabitants and a discourse of European heritage. Another moment was when participating in Cuxhaven's Portuguese Catholic mass prompts a moment of transnational simultaneity that allowed active and affective participation in Portugal's cultural heritage across geographical distance.

Throughout this research process, a hidden research question kept emerging: my ongoing reflection on why and how to study ordinary cultural endeavours in the small-town arenas of Cuxhaven, Zeven and Aurich within a framework of global cultural heritage discourse. Given that official heritage listings or vocabulary are largely absent from the research field, this question has accompanied the project from its inception, where I pondered the implications of applying such a perspective, to its conclusion, where I found several useful empirical, methodological and theoretical answers to this conundrum.

One way out of this conundrum was to never answer the question of what cultural heritage is. Instead, I focused on what heritage does and has the potential to do within the context of pluralised society. This approach of categorical and empirical analysis was inspired by Pablo Alonso González (2019), who developed the concept of the heritage machine to study cultural heritage not as a deus ex machina but as an assemblage of entangled relations and parts. I adopted many of his model's epistemological and ontological presuppositions in developing my model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Following him, as positivist approaches to heritage might suggest, cultural heritage is not something 'out there' to be discovered. Nor is it solely

a construct of a researcher's mind. Instead, heritagisation is a 'historically objective reality that remains empirically analysable' (Alonso González 2019: 34). My theory of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, defined as the convergence of sensemaking (everyday categorisations and (e)valuations) and worldmaking (more generalised and institutionalised (e)valuations) aspects in cultural endeavours, serves to empirically study heritagisation in this sense. As it unfolds in this convergence, the process of heritagisation is a moment wherein heritage's virtual potentiality is realised in concrete situations.

But more often than finding active bearers of cultural heritages and heritages' potential being realised, the analysis using Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a framework sheds light on why individuals and groups do not adopt a language of heritage, or how heritage appears as an unintended consequence of actors engaged in cultural endeavours to other ends. These are processes that at times can be conflictual, or at least tense. I could only detect one moment during the multiple research stays and hours of narrative interviews in which the term cultural heritage was mentioned by research participants, and that was because the participant looked me up online and came across the title of my research project. As a sort of heritage expert my acting in the field led to a cultural policy term to be taken into consideration, which can be described in the term of Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a convergence of my worldmaking powers with a local's situated sensemaking. Heritagisation of cultural endeavours – the engagement with criteria of (e)valuation associated with a repertoire of cultural heritage – was explicitly rejected when Hilde, a highly engaged member of the local Dutch association was annoyed by some rare visitors who outspokenly established their engagement with the Dutch holiday as one of practising their Dutchness. To Hilde, Dutchness is rather expressed in her ordinary everyday doing. In the settled times my research was conducted in, there was no clearly bounded ethnicised community of practice to be found as a bearer of an ethnicised heritage that, according to global heritage discourse, normally constitutes a central actor.

It is exactly this possibility of keeping heritage's potential emergence open to empirical investigation that makes Ethnicised Heritage Situations such a useful contribution to further research on heritage and cultural diversity in pluralised societies. Heritagisation in Ethnicised Heritage Situations is not solely a dispossessing operation by dominant national or international heritage regimes and their cultural governance, nor an innocent act of empowerment by local communities of minorities. Instead, heritagisation is studied on a continuum from the everyday (sensemaking) to institutionalised (worldmaking) (e)valuations of cultural endeavours. It is in the convergence of processes of world- and sensemaking in specific situations that heritage may or may not emerge. This also implies that heritagisation in the complex entanglements and relations of elements in Ethnicised

Heritage Situations is a dynamic process that can involve de-heritagisation and re-heritagisation just as well.

The Situation, Cultural Repertoires of (E)Valuation and Heritage Regimes as Conceptual Grounds

The Ethnicised Heritage Situations theoretical model is an analytical tool I offer to get a grip on the complexity of (social) processes involved in the (e)valuation of culture and cultural heritage in pluralised societies. It allows an ambiguity as to whether such processes are driven by sense- or worldmaking, by heritage regime operations or grassroots needs. It is developed along three central theoretical lines of thinking that are associated with three terms: the situation, cultural repertoires of (e)valuation and heritage regimes.

The situation refers to the sociological concept of the definition of the situation as a basic unit of (empirical) analysis. It is central to Situational Analysis (Clarke 2012), the methodology chosen for my research project. In traditional sociological approaches, the situation is defined in concrete and often face-to-face interactions of the researched subjects and needs to be reconstructed through analysis. In Situational Analysis the term 'situation' is used in a post-structuralist and feminist framework, contextualising it within social world and arena frameworks. Consequently, the research process itself evolves as a situation whose boundaries are defined by the researcher. This operation is symmetrical to those of the researched subjects.

Ethnicised Heritage Situations are thus co-produced by different individuals, including the researcher and other elements as members of social worlds in arenas, each with a distinct influence on 'definitions of the situation'. This is why my analysis of Ethnicised Heritage Situations does involve a reconstruction of specific elements and their relations, such as the role of traditional dress as a non-human element of the situation for symbolic boundary making and the heterogenisation of heritage. Other such examples include temporal moments when ethnicised communities of practice appear as relevant social worlds in the arena or when ethnicised heritage criteria of (e)valuation are put into relation with the positioning of individuals in the field vis-à-vis dominant national cultural repertoires.

Cultural repertoires of (e)valuation represent how societal meaning-making structures that extend beyond specific situations operate within Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Within this framework, sensemaking by individual research participants and social worlds is approached through the lens of (e)valuation and boundary-making processes, in which various cultural repertoires of evaluation – among them cultural heritage – are mobilised. Rather than eliciting direct reflections on boundaries or repertoires, participants' life narratives and their accounts of social proximity, similarity and engagement in cultural endeavours provide

insight into how such repertoires are enacted. This approach aligns with Michelle Lamont's (2012) advancement of comparative cultural sociology, yet the analytical focus here lies not on cross-national comparison but on the comparative dynamics of evaluation and meaning-making within the scale of small-town contexts.

Importantly, global policy concepts that emanate from the scale of, for example, UNESCO's heritage regime, are mobile and cannot be understood as mere context to Ethnicised Heritage Situations, but as always already elements within them. The worldmaking dimensions of Ethnicised Heritage Situations can be examined through a heritage regime operations framework. Within Critical Heritage Studies, the concept of heritage regimes refers to sets of rules and norms that structure the relationships between state institutions and society on a global scale (Bendix et al. 2012). Heritage regime operations also have a Foucauldian side, where power functions not solely through domination but also productively, rendering discourse, power and subjectivation as closely intertwined processes. These operations unfold across multiple terrains, as discussed in research on migration regimes (Pott et al. 2018). In the Ethnicised Heritage Situations analysed in this project, heritage regimes operate through state regulation and domination, for instance via government cultural policies; through processes of subjectivation that provide spaces of recognition and intelligible subject positions; and through dominant discourses that establish and sustain particular narratives about the value of cultural heritage. A further terrain is the economy, which within the Ethnicised Heritage Situations analysed in this project is not characterised by an established heritage industry but by the participation of local business actors embedded in civil society.

To summarise, Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a theoretical model is defined by the convergence of worldmaking and sensemaking within cultural endeavours. While this definition may appear general and abstract, its grounding in theoretical perspectives from Situational Analysis, cultural sociology and Critical Heritage Studies provides a robust analytical framework. Through this synthesis, Ethnicised Heritage Situations emerges as a lens for examining the processes through which ethnic boundaries are constructed and negotiated, positioning boundary making as a central dynamic within cultural life. In doing so, the model situates Ethnicised Heritage Situations at the intersection of heritage, difference and collective identity formation – an intersection that lies at the heart of contemporary debates on cultural heritage.

Core Elements of Ethnicised Heritage Situations

My study is grounded in a rigorous comparative Situational Analysis (Clarke 2012) of problem-centred interviews, participatory observation, and local newspaper discourse from Aurich, Cuxhaven and Zeven. This approach has allowed for insights

into imagined and concrete ethnicised communities (chapters 7 and 8), the role of mobility experiences (chapter 9), and the permeability of boundaries between majority and minority positions (chapter 10) in how cultural endeavours are valued for producing membership and belonging. Experiences of physical mobility and the encounters that these entail are precursors for all heritagisation, even for those without migratory experiences. The reproduction of social life in concrete communities emerges as a central intention of being engaged in cultural endeavours.

The theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations has shown that cultural heritage functions not as a static inheritance but as a dynamic field of negotiation in which sensemaking and worldmaking are continuously intertwined. Across the small-town arenas of Cuxhaven, Zeven and Aurich, the analysis demonstrated that heritage practices are rarely driven by a single, bounded 'local community'. Instead, they emerge through the interplay of multiple actors and logics – ranging from supraregional institutions such as churches, municipalities and associations, to individual entrepreneurs, volunteers and residents whose motivations are shaped as much by sociability and care as by recognition or expertise. These diverse forms of engagement reveal that heritage governance is not only imposed by UNESCO-led regimes but also precedes and exceeds them, with global and local criteria of (e)valuation overlapping in uneven ways.

A key insight is that small towns act as specific arenas of negotiation, where proximity, limited diversity, and positioning between rurality and urbanity inflect how heritagisation takes form. Ethnicity plays a role, but is often relativised by local belonging: participants tended to identify more strongly as small-town residents than as members of ethnic groups. At the same time, mobility experiences – whether migratory or residential – infused heritage practices with a vernacular cosmopolitanism, enabling participants to draw on multiple attachments and (national) repertoires of (e)valuation simultaneously. These processes show how heritage can be both homogenising and heterogenising, depending on how roots and routes are mobilised.

Put simply, the research participants' sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations orients them not primarily towards being migrants or being ethnic but towards being localised (in multiple places) and having mobility experiences.

The European or UNESCO heritage regimes' worldmaking is not an intervention coming from the outside to penetrate local social life, a linear and one-way operation. Instead of being a context to Ethnicised Heritage Situations, these processes are always already a part of the situation – shaping and being shaped by the diffusion of the global concept to the small-town arenas. Moreover, heritage regime worldmaking is represented in the research field by heritage regime actors or exchange-value-oriented criteria of (e)valuation in the sensemaking of local entrepreneurs. Large supraregional organisations, such as the church in Cuxhaven or the military in Zeven, play important roles in festival (re)production, while some entrepreneurs

employ consumer orientation, expertise and recognition as key criteria of (e)valuation, akin to a heritage repertoire, to describe their engagement in cultural endeavours.

The findings suggest that Ethnicised Heritage Situations are a relational and complex field. Economic, social and symbolic criteria of (e)valuation intersect with gendered care practices, local power dynamics and global heritage regimes. Ethnicised Heritage Situations are thus moments where lifeworlds and institutional orders meet, sometimes productively, sometimes as forms of dispossession. Importantly, the analysis challenges assumptions that migration and ethnicity are the primary frames for understanding intangible heritage. Instead, small-town arenas reveal alternative elements relevant in producing cultural diversity and belonging – mobility, local belonging and care – that are central to how and when heritage emerges.

Asking Unsettling Questions with Ethnicised Heritage Situations

This study offers a theoretical and empirical contribution to Critical Heritage Studies, research on migration and cultural diversity in small towns, and cultural and political sociology, including migration sociology. At its centre stands the theoretical model of Ethnicised Heritage Situations, which helps to rethink cultural heritage in pluralised societies through empirical analysis in which heritagisation is conceptualised as the convergence of worldmaking and sensemaking.

The empirical insights gained through Ethnicised Heritage Situations expose several crucial axes for re/theorising the heritage category as perceived and discussed in Critical Heritage Studies. First, the ontologisation of local communities of practice must be questioned. Rather than their role as bearers of heritages, heritage regimes, often represented by large institutions such as the church in Cuxhaven or the military in Zeven, appear as producers of the ethnicised festivals in the three small towns. Their influence points to the relevance of understanding heritagisation as always already entangled with supraregional and national structures – particularly within European contexts.

Second, while parts of Critical Heritage Studies have moved towards privileging ethnicised or postnational forms of heritage, this study demonstrates that, in small-town arenas, ethnic belonging is often expressed through membership in a nation-state that *is* or *is not* Germany, taking the form of majority or minority belonging. The more revealing dynamic, therefore, lies not in the opposition between national and ethnic heritages but in how majority-minority relations shape local power dynamics and symbolic boundary making.

