

Participation and Policy: Exploring the Social Action Museum

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between government and the public in policymaking has been plagued with democratic deficits in the policymaking process, which include: the inherent manipulative political system (Birch, 1972), the innate nature of the public and their preferences (Fung, 2006A), the public's exclusion in the implementation of policy (Edwards & Sharkansky, 1978; Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980), and the general inability to effectively hold politicians and public administrators to account for their policy implementation (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984). With these democratic deficits in mind, one question emerges: how can members of the public alleviate these public participation problems? In other words, how can public interests be represented in the policymaking process? The object of study in this dissertation is *l'écomusée* (or ecomuseum), an institutional movement based on the development of small local and community-owned and managed museums that claim to be in service to society by influencing public policy. It is the aim of this dissertation to understand *how* the community museum (following *ecomusée*) is trying to articulate change as a policy intermediary for local communities. In doing so, this dissertation also seeks to uncover the ecomuseum's discursive practices and strategies, and how it generally aims to socially enhance communities.

This thesis contributes to empirical knowledge on public participation. Through four empirical Canadian ecomuseum case studies, this research explores: 1) the intellectual history of the ecomuseum movement, and 2) the role of ecomuseums and their claims to public participation – all the while acting as intermediary agents claiming to embody social ideas about the public good. From a public policy lens, the aim of this study is to

discover how each case study defines and implements public participation, who is involved, and how their contributions (policy ideas) circulate from the ecomuseum to the government. In other words, this study explores what discursive practices the ecomuseum engage in, and how they address the democratic gap in public policymaking. Although this research does not aim to evaluate the ecomuseum's potential to socially enhance communities or to serve as an intermediate policymaker, it does illustrate how the ecomuseum has led to the cultivation of a variety of institutional practices – including initiatives to engage the public, efforts to mobilise local actors and resources, and collective involvement in public consultations.

Key words: new museology, l'écomusée, civic engagement, community participation, public policy, cultural policy

DEDICATION

To my mentor and friend, Jonathan Paquette.

For believing in me when others did not.

"Midway upon the journey of our life, I found myself within a forest dark, for
the straight forward pathway had been lost."

- Dante Alighieri

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List of Symbols, Nomenclature or Abbreviations

Canada Council	Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities, and Social Sciences
CMA	The Canadian Museum Association
DQ	<i>la Déclaration de québec</i>
ÉAD	<i>l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà</i>
ÉFM	<i>l'Écomusée du fier monde</i>
FEMS	<i>la Fédération des écomusées et des musées de société</i>
ICOM	The International Council of Museums
ICOFOM	The International Committee for Museology
MACM	<i>le Musée d'art Contemporain de Montréal</i>
Massey Commission	Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences
MQCP	<i>le musée québécois de culture populaire</i>
MuWoP	Museological Working Papers series
OMA	The Ontario Museum Association
SMQ	<i>la Société des musées québécois</i>
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WHM	The Worker's History Museum

Introduction

What is a museum? According to the International Council of Museums (ICOM), a museum is...

a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. (ICOM Statutes art.3 para.1)

In particular, a museum is an institution *in the service of society and its development*. What ‘service of society and development’ means generally varies depending on the museum’s speciality; however, the underlining thread across all specialties is the museum’s innate affinity for, and application of, evolutionary theory in both cultural and historic terms. A classic example of the application of evolutionary theory is the Pitt Rivers Museum, an institution specialising in archaeological and ethnographic objects from all parts of the world and all time periods. Like other classical museums (fine arts, anthropology, science, natural history, nature, *etc.*), Pitt Rivers embodies evolutionary theory by using its space to curate objects based on norms and values that dictate the historical (an evolutionary timeline of how things evolved or ‘improved’ from an initial beginning to the present) and cultural order (what is culturally important and needs recognition, and what does not) of things. However, even if some level of engagement is sought out through this ordering in an effort to be more inclusive, these practices, norms and values are inherently elitist and colonial, and generally reflect a narrow and exclusive process. With this in mind, a lot of questions have emerged surrounding the uncertainty

of the expertise of the curator and the overall role of museums in the service of society and the public.

In Canada, an effort to study the state of Canadian museums prompted the Standing Committee on Canadian Heritage to hold a series of interviews with key informants in June of 2016. Cynthia White-Thornley, the Executive Director of Heritage Group of the Department of Canadian Heritage painted a bleak picture of federal museum support, highlighting several problems¹ for current Canadian museums: difficulty monetising unrecognisable behind-the-scenes work (such as knowledge transfer, preservation, and research); overreliance on a volunteer workforce that outnumbers the paid or contracted workforce three to one; insufficient worker training; a significant decline in museum membership; outdated 40-year-old infrastructure; and inadequate operational funding. Drawing back to some of the first surveys of Canadian museums – such as the Museum Associations’ report (Miers & Markham, 1932) and the Massey Commission report (1951) – that highlight similar capacity and resource problems, it becomes even more astonishing that not only do small museums continue to emerge, persevere, and develop, they do so in spite of the persistence of many of the aforementioned issues. Moreover, these museums have done so largely without support from the federal government, as federal funding is primarily reserved for institutions “that meet the minimum standards of professional museums, because the bulk of our money goes to support the national museums” (House of Commons, 2016, p. 9). In other words, it has been difficult for many local museums to access federal programs for financial support, training, loans, and

¹ One of the Standing Committee’s most surprising discoveries was that, despite making up the largest portion of the 2,600 museums in Canada (McAvity, 2016), local museums—defined by White-Thornley as a “smaller budget that serves a local purpose more than a national or international or even a provincial purpose” (House of Commons, 2016, p. 11)—were “so small that they don’t meet the minimum professional thresholds” (House of Commons, 2016, p. 9).

development because they do not meet the minimum professional requirements (including proper insurance, storage and protection, and employment of a full-time employee). These barriers are also reflected at the provincial level. For example, former director of *la Société des musées du Québec (SMQ)*, Michel Perron, denounced the Québec government's directives for doing little more than allocating greater funding to the larger Musée des beaux-arts de Montréal – which was already receiving $\frac{3}{4}$ of the province's funding – at the expense of local and regional museums – which Perron posits will ultimately lead to the “dismantling” of the museum network. According to Perron,

l'aide au fonctionnement, la pierre d'assise des subventions québécoises aux musées, n'est plus admissible pour les musées saisonniers, ni pour les musées à vocation scientifique, ni pour les musées dont le rayonnement est considéré comme « local », plutôt que régional ou national... Le tout touche environ 40 % du réseau muséal québécois... (Montpetit, 2016)

In other words, this lack of support for local museums highlights a level of government uncertainty with museums and puts into question their overall sectoral role. In defence of local museums, René Rivard, Chairman of *Cultura*, a museum and heritage consultation firm, has noted a shift in the museology field over the last 50 years, from ‘object oriented’ (museums as artefact repositories) to ‘subject oriented’ (museums as sites of information). In particular, Rivard has highlighted the importance of this new type of museology that has emerged over the last 15 or so years, as an ‘idea oriented’ approach to community museums. According to Rivard,

The community museum includes a society and its challenges, in addition to problems that need solutions. The dynamic forces of the public are demanding change. This is why many museums are now talking about sustainable development and climate change. In fact, they are addressing difficult topics, consulting their people and organizing exhibitions (House of Commons, 2016, p. 12).

Drawing on *l'Écomusée du fier monde* (ÉFM) as an example, Rivard explains how the museum has achieved much in the social context, and created a remarkable level of “cultural development and sustainable development” by working for 30 years with various groups to improve the situation of individuals (House of Commons, 2016, p. 12). Of the ÉFM’s 2,000 volunteers – from the Centre-Sud neighbourhood, the Gay Quarter, disabled individuals, and people who are illiterate – many have had an impact on the museum, participating in finding common solutions for development within the institution (House of Commons, 2016, p. 16). More interestingly, the museum describes itself as “a museum involved in its community and concerned about the important issues (lack of social support, deindustrialisation, and discrimination) of its society,” which acts as “a tool at the service of citizens” and “to address social issues and promote dialogue” (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2013A, p. 3). While it may appear to be a worthwhile initiative for financial support, museum policy has consistently focused its attention on large national museums. Despite this focus, these ignored local museums have continued to grow and find different ways to sustain their operations and, supposedly, develop community enhancement initiatives and encourage public participation. Whether the absence of museum policies addressing financial support for small local museums is the

result of a general lack of interest in them, or a reflection of the government's overall uncertainty (or understanding) in their public service abilities, there remains a disparity between the favoured large national museums (representing a firm established tradition) and the ignored small local museums (representing an alternate locally focused movement).

Because of these unique claims, it is the ecomuseum (*l'écomusée*) that is the object of interest and study for this dissertation. Originally emerging in the face of what some (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Rivard, 1984; Davis, 1999; Bennett T. , 1995; 2004) have labelled the old elitist origins of museums, committees uncertain about the state of Canadian museums (House of Commons, 2016), and reports of government cutbacks for museum support (Montpetit, 2016), the ecomuseum (small community cultural institutions) movement has attempted to provide an alternative definition of a museum as a public good in service of society. This historical movement has claimed to be an institution and public good – albeit one that is distinct from classical museums. The ecomuseum movement claims to have a focus on: the local and the community, a democratic management and ownership vision, and community-oriented social and economic enhancement goals. More importantly, ecomuseums have promoted the idea that the role of the museum is to: 1) act as a space for public participation and engagement, and 2) serve as an instrument that mobilises community ideas (interests) for social actions and, ultimately, support social enhancement through policy change. Arguably, this self-definition is more than an expression of an organizational identity (Gombault 2003); it reflects a different ethical aspiration of public service – which is uncommon in the museum sector. In fact, this single iteration is a growing reflection of a

new mission and aspiration for museums that emerged in conferences and roundtables during the 1970s and 1980s (*e.g.* ICOM 1971 Grenoble, UNESCO 1972 Chile, and the International Workshop 1984 Québec) that were largely dissatisfied with the elitist and exclusive role of the museum. Arising from these conferences was a new museology, concepts, practices, and the growing desire to make museums more democratic and involved with their surrounding communities (*re: the public*). In the same vein, the ecomuseum developed under the auspices of a collective heritage approach to the community environment through local ownership and involvement. The idea was that local people would be empowered to decide what reflected their story, values, and norms (Davis, 2004). More than this, ecomuseums would resist the classical role of the curator—an outside expert—by empowering the ordinary public and community to be the curators of their own heritage. This would, ideally, allow the public to reappropriate their histories, heritages, and cultures by creating knowledge using their own stories and memories to reflect their authentic experiences and identities. These are particularly important claims that articulate critiques of museums as being, in fact, tools of social oppression and social distinction. The ecomuseum tries to rearticulate the relationship between museums and communities; it was inaugurated as a new social philosophy about culture, space, and society.

In comparison to classical museums, it could be argued that ecomuseums represent more than a typical museum – they are also a community resistance that challenges classical hierarchical practices of the cultural sector. Ecomuseums resist the classical museological approach of curatorial power and evolutionary theory by: 1) rejecting the use of institutional space to represent evolution in favour of community interest; 2)

rejecting the traditional professional curator in favour of empowering the public and community as their own curators of heritage; and, 3) rejecting the practice of curating objects in favour of curating social issues and policies. Because of the ecomuseum's inherent desire to repopulate the heritage landscape on behalf of its community, pushback has emerged in the form of committees uncertain about the state of Canadian museums (House of Commons, 2016) and government cutbacks for local museum support (Montpetit, 2016). Given this, how do ecomuseums fight back against these public policies? In the current policy landscape – where many influential factors (*e.g.* institutions, actors, groups, movements) purport to influence policy – where do ecomuseums fit?

On the one hand, in public policy, ideas and institutions play distinct roles. Ideas are seen as the source of policy – the values, norms, theories, beliefs – in society that orients political activities and attitudes (optimistically or pessimistically). Ideologies – seen, sometimes, as a framework for more focused, explicit, power structures and detailed ideas – explain the political world and offers prescriptions that support actions, or legitimize existing procedures and institutions. On the other hand, institutions represent the formal rules and regulations of a political system. These institutions shape ideas and place constraints on interest groups, communities, movements, and other decision-makers, and generally privilege some groups while limiting others. With these considerations in mind, what do institutions and ideas mean for ecomuseums? This dissertation is interested in answering these questions and excavating the implications of the ecomuseum's aforementioned claims – to be a dialogue-promoting and social problem-solving tool – with a particular interest in examining its distinctive institutional

identity and ethical stances and ideas. In order to further examine this historical relationship between public policy and museums, it is important to shed light on the relationship between public policy and museums: a) what are the challenges to public participation in the current policymaking landscape, b) what are the different views of the relationship between public policy and museums, and c) what are the implications of these different views?

Challenges and Issues in Public Participation

The relationship between government and the public in policymaking matters has been violent. Highlighting the historic hierarchy of citizen participation, Arnstein's (1969) continuum of power in government decision making includes eight levels, wherein the bottom rungs illustrate circumstances of manipulation and tokenism, while the highest rungs describe instances of citizen control and power. This model sheds light on the different gradations of citizen participation; however, most notably, it illustrates the deficits and variety of violent manipulations inflicted on the public occurring under the guise of 'citizen consultation' or 'participation' used by government for years.

Firstly, the most notable democratic deficit is the innate nature of the public and their preferences. Contrary to past behavioural approaches – such as rational choice or Herbert Simon's (1997 [1947]) work in bounded rational choice – preferences are often unclear and unstable. Individuals are complex and unique. A citizen, and especially a group of citizens, may change their minds upon exposure to new information, arguments, and perspectives. How, then, can this be homogenized (to achieve consensus) and transferred to politicians? According to Fung (2006A), when popular preferences are underdeveloped in these ways, then the subsequent consequences of political and policy

choice rest on highly unstable foundations. Even when the electoral and executive machinery has great integrity, they are still subject to ‘garbage in produc[ing] garbage out’.

Second, there is a democratic deficit caused by the inherent manipulative violence of the political system inflicted on the role of the public. While the role of the public as voters can be seen as empowering insofar as it determines the party in power, it relies heavily on the policy packages proposed by each political party. This, however, is problematic. Even if the preferences of the public are stable, the relaying capacity of electoral mechanisms to politicians is limited and generally not effective enough to relay the content to politicians and parties (Fung, 2006A). Worse, what signals that do surface may be misunderstood and lead to worse representation. In the end, the participation – and the communication of preferences – begins and ends with the electorate’s instantaneous cast of the vote for their delegate; voters have little-to-no other direct interaction with elected officials in the policymaking process. It is up to the public’s elected officials who, acting on voters’ behalf, are not bound to follow their constituent’s preferences on every issue. For example, drawing from the intellectual heritage of Talcott Parson's work on political systems, Birch (1972) argues that one of the main functions of electoral political representation is system maintenance in which political representation is meant “to contribute towards the maintenance and smooth running of the political system by enlisting the support of citizens” (p. 107) by: 1) relieving pressure like “a safety valve through which aggrieved citizens can blow off steam and to disarm potential revolutionaries by engaging them in constitutional forms of activity” (p. 108); 2) providing consent via “channels of communication through which the government can

mobilize consent on particular policies” (p. 108); and, finally, legitimizing government actions and strategies.

Furthermore, there is a deficit in the public’s exclusion in the implementation of policy. Few policies are self-executing. As mentioned, most policies, even simple ones, require a great deal of effort to be implemented. In a study illustrating a number of cases where high-ranking officials order a policy decision to be implemented and nothing happens, Edwards and Sharkansky (1978) argue that it is the role of experts – and not politicians – that dominates specific policy areas at the implementation stage. For example, on a micro level, street-level bureaucrats (for example, police, fire fights, teachers, and social workers) have discretionary power over the way they implement policy in various fields (Lipsky, 2010 [1980]). Similarly, through daily work, public administrators also shape policy indirectly and gradually through small, uncoordinated steps with, usually, little awareness of the policy direction that is being promoted or the alternatives that are being foreclosed (Weiss, 1980). It is extremely plausible for administrators to misuse their power with full awareness and intent given the complexity of the organization and how difficult it is to manage and control. It is doubtful that anyone would argue that corruption is non-existent in such a system.

According to Edwards and Sharkansky, even if a policy is agreed upon by the public and receives support from the highest authority, the policy may not be possible to implement. Similarly, Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) agree that policymakers usually do not implement the policy themselves, but rely on implementers and intermediaries – each with different directives and instructions – to carry out their policies. In their examination of the struggles of policy implementation of the Economic Development

Administration's (EDA) plan to hire the unemployed minorities of Oakland, California, Pressman and Wildavsky (1984) argue that the odds are against new policies being implemented. The EDA case illustrates how a policy with great expectations produced meagre results because the implementation process involves so many actors, sets of instructions, different groups and organizations, and so much information. Thus, it is a wonder that any new policies are implemented because the decision maker cannot simply assume implementation decisions will be carried out. In the end, this makes public exclusion even more sinister because: 1) the success or failure of a policy is often to the benefit or detriment of the public (who are on its receiving end); and 2) in many cases, the public has government-ignored insights and unused expertise that can be a benefit to – or catalyst of – policy implementation.

Finally, electoral mechanisms are too weak to hold politicians and administrators accountable to citizens for unfavourable decisions when clear preferences exist. As a consequence, politicians and administrators – both of whom have different interests than citizens – may support decisions harmful to citizens. In this vein, a democratic system may be dangerous because people may be only concerned with self-interests. Problems may also be exacerbated if political parties are relatively uncontested and uncompetitive during elections. According to Fung (2006A), there exist two particular systematic barriers to electoral accountability: administrative delegation and political patronage relationships.

As mentioned, public bureaucrats (civil servants and public servants) play an important role in the policymaking process². Not only do bureaucrats assist the executive in performing its tasks, most of the policymaking and implementation functions are performed by the bureaucracy because the responsibilities of a modern government are too complex and numerous to be performed by the cabinet alone (Bourgault & Dion, 1989). Moreover, bureaucrats often have wide discretion in making decisions on behalf of the state. The end results of these decisions can have widespread implications for many people. Any unfavourable choices become particularly difficult to reconcile with people who are dissatisfied with those choices – especially when the electoral mechanisms have little power to remove these unelected officials.

It is simple to see the potential power a bureaucrat can wield. First of all, government is often the largest procurer of goods and services in a country, collecting large amounts of information and finances in the process. At the disposal of many bureaucrats is special access to this wealth of collected information and finances. The implication of access to these resources means that bureaucrats could have unmatched voice in many policy areas. Compounded by the fact that they are often hired for their wide range of skills and expertise in various areas, bureaucrats often use their in-house talent to make decisions and deliberate privately, away from other policy stakeholders – which effectively prevents any opposition. In some instances, these benefits give bureaucrats even more authority and power than elected officials (Stewart, 1975; Lowi, 1979).

² - Johann K. Bluntschli, as cited in Woodrow Wilson's famous piece *The Study of Administration* (1887), famously wrote, "Policy does nothing without the aid of administration" (p. 495).

The potential influence and power that stems from the bureaucracy also has several significant implications. Most notably, individual bureaucrats may have their own interests and agendas—rooted in organizational needs or professional habits and discourses—different from public preferences (Fischer, 2003; Hajer & Wagenaar, 2003). Concerns surrounding the role of bureaucracy were raised, as early as 1887, by Woodrow Wilson. In his seminal piece, Wilson (1887) highlights two important points: 1) the public suffers from an accountability deficit regarding bureaucratic actions, and 2) the importance of divorcing politics from the role of civil servants.

Similar to pressures of corruption faced by politicians, the latter concern sheds light on the possible vulnerability of holding bureaucratic positions to account and the implications it may have on citizens. Still, even without outside pressures to manipulate decisions, there exists internal pressures civil servants face. For example, aside from the ideal value of political neutrality, bureaucrats also value accountability, integrity, responsiveness, representativeness, economy, efficiency, and effectiveness (Kernaghan, 1982). These values and their relative importance change over time, vary depending on the public servant and their position in the government, and, sometimes, even compete with other values for priority. Civil servants also have personal values, like status and self-actualization, that factor into and compete with these bureaucratic values (Kernaghan, 1982). Combined with the accountability deficit, the potential for administrative abuse could be somewhat alarming for citizens. It is no shock for citizens to be suspicious of the actions of civil servants who are relatively anonymous and unaccountable.

With these democratic deficits in mind, one question emerges: how can local community museums alleviate these public participation problems? In other words, what do museums offer in the context of public policymaking? According to Message (2014), museums can potentially contribute to greater social, economic, and legal change. In reviewing early accounts of how curators, flirting with activism, shaped the development of the museum in the US, Message examines the case of the civil rights-related social reform movements that took place on the National Mall in Washington, DC, during the 1960s and 1970s. More specifically, by examining the Division of Political History at the National Museum of American History and how it transformed as a result of the civil-rights reform movements and curatorial activism, Message shows how movements for progress in sovereignty and self-determination are the result of cross-cultural communication, community engagement, and intense lobbying. For example, the exhibit, *We the People*, was contested for presenting history as a multitude of contested viewpoints that engaged and provided a platform between government and marginal populations regarding the ongoing socio-political civil rights strife. Similarly, *The West as America* exhibit encouraged its visitors to critically and analytically engage with several paintings, prints, and sculptures, which subsequently evoked severe negative criticisms along with praise rather than appreciation of the works' aesthetics without question.

Through this research, we begin to see the potential for how museums-as-social-agents could create controversial exhibits that: 1) open a space for face-to-face encounters, 2) highlight context in their displays and message(s), 3) facilitate conversations between different groups, and 3) provoke critical engagement among visitors. With this possibility

in mind, the next question is: what is the relationship between museums and public policy?

Museums and public policy

Public policy can be broadly understood as “anything a government chooses to do or not do” (Dye, 1972, p. 2). Although Dye’s definition was an oversimplification, it captures the extensive scope of the subject matter. Offering a more narrow observation, William Jenkins (1978) defines public policy as...

a set of interrelated decisions taken by a political actor or group of actors concerning the selection of goals and the means of achieving them within a specified situation where these decisions should, in principle, be within the power of these actors to achieve. (p. 15)

Jenkins’ definition not only sees policy and the policymaking process as dynamic, but also offers nuances to Dye’s work by recognising the limitations of a government’s abilities – notably, resources such as people, information, money, international obligations, and domestic obligations and support. In this sense, policymaking can be seen as the art of navigating restrictions in order to develop responses to public problems (Pal, 2013). But, what drives these responses? Are the actions of government the authoritative allocation of values for a society? These questions suggest another rationale for public policy: that one must consider examining the underlying norms and values (framework, ideologies, paradigms), contexts, and actors and interests to truly understand the policy framework and bring coherence to the government relationship with the public.

With this policy understanding in mind, the literature can be divided into two broad and distinct views of the relationship between museums and public policy: democratisation/decentralisation and public participation. These views each have a specific conception of the museum (*i.e.* its purpose and institutional goals) in mind, and each draws on a different approach in order to explain how public policies – largely driven by the political environment and then-current governments – were used to influence the function of museums for a variety of objectives. The first stream of literature explores the importance of public accessibility of museums by denouncing cultural hierarchies and traditional elitist and exclusive approaches to museum management. This literature suggests that public accessibility is pivotal to the success of museums. The second stream of literature generally reconceives the museum as a social space that is free from elitist influence and government authority. Emerging in the 1970s and 1980s, this literature equates museums with communities and believes in holistic approaches that are anchored in the community, with the ultimate aim of socially and economically enhancing the local public.

Classical museums: instruments of social change and public service

Drawing on an instrumental perspective, the democratisation of culture stream sees museums as necessary public service tools for ‘educating’ and ‘civilizing’ the public, and, thus, need to be widespread and accessible to all. Early cultural institutions were seemingly inaccessible, elitist, and generally focused on satiating wealthy and educated patrons of high society, with museums acting as a tool to distribute their authority (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990 [1986]). When these works slowly dispersed and reconstituted in public museums through various reforms, the accessibility of museums (economic and

social accessibility) emerged as an important public issue (Bennett T. , 1995). However, the general solutions and ideas that were promoted were largely manipulative and, despite efforts to make museums friendlier and more accessible, government-led initiatives generally viewed the public as unrefined and needing to be ‘raised.’ For example, in France, the Malraux-era of cultural policy (1959-1969)³ used museum-like ‘Houses of Culture’ as instruments to spread culture in order to curb peoples’ behaviour away from their ‘organic instincts’ (*e.g.* sex, blood, and death) (Malraux, 2002 [1966], p. 56), towards a commitment to rationality (*i.e.* scientific thought and laws of the world) (Malraux, 2002 [1966], p. 57). In Canada, this increased cultural accessibility came in the form of recommendations to create a national cultural institution (by the Massey Commission), and the new museum policies (by the Pierre Trudeau government). In the province of Québec, cultural accessibility also emerged in the form of a new cultural department (*le Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec* by Georges-Émile Lapalme). Each of these initiatives were seen as a public service that shared the common goal of increasing access to ‘cultured’ content (*i.e.* fine art, poetry, literature, plays, and choral and orchestral music) so that Canadians could experience ‘refinement’ and ‘enlightenment’ while simultaneously constructing and imposing a cultural narrative (Pelletier, 1972; Harvey, 2010).

Government and museum management

In the cultural management literature, the cultural field was increasingly regulated through performance standards that forced museums to be more self-sufficient. Thus, museums were seen as institutional policy tools that could be used to advance the

³ André Malraux was the Minister of Cultural Affairs in France during this period.

economic and social needs of government. Emerging from the conservative governments of the 1980s (*i.e.* Thatcher in the UK, Reagan in the US, and Mulroney in Canada) that believed that government had become too ‘fat’ and ‘bloated,’ the cultural sector was slowly dismantled as these governments sought answers through private sector approaches, which culminated in what many public administration scholars have dubbed New Public Management (NPM). The influence of NPM principles meant that government activities needed better accountability, which could be achieved through the introduction of market mechanisms—with specific emphasis on cost control—into the provision of all public services (Hood, 1991; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). Through the lens of NPM, the arts, galleries, and museums were reconceptualised as agents for the government and not the public. These agents needed to justify their existence by taking on ‘good management practices’ that would enable them to adopt new roles such as tourist attraction or performance venue – in order to increase government revenue – and/or serve as an education or social services provider for the public – in order to combat social exclusion (Belfiore, 2002; Boylan, 2006; Sandell, 1998). Consequently, this new approach reflected a new type of hierarchical oppression of the public: it was still a top down approach with new directives being prescribed *for* the public with little to no involvement *from* the public. Furthermore, having a mandate of financial gain could be seen as unethical in the politics of display where goals to attract more visitors may lead to conflict in the creation of new exhibits or in the inclusion of certain cultural narratives over others (MacDonald, 1998).

Despite the various criticisms that have emerged, much of the current professional and public policy literature on museums remains largely rooted in the first and second

streams – that is to say, museums are primarily seen as public service instruments that need to be regulated through economic standards in order to be self-sufficient and fulfil government mandates. In challenge to these views of the museum, a third stream of literature (communities and museums) has emerged to open up new considerations for museums and public policy research: community museums.

Communities and museums

The third stream of literature – the communities and museums stream – focuses on the neglected role of the public and community. This stream has reversed the relationship between museums and public policy to centre on the role of the public, with a view towards how people could be served by the museum. In this sense, the museum begins to take shape as an integrated social space for public engagement that reflects the notion of cultural participation – a notion that refers to participation in the arts and the everyday life activities that may be associated with a culture (Bennett T. , 2001). This shift in public-to-museum relationship gradually developed through several international conferences (*e.g.* ICOM 1971 Grenoble, UNESCO 1972 Chile, and the International Workshop 1984 Québec) that were dissatisfied with the state of the classical museum and desired changes in the role of the museum. In particular, what these conferences envisioned was a larger emphasis on the involvement by (and for) the public. With this desire in mind, two movements emerged: *Muséologie* and *l'écomusée*. Appearing in the 1970s and 1980s, *la Nouvelle Muséologie* (new museology) was described as “a living cultural tool at service for all, and used by all” (Desvallées, 1980, p. 958), which critiqued and rejected the traditional curatorial drive for conservation and collections (Lumley, 1988; Vergo, 1989) in favour of a mandate to: be more inclusive; focus on

education, social development, and cultural accessibility; and, ultimately, serve as a community initiative (Mairesse, 2000). Following this new practice of museums, *l'écomusée* (ecomuseum) was born as an attempt to develop a 'community museum' that tied together the idea of cultural heritage to support community development and the environment (Rivière G. H., 1981). This new notion of a community museum embodied these alternative objectives and aimed to actually change the relationship between museums and public policy. The overarching message of this literature suggested that the community museum should involve the public in the creation of exhibits (Rivière G. , 1973; Varine-Bohan, 1976).

Questions to consider

Notwithstanding the differences in conceptualisation and approach in each stream, three trends about the relationship between the museum and policy emerge. First, in all literatures, the museum is viewed as an expert and specialist that controls the time and space of heritage. While policy may enhance or restrict its practices, the museum's ability to create knowledge was not questioned. Second, the public is seen as the subject of the museum and the policies that it enforces. From the top of the hierarchical process where the policy takes shape, to the implementation phase where museums enforce it, the public is at the bottom where they are to be dissected and studied with little to no input in the process. Finally, there is some consensus that the museum could be used instrumentally (driven by the map of a public policy) to achieve some purpose or goal. With this in mind, what inaugurates the community museum literature is that it also posits several alternative iterations and fractures of the museum (*e.g.* museums are reconceptualised as a discursive movement and resistance mobilising community ideas and interests, where

the public is empowered as curators and reconceptualised as an active participant in the creation of its own cultural narrative, and by extension the museum itself, *etc.*). Moreover, through this shift, the museum is seemingly able to change the relationship between museum and public policy by, again, rejecting the practice of curating objects in favour of curating community social issues and policies.

In sum, it is the aim of this dissertation to understand *how*, through public participation, (using its space and employing activist practices) the community museum (following *ecomusée*) is trying to articulate change in the relationship between museum and policy. In doing so, relatively unclear and underexplored avenues of inquiry are explored, including: from a cultural and historical perspective, how did the ecomuseum emerge (its intellectual origins) as an activist movement? How did the ecomuseum discourse circulate to Canada? What strategies and practices do they use to mobilise community interests and ideas? Furthermore, what are the implications of ecomuseums public service claims for community participation, empowerment, and culture and heritage repopulation? How does this cultural repopulation (re-appropriation) influence public policies and museums? Are ecomuseums able to socially enhance the community? How? Are ecomuseums able to connect with policymakers? How? In general, how does the ecomuseum work as a discursive formation claiming to carry social ideas about being a public good? Rather than an evaluative approach, this dissertation's aim is to understand these claims as an observer, and to explore how ecomuseums fulfil their public service claims.

From a cultural policy lens, research can benefit from further investigation into democratic public participation practices in museums and ecomuseums. For instance, on

the one hand, cultural policy research—in its critical perspective—speaks of how the institution has historically alienated and oppressed people through its appropriation of knowledge, and its rules of behaviour and demonstrations of wealth and power (Bennett T. , 1990). On the other hand, institutions also have the potential to bring people together and incite engagement by reorganising its identity to become more than a collection of stuff (Weil, 2007 [1997]), taking an ethical stance that focuses on education (Hooper-Greenhill, 1989), and problematizing the objects within the museums in order to create discourse and knowledge (Latour, 2005). With growing demand being placed on museums to help the government fulfil their economic and social missions – such as combat social exclusion (Sandell, 1998) – there is a greater need to understand how public participation arrangements work, and to uncover the less apparent barriers – such as the different understandings of what is meant by citizen ‘engagement’ (Ashley, 2014) – which prevent museums from achieving these democratic goals.

This thesis explores the evolution of some social institutions; but contributes to public policy research and the question of public participation. Similarly, and from a broader public policy perspective, there is little known about the contributions of social institutions to the renewal of democratic debates. Traditionally, democratic participation has been narrowly limited to competitive elections of political leadership for legislative offices. However, according to Fung and Wright (2001), democracy, defined through public voting, has become increasingly ineffective in accomplishing the central ideals of democratic politics, which include:

[F]acilitating active political involvement of the citizenry, forging political consensus through dialogue, devising and implementing public policies that

ground a productive economy and healthy society, and, in more radical egalitarian versions of the democratic ideal, ensuring that all citizens benefit from the nation's wealth. (Fung & Wright, 2001, p. 5)

In other words, changes leading to deregulation, privatization, reduction of social services, and curtailments of state spending have changed priorities and goals away from participation, greater responsiveness, and more creative and effective forms of democratic state intervention. Furthermore, public policy theory speaks of citizens in the policy process, but through direct pressures to politicians (Kingdon, 2010 [1984]; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984), the role of the media (Soroka, 2002), and, more recently, public participation (Fung & Wright, 2001; Bherer, 2010) portraying citizens as actors in temporary forums set for deliberation and organized to have their say. But all of these processes and models seemingly ignore the powerful role of public institutions, where positions and ideas are expressed and debated, citizens can act and take position, and, more than this, knowledge can be created and presented with expertise and legitimacy in order to mobilise the ideas of the museum's community and act as intermediary policymaker.

Dissertation Plan

The dissertation is divided into four sections and eight chapters. The first section encompasses chapters one and two, which present the theoretical framework and research method that are rooted in the discourse analysis tradition of qualitative research as inspired by Michel Foucault's archaeology of knowledge (1972 [1969], 1981). As a theoretical framework, the concept of political discourse can be seen as a way to understand the intellectual history and historical evolution of society by examining its

practices, strategies, and effects (implications). As a research method, discourse analysis enables its user to provide a thick description of various narratives as they emerge through institutional practices and strategies, and offers possible insights into their effects and implications. In the context of museum research, discourse analysis has been used to highlight institutional discursive practices, artefacts, and objects that were used to display power and knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Bennett T. , 1995; 2004). In this research, the focus will be on describing the ecomuseums' strategies and practices (exhibits, stories, objects, *etc.*) and the effects that follow them. This description is done as a homogenous set rather than single iterations in order to better understand the ecomuseum movement as a whole.

The second section presents a comprehensive review (elaboration and examples) of intellectual history that emerges from two bodies of museology literature as they pertain to public policy: museums for the public and museums by society. In particular, chapter three builds on this body of literature by excavating the overarching themes that not only serve to highlight the evolution of museums and the public, but also lead to the eventual dissatisfaction of this classical museology and the emergence of new French museum movements, including *la nouvelle muséologie* (new museology) and *l'écomusée* (ecomuseums). Chapter four explores the new museology ideas by tracing the origins of these movements (their English and French development) as they circulated from France to Canada with a particular influence and sway in Québec because of the nature of professional links and language. Through this excavation of particular people, strategies, and policies, general themes and trends from both governments are examined and

highlighted. Finally, a general discussion illustrates some interesting gaps and possible avenues to explore in the literature.

The third section presents the empirical results of the four ecomuseum case studies that were chosen for this thesis: *l'Écomusée du fier monde (EFM)*, *l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà (EAD)*, *le musée québécois de culture populaire (MQCP)*, and the Workers History Museum (WHM). These case studies were chosen due to the similarities in their claims regarding: missions and objectives; community engagement and participation; practices and management strategies; and intertwined relationship between community and environment. Through empirical research, this section draws on discourse analysis to examine three areas of discourse: the conditions of possibility (chapter five), functions and practices, and effects and empowerment (chapter six). Chapter seven further explores the notion of public participation and how this idea emerged in the cases as a norm and value, and manifested into action and normalised ecomuseum practice. In particular, the public is empowered as curators with the ability to conceive and implement their ideas in the form of heritage. From these ecomuseum cases, an inventory of physical and digital documents was collected through site and archive visits.

Finally, the last section includes an overall analysis of the cases and a conclusion. Here, the dissertation illustrates, through examples, the democratic and cultural implications that have emerged in the case studies. Additionally, public policy implications are also examined. By drawing on the policy cycle as a heuristic, different stages – as evidenced in the case studies – are highlighted and examined. Lastly, the conclusion ties together the theoretical fabrics, the examined literature reviews, and case study results, while delineating some unanswered questions for future research.

I: Theory

Chapter 1: Conceptual Framework

In the depth that traverses the picture, hollowing it into a fictitious recess and projecting it forward in front of itself, it is not possible for the pure felicity of the image ever to present in a full light both the master who is representing and the sovereign who is being represented. (Foucault, 1970 [1966], p. 16)

In his reading of the spatial structure of Diego Velázquez's painting, *Las Meninas*, Michel Foucault highlights three figures located outside the painting, each an element of the process of representation. The first is the King and Queen, the object represented. The second is the painter, the subject who is representing. The third is the spectator, the subject viewing the representation. In the painting, these figures are all represented; however, the painting does not reflect a “representation of representation.” Instead, Foucault uses the painting to exemplify the failure of the attempt. In other words, representation can only be represented in a limited form – as dispersed functions, not as a complete unified activity.

In the field of public policy, this leads to one major question: can the simplicity of heuristic policy models, like the *policy cycle*, truly and accurately represent the complex process(es) of policy? Stage models, like the policy cycle, have been known to be overly one-dimensional (Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009), not taking into account simultaneous steps, and have largely been used by researchers to outline the development, decision-making, and execution of public policies. Similarly, from an organizational perspective,

classic decision-making models and approaches like *bounded-rationality*⁴, *incrementalism*⁵, or the *garbage-can model*⁶ have based many of their representations on unrealistic assumptions that have essentially reduced the complexity of humans, their circumstances, and their actions (Forester, 1984), which ultimately over-extends the explanatory reach of these models/approaches in their efforts to make variables something manageable.

All of this is to say, whether it is a concentrated attempt to understand a piece of the policy process or a holistic approach that incorporates all, these classic models that attempt to understand policymaking often miss the mark. For example, some policymakers can exist outside the traditional walls of politics – like street-level bureaucrats⁷ – or exist within the office, implementing and affecting the very policy passed.⁸ In other words, these models are representations of representations, and they fail because they can never truly or accurately grasp the reality of the process or hope to represent all of the aspects of the complex, constantly moving system of *knowledge* flowing from individuals, institutions, and ideas.

What makes Foucault important and worthwhile in public administration discourse is that he offers something different: a *form of analysis* (the archaeology) and *new object of analysis* (knowledge). Firstly, by accepting the fallible weakness of humans in creating

⁴ Herbert Simon and James March argued that actual decision-making occurred through a different set of attributes than was assumed by the traditional rational-comprehensive position. These conditions were, in fact, ‘bounded’ by several variables (ambiguous problem definition, incomplete information about alternatives, or background of the problem). See (March, 1982) for more information.

⁵ Charles Lindblom’s (1959; 1979) work—from a pluralist position—argues that devising workable solutions for problems is not enough as they will be competing with other interests, and that change is a result of incremental compromise which results in small steps over time rather than large seismic shifts.

⁶ The garbage-can model explains organizational decision-making from a systemic anarchic perspective, where decision-making is relatively haphazard and results from problems and solutions that get randomly associated. See (Cohen, March, & Olsen, 1972) for more information.

⁷ Michael Lipski’s (2010 [1980]) manuscript highlights how the day-to-day actions of street-level workers, not just an agency’s official statements, determine how policy is implemented and enforced.

