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

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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]

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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:

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.