Third, small-town actors navigate multiple attachments simultaneously, combining national identifications with vernacular forms of cosmopolitanism and mul-

tilocal belonging. The analysis shows that experiences of physical mobility – and the encounters they entail – are central to all heritagisation processes, not only those directly related to migration.

Fourth, the study identifies inward- and use-value-oriented criteria of (e)valuation that foreground care-ethical orientations and the materiality of care work, often performed by women. This dimension reveals the gendered nature of heritage production and the invisible labour sustaining social life. Non-linear conceptions of time further challenge the linear and preservationist assumptions of heritage discourse, suggesting that temporality in heritage should also be understood as cyclical.

While not originally conceived as small-town research, this study contributes to emerging work that positions small towns as key sites for investigating global and local dynamics of migration, cultural diversity and heritage-making. These towns – Aurich, Cuxhaven and Zeven – reveal that small-scale settings are deeply embedded in transnational processes. Their relative proximity, limited diversity and intermediate position between rurality and urbanity create distinctive social ecologies for boundary making and belonging. By analysing the ethnically marked cultural endeavours of Portuguese, Dutch and East Frisian groups, this study adds new empirical material on under-researched forms of minority cultural life in peripheral regions. Migration here is approached not as a demographic challenge or a deficit of integration, but as an ordinary dimension of cultural and symbolic boundary formation in small-town life. The study, therefore, extends migration sociology – particularly in the German context – beyond its predominant focus on metropolitan settings. Peripheral small towns emerge here as crucial yet overlooked sites for understanding how migration and diversity are lived, negotiated and institutionalised.

Through Ethnicised Heritage Situations, the research also offers a theoretical framework for understanding how the worldmaking of global heritage regimes interacts with the everyday sensemaking of local actors. This approach can be applied beyond heritage itself, offering a model for studying the mutual constitution of global discourses and local practices in other domains, including environmental policy or cultural citizenship (Delanty 2002) and performative dimensions of belonging (Kleinschmidt et al. 2022).

During the research process, it was notable how reflexive the participants' approach to their cultural engagement was. Richard, for example, was not only engaged in making visible the history of Aurich as part of East Frisia as a mediamaker but was also very keen on bringing across the idea of East Frisia as a coherent region in the imagination. East Frisia, he told me, is 'Europe in small', with many different regionalisms and conflicts around them. He did not necessarily need the seriousness of an unambiguous East Frisian identity claim to be engaged in East Frisian history and festivals. Similarly, Christina was very aware of the fact that those member of a traditional folk dance group who attend the Fatima procession in traditional dress

are perceived as Portuguese by outsiders, even though the type of dress rather show differentiations between different regions of origin from within Portugal.

The theory of Ethnicised Heritage Situations also advances reflexivity – both within research and beyond it. In the research process, this reflexivity was grounded in the Situational Analysis approach. The concept of the situation aided in recognising that every research situation is itself situated in at least two ways: the researcher is active in that they provide one among several definitions of the situation, and all such definitions are shaped by the social worlds in which these definitions emerge. To map the situation of research in Situational Analysis is always to map oneself into it as well.

Building on this foundation, Ethnicised Heritage Situations as a theoretical frame of thinking has the potential to help reflexivity beyond research to the realm of heritage management and policy-making. It provides a tool for understanding how global heritage regimes, local actors and policy frameworks intersect in practice. With this complexity-oriented perspective, Ethnicised Heritage Situations provides much-needed reflexivity for heritage experts and managers by encouraging them to map the fields of action in which they intervene and to locate their own positionality within these configurations, including recognising how many culture-led policies continue to be shaped by urban-centric logics. Such an approach is particularly valuable in the field of intangible heritage policies, where comprehensive anthropological definitions of culture extend policy frameworks deep into the lifeworlds of ordinary people.

Such worldmaking processes of the (e)valuation of culture are, as I have opened this book with and taken up throughout, not always harmonious and, as I would like to add now, possibly not asked for from a grassroots perspective. If the main criteria of (e)valuation employed vis-à-vis a local museum in East Frisia, a festival in Zeven or an associational event in Cuxhaven is its function in reproducing social life; if festivals are boundary objects, bringing together different social worlds for limited amounts of time, without the need to label them as Dutch or East Frisian; if a Catholic mass in Cuxhaven is a moment of transnational simultaneity with no need to be projected outward – one could ask to what extent such ordinary culture can or should be an object of cultural and heritage policy operations.

While it would go too far at this point to fully engage into answering this question, I would like to bring up two possibly provocative thoughts as a way to approaching an answer. First, there is an argument made by Paul Hugger in 1989, that Doreen Götzky (2013) pointed me toward. Hugger argues that the use of a broad concept of culture within policy discourse primarily serves to legitimise existing power relations. By concealing its elitist orientation under an inclusive rhetoric of cultural diversity, cultural policy effectively stabilises a hegemonic status quo. He denies that cultural policy can meaningfully govern everyday culture in the sense defined by UNESCO, since such culture is characterised by its own internal logic and autonomy. As

he puts it, 'everyday culture is, first and foremost, self-organisation; it is a self-regulating system' (Hugger 1989: 163, my translation). Against this background he cautions that all cultural policy is elite policy and that instead of instrumentalising or managing it, the political task lies in safeguarding the social and spatial conditions that allow everyday culture to flourish, making it a task of broad societal concern cutting across many different policy domains.

Second, studying cultural heritage as a social process and powerful category, my project engages in re/theorising the cultural heritage category in pluralised societies at the nexus of 'heritage, identity, and community'. Ethnicised Heritage Situations encourages radically rethinking the role of conceptions of time, large institutions, communities, use values, mobility experiences and the role of place in this project of ideology. Together, these insights open up the question of whether heritage as a category can be retained through radical re/theorisation, or whether these impulses ultimately carry a utopian surplus that could lead to heritages' dissolution.

If I am to stay true to my heritage agnostic position (Brumann 2014a: 174), which leaves judgement on heritagisations' ethical and political potential and aftermath open to empirical research, more such research should be conducted to ultimately take a stance on these questions. In addressing this study's limits, further research could for example look at places other than peripheral small towns – two of which in the case of this study may be described as 'large' small towns. Comparisons to metropolitan areas or between towns with distinct demographic trajectories, such as shrinking or post-shrinking towns are an option. Future research could also expand to include other migrant groupings, especially those with more precarious legal or social positions, and attend more closely to the intersections of class, status and mobility within small-town contexts.

Most importantly though, it should be Hilde, Joris or Rubens and Merle that decide on whether to celebrate Dutch King's Day in the club house or whether the Four Evening Marches is part of Zeven's Dutch heritage and should be recognised as such. And it should be Christina, Rafael and Marta that have a say in how their individual and family histories are intertwined with labour migration from Portugal to Cuxhaven in the 1960s. And it is for the inhabitants of Aurich that partake in the central maypole setting to decide on whether the festival is authentically East Frisian or not, they could even decide not to bother with this question at all.

There is, then, an importance of literacy in the convergence of local actors in small-town arenas and in the convergence of world- and sensemaking in Ethnicised Heritage Situations. Local actors should be empowered to comprehend the potential risks and challenges involved in official heritage listing processes by institutions such as UNESCO, the European Union or nation-states, encouraging them to make informed decisions. I am undecided as to whether I would advise them to actively pursue this aim. Every embrace of communities as cultural bearers by heritage regimes entails a reorganisation of the world- and sensemaking aspects of cultural

endeavours, strengthening the former and potentially mutinying central aspects of the latter. At the very least, I believe local actors in grassroots culture should be aware of the option to deny involvement in such processes.

References

Abbott, Andrew. 2018. 'Varieties of Normative Inquiry: Moral Alternatives to Politicization in Sociology'. *The American Sociologist* 49:158–80. doi: 10/gnfkrt.

Åberg, Martin, and Ann-Kristin Högman. 2015. 'Histories Meet Histories: A Pilot Study of Migration and Civil Society in Swedish Medium-Sized Cities, Small Towns, and Villages'. *Journal of Civil Society* 11(2):187–203. doi: 10/f3n6p5.

Adell, Nicolas, Regina Bendix, Chiara Bortolotto, and Markus Tauschek, eds. 2015. *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Ahmed, Sara, Claudia Castada, Anne-Marie Fortier, and Mimi Sheller. 2020. *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Alam, Ashraful, and Etienne Nel. 2022. 'Migration, Emerging Multiculturalism and Planning in Rural and Small Town Aotearoa New Zealand'. *Australian Planner* 58(3–4):132–42. doi: 10/gtzwng.

Alba, Richard. 2005. 'Bright vs. Blurred Boundaries: Second-Generation Assimilation and Exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1):20–49. doi: 10/fszbtb.

Alexander, Claire. 2017. 'Beyond the "The 'Diaspora' Diaspora": A Response to Rogers Brubaker'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40(9):1544–55. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2017.1300302.

Alexander, Claire, Rosalind Edwards, and Bogusia Temple. 2007. 'Contesting Cultural Communities: Language, Ethnicity and Citizenship in Britain'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 33(5):783–800. doi: 10/fwkcf6.

Alisch, Monika, and Michael May, eds. 2011. *Integrationspotenziale in kleinen Städten: Rekonstruktion der Interessensorientierungen von Zuwanderern*. Vol. 6. Opladen, Germany; Berlin; Farmington Hills, MI: Verlag Barbara Budrich.

Alisch, Monika, Martina Ritter, Katharina Hille, Jonas Hufeisen, and Tatevik Mamajanyan. 2022. 'Soziale Öffentlichkeiten kleinstädtischer Urbanität im Kontext der Migrationsgesellschaft'. Pp. 147–70 in *Kleinstadtforschung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven, Urban Studies*, edited by N. Gribat, B. Ülker, S. Weidner, B. Weyrauch, and J. Ribbeck-Lampel. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.

Alonso González, Pablo. 2014. 'From a Given to a Construct: Heritage as a Commons'. *Cultural Studies* 28(3):359–90. doi: 10/gnv5p2.

Alonso González, Pablo. 2015. 'The Heritage Machine: The Neoliberal Order and the Individualisation of Identity in Maragatería (Spain)'. *Identities* 22(4):397–415. doi: 10/gt2g67.

Alonso González, Pablo. 2019. *The Heritage Machine: Fetishism and Domination in Maragateria, Spain*. London: Pluto Press.

Amescua, Cristina. 2013. 'Anthropology of Intangible Cultural Heritage and Migration: An Uncharted Field'. Pp. 103–20 in *Anthropological Perspectives on Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Vol. 6, *SpringerBriefs in Environment, Security, Development and Peace*, edited by L. Arizpe and C. Amescua. Heidelberg, Germany: Springer International Publishing.

Anderson, Benedict. 2016. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. rev. ed. London; New York: Verso.

Ang, Ien. 2011. 'Unsettling the National: Heritage and Diaspora'. Pp. 82–94 in *Heritage, Memory and Identity*, edited by H. Anheier and Y. R. Isar. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE Publications.

Anheier, Helmut K., and Yudhishthir Raj Isar, eds. 2011. *Cultures and Globalization: Heritage, Memory and Identity*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE Publications.

Anon. 1999. 'A Conversation with Stuart Hall'. *Journal of the International Institute* 7(1).

Anthias, Floya. 2008. 'Thinking Through the Lens of Translocational Positionality: An Intersectionality Frame for Understanding Identity and Belonging'. *Translocations: Migration and Social Change* 4(1):5–20.

Apelt, Maja, and Veronika Tacke. 2012. *Handbuch Organisationstypen*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. 1986. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2010. 'Chapter Six. Rooted Cosmopolitanism'. Pp. 213–72 in *The Ethics of Identity*. Princeton University Press.

Arauz, Emily C. 2021. 'Cultural Heritage, Ethics and Contemporary Migrations: Edited by Cornelius Holtorf, Andreas Pantazatos, and Geoffrey Scarre [Book Review]'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 27(4):427–29. doi: 10/gt2g68.

Arokiasamy, Clara. 2012. 'Embedding Shared Heritage: The Cultural Heritage Rights of London's African and Asian Diaspora Communities'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18(3):339–45. doi: 10/gt2kgz.