⁸ Carol Weiss’s (1980) article on policy accretion uncovers how, through their day-to-day job decisions, public staff and offices help shape and inform decisions—without any overall plan or deliberation—made in the formalization and implementation of policy, resulting in a type of policymaking.

representations of their reality, Foucault's archaeological method focuses on describing things as they are, without assumptions or taken-for-granted prior knowledge to read into their existence, by examining a different level of analysis: discourses. This approach focuses on detached description of practices, statements, and objects in an effort to uncover the system of knowledge that governs them.

Secondly, Foucault understands how knowledge—through institutions, the concrete places where knowledge is formed—plays an important role in determining how people make decisions and, by extension, how it can inform them in making policy actions. For example, in one of his earliest works, Foucault examines the clinic and reorients its emergence. As an institution, the clinic was not simply founded on some progression of theories regarding observations of truth; instead, the clinic is an artefact, based on a *theory of knowledge (épistémè)* that has been inserted into a specific discursive period. According to Foucault (1973 [1963]),

The clinic—constantly praised for its empiricism, the modesty of its attention, and the care with which it silently lets things surface to the observing gaze without disturbing them with discourse—owes its real importance to the fact that it is a reorganization in depth, not only of medical discourse, but of the very possibility of a discourse about disease (p. xxi).

In other words, institutions and their practices to organize and reorganize existing knowledge were guided by a certain, underlying shared organization of knowledge. Thus, Foucault's work in public policy offers a different take on the policy process. Simply put, by drawing on Foucault's methods and assumptions, this investigation focuses on

knowledge and how institutions produce and reorganize knowledge to further policy goals.

The purpose of this chapter is to present this dissertation's theoretical coordinates. In particular, by presenting several notions found in the early works of Foucault, this chapter creates the link between museums, museology, and public policy. Three things, in particular, inaugurate Foucault's works as effective theoretical tools through which to bridge the gap between museums and policy: Foucault's archaeological mode of analysis, his *ethos* of investigation, and his unique reframing of the object of study and how it should be critically examined in relation to the present. For the ecomuseum, Foucault's work emerges as a new way to investigate policymaking practices and strategies by reframing how the ecomuseum is understood and examined. In other words, when used to analyse the ecomuseum, Foucault's tools provide: a new critical lens that rejects the pretence of knowledge progress by revealing the discursive practices, strategies, and political ambitions of the ecomuseum; and a new method to excavate these newly revealed competing museum discourses (*i.e.* the dominant traditional museum and the ecomuseum) with their diverging political practices and goals.

In the first section, the chapter presents Foucault's early influences in an attempt to understand and situate his thought. Essentially, this section highlights what was the *status quo* view and process for history and how Foucault had a different take on the history of ideas. By drawing on some early influences like Nietzsche and Heidegger, Foucault developed a unique thought of history. Essentially, this section highlights Foucault's thinking and connects it with some of the early thinkers that shared his ideas. By establishing these connections, this section demonstrates how Foucault did not believe

that knowledge is the result of a cumulative process, and rejected the idea of a progressive discovery as sustained by some histories of sciences and technologies. For the museum, these Foucauldian notions of knowledge imply a rejection of the museum's narrative and their creative logic that results in progressive displays of culture, human history, and knowledge. More than this, in addition to rejecting the perceived process of knowledge creation, Foucault's work can also provide new insights by rejecting the museum's presumed self-contained practices and tracing its discursive influence on the community and social politics, well beyond its physical walls. That is to say, the museum—including its space and displays of knowledge—is not a cumulative process; rather, the museum—an institution—can be understood as a space where discursive practices are performed. As cultural authorities, museums have the power to institutionalize knowledge and use their space of power to connect with policy.

In the second section, Foucault's resulting method is elaborated by drawing on similarities and insights from his failed engagement with the work of Thomas Kuhn. First, links are drawn between Foucault and Kuhn's established beliefs regarding contingent elements of production and reception of knowledge in history. This view, which is quite different from what was previously assumed, shares further similarities in how the history of ideas was reconceptualised as a history of ruptures (revolutions). While Kuhn insisted on social forces of academia as a *lens*, Foucault used the institution as a window into the power dynamics of knowledge production. Foucault's work culminated in a conception of the history of ideas, focusing on a number of key concepts: discourse, discursive practices, discursive formations, and *épistémè*. What makes this comparison and these notions particularly essential for this dissertation is that they help

to understand the rise of classical museology as a *science of museums* that formalised the museum profession and knowledgebase, standardising and ensuring the reproducibility of its practices.

Third, Foucault's ideas are examined in the context of public administration, and the museum. First, several studies are drawn on in order to exemplify the use of Foucault's methods in the context of public administration. In particular, works by Pierre Lascoumes, Armand Hatchuel, and Mitchel Dean exemplify research that has successfully deployed Foucault's methods in order to better understand, reconceptualise, and problem-solve issues in public administration, policymaking, public management, and organisational behaviour. Similarly, the museum work of Tony Bennett also exemplifies the use of Foucault's method in the context of museums and history. Finally, this section explores Foucault's notion of *épistémè* and discursive formations. In particular, the final section looks specifically at how *épistémè* has similarities to concepts in public policy including, most notably, Kuhn's notion of paradigm—and its public policy-inspired adaptation by Peter Hall—surveys the various concepts in public policy, and examines how Foucault work's in the public policy context. By exploring how other scholars have used Foucault's ideas, and the similarity of public policy concepts like paradigm to *épistémè*, this section and the overall chapter illustrates how public policy concepts work with Foucault.

1.1 Ruptures and revolutions: a new way of thinking about policy and museums

Foucault's work shares many similarities to the work of Kuhn⁹ — albeit with a different take on the history of ideas. For Kuhn (1996 [1962]), there are discrepancies in the scientific understanding between old theories, assumptions, and thought (*i.e.* paradigms) which were once held to be true and the different (re: new) ones that replaced them – which were also held to be true. According to Kuhn (1996 [1962]), “[t]he normal-scientific tradition that emerges from a scientific revolution is not only incompatible but often actually incommensurable with that which has gone before” (p. 103). Thus, these different paradigms were “incommensurable” and could not be “translated” as the changes between them did not reflect an ordered level of gradation or progression.

Similarly, in his manuscript, Foucault (1970 [1966]) argues that the different periods—Renaissance, classical, and modern eras—can be organised and understood as different *épistémè*. For Foucault, *épistémè*, refers to a “strategic apparatus” that legitimizes the possibility of some statements while excluding others—what counts as true or false—in a field of scientificity (1980, p. 197). These *épistémè* reflect entirely different modes of thought; it is impossible to hold true a premise in which these irreconcilable poles of thought constitute a continuous shared subject. In other words, Foucault rejects the progressive historical narrative of spiritual education through changing experiences and insights on the inexplicable ‘event’ nature of categorical ruptures. Thus, the idea of a progressive discovery – as sustained by some histories of sciences and technologies – cannot be supported. Ultimately, like Kuhn, Foucault insists that knowledge is not the result of a cumulative process.

⁹ Unfortunately, Foucault missed an opportunity to engage with Thomas Kuhn's work, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1996 [1962]).

Instead, a new path to understanding the history of thought is carved. According to Kuhn (1996 [1962]), periods reflecting different paradigms are derived from a particular “scientific community” that practices its trade with a shared set of “received beliefs” guided and dictated by the accepted dominant paradigm to which the community remains committed (p. 5). These beliefs form the foundation that legitimizes and enables the professional practice of “normal science,” which “is predicated on the assumption that the scientific community knows what the world is like” while suppressing the novelties of all others (p. 5). This is, in a sense, Foucault’s (1970 [1966]) central claim: that different periods in history have contained particular fundamental epistemological assumptions that are determined through the promotion/exclusion of certain actions and practices as acceptable or not.

In the context of social sciences, Foucault (1970 [1966]) highlights how, in analysing and tracing the historiography of ‘the birth of man,’ ‘man’ (human beings) is a discursive construct. In fact, ‘man’ emerged when the classical field of representation dissolved and ‘man’ became not simply the *subject*, but also the *object* of modern scientific investigation and, ultimately, a finite and historically determined being. In this sense, ‘man’ both constitutes and is constituted by the external world, finding secure foundations for knowledge through *a priori* categories. In other words, like Kuhn, Foucault believes that there are contingent elements that characterize the production and reception of knowledge in history.

Thus, any approach to understanding trends in knowledge needs to trace the different foundations for order and truth, and uncover their discontinuous limits. For Kuhn, this means tracing revolutions; otherwise put, “tradition-shattering complements to the

tradition-bound activity of normal science” (p. 6). Kuhn argues that it is these ruptures that create new assumptions and practices (paradigms) that ultimately reconfigure all prior assumptions and facts in light of these changes. In other words, “[t]he successive transition from one paradigm to another via revolution is the usual developmental pattern of mature science. It is not, however, the pattern characteristic of the period before” (Kuhn, 1996 [1962], p. 12). In this revolution, "a scientist's world is qualitatively transformed [...] by fundamental novelties of either fact or theory" (p. 7).

For Foucault (1970 [1966]), given that conditions of discourse have changed over time, from one period's *épistémè* to another, changes occur through some inexplicable ‘event,’ a rupture in nature resulting in categorical shifts. Thus, Foucault’s study of the Western development of human sciences highlights three ruptures leading to Renaissance, classical, and modern *épistémè*. In the stream of Philosophy, Foucault illustrates the Western development of the *épistémè* of the Renaissance period and the importance of resemblance and similarity; the classical *épistémè* dominated representation, order, identity and difference; and, finally, the modern *épistémè* where language, work, and life emerge as objects of study (1970 [1966]). Thus, like Kuhn, Foucault’s approach focuses on charting the forms of ordered knowledge and descriptively tracing their ruptures (revolutions), in which new *épistémè* and paradigms emerge.

While Kuhn insists on social forces of academia as lenses (all-encompassing collection of beliefs and assumptions), Foucault uses the institution as a window into the power dynamics of knowledge productions (broader notions encompassing all disciplines in an era). Thus, for Foucault, this resulted in a unique conception of the history of ideas

around which it focuses on discourse, discursive practices and formations, *and épistémè*. As discussed in the next section, what makes these notions and comparison particularly essential in this dissertation is that they offer insights into the rise of museology as a *science of museums* that formalised the profession and knowledgebase to standardise and ensure the reproducibility of museum practices.

1.2 An archaeology of science and knowledge

As explained above, Foucault (1972 [1969]) rejects the traditional historian's approach; he argues that historical sciences tend to read the history of knowledge in a cumulative fashion, suggesting and supporting the idea of knowledge as a cumulative process of progress. In other words, Foucault rejects the modes of documentation used by the idealist and modern humanists who favour a method that traces the continuous evolution of thought, sorted using notions of 'tradition' or through 'conscious productions.' These problematic practices impose a particular reading of history, which Foucault sees as a sign of something else entirely.

In order to shed these constraints, Foucault focuses on the level of discourse. For Foucault, discourse—referred to *things said*—is unique because it is made up of statements that are subject to conditions and limitations (Foucault, 1972 [1969]). By investigating the conditions behind the production of discourses, Foucault's method focuses on identifying the conditions of possibility of knowledge and the rules that determine the formation of discursive rationality which operate beneath thematic content and the level of intentions. According to Foucault (1970 [1966]),

It is these rules of formation, which were never formulated in their own right, but are to be found only in widely differing theories, concepts, and objects of study,

that I have tried to reveal, by isolating, as their specific locus, a level that I have called [...] archaeological. (p. xi)

In this sense, the archaeological method aims to describe a particular system of statements, which Foucault calls discursive formations. These discursive formations have four elements: objects about which statements are made, the places from which statements are enunciated, the concepts involved in the construction of discourse, and the themes and theories they develop. Rather than unifying discursive formations that share unique elements, Foucault uses the term ‘systems of dispersion’ to describe a grouping of discursive practices which, through the archaeological method, describe complex interrelationships (Foucault, 1972 [1969]). Thus, the main objects of analysis are the rules that govern the production of statements; the archaeology method analyses the way these rules structure the elements of discourse. In other words, Foucault’s archaeology aims to be a “pure description of discursive events” (Foucault, 1972 [1969], p. 29) and utilises this description of discontinuous surfaces of discourse as a response and rejection to the surface-level causal models applied by modern theory and the desire to find or create immutable and universal rules and characteristics that ground structuralists.

What is most important, and something heavily emphasised during Foucault’s lifetime, is that archaeology—and the later genealogy—is not a categorical approach that is—or is required to be—outlined in steps or through a roadmap. As a ‘method,’ the archaeology – as described by Foucault (1972 [1969]; 1981) – is an overview of what *could* be and suggestions as to how and what may be examined. This sentiment emerges—if not already implied through the method alone—in Foucault’s works. For example, Foucault (1981) elaborates on the concept of ‘truth’ and the relationship that

exists between ‘true’ and ‘false.’ At the time, Foucault saw ‘truth’ as a ritualised act in line with a ‘will to truth’ that acts as a system of exclusion supported and reinforced by several levels of academic practices – from pedagogy to the very library and book systems that hold symbolic representations of ‘truth’ and ‘knowledge.’ In other words, ‘truth’ is a function of discourse itself, appearing only one at a time in its claims, while leaving all those affected unaware of the large, extraordinary machine of the ‘will to truth’ and its inclination to exclude.

Through an excavation of ‘empirical disciplines’ – such as economics, biology, and philology – Foucault (1970 [1966]) draws attention to the notion of representation and how only through historical difference can presuppositions be highlighted. Similarly, the contradictory discourses that form the fabric of museological practices may have been seen as parts that formed a different discursive formation—a classical museology—that inspired a new narrative – new museology – with different practices emerging as a response. In other words, like the various *épistémè* that emerged during different periods and reflected a particular body of knowledge, large natural history museums of the past essentially reflect a taxonomic system of knowledge that was violently imposed on those who were victims of its practices and those who trained and assisted in the creation of museum practices (*e.g.* exhibit making, object procuring, and rule-making). In this sense, while the new *épistémè*’s reflection of different knowledge-bases and practices represents a sharp break and fundamental discontinuity with the previous *épistémè*, new museology represents a discursive challenge to the dominant museology discourse.

In particular, Foucault (1972 [1969]) elaborates on science and knowledge and outlines different ‘thresholds’ in which discursive formations cross in order to become a

‘science’: *positivity* (when it is first put into operation); *epistemologization* (when it begins to dominate and systematically rearrange knowledge); and *formalization* (when it fully formalizes its own principles, axioms, and methods). In this sense, it can be argued that new museology, like many discursive formations, through its attempt to develop and formalise as a ‘science,’ is trying to be *epistemologized*; as a challenger, its rise is motivated by a desire to supplant the dominant classical museology. In this sense, the rise of new museology can be seen as a type of *sectoral answer* whose validity and legitimacy are contingent on its ability to address concerns and problems where classical museology has failed (or ignored).

In a different light, Foucault’s *The Birth of the Clinic* (1973 [1963]) is an attempt to disentangle modern medical perception by examining how the clinic evolved as a type of discursive structure. Foucault describes the different contradictory ways of dealing with disease throughout history, and how this modern perception emerged out of the integration of pathological anatomy and the clinical gaze. The crisis of ‘quack doctors’ and the requirement to legitimize and regulate who could be a doctor ultimately led to the re-emergence of the clinic in a different form. It became a site of discovery and the furthering of knowledge about disease. More specifically, Foucault illustrates how new forms of subjectivity for patients and those who treat them emerged from subsequent changes to laws of assistance and the philosophy of disease.

Foucault’s method of analysis emphasises the distinction between ideas and practices. What Foucault highlights is how the different ways of seeing things, thinking, and, ultimately, relating what one did to oneself emerge as part of a particular movement in history. For the museum, the development of the clinic and the conditions of its inception

offer noteworthy insights and similarities. More specifically, links can be drawn from the development of museum studies and practices as a ‘profession,’ and the discursive conditions in which this occurred. In other words, by using Foucault’s archaeological method, this dissertation can trace and piece together the dispersed and small events in the historical development of classical museology and traditional natural history museums that led to the emergence of new museology and the ecomuseum, and how these events ontologically and ethically reshaped the reality of museums. More than this, in the context of public policy, scholars – like Peter Hall, following in the paradigm footsteps of Kuhn – also investigate the use of systems of ideas and their impact on policy formation and change.

1.3 Putting it in context: Discursive formations

Even at first glance, the public policy potential for Foucault’s work is myriad; however, where exactly does Foucault’s concepts fit and what public policy concepts are most comparable? In the field of public policy, cognitive and normative elements play an important role in how actors understand and explain the world, and have stimulated several works and approaches. This section examines the links between Foucault’s concepts (*épistémè* and discursive formations) and two similar public policy concepts (paradigm and *référentiel*). First, the works of prominent *référentiel* scholars (Surel, Jobert, and Muller) and paradigm scholar, Peter Hall, are analysed in order to establish definitions and compare concepts. Next, connections are drawn between these notions and *épistémè*. Finally, analytical implications for their use in the context of the museum and museology are highlighted to showcase their usefulness to this dissertation, insofar as they: convey a certain discursive order and stabilized discursive formation that emphasise

an influencing presence; and reorient and redefine the space of the ecomuseum to create a connection to policy.

Generally characterized as the underlying assumptions and organizing principles that guide policy, paradigms reflect unique realms of ideas and discourse. In these systems of ideas, policymakers customarily work within a framework of ideas and standards that specify policy goals, selection of available policy instruments—a government device and authoritative choice of a means to accomplish a purpose (Elmore, 1987; Linder & Peters, 1989)—used to attain those goals, and the very nature of the problems to be addressed (Hall, 1993). Each paradigm is different and contains its own account of how the world facing policymakers operates. Thus, it is often impossible for the advocates of different paradigms to agree on a common body of data or reconcile every controversial issue against which a technical judgment is required. Similarly, *référentiel* are cognitive frameworks¹⁰ that exist in modern industrial societies. These frameworks are the systems of ideas that define and guide policy in different divisions and sectors of labour, the relationship between these sectors, and society as a whole (Jobert & Muller, 1987). Furthermore, these smaller frameworks exist within a larger overlapping shared *grand référentiel* (a global framework that defines the image of society) among a multitude of other sector frameworks, each with their own distinct values, beliefs, perceptions of threats, particular relationships, and public action theories that relate to the sector's overall image (Simoulin, 2000).

¹⁰ Muller (1995) breaks *référentiel* down into different levels. Firstly, values that define what is desirable for a sector or society make up the fundamental and general properties of *le référentiel*. In other words, these values create the limits of what possible decisions can occur in the context of public action. Secondly, norms define and constitute the principles of action in accordance with the dominant values of *le référentiel*. Thirdly, processes and procedures (algorithms)—guided by descriptions of the next action(s) and measures required to resolve the problem as it is defined—are responsible for determining the causal links that produce problems.

Given these elements, how does *épistémè* connect with paradigms and *référentiel*? As a set of ordered ideas that are unconsciously included in normative ideas, *épistémè* serve as foundational in determining what is regarded as accepted knowledge in particular periods and times (Foucault, 1970 [1966]). These *épistémès* are discontinuous and radically different, with only one underlying *épistémè* existing for each historical period: in any given culture and at any given moment, there is always only one *épistémè* that defines the conditions of possibility of all knowledge, whether expressed in a theory or silently invested in a practice (Foucault, 1970 [1966], p. 178). In other words, these *épistémès* are not a general body of known knowledge or natural science; instead, they are a kind of unspoken and unconscious roadmap that largely reflects the precondition(s) for accepted knowledge in any given historical period.

While there are similarities between these three concepts – paradigms, *référentiels*, and *épistémès* – with respects to shared norms and values, one of the most interesting connections is their implications on forms of action. Each discourse or system of ideas—with their specific grouping of cognitive and normative elements—filters actions and strategies that are considered ‘appropriate’ methods. These linked methods are used to achieve defined values and objectives – much like in Kuhn’s work where scientific methods are inextricably linked to metaphysical principles. In the case of government, a paradigm delimits the choice of policy instruments to implement a particular strategy (Hall, 1993). Thus, it becomes necessary to understand the values characterizing these systems of ideas because they identify forms of appropriate action. In other words, *épistémès*, paradigms, and *référentiel* not only construct cognitive and normative blueprints, they also determine practices and behaviours.

From an analytical standpoint, these systems of ideas and discourses impart interesting and useful applications for the analysis of ecomuseums and the norms and values informing their strategies and actions. First, these systems of ideas convey a certain discursive order and stabilized discursive formation, and also suggest that there is something before the occurrence of a rupture. In other words, like Kuhn (1996 [1962]) argues in the social sciences, the emergence of a new discourse is not necessarily a replacement of one for another; instead, it may happen through links and new hierarchical rankings of elements that are already in place. This implies the new discourse is composed, to some extent, of the previous cognitive and normative structures. According to Kuhn, this could also explain possible ‘delays’ and contradictory elements that emerge from certain mechanisms of resistance during ‘retranslations’ and adoption of elements of the new frame from the old. For the museum sector, the existence of a dominant discourse does not prevent the existence of other contradictory discourses.

Furthermore, the emergence of a new discourse does not ‘destroy’ the previously legitimate discourse; instead, it and its related, older structures are forced to adapt. Once a new discourse is in place, it becomes exposed to large bodies of ideological knowledge and apparatuses with normative and cognitive values that dictate the actions of individuals. Once exposed, a discourse’s existence implicitly limits actions and productivity through rules that, in turn, define which actions are acceptable. In the context of ecomuseums, this dissertation aims to analyse these discourses in order to better understand the existing identity and conditions of the museum – and how their pre-existing norms and values lead to actions and strategies that influence change.

In sum, the examination of Foucault's work and its potential fit in the public policy field yields notions that share many basic elements designed to describe actions, motivations, and resulting implications. Most notably, there seems to be an understanding that the role of actors—how they understand, explain, and act in the world—is shaped by a prominent system of ideas. In the context of public policy, decisions, strategies and the choice of policy instruments are explained as the implication (or limitation) of the current prominent system of ideas (discourse, *épistémè*, paradigm, or *référentiel*) in current space (community or nation's government) and time. In other words, any excavation into the unspoken preconditions of any roadmap of ideas and the specific policy strategies they inform can provide insights into the motivating values and norms and overarching goals. For ecomuseums, this discursive excavation similarly uncovers the institution's practices and strategies, with an aim of finding the underlying goals, norms, and values that inform them. For both public policy and the ecomuseum, what inaugurates Foucault's work is not simply this shared notion of discursive formations, but also the research method that excavates it. With this in mind, the next question is: how has Foucault's work been applied in public administration?

1.4 Operationalizing the method in public administration

The investigative and analytic use of Foucault's archaeological method and notions—like discursive formations—have been previously translated and operationalized by other academics more broadly, and under different scopes, such as public policy contexts, the museum context, and similar overlapping fields. Some researchers have operationalized and appropriated the various concepts and methods used by Foucault, while others have

used it more broadly or in spirit¹¹ through their investigations. Foucault, himself, used his own concepts in analysis of public institutions and government.

Links can also be traced back to work by Foucault's early teacher, Louis Althusser. In fact, Althusser and Foucault both assume that ideology or discourse equates to an imposed conformity, which implies levels of resistance towards the ruling class. Althusser's early work largely revolved around a reinterpretation of Marx's works. For example, Althusser *et al.* (2016 [1965]) analyse Marx's *Das Kapital* in a scientific manner and excavate an underlying philosophy. Like Foucault's development of archaeology, Althusser reinterprets Marx, arguing that his founding of the science of history was influential well beyond simple politics or economics, reaching as far as understanding all human activity. According to Althusser (2005 [1965]), applied in a broader scale, Marx's notion of the 'mode of production' makes it possible to analyse all individual activities in their specificity and understand them in relation to the totality of that which they are a part of. In other words, by examining specific modes of production at any given time, Marx's work can be used to comprehend the way in which we materially produce ourselves, our environments, histories, and more importantly, our knowledges.

¹¹ One example of a researcher broadly using an approach similar to Foucault is Paulo Freire. Freire (2011 [1968]) attempted to overturn the classical pedagogical practices—the 'banking system'—in classrooms, which were inspired by an oppressive bourgeois-like *réfèrentiel*. Freire's work reframes the traditional schooling methods as imposed oppressive practices that limited critical development in students and fixed their behaviour to comply according to a predetermined blueprint in which the classroom teacher's role was to enforce. Freire argues that these practices represent the greater norms and values of a larger fixed hierarchical system. Thus, this was a study that sought to uncover the disciplinary practices exercised by others. In doing so, Freire's work sought to promote a new *réfèrentiel*—*conscientização*—that reflected new values and norms inspiring different schoolroom pedagogical practices for teachers and students such as "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 2011 [1968], p. 35). Thus, it can be argued that Freire attempted to reorient the practices of the school in order to reframe the school's *réfèrentiel* as a space of conflict and change. In short, through Freire's examination of enforced school practices and indoctrinated students, he uncovered the hidden discourses to which these practices adhered, and plotted a new narrative that contrasted and combated the pre-existing one.

Additionally, Foucault largely shares Althusser's view of history as a process without subject: there exist patterns, orders, and change; however, there is no necessity (*i.e.* no permanently established human nature or order) and history does not necessarily 'progress.' For example, in his reinterpretation of Marx, Althusser also analyses philosophy and highlights how most activities labelled 'philosophy' are really another type of ideological production (Althusser, 2008 [1971]). In other words, philosophy has been tasked with allowing the production of knowledge about other practices to be generated. The productions and reproductions of knowledge, according to Althusser (2005 [1965]; 2008 [1971]), were the product of (and serve to sustain) pre-existing socio-economic relations; thus, philosophy is simply a reflection of values, norms, and ideas that enable the socio-economic world to function. By using the work of Marx as a case study, Althusser's work, in a sense, excavates a new discourse on epistemology, views the notion of 'philosophy' through its uses and practices, and reveals the complex and oppressive effects of these practices.

One example that more concretely illustrates working with Foucault and government is the works of Pascale Laborier and Pierre Lascoumes. In particular, Laborier and Lascoumes target Foucault's notion of *governmentality*, for which Foucault (2007 [1977-1978]) offers three definitions of the term¹², but can generally be understood together as the process through which a form of government with specific ends (stable and content society), means to these ends ("apparatuses of security"), and a particular type of

¹² 1.) The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit complex, power that the population as its target, political economy, as its major form of knowledge and apparatuses of security as its essential technical instrument. 2) The tendency, the line of force, that for a long time, and throughout the West, has constantly led towards the pre-eminence over all other types of power—sovereignty, discipline, and so on—of the type of power that we can call "government" and which has led to the development of a series of specific governmental apparatuses (*appareils*) on the one hand, [and, on the other] to the development of a series of knowledges (*savoirs*). 3) The process, or rather, the result of the process by which the state of justice of the Middle Ages became the administrative state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and was gradually "governmentalized." (Foucault, 2007 [1977-1978], p. 108)

knowledge (“political economy”) to achieve these ends. Laborier and Lascoumes (2004) argue that Foucault’s methodological techniques, specifically in *governmentality* and power, offer interesting insights that reconceptualise the public policy field and open a different path forward for scholars. For example, rather than focusing on old notions of traditional government as a sovereign power (medieval state of justice), a reorientation of the system towards *governmentality* can expose different motivations, objectives, and, ultimately, a different discourse regarding the relationship between government and the public (a modern administrative state with complex bureaucracies as evolved from the medieval state of justice).

Similarly, public action is understandable in relation to its practices, devices, and instruments of power. One example used by Laborier and Lascoumes (2004) is the institutionalization of the science of cameras and their oppressive surveillance through cameras to regulate conduct by coercively leading others by narrowing the behaviour and the field of possibilities. By mobilizing the idea towards the multiplication of police regulations, the controversies cameras generate, and the changes in practices they sought to regulate, one can then study these practices through a variety of surveys—archaeology and genealogy. This approach exposes societies as they stand, by not simply questioning the conditions that determined their representations, but by moving beyond and focusing on what they did and how they did it, and by seeking what practices have been rejected or prevented.

By presenting various Foucauldian tools and their potential uses, Laborier and Lascoumes (2004) reframe public policy through new methods. Rather than viewing government as towering from above, one could instead focus attention on public policy

from the specific *devices and practices* that inextricably enable and constrain it. Additionally, Laborier and Lascoumes's (2004) use of Foucault's methods bring into focus policy instruments and delineate many forms: sanctioned directives (laws and regulations), financial reporting (tax deductions or direct and indirect economic aid), and knowledge and comparison of populations (statistical observations) (Laborier & Lascoumes, 2004).

Dean also deals with Foucault's work on *governmentality*. Notably, Dean (2010), operationalizes Foucauldian analytical resources in order to propose a different diagnose of the ongoing transformations in the study of government. Dean uses Foucault's methods to help discern the sociological and economic choices and limitations that influence individual experiences in the present. Additionally, Dean's (2010) use of Foucault's archaeology leads to the excavation of the analytics of government, which he defined as "the study of the organized practices through which we are governed and through which we govern ourselves" (p. 28). These analytics (also known as regimes of practices of government) involve practices for the production of truth and knowledge, comprise multiple forms of practical, technical, and calculated rationality, and are subject to programmes for their reform. Thus, Dean's manuscript works with various Foucauldian tools in order to explore the notion of governmentality as a contribution to the critique of political reason, and it offers analytical resources to diagnose the ongoing transformations in the arts of government.

In the field of organisational and management theory, a compilation put together by McKinlay and Starkey (1998) illustrates several authors and projects that work with Foucault by examining and applying Foucault's concepts to organisational and

management narratives. For example, Savage's (1998) research applies Foucault's genealogical approach to shed light on the notion of 'career' as a device that is tied up with the dynamics of modern disciplinary power. Traditionally, career was seen as a generic feature of modern, rational society, where it was essential to ensure that individuals in positions of power would not be inclined to use such positions for self-aggrandizement (Weber, 1978) – or, from a human capital theory perspective, career ladders might be seen as ways of retaining skilled employees by securing their loyalty to specific firms. By working with Foucault, Savage uses the great nineteenth-century railway companies and their geographically dispersed workforce as a case example of how an organization that, unable to enforce elaborate rule books and stringent penalties, used the managerial monitoring of individual career paths as a control device and alternative form of disciplinary action. Similarly, Hoskin (1998) works with Foucault's notion of power and knowledge to analyse the field of accounting. Under this lens, accounting becomes a set of practices and a discourse aimed at disaggregating an organization and laying the actions of all its members open to critical scrutiny, comparison, and modification. In particular, management accounting is seen as the centre of modern management, which reflects a set of practices making individuals transparently knowable, their divisional performances comparable, and the larger organization governable.

Drawing from this work and furthering the discourse, Armand Hatchuel (1999) critiques and highlights other possible research paths Foucault's work could be taken down. More importantly, however, Hatchuel's work gives us an example of a social scientist working with Foucault and applying Foucault's ideas. Hatchuel argues that the

genealogists' perspective is not enough; research should look past the current forms of discipline. Instead, Hatchuel applies Foucault's genealogical method in order to trace the origins of disciplinary forms. Using Foucault in this way, these forms—seen more as “forms of rationalization” or rational myths—were then traced to see how they end up transforming into forms of discipline. Exemplifying a unique way of working with Foucault, this research inspired Hatchuel to bring this reorientation of management to the French audience and, thus, co-edited and authored a manuscript, *Gouvernement, organisation et gestion : l'héritage de Michel Foucault* (2005). In this manuscript, several authors confront several contemporary and management disciplines through Foucault in many forms. In other words, Foucault was used as a critical lens to confront classical cultures and assumptions that were not critically challenged by excavating different discourses and practices. For example, Hatchuel's chapter (2005) explore the question of whether Foucault could be considered a theorist of management and organizational studies. In his investigation, Hatchuel redeploys Foucault as part of a new epistemology, which he called ‘epistemology of collective action’ (2005, p. 15). Hatchuel's use of Foucault in the chapter allowed him to reinterpret organisational practices—total quality management, organizational behaviour, strategic planning, evaluation—not simply as supported by a certain knowledge and understandings, but also in a way that enabled him to excavate and delineate the formation of these practices in order to better understand them.

Foucault's work found an innovative new use in the context of organisational studies inspired by a reorientation of his later work. Notably, Starkey and Hatchuel (2002) apply Foucault's discursive method and analysis to shed new light and provide new critical

insights into organisational theories. Rather than focusing on Foucault's second phase/middle years work – work that focused on discipline and punishment as panoptic practices and led to his genealogical analysis of modern power/knowledge formations – Starkey and Hatchuel (2002) argue that researchers should focus on his third-phase work, the transformation of oneself and the shift from 'Know thyself' to 'Take care of yourself'. According to Starkey and Hatchuel (2002), Foucault's later work looks at forms of self-discipline exercised in the pursuit of pleasure and ethics. By working with Foucault's later work, the application of his methods enables the reframing of forms of organization in terms of “non-dogmatic normativity.” In other words, Foucault's methods can be used to initiate a different account through the use of ‘pleasure’ as experienced through the medium of *self-selected* collective constraints. This operation of Foucauldian methods of analysis, thus, allows for the foundations of goals of organizational theory to be reformulated in a more generic way. For example, Starkey and Hatchuel point to the unintended consequences of self-discipline in white-collar work. Decades ago the white-collar worker, stimulated by organizational life, was praised for the variety of his work and for self-development; however, a large number of employees experience the supposed advantages in a less favourable way and the supposed total commitment to organizational life creates over-intensification, unsustainability and bleeds into the employee's everyday personal life. Therefore, in Foucauldian terms, autonomy has no permanent meaning that can be separated from a set of technologies of the self (autonomy seen not only as a universal value, but also as a form of work rationalization dependent upon existing practices of self-governance).

Similarly, Miller and Rose (2008) use Foucault's notions to examine and explain the diversity of regulatory mechanisms that seek to give effect to government. In particular, Foucault's work is used to delineate indirect mechanisms that link the conduct of individuals and organisations to political objectives through 'action at a distance.' Thus, Foucault, in the context of Miller and Rose's work, is deployed as a method to excavate connections; as a window to examine and explain order, process and power; and as a means to reframe and problematize the state.

Finally, in the field of museum and cultural studies, Bennett (1995) uses Foucault's genealogy as a way of excavating and delineating the history of the public museum in the nineteenth century. Bennett uses Foucauldian methods to highlight the pre-museum development and establishment of museums as open to all and part of a larger process in which governments enlisted culture to civilize the population. Like Foucault's work on the prison and asylum, Bennett's use of genealogy also highlights links to power, whereby the museum reflects an institution designed to impose order on people through disciplinary practices. In Bennett's research, the open spaces in museums existed for the lower classes, where they would be exposed and expected to learn to emulate middle-class codes of behaviour. While Foucault's prison and asylum conceal their occupants and the exercise of disciplinary power from the public eye, Bennett draws similarities with museums – arguing that they, instead, sought to create a self-regulating citizenry. With the help of Foucault's genealogical method, Bennett highlights the discursive practices he argued were used to display power and knowledge and expose the population to the principles of order (Bennett T. , 1995).

In this dissertation, the work and interpretations of Foucault are used in museum studies, policy studies, and management. This dissertation draws inspiration from this approach and excavates the discursive practices (management strategies, political activities, and curatorial practices) of the ecomuseum with a specific emphasis on juxtaposing its knowledge creation and social activist practices of ecomuseums (new museology discourse) with those of large public museums (museology discourse). From a policy perspective, this dissertation surveys the public participation and policy change claims made by ecomuseums and the new museology movement, which is largely driven by the aforementioned research questions: are ecomuseums also able to reconnect with policymakers, and, if so, how?

1.5 Scholarly coordinates

The theoretical coordinates of this dissertation are grounded in Foucault's archaeology and discourse. Essentially, this manuscript proposes a limited use of Foucault—his archaeology phase—in order to expose and analyse discursive formations which were, in these cases, a supposed discourse of democracy. Foucault's method and understanding of the world provides us with an understanding of how the world and the fabric that underlies it work. More specifically, Foucault's archaeology allows us to excavate the root values and norms that define the discourse and drives the discursive practices that are imposed on individuals and allows them to initiate dialogue and exchanges through exhibits and presentations that may lead to controversial narratives. In some cases, these practices led to more fruitful dialogue and policy change, while others simply ended up as a reflection of a community's stance. What is important, were the practices that

attempted to make change—to shift, to some degree, the *status quo*— and the strategies, practices, and social space in which these actions took place.

This dissertation does *not* evaluate these practices or *judge* them as a ‘success’ or ‘failure’ in achieving their social action goals. In line with Foucault’s use of the tool, the archaeological examination was used to *describe* the various practices, representations of practices, communications, and networks of local and community museums – most notably the ecomuseum. With this in mind, it was generally accepted that a weakness of this approach and the fruits of this dissertation would be missing ‘causes’ of the transitions or even the lack of explanatory power, given the nature of archaeology is to provide distance and offer detached description of discursive formations.

In operationalizing these concepts, this dissertation draws similarities from one of Foucault’s earliest works, *Birth of the Clinic* (1973 [1963]). For example, part of the objective of Foucault’s manuscript was to shed light on the overarching discursive formation and sceptically challenge the pre-existing narratives, such as the myth and appearance of the clinic, as historical fact. According to Foucault (1973 [1963]), this historical fact was a very specific ‘carving up’ of things (like the state, madness, sexuality, criminality) and, in order to figure out how and why this happened, he first examined the various practices and representations of practices that existed in certain periods. As earlier established, this manuscript problematizes the myths regarding the common role and objectives of museums, museum professionals (like the curator), and the common myth in the perceived relationship between the public and the museum.

Juxtaposing the doctor and the curator, it seems clear that there are several interesting links between them. Foucault (1973 [1963]) argues that doctors are perceived as

amazingly wise due, in part, to their extensive training with life and death, leading to a special ‘clinical gaze’ that is unattainable through regular education. This ‘gaze’ provides a special unchallengeable status to the discipline. Arguably, this ‘medical gaze’ is similar to the *sense* of distinction and prestige used to establish museum curators – a role that did not always exist and that, arguably, emerged in response to quality critiques of early museums that were often haphazardly formed and presented many inaccuracies for the sake of entertainment instead of historical knowledge. The creation of such a role solidified and firmly established standards and professionalism within the museum sector.

It can be argued that, because of this distinction, curators are seen as the primary authority in museums due to their ability to know how to ‘appropriately’ assemble displays and establish which objects and artefacts are a ‘better fit.’ In many ways, the museum curator is what legitimized the traditional notion of the museum as a source of expertise and knowledge, much like doctors or professors play the same role for clinics or schools. However, the museum’s—along with the curator’s—authority is debatable, insecure, and far from absolute due, in part, to the growing diversity of museums with differing ideologies and the expansion of visitors that has led to a broader contemporary audience (Fyfe, 2006). Jenkins (2012) argues that the unstable role of the curator is due, in part, to the internal criticism and campaigning that emerged from internal experts (senior curators and other museum professionals). Even with the internal uncertainty facing the status and authority of the curator or the museum, it was important for this dissertation to look over the development and prestige of this position, of how this myth of status and expertise came to be. The historical excavation examined the museum and

the role of the curator as a position largely affected and legitimized/de-legitimized by the discourse of museology and the emergence of a new museology (a critical science discipline of the museum). As a cultural institution, museums are based on disciplines (museology). Curators, for the early traditional museum, were traditionally art historians, natural scientists, and ethnographers. The emergence of a new museology represents an alternative museology discipline (based on a social and critical lens), an empowered public and community as the new grassroots curators (resisting classical curators), and different discursive practices that reforms the narrative (curating social issues and policies over objects).

This analysis was done in an effort to better examine and explain the discursive formation of a cultural institution, to excavate practices or instances that reflect their claims of embodying a social action discourse. Again, in other words, in order to understand how a museum could make ‘social change’ and largely embody the spirit of a social action (and resistance) discourse, this dissertation examined the museum’s practices. These were all examined in the face of the predominant classical museology discourse, which is housed in many current public museums. These alternative discourses provided the dissertation with an interesting antagonistic dialogue that illustrates how museums can overcome the struggle of remaining submerged beneath the dominant classical museology discourse and, ultimately, engage with practices that, under social and policy lenses, can achieve more.

Essentially, this is a dissertation that excavates and examines discourses—an ensemble system of social, political, cultural languages, meanings, codes, relationships, that construct, maintain, and challenge the social order; these practices (discursive practices)

are the process(es) through which social reality comes into being (Foucault, 1972 [1969]). Discourses are more than ways of thinking and producing meaning; simply put, these systems of thought are composed of ideas, norms, values, actions, *etc.* that construct the subjects and the worlds in which they describe and speak. Thus, discourse is mediated by objects that limit what can be spoken of, rituals that dictate where and how one can speak, and the privileged who determine who can speak. Without further speculation about the collective meaning of these ensemble statements, practices and overall realities, the first step is an excavation of the discursive practices of local and community museums.

For Foucault, excavation means tracing the role of discourses in wider social processes of legitimating dominant knowledge, emphasizing the construction of current truths, how they are maintained and what power relations they carry with them. In a broad sense, excavating and surveying these various discursive practices means understanding that they have no shared definitive structure and no standardised ordering principle, and can take on many forms. In the museum, one can then presume that anything—from artefacts and exhibits, to administrative and organisational rules, or even building architecture, social practices, and promotional materials—can signify a discursive practice. Thus, through the examination and analysis of these practices, this dissertation asked how a museum's paradigm—through its penetration of various social practices—affects the role played by its statements or how it constitutes new statements.

Chapter 2: Research Method

In the previous chapter, it was established that an archaeological approach would be used in this dissertation. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the method by: 1) positioning where this study sits in the context of public policy; 2) describing the data source and explaining the usefulness of case studies in this context; and, 3) elaborating on ‘how’ this dissertation operationalized the archaeology in a meaningful way.

First, data collection and case studies are explained. This section highlights Foucault’s broad conception of data, the interesting constraints this means and implies, and the importance and role of the archive. Additionally, by illustrating this view of data, the unique characteristics of case studies are shown to be useful in tandem with descriptive approaches. This section ends with a cursory examination of the various ecomuseums in Canada, and highlights some which may be suitable for this dissertation. Finally, this chapter outlines a heuristic model to illustrate how this dissertation operationalized Foucault’s approach. The model below represents the organisation of data and the writing process, while the table below is an elaboration on how data is sorted, and for what questions it seeks to answer. Indeed, both the model and table are oversimplifications of Foucault’s thoughts and process; however, for the purposes of this dissertation, they serve as a useful visual demonstration of how this research unfolded.

2.1 Data collection

It is important to understanding the role the archive plays in terms of shedding light on data collection and—more importantly—discursive formations (*i.e.* classical museology and new museology). In reinterpreting its role, Foucault (1972 [1969]) argues that the archive was just a system of *statements* for events and *things* that set rules and conditions,

and relations defining statements and discourses (p. 145). Thus, in this sense, archived documents were conceived simply as monuments (*i.e.* things, objects, sources) of the past in which the archaeological method—through the process of transforming them back into documents—examined no differently than how one would describe a concrete artefact. This means, in accordance with Foucault’s aforementioned rejections, archived documents should not be assumed or thought of as ‘history’ or some type of retelling of ‘truth.’ Instead, it is more important to look to many different ‘monuments,’ describe them, explore how various statements arose and, ultimately, functioned in discourse. In doing so, Foucault sought to avoid transcribing discourse within traditional unities like genre or oeuvre; instead, he sought dynamic dispersions in order to describe the sum of component parts brought together for a specific exigence. According to Foucault, “[t]he rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division” (p. 42).

In order to excavate the dispersions of the new museology discourse, site visits, ecomuseum archives, and local archives were sought out. Similarly, considering the difficulty in reaching people or their limited first-hand experience of many early historic events, much of this research drew from archives and other internationally accessible record storage centres. In particular, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Council of Museums (ICOM) were important sources in Section II of the history and throughout this manuscript, as these documents—among others—establish the identity and promoted practices (*e.g.* trainings, laws in which to abide, current concerns and problems, *etc.*) of the classical museum. These sources enabled this research to highlight contrasts in the discursive

formations that house the classical museum and the ecomuseum. Additionally, the establishment of an international committee for museums was especially informative of the positions held by renowned scholars and museum professionals regarding the museum and the field of museum studies – particularly through their debates and accepted resolutions and recommendations. Thus, these organisations played the role of archive, insofar as they housed records of committee meetings which serve as artefacts that expose the different social and political context(s) behind the rise of ecomuseums as a discourse.

2.2 Case studies

In order to dig deeper and make use of Foucauldian concepts like discursive formations, several case studies were required. Not only were case studies ideal for answering questions pertaining to ‘how’ relationships between actors or institutions were formed, they also revealed ‘what’ happened when the ecomuseums were formed – all within the natural context of the museums, themselves (Meredith, 1998; Yin, 2009). Furthermore, the case study approach helped this dissertation understand the context-dependent interactions of ecomuseums – which were, in some cases, extremely complex, especially when tracing them across more than a single entity (Gerring, 2004). Thus, in trying to excavate and uncover the practices imposed on individuals, and the links between statements and things informing these practices (*i.e.* other cultural institutions, public policies, circumstantial events in the community, *etc.*), the case study approach was able to shed light on the wide spectrum of influential variables. Finally, the case study approach allowed for a deeper delving into the cognitive and normative frameworks that drive institutional practices and that have allowed them to form and

persist. In sum, these case studies situate and locate a specific iteration of the museum (l'écomusée), and provides an intellectual history of the critical French tradition of this discursive movement in tandem with museology and classical museology.

Out of the three types of multi-case studies (comparative, longitudinal, and interpretive), this dissertation loosely followed an interpretive multi-case study design. This method was chosen in order to develop a better understanding of an 'issue' or 'issues' through a collection of cases (McNabb, 2010; Stake, 2006). Given that the focus of this research was on uncovering and excavating the overall homogenous discourse of ecomuseums (not necessarily the individual discourses), the resulting discursive practices, and all of the subsequent dynamics and policy actions, this loosely followed interpretative approach was deemed the most appropriate.

Some authors have posited that multi-case research should include between four and ten cases because anything less than four cases may not provide enough variability in the results, while more than ten cases could provide too much variability (Stake, 2006). Given the high amount of cultural institutions from which to choose, this dissertation used four cases. There was no guarantee that each institution would have many pre-existing instances where it connected with outside actors to convey knowledge from citizens. Thus, in order to ensure there was enough variability and instances where the institution had reached out to outside actors, at least four cases were preferred to better understand the different practices and subsequent implications made by ecomuseums, to clarify the dynamics of those relationships, and understand the cognitive and normative frameworks that reinforced those individuals and their choices (Creswell, 2007).

Preliminary research—as highlighted in [Appendix B](#)—into Canadian ecomuseums uncovered 21 ecomuseums, 16 located in Québec, two in Ontario, one in New Brunswick, one Newfoundland and Labrador, and one in Alberta. It is important to note that despite the higher number of potential cases (especially when considering cases outside the country¹³), this dissertation’s focus was, again, not necessarily on comparisons or longitudinal study; rather, its focus was an archaeological excavation of the prevalent discourses, and the actions and practices that were reinforced. In other words, while links were drawn between cases, it was more important to focus on large, descriptive, qualitative explanations. Therefore, such an approach intrinsically took care of any concerns regarding the external validity of generalised conclusions based on final sample counts.

Out of all the museums uncovered, the four cases chosen were: *l'Écomusée du fier monde* (ÉFM), *l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà* (ÉAD), *le musée québécois de culture populaire* (MQCP), and the Workers History Museum (WHM). These case studies were chosen due to their similarities in claims regarding, among other things: missions and objectives, community engagement and participation, practices and management strategies, and intertwined relationship between community and environment. From these museums, an inventory of physical and digital documents was collected (See Appendix Document Inventory). Some examples of documentation collected included: collected email exchanges, public documents (official memos, annual reports, bylaws, self-reported

¹³ According to *La Fédération des écomusées et des musées de société* (FEMS), there are around 120 members and more than 180 structures including open-air museums, museums of society, and interpretation centres in Europe, with most located in France (FEMS, 2014). Furthermore, in their work surveying and documenting museums for the purpose of comparison, Maggi and Falletti (2000) highlighted several European (again, mostly located in France) ecomuseums, including similar museum-types such as demo-ethno-anthropological museums, *freelichtmuseums*, *open-air museums*, and *heimetmuseums*. Some notable European examples of ecomuseums outside of France included *l'Écomusée Roscheider Hof* at Konz (Germany), and *la Domaine provincial de Bokrijk*, Fourneau Saint-Michel at Saint-Hubert, and *l'Écomusée de Ben-Ahin* at Huy (all three in Belgium).

histories, exhibit notes and programs, meeting minutes, records, archival material, *etc.*), media releases, personal notes on observations at public meetings, and notes on key informant interviews. Together, these dynamic dispersions of objects and statements form the components of the discourse, which, in turn, programs the discursive practices. Subsequently, these items, in tandem with site visits, were what made up the bulk of the information on which this dissertation drew in order to answer the research questions highlighted in chapter one.

2.3 Data analysis and process

With data collection established and cases chosen, the process of reporting needs to be delineated. In accordance with many of the elaborations and principles clarified in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972 [1969]), the analysis process for each case began with the sorting of data into three assorted sections: 1) conditions of possibilities; 2) claims and actions of the ecomuseum; and, 3) resulting effects and implications (see Figure 1 below). Essentially, this heuristic is an oversimplification of Foucault's complex process, but is used to highlight one possible way to process and sort the collected data.

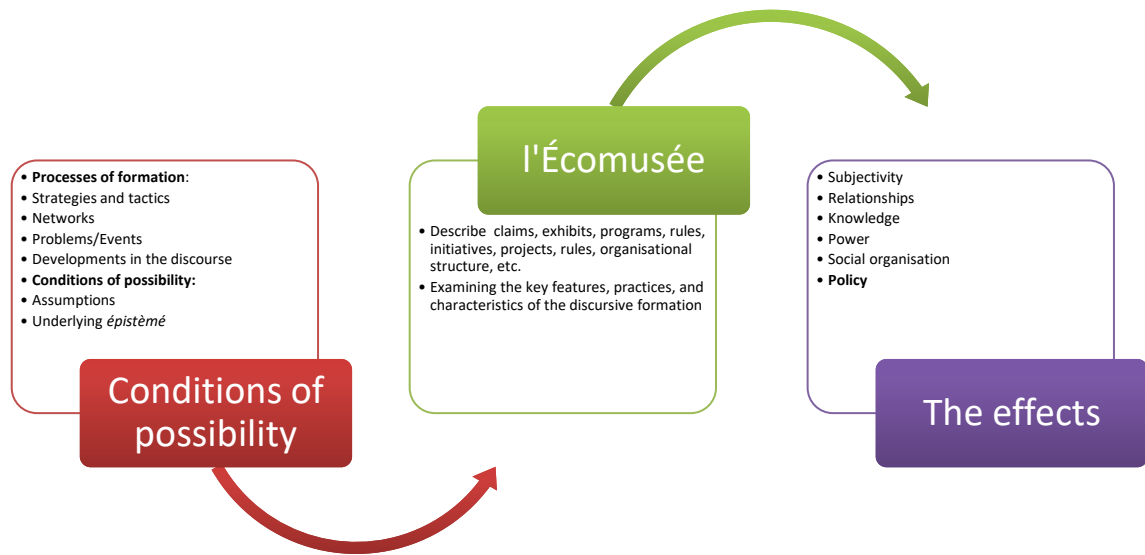


Figure 1 Case study archaeology process

In the same vein, Table 1 below details how this case study process was written. Again, drawing from this three-step process, the table clarifies the questions asked and essentially emphasises how this information was used to describe these steps. For instance, step one was to describe the conditions of possibility for the discursive formation. To do this, information was needed regarding: the individuals and organisations involved; the factors, problems, or events; the assumptions; the existing discourse; the relations between all, *etc.* This information was acquired through 4-6 key informant interviews for each case, and 5-8 site, event, and exhibit visits. Site visits were more frequent where a physical museum was available (*i.e.* ÉFM and MQCP); on the other hand, a more developed digital and communications presence (WHM and ÉAD) facilitated archival research as documents were digitized and more accessible.

3-Step Archeology and Analysis of Ecomuseum Case studies		
Step 1 - What are the conditions of possibility for the discursive formation?	Step 2 – What are the functions and practices of the discursive formation?	Step 3 - What effects does this discourse seek/serve to construct?
- Who were involved? - What factors were involved? - What was the problem/event? - What were the underlying assumptions? - What was the underlying <i>épistémé</i>? - What was the set of relations within which all of these other factors?	- Who is said to be involved in the ecomuseum? - Who is excluded and on what basis? - What is said about the relationship between the ecomuseum and the public? - What is said about ecomuseums' roles and responsibilities? - What is said about the ecomuseums' rights, powers and abilities? - What is said about ecomuseums' duties and obligations? Describing/Examining different roles/positions: (1) Director/Management; (2) workers/volunteers; (3) the public; (4) other organizations - What is said about the roles and responsibilities? - What is said about the rights, powers, and abilities? - What is said about the duties and obligations? - What is said about who is allowed to hold this role/position? - What is said about the person of this role/position? - Are there any other persons involved in this role/position? - What do they do? - What is the role/position expected or trained to do?	- What is empowered/freed up and what is constrained/disabled? - What discursive practices are promoted in this discourse and what were undermined? - Who is empowered/freed up and who is constrained/disabled? - What control of the body is promoted in this discourse and who is to exercise this control? - What subjectivities exist in this discourse? - What objects exist in this discourse? - What existing ones were reinforced or undermined? - What is known and what is not worth knowing in this discourse? - What form of social organization is constructed by this discourse? - What social practices and institutions exist in this discourse? - What constitutes valid and invalid knowledge in this discourse? - What existing knowledge was reinforced or undermined by this discourse and what new knowledge was developed? - What rules govern this discourse—what is unsayable or illegitimate?

Table 1 Questions for archaeology process

From a broad perspective, each case includes an illustration of the process of formation (conditions for possibility), the claims and the actions (practices) used to achieve these claims, and the effects, implications, and consequences of these discursive practices. Thus, by illustrating this picture, the dissertation is able to point to specific policy actions or changes through the various practices and effects.

II: The Evolution of the Museum's Public Mission: A Social and Historical Perspective

Chapter 3: Museums *For* the Public

The purpose of this chapter is to broadly explore the historical trends and development of the museum by analysing the first body of museum literature (democratisation and decentralisation), and to study the overarching discursive evolution of the relationship between the community (*i.e.* local people, the public, *etc.*), the museum, and government. In other words, this chapter is to survey the context and provide a new interpretation of events by tracing the various strategies and activities related to knowledge production, and examining how these approaches produce and maintain asymmetric levels of power and privilege between the government and the public by using the museum as an authoritative space and instrument of public conditioning. In other words, this survey of museum literature explores several questions: how was the museum conceived? What was it meant to do, and how? What were the various implications and effects? How did this change or maintain the relationship between the public and the government? In order to do this, this chapter begins by briefly examining the origins of pre-1940s museums and how they were used to exert the will of rich elite and royal owners. Finally, this chapter traces the origins of classical museology as developed around the 1940s under the firm hand of many museum professionals through institutions like ICOM. In particular, the development of a museology (a discipline and professional movement) is traced as it emerged from various international policies, conference papers, committee recommendations, *etc.*

3.1 Museums Pre-1940s: A practice of collecting and displaying royal power

Before the birth of the classical museum or the establishment of large international associations like ICOM, the evolutionary idea of housing collections fundamentally changed how knowledge was conceptualised and organised. Several authors—*e.g.* Tony Bennett (1995; 2004), Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1992; 2000), Georges Bataille (2004 [1930]), Germain Bazin (1967), *etc.*—have documented, contributed, and critiqued the understanding, development, genealogy, and history of these collections as a reflection of early museums and museum studies. Much of their research discussed the etymology, genealogy, and function of the traditional museum and its derivation from the Greek *mouseion*, a term that signified a place or sanctuary of the nine mythical female Muses. There were further connections with the term museum and the philosophical schools and halls that were set apart for the study of music; this innovative Renaissance notion of a place (a museum) that could act as a refuge for all arts.

In the seventeenth century, these early collections began to change. This change was largely the result of the inconsistencies that emerged in the development of these spaces. Essentially, what was largely missing from these early museums was a coherent field and structure of knowledge. On the one hand, according to Hooper-Greenhill (1992), the conception of knowledge and authenticity, and even the act of collecting, had continuously shifted throughout the various *épistémè* (Renaissance, Classical, and Modern). For example, the origins of the early science museums were traced to the curiosity cabinets of Renaissance princes where these sixteenth century collections were structured around the principles of rarity and novelty. On the other hand, following shifts in science and knowledge categorisation, the seventeenth century collections witnessed

moves toward organizing collections along more taxonomic lines. In other words, there were changes to criteria for authenticating and validating scientific findings and research that led to shifts in where experiments could be carried out (defined spaces like laboratories). This revolution in how knowledge was conceived became a way of self-legitimizing the institution, sharply contrasted with principles of the prior century that focused on worthiness and the gentlemanly status (nobility) of the scientist.

In the late eighteenth century, another reordering of collections and classifications emerged. By this time, museums and other assorted collections of art, scientific interests, and curiosities were largely housed in enclosed spaces that restricted public access. According to Bennett (1995; 2003), these spaces served to demonstrate royal power, symbolize family power, function as an instrument of learning, and, in turn, create classifications of the people that categorized collections according to their prestige and wealth. In presenting this bourgeois status, these early museums functioned as an instrument of domination that cemented the asymmetric relationship of authority between the public (the dominated) and the ruling cultural elite (the museums and its owners). This antagonistic relationship slowly led to various reforms that enabled many artistic and cultural works to be dispersed and reconstituted in public museums with the intention of creating a more accessible space for communities and the general public to enjoy (Bennett T. , 1995).

In contrast to these dominating versions of the museum and collections, other scholars viewed the relationship between the public and museums as much less antagonistic, and more as a necessary reciprocal relationship that required the public to instil meaning in these institutions. For example, Bataille (2004 [1930]) argues that these early museums

required visitors and crowds to inject life-giving oxygen into the waning process of encapsulation—a function of the museum that could turn everything into an itemized, analysed, and conserved object. In a similar vein, Lyotard muses that the works displayed in art museums were “emptied”, “bloodless” and “no longer valid for themselves, in their presence, but as signs of a lost life” and seemingly redeemed only by its “power to conserve” (Lyotard, 1991, p. 146). Furthermore, Adorno links museums with mausoleums: the phonetic association they share has had the unpleasant overtone of ‘museal,’ which describes the objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying (Adorno, 1981, p. 175). Additionally, Adorno argues that museums are “like the family sepulchres of works of art. They testify to the neutralisation of culture” (Adorno, 1981, p. 175).

In sum, while the idea of the ‘pre-classical museum’ can take many different forms—from grandiose temples and beautiful palaces to lowly cultural fairs, and even simple street corner buildings—how this institution has functioned has been far from consistent, generally shifting in accordance with how society classified and understood knowledge. In addition, the relationship between the public and the museum was far from clear. On one hand, these institutions were owned and operated by the royal elite and bourgeoisie and functioned relatively exclusively under generally self-interested goals. On the other hand, the function and existence of many of these early institutions required the public to attend and visit in order to legitimize this displayed authority, rarity, and power. Despite these inconsistencies, what was clear was the hierarchical power and authority of museums and their owners. The idea of having a community (publicly owned) museum would have been relatively unheard of and, thus, the control of what was displayed, the

narratives produced, and the overall message mobilised remained in the hands of the royals and elites.

3.2 Classical Museology 1940s-1960s: A discipline of museums

It can be argued that the classical museum began in 1946 when ICOM, a non-governmental organization, was born. In its founding bylaws, ICOM defined museums as: “all collections open to the public, of artistic, technical, scientific, historical or archaeological material, including zoos and botanical gardens, but excluding libraries, except in so far as they maintain permanent exhibition rooms” (Article II - Section 2). Through this definition, a museum is understood as a physical place under a thematic category that is open for public viewing. The 1951 ICOM definition mutated to prescribe a purpose. According to article II, the museum is an institution whose purpose is “preserving, studying, enhancing by various means and, in particular, of exhibiting to the public for its delectation and instruction groups of objects and specimens of cultural value” (ICOM Statutes, July 1951). Again, these same discourses are reaffirmed in 1961 when ICOM described the museum as an institution that “conserves and displays” for “education and entertainment” (ICOM, Statutes, November 1961). Hints of the museum’s hierarchical nature as an exclusive and elitist institution start to take form in these prescriptions through expressions like “to the public” for its “delectation” and “instruction,” or through reminders of the museum’s central focus of preservation and self-study. Similarly, in 1958, UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) offered a delineation of the museum discipline as “the branch of knowledge concerned with the study of the purposes and organization of museums” (UNESCO, 1958, p. 12). Together, these developments marked the beginning of the

classical museum movement and the slow evolutionary process that shaped what is now defined as a 'museum' (a place based on a discipline) and museology (a body of knowledge and science of the museum informing its practices, techniques, and strategies).

It is clear from these statutes that the role of large-scale contemporary public museums of art or natural history has been quite narrow, limited to functions within the walls of the institution, itself. This interpretation served to further ICOM's 1946 definition of museums by playing two roles. First, museums were the knowledge preserving archivists of society. They collected objects and artefacts and pieced them together to create a supposed 'apolitical' narrative of history, which was largely exclusive and focused on categorizing and comparing history as decided by those who owned and managed the museums. Second, museums imparted this knowledge to the public; they showcased their collections to their public in an effort to 'educate' and 'civilise' them (a democratisation of culture approach). Together, these roles created and maintained the illusion of political neutrality in the distribution of knowledge of museums' displays and exhibits. Furthermore, these tasks implied a separation of the museum and its public, and, thus, maintained an identity that is divisive and exclusionary. In general, it can be argued that this museum movement of the 1940s to 1960s was characterized by its prevailing objective to maintain the public at arm's (out-reach rather than in-reach) length through efforts to decentralise and democratise the museum.

From the perspective of the public, the diverse collections of monuments, artefacts, and pictures all came with narratives devised by the museum. By visiting museums, the public subjected itself to information presented as 'knowledge' and, in turn, were

supposed to be ‘educated’ by the experience. The overlapping point is in understanding the role of the relationship between the museum and society. Or, put differently, how the idea of the museum fits with the general public (the local, regional, national community, and beyond). For museums, education was a tool to impose its ‘knowledge’ and ‘truth’ on the general public. In addition, the establishment of organizations like the UNESCO, ICOM, and more localised versions (*e.g.* the Canadian Museums Association, *le Société des musées québécois*, etc.) sustained the museum movement by creating a shared compendium of knowledge (some level of agreement on what constitutes the proper creation of ‘knowledge’) between museums. Furthermore, these organisations served to legitimize these actions and techniques through an organized discipline and body of knowledge (museology).

In sum, three general discursive trends can be said to have developed in this emerging museum movement. First, the development of a discipline, historical compendium, and shared collective knowledgebase from which curators (among other museum workers) drew. Through this discipline, self-interested goals like preservation and conservation, collecting and study, were promoted. These goals (that were *for* and not *of* the public) subsequently promoted particular skills, which then reinforced certain museum strategies and practices over others. Second, this discipline inaugurated the work of museum employees and curators as ‘professional.’ By creating this ‘expertise’ and authenticity (authority) in the cultural sector, a certain legitimization was created and reinforced through this exclusive and self-serving discipline and knowledge. Finally, through this discipline and using these techniques, one of the museum’s major objectives revolved around creating and maintaining an asymmetric power relation between the museum

(owners and managers) and the public. In this case, the museum was used as a tool to discipline the public nonchalantly (and condescendingly) by suggesting the objects, exhibits, and narratives were there to ‘educate’ and ‘civilize’ them.

3.21 An internally-focused discipline

Beginning with the inaugural (interim) ICOM conference in 1947, elements of the classical museum – its lack of concern with society, internally-driven scientific curiosities, and obsession with categories – began to assemble. In particular, there are many instances where agreed-upon policies and declarations excluded (or ignored) the local public or greater society. For instance, in the 1947 ICOM conference, resolution 13 proposed that member-states be financially supported in order to explore “the conservation of wild nature and landscape beauty, collecting information on successful experiences.” Nowhere in this resolution is there mention that member-states should seek social or democratic implications, or that they should investigate how the resolution’s objectives relate to the political environment.

Furthering the exclusionary nature of the 1947 ICOM conference, the 1948 conference saw the creation of technical committees that reflected the same internally-concerned attitude for classical museums as expressed in resolution 13. Particular emphasis was placed on creating committees relating to aesthetic culture, like architecture, and to the skill-development and training required in implementing appropriate conservation and preservation techniques (resolution 2). Moreover, a special committee was tasked with exploring the possible conditions of collections stored in “American, British and French zones of occupation” that also needed preservation and restoration (resolution 4) (ICOM, 1948). This reflected a lack of sensitivity and complete disregard for the immediate social

and economic restructuring that was occurring in these areas at the time. In addition, these propositions did not reflect any willingness or initiative that could be used in service of the local public or various communities in these areas; instead, these initiatives were informed by hollow, object-centred goals driven by bourgeois self-interest.

The underlying desire that influences the classical museum discourse is self-preservation through the conservation and preservation of objects and collections. Examples of this include the creation of the *Documentation Service and Museums Section* of UNESCO, the *International Federation of Documentation*, and the *International Association of Standardization*, which can be seen as early attempts to firmly establish a sectoral discourse that would influence local and regional museums in order to standardise narratives and practices. This institutional influence would occur through the dissemination of publications with the ultimate goal of establishing museology as something more—perhaps something ‘professional’—than the sum of other academic disciplines. Archived reports from ICOM’s 1953 and 1965 conferences further elaborate on the notion of these influential exchanges, although they do not directly involve the Documentation Centre (ICOM, 1953; ICOM, 1965). For example, one resolution proposed the exchange of museum experts to consult in “aid of museums in countries undergoing development” and to “advise and assist, on their request and with their financial participation, those countries which find it particularly difficult to organize their museums and undertake the conservation of their monuments and historic sites” (1953.R2).

The exchange of personnel is reaffirmed in the 1965 report, along with re-establishing the importance of collection exchanges. Resolution 3 recommends that...

...museums, together with the administrative bodies and public or private institutions on which they are dependent, should facilitate as far as possible the creation of a series of bilateral or multilateral exchanges involving museum collections, individuals, and documentation. (1965.R3¶4)

Overall, the themes of conservation and protection formed the overwhelming discursive trend of the ICOM conferences (from 1947-1968). For example, there are resolutions regarding the impact that lighting has on objects (see: 1950.R16 and 1953.R4), concern for fire damage (see: 1950.R18), interest in the treatment of wood (see: 1953.R5 and 1959.R10), and concerns regarding security issues like armed conflict (see: 1953.R.8) and robbery (see: 1956.R25; 1959.R29). Additionally, there were several resolutions regarding the investigation and study (see: 1956.R12), treatment and conservation (see: 1956.R7; 1956.R13; 1956.R17; and, 1959.R21), and restoration (see: 1962.R26) of paintings, and the role of other institutions in preservation (see: 1959.R7). Conservation and protection were not limited to paintings. For example, there were proposals and resolutions for the conservation of graphic documents (see: 1959.R22), textiles (see: 1959.R23), and voice and song (see: 1947.R5). There were also resolutions for the preservation of animal products (see: 1959.R24), private photographic archives (see: 1959.R34), limestone, sandstone, and brick (see: 1959.R25), and nature and the environment (see: 1947.R13; 1953.R12; and, 1959.R5).

In addition to these examples, the notion of conservation and preservation was firmly established by ICOM to reaffirm its and its members' commitment to the organization's larger goal and mission at the 7th (1962) and 9th General Assemblies of ICOM (1968). For example, Resolution 1 at the 7th General Assembly indicates that the museum's mission

“is to promote, by means of their particular methods, the preservation and study of cultural property and its display for purposes of education and enjoyment” and recommends that it “be organized with these aims in view” (1962.R1¶1-2). This message was reiterated in Resolution 2, where it is stated that “the four fundamental missions of museums [are] study, conservation of cultural property, education and visual pleasure” (1962.R2§b). The 1968 conference drew on international agreements to help protect cultural properties like the *International Convention of The Hague* (1954), and the *International Recommendation of New Delhi* (1956) (1968.R.9). This was a result of concern “about the danger to the cultural heritage of various countries arising from the many armed conflicts now affecting several regions of the world” (1968.R.9). It was here that the discourse on preservation and conservation diverged with the sharing and exchange of knowledge and local history and culture.

3.22 ‘Professionalism’

During the official first biennial ICOM (1948) conference, one of the considerations in support of the creation of an International Documentation Centre was “that it is necessary to improve and develop, at the international level, the professional facilities available to museographers” (1948.R1¶1). In fact, a committee, called the inquiry on the museum profession, was charged with the task of studying the idea of museum professionals (see: 1953.R17; 1956.R24; 1962.R37). But what did this mean and why was it necessary? Three issues regarding ‘museographers’ and the notion of ‘professionalism’ emerged from ICOM’s 1947 and 1948 reports. First, the issue of training was initially brought up in ICOM’s 1947 meeting (1947.R8) along with concerns over the lack of creativity in “bring[ing] life into collections” (1947.R11). The complexity in completing certain

restorative methods (*e.g.* cleaning, diagnosis, repairing, inspecting, and recording), and the lack of resources were listed as concerns and, ultimately, were the reasons why a committee was requested to harmonise and optimise techniques to restore objects (1948.R7).

Second, extending from the emerging discipline of museology, there was a need for specialised committees to help create rules and define respective duties in order to achieve the best results and ensure the standardization of methods (1948.R2). Thus, the beginning of ICOM not only marked the development of a compendium of knowledge, but also its development into a distinct – separate from other fields – profession. Finally, the notions of collaboration and networking emerged from the discursive formation of profession. Early propositions included one to collaborate with the International Folklore Commission (see: 1948.R8). These propositions allowed ICOM and the Folklore Commission to coordinate studies in the field of ethnography and folklore. As the need to collaborate and network developed at the other conferences, it seemed to play a role in how ICOM and museum professionals as a whole establish themselves and institutionalised their influence in various facets of society. Additionally, ideas on museum training and refining the role of museum staff emerged in several forms. The 1950 conference in London cites the importance of restorers, their pivotal role in enhancing the museum, and the need for them to learn more through exchanges in order to benefit from knowledge acquired in various countries (see: 1950.R4). There were propositions to enhance and share practical knowledge; for example, a committee was created to formulate practical suggestions for curators regarding didactic exhibitions

(1956.R26) and to change the role of certain museums by establishing new principles to create shared standards (see: 1962.R2 & R15).

Finally, UNESCO's 1958 seminar in Rio de Janeiro and its 1965 conference in New York City mark a strong development in outlining the roles and requirements for museum personnel, especially the curator who was recognised as a main source of museological knowledge. For UNESCO, the follow-up seminar report highlighted basic training concerns, with specific issues in South America, and it presented qualification outlines for directors, curators, laboratory workers, education specialists, museographers, and librarians (UNESCO, 1958, pp. 14-16). Furthermore, the report presented discussions on how to improve qualifications, the rights of each position, and the international implications of doing so for various positions such as the need, the availability, and access to different levels of training, and the desire and need for authorities or regulations to govern these professions (UNESCO, 1958, p. 17). Similarly, the annex of resolution 8 in ICOM's conference report highlights the professional standards for each category of museum professional, such as curator, conservation and restoration personnel, persons in charge of educational and cultural activities, and technical personnel, while also highlighting the differences in small museums and how the resolution would affect the role of the curator (1965.R8ANX).

Moreover, the annex for ICOM's resolution 8 highlights the goal of standardizing training and unifying expectations. This resolution highlights the technical and educational requirements (diploma, postgraduate training, *etc.*), compensation (*e.g.* curators to have status and salary in line with that of a professional in the teaching

world), and—in some cases—duties and responsibilities outside the museum (*e.g.* research and scientific work). Ultimately, the annex proposed that:

10. UNESCO, ICOM and the Rome Centre should coordinate their efforts in an endeavour to:

- a. achieve the creation of a doctrine on the training of personnel, and make a summary of experiments at present being carried out;
- b. establish a plan for the creation and development of training centres at the international level, particularly by calling on the assistance of international cooperation;
- c. define the various types of centres and offer suggestions as to their programmes. (1965.R8ANX.§10)

The focus on training can be seen as motivated by and linked to two things: 1) the harmonisation of standards in order to prevent unqualified museum professionals from practicing and, thus, delegitimizing the influence of museums and weakening the trust between museums and the public, and 2) the need to improve and share technical knowledge and experiences that were lacking in other parts of the world.

The concern that unqualified museum professionals were entering and delegitimizing the field is similar to the concerns of ‘quacks’ practicing medicine, which led to the creation of a status and protection from the state of professional doctors (Foucault, 1973 [1963]). The quality of these ‘quacks’ was not uniform because many were lacking in training and experience, and this caused worse damage to their patients. For museums,

the establishment of ICOM in the 1940s, composed of museum experts, can be seen as a first step in avoiding unqualified museum experts. More steps were taken in 1965 (R8) and, again, at the 1968 conference in Munich, Germany, where two propositions were introduced focused on research (1968.R2) and training (1968.R7). Both resolutions put forth motions to enhance museum personnel, their status, and opportunities to scientifically train and research – much like Jiří Neustupný's handbook, *Museum and Research* (1968), which offers the first comprehensive image of museology. Production of Neustupný's handbook also provides a way of sharing and distributing training, and allows more museum professionals to be exposed to new standards and expectations.

Furthermore, archived reports from ICOM's conferences show that rules and committees were created to study and deepen the organisational roots of the museum as a 'profession.' These rules first emerged through changes in descriptions and identifications of specimens (see: 1953.R11), multilateral art exhibitions (see: 1962.R17), and the classification of documents of interest (see: 1962.R32). Also developed were new committees to deal with matters like contemporary architecture (see: 1956.R18), specialised museums (see: 1959.R17), security (see: 1956.R25), and amendments to ICOM's Constitution (see: 1956.R26). Finally, a committee on the 'inquiry on museum profession' (see: 1959.R38) was established to report on problems and information regarding the museum profession. Other changes that followed include changes to ICOM's legislation for museums (see: 1962.R38) and the aim to create incentives and prizes (see: 1962.R44).

Finally, beyond the organisational changes and rule amendments, the members of ICOM discussed creating more opportunities for networking and extending the reach of

museum experts in an effort to harmonise standards, increase training, and further sharing opportunities. These discussions led to the development of programs to promote new opportunities for applied art (see: 1950.R6), the coordination of new programs (see: 1962.R21), the exchange of museum personnel to help and develop museums (see: 1953.R1 and R14), and UNESCO-organized experts to “advise and assist, on their request and with their financial participation, those countries which find it particularly difficult to organize their museums and undertake the conservation of their monuments and historic sites” (1953.R2). Some of these efforts later cumulated with new projects (see: 1962.R52), budget increases (see: 1956.R28), and the development of new associations (see: 1962.R53). While these results benefited ICOM and allowed it to start recruitment campaigns (see: 1962.R6) and attempt to set up museum organisations in developing countries (see: 1962.R54), it was clear that a unified organisation of museums was needed to be equally harmonious. It was here that the elements of education and culture merged.

In sum, these developments culminated into the discursive trend of ‘professionalism’ that creates a new power and authority over the public and community and their culture. Through shared defined techniques, strategies, and goals, this authority is perpetuated. In other words, this formation of an agreed-upon comprehensive body of knowledge to inform museum workers and curators of their work tasks, strategies, and general objectives inaugurates the status of the work. By creating this ‘expertise’ and authenticity (authority) in the cultural sector, a certain legitimization is created and reinforced through this exclusive and self-serving discipline and knowledge.

3.23 Disciplining the public

‘Educating,’ ‘civilising,’ and ‘developing artistic taste’ for the public and community was not something new for museums. According to UNESCO’s 1958 Rio de Janeiro report on the educative role of museums, “[i]t is part of the duty of museums to maintain friendly relations with the community of which they are a part, in an atmosphere of mutual understanding” (UNESCO, 1958, p. 22). One of the principal objectives of the report was to develop museums in ways that grow educational programs to better introduce collections of objects to the public. Several recommendations emerged from the report, like establishing a strong relationship with the public, establishing a department with this very goal, and creating a society of friends of the museum that grants its members special privileges in recognition of their contributions and services supporting the museum. However, many of these suggestions implied separation of the museum (those who own and manage it) from its public (the subject of the museum). In other words, the museum—based on a conservative discipline (*i.e.* museology)—represented a social regulation process imposing top-down power relations with a divided identity between the museum and its public and community.

Similarly, the mission for museums to promote themselves was, again, explored at the ICOM’s 1962 conference in Amsterdam. According to the first motion:

Noting that the mission of museums is to promote, by means of their particular methods, the preservation and study of cultural property and its display for purposes of *education* and enjoyment,

Recommends that museums be organized with these aims in view,

Expresses the hope that the governing bodies of museums extend the necessary financial, technical and moral aid to enable museums to fulfil these aims.

[Emphasis added] (1962.R1)

This recommendation solidified the divided identity between the museum and the public it served, and the museum's duty to promote the preservation of cultural property so that it could 'educate' the public. Interestingly enough, this idea of 'educating' had already been established and explored at earlier ICOM and UNESCO meetings. For example, at the first ICOM conference in 1948, resolutions 3 and 6 acknowledged the importance of

the role played by museums in the popularization of arts, sciences and techniques and the opportunity for these establishments to act as *civilizing* influences

[emphasis added] (1948.R3)

...institutions to *develop the artistic taste* of the public cannot remain indifferent to industry, the products of which influence this taste [emphasis added] (1948.R6)

In later meetings, actions started to merge with elements of exchange, such as the traveling exhibition centre of education (see: 1953.R3) and the educational recommendations for museums of archaeology and history (see: 1956.R10-11). Essentially, museums needed to spread their influence in order to continue 'civilizing' and 'developing the artistic taste' of the public. In other words, one can view museums and the establishment of ICOM, the self-proclaimed expert in art, as a proclamation and crusade to impose their culture on the 'uncivilized'.

This approach to 'educate and civilize' extended well beyond the walls of the museum. It also emerged in attempts to influence schools through their syllabuses

(1950.R12), exhibits at children's museums (1950.R13), and exchanges and loans to schools (1950.R15). Furthermore, actions were taken to more generally increase the visibility and influence of museums. For example, resolution 18 of the 1953 conference sought to "increase the influence of museums" by establishing an international museums day (1953.R18), and, ultimately, creating a working party and submitting a report for "Recommendations on the Most Effective Means of Rendering Museums Accessible to Everyone" (1959.R37). From a cultural policy perspective, this process of 'civilizing' the public is often referred to as *the democratisation of culture*.