Ashley, Susan L. T. 2020. 'Heritage-Making, Borderwork and (Multi) Cultural Organisations in the North of England'. Pp. 21–35 in *Migrant, Multicultural and Diasporic Heritage. Beyond and Between Borders*, edited by A. Dellios and E. Henrich. Taylor & Francis Ltd.

Ashley, Susan L. T., and Sybille Frank. 2016. 'Introduction: Heritage-Outside-In'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22(7):501–3. doi: 10/gh27hf.

Ashworth, G. J., Brian Graham, and J. E. Tunbridge. 2007. *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies*. London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

Ashworth, Gregory John. 2007. 'Pluralizing the Past: Heritage Policies in Plural Society'. *Edinburgh Architectural Research Journal* 16(1):12–23.

Assmann, Jan. 1995. 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity'. *New German Critique* 65:125–33. doi: 10/cg9vct.

Atkinson, Rob. 2019. 'The Small Towns Conundrum: What Do We Do About Them?' *Regional Statistics* 9(2):3–19. doi: 10/gt2ksn.

van der Auwera, Sigrid, and Annick Schramme. 2011. 'Civil Society Action in the Field of Cultural Heritage'. *Heritage & Society* 4(1):59–82. doi: 10/gt2kts.

Baldock, Cora. 1998. 'Feminist Discourses of Unwaged Work: The Case of Volunteerism'. *Australian Feminist Studies* 13(27):19–34. doi: 10/b9m7hb.

Banai, Ayelet, and Avihu Shoshana. 2019. 'Relocated Ethnicities: How Do National-Cultural Repertoires Shape the Ethnicities of Migrants? Evidence from Israeli Mizrahim in Israel, the United States, and Germany'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43(6):1091–1109. doi: 10/gnvdq7.

Barrado-Timón, Diego, Antonio Palacios, and Carmen Hidalgo-Giralt. 2020. 'Medium and Small Cities, Culture and the Economy of Culture: A Review of the Approach to the Case of Spain in Light of International Scientific Scholarship'. *Sustainability* 12(18):7321. doi: 10/gt2ksp.

Barry, Kathleen. 2007. *Femininity in Flight: A History of Flight Attendants*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Barth, Fredrik, ed. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. repr. Long Grove, IL: Waveland Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1963. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. New York; London; Toronto; Sydney; New Delhi: Free Press.

Becker, Howard Saul. 1973. *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Free Press.

Bell, David, and Mark Jayne. 2006. *Small Cities: Urban Experience Beyond the Metropolis*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Bell, David, and Mark Jayne. 2009. 'Small Cities? Towards a Research Agenda'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33(3):683–99. doi: 10/dm6prt.

Bell, Michael M. 2010. 'The Fruit of Difference: The Rural-Urban Continuum as a System of Identity1'. *Rural Sociology* 57(1):65.

de la Bellacasa, María Puig. 2017. *Matters of Care: Speculative Ethics in More than Human Worlds*. Minneapolis: Univ Of Minnesota Press.

Bendix, Regina. 1989. 'Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?' *The Journal of American Folklore* 102(404):Art. 131. doi: 10/bd9szh.

Bendix, Regina. 2011. '»Unsere verdiente Wertschätzung gib uns heute«: Gedanken zu Brot, Handwerk und globaler Cultural Governance'. *VOKUS* 21(1):5–18.

Bendix, Regina. 2018. *Culture and Value: Tourism, Heritage, and Property*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Bendix, Regina, Aditya Eggert, and Arnika Peselmann, eds. 2012. *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Bendix, Regina F., Arnika Peselmann, and Aditya Eggert, eds. 2016. *Heritage Regimes and the State*. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press.

Berger, Stefan, Bella Dicks, and Marion Fontaine. 2020. '"Community": A Useful Concept in Heritage Studies?' *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26(4):325–51. doi: 10/gkjjxn.

Berliner, David, and Christoph Brumann. 2016. *World Heritage on the Ground: Ethnographic Perspectives*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Beswick, Jaine, and Alicia Pozo-Gutiérrez. 2010. 'Migrant Identities, Sociolinguistic and Sociocultural Practices: Portuguese and Spanish Migrations to the South Coast of England'. *Portuguese Studies* 26(1):41–59. doi: 10/gs6592.

Bhabha, Homi K. 2017. '11. Spectral Sovereignty, Vernacular Cosmopolitans, and Cosmopolitan Memories'. Pp. 141–52 in *Cosmopolitanisms*. New York University Press.

Billig, Michael. 1995. *Banal Nationalism*. London; Thousand Oaks, CA; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE Publications.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2013. 'The Promise and Pitfalls of Comparative Research Design in the Study of Migration'. *Migration Studies* 1(1):27–46. doi: 10/ghkqc5.

Bohnsack, Ralf, and Arnd-Michael Nohl. 2002. 'Ethnisierung und Differenzerfahrung: Fremdheit als alltägliches und als methodologisches Problem'. *Zeitschrift für qualitative Bildungs-, Beratungs- und Sozialforschung* 2(1):15–36.

Boltanski, Luc, and Laurent Thevenot. 2006. *On Justification: Economies of Worth*. Princeton, NJ; Woodstock, UK: Princeton University Press.

Bommes, Michael, and Frank-Olaf Radtke. 1996. 'Migration Into Big Cities and Small Towns: An Uneven Process with Limited Need for Multiculturalism'. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research* 9(1):75–86. doi: 10/fx55nf.

Bonikowski, Bart. 2017. 'Nationhood as Cultural Repertoire: Collective Identities and Political Attitudes in France and Germany'. Pp. 147–74 in *Everyday Nationhood*, edited by M. Skey and M. Antonsich. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Bonizzoni, Paola, and Marzorati. 2015. 'Local Immigrant Incorporation Pathways in Small-Scale Cities. Pakistani Immigrants in a Province of Northern Italy'. *Sociologica* 9(2). doi: 10.2383/81430.

Boos-Krüger, Annegret. 5. 'Sozialräumliche Integration von Zuwanderern in Klein- und Mittelstädten des ländlichen Raums: Annäherung an ein neues Forschungsgebiet'. Pp. 407–44 in *Zuwanderer in der Stadt: Expertisen zum Projekt*, edited by Schader-Stiftung, Deutscher Städtetag, GdW Bundesverband deutscher Wohnungs- und Immobilienunternehmen, Deutsches Institut f. Urbanistik, and In-

stitut f. Wohnungswesen, Immobilienwirtschaft, Stadt- und Regionalentwicklung, Ruhr-Universität Bochum. Darmstadt: Schader-Stiftung.

Bös, Mathias. 2005. *Rasse und Ethnizität*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Bös, Mathias. 2015. 'Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups: Historical Aspects'. Pp. 136–41 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier.

Bös, Mathias. 2025. 'Cultural Heritage and Citizenship: Wessen Erbe wird in einer Demokratie gepflegt?' in *Gefährdete Demokratie – Resiliente Demokratie: Beiträge aus Forschung und Praxis*. Vol. 8, *Schriften zur Didaktik der Demokratie*, edited by C.-H. Hauptmayer, C. Hellwig, C. Schröder, A. Junge, and D. Hoins. Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein Verlag.

Bös, Mathias, and Antonio M. Chiesi. 33–72. 'Introduction: Problems and Promises of Current Theoretical Approaches to Ethnicity'. in *Multicultural Variations: Social Incorporation in Europe and North America, Comparative Charting of Social Change*, edited by L. W. Roberts, B. Ferguson, M. Bös, and S. von Below. Montreal; Kingston, Canada; London; Ithaca, NY: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Bosse, Temmo. 2019. '(Mis)Matching Linguistic, Geographical and Ethnic Identities: The Case of the East Frisians'. Pp. 250–70 in *Identities In-Between in East-Central Europe*, edited by J. Fellerer, R. Pyrah, and M. Turda. Abingdon, UK; New York: Taylor & Francis.

Bowker, Geoffrey C., and Susan Leigh Star. 1999. *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

van Breugel, Ilona. 2020. 'Towards a Typology of Local Migration Diversity Policies'. *Comparative Migration Studies* 8:1–16. doi: 10/gt2ktm.

Brown, Andrew D., Ian Colville, and Annie Pye. 2015. 'Making Sense of Sensemaking in Organization Studies'. *Organization Studies* 36(2):265–77. doi: 10/gfbz6k.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2002. 'Ethnicity Without Groups'. *European Journal of Sociology/ Archives Européennes de Sociologie* 43(2):163–89. doi: 10/cztqsg.

Brumann, Christoph. 1999. 'Writing for Culture: Why a Successful Concept Should Not Be Discarded'. *Current Anthropology* 40(Suppl):S1–27. doi: 10/cj2n9d.

Brumann, Christoph. 2014a. 'Heritage Agnosticism: A Third Path for the Study of Cultural Heritage'. *Social Anthropology* 22(2):173–88. doi: 10/gnjdps.

Brumann, Christoph. 2014b. 'Shifting Tides of World-Making in the UNESCO World Heritage Convention: Cosmopolitanisms Colliding'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(12):2176–92. doi: 10/gt2ksq.

Brumann, Christoph. 2018. 'Anthropological Utopia, Closet Eurocentrism, and Culture Chaos in the UNESCO World Heritage Arena'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 91(4):1203–33. doi: 10/ggktcw.

Bryson, John R., Ronald V. V, and Vida Vanchan, eds. 2021. *Ordinary Cities, Extraordinary Geographies: People, Place and Space*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller, and and an Interview with Michel Foucault, eds. 1991. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burk, James. 2002. 'Theories of Democratic Civil-Military Relations'. *Armed Forces & Society* 29(1):7–29. doi: 10/c6q3xt.

Burns, Rob, and Wilfried van der Will. 2003. 'German Cultural Policy: An Overview'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 9(2):133–52. doi: 10/fxgbhj.

Byrne, Denis. 2002. 'Heritage Corridors: Transnational Flows and the Built Environment of Migration'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(14):2360–78. doi: 10/gt2kg2.

Byrne, Denis. 2023. 'The Migration Heritage Corridor: Transnationalism, Modernity and Race'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 29(4):329–45. doi: 10/gtzwnh.

Çağlar, Ayşe. 2007. 'Rescaling Cities, Cultural Diversity and Transnationalism: Migrants of Mardin and Essen'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6):1070–95. doi: 10/frztgv.

Carrero de Salazar, M. Carmen. 2008. 'Levinas' Asymmetry and the Question of Women's Oppression: Response to Borgerson's 'Feminist Ethical Ontology"'. *Feminist Theory* 9(1):109–15. doi: 10/djrg7q.

de Cesari, Chiara. 2013. 'Thinking Through Heritage Regimes'. Pp. 399–413 in *Heritage Regimes and the State*, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by R. Bendix, A. Eggert, and A. Peselmann. Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag Göttingen.

Chakravorty Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' Pp. 271–316 in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by L. Grossberg and C. Nelson. Urbana, IL; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Chalcraft, Jasper. 2015. 'Metaculture and Its Malcontents: World Heritage in Southwestern Libya'. in *The Making of Heritage: Seduction and Disenchantment*, edited by C. del Mármol, M. Morell, and J. Chalcraft. London: Routledge.

Chan, Hiu Ling, and Christopher Cheng. 2016. 'Building Homeland Heritage: Multiple Homes among the Chinese Diaspora and the Politics on Heritage Management in China'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22(1):1–13. doi: 10.1080/13527258.2015.1068211.

Charmillot, Emmanuel, and Janine Dahinden. 2022. 'Mobilities, Locality and Place-Making: Understanding Categories of (Non-)Membership in a Peripheral Valley'. *Mobilities* 17(3):366–81. doi: 10/gt2kg3.

Cheng, Edmund W., Anthony H. F. Li, and Shu-Yun Ma. 2014. 'Resistance, Engagement, and Heritage Conservation by Voluntary Sector: The Case of Penang in Malaysia'. *Modern Asian Studies* 48(3):617–44. doi: 10/f5zcwx.

Chidester, David. 2018. 'Heritage Under Construction: Boundary Objects, Scaffolding and Anticipation'. Pp. 291–98 in *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural*

Production of the Real, edited by B. Meyer and M. van de van de Port. New York: Berghahn Books.

Clarke, Adele. 2009. 'From Grounded Theory to Situational Analysis. What's New? Why? How?' Pp. 194–233 in *Developing Grounded Theory. The Second Generation Revisited*, edited by J. M. Morse, B. Bowers, K. Charmaz, A. Clarke, C. J. Porr, and P. Stern.