Given the historical inaccessibility of certain cultural items, which were traditionally housed in museums belonging to kings, princes and other elites, governments pursued programs and policies to promote greater public accessibility. These new policies promoted a public museum that shifted away from old tyrannical forms of control and glorification and, instead, sought to serve the collective good of the state through democratic education (Hooper-Greenhill, 1988). This vertical-top down-approach sought to culturally enlighten the public by allowing them access to the nation's collection of objects (Mulcahy, 2006).

Interestingly, while the discourse on education developed, an opposing narrative began to emerge. At the 1962 ICOM conference in Amsterdam, where the notion of educating the public was formalised, the issue of cultural heritage and the local historical context was raised. Resolution 5 states:

Recommends that these museums, notably those in countries in process of rapid development observe the following principles:

- a. the displays should in no way deride the cultural heritage,

- b. the displays should be arranged with reference to their local or general historical context.

Requests the ICOM Committee for Museums of Science and Technology and the Director of ICOM to join in initiating action in these fields. (1962.R5)

This resolution is similar to earlier resolutions that reinforced the importance of maintaining control over the public through cultural discipline. It also marked a critical – albeit small – step towards a new direction for museums. Rather than an imposed hermeneutically sealed interpretation of the museum that was free from any social-context, the museum was suddenly required to make reference to the local context and no longer act with condescending authoritative judgement. Instead, it would appear that some level of respect and sensitivity to cultural difference became decorum.

In sum, we see how a large international body, inspired by a conservative museology, reflected the exclusive norms and values that were largely self-interested and imposed practices privileging an asymmetric relationship between the cultural elites and the public through condescending ‘educational’ activities and regulations. With all this in mind, the public was seen as empty vessels needing to be ‘civilized’ in order to better understand and conform to the current cultural discourse. While these international trends reflect the values and norms of an elite cultural institution, the next question to explore is whether these values and norms bleed over to the cultural discourse in Canada.

3.3 Canada’s elites: building a ‘civilised’ public through culture

Since before its independence, Canada was home to many museums that had been established and operated by groups of citizens. National, government-operated museums

for Canada began as early as the 1840s when Abraham Gesner, a government geologist, opened a museum – the Museum of Natural History – to house his collections. In 1842, Gesner’s museum—the precursor to the *New Brunswick Museum*—opened to the public in Saint John, New Brunswick (New Brunswick Museum, 2014). In that same year, the *Geological Survey of Canada* was formed, and, in 1856, was authorized by the state to use its own collections to establish a Geological Museum in Montréal – a museum which would later evolve into the *Canadian Museum of Nature* (Canadian Museum of Nature, 2015). Finally, the *National Gallery of Canada* was born thanks to the Marquess of Lorne, Governor General John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, who initiated the project in 1880 (National Gallery of Canada, 2015A). Through the *National Gallery of Canada Act*, the gallery became a legal entity responsible for the expenditure of annual appropriations from Parliament in 1913 (National Gallery of Canada, 2015B). Despite these early museums, Canada’s museum’s scope gradually expanded in 1927 when it moved to Ottawa and officially created the National Museum of Canada from the Museum Branch of the federal Department of Mines.

The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences—otherwise called the *Massey Commission*—was one of the first commissions to formally highlight Canada’s need to strengthen its national image and culture by instrumentalising the use of culture. This commission operated from 1949-1951 and was chaired by Vincent Massey, who was, at the time, chair of the National Gallery of Canada. Massey, like many other art and performing art patrons—such as Lord Strathcona, Sir Edmund Walker, J.S. McLean of Canada Packers—sought to stamp the Canadian community with a ‘cultured national design of British inheritance’ (Edwardson, 2008, p. 50). These like-

minded elites saw culture as an instrument to provide the general public with moral direction, enlightenment, and, ultimately, elevated tastes.

The stated purpose of the Massey Commission was to “examine certain national institutions and functions and to make recommendations regarding their organization and the policies which should govern them” (Massey Commission, 1951, p. 3). The Commission was an attempt to appraise Canada’s physical resources, with particular focus on the less tangible ‘human assets’ (Massey Commission, 1951, p. 4) that may inspire devotion or prompt a nation's action. Furthermore, the terms of reference listed in the report suggest that “it is in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express ‘national feeling’, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life” (Massey Commission, 1951, p. 4).

Implied in the Massey Commission’s task was an examination of the development, understanding, and dissemination of Canadian ‘ideas.’ Interestingly enough, this can be seen as a way to both define and then imprint a new interpretation of what constitutes Canadian ideas based on the committee members’ values and norms. Furthermore, the task deepened when considering the heritage, diversity, and sociocultural complexity of Canadians. More specifically, according to the report,

Through all the complexities and diversities of race, religion, language and geography, the forces, which have made Canada, a nation and which alone can keep her one are being shaped. These are not to be found in the material sphere alone. *Physical links are essential to the unifying process but true unity belongs to the realm of ideas.* It is a matter for men's minds and hearts. Canadians realize this

and are conscious of the importance of national tradition in the making.
[Emphasis added] (Massey Commission, 1951, pp. 4-5)

This text provides two useful insights on the government's discourse. On one hand, the Commission acknowledges Canada's cultural diversity. It can be argued, however, that this acknowledgement came backhandedly since most of the elite members of the Massey Commission would have seen the corollary activities of Canadian diversity as 'low' and in contrast to the 'higher' cultured taste of traditional British arts. In her work surveying the connections between the Arts Council of Great Britain and the Canada for the Arts Council, Upchurch (2007) reveals how Massey and other cultural leaders and architects of the Canadian council sought—through funding support and standards enforcement—to encourage a transnational standard of aesthetic values grounded in classical and Western European traditions over indigenous, regional, and local art expressions of the population, which took a backseat and created a cultural disparity between local art and 'professional' art. In other words, the discursive practice that processes peer review encouraged adherence to international artistic "standards"—supporting professional, rather than amateur—to ensure the establishment of these transnational aesthetic values as norms in Canada. On the other hand, the second insight the Commission's report brings is in its references to 'ideas' and 'physical links,' which are packaged together as a solution for Canada's lacking unified identity. To this end, one can posit that the committee sought to instrumentalise culture and elevate Canadians' tastes through the financial support of established (and inaccessible) institutions, artists, and cultural groups as a means of developing an elitist, homogenous 'Canadian culture'.

During the Massey Commission's investigation, there was a drive to better document and develop museums across Canada. It could be argued that the genesis of the Canadian Museum Association (CMA) was, in part, related to an effort to solidify a course for the developing museums and heritage sector and the emerging discourse to establish and develop a museum profession within the sector. According to the CMA (2014A), the association was established in 1947 by a small group of elite individuals gathered in the *Musée de la Province de Québec* in Québec City. By establishing an association, the founding members wanted to be a voice and advocate for Canadian museums, art galleries, and heritage sites. Furthermore, it was argued that one of the purposes for the CMA's inception was to deal with issues such as training, membership requirements, professionalism, and advocacy.

What makes the formation of the CMA unique and important was its emphasis on advocacy and the emerging need for 'public relations' between museums and communities in the 1950s. With these reasons in mind, the drive to form the CMA was less about advocacy (in the activism sense) and more about a professional marketing approach. The establishment of an association would also harmonise the various museum ideas, strategies, and goals, and ultimately create a sense of autonomy and control over the museum sector's future (barring any direct government intervention or cultural policy). This was particularly important in the face of new, emerging technologies and the popularisation of television, which pressured all museums to take advantage of and adapt to these changes. One particular success story supported by the CMA was the Manitoba Museum, which, in 1954, produced 18 live children's shows in their galleries (CMA, 2014A).

In part, the government's aim was to challenge US's high level of cultural production, which was of a better quality (in terms of production value) and more easily accessible than its Canadian content. The US's cultural production permeated the boarder and tended to dilute Canadian artistic efforts. Despite the government's initial plans and intent, the Massy Commission and the inception of the CMA reflect a firm attempt by cultural elitists to take control of Canadian cultural content by directing cultural activities to focus on Canada's rich imperial European-linked heritage. The Commission's recommendations support this imperial heritage (largely English) by proposing future investment in the Canadian arts, such as the establishment of the *National Library of Canada* in 1953 and the *Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities, and Social Sciences* (Canada Council) in 1957. Out of all the Commission's recommendations, only a few—such as strengthening the CBC and university funding—were pushed forward.

For museums, changes did not begin until 1967 when the then-Secretary of State, Honourable Judy LaMarsh, introduced a bill (National Museums Act) to reorganise national museums. This bill restructured all crown-owned cultural institutions into one corporation that included the National Gallery (despite some debate) and the other three National Museums. Each institution had a director that reported to a newly composed board of trustees who, with the secretary general, supervised the entity with support from special advisory committees for each museum and gallery. This would mark the beginning of a new vision for museums that would be firmly established in the 1970s by the cultural vision of a new Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, and his Secretary of State, Gérard Pelletier.

3.4 Trudeau and Malraux: decentralisation and democratisation

In 1972, Pelletier gave a speech about his vision for Canadian museums. He ended it with one hope: “I venture to hope that my appeals in favour of democratization and decentralization will have been to some degree instrumental in bringing about change” (Pelletier, 1972, p. 222). With this sentence, Pelletier was able to succinctly describe his cultural vision for Canada. This affirmative proclamation of decentralisation implied notions favouring a participatory approach in an effort to better respond local needs and, from a cultural standpoint, to ensure their heritage representation. Additionally, through democratisation Pelletier suggests that there were barriers in accessing museums, and that increasing access was enough for change to occur. What was less clear in this statement was what Pelletier meant by change. What was the intended change, and whom did it affect?

In France, similar developments—*i.e.* the establishment and accumulation of cultural bodies—happened near the end of the 1950s. After setting up a government to oversee the dissolution of the Fourth Republic and the creation of the Fifth Republic in 1959, President Charles de Gaulle stitched together several existing departments to create the Ministry of Cultural Affairs with André Malraux as the head. Through this department, Malraux and his associates created a French cultural policy, which began to take shape in the 1960s with contributions by individuals like Jean Vilar and Joffre Dumazedier, and through on-going debate with individuals like Jean-Paul Sartre and Pierre Bourdieu. Interestingly enough, while Pelletier was beginning his cultural crusade, Malraux’s own war was finished and he had left office in 1969. Despite his departure, what cultural

policy bounded Malraux was a commitment to the democratisation of culture approach, while Pelletier was inspired by the cultural discourses of his time.

According to Pelletier (1972), it was not for government to decide cultural content; instead, it was up to citizens as consumers and producers of cultural property to determine the content. This view implied a very hands-free approach, which was something that would gain more attention by later market-oriented governments – a *steering* rather than *rowing* approach – in the 1980s and 1990s. Instead, one approach that initialised Pelletier’s view was to reengage with the population by making authentic Canadian content widespread and accessible (a democratisation of culture approach, and cultural democracy approach). To facilitate this process, financial support measures for private and public museums were restructured—building on the 1968 museum corporation act—through the introduction of the 1972 *National Museums Policy*. This act increased support for museums in order to further their reach (decentralise) to all Canadians and render cultural property more accessible (democratise) to the whole population, not just a select group. Since the beginning of the 1968 corporation, development led to the formalisation of a museum network, the creation of national exhibition centres, a national loan collection for areas unable to properly house major collections (Pelletier, 1972, pp. 220-221). The implication of these changes was that culture was progressively viewed—and being treated—as a goal-achieving resource. This also meant that the traditional role of artefact conservation was side-lined for more promotional goals, effectively making the museum a policy instrument.

In accordance with Trudeau’s broader nationalistic goals, Pelletier’s vision of restructuring and developing national and private museums reflected a new

instrumentalised direction for Canadian museums. The 1972 policy was a formal reflection of culture's continued role as a tool focused on supporting a new national culture and heritage, which included building new facilities, raising standards in order to host more interesting and challenging exhibits, increasing employees' skills through training, purchasing heritage artefacts of national significance to ensure they remain in Canada, and establishing a collection of items to be loaned across Canada. Thus, under the guise of creating a more accessible and widespread Canadian culture and identity, Trudeau and Pelletier enacted policies that manipulated and used Canadian culture in ways that influenced Canadians to achieve political and economic aims.

On the provincial level, Québec's cultural vision was shaped by several initiatives initiated by Georges-Émile Lapalme, under the leadership of newly elected (of the 1960 election) Premier Jean Lesage. Lapalme. Notable among these initiatives was the creation of *le Ministère des Affaires culturelles du Québec* (MACQ), in 1961, in order to supervise and manage the creation of various institutions, like *un théâtre national* or *un Conseil provincial des arts*, and to support the development and dissemination of Québec fine arts and dramas (Harvey, 2010). The relations that developed between Lapalme and Malraux served to further insulate these shared professional ideas (about nationally centred cultural practices and strategies) in 1965, when Québec and France signed cooperative agreements in the cultural and education sectors. Even today, the now-titled—Ministère de la Culture et des Communications (MCC)—still promises efforts to affirm, express, and democratise Québec culture (« de favoriser au Québec l'affirmation, l'expression et la démocratisation de la culture ») (Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec, 2016).

For museums, these initiatives have led to the support and centralization of large public museums through a national (provincial) museum system that consolidates collections. For example, *le Musée d'art Contemporain de Montréal* (MACM) was created, at the request of artists and collectors, with the mission of presenting, promoting, and conserving contemporary Québec art and ensuring its dissemination internationally («de faire connaître, de promouvoir, de conserver l'art québécois contemporain et d'assurer une présence de l'art contemporain international par des acquisitions, des expositions et d'autres activités») (le Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 2016). These efforts served to further the government's cultural reach and destabilize the network and support for small community heritage and culture institutions, which continues even today through new regulations that exclude 'local' and 'community' museums and interpretation centres from government financial support through grants and operational subsidies (Montpetit, 2016).

In France, a similar discourse seeking to instrumentalise culture through democratisation and decentralisation techniques emerged. In fact, the establishment of the Ministry for Cultural Affairs exemplified this. According to article 1 of its decree, the mission for the Ministry was...

making the major works of humanity, and first and foremost of France, accessible to as many French people as possible; of ensuring that our heritage has as vast an audience as possible, and of encouraging the creation of works of art and the mind that enrich it (Government of France, 1959).

Aside from direct emphasis on the significance of national works of art, this mission also exemplified the importance of instilling people with the knowledge of French culture and

heritage. In other words, this reflected a strong desire to use French culture to shift the values and norms of French people. This message was reemphasised in a 1966 speech, when the Minister of Cultural Affairs, André Malraux (2002 [1966]), argued for the importance of national culture, and stressed the importance of further developing instruments to ensure the protection and widespread dissemination of culture.

From Malraux's position, it was necessary to create a harmonious idea of French high culture, which needed to be 'shared' with the population at large. In other words, Malraux (2002 [1966]) wanted the French public to accept this new enlightened discourse because he believed that people in modern civilisation were split between their 'organic' instincts (*i.e.* sex, blood, and death) (p. 56) that continue to hold them and their commitment to rationality (*i.e.* scientific thought and laws of the world) (p. 57). In other words,

mankind no longer has any meaning, and the world no longer has any meaning if the word culture has a sense, it is what responds to the face of a human being in the mirror when he gazes there at what will be his deathmask. Culture is what responds to man when he asks himself what he is doing on the earth. (Malraux, 2002 [1966], pp. 56-57)

In order to spread this culture, Malraux used *Maison de la culture*, structures of reception located throughout France, for the dissemination of scholarly culture, to the wider public. By promoting their many important artistic works, these houses, as embodiments of French cultural policy, would be instrumental in freeing people from the grip of their 'primordial instincts' (p. 58). Much of this position is arguably inspired by some of the arguments championed by two influential people: Jean Vilar, the founder of

the Avignon Festival, and Joffre Dumazedier, a dominant figure in the movement and founder of the 1945 group, *People and Culture* – a group that engaged with forms of culture throughout the population. In his 1960 *Memorandum* text, Vilar (2002 [1960]) argues for absolute creative freedom to select plays in publicly funded venues without obstructions or implied obligations to serve the needs of taxpaying individuals. Instead, Vilar countered that theatrical performance could still reach people (*i.e.* working class people) who did not normally visit performances and, in fact, emancipate them from their limitations through enlightenment. According to Vilar (2002 [1960]),

We must show this public [working-class] that the barrier that these works are no doubt addressed primarily to it, above all because it represents the great majority of people. We must also show it that the barrier that has been erected between these works and it by decades of civilization going back at least to the time of Napoléon III, is artificial and insubstantial (p. 43)

It can be argued that this text offers two distinct interpretations. One interpretation is to read the text in a tone that represents innocent naivety of the class system and that does not take into account the socio-cultural complexities of development between the different classes. Another way to interpret this text is to read it in a tone that is narrow and simplistic, designed to maintain the current order of strategic oppression. Vilar's suggestions seem to imply that simply coming to performances is enough to break socio-cultural barriers. Vilar later wrote that it is through directors and performers acting as 'human intermediaries,' and through mediation and adjustment of instruments (ticket prices, schedule times, *etc.*), that the dismantling of barriers is accomplished. Thus,

increased access to performances—with an eye towards a national policy for the democratisation of culture—is required.

In a similar vein, Dumazedier (2002 [1966]) believes in ‘raising’ the cultural level of people. Thus, a cultural policy should be viewed as a ‘nationwide programme of controlled cultural action’ (p. 46) in order to bring out what is required to help individuals blossom. According to Dumazedier (2002 [1966]),

At the local, regional, and national levels, everyone involved in running such a programme should set out to stimulate the values potentially to be found in physical, artisanal, artistic, intellectual, and social life, and to stimulate these values in all social categories. (p. 46)

In other words, Dumazedier argues that increasing the democratisation of culture will continue to help thin the gap between socio-cultural inequalities and its development in people. However, Dumazedier (2002 [1966]) is doubtful that simply making people familiar with great authors or extending training at school will be enough for people to ‘adequately’ judge, classify, choose, and reject, according to quality (p. 49).

Rather than focus solely on cultural activities, Dumazedier (2002 [1966]) uses the broader term ‘leisure activities’ in order to further reach and target activities not traditionally considered cultural. Like Vilar, Dumazedier sees the importance of mediatory work in order to achieve changes. Thus, Dumazedier’s goal is to ‘stimulate’ certain ‘higher values’ by raising the content in people’s leisure activities, which he believes will allow for the ‘harmonious’ development and ‘harmonised growth’ of a ‘balanced’ individual who would then be able to take on social responsibilities and adapt to a changing society (Dumazedier & Ripert, 2002 [1966], p. 46). Together, Dumazedier

and Vilar and other influential French policymakers represent strong cultural engineers of social and cultural policy models. With Canada—and especially Québec's close relationship with France—the seeds of many French initiatives has inspired similar Canadian cultural policies that focus on instrumental uses of the museum to democratize and decentralize the national culture narrative and experience.

3.5 The oppressed public: more than empty vessels

The choice to instrumentalise museums to 'educate' or 'civilise' the public through culture highlights levels of exclusion and culture misunderstanding and insensitivity from the government. For example, in his speech on Canada's museums, Pelletier did not show concern with the representation of the various cultures and traditions of Canadians. On the surface of this new vision and approach, it seemed as though the priority was to create a harmonised image of Canadians, and to empower them through this narrative to continue and replicate this culture. Not only did the expression "our national cultural heritage" (Pelletier, 1972, p. 221) appear as a contrived way to be inclusive, Pelletier's speech did not even use the word 'multicultural' or make any reference to Canada's minority or aboriginal heritages; thus, Pelletier's speech served to reinforce arguments about public exclusion and lack of consultation. In his piece that critiqued the French government's support of a dominant culture, Pierre Gaudibert (2002 [1977]) argues that the legitimization of one universal culture is an effect of its already dominant status, and reflects a 'symbolic violence.' Furthermore, this implies that there exist other repressed and ignored cultures with different expressions and works of art.

In a similar vein, while writing a piece for an important Chateaufvallon conference on March 1971, Francis Jeanson (2002 [1971]) highlights how cultural action as an approach can be viewed as a way of adapting the response of the public to fit policy:

[T]he approach to adopt with regard to these people can occasionally be based on a particular cultural content, but must in no case seek to palm them off with any kind of commodity or ideological orientation; it is up to them alone to situate themselves with ever greater awareness in today's world, whatever instruments and means of expression we strive to put at their disposal. (2002 [1971], p. 80)

What this segment implies is twofold. First, it is up to government to supply people with the tools to recognise their own identity – which, itself, implies that people are not only incapable of doing so, but have to rely on whatever interpretation is given by the government. This can pose problems for cultures and minorities who are either in disfavour with the administration or have been historically oppressed. Second, there, again, seems to be no offer or concern for a distinct identity outside the propositions of government. According to Jeanson (2002 [1971]),

[A]ll forms of cultural acts must be able to find their place, thereby multiplying, as they interact with each other, what they each respectively achieve—from the most accomplished performances to the most informal dialogues (p. 80)

In other words, the public needs to find their place in pre-established plans and cultural blueprints. In the same way, Trudeau's underlying approach for Canada made it appear as though the new design of museums had a stable position for the celebration of diversity. The design, however, preferred to appropriate the bits and pieces of several cultures that

‘fit’ into a grand cultural narrative of what Trudeau and Pelletier felt reflected Canada. Thus, outside of well-known celebrations, the cultural minority needed to find its place within this new cultural narrative, rather than have its own space, be recognised, and be celebrated as a unique heritage among many others.

Another corollary of democratisation and decentralisation includes provisions that can be interpreted as a deceitful top-down approach. The first thing established by Pelletier was *how* and *why* museums were important heritage institutions:

The museums are the trustees of a heritage which it is their task to make known to us and to enable us to appreciate, just as it is also their concern to preserve it for future generations. (Pelletier, 1972, p. 220)

Furthermore, Pelletier was aware that museums play a pivotal role in changing the way citizens interpreted their heritage and culture:

It is the museums which are responsible for showing us a substantial part of our own selves and revealing our true roots, and if we continued to neglect this sector of culture our life would most certainly deteriorate in quality. (Pelletier, 1972, p. 220)

Here, Pelletier reaffirms the instrumental role and institutional power of museums. In particular, Pelletier acknowledges that museums are vital to how the public views itself, its heritage, and the broad culture in which it belongs. This view was also shared in France. For example, Jeanson (2002 [1971]) acknowledges the communicative power of institutions through the influence and interaction of works of art and the public. The goal

for cultural institutions is to ‘animate the population’ (Jeanson, 2002 [1971], p. 80), to raise awareness to the non-visiting public.

Similarly, Duhamel (2002 [1972]) sought to instrumentalise the cultural field during his political career in France in order to mediate what he believed were traditional public attitudes and their subsequent disruption through technical and economic developments. According to Duhamel (2002 [1972]),

For any culture, as it is absorbed at a deeper level, leads man to modify his attitude towards himself and the world, and to make decisions about his life with an increasing degree of freedom. In this sense, culture leads to a new hierarchy of demands concerning the organization of individual or collective life. (p. 85)

In line with Pelletier and Jeanson, Duhamel also acknowledges the power of culture to shift the public’s values and norms. In this sense, culture is the apparatus instrumentalised to reach the population and modify its identity. Thus, culture according to Duhamel can be broadly defined as: 1) a form of knowledge, 2) a choice of existence, and 3) the practice of communication. With this view on culture in mind, it becomes clearer why Duhamel sought to instrumentalise the very institutions in charge of exhibiting culture for the population. However, all of these acknowledgements of influence and power came with additional nuance.

Early in Pelletier’s speech, he alludes to his vision for cultural content:

[I]t is not the business of the public authorities to determine what the content of culture is to be, or even in any way to influence the choice of cultural values; it is up to the citizens themselves to make such choices [...] the choice must be made

by the producers and the consumers of cultural property, and this means all creative artists, all organizers of cultural activities and all publics. (Pelletier, 1972, p. 219)

In other words—and in the context of museums— artefact displays and exhibits should be decided by the public and museum workers in charge (curators) of managing and creating them, while the role of government (intervention) should be minimal. However, later in his speech, Pelletier emphasises two ways government can reach back in: 1) “patronage of the arts”, and 2) by “establish[ing] certain general lines along which cultural activities [can] be developed.” While the first reason is common practice and reasonable—Pelletier states that the US was already doing it—the second reason remains suspicious and contradictory.

Despite the claim that government should not and did not decide cultural content, the regulations (among other policy mechanisms) and financial support criteria that control and dictate funding restricts cultural content in order to align it with particular government-espoused values and norms. This is, in a sense, a federal government backdoor mechanism to control content through the enforcement (self-discipline) of content regulations and standards. The CMA also felt that the proposition for increased support was laced with a transfer of control. According to CMA’s electronic report about their activities in the 1970s,

This stream of income allowed the CMA to further encourage the formation of basic training programs in the provinces, as well as the development of an awards program, the appointment of CMA Fellows, and a more inclusive bilingual

national dialogue. This new money also meant *more control* and *influence* by the government. [Emphasis added] (CMA, 2014B, ¶1)

Ultimately, several questions remained: which museums were supported and which were not? What publics and cultures were represented and which were excluded (or ignored)? How would these changes affect the future of Canada and its cultural diversity?

Despite its intrinsic links, notions of cultural instrumentalism and the educational implications of a cultural democratisation approach were questioned in France due, in part, to a lack of reliable information and statistics. Thus, a study on the museum-going public in France was commissioned by the French government. Pierre Bourdieu (2002 [1966]), who headed this study, examined questions of how to ‘develop in all members of society, without distinction, an aptitude for those cultural practices considered by society as most noble’ (p. 67). Bourdieu’s research critiques all frameworks that revolve around the question of cultural mediation, and concludes that any resulting subjective metamorphosis is liable to be of only the most superficial kind for two reasons.

Firstly, any deep meaning of a work of art does not organically emerge by simply perceiving it. For example, the Russian language cannot be understood by foreigners simply by hearing it. In other words, Bourdieu (2002 [1966]) argues that there is a ‘code’ (*i.e.* the language) that is broadly applied in the production of works (*i.e.* the artistic tradition or context in which it was produced) in order to understand and make sense of it. Secondly, Bourdieu (2002 [1966]) highlights that mastery of such codes requires a gradual process where its use becomes part of the habitual ‘disposition’ of the subject, which can be achieved through forms of ‘training and exercise’ (p. 64). According to Bourdieu (2002 [1966]),

[M]astery of the code cannot be completely acquired through the simple diffuse forms of learning supplied by everyday experience and presupposes methodological training, organised by an institution specially set up for this purpose [...] the relation between the spectator and the work of art depends for its intensity, modality and very existence on the spectator's master of the generic and specific code of the work, which he owes in great measure to his schooling. (p. 68)

Thus, despite efforts to democratise culture through Malraux's Houses of Culture, culture remained out of reach for most working class individuals because these houses could not produce all the appropriate conditions for them to engage with works of art. To achieve this, the Ministry of Education needed to be involved.

Like Bourdieu, many directors of popular theatres and Houses of Cultures were dissatisfied, and met at Villeurbanne in 1968. Led by Francis Jeanson, a philosopher, and Roger Planchon, a theatre director in Villeurbanne, the house directors composed a statement known as *La déclaration de Villeurbanne*. The declaration challenged the instruments deployed to achieve cultural change, and generally saw the works of high culture as inappropriate to achieving any change. According to the statement,

[T]he mere 'diffusion' of works of art [...] already appeared increasingly incapable of producing a real encounter between these works and enormous numbers of men and women struggling to survive in the midst of our society but remaining in many respects excluded from it—forced to take part in the production of material goods in that society but deprived of the means of

contributing to the actual direction of its overall movement (Jeanson, 2002 [1968], p. 70)

The most notable implication of this passage is that the directors saw culture democratically. Since a democratisation of culture approach, used by Malraux and his Houses of Culture, favoured a ‘hereditary’ approach of an exclusive bourgeois culture, it was not inherently representative of the whole public.

Instead, the authors argued for a new view of culture...

...which does not refer *a priori* to particular pre-existing content, but which expects encounters between men in themselves to produce the progressive definition of a content those men can recognise (Jeanson, 2002 [1968], p. 71).

In other words, the declaration called for pure mediation; putting the public in contact with each other so that they could devise the instruments needed to break from their socio-cultural exclusion and isolation. In this way, it is possible for ‘cultural action’ where people can establish relations, reorient actions, and demand for effective interventions to modify current relations by going from individual to individual and seeking to take everyone into account (Jeanson, 2002 [1968], p. 72). Thus, culture was not simply an object handed down; it was something that allowed the public to make decisions for themselves and where it could create an identity.

3.6 Conclusion

For both Canada and France, this new hierarchically manipulative and oppressive approach to discourse unfolded similarly, which was largely due to the similarity in government style (Malraux for France and Pelletier for Canada). In Canada, early

attempts by cultural elitists to seize control and influence the financial support for museums, art galleries, and other cultural institutions did not prove successful; it did, however, set the stage for government to take the initiative. Both France and Canada had established strong institutions to make cultural content more accessible to wider populations. What plagued this attempt to disseminate culture was the motivation to 'educate,' 'elevate,' and/or 'civilise' the public to believe, adhere, and, ultimately, accept some broad homogenised cultural narrative that was dictated by an elite few. Governments rationalised these new cultural narratives as a way of creating and strengthening their countries' national identities. From the perspective of the public, this approach reflected a condescending assumption (need to be 'educated'), an exclusive practice (excluding many publics and cultures), and a deceptive and oppressive practice that was concealed as a genuine attempt to reach out and create public accessibility to the arts. Not only did the democratisation of culture reinforce the existing power relations between museums (powerful experts) and the public (excluded cultural subjects and occasional visitor), it was unreflective of the heterogeneous publics and their diverse cultures and heritages. Simply put, this new imposed and 'accessible' cultural narrative was not the public's narrative.

Chapter 4: Museums *For* Society

The aim of this chapter is to provide a general overview of the themes and evolution of the museum by exploring the body of museum literature (cultural participation). In essence, this chapter examines how this literature understands the discursive changes and evolutions found in professional discourses regarding the relationship between the public, the museum, and government. In order to do this, this chapter traces the emerging strategies and activities used by museum professional activists in reaction and as an alternative to the national knowledge production of government. This chapter also examines how these approaches produce new levels of local empowerment that aim to level the power relations between the government and the public. This literature reflects a response and challenge to the previous literature, where the museum is viewed as an autonomous self-sufficient authority and semi-autonomous extension of the government. While far from a solid consensus, the ideas of several French critical professional activists (Rivière, Varine-Bohan, and Devallées), English activists (Hooper-Greenhill, Davis, Weil, Sandell, Vergo), and Canadian activists (Mayrand and Rivard) represent a mutation and segmentation of the professional museum discourse that raises several new questions: How is its purpose different from previous iterations, and what does it purport to do differently? What are the implications and effects of this view of the museum? And, most importantly, how did this shift the relationship between the public and the government? In order to answer these questions, this chapter begins by briefly examining the origins of this grassroots community museum movement (ecomuseums and new museology) that emerged in the 1970s, how it challenged large public museums, and how it was used to exert the will of its publics. Following this, the chapter examines the

origins of this participatory approach and new museology movement as it circulated from France to Canada. In particular, the development of this new museology movement is traced through various government policies, conference papers, committees and recommendations.

4.1 A Turning Point 1970s: Towards a different view of the public

It is clear that the 1971 ICOM general assembly in France, entitled *The Museum in the Service of Man*, was the beginning of significant changes to the idea of what constitutes the museum. More specifically, Resolution 1 of the assembly urgently requests that all museums “undertake a continuous and complete reassessment of the needs of the public which they serve” (1971.R1a). This shift in discourse—from a conservative view focusing on collections to one claiming social service—is particularly interesting because of the reasons behind the resolution. Taking note of the many controversial issues of the time, reflected in the differences of opinion within the museum profession on the adaptation of the museum to the contemporary world, reasons 1, 2, 3, 4, and 7 of the resolution highlight several worries:

1. That the museum must accept that society is constantly changing;
2. That the traditional concept of the museum which perpetuates values concerned with the preservation of man's cultural and natural heritage, not as a manifestation of all that is significant in man's development, but merely as the possession of objects, is questionable;

3. That each individual museum must accept that it has a duty to evolve means of action specifically designed to serve best the particular social environment within which it operates
4. That the museum-visiting public is not necessarily the total public, which the museum should be serving
7. That museums have not taken advantage of the wide range of expertise and knowledge, which exists, in other sections of the community. (1971.R1)

These international resolutions evidence that even before they were proposed, the idea of the museum needing to evolve into a more social service had been mentioned or discussed to some degree in museums about their exhibits, and the display cases in which they housed artefacts and objects; however, even after firm agreements about social service, the changes museums made were criticized as not going far enough to adequately live up to their altruistic 'duty to serve' in the greater context and function of the museum. Again, these international recommendations and charges against the museum showed awareness, by the museum professional community, of ongoing problems and a critique regarding the museum's static nature of traditional values, and its authoritative position to appropriate meaning and definition for the sake of a classification scheme based on its own curatorial vision.

The critique that emerged in the 1970s pointed to the museum's fractured relationship with the public and community, which had several implications for classic museology discourses. Firstly, the plethora of missions of the classical museum did not reflect the needs of the public, and offered little use to them as a result. In particular, discourses of

investigation, preservation, conservation, and the portrayal of progress through science were all held as traditional and essential functions of museums. However, these functions did not always have practical implications in service of the community or the public. Science, for example, was essential and could lead to the development of a country; however, its positive portrayal in museums generated a source of friction between the museum and the realities of many communities.

Although not the most critical example of this friction, the 1972 UNESCO Round table in Chile on the *Development and the Role of Museums in the Contemporary World* yielded many concerns regarding the narrow focus of science and the exploitation of South America by private companies as factors hindering the development of many South American countries. According to the discussion leader, Mario Teruggi, the head of the Division of Mineralogy and Petrology of Argentina in 1972, “science tended to live in an ivory tower; it was not popularized and it ignored the needs of the community” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 22). Investment was not made with sustainability or community development in mind. According to Teruggi, valuable scientific work was done privately—little of which was done by South America—while South American countries were testing grounds for imported abandoned and obsolete technologies that were unsuitable for use, and led to exploitative practices. In the end, economic wealth flowed out of South America to developed countries.

The next heavy charge against the museum was its exploitative relationship with the public. In particular, the criticism against the democratisation of culture was problematic with regards to its relationship with—and the myopic top-down view of—the public that ultimately led to many missed opportunities to work with the community. Such an

approach to education was contradictory in that it, in many ways, hindered instead of helped the development of education. Rather than consulting or collaborating with the public, the museum created the message and delivered it through exhibits – again, in an attempt to civilise and educate the public. For example, rather than imposing narratives and using internal means to ‘educate’ or ‘civilise’ the public, museums could have worked with communities to increase opportunities and access to local education in order to empower them and give them more autonomy.

For example, in some areas of South America, obtaining an education in order to be considered sufficiently qualified to join many of these decision making bodies was still seen as unreachable. In section 4 of UNESCO’s 1972 round table report, *The Democratisation of Education in Latin America*, Teruggi points out the disparity of access to education: “We preach equality of opportunity, but all that we achieve is that the benefits of the educational system are exclusively enjoyed by a privileged minority” (UNESCO, 1972, p. 28). Thus, rather than allow communities to create their own narrative and develop their own heritage, museums (in accordance with classical museology) imposed their discourses by remaining oblivious, by sticking to traditional values. In this way, museums and other cultural institutions can be seen as more than a form of display that imposes a certain narrative of histories while suppressing others; it can be seen as a plea to a distinct style of behaviour in citizenship that respects authority and the narratives that maintain it (Bennett T. , 2003).

Regarding education, Weil (2007 [1997]) highlights the potential of the museum, in service of society, to be (and do) more than act as an object repository. Weil argues that object exhibitions can have an educational function, and that the structure of the museum

itself can be a site of community confrontation, interchange, and debate. In a similar vein, Sandell (2007 [2002]) adds that as agents for civic engagement, museums can help combat social inequality, enhance community self-determination, and act as catalysts for community involvement and participation. One particular way museums can do this is by using the objects in which they display as the actual catalysts of assembly. In other words, museums can curate objects to narrate social problems around which people can engage.

In an effort to bring objects into the foray, Latour (2005) expresses interest for museums as public spaces and argues that *things* are the objects of concern that bind people together. Individuals do not assemble because of agreement, looks, feelings, or social compatibility; rather, contentious matters of concern (things) bring them together. As a means of renewing his sociological debates, Latour used the museum space as a rich theoretical side to problematize things, people, and social interactions that come into play when constituting public knowledge.

On the other hand, even if access is possible, it does not mean that the general population will benefit. Classical museums (particularly art museums), purport to be accessible to all; however, they are not accessible to most, especially the working classes (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990 [1986]). Even if admission is free, working-class people do not have the *cultural capital* (information, education, speech style, dress, etc.) to feel comfortable in these spaces and to understand how to decode the objects (Bourdieu, 1986). In light of this, museums face the added question of who should have access to the arts, and who should have the right to make artworks, which arts should be supported, and how (Zolberg, 1994).

In fact, some of these practices can be quite oppressive. For example, the educational discourse reflects an unfair power and authority. To fulfil its service to society, museums have sought to ‘civilise’ the public (UNESCO 1948.R3) and develop their artistic taste (UNESCO 1948.R6), without consultation or clear objectives, to help or offer tangible benefits to those they targets. Such an approach views the public as ‘empty’ and without the knowledge, authority, or importance of the curator. In a sense, the public (especially those in the working class) that visit museums are violated by new narratives which impose new information and values that do not represent or reflect their reality or heritage.

The content of exhibits and underlining messages are another issue that challenges the relationship between the museum and the public. Museums and its objects on display are intended ‘for’ the people, but are not ‘of’ the people (Bennett T. , 2003). The exhibits are unreflective of the cultures (lives, habits, and customs) of the labouring classes they often purport to represent. Displays have gendered, racist, class, or social patterns of exclusion and bias (Bennett T. , 1990), and, thus, are often incomplete and inadequate. Furthermore, these exhibited objects are detached from their social contexts, organized and explained by experts who are, in turn, detached from their local public and audience (Norman, 1993). Consequently, these problems challenge traditional understandings of distinction and lead to many questions regarding who is considered ‘local,’ what is ‘their own culture’ and ‘real history’.

Essentially, many of the early actions, resolutions, policies, and goals taken by museums were contradictory, serving only to extend the privilege of the owners of high culture and invigilate the public through deception of ownership and false power (Bennett

T. , 1995; 2004). The museum did this by instilling the public with particular civilizing values and social rules of decorum, and shared with them knowledge – all of which was determined by the ruling class. The curator, too, could be seen as an ‘accomplice of the aristocracy’ or, rather, an extension of government with the professionalization of curators seen as an additional perpetuating factor, where ‘suitable’ candidates were vetted to ensure that prevailing art values remained (Poulard, 2012; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990 [1986]). In essence, the problem with trying to democratise culture or education was that it basically promoted society’s privileged groups and ignored the complex heterogeneous nature and needs of the public.