Clarke, Adele. 2012. *Situationsanalyse: Grounded Theory Nach Dem Postmodern Turn*. edited by R. Keller. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Clarke, Adele E. 2005. *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn*. Thousand Oaks, CA; London; New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Clarke, Adele E., Carrie Friese, and Rachel S. Washburn. 2018. *Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Interpretive Turn*. 2nd rev. ed. Thousand Oaks, CA; London; New Delhi: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Clarke, Adele E., and Susan Leigh Star. 2008. 'The Social Worlds Framework: A Theory/Methods Package'. Pp. 113–38 in *The Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*, edited by E. J. Hackett, O. Amsterdamska, M. E. Lynch, and J. Wajcman. Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press.

Clarke, Adele, Carrie Friese, and Rachel Washburn, eds. 2015. *Situational Analysis in Practice*. Walnut Creek, California: left coast press.

Clifford, James. 1997. *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Colomer, Laia. 2017. 'Heritage on the Move: Cross-Cultural Heritage as a Response to Globalisation, Mobilities and Multiple Migrations'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23(10):913–27. doi: 10/gbvv6q.

Comparative & Historical Sociology. 2002. 'Winter 2002 Newsletter, Comparative & Historical Sociology'.

Coombe, Rosemary J., and Lindsay M. Weiss. 2015. 'Neoliberalism, Heritage Regimes, and Cultural Rights'. *Global Heritage: A Reader* 12:43–69. doi: 10/gt2g69.

Cornish, Helen. 2016. 'Not All Singing and Dancing: Padstow, Folk Festivals and Belonging'. *Ethnos* 81(4):631–47. doi: 10/gt2ksr.

Corsten, Michael, and Michael Kauppert. 2007. 'Wir-Sinn und fokussierte Motive: Zur biographischen Genese bürgerschaftlichen Engagements'. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 36(5):346–63. doi: 10/gt2g7b.

Crooke, Elizabeth. 2010. 'The Politics of Community Heritage: Motivations, Authority and Control'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16(1–2):16–29. doi: 10/bpxzwt.

Cruickshank, Jørn. 2018. 'Is Culture-Led Redevelopment Relevant for Rural Planners? The Risk of Adopting Urban Theories in Rural Settings'. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 24(3):331–49. doi: 10/grknjc.

Cultural Heritage in Action Project. 2021. *Cultural Heritage: A Poerful Catalyst For Cities and Regions*. European Union.

Dahinden, Janine. 2009. 'Are We All Transnationals Now? Network Transnationalism and Transnational Subjectivity: The Differing Impacts of Globalization on the Inhabitants of a Small Swiss City'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 32(8):1365–86. doi: 10/dxm6g3.

Dahinden, Janine. 2012. 'Transnational Belonging, Non-Ethnic Forms of Identification and Diverse Mobilities: Rethinking Migrant Integration?' Pp. 117–28 in *Migrations: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by M. Messer, R. Schroeder, and R. Wodak. Vienna: Springer.

Dahinden, Janine. 2016. 'A Plea for the "De-Migranticization" of Research on Migration and Integration'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(13):2207–25. doi: 10/gjntm2.

Daniels, Arlene Kaplan. 1985. 'Good Times and Good Works: The Place of Sociability in the Work of Women Volunteers'. *Social Problems* 32(4):363–74.

Danielzyk, Rainer, Rainer Krüger, and Benjamin Schäfer. 1995. *Ostfriesland – Leben in einer 'besonderen Welt': Eine Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Alltag, Kultur und Politik im regionalen Massstab*. Vol. 13. Oldenburg, Germany: BIS.

De Angelis, Massimo. 2006. *The Beginning of History: Value Struggles and Global Capital*. London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

DeLanda, Manuel. 2016. *Assemblage Theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Delanty, Gerard. 2002. 'Two Conceptions of Cultural Citizenship: A Review of Recent Literature on Culture and Citizenship'. *Global Review of Ethnopolitics* 1(3):60–66. doi: 10.1080/14718800208405106.

Della Porta, Donatella. 2013. 'Repertoires of Contention' edited by D. A. Snow, D. Della Porta, B. Klandermans, and D. McAdam. *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*.

Dellios, Alexandra. 2015. 'Marginal or Mainstream? Migrant Centres as Grassroots and Official Heritage'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 21(10):1068–83. doi: 10/gtzwnd.

Dellios, Alexandra, and Eureka Henrich, eds. 2020. *Migrant, Multicultural and Diasporic Heritage: Beyond and Between Borders*. New York: Routledge.

Desille, Amandine, Charlotte Räuchle, Ilona van Breugel, Juan Carlos Triviño-Salazar, and Antonie Schmiz. 2023. 'Negotiating Migration in Cities: A Relational Comparative Perspective'. *Zeitschrift Für Migrationsforschung* 3(2):129–46. doi: 10/gt2kss.

Diehl, David, and Daniel McFarland. 2010. 'Toward a Historical Sociology of Social Situations'. *American Journal of Sociology* 115(6):1713–52. doi: 10/dqhqtb.

Dijksterhuis, Sanne. 2020. '"It Looks Like War Out Here!" Peace Protest During the Nijmegen Four Days Marches, 1979–1984.' Master Thesis, Utrecht University, Utrecht, Netherlands.

Drews, Katja. 2017. *Kulturtourismus im ländlichen Raum an «dritten Orten» der Begegnung als Chance zur Integration von Kultur- und Tourismusentwicklung. Eine Befragung von touristischen und einheimischen Kulturbesuchern in ländlichen Regionen Nie-*

dersachsens. Mit einem Vorwort von Prof. Dr. Birgit Mandel. Hildesheim: Universitätsverlag Hildesheim.

Dubois, Vincent. 2015. 'Cultural Policy Regimes in Western Europe'. Pp. 460–65 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier.

Dumont, Wouter. 2003. 'Immigrant Religiosity in a Pluri-Ethnic and Pluri-Religious Metropolis: An Initial Impetus for a Typology'. *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 18(3):369–84. doi: 10/bgw24b.

Durkheim, Emile. 1895. *Die Regeln der soziologischen Methode*. transl. edited by R. König. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Durrer, Victoria, Abigail Gilmore, Leila Jancovich, and David Stevenson, eds. 2023. *Cultural Policy Is Local: Understanding Cultural Policy as Situated Practice*. 1st edition). Hamburger. Basel: Springer International Publishing.

van Dyk, Silke, and Tine Haubner. 2021. *Community-Kapitalismus*. 1st edition). Hamburger. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition.

Edwards, Bill, Mark Goodwin, and Michael Woods. 2003. 'Citizenship, Community and Participation in Small Towns: A Case Study of Regeneration Partnerships'. Pp. 181–204 in *Urban Renaissance?: New Labour, Community and Urban Policy*, edited by R. Imrie and M. Raco. Bristol: Policy Press.

Egloff, Rainer. 2015. 'Definition of the Situation: History of the Concept'. Pp. 19–23 in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Elsevier.

Eldridge, J., and A. Crombie. 2013. *A Sociology of Organisations (RLE: Organizations)*. London: Routledge.

Erel, Umut. 2011. 'Complex Belongings: Racialization and Migration in a Small English City'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(12):2048–68. doi: 10/b44c8r.

Evans-Jordan, Sarah B. 2023. 'Mapping a Way Into Qualitative Inquiry: Reflections on Learning and Teaching Clarke's Situational Analysis'. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 24(2): Art. 20. doi: 10/gsnrvr.

Federici, Silvia. 2012. *Revolution at Point Zero: Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. 1st ed. Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Fehn, Michael. 2005. 'Freizeit in Klein- Und Mittelstädten – Chancen Und Grenzen Für Urbane Räume.' *PlanerIn – Fachzeitschrift Für Stadt, Regional- Und Landesplanung*, No. 2: 23–25.

Fleßner, Martina. 2004. 'Ferienhöfe in Ostfriesland Tourismus und Identität im Kontext von "Urlaub auf dem Bauernhof"×; Versuch einer volkskundlichen Analyse'. Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster (Westf.).

Foster, Michael Dylan. 2015. 'UNESCO on the Ground'. *Journal of Folklore Research* 52(2–3):143–56. doi: 10/gmx77w.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *Dispositive der Macht: Über Sexualität, Wissen und Wahrheit*. transl. Berlin: Merve Verlag.

Fox, Jon E., and Demelza Jones. 2013. 'Migration, Everyday Life and the Ethnicity Bias'. *Ethnicities* 13(4):385–400. doi: 10/gt2kst.

Frank, Sybille. 2009. *Der Mauer um die Wette gedenken: Die Formation einer Heritage-Industrie am Berliner Checkpoint Charlie*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Fraser, Nancy. 2000. 'Rethinking Recognition'. *New Left Review* 3:107–20.

Fraser, Richard. 2020. 'Cultural Heritage, Ethnic Tourism, and Minority-State Relations Amongst the Orochen in North-East China'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 26(2):178–200. doi: 10/gs9vgw.

Frost, Nicola. 2016. 'Anthropology and Festivals: Festival Ecologies'. *Ethnos* 81(4):569–83. doi: 10/gm2jhm.

Galbo, Joseph. 2019. 'Renovating the Roman Colosseum: Politics, Urban Restructuring, and the Value of Heritage in Neoliberal Times'. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 6(3):288–316. doi: 10/gt2ksv.

Galbraith, Marysia H. 2015. 'Multiculturalism in a Transnational Regional Community: EU Subsidies and Cultural Heritage in Southeast Poland'. *Politeja* 31(2):143–58. doi: 10/gt2ksw.

Gans, Herbert J. 1979. 'Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Culture in America'. Pp. 425–59 in *Theories of Ethnicity: A Classical Reader*, edited by W. Sollors. New York: New York University Press.

Gans, Herbert J. 1996. 'Symbolic Ethnicity: The Future of Ethnic Groups and Culture in America'. in *Theories of Ethnicity. A Classical Reader*, edited by W. Sollors. New York University Press.

Gauci, Jean-Pierre. 2020. *Integration of Migrants in Middle and Small Cities and in Rural Areas in Europe*. European Committee of the Regions.

Geiling, Heiko, Daniel Gardemin, Stephan Meise, and Andrea König. 2011. *Migration – Teilhabe – Milieus*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Geismar, Haidy. 2015. 'Anthropology and Heritage Regimes'. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 44(1):71–85. doi: 10/gfkrkt.

Gergova, Lina, Tanya Matanova, Yana Gergova, and Nikolai Vukov. 2017. *Cultural Heritage in Migration*. Sofia: Paradigma Publishing House.

Giglitto, Danilo, Luigina Ciolfi, and Wolfgang Bosswick. 2022. 'Building a Bridge: Opportunities and Challenges for Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Intersection of Institutions, Civic Society, and Migrant Communities'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 28(1):74–91. doi: 10/gp47fn.

Giulianotti, Richard. 2005. 'The Sociability of Sport: Scotland Football Supporters as Interpreted through the Sociology of Georg Simmel'. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport* 40(3):289–306. doi: 10/dzsqzj.

Glaser, Barney G. 1965. 'The Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis'. *Social Problems* 12(4):436–45. doi: 10/gdshw9.

Glazer, Nathan, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, eds. 1975. *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Glick Schiller, Nina, and Ayşe Çağlar. 2008. *Migrant Incorporation and City Scale: Towards a Theory of Locality In Migration Studies*. 2/07. Malmö.

Glick Schiller, Nina, and Ayse Çağlar. 2009. 'Towards a Comparative Theory of Locality in Migration Studies: Migrant Incorporation and City Scale'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35(2):177–202. doi: 10/cc9sws.

Glick Schiller, Nina, and Ayşe Çağlar, eds. 2011. *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*. Ithaca, NY; London: Cornell University Press.

Glick Schiller, Nina, Ayşe Çağlar, and Thaddeus C. Guldbrandsen. 2006. 'Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Locality, Globality, and Born-Again Incorporation'. *American Ethnologist* 33(4):612–33. doi: 10/crw4v7.

Glick Schiller, Nina, Tsypylma Darieva, and Sandra Gruner-Domic. 2011. 'Defining Cosmopolitan Sociability in a Transnational Age: An Introduction'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 34(3):399–418. doi: 10/cmcwvf.

Glück, Sarah. 2023. 'Energy Research Governance in the European Union'. Doctoral Thesis, Zeppelin Universität, Friedrichshafen, Germany.