In the end, the voice of professional activism takes shape in several museum professionals, like Hooper-Greenhill (2007 [2000]), Davis (2007 [1999]), and Weil (2007 [1997]), who agree that the role of the museum should change. Hooper-Greenhill (2007 [2000]) argues that meaning is actualised and is brought into being through negotiations of objects by the viewer. Thus, as a negotiator, the museum seeks out and exchanges meanings with groups, and between different members of society in order to determine how objects are best interpreted. Davis (2007 [1999]), similarly, argues for a more community-engaged museum. Such a role, Davis contends, would reorient the museum to be more accepting and inclusive of the local community (more receptive of feedback and input) and more diverse in its presentation of local distinctiveness (recognising community diversity in presentations and displays).

All of this implies that the museum, as it was, and its traditional functions were simply too static to understand or help the communities around them. Reporting conclusions on behalf of the investigation committee from the earlier 1971 conference, the 1974 General

Assembly of ICOM in Copenhagen added that, despite the traditional museum's functions of investigation, conservation, and preservation, conditions outside the museum had forced it to take on new commitments and adopt new forms (1974.R1§1). Ultimately, the heart of the conference recognised that "it is imperative to bring up to date a museology still subject to social and cultural situations belonging to the past" (1974.R1§3). Essentially, different approaches (multi-disciplinary) were desired in order to better address current problems, the needs of society, and ensure that the museum was contributing. Teruggi's discussion emphasised this point succinctly: "The museum must not be isolated from its environment and should assist in the all-round education of the members of the community it served" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 25).

Unrest – due to the call to re-evaluate the museum to make it more applied and relevant for communities and society at large – and increased concerns for the environment led to a more classical museum and 'new museology.' In an effort to further discussion on and development of the classical museum and concepts in museology, ICOM members created a new platform in 1977, the *International Committee for Museology* (ICOFOM). This platform consisted of Vinoš Sofka as honorary President and Co-founder and members from all the continents tasked with dealing issues related to museum functions and the social role of museums. The inaugural meeting took place in 1977, in Moscow, where members discussed ways to promote research and theoretical thinking within the museum world.

4.2 Cultural Participation: the public and local heritage

Overlapping with earlier discourses on collaboration and new social goals, cultural participation marks another element of new museology. Two notable trends emerge in

this alternative discourse: 1) the importance of public participation, and 2) local heritage. In large part, local heritage was ignored by ICOM for many years; instead, focus was placed on national culture and heritage and new ways to display and distribute them for public display. Slight changes in this view did not emerge until the 1980 General Assembly in Mexico. It is here where ICOM seemingly placed particular emphasis on ‘world heritage’ in an attempt to include the various small community cultures. According to Section 1 of the assembly’s report, ICOM recommended:

That museums as repositories of knowledge and techniques use these resources as a basis for providing necessary information for exhibitions to the local communities; (1980.R1§d)

Stemming from an acknowledgement that the museum should be used in service of society and its development, this recommendation can be seen as a strong push towards enhancing the knowledgebase for local communities. Less clear about this suggestion is how it was to be implemented, who was making these decisions, how exhibits in local communities were to be represented, and what measures were being taken to include local culture. Similarly, Resolution 4 of the report takes into account the “essential element” of identity and how it is important for a community and people. However, the actions recommended by the report focus on reinforcing measures of protection, documentation and information collection, and training of professionals to complete these missions. In particular, one of the strongest recommendations, with a somewhat warlike tone to it, states that ICOM...

Urges all governments to effectively protect the national heritage by passing appropriate legislation, ratifying international conventions, and taking into account the relevant recommendations passed by UNESCO and, in particular, by establishing and permanently applying efficient measures at the technical, administrative, customs, and police levels. (1980.R4¶8)

Again, similar to Resolution 1, there is plenty of recognition of the importance of cultural heritage, but very little action to ensure the representation of the various local cultures. Instead, emphasis is, again, placed on permeating and distributing a ‘national culture’ and ‘national heritage.’ This was a very open declaration against local cultures. Through resolution 4, it would appear that distribution of culture and heritage must occur *by any means necessary*.

This tone seemingly took a critical turn in favour of local cultures and traditions at the 1983 and 1986 ICOM Conferences. First, Resolution 3 at the 1983 conference in London addresses concerns of inequality in museum representation of different regional ethnicities and cultures. In fact, it does this by recognising the various ‘regional ethnic groups’ and ‘minority groups’ in developed countries and the fact that they often do not have museums nearby that represent them (1983.R3¶1). ICOM recommended that efforts be made and supported in the creation and development of local museums so that they may serve their communities educationally and culturally (1983.R3¶3). It was not until the 1986 Conference in Buenos Aires, however, that direct participation was mandated. According to Resolution 9 of the conference’s proceedings, ICOM recommended that museums:

1. Establish and maintain museum education services for their communities, and

2. Directly involve the community in the research into and interpretation of cultural heritage. (1986.R9)

Given inequities in representations of culture and heritage, this recommendation can be seen as a solution. It is here where this discourse of cultural participation, with a particular emphasis on local heritage, started to emerge at ICOM. In large part, Resolution 11 of the same conference addresses the concern of under-representation and misrepresentation of ethnic groups and the ways they are represented by recommending that:

1. Museums which are engaged in activities relating to living ethnic groups, should, whenever possible, consult with the appropriate members of those groups, and
2. Such museums should avoid using ethnic materials in any way which might be detrimental to the group that produced them; their usage should be in keeping with the spirit of the ICOM Code of Professional Ethics, with particular reference to paragraphs 2.8 and 6.7. (1986.R11)

Not only did these recommendations directly state that consultation is necessary, they also address unethical actions in the representation of ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the overall tone of the conference helped establish expectations for museums and reaffirmed earlier social goals. By emphasising the need for public participation, the museum was adopting a new frame of decision-making.

Ultimately, both the 1983 and 1986 ICOM Conferences reflected, in spirit, French contributions on heritage and community engagement from years earlier. For example,

seeing the potential of local museums in community development, Rivière (1973) examines the role of several types of museums and suggests ways in which they could integrate human and social science approaches. In particular, regional and local museums, like the neighbourhood museum and the ecomuseum, have already played an important role in the service of community development, providing them with tools, training, and education for skill development, and creating space for community events, heritage celebrations, and the debate of social issues.

Similarly, Varine-Bohan (1973) highlights the case of a unique ‘fragmented’ museum called *The Museum of Man and Industry*. The actual museum constitutes the entire community, making it a living museum that develops projects and promotes initiatives for the benefit of its inhabitants, who are also its visitors. This unique position and formation allowed the museum to develop its community using its own heritage and resources. This approach inherently rejects the traditional aims of museums to seek ‘masterpieces’ or goals that hermetically seal off objects simply to conserve and preserve them. Furthermore, in this context, curators are no longer the sole manager of all museum activities. Instead, citizens share in the decision-making and implementation processes of the museum with the innate goal of promoting and developing the community, again, in service of the public. One notable initiative that illustrates this is the museum’s establishment of a scientific research centre that explores industrial development in order to deal with problems of adaptation of traditional industries due to their gradual decline.

Although the discursive goals of cultural participation seemed to be desired, more nuanced debates emerged regarding the practical application of the ‘new museology,’ their implications on cultural participation, and the implementation of such policies as it

became clear, even during the ICOM Conferences of the 1980s, that museums were not without organisational and managerial limitations and challenges. Research from the English tradition examined several ways to do this: new technologies to provide feedback on exhibits (Bann, 1989) and studies and proper research to better understand the interests and limitations of the target audience of the exhibits (Wright, 1989). In addition, the museum needed to recognise, through research and proper identification of the audience, the social factors – such as a lack of education – that limited participation, in order to reduce these factors (Merriman, 1989). This helped better capture the attention of the audience and provide a more coherent narrative for potentially connecting with a wider number of visitors and their unique life-experiences.

Although some of these methods provided unique opportunities for input, the different and competing tensions within museum services made it difficult to meet social objectives, which were due in part to polarised museum services based on museum function and workers' roles (McCall & Gray, 2014). Additionally, the ambiguity surrounding policy, roles, and practices also highlighted that more emphasis should be placed on museum workers as they were key agents in interpreting, using, and understanding wide-ranging policy expectations (McCall & Gray, 2014). By drawing back to Latour (2005), one could further argue that the design of the space of assembly, the inherent weakness of individuals, and the actual objects of concern all pose considerable hurdles to overcome – and all have the potential to exclude and repress.

Latour (2005) remarks that, as more and more individuals are assembled to discuss or represent, the many halls and domes in which they are housed become too small, which creates a physical limitation. If the object of concern is so great as to be of global

concern, where would one gather the global? Even if these individuals could gather, they would still be at the mercy of their own individual flaws – such as speech impairments and cognitive weaknesses – which could be overcome if prostheses are accepted. Without prostheses, individuals are further disadvantaged, especially in the face of experts like the curator, who has more information and has historically made matter-of-fact claims for objects in museums. According to Latour (2005), matter-of-fact interpretations of objects have become scarce. Such an understanding needs to shift because objects are much more varied and dynamic and any assertion needs to be publicly proven against other assertions.

Beyond simply using the museum as a space for the public, the matter of engagement also needs to be assessed. According to Ashley (2014), if museums are to be viewed as sites for democratic practices, engagement should be less about insisting that institutions reach out and include others to ensure that visitors participate, and more about participants asserting their own agency and making their own choices in the ways they use culture and heritage. In her analysis of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM), Ashley highlights how different interpretations of the word ‘engagement’ have led to diverse applications of it. For example, curators view engagement as a tool to highlight the intellectual competence of the exhibit’s content to demonstrate curatorial status; intercultural engagement serves to reach financial objectives; and marketing views engagement as a deliverable product. Interestingly enough, none of these understandings of engagement are true to the mandate of cultural democracy.

In the end, the evolving discourse of cultural participation slowly emerged as a mysterious elixir. On one hand, it offered both the opportunity to critique traditional

practices and new directions to move forward. On the other hand, these directions were still too broad and did not consider the plethora of limitations that existed. Nevertheless, new museology benefited from the important debates that led to the recognition of local heritage and the importance of public participation in museum decision-making in such a way that better uses the museum to serve society.

Thus, in the context of the museum and museology, through actions, motions, and policies by ICOM and its members, many elements of the dominant narrative classical museology were slowly challenged while the new museology narrative emerged and developed into the *de facto* narrative. In particular, the seeds of early debates of new museology reached a highpoint at the 1992 General Assembly of ICOM in Québec City and the 1995 Conference in Stavanger. Both of these conferences strongly reflected the narratives of new museology by emphasising the need to: recognise and breakdown political, institutional, cultural, and socio-economic boundaries (1992.R1§1 & 3), better understand cultural institutions and their potential to benefit society and the needs of the community (1992.R1§4; 1995.R4), and highlight cultural participation and engagement (1992.R4). The most notable elements were the discourses on public participation and on local community and heritage development. For example, in regards to public participation, according to section 4 of the 1992 conference's report, ICOM

4. Urges ICOM through its bodies to break down barriers which isolate museums from the needs of the community
 - a. by having closer cooperation among museum professionals and making efforts to represent minorities on museum staff;

- b. by communicating with community representatives, interest groups, and individuals;
- c. by initiating education and cultural action programmes;
- d. by establishing collection policies which recognize multi-cultural or cross cultural diversity;
- e. by working for the promotion of the protection and preservation of existing collections which represent a certain period, social group or point of view but which may not reflect the present situation. (1992.R1§4)

Considering earlier narratives that sought to ‘civilise’ the public (UNESCO 1948.R3) and ‘develop’ their artistic taste (UNESCO 1948.R6), these propositions mark a sharp departure. As an institution, the museum’s ideal goals had progressively changed from a hierarchical top-down approach to a more inclusive and collaborative bottom-up one with emphasis on public and community participation. The importance of the community was emphasised more clearly in the 1995 Conference, in resolution 4, where museums were asked to urge...

...local and national governments to recognize and support museums as cultural mechanisms in the service of communities, in the valorisation of their particular identities, and as unique tools for the collective management of their cultural heritage (1995.R1¶5)

In this section the museum was depicted as a ‘cultural mechanism’ in the service of communities. Like the first resolution that reframed the role of the museum at the 1971

ICOM Conference, the penultimate idea was to break down barriers through exhibits jointly made with the local community, with the ultimate goal being to enhance the community and its citizens. For museums that adopt this broad goal of improving the lives of local people, this position reflected a new interpretation of museum reality (*i.e.* empowered view of citizens), and new normative inclinations (*i.e.* the development of a local identity, heritage, community, and people). Essentially, the objective was to reframe the museum by assigning greater importance to social considerations rather than the minutia of conservation practices. Thus, by instilling museums with a policy narrative to be more inclusive, ICOM members and progressive pro-community museologists were able to introduce a new discourse of *civic engagement* in museums. The museum-type that would come to best exemplify the influence of this narrative and embody its discourse is the ecomuseum (*l'écomusée*).

4.3 New museology and the birth of the ecomuseum

One of the earliest accounts of a new direction for new museology came when French museologist André Devallées wrote a section for the *Encyclopedia Universalis* in 1980 called *Nouvelle Muséologie*. This section promoted a new social view of museums and a living cultural tool at the service of everyone, used by everyone (“*un outil culturel vivant, au service de tous et utilisé par tous*”) (Desvallées, 1980, p. 958). Additionally, French museologists Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine-Bohan have both been working since the 1970s on similar notions of a ‘community museum’ called *écomusée*, which is tied to ideas of cultural heritage that support community development and the environment. The overarching message of many of these articles suggests that the museum should involve the public and the community in the creation of exhibits. In other

words, regular members of the community should be the new curators. This reappropriation of culture and decentralisation of the narrative enhances exhibits and better reflects the local culture. Furthermore, the museum's development and more common uses of interdisciplinary measures are needed to resituate objects in a new technical and social light, broaden the scope of the message, and shed light on the ethics of social relationships (Rivière, 1981). Thus, museology should, through a variety of approaches and disciplines, be a study of museums that places people (the public) at the centre of the museum system; objects, exhibits, and the larger collection should be of lower importance.

“Ecomuseum” is a term that was coined by Hugues de Varine-Bohan in 1971 (Isar, 1985, pp. 184, f.n.2) and developed with the help of Georges Henri Rivière.¹⁴ The term ecomuseum evolved to encapsulate the idea of museums created by local heritage and driven by local communities for community development. Earlier interpretations of the concept vacillated on the interpretation of the prefix ‘eco’ and whether ecomuseums should continue to involve an ecological component (Engström, 1985) or not (Bellaigue-Scalbert, 1985). Unlike the classic museum, Rivière (1985) defines the ecomuseum as a tool and instrument to be shared and used jointly with the local community in a range of ways for a variety of reasons. According to Rivière (1985),

An ecomuseum is an instrument conceived, fashioned and operated jointly by a public authority and a local population. The public authority's involvement is

¹⁴ While initially a French development, the English brand of *la nouvelle muséologie* developed in the late 1980s. Essentially, this English brand offers a critique of the political and social role of the museum, which is best encapsulated in Vergo's (1989, p. 3) definition of new museology as “a state of widespread dissatisfaction with the ‘old’ museology” and “a radical re-examination of the rôle of museums within society”. In other words, the ‘old’ museology focused more on museum methods with little development on the purpose of museums.

through the experts, facilities and resources it provides; the local population's involvement depends on its aspirations, knowledge and individual approach. (p. 182)

Interestingly, Rivière's definition, while initially framing the ecomuseum in instrumental terms, also broadens the idea of it as a mirror of the community and its people (p. 182), an expression of man and nature and of time (p. 182), an interpretation of space (p. 183), and a laboratory, conservation centre, and school with common principles (p. 183). Nevertheless, the ecomuseum's multitudes of faces all reflect the same goals: to critically analyse local heritage, foster awareness of the community, promote and broaden local skills, and offer insights of the future.

4.4 From France to Canada: *La nouvelle muséologie et l'influence française*

Unlike market-style changes influenced by New Public Management (NPM) or the democratisation of culture approaches, new museology has a bottom-up emphasis that, in some cases, disentangles the homogenous cultural identity of Canada by acknowledging its unique cultures through its celebration of diversity and cultural pluralism. The ideological origins of new museology in Canada (and more specifically, in Québec) can be traced back to the early pioneers and contributors of new museology, Rivière and Varine-Bohan, who, together, criticized the plunder of culture and argued over the nature and social role of art and museums in relation to society, communities, and local heritage (Rivière, 1973). In their search and examination of several unique models of community museums that may have reflected early attempts to implement new museology (like *Le Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines*), Rivière and Varine-Bohan also contributed to the development of *l'écomusée* (Varine-Bohan, 1973). In part, this represented a criticism of

the growing market society sentiment that was influencing the role, culture, and general identity of the museum (Varine-Bohan, 1976). It also emphasised a more social and impactful role for the museum.

In Canada, the spirit of these debates and critiques began to emerge during the 1st International – Ecomuseums/New Museology Workshop in Québec in 1984, where 15 countries adopted *la Déclaration de Québec*. Canadian cultural heritage and community museologist Pierre Mayrand (1985) describes the declaration as a protest of archaic museological practices which grew out of the inclusiveness of neighbourhood museums and the desire to integrate popular culture. Traditional museum functions needed to look beyond the scope of conservation, buildings, objects, and the ‘public.’ The declaration expresses a desire to reinforce heritage and community by “bringing people together to learn about themselves and each other” (Mayrand, 1985, p. 201). Furthermore, the declaration has pedagogical inclinations towards developing ‘critical faculties’ in order to ‘express concern’ and jointly and responsibly use the ecomuseum’s resources for the betterment of society (Mayrand, 1985, p. 201).

Similarly, René Rivard (1984)—a Canadian cultural activist, museologist, and consultant with over 30 years of professional museum experience—shared an interim report that draws on the responses of 75 different people, 92 visits to 51 museums and ecomuseums, and information from attending 366 meetings. By assembling this data from these various museum stakeholders, communities, and institutions, this report explores the origins of the new museology movement, and how these ecomuseums began in the Canadian context. Rivard’s work reveals how the ecomuseum movement was rooted from the early development of interpretation centres in Québec and

neighbourhood museums, like the 1966 Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum in Washington. Rivard argues that these co-operative movements appear compatible with the ecomuseum's principles of social and economic rehabilitation and development. In particular, the interpretation centres, Rivard (1985) illustrates, reflected the exchange of ideas (the ecomuseum formula) occurring in 1974 between the French regional parks and a number of young Canadian museum professionals that gradually transformed into visits and training periods and more formal exchanges where, in 1979, thanks to *l'Office franco-québécois pour la jeunesse* (OFQJ), one large group¹⁵ from each country followed a month's course in the other country.

More interestingly, Rivard's (1984) Canadian survey work also reveals some potential categorical types—following Varine-Bohan's work—of ecomuseums. First, the discovery ecomuseum, like the interpretation centre, is committed to a new form of teaching based on the environment. Second, the development ecomuseum is driven by community development goals seeking new instruments drawn from new museology. Third, the specialist ecomuseum has singled out a regional socioeconomic activity—textiles, mines, granite—to provide the foundation and driving force for the ecomuseum. Finally, the 'combat' ecomuseum concerns itself with social struggles and defence rather than with actual development, much like popular lobby groups.

This spirit of professional activism and the values and norms of this new museology discourse were personified in two distinct professional spaces: *The Association 'Muséologie Nouvelle et Experimentation Sociale'* (MNES) and *The Movement Internationale pour la Muséologie Nouvelle* (MINOM). In particular, MINOM—founded

¹⁵ Québec invited Gérard Collin, Jean-Pierre Gestin and Georges Henri Rivière, while France welcomed René Milot, Carole Lévesque and René Rivard.

by Mayrand in 1984—was an association “based broadly on a concern for social and cultural change” (MINOM, 2015). In their self-described history, MINOM has elements that give it an interesting new museology and cultural democracy flavour. For example, MINOM claims it is ‘about people’ as a project of society, and acknowledges the importance of heritage. In fact, MINOM’s philosophy heavily implies public activism and empowerment. MINOM states that, through its forum, people are able to “help each other, learn from each other’s strategies of using heritage and museums as a tool to combat injustice, to foster development in communities, to foster dialogue” (§3). The association provides an educational dialogue through intercultural collaboration and sharing of human experiences and techniques. Furthermore, MINOM self-describes as a “forum for action and ideas, aimed at making new museology known throughout the world.”

The influence of education, public participation, community empowerment, and cultural reappropriation are also present and, in fact, played a large role in the development of ecomuseums in Québec. According to Rivard (1985), courses in museology and heritage offered by the University of Québec and by Laval University discuss ecomuseums unambiguously. In turn, this has encouraged several students to take an active part in ecomuseums’ activities and development by creating space for the term *écomusée* to be firmly established in the vernacular of the museum system of Québec. Additionally, unlike the rest of Canada, Québec has several other variables that—in accordance with new museological principles—are unique and stimulate different ecomuseums than those in France and the rest of Europe.

According to Rivard (1985), several factors affected the development of Québec's cultural sector during the 1970s – including the first cultural development policy, large-scale community development, new experimental approaches in museum development, and major exchange programmes between France and Québec. However, Rivard points out that the most notable factor in the development of Québec's cultural sector in the 1970s was the *Quiet Revolution*, which “helped stimulate a large section of the public to search for their identity and brought them to a new awareness of their heritage” (Rivard, 1985, p. 202). In turn, this led to several different qualities. For example, in many cases, public participation was essential and often obtained at unexpected levels, with participation extending beyond voluntary work. Furthermore, it was the collective memory of the public that was the primary heritage of the ecomuseums, and this was not studied solely by researchers, but by the public themselves. By being involved at every level of the ecomuseum's operation, people regained their ‘power of naming’ and ‘redefin[ing] their territory’ (Rivard, 1985, p. 204). Finally, the public living near ecomuseums were increasingly concerned with socioeconomic development projects, desiring to ensure these projects took into account the local and human variables and were compatible with the public's wishes.

As a result of these new discourses, the role of the museum and many of its pejorative labels have become, in some ways, relevant again. In one way, ecomuseums represent the community's stand against imposed government actions. The museum, in this sense, is an instrument that allows the community to publicly participate in policy talks. In another way, the museum is also used to collect and exert combined experiences through the diverse knowledge and expertise of local community members to reappropriate their own

identity and heritage. Thus, in a democratic fashion, the community is able – through the museum – to tell their own story and display their own cultures. However, several questions remain. If the ecomuseum embodies a new movement and discourse, how does it impose (*e.g.* training, new exhibits, outings/events, *etc.*) these norms and values on people (*e.g.* new comers, employees, visitors, locals, *etc.*)? How do ecomuseums reconstruct their identities? What are instances of production and reproduction of these identities? What does this imply for further action?

4.5 Conclusion and Section Summary

By surveying these bodies of museum literature in the previous two chapters, the aim of this section is to excavate and study the discursive evolution of the relationship between the museum, its community and public, and government. By drawing on the works and ideas that emerged from conservative art proponents and cultural elites in Canada and France, chapter three explored the classical idea of the museum as an institution inspired and influenced by the conservative museology discipline. Despite claims to make the museum more publicly accessible, the museum—and the body of knowledge that informs it—remained hierarchically manipulative, oppressive, exclusionary, and served to only reinforce the existing power relations as illustrated by the cultural policies – of Malraux in France and Pelletier in Canada – that aimed to ‘educate’ the public. On the other hand, chapter four surveyed the beginnings of a critical counter movement and activist discourse—new museology—and the institution in which it embodied, the ecomuseum.

A grassroots activist movement developed by early French museum professionals—Rivière, Varine-Bohan, and Devallées—new museology is a critical science discipline

that challenges the conservative museology movement and discourse and its oppressive discursive practices. Circulating its ideas to English and Canadian museum activists, the ecomuseum and new museology movement represented a segmentation of the professional discourse insofar as this new movement has aims and goals—local economic enhancement, cultural and heritage reappropriation, and community empowerment through engagement—that bleed beyond the traditional sphere and boundary of conservative museology, into the field of public administration. In other words, from a public policy perspective, the ecomuseum represents a critical movement and discourse aiming to not just internally develop, but also enhance the external community by challenging the current oppressive government and museum discourses through three practices: 1) formulation — the practice of formulating an authentic narrative (knowledge creation) about a community's local culture by reclaiming and reappropriating local culture and heritage away from government and large public museums; 2) public participation—empowering the public through internal practices promoting inclusivity and joint community exhibit and project creation (*i.e.* community curatorship); and, 3) public policy—efforts to challenge government policy through either formal submissions or informal reports.

With these public policy links in mind, the next question is: what is the ecomuseum environment in Canada, and do these practices emerge? Currently, the trend in Canada has seemingly been to focus efforts solely on public museums, using classical museum practices (*e.g.* Canada's natural history museums (*i.e.* National Art Gallery, Museum of Nature, War Museum, Museum of Science and Technology, and the Canadian Museum of History)). Despite this trend, it is clear that local and community museums have a role

to play in fulfilling several tasks ignored by government and public museums. The claims made by ecomuseums suggest that they are up for these challenges and may have already, in some cases, completed them. In order to explore how local and community museums, like the ecomuseums, have accomplished these civic engagement goals and, in some cases, changed or influenced public policy, the next chapter examines several case studies in an effort to describe the discursive practices of ecomuseums.

III: Cases

Chapter 5: Case Histories / Conditions of Formation

Ecomuseums are complex and inconsistent. While there exist several defining models and indicators (Boylan 1992, Hamrin and Hulander 1995, Davis 1999), the term ‘ecomuseum’ broadly denotes an alternative to the classical approach of museums, which is generally characterized by local community management for local initiatives, activities, celebrations, and events (Davis, 2011). Similarly, these museums share the feature of community action to aid development within a defined place (Davis, 2011), encourage a closer relationship with their communities (Corsane, Davis and Elliott 2005), and encourage community participation (*i.e.* in-reaching) (Corsane 2006). Thus, before delving into the minutia of describing the various discursive practices (strategies, tactics, networks, *etc.*), it is important to understand the background of each case study, including their socio-economic contexts. For each ecomuseum (*i.e.* discursive formation), this chapter: 1) describes the factors that led to its creation (conditions of formation), and 2) highlights any thematic trends and similarities. What this chapter illustrates is that the desire to create an ecomuseum to present narratives and house cultural artefacts is motivated by a variety of factors including heritage protection, cultural recognition, and the legitimization of experts.

5.1 l’Écomusée du fier monde

The origins of *l’Écomusée du fier monde* (ÉFM), located in Montréal, Québec, began with locals involved with *les Habitations communautaires Centre-Sud* – a local resource group devoted to cooperative and public housing (Desrosiers and Lafleur 1981). Since its founding in 1974, *les Habitations communautaires Centre-Sud* has been fundamentally concerned with the development of the district. It was with district development in mind

that the idea of a neighbourhood museum (which would *become la Maison du Fier Monde*) began in the spring of 1980 with the creation of a museum committee that brought together organizers and residents from neighbourhood cooperatives.¹⁶ *La Maison du Fier Monde* has three essential objectives:

- 1) Via la création d'un écomusée, faire de la présentation du patrimoine un instrument d'éducation et d'action collective.
- 2) Créer un espace commercial (Marche public, restaurant, boutiques) où la population du quartier se reconnaîtrait.
- 3) Créer un espace qui servirait de lieu de ralliement pour des rencontres de tous genres; en d'autres termes, créer une agora de quartier (fêtes de quartier, fêtes communautaires, groupes de travail, etc...). (Desrosiers & Lafleur, 1981, p. 14)

This declaration strongly highlights the 'instrumental' function of ÉFM to educate locals of their heritage and create 'collective action.' There is also an importance placed on the need to create a public space as exemplified by provisions to create places for people to meet, rally, work and discuss, and celebrate. Furthermore, in the spirit of new museology, the project endeavours to be fully administered and controlled by the citizens of the district – a process which creates a strong voice for locals and, in part, a sense of legitimacy for future actions.

More fundamentally, underlying these objectives is the project's primary assumption:

¹⁶ The list includes Michel Gendron, Gérald Lafleur, Bertheline Méthot, Jeanne Noël, Claude Watters and many others on an ad hoc basis. Joining the group was museology specialist at UQAM, Pierre Mayrand, as well as his students: René Binette, Hélène Blouin, Lisette Cloutier, Anne-Marie Faugère and Micheline Lortie (*L'Écomusée du fier monde*, 2016K).

La Maison du Fier Monde à la fois instrument de rappel du passé et occasion de rencontres et de manifestations publiques est le moyen privilégié à mettre de l'avant, d'une part, pour susciter chez les résidents de Centre-Sud une véritable fierté d'appartenir à un quartier au passé aussi riche et généreux, d'autre part, pour donner à ces mêmes résidents l'opportunité unique de participer à part entière au devenir de leur quartier. (Desrosiers & Lafleur, 1981, p. 15)

The description above provides a hint of ÉFM's role. For one, it claims that as an institution, ÉFM can make public actions, such as creating space and accumulating resources to take collective action. More than this, it is implied that ÉFM can give citizens of le Centre-Sud a way to act and become empowered. In other words, ÉFM claims to act as a catalyst to public mobilization.

Essentially, the creation of an ecomuseum was seen by *les Habitations communautaires* as an answer to a number of different problems that emerged in *le Centre-Sud* neighbourhood in the late 1970s. First, the area had been hit hard by deindustrialisation. *Le Centre-Sud* had blossomed from the early industrial revolution due, in part, to its advantageous location near the river. The neighbourhood's fortunes began to change, however, when the city of Toronto started to emerge as Canada's more dominant industrial centre, boosted, in no small part, by the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 1959. Coinciding with the emergence of Toronto's industrial dominance was a decline in available development space in Montréal, coupled with the deterioration and abandonment of manufacturing equipment and factories as industries sought greener pastures further west (Binette 2009).

Second, these economic changes led to drastic shifts in the makeup of the local population. Between 1966 and 1980, the population of *le Centre-Sud* decreased by 50% (30,470 inhabitants), which was then made up mainly of the unemployed and the socially-assisted (20%), low-income workers (26%), and pensioners (20%) (Desrosiers and Lafleur 1981). Finally, urban revitalisation projects emerged in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s that began to demolish buildings, parks, and local houses for large boulevards and development projects, like Radio-Canada, without consent or significant input from the community (Binette 2009, Desrosiers and Lafleur 1981). All these mutations to the neighbourhood led to its poverty, lack of public space, forgotten labour heritage, diminished significance and autonomy, and uncertainty in its future. Thus, the development of ÉFM offered two things that the neighbourhood was missing: control over its space and control over its future (Desrosiers and Lafleur 1981).

5.2 l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà



Figure 2 The original group of Montréal citizens in 1991

By contrast, *l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà* (ÉAD) is a non-profit that promotes knowledge, conservation, and restoration of cemeteries, and supports initiatives that develop new forms of burial and commemoration of the dead. This focus is the result of the public's waning interest in

cemeteries and the commemoration of the dead, which began in the 1940s – a decade after the golden age of funerary art between 1880 and 1930, a period when specialists of funerary art and commemoration were celebrated (Daveluy and Coupal n.d.). In the early

1990s, there was a renewed interest in funerary art, which also included public consultations on the future of Mount Royal – a prominent mountain area located in Montréal – organized by *le Rassemblement des citoyens et des citoyennes de Montréal* (RCM). It was here that the RCM examined the space issues surrounding the cemetery on Mount Royal—among the first rural cemeteries in North America (incorporated in 1847), with around 165 acres of space—in conjunction with the area’s growing population, which, at the time, occupied nearly 50% of the mountain’s green space. Not only did this large occupation illustrate the impact of death on the surrounding environment, but also shed light on how much the community had changed in terms of how its celebrations and architecture commemorated the dead.

Intrigued, yet concerned about the funerary heritage of Montréal, ÉAD was formed in



Figure 3 The original logo

1991 by several Montréal citizens,¹⁷ including a long-time activist and face of the organization, Alain Tremblay. The founding of ÉAD focused on protecting several of the main features of cemetery gardens including the funerary monuments and plants from the

natural environment. Thus, an early set of objectives declared that ÉAD would:

- 1- préserver et faire connaître le patrimoine paysager, culture, et historique des cimetières de Montréal, particulièrement ceux du mont Royal ;
- 2- encourager l’exploration de toutes les facettes des thématiques de la mort et de l’au-delà (L’Écomusée de l’Au-Delà, 1997, p. 123)

¹⁷ This list includes Jean Lachapelle, Laval Létourneau, Marc Drouin, France Moyle, and Denis Samson.

From these objectives, we begin to see concerns, such as the growing number of monuments (at the time there were over 100,000 on the mountain), which were seen as possibly affecting the environment. More specifically, it was citizens' opposition to the construction of mausoleums in the *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges* cemetery that motivated the creation of ÉAD. The construction of mausoleums was first proposed as an idea to preserve thousands of bodies that the cemetery would otherwise not be able to hold, while saving space and providing the necessary income to maintain the cemetery; however, community members and ÉAD argued that mausoleums did not meet the criteria of sustainable development and were incompatible with the concept of the cemetery garden. Thus, ÉAD has played an active role in the community. Although it holds no centralised physical location, ÉAD's ubiquitous nature enables it to better reach different funerary heritage causes all over the province.

5.3 Le musée québécois de culture populaire

Similar to ÉAD, efforts to create local recognition and distinction led to the founding of *le musée québécois de culture populaire* (MQCP). Arguably, the MQCP's inception started in the early 1930s, when many local *Trois-Rivières* community members (known as *Trifluviens/Trifluviennes*) began efforts to encourage the city to establish a proper museum; however, it was not until the late 1980s that developers were able to get the attention of the government. However, before the current museum emerged, another classically inspired archaeological museum existed – *le Musée des arts et traditions populaires du Québec*, which was anchored around two important collections: 1) objects collected by the anthropologist Robert Lionel Séguin, who gathered material evidence of traditional Québec civilization, and 2) a collection of Native-American and European

prehistoric archeology by Professor René Ribes of *l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières* (l'UQTR) (Magazine de l'Université du Québec, 1997).¹⁸ Although *le Musée des arts et traditions populaires du Québec* achieved great success during its first year, this iteration of the museum was closed in 1999 after encountering several difficulties such as low attendance, outdated concepts and exhibits that were too complicated and extremely intellectual, and an accumulation of debt due to its building's construction (Champoux-Paillé, 2008). Visitors, at the time, compared this museum (*le Musée des arts et traditions populaires du Québec*) to others, such as the *Musée de la civilisation*, which was unlike the 'new museology' that had emerged and rejected many of the old museological traditions and practices of the 1950s. In other words, the museum's direction was 'object-oriented' which contrasted with the need of new museums to be 'subject' and 'idea' oriented.¹⁹

In order to revive the MQCP, locals created a rejuvenation committee comprised of people from the region and experts of the environment, including activist and new museology supporter René Rivard, who worked at the Office of Cultural Studies, and Robert Trudel, who was the head director of *la Cité de l'énergie*. The committee proposed several changes including new broader guidelines, different programming based on a thematic approach, and a new brand and name, *le Musée québécois de culture populaire*.

¹⁸ Through the perseverance of Father Gilles Boulet, *l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières* (UQTR) and Lise Bacon (la députée provinciale du comté et le ministre des Affaires culturelles), enough funds were gathered to begin construction of a museum in the early 1990s (Champoux-Paillé, 2008). Inspired by regional and local museums created by Georges Henri Rivière, Boulet primarily wanted to include this new institution under a similar umbrella of missions that seek to know and appreciate the arts and popular traditions of the community.

¹⁹ According to a 10th of August meeting with Claire Plourde, Manager of communications and public development, the new museum was to revolve around its subjects and ideas rather than the previous institution's focus on objects.

A frequent motto and theme of the MQCP is “a museum to discover the culture of Québécois” (Le musée québécois de culture populaire 2016). As opposed to most large public museums, this motto reflects a local theme for the museum that aims to build on and showcase the *Trois-Rivières* identity while resisting the urge to focus solely on famous high culture objects as a means of creating notoriety. For the MQCP, exhibiting popular culture has led to an increased recognition of the diversity and plurality of the *Trois-Rivières* identity, and even served to illustrate that the city has a culture and identity that is distinct from its more popular neighbouring cities, Montréal and Québec City. The MQCP exposes visitors to a variety of witnesses that share their stories and narratives through exhibits in recognition of the *Trois-Rivières*’ unique identity. These practices and strategies can be seen as ways to not only encourage people to explore new cultures through thought-provoking discovery and recognition, but also to reflect on their own cultures and identities.

5.4 Workers’ History Museum



Figure 4 Early WHC logo for the house

Finally, like the MQCP’s aim of creating local recognition, the founding of the Workers’ History Museum (WHM) focused on local labour history and the heritage of the greater City of Ottawa (the national capital of Canada). The idea for the WHM began in 2008, when the Ottawa & District Labour Council set up an independent body called the Workers' Heritage Centre (WHC) (Bennett D. , 2014). This organisation sought to address history's omissions where regional workers were concerned, and was willing to "fill that gap" by "recognising, honouring, preserving, and interpreting the experiences and contributions of working people, their

work, home life, and their cultural and political contributions to the city" (Workers' Heritage Centre 2008). The WHC appointed Ken Clavette executive director and obtained the lease for Gammon House, a former home of a working-class family in Vanier, with the goal of seeing it become the location of their physical museum. The WHC had even secured funding to see the museum happen by 2010. However, not long

after the WHC's plan began, the city pulled its funding citing governance issues.



Figure 5 306 Cyr Ave - Gamman House

The case of the WHC illustrates a community's desire to promote labour history, a willingness to bring to light important events, and, ultimately, become experts of interpretation. For some of the

WHC's members – like Hatfield, Gadbois, and Clavette who continued to hold a passion for the WHC project – the experience of having their funding pulled proved to be a trial by fire. This led them and others who had been part of the original idea, along with volunteers—who joined along the way—to form a new democratic and accountable organisation. However, before this could happen, one large challenge existed: whether or not to seek a new building for the museum or to initially start without one. The group decided to move ahead without a physical location. Thus, the WHC was born, with its first annual general assembly taking place in early 2011 – which led to the election of the first board of directors, which included labour and community activists Hatfield, Gadbois, Elanor Ryan (retired Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) member), and Dave Bennett (former CLC national director of health, safety, and environment).

Once the WHM formed, the new organisation had even more poignant strategies and practices than its predecessor, as showcased in even its earliest projects towards the goal of creating new narratives that were not present or remained unmarked in the cultural and heritage sector of Ottawa. Dean aptly summarizes this sentiment in a presentation about the WHM's Bank Street project:

We're trying to repopulate the commemorative landscape. We're not driving forceful counter narratives, we are doing it in a very subtle, a very slow and quiet way. But we want to show that we are here, we are present, and that working peoples experience needs to populate that landscape, and we populate it in different ways, through walking, virtually, through video exhibits, through small temporary exhibits. (Dean & Keyes, 2015)

In other words, there is a drive to create a new narrative, one separate from those made and enforced by large public museums. This discursive challenge establishes purpose for the WHM as a representative of a neglected population. Because of this, the WHM remains distinct from other cultural institutions.

5.5 Conclusion

These four cases illustrate several interesting trends. First, each ecomuseum community faces a violently imposed discourse for which they have no contribution. In each case, there exists a pre-established dominant discourse that has generally dictated various elements of a given community (or industry, for *l'Au-Delà*) identity. As the victim of these forced notions, the public's role was relegated, ignored, or forgotten. Second, in response to this violence, the ecomuseums were created as a joint cultural

project steered by a local community. Each discursive formation was the result of a community movement that assembled with the aim of creating something new and different on behalf of the local public. This sentiment naturally emerged in ways that seemingly allowed for public participation from all the stakeholders and interest groups (local businesses, local authorities, academic advisors, *etc.*) that are simultaneously a living part of the discourse, but also potentially able to share in its joint management. The public – whether as management or not – plays a pivotal role in each ecomuseum because these museums substantially depend on active voluntary efforts.

Overlapping Rivard's (1984) categorical types of each ecomuseum (*i.e.* the discovery ecomuseum, the development ecomuseum, the specialist ecomuseum, and the 'combat' ecomuseum), part of the complex motivation to create a new discourse (in the face of a prevailing discourse) is to bring benefits to local community members. In these cases, there is a sense of urgency regarding something that is ignored or not represented; thus, the creation of a new discourse can be seen as a challenge to the dominant discourses in an attempt to create some type of community benefit (*e.g.* a sense of pride and identity, economic or social regeneration, protect heritage, *etc.*) or further change current circumstances to allow for a better future. In creating this new discourse, the transition can be seen as a violent confrontation and forced self-reflection of the prevailing discourse. In three of the cases, there is an acknowledgement of the harsh realities and a general consensus that things could be better (or at least different). This confrontation can be seen as a way to rediscover the identity of a person, community, or people in order to not only understand discursive constraints but also the possible solutions that exist.

All of this is to say, when compared to earlier models and indicators of the ecomuseum, these results suggest that ecomuseums largely meet Rivard's criteria for the archetypes and broadly share some interesting characteristics. More than this, the development of these ecomuseums also points to the overarching influence of the new museology discourse that has sought to look beyond an internal focus on static objects to the social causes outside the museum's walls. This movement provides the tenants of these ecomuseums with an alternative, more militant option that 1) does not conform to the prevailing socio-economic-cultural discourse, and 2) empowers local people to create something new. More specifically, through this new ecomuseum and discursive formation, the community (through the ecomuseum) has made claims for public action. How? One way that communities have done so is through the discursive practice of creating knowledge for social action. This is the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Knowledge for Social Action and informing public policy

Returning to his 1984 speech, Léo Dorais presented and answered an interesting question:

Will museums ever be accorded some importance in political decision-making? Unless they achieve a higher profile, develop broad public support, use every means possible to make themselves heard and overcome their marketing weakness, the museums will certainly count for little or nothing. (National Museums of Canada, 1984, pp. 11-12)

There is an irony behind this section of Dorais's speech. The speech imparts a spirit and willingness to change and comply with new management changes and forecasted austerity measures to be applied to museums. Part of the solution was to maintain course and continue with the oppressive and manipulative democratisation practices that had once brought much prosperity to large public museums. This is ironic because this view achieved precisely the opposite effect. By continuing to act as the 'arm of the government,' these large public museums did not actually achieve any real autonomy in decision-making and, thus, had no power or influence over how policies were made. Instead, it was through small, locally autonomous publicly-owned and managed museums that the ability to affect policy emerged.

As described in previous chapters, the cultural sector has long been controlled by public museums, which are driven by values and norms of the dominant classical museology discourse. These museums created the pre-existing social and political discourses promoting cultural exclusion and artistic elitism. Grafted together, these

elements formed a national public identity that not only informed but prescribed 1) what is and is not considered worthy of inclusion in cultural and historical cannon; and 2) who (individual or institution) is and is not (either ignored or excluded) designated as heritage experts. Efforts to rejuvenate the museum profession and transform the role of the museum – through a more inclusive critical set of norms and values aimed at being more politically and socially relevant to the local community – led to the alternative discourse, *la nouvelle muséologie*. Inspired by this discourse, many local public museums—offering alternative ways to serve the community—have formed to challenge the dominant pre-existing cultural discourses (*i.e.* classical museology) exerted by current influential public museums, and sought to establish their identities by reappropriating their local cultures, community traditions, and narrative histories.

For many ecomuseums, the spirit of new museology was a catalyst for cultural recognition, identity and professional renewal, and economic and/or social regeneration that ultimately informed their discursive practices. Some of these practices attempt to re-establish public identities, and some claim to make public action – which may go so far as to change policy, itself. Put differently, all of these claims to influence reveal that they are the result of the ecomuseum’s powerful ability to create knowledge. In each ecomuseum case, the discourse produces a variety of practices (a discipline) that, in a variety of ways, support norms, values, and goals of resistance and that seek community innovation. In other words, the ecomuseum represents a militant discourse—an alternative choice and resistance—that produces social action practices.

In order to explain this theme, this chapter traces the discursive formations, dissects their elements, and presents the supporting militancy links. First, this chapter describes

the self-defining trends of the underlining case study discourses. In order to better understand what they aim to do, the norms and values that motivate a specific brand of social activism (no matter how broad) are made clear. This raises the question, what underpins this militant discourse? From a policy perspective, what makes this discourse challenge the established government discourse (*i.e.* what is the anti-discourse)? Next, this chapter traces how these values and norms manifest as rules by delineating what are the stated rules and guidelines, what is awarded, and what awards are sought. Here, the chapter illustrates what knowledge is allowed (what is promoted over others) in accordance with the discourse, and how the role of this new community curator affects what is produced. Finally, this chapter examines the discursive practices that emerge as a result. More specifically, like any museum, what inaugurates the ecomuseum as an influential movement is the production of knowledge (as a discursive practice), and who is empowered to produce it. This raises some interesting questions: what are the discursive practices that are operationalized as a result of these rules? What knowledge is produced and circulated? What does this imply for the overarching militant discourse, and for public policy? How do these discourses support the theme of social activism?

6.1 Militant norms and values

Ecomuseums have a wide range of interpretations that range from a simple model (Rivard, 1984; Mayrand & Mairesse, 2000) to a more complicated set of indicators (Boylan 1992, Hamrin and Hulander 1995, Davis 1999), and even a thorough model of performance self-assessment (Borrelli, Corsane, Davis, & Maggi, 2008). Additionally, as discussed last chapter, each ecomuseum emerges under different conditions and are motivated by unique goals and desires. As such, there exist several nuances that are

uniquely distinctive for each discourse. Some of these differences in discourse may even contradict the other discourses and lead to different discursive practices (leaning towards more activist practices over passive ones). Nonetheless, several broad trends are highlighted to illustrate the different types of militancy showcased by each discursive formation. In particular, there are two militant trends that emerge in the case studies: 1) equality/equity and fair treatment — recognising the value and expertise of different groups, peoples, and publics, and (as a natural extension) 2) community solidarity and accepting the responsibility to be engaged (take part, contribute, and support) in public affairs.

6.11 Equality/Equity

One major thematic trend in ecomuseums is their shared recognition and understanding of difference. Ecomuseums have a progressive view (equal recognition and treatment) of other people, cultures, identities, and heritages. In Canada, this inclusive view largely reflects a contrast between the dominant culture and museum discourse. As such, the ecomuseum discourse can be branded in a few ways: an innovative and reformist discourse that leads to a museum professional renaissance; a discourse that defends the excluded; or a militant discourse fighting for change. Regardless of the brand, the overarching stance of the ecomuseum opposes many longstanding exclusions held by large national museums, and, in large part, has accreted and been the driver for all of discursive practices that influence how the museum self-identifies. For instance, these practices have manifested mission statements that express concern for ‘representativeness’ and ‘accessibility’ for those who are ‘underrepresented’ or desire to celebrate ‘diversity’ and ‘cultural democracy.’ Similarly, these values and

norms are accompanied by a clear understanding of who or what is underrepresented, mistreated, or being ignored.

Fighting for the recognition (and support) of an ignored culture and industry of funerary workers, ÉAD has several aims that challenged preconceived notions about the diverse process of how people remember the dead and the various workers who contribute to the mortuary field. In essence, this is a movement seeking parity and recognition for a multifaceted and culturally ubiquitous aspect of life, the funerary industry. The ecomuseum defines the largely unknown and undeveloped notion of *funerary heritage*²⁰ as “the complex and unified reality comprising sites, visible and invisible installations, expressions of attitudes and ritual in confronting death, loss, and grief, as well as the various sources that we call upon to explain these notions” (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C). It is clear from this definition that the declaration is broad, though it, perhaps more importantly, reorients the view of cemeteries and funerary practices. From a cultural perspective, this definition can be seen as a challenge to the current dominant discourse. By creating a broad and inclusive definition, the ecomuseum is celebrating funerary diversity, which is in contrast to Québec's traditionally held views, norms, and values of the funerary industry. It is this traditional discourse—supported by institutions like *La Corporation des thanatologues du Québec*; the Québec provincial government, and the Catholic Church—that has dominated and attempted to restrict the funerary practices of other communities and cultures.

The ecomuseum reaffirms this conviction to protect and promote funerary heritage by proudly presenting its support for the *Declaration for an International Charter of*

²⁰ In a conversation with Alain Tremblay (2015-10-14), he discussed how funerary heritage was a notion that was largely unknown and undeveloped.

Funerary Heritage. This is particularly important because it delineates the foundational values of the industry. According to the declaration,

It is widely recognized that traditional funerary practices and burial-places, representative of a way of life and a culture that are of the past, are themselves in danger of being supplanted by newly emerging practices. These new practices, evolving naturally along with society, are replacing former ways, obliterating the significance of the artefacts they produced. Clearly these artefacts are an affirmation of a community's values, and of its participation in a cultural structure; moreover, they enable the community to orient itself through a memory composed of identity, genealogy, history, and monuments. (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C)

The statement broadly reframes the traditional understanding of the funerary industry from something that was seen as physical disposal and reimagines it as an art of commemoration and remembering. In other words, the funerary industry workers and artisans represent a community with practices and objects (with which they work), that embodies a cultural significance and distinct creativity. Of course, the idea of heritage has, to some extent, existed alongside the images of the cemetery in discourse. The finality of life naturally implies a kind of nostalgia, a remembrance of what once was and is no longer. This relationship of fond reflection shares similarities with the notion of heritage, whereby both imply some unique historic, possibly shared, concrete thing or event that existed in the past. More than that, heritage also implies a series of unique occurrences revolving around the same things or events, culminating into something substantial enough to be passed on or inherited.

Similarly, there are three values that inaugurate ÉFM including: “the community role of the Écomusée; respect for labour and the people who perform it; [and] rigour and excellence” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015A). In this declaration, the ecomuseum emphasizes the importance of labour and labourers. In elaborating these points, the ecomuseum makes reference to *the 1972 Declaration of Santiago* and the works and philosophy of Hughes de Varine-Bohan, manifested as a self-described institutional description. In other words, ÉFM highlights five values and norms:

- popular education, a way of learning that makes use of the diverse knowledge of the populace and seeks to raise awareness and inspire public reflection;
- cultural democracy, which is founded on equality between all the people and diverse groups that make up society, and on valorising their expertise and knowledge, particularly those who are underrepresented in museums (or, who are given little voice);
- the place and role of people, who take priority over objects at the Écomusée; the museum also pays particular attention to marginalized groups;
- the relationships that the institution creates with its surroundings;
- engagement, i.e. supporting people and organizations that want to play a role in advancing society, and acknowledging that the acts of individuals

can contribute to changing the world and improving society. (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015A)

At first glance, these points easily support the aforementioned mission claims and objectives of ÉFM. A more nuanced examination reveals the links between—and very specific focus on—particular values that support and celebrate the cultural diversity of a neighbourhood and community. This implies an improved understanding and use of context to delineate and appreciate the social, cultural, and economic differences of a community. This further illustrates openness for different cultures, heritages, and knowledge, and a willingness to use a variety of approaches to communicate and represent these ideas.

The inclusion of public engagement as part of ÉFM's revised mission and values in the late 2000s reflects a renewed devotion to its new museology roots, and can also imply a political willingness to represent the Centre-Sud minority that was underrepresented and ignored. In other words, this renewed devotion can be seen as an effort to empower the public and improve their surroundings. This could further lead to a multitude of actions – from individual training and education, cultural representation, or even public action through knowledge creation. From the perspective of traditional natural history museums, there is a shift and reorientation of focus from an object-centered approach to one of the people and their environment/territory. This view of public and territory empowerment is a quality at the root of the notion of cultural democracy, which rejects the prescribed definition of what is 'art' and presents as valid the variety of forms and cultural expressions of the public (Evrard, 1997). From a museological perspective, this means ÉFM is drawing less on traditional works of bourgeois art in favour of exhibits of

photography and objects by local artists and journalists that are accompanied by an intimate retelling of the Centre-Sud labour history and the people who performed it.

Although it does not share the ecomuseum name, the WHM holds the same values and norms in its self-described purpose, mission, bylaws, and collections policy. For instance, three collective values highlight the WHM's dedication to equity:

Equity: We support the needs and interests of women and other equity seeking groups.

Honesty: Workers' history deserves complete coverage that reveals the full truth and explores issues thoroughly.

Fairness: Staff, community, volunteers, and other stakeholders deserve to be treated well, equitably, and with respect. (Workers' History Museum, 2016B)

Unsurprisingly, given that the theme and name of the museum relate back to labour history—an interest shared by many, if not all its members, most of whom were or are union members—the above values strongly reflect union values. In particular, values such as ‘fairness’ in the treatment of different peoples, ‘honesty’ in the retelling and representation of heritage and history, and ‘equity’ in the support of various under-represented people and groups are reflective of an innate comradery and respect between community members, as well as a general understanding of historical struggles. These promises create strong anchors from which the museum is able to take action, inclusively define its place within the community, and create strong partnerships with the community.

Finally, in an attempt to carve out a space for cultural recognition and distinction for the city *Trois-Rivières*, the MQCP has focused its attention on local heritage and community culture. One of the most important terms that needs to be defined is ‘*culture populaire*’ (i.e. folk or popular culture), which is central to the museum’s being. According to the MQCP, *culture populaire* is...

...une culture accessible à tous, qui demeure compréhensible et appréciable à plusieurs niveaux, sans exiger nécessairement de connaissances culturelles approfondies au préalable. C’est une culture qui représente le peuple, ses traditions, ses valeurs. (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016B)

Immediately, the clear focus of the MQCP is on cultural ‘accessibility’ and ‘representativeness.’ This implies the museum’s willingness to connect with its community by creating a more intimate social relationship. This close association with its community also emerges in some of the museum’s trademark phrases, like "Near to the people, the museum evolves at the rhythm of cultures" (“*Tout près des gens, le Musée évolue au rythme des cultures*”) (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2003A, p. 2). Unlike larger public museums that were previously established to cater to the needs of a few elite bourgeois tastes, the MQCP, although not excluding these tastes, has made claims to widen its audience and the inclusivity of its collections. For example, in developing a broader set of directives to operate the museum, the museum’s rejuvenation committee—responsible for developing the initial directives for the museum—cited the need to include impoverished people as well by making “available the museum to the poor and support the cultural activities of groups and community organizations in the City of *Trois-Rivières*” (Champoux-Paillé, 2008).

Furthermore, the MQCP's institutional objectives emerged in a 2003 information booklet entitled '*Qui-somme-nous?*', which declared:

Le Musée québécois de culture populaire met en valeur toutes les cultures populaires d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, dans ce qu'elles offrent de diversité et de pluralité...

Mettre en valeur ce que les cultures populaires produisent, consomment et lèguent : objets, environnements, connaissances et savoir-faire.

Acquérir, conserver et documenter un patrimoine national de culture populaire.

Favoriser, développer et soutenir la recherche sur la culture populaire. (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2003A, p. 2)

Again, what this all amounts to, and the overarching value of this mission, is a promise for cultural democracy (*i.e.* plurality in cultural representation and preservation). These museum objectives build on the earlier definition of the museum and highlight some of its general activities, which reinforce the earlier definition striving for a more inclusive view of culture – both in terms of time (past and present) and space (geographical). In other words, the statement acknowledges that the region and province – in the past, as in the present – does not represent a single homogenous culture and heritage; rather, it is composed of a plethora of different cultures and traditions that the museum recognizes and endeavours to develop, maintain, and promote through its exhibits.

6.12 Community solidarity and responsibility for action

Inaugurating values like community solidarity and responsibility can be seen as a natural extension of the desire for equality and equity among peoples and cultures. In order to work towards values like equality, some level of commitment for action or mobilisation by a dedicated group of people needs to emerge to incite and enforce these changes. Not only do ecomuseums fit the profile as a community of people that share this sentiment, they also commit to declarations of solidarity and public responsibility. These promises emerge as expressions in mission statements that cite ‘social responsibility,’ the ‘role of the museum in the community,’ and the museum’s ‘acceptance of community responsibility.’ Furthermore, these expressions are accompanied by a specific call to action (cultural and identity recognition) or a social or economic need (jobs, better life, improved working conditions, *etc.*) in the community that legitimizes these actions.

As a staunch advocate for the recognition of various funerary cultures and practices, EAD has not only mobilised these ideas as an activist, but also taken on the role of community coordinator by acting as a point (and place) where the public can rally. In other words, this funerary discourse—the open recognition, acceptance, and fair treatment of diverse funerary cultures and practices—creates a common set of values and norms that sectoral workers and artisans²¹ believe in and fight for. This discourse manifests in various forms—material/spiritual, collective/non-collective, and public/private, among others—as well as in the various people and societies involved in

²¹ The practices of funerary workers are, in many ways, similar to those of artisans. For instance, their practices and created monuments are reinterpreted as unique works of art that are culturally significant. These distinctive objects represent a heritage of the profession and the larger community. More specifically, each tailored monument or object represents two things: the identity of the residential crafter, whose talent and creativity is embodied in the object, and the deceased, for whom the object is made. Thus, this established definition of funerary heritage not only broadens the understanding of funerary practices by associating the work of funerary workers to that of artisans, but also offers a unique community link by implicating the intimateness of ceremonial practices to the values and norms of a community.

its related practices (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C). Thus, from a community and workers' perspective, there is an innate value of community solidarity and responsibility to uphold this value, which is reflected in the ecomuseum's mission preambles:

Whereas the wealth of the heritage represented by our burial rites and burial places is very great;

And whereas our burial rites and burial places are in danger abandonment and dilapidation;

And whereas the preservation of the funerary heritage in its entirety is the responsibility of the families and those retaining the rights in question;

And whereas local communities accept a certain responsibility in the protection of the funerary heritage;

And whereas the government accepts a certain responsibility in the protection of the funerary heritage;

And whereas there is a need to coordinate the activities of families and those responsible, and of communities, religious institutions, professional groups, and the government in order to form an axis of common and efficient action;
(L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C)

This preamble presents an important declaration of values, norms, and priorities. More than this, the preamble legitimizes the museum's practices by problematizing the current government discourse. Thus, the emerging narrative presents the aforementioned claims

for recognition and support (equality in its treatment as an established culture and heritage) and the community's (the funerary industry, and the public in general) responsibility to ensure these values are protected and recognised in the government's policymaking agenda. More than just a passive responsibility, the community needs to be active in its practices, and mobilisation needs to be "coordinated" in order to prevent further "abandonment and dilapidation."

As mentioned, ÉFM also emphasizes the role of the community (people) in the community (place) through engagement. With these values in mind, the ecomuseum views its role as pivotal to the representation and future development of the community. Thus, there emerges an expectation and responsibility for public action. Drawing back to the 1972 UNESCO Round table in Chile, it was agreed that "[t]he museum is an institution in the service of society of which it forms an inseparable part" (UNESCO, 1972, p. 33). For ÉFM, this means that engagement needs to play a role in the museum's actions and collections. According to Bernard Tremblay, the president of the administration council, the ÉFM insists on the role of patrons of the ecomuseum – a museum that is engaged in its environment and preoccupied by important social issues ("nous insistons particulièrement sur le rôle citoyen de l'Écomusée, un musée engagé dans son milieu et préoccupé par les enjeux importants de notre société") (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2010, p. 3). Although this statement lacks precision, other statements mention that the role of the citizen is "at the heart of all the activities of the ecomuseum" (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2011A, p. 5).²² The context of engagement was added in the 2010-2011 annual report, where it was declared that ÉFM ...

²² Translated from French by the author.

...[s']entend développer cette collection écomuséale par un processus de participation citoyenne. C'est donc à un vaste chantier mobilisateur autour de son patrimoine que l'Écomusée convie les acteurs locaux au cours des prochaines années. Nous visons ainsi la préservation, la documentation, la mise en valeur, la restitution, la diffusion et la transmission du patrimoine.” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2011A, p. 6)

In other words, citizens play a role (and share a responsibility) in deciding what should be part of the museum's collection and how they should and could be used in future events, exhibits, and programs to benefit the community.

In the same vein, the WHM prominently presents a discourse that promotes the value of solidarity and community responsibility under the broad aim of bringing to light worker history. These traditional labour values emerge, unsurprisingly, due to the influential membership and local community made up of union members, former trade labourers, and activists. According to the museum's mission, "workers' history" is the act of examining...

...social changes surrounding working culture, working people, and the workplace in all sectors of the economy. It includes union and non-union workers in the public and private sectors, as well as both paid and unpaid work carried out in the home, office, factory, or other workplace. (Workers' History Museum, 2016A)

This definition presents a clearer understanding of the term “workers history” and, in particular, starts to bridge gaps between the institutional practices of the WHM and

public policy. For example, the definition emphasises the notion of “social changes” on behalf of the museum’s community as it affects working people, culture, and the workplace in any sector. This has many implications. From a historical perspective, this speaks to reorientation and presentation of particular influential events (forgotten or neglected) deemed important and worth remembering. From a cultural perspective, this is a reassertion of the labour community’s identity and a way to rebuild and re-celebrate the importance of these past traditions in order to maintain their significance. From a political perspective, this refers to the reinterpretation of social debates and, subsequently, the presentation of the debates in order to stimulate critical thought, and provoke public action and change on behalf of the labour community. Essentially, from this position, a project can be opened to interpretations and critiques of any controversy relating to labour and its workers, history, culture, and place.

Finally, the MQCP describes the notion of community solidarity as a mission and value of social responsibility. In the most recent incarnation of the museum’s mission statement, it states that:

The Musée québécois de culture populaire is a museum about society, who bears witness to the unique identity of Québec’s diverse and evolving society.

The museum recognizes and emphasizes all that popular culture produces, consumes and hands down in terms of material (objects, environments) and immaterial (knowledge, skills) heritage. (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016B)

In this mission statement, there is an explicit desire for the MQCP to be more than a repository of objects. Instead, the museum builds on the earlier notions of diversity and society – towards the role of ‘cultural witness’ – through proclaimed duties to not only ‘recognise,’ but also ‘emphasise’ all popular cultures. Again, this reflects more than a passive nod to the existence of other cultures and traditions; rather, the MQCP claims to take action on the behalf of these cultures to shed light on their uniqueness.

By including social objectives and responsibilities in its mission and definition, the MQCP’s strategy broadens the scope of cultural activities and creates a space for people to harmoniously interact and exchange with others. In this sense, the MQCP believes that culture does not need to be something that ‘enhances’ or ‘civilises’ you, nor should it be an experience that requires a specific set of values, norms, or educational training to understand. Anything can be culture because different people inherently have different things, traditions, celebrations, *etc.* that define them. Furthermore, no matter what the activity or tradition, all are welcomed to share in the MQCP’s space, exchange ideas with others, and freely enjoy and engage with exhibits. Together, these values form multicultural pillars of the community.

6.2 Defining the possible: Rules of the formation

With broad ideas as the thematic norms and values that the ecomuseum shares, the next question is how do these themes discursively manifest in such a way that they are implemented and strictly enforced? In other words, what are the discursive implications of the ecomuseum’s norms, and what kind of knowledge is allowed and not allowed? What are the rules and directives that stem from these values and norms and guide (by either limiting or permitting) certain behaviours and practices of the ecomuseum? By

looking at the ecomuseums' mission statements (including how they define their communities and places), policies (collections, financial, *etc.*), organizational structures, awards (self-established and given, as well as those awarded), and associated networks and allies, the discourse begins to reveal different limitations (what is excluded/discouraged/condemned) and incentives (what is included/supported/promoted). These general trends include: a holistic interpretation of place and community in space and time, local expertise motivated by a flatter hierarchy and reliance on community peoples and networks, the pursuance of social and developmental aims, and project restrictions due to fiscal limitations. Together, these trends contrast with the general exclusive trends of larger government-owned museums with hierarchical leadership structures that impose standardized national views of cultural time and space. As such, these ecomuseum discursive rules allow for a knowledge that is jointly and publicly created.

6.21 Community and place

How do the militant norms and values of equality and community solidarity manifest in discourse? The simplest answer can emerge in how one self-describes their identity. Not only does this self-description reflect a holistic and comprehensive appropriation of time and space, it also establishes guidelines for who is considered as part of the community. For these ecomuseum cases, their identity generally begins with the negotiation of experiences and backgrounds between the community founders who established the museum, and their shared sense of place as it flows and changes through time. Although the definition of community and place varies considerably with each case (*i.e.* a community of people in the same industry versus a more traditional community of

inhabitants), each case presents a negotiated and shared sense of time and place that holds true to its norms and values, and simultaneously delineates the limits of what is discursively included in its community (and by extension what is not).

The broadest and most inclusive ecomuseum community of the four cases is, arguably, ÉAD. Although the institution is based in Montréal, it is a museum which aims to represent an industry that reaches further than the local city limits. The first part of its mission statement presents a delineation of the industry:

Promouvoir la sauvegarde, la conservation, la restauration et la connaissance des cimetières et le développement des nouvelles formes de sépultures et de commémoration des défunts dans le respect des valeurs spirituelles, civiques, patrimoniales et environnementales de la société contemporaine. (l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014A)

Thus, an obvious group to include as a part of the ecomuseum community is the funerary workers who take part in the diverse process of preparing the deceased or those involved in the rituals of remembering (from those who offer services or produce objects that are used). However, what about the people for whom these rituals take place? Even more broadly, what of people in general who, in their own way, all have a unique process of remembrance? While the original aim of the ecomuseum was to question the future of Québec's cemeteries and conservation issues of monuments, it has grown with the aim of democratizing the rituals related to death and the preservation of Québécois heritage ("démocratiser les rituels liés à la mort et pour préserver le patrimoine québécois") (Viger, 2015). In fact, according to ÉAD founder Alain Tremblay,

Il y a beaucoup de problèmes avec les rituels funéraires. On ne peut pas imposer aux citoyens de se faire enterrer. Le cimetière et les organisations qui gravitent autour doivent s'ouvrir aux nouveaux rituels comme la dispersion des cendres. (Viger, 2015)

Because the discourse around funerary heritage is broad and includes various interpretations, sites, and installations, and can manifest through diverse expressions of attitudes or rituals confronting death, the discourse opens up to include any resident of Québec that has a unique cultural tradition surrounding the process of death. In other words, ÉAD can be viewed as an institution that is guided by increasingly diverse practices of the funerary industry and aims to include and represent them in all their forms.

Similarly, the WHM represents not only a localized industrial group, but encompasses a large community that stems beyond the Ottawa city limits. One of the main objectives of the museum is “to develop and support a community museum and projects which celebrate, interpret, examine, and preserve the history of working people in the National Capital Region and Ottawa Valley” (Workers' History Museum, 2016A). This statement is very direct: it briefly describes the museum’s objective and makes broad discursive claims about what it does. Thus, the statement presents a wide defined place (the National Capital Region and Ottawa Valley), but also a broad set of parameters (working people). One question emerges, what constitutes ‘working people’? In the case of the WHM, this, in fact, means everything and anything that the museum has interest in presenting and

sharing with its members.²³ Thus, through this broad presentation (and understanding) of ‘working people’ and ‘workers’ history,’ the discourse has largely shaped the museum in ways that have attracted the support of many lifelong workers from traditional industrial backgrounds and several that have worked in the representation of industrial workers (unionists and union employees).

This view of worker’s heritage is also reflected in the collections management policy,’ which states that the museum collects:

cultural material pertaining to workers’ history and labour history in the Ottawa region from the earliest times to the present day. The material must be in reasonable condition and must not pose a threat to other objects in the collection. The WHM does not collect historic buildings, or parts of buildings that are in a fixed location outside the grounds of the museum. (Workers' History Museum, 2015, p. 3)

Two notable nuances emerge in the WHM’s policy on the inclusion and exclusion of materials and artefacts. First, the inclusion criteria are seemingly quite broad. In particular, the inclusion criteria are thematic and seek any kind of ‘cultural material’ that follows particular guidelines. This material is then separated into three collections: research and display, reference, and education. This is illustrated in the variety of WHM projects that range from local commemorations, larger labour/union issues, and community heritage. While not all projects are created with permanent or fixed exhibits or physical collections, many have had some tangible material (*i.e.* traveling exhibits)

²³ In an interview with (founder and past president) Bob Hatfield on February 13 2015, he explained how projects often emerge based on personal interests and resources. If someone was interested in researching material on cobblers on Bank Street in downtown Ottawa, they could.

that was associated with a presentation that people could see and touch (*e.g.* Laundry project). Second, the exclusion of buildings and fixtures external to the museum grounds mimics the traditional feel of a classical museum collections policy whose scope is typically limited to material objects that can be brought into the museum, itself. For instance, the policy is sufficiently broad as to include anything that could be potentially stored; however, it explicitly rejects items much too large to physically conserve or buildings that require large financial support to preserve and maintain. Although the WHM has a strong material collection, its main collection—and showcase space—is digital; thus, it can be argued that the scope of the policy relates only to material things. However, drawing on the works of Mayrand (2004), an ecomuseum collection is an appropriation-through-designation that allows for community elements to be a part of the collection. This process and designation also typically involves neighbourhood partners who may own the element and share a commitment to its development and preservation, and recognizes its value to the community's shared identity and heritage. With this in mind, it becomes apparent how the WHM digital collections – which include community spaces, architecture (*e.g.* buildings at Domtar, Britannia Bay area, Bank Street houses, *etc.*), and people (*e.g.* Cal Best and EB Eddy) – represent a similar designative element to that of ecomuseums.

On the other hand, ÉFM has a very distinct neighbourhood focus. Per its objectives, the ÉFM aims:

- to emphasize the theme of labour in Montréal since industrialization;
- to take the territory of the Centre-Sud neighbourhood of Montréal as a principle object of study, in its historical and contemporary context;

- to use museum activities as tools toward popular education and empowerment;
- to contribute, in collaboration with various partners, to the local development of the Centre-Sud in Montréal. (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015A)

These objectives make clear that the ÉFM aims to recognise and express the Centre-Sud labour heritage in such a way that it does not privilege individual industries over others – which has been the museum's vision and focus since 1998 (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2009, p. 10). More than this, the main theme and focus of these objectives are to showcase the industrial history of the Centre-Sud neighbourhood which reflects a desire to create a controversial narrative that confronts the established bourgeois narrative.

In a similar vein to the WHM, the collections policy for ÉFM is divided into two parts: 1) the museum collection and, 2) the 'ecomuseum collection' (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016I). The museum collection corresponds to the classic notion of artefact collecting, which is composed of acquired objects and documents preserved by the institutions. According to the ecomuseum, items in this collection are “made up of material elements that bear witness to the history of the neighbourhood, the history of labour and industry, and/or working class culture” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016I). This is sufficiently broad enough to include nearly any object, photograph, or document deemed to be – in some way, shape, or form – a part of the community history and heritage. However, what it does not include are non-material things like oral history, or places—buildings or outside spaces like parks—that can equally play an important role in the cultural narrative. In this instance, places or non-material collections fall under the

‘ecomuseum collection.’ This ‘ecomuseum collection,’ as defined by ÉFM’s 2011 collection policy, is based on three principles: ÉFM’s responsibility to heritage; the participation of citizens; and, the communication of this heritage (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2011A). In this case, the collection includes both material and immaterial elements of heritage. For example, the collection can include a building, a house, a work in situ, a park, an event, a person or a tradition. Thus, for this collection, pieces need to have some link to the geographical territory of Centre-Sud; themes of labour, industry and working class culture; or a social framework organized around contemporary issues that affect the territory and reflect the theme.

Finally, like the WHM, and ÉFM, the mission of the MQCP aims to discover and present its own public heritage. A frequent motto and theme of the MQCP is "a museum to discover Québécois culture" ("*un musée pour découvrir la culture des Québécois*") (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016B). As opposed to most large national museums, this motto reflects a local theme for the museum that aims to build on and showcase the *Trois-Rivières* identity while resisting the urge to reach out to famous—yet not culturally relevant—objects in order to create notoriety for the museum. According to Gauthier, there have been several factors that account for the success of the rejuvenated museum,

- A program focused on popular culture, to showcase all the popular cultures in that they have the diversity and plurality, allowing a wide range of potential exposures.
- Integration into the regional development strategy and complicity with other cultural institutions in the region.

- A set new value of the prison, the trademark of the institution.
- A strategy and sustained actions to make this museum a major cultural tourist attraction in Trois-Rivières and Mauricie.
- A complicity with the school system. (Champoux-Paillé, 2008)

Again, these factors highlight the significance of a ‘local’ thematic and how it has led to success for the museum. For this museum, exhibiting popular culture has led to an increased recognition of the diversity and plurality of the *Trois-Rivières* identity, which has allowed for a wide range of potential exposures through a variety of witnesses that share their stories/narratives in exhibits that recognize *Trois-Rivières*’ unique identity. These practices and strategies can be seen as ways to not only encourage people to explore new cultures through thought-provoking discovery and recognition, but to also reflect on their own cultures and identities. This mission, values, and norms have been indicative of a new museology that has played a role since the museum’s early inception and redevelopment.

6.22 Rejecting the hierarchy for local expertise

Another manifestation of equality and community comradery emerges in the institutional structure of the ecomuseum. According to Rivard,

Il [*l’écomusée*] vise surtout à faire **découvrir** lorsqu’il privilégie la connaissance et l’appropriation du patrimoine en vue d’une identité culturelle affirmée ; l’accent est mis sur le **développement** lorsque son action se veut revendicatrice et active

dans la prise en charge par la population, ouvrière ou paysanne, de son vécu non seulement culturel mais aussi économique. (1984, p. 22)

The general spirit of discovering, appropriating, and managing one's culture and heritage is reflected in the accomplishments and missions of each case study. Traditional museology saw the museum as a hierarchy with predefined divisions and roles for its workers, with the curator on top. As a movement and discursive challenge to this institutional structure, ecomuseums (in accordance with the aforementioned values) have been largely in favour of a flatter structure where positions of leadership do not imply unlimited control. This means that processes are not single-handedly carried out by a specialised professional; instead, responsibilities are shared by various volunteer community members, supplemented with the help of a staff that maintains and implements day-to-day institutional tasks. Similarly, in an ecomuseum, the role of the curator becomes a shared duty among the engaged public. This is seen as necessary because no single individual has all the experiences and knowledge necessary to holistically reassemble and present an entire cultural narrative. Furthermore, the inclusion of various perspectives (from different people and networks of local institutions) provides the ecomuseum with more depth and unique cultural insights that were previously unknown or ignored. Thus, by reducing the hierarchical barriers that typically prevent local collaboration, various community peoples, groups, and institutions emerged as a new breed of empowered community curators.

Structurally, ÉFM shares many similarities with other horizontal institutions (*e.g.* unions or cooperatives). ÉFM is run by a hired team (staff of employees) that includes a director, an assistant director in charge of research and collections, a few assistants and

communications officials, a technical officer, and an educational officer. Outside of the day-to-day operations of ÉFM, there is a board of directors. These positions are elected positions—president, vice-president, secretary treasurer, and three administrators—and are chosen at each general assembly. Additionally, there are two other committees with specific tasks for ÉFM: an auction committee and a support committee. Through this structure, any co-member and interested volunteer can take part in assisting some of ÉFM’s initiatives or making proposals for consideration. More importantly, members may even run for board of director positions and more directly influence the direction of the ÉFM.

The most notorious example of an institutionalised rule where public participation is supported is through the ÉFM’s ‘ecomuseum collection’ policy. In this case, there is a classic museum collection—which corresponds to a classic collection composed of objects and documents acquired and conserved by the institution under suitable conditions—and the ecomuseum collection – which is founded on principles of responsibility to the heritage of ÉFM. While the first collection is made up of material elements that bear witness to the history of the neighbourhood, the history of labour and industry, and/or working class culture, the second collection is made up of heritage elements (material and immaterial) holding significance for the community. Thus, although there remain some vestiges of the classical museology approach, ÉFM’s discourse also focuses on networking and public collaboration to empower its community.

The benefit of a horizontal design process that engages with the community at large is that the ÉFM can draw on a variety of different sources and provide new and unique

perspectives in developing a history of the Centre-Sud. Through the ‘ecomuseum collection,’ ÉFM uses public participation, among other things, to choose its collection – which has the effect of creating a collection that serves a more territorial purpose that includes elements not necessarily sought through traditional acquisition. This collection privileges elements that are designated through a collections committee in conjunction with neighbourhood partners who may, for example, own the designated element (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016I). In this case, the designated element is then recorded in ÉFM’s collections catalogue and can become the focus of various activities conducted by the ecomuseum and its partners. According to ÉFM,

L’Écomusée du fier monde, avec la collaboration des acteurs locaux, identifie les éléments patrimoniaux particulièrement représentatifs du quartier, et significatifs pour sa communauté. Les éléments désignés sont intégrés à la collection écomuséale. Celle-ci regroupe des éléments matériels et d’autres immatériels : bâtiments in situ ou parfois disparus, personnages, événements, pratiques, traditions, expressions, lieux, paysages, etc. (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016G)

Thus, this process allows ÉFM and its local partners to work towards promoting and diffusing uncovered knowledge to ensure “that these heritage elements are passed on to future generations” (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016I) in the hopes that they will mobilise the community to “take charge of their heritage” (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016I).

In the same vein, the WHM contains a flat organisational structure that resembles the structural characteristics of local trade unions (PSAC, UNIFOR, and CUPE) for which many of the museum’s members worked. For instance, the museum has a board of

directors that draws from the WHM's general membership. The board contains four executive officers—president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer—six members at large, and four representatives of the institutional members of the WHM (Workers' History Museum, 2014). The positions all have a voice and vote; but, despite these ranks, they are not remunerated and members holding any position may not directly or indirectly profit. Furthermore, each director has different duties; thus, jointly sharing management of the organisation without much hierarchical oversight. Each member holds the others to account for duties and tasks completed (or not completed).

The mandate of the WHM implies strong public participation in determining its collections. Drawing back to the original mission statement, the WHM aims...

To examine our local history in national and international context when appropriate, prepare exhibits, organize events, provide education programs, and collect and disseminate information on workers' organisations. (Workers' History Museum, 2016B)

Thus, the WHM is asserting itself as part of the cultural identity of labour, and, through collaboration with others, is seeking to understand its own cultural identity – much like the 'ecomuseum collections' of ÉFM. Because of its digital nature, the discourse limits the possibility of owning (limited storage space) and presenting (no ownership of a physical space) a physical collection. Instead, more innovative measures are encouraged to digitally preserve and showcase landmark elements that—even in most physical museums—cannot be stored. Therefore, in the same vein as many other ecomuseums, the WHM's projects draw from interpretations of its labour environment, people, and their experiences in creating a knowledge that the museum produces and shares with its

members and the public at large. This understanding results in a knowledge production through which the WHM becomes an expert and able to testify to the labour hardships of its community. In this sense, cultural identity is used as a tool through which the population can hold on to what is important from the past to make better decisions and improve the features of the present and future.