Gnecco, Cristóbal. 2015. 'Heritage in Multicultural Times'. Pp. 263–80 in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, edited by E. Waterton and S. Watson. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. repr. New York, NY: Anchor.

Goffman, Erving. 1974. *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience*. Harper & Row.

González-Ruibal, Alfredo, Pablo Alonso González, and Felipe Criado-Boado. 2018. 'Against Reactionary Populism: Towards a New Public Archaeology'. *Antiquity* 92(362):507–15. doi: 10/gf72jx.

Götzky, Doreen. 2013. 'Kulturpolitik in ländlichen Räumen: Eine Untersuchung von Akteuren, Strategien und Diskursen am Beispiel des Landes Niedersachsen'. Doctoral Thesis, Universität Hildesheim, Hildesheim, Germany.

Gouriévidis, Laurence. 2016. 'Heritage, Transnational Memory and the Re-Diasporisation of Scotland'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22(4):277–90. doi: 10/gt2kg4.

Gowricharn, Ruben. 2017. 'Shopping in Mumbai: Transnational Sociability from the Netherlands'. *Global Networks* 17(3):349–65. doi: 10/gbjmm8.

Graf, Andrea. 2010. *Sinterklaas und Zwarte Piet in Blomberg/Lippe: Integration, Gestaltung und Wandel des niederländischen Nikolausbrauches*. Münster, Germany: Waxmann.

Graham, Brian. 2002. 'Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?' *Urban Studies* 39(5–6):1003–17. doi: 10/b9pr6q.

Grossmann, Katrin, and Alan Mallach. 2021. 'The Small City in the Urban System: Complex Pathways of Growth and Decline'. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 169–75. doi: 10/gp6k34.

Groth, Stefan. 2015. 'Between Society and Culture: Recognition in Cultural Heritage Contexts'. Pp. 59–81 in *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice:*

Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by N. Adell, R. F. Bendix, C. Bortolotto, and M. Tauschek. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Groth, Stefan. 2016. 'EU/Kultur: Zu Flexibilität und Kohärenz des Kulturbegriffes im Rahmen europäischer Kulturpolitik'. *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 61:205–24. doi: 10/gt2ks2.

Groth, Stefan, and Ove Sutter. 2016. 'Kulturelle Repräsentationen von „Region" in der gouvernementalen und kompetitiven Entwicklung ländlicher Räume'. *Rheinisch-westfälische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 61:225–45.

Gsir, Sonja, and Elsa Mescoli. 2015. 'Maintaining National Culture Abroad: Countries of Origin, Culture and Diaspora'.

Gugutzer, Robert. 2017. 'Leib und Situation: Zum Theorie- und Forschungsprogramm der Neophänomenologischen Soziologie'. *Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 46(3):147–66. doi: 10/gt2ksx.

Hafstein, Valdimar T. 2012. 'Cultural Heritage'. in *A Companion to Folklore*, edited by R. F. Bendix and G. Hasan-Rokem. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hafstein, Valdimar Tr, dir. 2018. *The Flight of the Condor*.

Halbwachs, Maurice. 1925. *Das Gedächtnis und seine sozialen Bedingungen*. transl. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Hall, Stuart. 1999. 'Un-settling "the Heritage", Re-imagining the Post-nation. Whose Heritage?' *Third Text* 13(49):3–13. doi: 10.1080/09528829908576818.

Hall, Stuart. 2017. *The Fateful Triangle: Race, Ethnicity, Nation*. edited by K. Mercer. Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press.

Hall, Stuart, and Pnina Werbner. 2008. 'Cosmopolitanism, Globalisation and Diaspora'. Pp. 345–60 in *Anthropology and the New Cosmopolitanism*, edited by P. Werbner. London: Routledge.

Hannam, Kevin, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry. 2006. 'Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings'. *Mobilities* 1(1):1–22. doi: 10/cscgk7.

Hannemann, Christine. 2004. *Marginalisierte Städte: Probleme, Differenzierungen und Chancen ostdeutscher Kleinstädte im Schrumpfungsprozess*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag.

Haraway, Donna. 1988. 'Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective'. *Feminist Studies* 14(3):575–99. doi: 10/bvtwq4.

Harrison, Rodney. 2010. 'Multicultural and Minority Heritage'. Pp. 164–201 in *Understanding Heritage and Memory*. Vol. 1, *Understanding Global Heritage*, edited by T. Benton. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

Harrison, Rodney. 2013. *Heritage: Critical Approaches*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Haumann, Wilhelm. 2014. *Motive des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements: Kernergebnisse einer bevölkerungsrepräsentativen Befragung durch das Institut für Demoskopie Allens-*

bach im August 2013. Berlin: Bundesministerium für Familie, Senioren, Frauen und Jugend.

Hedberg, Charlotta, and Renato Miguel do Carmo. 2012. 'Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces'. Pp. 1–9 in *Translocal Ruralism: Mobility and Connectivity in European Rural Spaces*. Vol. 103, *GeoJournal Library*, edited by C. Hedberg and R. M. do Carmo. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer Netherlands.

Hekman, Susan J. 1983. *Weber, the Ideal Type, and Contemporary Social Theory*. University of Notre Dame Press.

Helbrecht, Ilse. 2013. 'Urbanität und Ruralität'. Pp. 167–81 in *Schlüsselbegriffe der Kultur- und Sozialgeographie*, edited by J. Lossau, T. Freytag, and R. Lippuner. Stuttgart, Germany: UTB Verlag.

Hennig, Nina. n.d. *Volkskundliche Forschungen in Ostfriesland. Rückblick und Perspektiven*.

Herrenknecht, Albert, and Jürgen Wohlfarth. 2005a. 'Die "Kleinstadt-Bibliographie" 1945–2005'. *Pro-Regio-Online: ZeitSchrift für den Ländlichen Raum* 3.

Herrenknecht, Albert, and Jürgen Wohlfarth. 2005b. 'DIE VERNACHLÄSSIGTEN KLEINSTÄDTE – Der Vergessene Teil Des Ländlichen Raumes – Teil II Bibliographie'. *Pro Regio Online ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DEN LÄNDLICHEN RAUM*.

Hertz, Ellen. 2011.'Sex, Lies and Heritage'. Presented at the SIEF2011 10th Congress: Panel 312 Making Heritage, Making Knowledge, April 19, Lisbon, Portugal.

Hertz, Ellen. 2015. 'Bottoms, Genuine and Spurious'. Pp. 25–57 in *Between Imagined Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by N. Adell, R. F. Bendix, C. Bortolotto, and M. Tauschek. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Hewison, Robert. 1987. *The Heritage Industry*. London: Methuen Publishing Ltd.

Hilpert, Markus, and Alessa Merz. 2020. 'Events in Kleinstädten: Handlungsempfehlungen zur Stärkung des Einzelhandels in ländlichen Ortszentren'. *Standort* 44(1):3–8. doi: 10/gt2ksz.

Hirschauer, Stefan. 2017. *Un/doing Differences: Praktiken der Humandifferenzierung*. Weilerswist: Velbrück.

Hjalager, Anne-Mette, and Grzegorz Kwiatkowski. 2018. 'Entrepreneurial Implications, Prospects and Dilemmas in Rural Festivals'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 63:217–28. doi: 10/ggt3zz.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition*. repr. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoffmann, Stefan-Ludwig. 2003. *Geselligkeit und Demokratie: Vereine und zivile Gesellschaft im transnationalen Vergleich 1750 – 1914*. Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hörster, Reinhard, Stefan Köngeter, and Burkhard Müller, eds. 2013. *Grenzobjekte: Soziale Welten und ihre Übergänge*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

van Houtum, Henk, and Ruben Gielis. 2006. 'Elastic Migration: The Case of Dutch Short-Distance Transmigrants in Belgian and German Borderlands'. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 97(2):195–202. doi: 10/d75hdz.

Hylmö, Anders. 2019. 'The World Is Not a Field: An Interview with Michèle Lamont'. *Sociologisk Forskning* 56(2):167–79. doi: 10/gt2ks4.

Ireland, Tracy, and John Schofield, eds. 2015. *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage*. New York: Springer New York.

Isnart, Cyril, and Nathalie Cerezales, eds. 2020. *The Religious Heritage Complex: Legacy, Conservation, and Christianity*. London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.

Jaskulowski, Krzysztof. 2020. 'Patterns of Middling Migrant Sociabilities: A Case Study of a Disempowered City and Towns'. *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 21(2):381–95. doi: 10/gs6759.

Kalenda, Jan. 2016. 'Situational Analysis as a Framework for Interdisciplinary Research in the Social Sciences'. *Human Affairs* 26(3):340–55. doi: 10/gsnrvs.

Kals, Elisabeth, Isabel T. Strubel, and Stefan T. Güntert. 2021. 'Gemeinsinn und Solidarität: Motivation und Wirkung von Freiwilligenarbeit'. *Bibliothek Forschung und Praxis* 45(1):14–25. doi: 10/gt2g7c.

Karaca, Banu. 2009. 'Governance of or through Culture? Cultural Policy and the Politics of Culture in Europe'. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2009(55):27–40. doi: 10/czfk8d.

Keller, Reiner. 2023. 'Die Situiertheit der Situation'. Pp. 67–87 in *Die Situationsanalyse als Forschungsprogramm: Theoretische Implikationen, Forschungspraxis und Anwendungsbeispiele*, edited by L. Gauditz, A.-L. Klages, S. Kruse, E. Marr, A. Mazur, T. Schwertel, and O. Tietje. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien.

Kirchhoff, Gudrun, and Claudia Bolte. 2014. 'Migration und Integration im ländlichen Raum: Besonderheiten und zukünftige Herausforderungen'. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes* 11:185–98. doi: 10/gt2g7f.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 2004. 'Intangible Heritage as a Metacultural Production'. *Museum International* 56(1–2):52–56. doi: 10/b32cvh.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. 2006. 'World Heritage and Cultural Economics'. Pp. 161–202 in *Museum Frictions*. Duke University Press.

Kjellberg, Hans, and Alexandre Mallard. 2013. 'Valuation Studies? Our Collective Two Cents'. *Valuation Studies* 1(1):11–30. doi: 10/f24kxr.

Klein, Armin. 2005. *Kulturpolitik: Eine Einführung*. 2nd rev. ed. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Kleine, Wilhelm, and Wolfgang Fritsch. 1990. *Sport und Geselligkeit: Beiträge zu einer Theorie von Geselligkeit im Sport*. Aachen: Meyer & Meyer Sport.

Kleinschmidt, Malte, Radhika Natarajan, Catharina Peeck-Ho, Deborah Sielert, and Linda Supik. 2022. 'Gender, Race and Inclusive Citizenship as a Momentum Concept: An Introduction'. Pp. 3–37 in *Gender, Race and Inclusive Citizenship: Dialoge zwischen Aktivismus und Wissenschaft*, edited by L. Supik, M. Kleinschmidt, R. Natarajan, T. Neuburger, C. Peeck-Ho, C. Schröder, and D. Sielert. Wiesbaden: Springer Fachmedien.

Klimt, Andrea. 2000. 'European Spaces: Portuguese Migrants' Notions of Home and Belonging'. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9(2):259–85. doi: 10/gt2kg5.

Klimt, Andrea. 2005. 'Performing Portugueseness in Germany'. *Etnográfica* 9(1):103–22. doi: 10/gt2ks6.

Klusáková, Luďa, and Bianca del Espino Hidalgo, eds. 2021. *Small Town Resilience and Heritage Commodification*. Vol. 23. Bruxelles; Berlin; Bern; New York; Oxford; Warszawa; Wien: Peter Lang.

Knoblauch, Hubert. 2013. 'Qualitative Methoden am Scheideweg. Jüngere Entwicklungen der interpretativen Sozialforschung'. *Historical Social Research* 38(4):257–70.

Kockel, Ullrich. 2007. 'Heritage versus Tradition: Cultural Resources for a New Europe?' Pp. 85–101 in *The European Puzzle: The Political Structuring of Cultural Identities at a Time of Transition*, edited by M. Demossier. New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Kockel, Ullrich, Cristina Clopot, Baiba Tjarve, and Máiréad Nic Craith, eds. 2019. *Heritage and Festivals in Europe: Performing Identities*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Kolb, Anette. 2007. 'Die Kleinstadt Auf Dem Weg in Die Moderne'. *Pro-Regio-Online: ZeitSchrift für den Ländlichen Raum* 4:12–134.

Krasner, Stephen D. 1982. 'Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables'. *International Organization* 36(2):185–205. doi: 10/bp4kzn.

Kreichauf, René. 2012. *Kleinstadt und Zuwanderung – zur Theorie und Empirie ethnischer Segregation in kleinen Städten*. Berlin: Universitätsverlag der TU Berlin.

Kreichauf, René. 2023. 'Governing Migration Through Small Towns: Dispersal and the Production of Spaces of Transit'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 47(3):349–67. doi: 10/gt2ks5.

Krifors, Karin. 2022. 'Rural Multiculturalism? Migrants, Antiracism, and Convivial Cultures in Provincial Sweden'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 45(16):72–92. doi: 10/gnkh8p.

Krüger, Anne K., and Martin Reinhart. 2016. 'Wert, Werte und (Be)Wertungen. Eine erste begriffs- und prozesstheoretische Sondierung der aktuellen Soziologie der Bewertung'. *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 26(3–4):485–500. doi: 10/gffmsr.

Kuutma, Kristin. 2009. 'Cultural Heritage: An Introduction to Entanglements of Knowledge, Politics and Property'. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 3(2):5–12.

Kuutma, Kristin. 2013. 'Between Arbitration and Engineering: Concepts and Contingencies in the Shaping of Heritage Regimes'. Pp. 21–38 in *Heritage Regimes and the State, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by R. Bendix, A. Eggert, and A. Peselmann. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Labadi, Sophia, and Colin Long, eds. 2010. *Heritage and Globalisation*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

LAG Wesermünde Nord. 2015. 'REGIONALES ENTWICKLUNGSKONZEPT (REK) LEADER-REGION WESERMÜNDE NORD 2014 – 2020'. Retrieved 4 June 2024 (http://leader-wesermuende-nord.de/data/_uploaded/media/2015-01-06%20REK%20Endfassung%20Wesemuende%20Nord-1.pdf).

Lamont, Michèle. 2012. 'Toward a Comparative Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 38(1):201–21. doi: 10/gffnkt.

Lamont, Michèle. 2014. 'Reflections Inspired by *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks* by Andreas Wimmer'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37(5):814–19. doi: 10/gf896s.

Lamont, Michèle. 2019. 'Evaluierungskriterien und kulturelle Strukturen'. Pp. 113–24 in *(Be)Werten. Beiträge zur sozialen Konstruktion von Wertigkeit*, *Soziologie des Wertens und Bewertens*, edited by S. Nicolae, M. Endreß, O. Berli, and D. Bischur. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien.

Lamont, Michèle, and Virág Molnár. 2002. 'The Study of Boundaries in the Social Sciences'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 28(1):167–95. doi: 10/bgrfb2.

Lamont, Michèle, and Laurent Thévenot, eds. 2000. *Rethinking Comparative Cultural Sociology: Repertoires of Evaluation in France and the United States*. Cambridge, MA; New York; Melbourne; Madrid: Cambridge University Press.

Landtag Niedersachsen. 2022. *Niedersächsisches Kulturfördergesetz*.

Leal, João. 2015. 'Festivals, Group Making, Remaking and Unmaking'. *Ethnos* 81(4):584–99. doi: 10/gt2g7d.

Lee, Alex Jong-Seok. 2018. 'Dirty Work, Glamorous Migrant: Korean Emirates Airlines Female Flight Attendants and Cosmopolitan Racial and National Hierarchies'. Pp. 115–38 in *Cosmopolitanism and Tourism: Rethinking Theory and Practice*, *Anthropology of Tourism: Heritage, Mobility, and Society*, edited by R. Shepherd. Lanham, MD; Boulder, CO; New York; London: Lexington Books.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *The Production of Space*. transl. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Leibert, Tim. 2021. 'Demographische Strukturen und Entwicklungen in Kleinstädten'. Pp. 189–208 in *Kompendium Kleinstadtforschung*, *Forschungsberichte der ARL*, edited by A. Steinführer, L. Porsche, and M. Sondermann. Hannover: Verlag der ARL.

Leung, Carrianne K. Y. 2006. 'Usable Pasts, Staging Belongings: Articulating a "Heritage" of Multiculturalism in Canada'. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 6(2):162–79. doi: 10/cwgrs2.

Liebl, Franz, and Claudia Nicolai. 2009. 'Posttraditionale Gemeinschaften in Ländlichen Gebieten'. Pp. 251–69 in *Posttraditionale Gemeinschaften: Theoretische und ethnografische Erkundungen, Erlebniswelten*, edited by R. Hitzler, A. Honer, and M. Pfadenhauer. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Lindner, Rolf. 1981. 'Die Angst des Forschers vor dem Feld. Überlegungen zur teilnehmenden Beobachtung als Interaktionsprozeß'. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 77:51–66.

Littler, Jo, and Roshi Naidoo, eds. 2005. *The Politics of Heritage: The Legacies of Race*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Lorentzen, Anne, and Bas van Heur, eds. 2012. *Cultural Political Economy of Small Cities*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Luhmann, Niklas. 1999. 'Kultur als historischer Begriff'. Pp. 31–54 in *Gesellschaftsstruktur und Semantik*. Vol. 4, *Studien zur Wissenssoziologie der modernen Gesellschaft*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag.

Lysgård, Hans Kjetil. 2016. 'The "Actually Existing" Cultural Policy and Culture-Led Strategies of Rural Places and Small Towns'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 44:1–11. doi: 10/gsqs2p.

Lysgård, Hans Kjetil. 2019. 'The Assemblage of Culture-Led Policies in Small Towns and Rural Communities'. *Geoforum* 101:10–17. doi: 10/gpmdvh.

Macdonald, Sharon, ed. 2023. *Doing Diversity in Museums and Heritage: A Berlin Ethnography*. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.

MacRae, Graeme. 2017. 'Universal Heritage Meets Local Livelihoods: "Awkward Engagements" at the World Cultural Heritage Listing in Bali'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 23(9):846–59. doi: 10/gt2g7g.

Marx, Karl, and Ernest Mandel. 1990. *Capital: Volume I*. Reprint edition. London×; New York, N.Y: Penguin Classics.

Matthes, Joachim. 1992. 'The Operation Called "Vergleichen"'. Pp. 75–99 in *Zwischen den Kulturen? Die Sozialwissenschaften vor dem Problem des Kulturvergleichs*. Vol. Sonderband 8, *Soziale Welt*, edited by J. Matthes. Göttingen, Germany: Opladen.

Mayer, Heike, and Michaela Lazzeroni, eds. 2022. *A Research Agenda for Small and Medium-Sized Towns*. Cheltenham, UK; Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

McAreavey, Ruth. 2017. *New Immigration Destinations: Migrating to Rural and Peripheral Areas*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

McAreavey, Ruth, and Neil Argent. 2018. 'New Immigration Destinations (NID): Unravelling the Challenges and Opportunities for Migrants and for Host Communities'. *Journal of Rural Studies* 64:148–52. doi: 10/gfsf3w.

Meskell, Lynn. 2005. 'Recognition, Restitution and the Potentials of Postcolonial Liberalism for South African Heritage'. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 60(182):72–78.

Meyer, Birgit, and Mattijs Port, eds. 2018. *Sense and Essence: Heritage and the Cultural Production of the Real*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Mitchell, Kim M., and Alexander M. Clark. 2021. 'Enhance Your Qualitative Analysis with Writing: Four Principles of Writing as Inquiry'. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 20. doi: 10/gnk2kk.

Morén-Alegret, Ricard. 2008. 'Ruralphilia and Urbophobia Versus Urbophilia and Ruralphobia? Lessons from Immigrant Integration Processes in Small Towns and Rural Areas in Spain'. *Population, Space and Place* 14(6):537–52. doi: 10/bgmzbx.

Mydland, Leidulf, and Wera Grahn. 2012. 'Identifying Heritage Values in Local Communities'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 18(6):564–87. doi: 10/fxb8sx.

Nadler, Robert. 2012. 'Should I Stay or Should I Go? International Migrants in the Rural Town of Zittau (Saxony) and Their Potential Impact on Rural Development'. *European Countryside* 4(1):57–72. doi: 10/gkpsjv.

Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal. 2013. 'Collecting Moments of Life: Museums and the Intangible Heritage of Migration'. *Museum International* 65(1–4):77–86. doi: 10/gt2ks7.

Nell, Werner. 2022. 'Zwischen×»organisierter«×und×»unvollständiger«×Moderne: Beobachtungen zur Kleinstadt'. in *Kleinstadtforschung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven, Urban Studies, Urban Studies*, edited by N. Gribat, B. Ülker, S. Weidner, B. Weyrauch, and J. Ribbeck-Lampel. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.

Neo, Harvey, and C. P. Pow. 2015. 'The Weight of Small Cities: Development and the Rural–Urban Nexus in Jinghong, Southwest China'. *The Professional Geographer* 67(4):555–63. doi: 10/gf86gr.

Neto, Félix, José Barros, and Paul G. Schmitz. 2005. 'Acculturation Attitudes and Adaptation among Portuguese Immigrants in Germany: Integration or Separation'. *Psychology and Developing Societies* 17(1):19–32. doi: 10/bzxk87.

Nguyen, Michelle. 2020. *Why Migrants Stay in Small and Mid-Sized Canadian Cities: Towards a New Analytical Framework Using a Life Course Approach*. *Working Paper*. Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement (RCIS) and the CERC in Migration and Integration.

Nicolae, Stefan, Martin Endreß, Oliver Berli, and Daniel Bischur. 2019. 'Soziologie des Wertens und Bewertens: Zur Einführung in die Reihe „Sociology of Valuation and Evaluation"'. Pp. 3–20 in *(Be)Werten. Beiträge zur sozialen Konstruktion von Wertigkeit*, edited by S. Nicolae, M. Endreß, O. Berli, and D. Bischur. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Nikielska-Sekula, Karolina. 2016. 'The Role of Cultural Heritage in the Creation of a Sense of Belonging among Young Norwegian Turks: Boundary Making and Crossing'. *The Age of Human Rights Journal* 7(7):96–119. doi: 10/gt2ks8.

Nikielska-Sekula, Karolina. 2019. 'Migrating Heritage? Recreating Ancestral and New Homeland Heritage in the Practices of Immigrant Minorities'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25(11):1113–27. doi: 10/gt2kg6.

Norton, Matthew. 2014. 'Mechanisms and Meaning Structures'. *Sociological Theory* 32(2):162–87.

Noussia, Antonia. 2003. 'Heritage Recycled: Migration and Tourism as Factors in the Heritage of Vernacular Settlements'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9(3):197–213. doi: 10/dn3cvq.

Noyes. 2015. 'From Cultural Forms to Policy Objects: Comparison in Scholarship and Policy'. *Journal of Folklore Research* 52(2–3):299. doi: 10.2979/jfolkrese.52.2-3.299.

Noyes, Dorothy. 1995. 'Group'. *The Journal of American Folklore* 108(430):449–78. doi: 10/d36z32.

Noyes, Dorothy. 2003. *Fire in the Placa: Catalan Festival Politics After Franco*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Noyes, Dorothy. 2012. 'The Social Base of Folklore'. Pp. 13–39 in *A Companion to Folklore*. Vol. 15, *Blackwell Companions to Anthropology*, edited by R. F. Bendix and G. Hasan-Rokem. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Noyes, Dorothy. 23. 'The Judgment of Solomon: Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership'. *Cultural Analysis* 5(5):27–56.

Offenberger, Ursula. 2019. 'Anselm Strauss, Adele Clarke und die feministische Gretchenfrage. Zum Verhältnis von Grounded-Theory-Methodologie und Situationsanalyse'. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 20(2):Art. 6. doi: 10/gt2ktb.

Ofori-Amoah, Benjamin, ed. 2006. *Beyond the Metropolis: Urban Geography as If Small Cities Mattered*. Lanham, MD; Boulder, CO; New York; Toronto; Plymouth, UK: University Press of America.

Oldenburg, Ray. 1999. *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*. New York: Da Capo Press.