For the MQCP, rather than a single curator making decisions, the ecomuseum collaborates with diverse new partners and cultural organizations representing different peoples/heritages (Champoux-Paillé, 2008). There is an assumption that it is the responsibility of local cultural institutions to develop and sustain the community's economy through the creation of a cultural market that appeals to visitors and locals alike. Traditionally, the approach taken by public museums has largely been focused on presenting what was well known, classical, or standard in the arts. These objects, sculptures, and paintings would be presented with an amenable narrative that satisfied (rather, did not seriously unsettle) the stakeholders. In other words, public museums did not (or were afraid to) take risks or go outside what was considered canonical. In contrast, the MQCP is motivated by a more critical approach and has stated,

La réflexion amène à considérer la culture populaire comme le moteur de l'action du Musée. Plutôt que de parler du Musée des cultures populaires du Québec, avec ce que cela entraîne de définitions inclusives ou exclusives, l'étude propose de retenir la notion d'un musée de culture populaire, illustrant ainsi autant son propos que sa démarche. (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2003B, p. 2)

Exemplified in this statement are two distinguishing features of the MQCP that serve as a contrast to large public museums: 1) presenting folk objects that are not normally

presented; and, 2) taking a critical approach to exhibits. Like many new museological practices, the position taken by the MQCP is a reaction to old dominant narratives – such as civilization and progress, art and science, nation and race – that were not seriously evaluated and scrutinized beyond their initial presentation by the elites who owned and managed museums. Instead, ecomuseums like the MQCP, have created spaces for an awareness of—and sensitivity towards—cultural difference and have provided legitimacy for other voices within the cultural and heritage landscape. In other words, the MQCP's approach in presenting the day-to-day common items of everyday people from the region acts as a narrative challenge to the persisting cultural visions of the region's history – which presents a narrative of significance, industrial technology, and progress of production processes with absolute confidence and certainty.

Overall, when examining the organizational structure, the programs and rules, and established networks of allies, there is nothing about the MCQP that is radically different from a traditional organisation. Firstly, like several of the previous ecomuseums, the MQCP's provisions to include public participation are similar to those of various local labour unions – which typically include general assemblies, approval of financial budgets and bylaw changes, discussion for new projects, or changes to benefits. Secondly, networking plays a big role in image dissemination because it is intrinsically linked to the museum's mission to develop identity recognition and the regional cultural industries. For the MQCP, networking is a vital source of economic, social, and cultural growth; it affords opportunities for the region to collaborate with other cultural organisations, profit from visitors, and receive more recognition for its unique cultural attractions. In turn, the network develops the industry into a sustainable traffic which can lead to further local

development goals. Additionally, through these defined networks, a bank of local expertise—in the form of community witnesses—is established to create an added layer of legitimacy to the MQCP’s narratives and exhibits. Similarly, the awards received by the MQCP reflect its values and mission, and serve to further legitimize their practices through the recognition of its events, particular actions, and the agent or organisation that endorses the award.

Finally, although broad, open, and less structured and formal than the other ecomuseums, ÉAD shares many similarities with the other three cases. Like the previous cases, ÉAD has elected positions in tandem with staff that run the day-to-day operations. In this case, there are annual conferences where the executive board (a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and several administrators) are elected. ÉAD is a non-profit organization founded to preserve and promote the funeral heritage in Québec, which consists of three corporations: *Patrimoine funéraire Estrie-Montérégie*, *Pierres mémorables - Québec et Chaudière-Appalaches*, *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal*. The latter corporation was founded in 2012 with the objective of carrying out dissemination activities that emerge from the museum’s conferences and symposia, such as *le colloque L’avenir des cimetières du Québec*. For ÉAD, public participation and community involvement are at the heart of its decisions, information and opinion acquisition, and public actions. In this case, the narrative of funerary heritage is inclusive and being told by many individuals and organisations – not simply told by one, detached museum professional. For ÉAD, local involvement (including industry actors and institutions) occurs through various assemblies, which further develop local objectives through associated plans for action or mobilisation. For example, ÉAD’s different conferences

illustrate various public plans of action, including: the examination of death and how to preserve its diverse manifestations (*La mort... Parlons-en, un colloque qui renaît*); new approaches and recent successes in the dissemination, restoration, protection and reuse of religious heritage in Québec (Conservation et innovation); the future of funerary traditions and the cemetery (*L'avenir des cimetières du Québec*); and different perspectives on the temporality of the practices of dying, death and mourning (*La mort en son temps*).

6.23 Social and developmental goals

The final manifestation of these militant values and norms emerges in the institutional missions and goals of ecomuseums that claim to undertake community socio-economic and cultural development. The pursuance of community developmental goals is a natural extension of an ecomuseum's mandate, one that drives the institutional practices towards aims that benefit the community. Setting these objectives effectively limits the personal gain and wealth an individual may reap in favour of the larger community. Again, in these case studies, the dissuading of selfish actions and the promotion of community-centred objectives is revealed in mission statements, objectives, institutional bylaws, and collections policies, and they generally reflect a contrast to the classical museum discourse that structures itself around archaic exclusive, individual-centered aims. Thus, rather than a museum that focuses on developing what is happening inside its walls, the ecomuseum encourages practices that develop the community outside its walls.

For ÉFM, the pursuance of social and developmental aims emerges in its organizational claims. There is a social, environmental, and political dimension to ÉFM's claims, which differs from the static internal atmosphere and focus of traditional natural

history museums. Again, moving beyond simple collecting and cataloguing of objects, ÉFM's mission extends towards developing the local community by recognizing its working-class history since industrialization. In this case, this involves creating a space for the recognition of the changing, complex nature of local heritage and culture, territory and environment, and the identity that makes up the Centre-Sud. This is a unique reflection of the past which, in conjunction with the norms and values of the community, form a specific direction and set of preferences dictating the community's best interests. In other words, together, these are three dimensions that reflect the goal of local development for the Centre-Sud of Montréal, which, from a public policy perspective, implies a desire to influence and change policy. For example, ÉFM's initial mission statement highlights two developmental goals:

- to use museum activities as tools toward popular education and empowerment;
- to contribute, in collaboration with various partners, to the local development of the Centre-Sud in Montréal (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015A).

ÉFM's mission reveals a few important points regarding what the museum can offer and what is missing in the neighbourhood. Given that the community (prior to the establishment of ÉFM) sat in a state of neglect and disrepair for decades, ÉFM's development aims were twofold. On one level, ÉFM's development efforts target the public through education and engagement -- efforts which developed from earlier, broader objectives such as understanding, being proud of, and sharing the (local) culture

(L'Écomusée du fier monde, 1988). The objective is to develop the neighbourhood more generally through refurbishment and repurposing initiatives. Again, in ÉFM's earlier reports, protection and conservation refer to particular objects and histories; however, with the development of the 'ecomuseum collections,' conservation also extends to actual buildings, places, and people through narratives, joint events and celebrations, tours, and digital exhibits (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 1988). Furthermore, this process—deciding what should be part of the collection, and how it should be represented—is undertaken jointly with the public. Together, these missions, their functions, and how they were planned reflect the general theme of new museology. In this case, education, participation, and the democratisation of culture have led to community empowerment.

Another of ÉFM's discursive influences comes in the form of *L'Ordre du fier monde*, an internally created award. This award is presented annually by ÉFM to...

...persons or groups that have made a significant and exemplary contribution to the Écomusée du fier monde and who have demonstrated their commitment to the mission, principles and philosophy of the institution. (l'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016K)

Given this description, the award inaugurates people and institutions dedicated to the enhancement of the neighbourhood (be it culturally or socio-economically). In total, between 2007 and 2015, 24 individuals and organisations were presented with the award: four for generous donations, nine to current and former members who were pivotal to the development of the ecomuseum, eight who were cited as project collaborators or who provided indispensable support in some capacity, and three went to frequent collaborator

organisations, Encadrex, l'UQÀM's *Service aux collectivités*, Centre Afrika, and *L'Atelier des lettres*.

While the action of rewarding efforts reflect a particular set of values can reveal the values an organisation inaugurates. ÉFM, in this case, has received 15 various awards for individuals working in the organization, particular projects, and to the organisation as a whole (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016O). Many of these awards—*e.g.* the Sauvons Montréal Orange Award and le *Société des musées québécois* Kodak Award of Excellence—were for outstanding work and merit in the fields of conservation, interpretation, restoration, or general museum practice. Notably, three of ÉFM's honours fall outside typical museum practice and celebrate pedagogical and civic engagement efforts. For example, the honourable mention, *Maire de Montréal en démocratie* Award from the city of Montréal is presented in recognition of a person, group of citizens, or organization whose innovative actions and outcomes contribute to strengthening democracy in Montréal (l'Écomusée du fier monde, 2013D).

Similarly, ÉAD is motivated by the neglected funerary industry and the growing popularity of mausoleums as an alternative (and replacement) to traditional burials. According to a 2005 memorandum regarding a proposed heritage policy in Montréal, growing concern over the increasing presence of mausoleums played a role in the birth of ÉAD (L'Ecomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A). These large collective mausoleums—spaces for multiple dead bodies to be kept for upwards of 99 years—threatened (and continues to threaten) the future of cemeteries, but were seen as a more lucrative approach to the *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges* Cemetery's diminishing space. Several other cemeteries in Québec had already undertaken steps to build mausoleums of their own as a cost-

effective approach to burials; it only seemed logical for *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges* to follow suite. In a sense, this represented a very standardized corporate approach to something – cemeteries – that was once appreciated as quite personal, cultural, and representative of a unique heritage and identity. Mausoleums represent a sterilization of the artisanship, craftsmanship, and cultural sense of place that occur in cemeteries. In other words, the threat of mausoleums is through their commodification of funerary heritage.

Beyond this threat was also the increasing concern of cemetery upkeep and theft protection. In Montréal, concerns grew as a result of an incident where over 170 headstones were overturned or smashed at Saint-Charles cemetery (overturned epitaphs, smashed headstones, and unearthed stones) due to a lack of security (La Presse, 2015). Similar concerns emerged in the 2000s during symposia with members from Belgium and France, who, together, sought to create and establish an international declaration on funerary heritage (which was later adopted as part of the ÉAD's mission and values). In Belgium's case, funerary heritage and its preservation was a prevailing issue on many levels precisely because the country lacked recognition for funerary heritage and, consequently, had no significant legislation in place to protect it. According to the 2011-2013 *Heritage at risk: world report*, legislation like the 1971 Belgian Act 'on cemeteries and undertaking' (enabling tomb appropriation for removal) marked a shift in the distinction and importance once present in cemeteries and old tombs (ICOMOS, 2014). Upkeep, which was done traditionally by families, no longer occurred for many tombs where ancestors were long deceased. In addition, with the country's growing population, space was seen as a priority for development, but needed to come at the cost of older no

longer used cemeteries or where tombs were unknown. In addition, while preserving cultural heritage was seen as important to Belgians, the scope of heritage did not extend to the funerary industry. Consequently, little was known about the status of the original architecture or what actually remains of the individual memorials after years and centuries of negligence (ICOMOS, 2014). Thus, one can argue that the Belgian experience clearly influenced and laid out a progressive discursive path for ÉAD to ensure a more developed and recognised future for funerary heritage. This is evidenced by ÉAD's mission, which borrows much of its language from the international declaration:

Promouvoir la sauvegarde, la conservation, la restauration et la connaissance des cimetières et le développement des nouvelles formes de sépultures et de commémoration des défunts dans le respect des valeurs spirituelles, civiques, patrimoniales et environnementales de la société contemporaine.

Impliquer individus, familles, associations et autorités dans l'avenir et la préservation de l'intégrité de ce patrimoine, en cherchant tout particulièrement à accorder modes de sépulture et de commémoration et développement durable.
(l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014A)

In other words, these claims support the involvement of the public (individuals, families) and institutions (associations and authorities) in the protection and sustainable development of their funerary heritage. One way ÉAD does this is by prioritizing efforts to create and share knowledge. For example, ÉAD claims to “recognize and promote the understanding and appreciation of this heritage” and “encourage and promote the

introduction of contemporary burial practices in cemeteries and burial-places, while fully respecting the existing heritage” (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C). These missions reflect the general aims and sentiments of ÉAD (as an institution) and its members to support an ignored industry that is an ubiquitous part of everyday life, as well as the variety of publics and communities that adopt and share new heritage and traditions of remembrance.

For the WHM, its discourse largely aims its efforts towards rebuilding (*i.e.* develop and recognise) Ottawa's lost labour history and heritage. According to former WHM secretary, Dave Bennett (2014),

The museum is dedicated to resurrecting their contributions and to preserving them as a living memory of our common past and as the true guardians of our future. (p. 57)

Two themes stand out as central to the WHM's active mission: resurrecting and preserving contributions and living memory (e.g. stories). These stories are believed to be largely missing; as a result there is a widening gap when it comes to workers' identity. Thus, for long-time WHM member, Ken Clavette, the purpose of the museum is to create and share knowledge about the labour sector – of how it came to be. In some cases, this may seem subtly proactive as an action that creates a new narrative without directly confronting the old 'guerrilla history'—a term used by the museum when referring to the narrative created by workers who have been forced to create and present the heritage that was denied to them (Bennett, 2014). Similarly, long-time member, Evert Hoogers argues that there is a universal trend of 'giving credit to the rich, famous and powerful' such as saying Colonel By – a prominent English engineer of the late 18th-early 19th century –

built the Rideau Canal – a renowned waterway in the heart of Ottawa – when, in fact, it was the workers who did (Bennett, 2014).

This theme of unearthing the lost and forgotten (or unacknowledged) history of day-to-day labourers in Ottawa is promoted on the WHM's website and serves as a visual mission and set of values. For example, the face of this digital museum showcases the 1942 Almonte train disaster project (complete with a video) that includes storytellers recalling the historic night—when a train, carrying Canadian troops, slammed into the rear of a local wooden coach filled with holiday passengers and ended the lives of 36 people and resulted in injuries to 207 more—with freighting detail from the perspectives of the various workers who extricated the wounded – including accounts from nurses, most of whom were military, who treated the survivors, and those who drove the injured to local hospitals. Another section of the website displays an archival image of the Britannia-on-the-Bay project that provides an excerpt sharing details of one of Canada's first amusement parks, which was popular and frequented by workers. Finally, several images of the Cal Best project are displayed as a tribute to the segregation in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia where Best (then 12 years old) and his mother, Carrie, were arrested and fined for refusing to leave the whites-only section of the local movie theatre. As a digital museum, these images provide insights into claims of 'cultural repopulation' in the Canadian historical landscape because of lack of actions and recognition taken by government and other public cultural institutions²⁴.

²⁴ Interestingly, the idea to unearth a history that was lost, forgotten or ignored reflects a polarizing approach to that of the Museum of History, which had planned to exclude the *1919 Winnipeg General Strike exhibit* (Smith, 2015). This can be argued to be an example of a lack of interest in working class history, or, even more severely, as an attempt to rewrite history.

Thus, through images and the traditional mission statement, the WHM's development aims are twofold. On one level, the WHM's development goals target the Ottawa community and the larger public through knowledge creation and sharing, and public engagement. These aims developed from earlier broader, objectives such as fostering concerted efforts to share cultural knowledge, increase awareness of workers' history and heritage, and inform the public of the workers culture. On another level, the objective is to develop the community more generally through refurbishment and repurposing initiatives. As stated in earlier reports, protection and conservation refers to particular objects and histories; however, through walking tours, films, digital exhibits, and permanent community exhibits, conservation also extends to the memory of actual buildings, places, and people. Furthermore, this process—deciding what should be part of the collection, and how it should be represented—is undertaken jointly with the public. Community development efforts have also manifested in the form of support and scholarships. For instance, in memory of former Board and Trustee member, Pat McGrath, a scholarship fund was set up to provide an annual award of \$1,000 for at least eight years, open to any student with a confirmed disability – largely because those with disabilities are frequently amongst the first to lose their jobs in times of austerity. Together, these missions, their functions, and their planning reflect the general theme of new museology. In doing so, these missions create varying effects of empowerment. In this case, education, participation, and the democratisation of culture lead to empowerment.

In the early attempts to rejuvenate the MQCP, the committee claimed that the museum would aim to:

- Contribute to the development and cultural influence of the city of *Trois-Rivières*;
- Participate in the development of the tourism industry in *Trois-Rivières* and the Mauricie (Champoux-Paillé, 2008).

Thus, social responsibility emerges as an important theme in the museum's directives, with a particular aim to recognise and develop popular culture. In the face of overwhelming national museum narratives that prominently express a homogenous (and mostly English) culture and history, the public wanted to express the unique day-to-day experience, concerns, and values of the local (*Trois-Rivières*) and broader Québec community and peoples (*i.e.* a focus on popular culture). By creating a space to view culture in a different way, the aim was to promote a more relaxed amusement that would lead to cultural reflection. Furthermore, the drive to recognise this alternative popular culture created opportunities for local development (both culturally and economically). This emerged through claims for participation in the local cultural affairs while acknowledging its importance as a driving industry for the community's (and region's) financial welfare.

Because of these community-oriented goals, the museum has received widespread acclaim for many of its exhibits, and subsequently received several distinctions. Exhibits like *Le phénomène Passe-Partout*, *Une histoire de solidarité*, *Québec all dressed*, and *Accro du vélo* were well received and have been awarded for their popularity and influence. For example, the museum won an Award of Outstanding Achievement, which is presented by the CMA in recognition of excellence—as determined by a committee-assessed application. From a cultural perspective, the award can be seen as symbolically

valuable because the criteria for a successful award are based on seven criterion including: diffusion and outreach; inclusion, accessibility, and diversity; innovation; practices that exceed current museum standards; relevance to communities served; effective use of resources; and advancement of museums for future (CMA, 2016B). In addition, several distinctions have been awarded to the museum for its management and strategies – especially with regards to the rejuvenation and development of the old prison—a refurbished historic building by well-known French architect François Baillairgé that reflects the hardships of prison life experienced by generations of inmates, and was one of the few buildings to survive the great fire of 1908—that annually receives visitors and tourists from all over Canada. Overall, these awards tend to be managerial-focused, praising the management techniques and practices of the museum and its staff. For example, the museum has won the *Coup d'éclat de la SATQ* distinction on several occasions. Presented by *La Société des Attractions Touristiques du Québec et Festivals et Événements Québec* (SATQ-FEQ), the award celebrates the promotional achievements and good management techniques of managers and the originality behind campaigns. Finally, many awards have come in praise of the museum for its tourism and overall development of the local and regional tourist industry. For example, the museum received the *Grands prix régional du tourisme* distinction, which is awarded by *associations touristiques régionales (ATR) associées du Québec* who represent the collective interests of the Québec tourism industry. This group promotes and offer services that contribute to the development and enhancement of the tourism industry of Québec, and awards distinctions to organisations that seek to further these goals. Similarly, the museum has been awarded the *Grands prix culturel de Trois-Rivières* distinction awarded by *La*

Corporation de développement culturel de Trois-Rivières. The organisation presents the award to honor the local cultural environment and recognize the artists' contribution to the development of local arts and culture.

6.24 Fiscal Responsibility

Due to austerity measures (*i.e.* cutbacks in grants and donations, mounting museum deficits, and reductions in programmes) imposed by the Mulroney government of the 1980s, many public institutions – including museums – faced strict uncertainty in terms of their financial survivability. For ecomuseums, these cutbacks were part of the typical climate in which the ecomuseums had emerged. In some cases, ecomuseums saw themselves as an answer to the cutbacks, one that provided an alternative (*i.e.* non-governmental) approach to supporting local communities facing fiscal restrictions; however, maintaining these original militant norms and values eventually forced many ecomuseums to close due to a lack of secure and consistent funding (*e.g.* *Écomusée de la Vallée de la Rouge*, *Écomusée l'Insulaire des Cent-Iles*, the Saint-Constant Ecomuseum, *etc.*). The remaining handful of ecomuseums established a mix of conflicting discursive strategies and rules. On one hand, ecomuseums were driven by discursive norms to pursue community-oriented goals. On the other hand, the lack of strong financial support restricted ecomuseums' activities and placed their status as a long-term strategy and goal in jeopardy. Thus, what emerged were small, non-profit institutions that adopted an interesting mix of restrictions and rules that were once common to large institutions and for-profit-businesses. In particular, there are two large financial discursive limitations that

all four ecomuseums face: 1) the implications of incorporation as non-profit charities,²⁵ and 2) relying on volunteers and community allies. Regardless of how, these limitations have had an impact on the strategies and practices of each ecomuseum. In some cases, these limitations are self-imposed requirements for the museum's survivability, while in other cases, limitations are used as an opportunistic means to secure financial resources and/or reach and influence the community.

For ÉAD, the non-profit charity status (under the name *la Fédération Écomusée de l'Au-Delà*) was used not only for survivability, but as a means of extending its reach and influence across Québec. As an institution that was founded and incorporated in 1991, ÉAD had no physical building and the austerity measures it faced made it nearly impossible to develop, promote, or protect the funerary industry in different regions all over Québec. Thus, the ecomuseum began to sprawl in various community areas. It created small sectional associations of people (region-specific cultural projects) with the same goals as the museum, itself, but that were targeted to specific Québec regions: *Québec et Chaudière-Appalaches* (founded in 2008), *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal* (founded in 2012), and *Patrimoine funéraire Estrie-Montréal* (founded in 2014). With a strong institutional foundation established, these sectional associations represented an opportunistic use of community building, which even led to the evolution and separation of the first section, *Québec et Chaudière-Appalaches*, as an autonomous non-profit organisation called *Pierres mémorables*.

²⁵ Charity information can be located through their business numbers: l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà (891440885RR0001), Workers' History Museum (841465115RR0001), le Musée québécois de culture populaire (141431742RR0001), and Écomusée du fier monde (107608168RR0001).

For *l'Écomusée du fier monde*, survivability emerged through a more typical museum approach. Since its inception, the ecomuseum has survived on the financial support of *le Ministère des Affaires Culturelles* and UQÀM. Furthermore, the sale of products and services—brochures, buttons, and tours—only covers a small part of the total budget, and cannot ensure enough income to further develop the ecomuseum or new cultural projects. For this reason, efforts were made in an early working document to highlight the museum's need for self-financing. Organisational financial plans, as part of the museum's community enhancement and self-development goals, were drawn up to secure future and local funding to establish and maintain a space in the neighbourhood. First, the establishment of a management corporation called *La Gestion De La Maison Du Fier Monde* in 1987 played an important role in securing projects and local employment (Quebec Enterprises, n.d.). According to a 1985 draft manuscript detailing the plan, the primary objective of the management corporation was to autofinance the ecomuseum (“L'objectif premier de la corporation de gestion est l'autofinancement de l'Écomusée”) (La Maison du fier monde, c. 1985, p. 42). This is re-emphasised in an unpublished 1988 profile report highlighting the ecomuseum's organisational activities and, which describes this incorporation as...

[L]e *Moteur Financier* de l'Écomusée (emphasis added). Cette corporation développera tous les moyens nécessaires pour assurer un financement adéquat de l'Écomusée et apporter une contribution significative au développement culturel du quartier (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 1988, p. 11).

Second, because austerity measures limit available funding, these plans seek to create recognition and enhance the museum's status by becoming an official museum in

Canada, and holding membership²⁶ in the Canadian Museum Association to qualify and compete for what little funding exists. In particular, accreditation by *le Ministère de la Culture et des Communications* was important for instilling the ecomuseum with an accredited legitimacy as a cultural and historic organisation. According to a draft of the official letter requesting accreditation in 1987, the ecomuseum highlights several positives that come with accreditation:

Un Économusée accrédité apportera sa contribution à la promotion et à la revalorisation du quartier. Il l'a déjà fait en publiant une carte intitulée "Portrait Socio-Économique du quartier Centre-Sud"...Finalement, une accréditation signifiera la rentabilisation des énergies et des argents investis depuis sa fondation. (L'Économusée du fier monde, 1987, p. 8)

Although the ecomuseum applied for accreditation in 1988, it did not receive it until 1996. During this time, the ecomuseum relied on bursary funds from allies like government departments through support programs, the Canadian Museums Association, and community organisations like *la Corporation de Développement Économique du Centre-Sud*. Once accreditation was acquired, it stabilized the museum's financial support for cultural projects and increased its social reach within the community. More importantly, the biggest gain of accreditation was its intangible representation of confidence and support by the provincial government. In other words, by being accredited, the ecomuseum was affirmed in its role as cultural and heritage promoter, and confirmed in its stewardship of the industrial heritage of le Centre-Sud of Montréal.

²⁶ Professional recognition and accreditation by the government, or membership in a museum association, represents a heavy investment and restriction, and can be a lengthy (and in some cases, impossible) process that is often required for consideration of external prizes and awards, and, more importantly, financial support (grants or loans).

Similarly, the WHM sought similar initiatives. Although no physical permanent site was sought, the museum incorporated in 2011 with plans to have a large volunteer board with up to ten active members and at least thirty active non-executive volunteers, and a core staff including one fulltime director, and a curator (Workers' History Museum, 2011A). However, since funding was competitive and limited, and the museum did not garner much initial support, many of its initiatives were not followed through on. To qualify for funding opportunities and receive more exposure, it was necessary for the ecomuseum to affiliate with the Ontario Museum Association (OMA), the Canadian Museum Association (CMA), and the Council of Heritage Organizations in Ottawa (CHOO). Thus, financial support was largely generated from three things: project contracts, the museum's online boutique, and job sponsorship. Many projects emerged from the museum's volunteer base and extensive labour and history network. The development of a boutique stemmed naturally from completed projects where materials that were produced in excess (*e.g.* photos, books, postcards) are made available to interested community members. Popular items, like calendars and postcards, are produced annually and featured images from current projects. Finally, through programs like Young Canada Works,²⁷ the museum relies on the work and specializations of summer students and student internships to complete work on projects.

The MQCP also fought to remain sustainable. As a project that was given a second chance, the museum had to present several financial initiatives to prove that it could sustainably develop. Initial plans for the MQCP included several support propositions. For commercial activities, the museum proposed a boutique and bistro that would draw

²⁷ Young Canada Works offers wage subsidies and access to a pool of students to heritage employers (Government of Canada, 2017).

on the theme of current exhibits and provide people an opportunity to take home a souvenir or enjoy a quick snack that reflected the region (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2003B). Similarly, there were plans to rent the MQCP's space (*e.g.* the lobby and multimedia rooms) to groups or the public for shows, galas, hearings, press conferences, weddings, and concerts (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2013). One of the biggest attractions associated with the museum is the old prison where the museum's staff members provide information tours (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2017). These tours also play a role in the museum's school program for various groups (elementary, secondary, and collegial) that include workshops, presentations, or activities (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2014). Finally, like the other ecomuseums, the MQCP also relies on two major resources: community volunteers and student workers (recruited through young graduate training programs, Summer Career Placement Program, and *Emploi-Québec*), and outside financial support. The museum acquires grants and financial support from all levels of government and museum associations (*e.g.* *Société des musées québécois*) to upgrade internal systems and procedures, and draws on targeted fundraising campaigns and activities (*e.g.* cocktail dinners, wine auction, oyster dinner, and lotto-voyage give-a-way) to develop certain exhibits and projects (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2008).

6.3 Realizing the possible: What are the strategies and practices?

The previous two sections excavated the ecomuseum's militant norms and values (*i.e.* equality, community solidarity, and responsibility), and the discursive rules that have emerged to reinforce this militant identity (*i.e.* policies and declarations promoting community and place, rejecting structural hierarchy, and development of social and

economic practices that enhance the local community). With this in mind, the next question is how are these missions, values, and norms realized? Or, put differently, what practices and strategies emerge from these discursive conditions? Broadly put, each ecomuseum engages in different forms of knowledge creation.

For ecomuseums, knowledge (a constantly changing and complex set of discursive relations that make it possible for statements to qualify as something ‘known’) is largely determined by its established discursive conditions (i.e. militant norms and values, and rules of formation); thus, each ecomuseum has different projects and initiatives based on these limitations. For example, some knowledge is created and presented through: sections of the ecomuseums’ websites (through photos and descriptions of historical initiatives, current practices, joint undertakings); reports and recordings (annual reports, meeting minutes, project development and update reports); published promotional material meant for sharing, circulation, distribution, or sale (pamphlets and displays); physical or digital exhibitions (displayed artifacts, objects, and large permanent installations), or key informants who were members and volunteers of the organization. The two general trends that emerge in ecomuseum knowledge creation are: 1) research, exhibits, and collections, and 2) education and neighbourhood ‘presence.’ While the first trend reflects a common practice for most museums, the general aim of each project is less broad and often seeks to maintain their local distinctiveness – to retain their sense of place. Similarly, this alternative community-focused approach is reflected in the promotion and education practices that focus on local history and heritage. In some cases, these initiatives are meant to train or create different locally educational experiences.

6.31 Research, Exhibits, and Collections

Two ecomuseums are without a constant dedicated physical space: ÉAD and the WHM. In the most literal sense, these two ecomuseums exist as museums ‘without walls.’ However, in both cases, this physical absence does not limit or prevent the institution from partaking in projects that establish a physical presence, such as a monument or integrated installation (*i.e.* a wall or physical artistic addition to an already existing establishment), or even through the creation of a digital space for other larger or more delicate displays and objects. This forced ingenuity has led to a more decentralised approach that creeps all over the community and offers a more geographically even and accessible experience.

For ÉAD, knowledge development through research is one of its most emphasized practices. For example, some of the notable cultural topics and profiles of several funerary monographs and publications include: the Québec sculptors Émile Brunet and Joseph Jean-Baptiste Brunet; several historic cemeteries including *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*, Mont-Royal, Shaerith Israel, and Shaar Hashomayim; the mausoleum at the *Baie-du-Febvre* cemetery (*i.e.* Project Bellemare-Paradis-Jutras); and action plan reports for the Mont-Royal cemetery. This knowledge development not only provides more insight and a deeper understanding of the already established (but neglected and ignored) funerary industry, its practices, objects, and monuments, it also creates context and legitimization for public action.

ÉAD cites two important contributors to the industry. The first is sculptor Émile Brunet.²⁸ At his death in 1977, Émile Brunet left more than 200 works for the Canadian public, but did not have the same level of appreciation as other sculptors like Hébert and Laliberté. Thus, part of the stated object of the museum's work is to promote and popularize the works and life of Émile Brunet to a larger audience given that he fell into obscurity and became relatively unknown (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2001). Furthermore, ÉAD's work on Émile Brunet (including digital promotions, and a large biographical publication) would also act as a preliminary historical guide for the *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges* Cemetery.

The second important figure is Joseph Jean-Baptiste Brunet²⁹—an entrepreneur and sculptor, a manufacturer, importer of monuments, and granite quarries owner from Québec (Tremblay, 2010). ÉAD's Joseph Brunet project—another large biographical publication that includes photographical compilations of Brunet and his works—highlights the industry's impact through his political influence on the community and the cemetery of Côte-des-Neiges as a notorious Liberal party supporter (Tremblay, 2010). ÉAD presents controversies such as Brunet's life as the president of the Liberal club of entrepreneurs and as the mayor of the village of Côte-des-Neiges (until it was annexed, in piecemeal, by Montréal in 1908 and 1910), while remaining in charge as owner of a large enterprise. Through these established positions of influence, Joseph was largely responsible for the development of the funerary industry through the production of

²⁸ Through joint research (with *l'Université de Montréal*, Public Archives of Canada, the Province of Québec, and the City of Montréal), the reports and biographical sketches were compiled with the help of photographs, 500 drawings and sketches, correspondences, diplomas, etc.

²⁹ Interestingly, the making of the monograph was largely the result of the ecomuseum's networks. Through the networks, it received financial support from a Cultural Development Agreement between the City of Montréal and the Ministry of Culture and Communications of Québec (Coulombe, 2006).

thousands of monuments and cultural landscape at *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*. Part of the ecomuseum's objective for this profile was to bring recognition to Joseph's work and contributions, and its importance to the funerary industry in Québec. Because Joseph was often very close to the promoters of legacy projects and committee funding and selection (e.g. the construction of the monument to the Patriots at Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu in 1913), his contributions illustrate the relatively seamless and largely unrecognised presence of the funerary industry in Québec's local (and even Canada's national) culture (Tremblay, 2010).

In addition to the Brunets, ÉAD is well known for its work with cemeteries, including cultural projects: *Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*; Shaerith Israel; Shaar Hashomayim; and, Mont-Royal. These cultural projects are community-enshrined monuments that include many aesthetic pieces and represent the ecomuseum's most tangible collections. In an effort to unearth their historical and cultural significance, and restore and reframe them in the light of local cultural, the ecomuseum has also put together profiles of these historical cemeteries (Radio Canada International, 2012). For instance, the *Baie-du-Febvre* cemetery mausoleum—otherwise known as Bellemare-Paradis-Jutras—was a featured project and exhibit that represented a firm community stance for the ecomuseum. This project brought together local people and challenged government practices for the enhancement of the community.

Project Bellemare-Paradis-Jutras represented a disturbing trend of monuments that needed to be saved.³⁰ In order to prevent more damage, the ecomuseum's deputy director,

³⁰ Many of the monuments belonged to families whose responsibility it was to ensure their renewal. Because of this, the maintenance and renewal of monuments became uncertain as it meant that later generations, to whom the financial burden fell, were not always able or willing to renew these pieces, notwithstanding the artistic or heritage value of the work. Outside of private

Alain Tremblay, garnered the support of several leading community figures—city councillor Lina Beaudoin, retired priest Gilbert Lemire, Mayor Claude Lefebvre, and the MNA Nicolet-Bécancour Donald Martel (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014A)—as well as the support of the Municipality and parish of Baie-du-Febvre (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014B; Lacroix, 2014). Together, this group, in collaboration with funerary and heritage experts, were able to finance and compile an evaluation report for the formulation of a restoration quote supported by several community and cultural justifications (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014D). The report compiles information on the architectural and cultural heritage value of the mausoleum and the ecomuseum's financial inability to restore and maintain the funeral chapel, with the restoration quote serving as a precautionary measure to maintain and improve the quality of the architectural landscape of the cemetery. For its part, the ecomuseum conducted a campaign of recognition to familiarize the public with Joseph-Elzéar Bellemare, a historical figure and one of the greatest historians of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Nicolet, who published several parish monographs that have since become reference books and cultural insights for the period before 1910 (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014E). The report argues that this restoration would help define the local identity and strengthen the community's sense of belonging.

Another illustration of ÉAD knowledge creation practices comes from their research contributions for the action plan reports for the development of the Mont-Royal cemetery – a cemetery that encompasses a large majority of the funerary heritage in Montréal. Since joining the Mont-Royal working table in 2005, the ecomuseum has been involved

commemoration, public monuments erected by communities also share the same problem; both are generally left without a benefactor to properly maintain them (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005B).

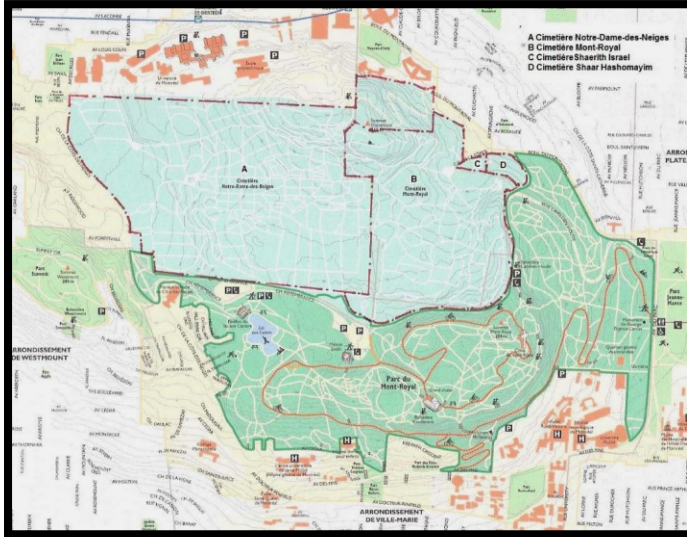


Figure 6 Map of Mount Royal with the limitations of cemeteries bordered in red

in discussions surrounding the cemetery's development, and have been designated to provide guided tours of the cemetery and to intervene with the media (Les Amis de la montagne, 2006, p. 18). For instance, in the 2006 Inventory and action plan for Mount Royal

Cemetery, the ecomuseum was

involved in the assessment and provided knowledge and expertise. The report serves as a development plan to explore the state of the space and the cemeteries, and subsequently “release an action plan bridging existing gaps with regard to the conservation and enhancement of their heritage components” (MBrodeur Consultant Inc., 2006, p. 6).

In the report, ÉAD provides expertise in the form of knowledge through its 2002 publication, *Guide préliminaire de surveillance pour le Cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*, which illustrates and locates some 600 monuments. In addition, the influence seemingly extends to the proposed suggestion of Action 8.4.6:

Design and implement a specific action plan for the conservation of works of art and metallic bronze plaques embedded in funeral works to counter the phenomenon of looting that has prevailed for some time. (MBrodeur Consultant Inc., 2006, p. 84)

ÉAD's guide highlights how 25 works of metal art, mainly in bronze, have disappeared since 1989, including several works by renowned sculptor Louis-Philippe Hébert. This, in

some sense, prompted action and led to several other proposed suggestions: identify remaining objects and monuments, inquire with dealers about the objects removed or withdrawn, educate and inform owners of current objects of looting, establish an organized neighbourhood watch, and finance professionals and experts to properly secure fixtures and objects (MBrodeur Consultant Inc., 2006, pp. 84-85).

Together, both monographs embody the museum and their artisans; ÉAD's participation in development plans substantiates their claim to furthering funerary heritage by protecting and shedding light on some important local contributors to art and history. For example, both sculptors made notable contributions and the research behind them offers a different insight into funerary heritage in terms of recognizing and appreciating local contributions to culture and heritage. In some ways, this acknowledgement and local empowerment of objects and monuments enables the community to reappropriate their culture and heritage. Similarly, the ecomuseum's participation in the development of local cemeteries offers a voice, local expertise, and context cementing the importance of these areas and monuments, and provides input that protects the community's identity.

ÉAD has had two major exhibits that illustrate the drive of future actions and importance of uncovering, understanding, and establishing a firm knowledgebase and appreciation for funerary heritage in the community. In 1991, the very year of its founding, the ÉAD created their first public exhibit entitled "La fête des Morts: une fête pour les vivants" (L'Ecomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A). Created with the help of ecologist Pierre Dansereau and despite limited resources, this exhibit showcased cultural objects and designs, and highlighted some interesting aspects of the historical celebration of the

dead. Although the ecomuseums is not the primary event organizer, the event is ongoing and was most recently held in 2011, 2013, 2014, and 2015 with help from volunteers and financial support from the ecomuseum.

In 1992, a second, more important, exhibition was created, entitled “In Mémontréal” (L'Ecomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A). This exhibit highlighted the 350th anniversary of Montréal and was the result of a survey of graves from the founding of the city. According to a report summarizing the event, the ecomuseum traced the burial stories of several people and followed their historical evolution only to find that very little had withstood time. While undoubtedly this ground-breaking exhibit inspired subsequent



exhibits on the topic of funerary heritage—e.g. the 2000 Funeral Rituals in French America exhibition, and a 2003 collaborative exhibit with the History and Genealogy Society



Salaberry—what made it particularly important was its uniqueness. This exhibit presented the community with a relatively unknown, yet major, and often neglected part, of human life. Furthermore, the

objective of this exhibit, in part, was to educate people about why funerary heritage can have significance for the community.³¹

³¹ In a conversation with Alain Tremblay (2015-10-14), he highlights how this event marked a pivotal moment for the ecomuseum and its relationship with the community because it signifies the beginning of the community's awareness and more serious recognition of the funerary industry.