Oltmer, Jochen. 2018. 'Migration aushandeln: Perspektiven aus der Historischen Migrationsforschung'. Pp. 239–54 in *Was ist ein Migrationsregime? What Is a Migration Regime?*, edited by A. Pott, C. Rass, and F. Wolff. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Overgaard, Charlotte. 2019. 'Rethinking Volunteering as a Form of Unpaid Work'. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 48(1):128–45. doi: 10/gftktq.

Owens, Bruce. 2002. 'Monumentality, Identity, and the State: Local Practice, World Heritage, and Heterotopia at Swayambhu, Nepal'. *Anthropological Quarterly* 75(2):269–316. doi: 10/bgd2vb.

Pagiola, Stefano. 1996. *Economic Analysis of Investments in Cultural Heritage: Insights from Environmental Economics*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

Pantazatos, Andreas. 2018. 'Heritage, Participant Perspective, Epistemic Injustice, Immigrants and Identity Formation'. Pp. 128–43 in *Cultural Heritage, Ethics and Contemporary Migrations*, edited by C. Holtorf and A. Pantazatos. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Peeck, Catharina, and Deborah Sielert. 2019. 'Mit aktiver Intention_alität gegen alternative Fakten? Methodologische Überlegungen zu Intentionalität und Po-

sitionalität am Beispiel von Bewegungsforschung'. *Komplexe Dynamiken globaler und lokaler Entwicklungen. Verhandlungen des 39. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Göttingen 2018* 39.

Pescosolido, Bernice A., and Beth A. Rubin. 2000. 'The Web of Group Affiliations Revisited: Social Life, Postmodernism, and Sociology'. *American Sociological Review* 65(1):52–76. doi: 10/bx5344.

Pinheiro, T., ed. 2010. *Portugiesische Migrationen: Geschichte, Repräsentation und Erinnerungskulturen*. 1. Aufl. Wiesbaden, Germany: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.

Porsche, Lars, Annett Steinführer, Stephan Beetz, Peter Dehne, Stefan Fina, Katrin Großmann, Tim Leibert, Anita Maaß, Heike Mayer, Antonia Milbert, Robert Nadler, and Martin Sondermann. 2019. *Kleinstadtforschung*. 113. Hannover: Akademie für Raumentwicklung in der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft.

Porsche, Lars, Annett Steinführer, Martin Sondermann, and Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung, eds. 2019. *Kleinstadtforschung in Deutschland: Stand, Perspektiven und Empfehlungen = Small-Town Research in Germany: status quo, perspectives and recommendations*. Hannover: ARL, Akademie für Raumforschung und Landesplanung.

Portes, Alejandro. 1998. 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology'. *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1–24. doi: 10/cmmcsz.

Pott, Andreas, Christoph Rass, and Frank Wolff, eds. 2018. *Was ist ein Migrationsregime? What Is a Migration Regime?* Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden.

Pries, Ludger. 2001. *Internationale Migration*. 4th ed. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Radford, David. 2016. '"Everyday Otherness": Intercultural Refugee Encounters and Everyday Multiculturalism in a South Australian Rural Town'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 42(13):2128–45. doi: 10/gjrpkf.

Rass, Christoph, and Andreas Pott. 2018. 'What Is in a Migration Regime? Genealogical Approach and Methodological Proposal'. Pp. 19–64 in *Was ist ein Migrationsregime? What Is a Migration Regime?*, edited by A. Pott, C. Rass, and F. Wolff. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Reading, Anna. 2015. 'Making Feminist Heritage Work: Gender and Heritage'. Pp. 397–413 in *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, edited by E. Waterton and S. Watson. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Reershemius, Gertrud. 2017. 'Autochthonous Heritage Languages and Social Media: Writing and Bilingual Practices in Low German on Facebook'. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38(1):35–49. doi: 10/gt2ktc.

Region Mittleres Ostfriesland, ed. 2015. 'Regionales Entwicklungskonzept Der Region Mittleres Ostfriesland Zum ELER-Programm PFEIL 2014–2020'.

Robinson, Jennifer. 2002. 'Global and World Cities: A View from off the Map'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26(3):531–54. doi: 10/fwwfj6.

Rodenberg, Jeroen, and Pieter Wagenaar. 2016. 'Essentializing "Black Pete": Competing Narratives Surrounding the Sinterklaas Tradition in the Netherlands'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 22(9):716–28. doi: 10/gt2ktf.

Rodzi, Nur Izzati Mohd, Saniah Ahmad Zaki, and Syed Mohd Hassan Syed Subli. 2013. 'Between Tourism and Intangible Cultural Heritage'. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 85:411–20. doi: 10/gqrsjv.

Romens, Anne-Iris. 2021. 'Disentangling Interlocking Regimes in the Biographies of Migrant Mothers with Tertiary Education'. *European Journal of Cultural and Political Sociology* 8(4):402–26. doi: 10/gt2ktd.

Röschenthaler, Ute. 2011. 'Geistiges Eigentum oder Kulturerbe? Lokale Strategien im Umgang mit kulturellen Ressourcen'. *Sociologus* 61(1):45–67. doi: 10/bvpbgt.

Ross, Sara. 2016. 'Making a Music City: The Commodification of Culture in Toronto's Urban Redevelopment, Tensions between Use-Value and Exchange-Value, and the Counterproductive Treatment of Alternative Cultures within Municipal Legal Frameworks'. *Journal of Law and Social Policy* (27):116–53. doi: 10/gt2ktg.

Roudometof, Victor. 2005. 'Transnationalism, Cosmopolitanism and Glocalization'. *Current Sociology* 53(1):113–35. doi: 10/df8vwd.

Rühmling, Melanie. 2023. *Bleibenslebensweisen in Kleinstädten: die Rolle der sozialen Beziehungen im Entscheidungsprozess des Bleibens in der Kleinstadt*. *Working Paper*. 1. Cottbus: HochschulCampus KleinstadtForschung.

Salemink, Oscar. 2016. 'Described, Inscribed, Written Off: Heritagisation as (Dis)Connection'. Pp. 311–45 in *Connected and Disconnected in Viet Nam: Remaking Social Relations in a Post-socialist Nation*, edited by P. Taylor. Canberra: ANU Press.

Salzbrunn, Monika. 2015. 'The Place-Making of Communities in Urban Spaces: The Invention of the Village Saint-Louis Sainte-Marthe'. Pp. 185–200 in *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by N. Adell, R. Bendix, C. Bortolotto, and M. Tauschek. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Samtgemeinde Selsingen. n.d. 'Integrierte ländliche Entwicklung Börde Oste-Wörpe'. *Bördeoste Wörpe*. Retrieved 4 June 2024 (http://www.boerdeoste-woerpe.de/).

Sánchez-Carretero, Cristina. 2013. 'Heritage Regimes and the Camino de Santiago: Gaps and Logics'. Pp. 141–55 in *Heritage Regimes and the State, Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, *Göttingen Studies in Cultural Property*, edited by R. Bendix, A. Eggert, and A. Peselmann. Göttingen, Germany: Göttingen University Press.

Sander-Staudt, Maureen. 2011. 'Care Ethics'. in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by J. Fieser and B. Dowden.

Schäfer, Hilmar. 2016. '„Outstanding universal value". Die Arbeit an der Universalisierung des Wertvollen im UNESCO-Welterbe'. *Berliner Journal für Soziologie* 26(3–4):353–75. doi: 10/gg4b4b.

Schammann, Hannes, Christin Younso, and Diana Meschter. 2020. *Lokale Migrationspolitik in ländlichen Regionen Deutschlands: Ausgangspunkte für empirische Forschung*. *Thünen Working Paper*. 142. Braunschweig: Johann Heinrich von Thünen-Institut.

Schneider, Wolfgang, ed. 2014. *Weißbuch Breitenkultur: Kulturpolitische Kartografie eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens am Beispiel des Landes Niedersachsen*. Hildesheim: Universitätsverlag Hildesheim.

Schneider, Wolfgang, Beate Kegler, and Daniela Koss, eds. 2017. *Vital Village: Development of Rural Areas as a Challenge for Cultural Policy/Entwicklung Ländlicher Räume Als Kulturpolitische Herausforderung*. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.

Schofield, John, and Rosy Szymanski, eds. 2010. *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Schulte-Römer, Nona. 2015. 'Innovating in Public'. Doctoral Thesis, Technische Universtiät Berlin, Berlin.

Scully, Marc. 2018. 'Making and "Faking" a Diasporic Heritage'. Pp. 97–105 in *Routledge Handbook of Diaspora Studies*, *Routledge International Handbooks*, edited by R. Cohen and C. Fischer. London: Routledge.

Semprebon, Michela, Roberta Marzorati, and Paola Bonizzoni. 2023. 'Migration Governance and the Role of the Third-Sector in Small-Sized Towns in Italy'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49(11):2742–59. doi: 10/gt2g7k.

Sengupta, Somini. 2015. 'U.N. Urges the Netherlands to Stop Portrayals of "Black Pete" Character'. *The New York Times*, August 29.

Servillo, Loris, Rob Atkinson, and Abdelillah Hamdouch. 2017. 'Small and Medium-Sized Towns in Europe: Conceptual, Methodological and Policy Issues'. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 108(4):365–79. doi: 10/gjshhk.

Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. 'The New Mobilities Paradigm'. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 38(2):207–26. doi: 10/brd7rf.

Shim, Janet K. 2005. 'Constructing "Race" Across the Science-Lay Divide: Racial Formation in the Epidemiology and Experience of Cardiovascular Disease'. *Social Studies of Science* 35(3):405–36. doi: 10/bfcfct.

Sielert, Deborah. 2023. 'Die Situationsanalyse für vergleichende Forschung nutzbar machen'. Pp. 241–56 in *Die Situationsanalyse als Forschungsprogramm: Theoretische Implikationen, Forschungspraxis und Anwendungsbeispiele*, edited by L. Gauditz, A.-L. Klages, S. Kruse, E. Marr, A. Mazur, T. Schwertel, and O. Tietje. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien.

Silber, Ilana Friedrich. 2003. 'Pragmatic Sociology as Cultural Sociology: Beyond Repertoire Theory?' *European Journal of Social Theory* 6(4):427–49. doi: 10/cj5p28.

Simmel, Georg. 2009. '32. The Web of Group- Affiliations'. Pp. 316–22 in *32. The Web of Group- Affiliations*. Stanford University Press.

Simmel, Georg, and Everett C. Hughes. 1949. 'The Sociology of Sociability'. *American Journal of Sociology* 55(3):254–61. doi: 10/cmqj2g.

Smith, Laurajane. 2006. *Uses of Heritage*. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane. 2017. '"We Are… We Are Everything": The Politics of Recognition and Misrecognition at Immigration Museums'. *Museum and Society* 15(1):69–86. doi: 10/gt2ktj.

Smith, Laurajane. n.d. '2012 Manifeto'. *Association of Critical Heritage Studies*. Retrieved 22 May 2024 (https://www.criticalheritagestudies.org/history).

Smith, Laurajane, and Natsuko Akagawa. 2009. 'Introduction'. Pp. 1–10 in *Intangible Heritage, Key issues in cultural heritage*, edited by L. Smith and N. Akagawa. London; New York: Routledge.

Smith, Laurajane, and Gary Campbell. 2018. 'It's Not All about Archaeology'. *Antiquity* 92(362):521–22. doi: 10/gt2kth.

Song, Miri. 2001. 'Comparing Minorities' Ethnic Options: Do Asian Americans Possess "More" Ethnic Options than African Americans?' *Ethnicities* 1(1):57–82. doi: 10/bzhbfj.

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoğlu. 1997. 'Changing Parameters of Citizenship and Claims-Making: Organized Islam in European Public Spheres'. *Theory and Society* 26:509–27. doi: 10/dgphb9.

Stapel, Gülsah. 2015. 'Identität und Erbe: Der Mariannenplatz – ein Erinnerungsort türkischer Berliner'. Pp. 69–76 in *Das Erbe der Anderen, Denkmalpflegerisches Handeln im Zeichen der Globalisierung*, edited by G. Vinken. Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press.

Stebbins, Robert A., and Margaret Graham, eds. 2004. *Volunteering as Leisure/Leisure as Volunteering: An International Assessment*. Wallingford, UK; Cambridge, MA: CABI Publishing.

Steinführer, Annett. 2021. 'Urbanität und Ruralität: Kleinstädte im "Dazwischen"?' Pp. 62–84 in *Kompendium Kleinstadtforschung, Forschungsberichte der ARL*, edited by A. Steinführer, L. Porsche, and M. Sondermann. Hannover: Verlag der ARL.

Steinführer, Annett. n.d. 'Kleine Städte, k(l)eine Zukunft?' *TRAFO Modelle für Kultur im Wandel*. Retrieved 23 May 2024 (https://www.trafo-programm.de/2415_programm/4_hintergrundtexte/369_kleine-stadte-k-l-eine-zukunft).

Steinführer, Annett, Lars Porsche, and Martin Sondermann, eds. 2021. *Kompendium Kleinstadtforschung*. Hannover: Verlag der ARL.

Steinführer, Annett, Antonín Vaishar, and Jana Zapletalová. 2016. 'The Small Town in Rural Areas as an Underresearched Type of Settlement: Editors' Introduction to the Special Issue'. *European Countryside* 8(4):322–32. doi: 10/fsh4.

Steinkellner, Vera, ed. 2015. *CSR und Kultur: Corporate Cultural Responsibility als Erfolgsfaktor in Ihrem Unternehmen*. Berlin; Heidelberg, Germany: Springer Gabler.

Steinmetz, George. 2004. 'Odious Comparisons: Incommensurability, the Case Study, and "Small N's" in Sociology'. *Sociological Theory* 22(3):371–400. doi: 10/bbhq55.

Strübing, Jörg. 2002. 'Just do it?: Zum Konzept der Herstellung und Sicherung von Qualität in grounded theory-basierten Forschungsarbeiten'. *KZfSS Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* 54(2):318–42. doi: 10/bp6xpr.

Strübing, Jörg, Stefan Hirschauer, Ruth Ayaß, Uwe Krähnke, and Thomas Scheffer. 2018. 'Gütekriterien qualitativer Sozialforschung. Ein Diskussionsanstoß'. *Ein Diskussionsanstoß. Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 47(2):83–100. doi: 10/gdshwc.

Strüver, Anke. 2005. 'Spheres of Transnationalism Within the European Union: On Open Doors, Thresholds and Drawbridges Along the Dutch–German Border'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(2):323–43. doi: 10/c27r95.

Svensson, Marina, and Christina Maags. 2018. 'Mapping the Chinese Heritage Regime: Ruptures, Governmentality, and Agency'. Pp. 11–38 in *Chinese Heritage in the Making: Experiences, Negotiations and Contestations*, edited by M. Svensson and C. Maags. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Swenson, Astrid. 2013. *The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past in France, Germany and England, 1789–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swidler, Ann. 1986. 'Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies'. *American Sociological Review* 51(2):273–86. doi: 10/dpgm66.

Tauschek, Markus. 2011. 'Reflections on the Metacultural Nature of Intangible Cultural Heritage'. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 5(2):49–64.

Tauschek, Markus. 2013. *Kulturerbe: Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Taylor, Mary N. 2009. 'Intangible Heritage Governance, Cultural Diversity, Ethno-Nationalism'. *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 2009(55):41–58. doi: 10/dd4k9c.

Theodos, Brett, Jorge González, and Ananya Hariharan. 2021. *Making Community Development Capital Work in Small and Midsize Cities*. Urban Institute.

Thomas, William Isaac, and Dorothy Swaine Thomas. 1928. *The Child in America: Behavior Problems and Programs*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Thomas, William Isaac, and Florian Znaniecki. 1918. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America: A Classic Work in Immigration History*. Gorham Press.

Thomson, Steven. 2011. 'Revisiting "Mandingization" in Coastal Gambia and Casamance (Senegal): Four Approaches to Ethnic Change'. *African Studies Review* 54(2):95–121. doi: 10/gt2g7n.

Thränhardt, Dietrich, and Jenni Winterhagen. 2012. 'Der Einfluss der katholischen Migrantengemeinden auf die Integration südeuropäischer Einwanderergruppen in Deutschland'. Pp. 199–216 in *Das 'Gastarbeiter'-System, Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, edited by J. Oltmer, A. Kreienbrink, and C. Sanz Díaz. Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag.

Tiesler, Nina Clara. 2015. 'Ethnoheterogenesis. The Dialectics of Homo- and Heterogenization in Processes of Ethnic Framing and Membership'. Faculty of Philosophy, Leibniz University of Hannover, Hannover.

Tiesler, Nina Clara, and Nélia Alves Bergano. 2012. 'Ligações Culturais Entre Portugueses Na Alemanha: O Futebol E a Gastronomia Como Espaços Sociais Para Convívios Internacionais'. *Etnografica* 16(1):117–42. doi: 10/gt2ktk.

Timpe, Mareike. 2023. *Kleinstädte – mehr als ihre Einwohner:innenzahl: Ansätze zur Merkmalsbestimmung deutscher Kleinstädte. Working Paper*. 2. Cottbus: HochschulCampus KleinstadtForschung.

Tölölyan, Khachig. 1996. 'Rethinking Diaspora(s): Stateless Power in the Transnational Moment'. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 5 (1): 3–36.

Tronto, Joan C. 1993. *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care*. New York: Routledge.

Tronto, Joan C. 2013. *Caring Democracy: Markets, Equality, and Justice*. New York: NYU Press.

Tschofen, Bernhard. 2012. 'Heritage. Contemporary Uses of Culture beyond Everyday? Challenging Ethnography and Cultural Analysis'. *Traditiones* 41(2):29–40.

Tunbridge, J. E., and G. J. Ashworth. 1996. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past As a Resource in Conflict*. Chichester, UK; New York: Wiley.

Turner, Bryan S., and Peter Hamilton. 1994. *Citizenship: Critical Concepts in Sociology*. 1st edition. London; New York: Routledge.

Ugwuanyi, J. Kelechi. 2021. 'Time-Space Politics and Heritagisation in Africa: Understanding Where to Begin Decolonisation'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 27(4):356–74. doi: 10/gt2g7m.

Ülker, Barış. 2022. 'Internationale Kleinstadtforschung: Ein Ausblick'. Pp. 287–308 in *Kleinstadtforschung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, *Urban Studies*, edited by N. Gribat, Bariş Ülker, S. Weidner, B. Weyrauch, and J. Ribbeck-Lampel. Kleinstadtforschung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven. transcript Verlag.

UNESCO. 2003. 'Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage'. Retrieved 9 March 2018 (https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention).

Vaisey, Stephen. 2019. 'From Contradiction to Coherence: Theory Building in the Sociology of Culture'.

Veldpaus, Loes, and Hanna Szemző. 2021. 'Heritage as a Matter of Care, and Conservation as Caring for the Matter'. Pp. 194–203 in *Care and the City: Encounters with Urban Studies*, edited by A. Gabauer, S. Knierbein, N. Cohen, H. Lebuhn, K. Trogal, T. Viderman, and T. Haas. Abingdon, UK; New York: Routledge.

Vennemann, Christoph. 2022. 'Kleinstadtforschung des Bundes'. in *Kleinstadtforschung: Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven*, *Urban Studies*, edited by N. Gribat, B. Ülker, S. Weidner, B. Weyrauch, and J. Ribbeck-Lampel. Bielefeld, Germany: transcript Verlag.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. 'Super-Diversity and Its Implications'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6):1024–54. doi: 10/c6b99d.

Vertovec, Steven. 2009. *Transnationalism*. London; New York: Routledge.

Wagner, Dr Leonie. 2016. *Abschlussbericht Teilprojekt: Migration und Inklusion in Kleinstädten*. HAWK. Hochschule für angewandte Wissenschaft und Kunst Hildesheim/Holzminden/Göttingen.

Wagner, Madeleine, and Anna Growe. 2021. 'Research on Small and Medium-Sized Towns: Framing a New Field of Inquiry'. *World* 2(1):105–26. doi: 10/gtp3dp.

Waitt, Gordon. 2000. 'Consuming Heritage: Perceived Historical Authenticity'. *Annals of Tourism Research* 27(4):835–62. doi: 10/bmpb26.

Waters, Mary C. 1990. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America*. repr. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Waterton, Emma, and Laurajane Smith. 2010. 'The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16(1–2):4–15. doi: 10/d2gjfp.

Weber, Max. 1985. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft – Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*. Tübingen: Mohr.

Weger, Tobias. 2013. 'Transregionale Phantasien und Geschichtskonstruktionen – die "großfriesiscche Idee" der 1920er und 1930er Jahre und ihr Nachleben'. Pp. 143–61 in *Geteilte Regionen geteilte Geschichtskulturen?*, edited by B. Olschowsky. München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag.

Weick, Karl E. 1995. *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Weineck, Benjamin. 2015. 'Alevi Cultural Heritage in Turkey and Germany: Negotiating "Useable Pasts" in Transnational Space'. *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 20. doi: 10/gt2ktn.

Werbner, Pnina. 1999. 'Global Pathways: Working Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds'. *Social Anthropology* 7(1):17–35. doi: 10/crq8jk.

Werbner, Pnina. 2005. 'The Translocation of Culture: Migration, Community, and the Force of Multiculturalism in History'. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. doi: 10.2139/ssrn.739205.

Werbner, Pnina. 2006. 'Understanding Vernacular Cosmopolitanism'. *Anthropology News* 47(5):7–11. doi: 10/bb32mt.

Werbner, Pnina. 2013. 'Migration and Transnational Studies'. Pp. 106–24 in *A Companion to Diaspora and Transnationalism*. Vol. 16, *Wiley-Blackwell Companions in Cultural Studies*, edited by A. Quayson and G. Daswani. Chichester, UK; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Werbner, Pnina. 2015. 'The Boundaries of Diaspora: A Critical Response to Brubaker'. Pp. 35–52 in *Diasporic Constructions of Home and Belonging*, edited by F. Kläger and K. Stierstorfer. Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter.

Werner, Cosima, Frank Meyer, and Susann Bischoff. 2023. 'Grundlagen, Strategien und Techniken der Anonymisierung von Transkripten in der qualitativen

Forschung: eine praxisorientierte Einführung'. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 24(3): Art. 12. doi: 10/gt2ktq.

Whittington, Vanessa. 2021. 'Gender and Human Rights Within UNESCO's International Heritage Discourse: An Analysis of the World Heritage and Intangible Heritage Conventions'. *Heritage & Society* 14(2–3):242–66. doi: 10/gt2ktr.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2008. 'The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory'. *American Journal of Sociology* 113(4):970–1022. doi: 10/crmknn.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2010. 'Ethnische Grenzziehungen: Eine prozessorientierte Mehrebenentheorie'. Pp. 99–152 in *Ethnowissen: Soziologische Beiträge zu ethnischer Differenzierung und Migration*, *Soziologie der Politiken*, edited by D. Zifonun and M. Müller. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2002. 'Methodological Nationalism and beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences'. *Global Networks* 2(4):301–34. doi: 10/cw7t5g.

Winter, Tim. 2013. 'Clarifying the Critical in Critical Heritage Studies'. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19(6):532–45. doi: 10/ggfv46.

Wirth, Louis. 1938. 'Urbanism as a Way of Life'. *American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1): 1–24.

Witzel, Andreas. 2000. 'The Problem-Centered Interview'. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 1(1): Art. 22. doi: 10/cmz4.

Wobst, Martin. 2010. 'Diaspora and Heritage: A Perennial Source of Conflict'. *Museum International* 62(1–2):100–103. doi: 10/fh4bvm.

Yano, Christine R. 2011. *Airborne Dreams: "Nisei" Stewardesses and Pan American World Airways*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Yúdice, George. 2004. *The Expediency of Culture: Uses of Culture in the Global Era*. Durham, NC: Post-Contemporary Intervention.

Zaidi, Shehr Bano. 2022. 'Situating Sensitizing Concepts in the Constructivist-Critical Grounded Theory Method'. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 21. doi: 10/gq8tc5.

Zenker, Olaf. 2014. *Writing Culture*. Oxford Bibliographies.

Ziemann, Andreas, ed. 2013. *Offene Ordnung?: Philosophie und Soziologie der Situation*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Zifonun, Dariuš, and Marion Muller, eds. 2010. *Ethnowissen: Soziologische Beiträge zu ethnischer Differenzierung und Migration*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer VS.

Local Newspaper Articles are from:

- Ostfriesische Nachrichten (ON)
- Zevener Zeitung (ZN)
- Cuxhavener Nachrichten (CN)