Like ÉAD, the WHM's research is, perhaps, the institution's most important practice. While research plays a pivotal role in each museum, for the WHM, it is the topics of research that inaugurate this practice. Many of the topics, themes, and people researched by the museum are often subjects that: 1) have historical importance for the labour movement, and 2) have seemingly been ignored and relegated to the side as trivial rather than weaved into the overall fabric of the national cultural narrative espoused by large public museums. At a 2015 history conference roundtable, *Counter Narratives of Place and Commemoration Roundtable*, David Dean—a labour historian at Carleton University and active museum member and volunteer—described the WHM as a “museum without walls” that disseminates its message by “taking it to the streets, telling stories literally by walking the streets, looking at the landscape, and challenging the national commemorative landscape and just putting out a different story by using the same space” (Dean & Keyes, 2015).

In particular, Dean describes the museum's actions as a “spontaneous” thing that occurs ubiquitously all over town, all of which are the result of trying to “repopulate” diverse parts of Ottawa with different stories in order to draw in the community (Dean & Keyes, 2015). Interestingly, this view of ‘repopulating’ the Ottawa landscape is also reflected in the WHM's 2015 annual report:

Over the last 30 years this socially progressive aspect of trade unionism, and indeed the very ideas of ‘public benefits’ and our public services themselves, have been eroded by ‘think tanks’, the dominant commercial media, and political parties. Sad to say, their work has succeeded to the point that what unions have accomplished, and why they are important to the social, economic, and political

life of Canada is increasingly lost not just on the general public, but on union members alike. (Workers' History Museum, 2016D, pp. 7-8)

In deploring the misinformation presented by think-tanks, the general statement implies a level of action to 're-inform' and provide counter-discourse. In this case, research plays an even larger role because it informs the museum's narrative of stories and exhibits that shed light on many 20th and 21st century labour and activist events for progressive legislation (*e.g.* family leave, public pensions, and healthcare for all Canadians, good wages and working conditions for union members on shop floors, *etc.*). Both the 2015 annual report and Dean's sentiment reflect the broad aim of the museum: share stories or counter-narratives with the community to create awareness around important social struggles. However, while the focus of the WHM's research is to create counter-narratives that produce defining points for the museum, the actions it takes to achieve this aim are equally distinct.

Since its 2010 inception, the WHM has become increasingly involved in city-wide cultural events, while steadily engaging in various new projects on behalf of its membership and the larger general community (Workers' History Museum, 2016D; 2017A). Outside of its research, the WHM's main activities include the continuous production and updating of its website – which includes its digital exhibits and photos, a self-reflecting blog, and an online boutique. The WHM's website is the hub for all of the museum's activities and communications, and also acts as a storefront with options to view or procure original items produced by the museum. To overcome its physical limitations, the museum began development of traveling exhibits and permanent exhibits (as of 2017, there are three) that are fixtures within community spaces. Finally,

networking and community engagement activities include hosting at least one labour history event each year where the public is invited to join in lectures, storytelling, musical evenings, and film screening events. For instance, the museum participates in Heritage Day, Colonel By Day, Doors Open, and Jane's Walk, among other heritage events in the community. Together, these activities have led to stronger ties (and reliance) on the community, which is largely the result of not having a physical space.

Original projects: research, collections, and exhibits

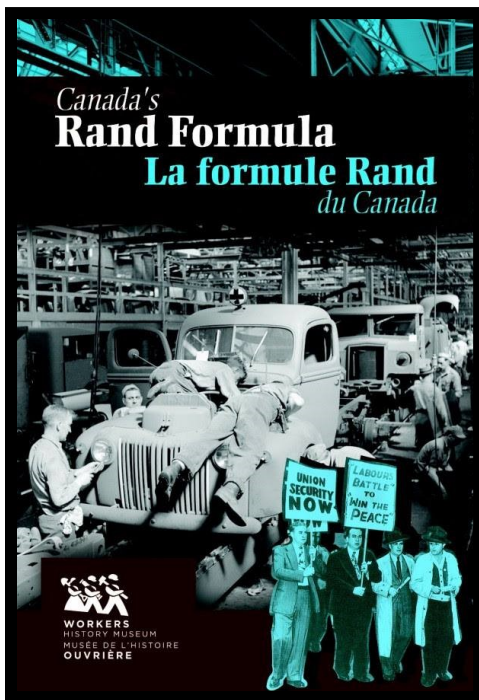
As of 2016, the WHM has initiated 15 projects – many of which are complete or near complete – including a variety of different electronic media (*e.g.* films, digital exhibits, and virtual tours) and tactile things (*e.g.* traveling exhibits and portable exhibit boxes with objects), historical walking tours, and storytelling events to appeal to wider audiences (Workers' History Museum, 2016D). Keeping in mind that this is a community-owned and run museum without walls, for the WHM to complete this many projects in only a five-year period is impressive. Most of the projects listed only came into fruition in the last couple of years. Many of these projects were widely circulated (and continue to be) – and some even produced marketable publications (videos, books, calendars, pedagogical material) that were bought by various organisations, union locals, and schools.

Many of the WHM's original projects can be thematically categorised as either labour focused (trade or large scale unionism), local heritage celebrations (*e.g.* Black History Month), or areas that generally have a cultural significance or a progressive narrative with links to labour (*e.g.* Britannia park). The community-based initiatives include small and large projects where the museum can locally connect and network with the

community through various events and celebrations. Because the bounded identity of the museum is quite wide (the Ottawa region), its projects extend to include a focus on residents, heritage, specific traditions, and labour sites. The labour-focused projects largely relate to union topics, events, and people all sharing a history or links with labour unions and the public service. Additionally, the museum also documents topics related to smaller local trades, their functions, impacts, and what have become of them.

Several of the important labour events and people that the WHM promotes are narratives and stories that are largely not present (or actively ignored) in public museums or day-to-day media. In many of these cases, the projects are complex and include a variety of media to describe and overview the various issues, how they emerged, what the challenges are, what was done to overturn or combat them, and what these struggles mean for people today. In a few of the WHM's film presentations, there are even

Figure 7 Video cover of Canada's Rand Formula: Bitter Strike, Inspired Resolution



questions to the audience that challenge them to take notice and understand the implications of these struggles. This subtle motivation can be seen as a strong call to action to protect the benefits at risk.

For example, one of the WHM's most recent projects, *Canada's Rand Formula: Bitter Strike, Inspired Resolution*, celebrates the 75th anniversary of the Rand Formula, a landmark event in Canadian labour and civil rights history. The project consists of a film, a portable tabletop display, and the development of a Web-based self-learning module

with teaching notes for facilitators giving courses. While the tabletop display gives insights on the strike and workers, the film presents the story and aftermath of the 1946 strike by the United Autoworkers (UAW) against the Ford Motor Company in Windsor, Ontario, which took place over the very nature of the workplace. The arbitration that followed was heard by Justice Rand who determined that, in a unionized workplace, all workers in the bargaining unit benefit from the union's work; therefore, the union is entitled to receive payment for the services it provides, and that the employer is required to deduct union dues from the salaries of all employees in the bargaining unit and remit them to the union. According to Arthur Carkner, a long-time museum volunteer and producer of the film, although this decision was only sparsely covered by the media, it set an incredibly important historical precedent for all workers in Canada.³² In particular, the hard-fought battle for the Rand Formula created stability and clarity in the workplace and provided unions with the financial security to fulfil their various functions.

Similarly, the first project undertaken by the WHM, *The Struggle for Family Leave*,



Figure 8 The traveling exhibit for *The Struggle for Family Leave*

provides a similar motivation and narrative. This project includes a table display that consists of five tall, free-standing, banner panels examining the role of several public and private sector unions, as well as the overarching labour movement, in winning maternity leave

³² In a conversation with Arthur Carkner (2015-10-15), he discussed the development of the Rand Formula film, the people involved, and how it emerged as a narrative challenge to current Right-Wing misinterpretations and threats to repeal it over the last few years, especially the former Ontario Tory leader Tim Hudak.

for Canadian women. There is also a digital exhibit on the WHM's website that provides background and exhibit information. Finally, a film documentary was made, "A Struggle to Remember: Fighting for Our Families," that presents how it became acceptable for women to return to their jobs after maternity leave. Essentially, the project highlights the struggles of the 1960s to recognise women's role in society and in the workplace, and how this led to the 1971 extension of Unemployment Insurance benefits to include partly paid maternity leave. The film ends with a presentation of key same-sex benefit cases in the 1980's that outlawed discrimination in bereavement leave (Workers' History Museum, 2016E). Like the previous film, this one features interviews with key figures from the movement. Additionally, people who have directly gained from the changes in family benefits are shown, as is archival footage of unionists agitating, organizing, and striking to advance family issues. In the end, both films (and all aspects of both projects) present an interesting contemporary view of how these struggles have persisted to today (in various forms). For the case of family leave, the struggle today is illustrated as the problematic negotiation of aboriginal custom adoption contract language in Inuktitut and Dene.

On the other hand, the labour union theme is also the subject of many of the WHM's projects dealing with the history of union locals and components (*e.g.* Union of Taxation Employees [UTE], Public Service Alliance of Canada [PSAC], Canadian Union of Public Employees [CUPE] 4600, Health and Safety Activism and Legislation). Two of these histories (PSAC and its component, UTE) emerged because of their 50th anniversaries and include comprehensive elements from pedagogical material, interactive web displays, manuscripts detailing the history, and exhibits. As mentioned, one notable history project



Figure 9 Marketing poster for the Cal Best documentary

was a documentary on James Cal Best, one of the founders of PSAC. The project presents the relatively unknown history of Cal Best who, along with his mother Carrie Best, took a stand on behalf of the mistreatment of the black community during the segregation years in Canada (Workers' History Museum, 2016H). The WHM honoured Best's achievements as the first black ambassador for Canada who assisted in the merger of two unions leading to the creation of PSAC. The

project led to digital and traveling exhibits,

plus the museum's second film, "Simply the Best," which was presented at the Central Branch of the Ottawa Public Library during Black History Month in 2014. The screening of "Simply the Best" was one of the museum's best attended events to date, with a turnout of over 100 people from the community (Workers' History Museum, 2016H).

These community-based projects also exemplify some classical trade labour elements (e.g. laundry, cobblers, and tools [carpenter and joiner tools]). For the project, "Laundry," the WHM prepared an exhibit box that presents women's work in doing laundry as a chore and occupation. At one time, laundry was an everyday activity, but it was also one of the physically hardest and most time-consuming of woman's domestic activities (Workers' History Museum, 2016D). The narrative presents numerous stories – including

how ‘fallen-women’ were taken in by Catholic Orders to assist in chores and were called ‘Magdalene launders’; how Grandmothers and Great-grandmothers completed the job from stain treatment to ironing, folding, and storing clothes and linens away; and how advancements in technology over the last 125 years has affected these chores. One of the most interesting parts of this project is its description of how standards and social expectations of what constitutes ‘good housekeeping’ have changed as a result of new technologies and approaches to housekeeping and laundry.³³ The exhibit box contains props that people can pick up and examine—including old equipment, old types of soap, and washcloths that were used by laundry workers. The overall message of the project is of nostalgia, understanding, and remembrance. Laundry is something that remains a part of peoples’ lives despite changes in its process.

In another local trade-themed project, the WHM presented the history of the E. B. Eddy Company – the region’s first major industrial site being redeveloped. This project was unique in that it included the WHM’s second permanent exhibit (stationed on Bank

Figure 10 The EB Eddy exhibit wall at 25One Community in Ottawa



Street), a digital exhibit on the website, and a planned 3D virtual tour.³⁴ The tour will include over 73,000 still images and 36 hours of video— with the help of several volunteers carefully

³³ In a conversation with Bob Hatfield (2015-02-13), he discusses the history of the Laundry project and how it emerged. He mentioned that they were even able to meet with some who was a former laundry worker.

³⁴ In a conversation with Bob Hatfield (2015-02-13), he described the arduous process of taking pictures by several volunteers each day for months.

taking thousands of pictures of old E.B. Eddy building interiors (factory floors, tools, heavy machinery, railings, markings, and notes by workers), exteriors (building style and design), and noticeable architecture (bridges and pathways) around the area over a period of weeks—detailing every aspect of the Eddy site including its 10 remaining factory and mill buildings that sit on 35 acres of land (Workers' History Museum, 2016D). Many of these photographs depict the way of life in these factories, from the markings on the wall, where the tools were placed, and the wear of the machinery. These images led to the production and sale of an E.B. Eddy-specific calendar. Furthermore, the project also includes oral histories with past E.B. Eddy workers that delve into the company's records at Science & Tech (Workers' History Museum, 2016D).

The WHM also hosted a storytelling event in which the story of Donalda Charron and *Les Allumettières* was presented. Charron was the first woman to organize and lead an industrial strike in the Province of Québec, and *Les Allumettières* were the women employed in E. B. Eddy's match factories in Hull, working in horrible and dangerous conditions for meagre pay. Charron led the workers to strikes in 1919 and 1924 for better pay, health, and safety improvements, during which time they were opposed and threatened by management.

Finally, the WHM has created many projects on specific heritage events and places in the Ottawa region (*e.g.* Carleton University union local, Ottawa's Bank Street, and Britannia on the Bay). In the Britannia on the Bay project, there is a permanent exhibit about Britannia's history, installed at the Ron Kolbus Lakeside Centre – a community place on the site of the Park's lost dance hall (Lakeside Gardens). The project includes a storytelling event about the Almonte Train Wreck of 1942, when a troop train speeding

east toward Halifax swung around the bend into Almonte and crashed into the local train standing at the station waiting to take people from the Valley back to Ottawa after the Christmas holiday (Workers' History Museum, 2016G). The storytelling (and a produced film) reveals a romance of the rails through guest speakers that share stories of love, marriage, community, and family.

The digital exhibit, film – *The Almonte Train Wreck: A Story of People* – and traveling exhibits all examine the history of Britannia Park from its beginnings – as a for-profit amusement destination, part of Ahearn & Soper’s (A&S) Ottawa Electric Railway Company at the turn of the 20th Century – to the public park it is today. The narrative

Figure 11 A 1981 poster for the Du marché d’hier au musée de demain exhibition



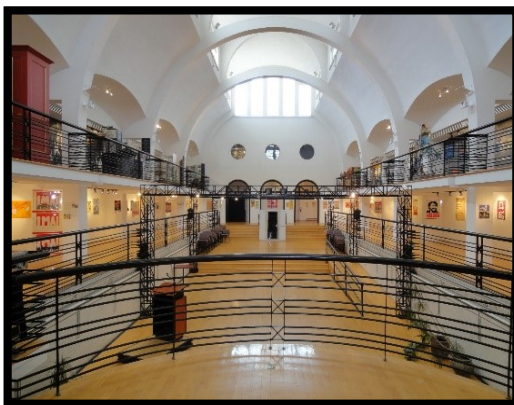
presented in the exhibits describe the joyful place

that was nicknamed ‘people’s playground,’ where people visited via the ‘electric octopus’ (electric cars); however, the narrative also implies the corporate domination of the Ahearn & Soper organisation in their attempt to monetize (through travel fees, event fares, and food stands) and exploit the destination for profit. In one example, the digital exhibit notes how the organisation subsidized an annual “Little Folks” excursion—a free streetcar ride and ice cream—to lure families of the poor back to the park as paying customers (Workers' History Museum, 2016F).

In sum, the projects all presented—through a variety of media— the different aims of the museum. While various projects can be categorised under three themes (*i.e.* local and community heritage in the region of Ottawa, union or activist related, and industrial trades), the narrative presented in many of these projects evokes a sentiment that goes beyond simply informing the public. In some cases, like Cal Best or the story of *Les Allumettières*, the narrative presents a timely struggle for the recognition of rights, a challenge to the then-dominant social norms and regulations, while highlighting the brobdingnagian implications of these events or actions. In other cases, like Britannia Park, the public is presented with pictures evoking nostalgia for the once exciting times, and with messages that hint of caution, which serve as a reminder of the corporate dominance by A&S and financial implications for and subsequent exploitation of the working class. As illustrated, many of these projects incorporate a variety of media and material, all of which bleed over to all other museum activities.

Unlike the previous institutions, *l'Écomusée du fier monde* and the MQCP each have their own dedicated space to populate with exhibits, displays, and thematic collections.

Figure 12 A 2012 photo of L'Écomusée du fier monde (photo taken by Marie-Josée Lemaire-Caplette)



This creates possibilities for large permanent displays, seasonal and temporary exhibits, and even dedicated community space for gatherings and celebrations or meetings. For example, production increased dramatically once a space was procured for ÉFM. Before 1996, when it officially relocated to the former Géréneux public bath, the ecomuseum had completed 13 projects; since its

relocation, it has completed an average of 6 projects a year. Furthermore, these projects have led to a variety of original materials including program publications and several individual manuscripts for distribution and purchase (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015B).

Exhibits and practices

Many of ÉFM's first projects focused on places and the concrete qualities of the environment – all of which reflect the Centre-Sud's unique territory and community, such as housing (e.g. *Il était une fois le logement ouvrier* [1982]), roads and landmarks (e.g. *Visite dans le Centre-Sud* [1982], *Rues et pignons* [1984], *Voyage dans le Centre-Sud* [1987]), and building histories (e.g. *Les 75 ans de l'école Saint-Anselme* [1986], *Il était une fois l'école Marguerite-Bourgeois* [1987], *Le bain Généreux, reflet d'un quartier* [1996])). For example, *Il était une fois le logement ouvrier* [1982] was a heritage and historical tour of Ontario roads that cover several agricultural and architectural points of interest. Ontario roads are a unique example because they embody many important and common elements that have been a part of everyday life for French Montréalers since the mid-nineteenth century. Additionally, this project includes components that reflect the sector as it transformed, giving rise to community struggles and difficulty maintaining the neighborhood.

The project, *Rues et pignons* [1984], was a broad brochure overlooking two territories of the neighbourhood. This brochure was separated into two circuits to explore: *The beautiful streets of the Faubourg* and *Promenade in St-Anselme*. These circuits highlight the social identity of the neighbourhood, the evolution of the population, principle industries of the neighbourhood Ste-Marie (1851-1901), and how their decline resulted in

a general shift towards poverty and overall change in the social strata. On the other hand, the project, *Les 75 ans de l'école Saint-Anselme* [1986], was a narrower attempt to display the heritage of a single place. It was a souvenir program that retold the rich history of the school Saint-Anselme. The brochure compiled testimonials of various people who worked at the school and illustrated the history of the school, while contributions from present students also provided the brochure with a new direction and vision for its future. Finally, *À cœur de jour! Grandeurs et misères d'un quartier populaire* (2012) is a permanent exhibit in the ecomuseum. It focuses on describing the history of workers, their living environments, and the daily strategies they used to make ends meet (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016A). Furthermore, it generally reflects a retelling of the broader economic history with its successive phases of industrialization and deindustrialization that shaped the destiny of the working classes of Montréal.

Other early projects focused on unique experiences (e.g. *La vie sociale dans le Centre-Sud* [1981], *Le Centre-Sud vu par les jeunes* [1989], *Vue sur le pont* [2005], *D'un œil différent* [2016]), different cultures

Figure 13 "Urban transformations" in the permanent exhibition, 2012.
Photo: Marie-Josée Lemaire-Caplette



and heritages (e.g. *Afrika Montréal* [2014], *Audace et persévérance : l'héritage des Oblats O.M.I.*, [2014]), and social movements of the neighbourhood (e.g. *Entre l'usine et la cuisine* [1984]). For example, *Entre l'usine et la cuisine* [1984] was a publication and

exhibit that emphasized the important contributions of women in the development of the area. The project collected the testimonies of different women in the neighborhood so that they would recognize themselves in the documents produced. According to the ecomuseum, “we do not claim, in this brochure, to be describing THE reality of all women in South Central, but A reality. This is why we have avoided generalizations and have centered our work on information collected” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 1984, pp. 5-6).³⁵ The brochure was designed as a narrative of the women's lives using fictional characters through which real details emerge.

The project, *Concours de photographie avec le CLSC et La Criée* [1988], was based on an effort to publicize the Centre-Sud. The competition encouraged people to participate in the discovery of the neighbourhood through photography, but, also to enrich the collective memory of the area by using the results of the activity to populate its heritage archive. Finally, *D'un œil différent* [2016] is a cultural multidisciplinary event held during the Québec intellectual disability week that brings together over 200 artists and performers with an intellectual disability and/or a pervasive developmental disorder around a visual arts exhibition and a varied program. This project brings awareness to the community of the potential of unknown artists. The exhibition includes over 150 sculptures, paintings, photographs and montages, with many of the participating artists invited by the ecomuseum to participate in ecomuseum events and activities like local creative workshops and tailored visual arts, guided tours, and discussion forums (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016H).

³⁵ Translated from French by the author.

ÉFM has also completed some case-specific projects written about local businesses (e.g. *Commerces du coin* [2009]), the development of community sports (e.g. *Association sportive et communautaire du Centre-Sud 1974-2014 – 40 ans au cœur du quartier* [2014]), and different working industries (e.g. *RJR Macdonald, toute une histoire* [1988], *Viau, des biscuits, une histoire* [2007], *Run de lait* [2010], *Confitures et marinades Raymond : faites pour plaire* [2015]). One notable example is the *RJR Macdonald, toute une histoire* [1988] exhibit. The photographs and artefacts of the exhibit highlight the—still active—industry and tobacco company that were founded by William Christopher Macdonald in 1858. The exhibit and digital repository highlights photographic artefacts of equipment used by the factory, workers during their shift, past logos, the collective agreement, and various other products. Furthermore, the narrative provides insight and context into the company’s move following a fire in 1895, and includes accounts from workers and descriptions of the building (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016B).

Another project, *Run de lait* [2010] or “Milk run,” was an important historic phrase that described the workers that roamed the city streets on a daily basis to deliver fresh milk to Montréal families. This day-to-day process was symbolized using a unique milk container: the glass bottle of milk, which served more than a generation (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2016D). The exhibition’s purpose is to follow the path of this bottle over time and in the Montréal area – from its beginning in the dairy plant, to its journey outside the factory, through the city, and to the door of a client. In other words, the exhibit looks at the transformation of the society around the bottle’s journey, how it was affected by this transformation, and how it subsequently affected and responded to society and its consumers. Similarly, the *Confitures et marinades Raymond : faites pour*

plaire [2015] project is an exhibit of a memory of local products and how they marked multiple generations. The exhibit includes photographs, advertisements, objects, personal accounts, and digital reconstructions, all of which help to highlight a major Montréal company (*Confitures et marinades Raymond*) that dominated its sector for a good part of the 20th century. Additionally, the exhibition tells a story of the men and women who contributed to its development (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016C).

Finally, innovative online/virtual exhibits and projects have also been undertaken and are accessible through ÉFM's website. For example, the podcast and virtual exhibition: Ontario street [n.d.], tells the story of the neighborhood and the evolution of Ontario Street from 1842 to the present, with a focus on the years 1927 and 1928 (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016E). Although it is largely an axis for commercial activity, Ontario street retains traces of the industrial life of the neighborhood – through the presence of old factories such as Aird & Son, or still active companies like JTI-Macdonald. Despite this

Figure 14 CITOYENS – HIER, AUJOURD'HUI, DEMAIN evolution, the street still plays an important EXHIBITION – Illustrations : Jacquié Jeanes



role as a socializing space for neighborhood residents – a fact made salient by the exhibit's presentation of both old and new photographs showcasing the neighbourhood's social aspects. In addition, *Citoyens – Hier, aujourd'hui, demain* exhibition [2012] is a digital exhibit with pictures of various people accompanied by brief

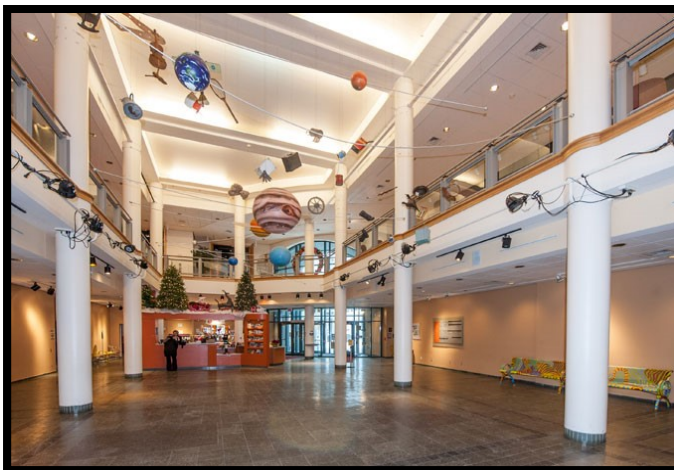
expressions. Once clicked, the website depicts a narrative exploring these expressions. According to the website:

[the exhibit] portrays men and women who participated in the building of our society. With determination, some have brought a new vision or have undertaken fruitful actions. Others gave their time, if they have redistributed and knowledge for the benefit of their citizens and their citizens. These are our predecessors and our contemporaries. (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016F)

With beautiful pictures and narratives, the exhibit highlights the unique characteristics and qualities for which the Centre-Sud is known. Moreover, the exhibit exemplifies the social history of Montréal through various civic engagement activities partaken in one's day-to-day life.

Like ÉFM, the MQCP also has a physical space for which it primarily presents exhibitions on the folk traditions, knowledge, lifestyle, and values of Québec society from the past and present. In general, these are exhibits that focus on the day-to-day

Figure 15 A photo of the main hall of le Musée québécois de culture populaire



experiences of average Quebecers, covering a wide variety of everyday activities. In addition to the exhibits in the main building, the adjacent Old Prison of Trois-Rivières—a historic monument—is also open to visitors where they can learn about prison life in the

19th century by exploring group and isolation cells and listening to presentations.

Given the variety of peoples, cultures, and traditions it covers, the MQCP has favoured an 'innovative approach' over the traditional 'permanent exhibit' approach. According to the MQCP,

Cette nécessité d'innover amène aussi à proposer de remplacer le concept d'expositions principales permanents (cultures populaires du Québec et histoire de la Mauricie) avance dans le Plan de relance, par une approche d'expositions thématiques de durée limitée (12 à 24 mois), exploitant à fond un sujet donné. I en va de même pour l'ancienne prison dont le traitement doit se traduire par une expérience « forte ».

Originalité, Innovation, Audace, Humour, Plaisir (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2003B, p. 2)

While this could be seen as a space constraint, it appears more likely that this rejection of a permanent exhibit is reflective of not just its growing collection but as an acceptance of the region's ever-changing culture and identity. Moreover, the composition and nature of popular culture trends are constantly in flux, which makes it hard to trace and represent. Thus, the MQCP presents impressionable exhibits linked to the community through a nostalgic sentiment, event, or celebration. For example, for an exhibition celebrating winter and the holiday season, the MQCP displayed around 60 nutcrackers in playful and unexpected ways amid various decors and alongside a hundred historical objects as a way of providing both amusement and a reflective component around the accompanying objects.

As of 2016, the MQCP has initiated 60 exhibits – featuring more than 70,000 diverse ethnological objects – that include virtual (*e.g. Vivre en prison* and *Le début d'un temps nouveau*), traveling, and visiting exhibits; and educational activities based on the *ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport's* programme – which include guided tours and creative interactive workshops. Additionally, the Old Prison of *Trois-Rivières*—once the longest-operating detention centre in Canada—is a national heritage monument that is part of the museum's attraction. After seeing the museum, visitors are

also able to take a guided tour of the former detention centre and learn about the horrific conditions experienced by hundreds of prisoners during its operation.

Firstly, as the name of the museum suggests, many of the MQCP's projects are derived from common items used by the average person in Québec. By examining and presenting everyday objects from the environment, the museum sheds light on things that people may have ignored or taken for granted. More importantly, by presenting objects in this new light, the exhibits serve as not

just a reminder of these items and the people who use them, but, to immortalise the uniqueness of these objects that may not have been used or similarly experienced in other parts of Canada. For example, the museum has explored a few popular television shows through its exhibits, such as the 2014 exhibit on *La Petite*



Figure 16 Promotional poster for the Passe-Partout exhibit

Vie, or the 2012 exhibit on *Le temps d'une paix*. Arguably the most popular television exhibit—attracting more than 83,000 fans within 16 months (Massicotte, 2008)— was *Passe-Partout: le phénomène*. This exhibit presented unique objects and costumes from the show, created fun and interactive activities, and even had the main actors in attendance for a couple of days during the launch to discuss the show's impact on generations of kids growing up in Québec.

As part of the critical reflection and thought-provoking mission of the MQCP, many of its exhibits and objects have drawn on nostalgic activities in the daily lives of people in the community. For example, the museum presented exhibits on: the origin and history of popular board games in Québec; the food we eat, and the intangible cultural heritage of Québec-Wallonia. The theme of food was particularly special because it innovatively reoriented the way people thought about the activity of eating and the objects with which it is associated. For example, the exhibit, *What are we eating?*, broadly answered questions about food; the exhibit, *Suuupper!*, provided a critical exploration of the importance of food in daily

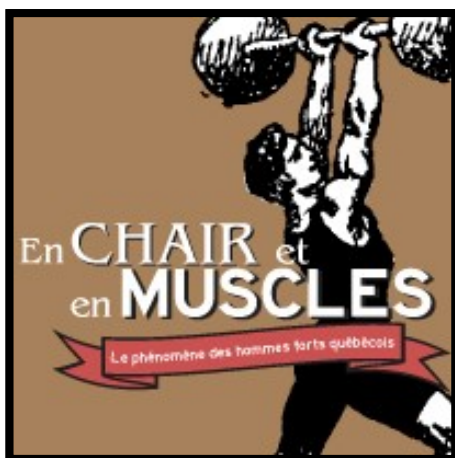


life; and the *Québec All Dressed* exhibit invited new questions and discussion about the values that accompany meals. Another popular exhibit, *Dans mon temps... les jouets*, contained nearly 200 toys, mostly made in Canada between 1920 and 1970 (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016E). The exhibit created a space of nostalgia and an appreciation of the toys by reminding visitors of the important role toys play during one's

formative years. The aim of this exhibit was to create an intergenerational dialogue between different generations.

Secondly, beyond its objects, the MQCP also highlights popular events, cultural traditions and practices. Like the objects presented, the exhibits enable visitors to critically reflect and appreciate folk culture events and practices in a different light. For example, the museum presented an exhibit on *Snack Bars*, which displayed works by photographer Michel Tremblay who had travelled the province immortalizing typical Québécois snack bars. Another exhibit, *Ventes de garage*, explored the phenomenon of local garage sales and the interesting question of trash or treasure that emerges from this form of sale. Similarly, the *Jutras Street in Trois-Rivières* exhibit showcased unique qualities of the community by highlighting architecture that defines residential housing. A more recent exhibit, *En chair et en muscles: Le phénomène des hommes forts québécois*, explores the roots of Québec's strongmen and their impact on Québec history and popular culture (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016D). The exhibit presents visitors with various historical, sociological and cultural materials that highlight

Figure 18 Promotional image from *En chair et en muscles* exhibit



the early working-class beginnings of lumberjacks to the larger than life tales of their accomplishments that may have played a role in making strongmen a popular cultural phenomenon that has inspired works of art and literature.

Thirdly, the MQCP showcases, often in conjunction with other cultural or heritage institutions, famous local people. These exhibits

often highlight achievements, distinguished contributions, or changes that received local and/or international recognition. Some of the exhibits also showcase lesser known local people and their artistic or cultural contributions. In



Figure 19 Promotional image from L'art de la bande dessinée québécoise

these cases, the exhibits provide the opportunity for people to share and better understand local and regional cultural contributions. For example, the exhibition, *La face cachée de Quinze*, presents the work of “Quinze,” an anonymous artist who created many works of folk art, while exhibits like *Romans des Bois* and *Cirque Champagne from A to Z* present sculptures by locally-known Québec folk artists Alain Stanké and Bruno Champagne. A recent exhibit, *BDQ: L'art de la bande dessinée québécoise*, presents various artists and artisans of Québec comics, offering details into the creative process of a comic, and showcasing the different techniques used to create a comic (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016F).



Figure 20 Promotional image from l'Union Nationale exhibit

are presented in a thought-provoking way that enables visitors to critically reflect on the various objects and associated activities in relation to their day-to-day uses – which raise questions regarding the very existence of these items. For example, the exhibit, *Vox*

Finally, in some cases, the objects, practices, or events showcased in the MQCP's exhibits are more politically focused. In these cases, items

populi, invites people to discover the role democracy plays in society's evolution. In this exhibit, it presents the political marketing of *l'Union Nationale*, which was a Québec political party with a right-wing ideology that history has come to associate with a period of Québec history known as “the Great Darkness.” The exhibit, *A Story of Solidarity*, presents the evolution of community movements in the *Trois-Rivières* district of Marie-de-l'Incarnation. Finally, the exhibit, *Québec Seen through its Ads*, is a retrospective on Québec's modern history of advertisements that marks their heritage and reveals the creativity of advertisers.

In sum, each case study's projects—be it an exhibit, a series of objects, report, convention, or story—reflects many of the activist and militant values common in ecomuseums. While not all projects equally engage in the same level of militancy, there is a general trend supporting the mission of public participation through cultural and heritage reappropriation – whether it is through the use of shared space, joint contributions in exhibit showcasing, public consultation in collection interpretation and management, or shared storytelling (local witnesses and donated pictures and artefacts). In fact, practices in creating these projects all emerge with the aim to curate and display social issues instead of objects that are colonially-ordered in accordance with evolutionary theory. Other local level engagement occurs through ecomuseums accepting local art submissions, competitions, fundraising events, courses, and conferences. Stemming from local development values and in reaching practices, several of these projects are the result of diverse partnerships, community volunteers, and local researchers. This further serves to deepen the legitimacy of the projects by showcasing the diverse communities and their assorted heritage. Similarly, the development of a

digital presence, as opposed to only a permanent space for visitation, enables the ecomuseum to be even more accessible. More than this, be it digital or physical, this level of participation reflects an alternative curator (the community curator), which is open to any member of the public. Finally, given that for a few of these projects, ‘artefacts’ are more than objects, the ecomuseum is able to integrate its environment and territory as an extension of the exhibit, bypassing the limits of its physical space through tour maps and outlines of distinct industries and buildings of interest that relay historical memories and represent the development and rehabilitation of a community.

6.32 Education, and ‘Presence’ in the neighborhood

The idea of education is nothing new for museums and ecomuseums. In each case, strategic initiatives and projects are developed for the public to jointly create knowledge and/or share it through participatory events. These activities take the form of stories, group facilitation, traveling exhibits, showcasing, planned walking tours, commemorative displays, and exhibits. What is unique to ecomuseums is the notion of neighbourhood ‘presence,’ which can generally be understood as a commitment to participate, be active, and engage with the community as both a place (*i.e.* environment) and public (*i.e.* people). As mentioned, this ‘presence’ emerges from the French notion of *la nouvelle muséologie* because of its strong emphasis on the social role of museums and its interdisciplinary character – including new styles of expression and communication (Mairesse & Desvallées, 2009). Thus, for each ecomuseum case, this ‘presence’ and activist commitment emerges through its established physical presence in the community, or digital presence that draws on (and appropriates) past distinct neighbourhood features. While all of the case studies covered in this thesis emphasize education and the notion of

‘presence’ within the community, both elements emerge the strongest in the WHM and ÉFM.

For the WHM, ‘presence’ in the community is not only an institutional objective; it serves as the driver for the museum’s educational practices. In meeting its overarching goal to develop and preserve workers’ history and heritage in the National Capital Region and Ottawa Valley, the WHM has been able to, through socially curated projects like the *E.B. Eddy: Paper, Matches, and More*, *Britannia: The People’s Playground*, *Ottawa’s Electric Railway*, *Almonte Train Wreck*, and *Main Street - Ottawa Bank 2015* represent regionally important sites, organisations, and events that hold historic significance. As illustrated in earlier goals and objectives, the WHM has a drive to share its discovered information with its public. Many of the WHM’s projects contain pedagogical material, learning modules, commemorative items for sale,³⁶ and facilitator guides. For instance, the *Family Leave* project draws on various media to fit a larger narrative than is possible in a single exhibit. While the exhibit, itself, includes a general narrative and overview, the video and instructor notes present more information and details that can be shared with a variety of people, in different forms. In a similar vein, the *Rand Formula* project includes a traveling exhibit, video, web-based self-learning module, and teaching notes for facilitators giving courses on the subject matter (Workers’ History Museum, 2016D). Finally, the *Bank Street project – Ottawa’s Main Street* project—renamed the *Capital History.ca* project—presents a historic picturesque view of the city’s earlier days by highlighting the past architecture, local shops, and working-class people that lived on

³⁶ The museum has created, for sale, annual calendars and postcards with historic local photos of farmers and tools. The most popular theme celebrated 150 years of workers’ history by workers in Ottawa during the 40s, 50s and 60s that includes hydro workers, a teacher, bricklayers, meat inspectors, laundress, workers collecting streetcar and bus tickets, men repairing streetcar tracks and the Salvation Army trucks collecting items during the war.

Bank Street. In tandem with the local history research company, Know History, the WHM assisted in building an evolving website that continues to develop new narratives and examine the heritage of other ‘main’ streets, providing learning opportunities for people wishing to know more about their community.

The use of storytellers is another popular approach used by the WHM. On several occasions, the museum has drawn on the experience of several members of the Storytellers’ Guild—an association promoting the art of storytelling in the community (Ottawa Storytellers, 2016)—to share their artistry and expertise in presenting the WHM’s stories in celebration of events, at conferences, shared labour events (*e.g.* the Canadian Labour International Film Festival), or to support campaigns. Again, as mentioned earlier, storytelling events have been used to curate and share historic victories and social struggles to attain them, such as *the campaign to establish the Ottawa Women’s Credit Union; the Right to Vote Campaign for Women; 1919 Winnipeg General Strike; the 1942 Almonte Train Wreck; and the 1919 strike led by Donalda Charron and Les Allumettières..* In many cases, what inaugurated these performances was the hauntingly realistic personification of people as they lived through the struggle or event. For instance, the WHM’s most recent event, *How Ottawa Survived the Great Fire*, focuses on curating the harrowing tale of the Great Wildfire of 1870 and increases awareness of the museum through storytelling and an online display (Workers' History Museum, 2017A). The story of Charron portrays her as a tragic fighter and heroine of workers’ rights. Similarly, the Almonte Train Wreck is a sad and powerful story told from the points of view of passengers on the train and people on the platform. At some of the events, these stories are coupled with song and dance to end the event on a less

sombre note. While song and dance adds a further dynamic to engaging people, the storytelling provides a different level of access to audiences who may not be especially attentive to reading material, while also providing a more dramatic account of a lost experience on behalf of witnesses who may no longer be able to share their story.

While the WHM's working history map³⁷ provides the public with a self-guided walking tour by identifying some of the city's working-class history landmarks, the museum also arranges guided walking tours for groups, and participates in walking tour events – which are another approach used to further reach and engagement with the public. These tours are based on several researched parts of the city, from the Rideau Canal to Lebreton Flats, and are generally customized to suit the needs of events or people – with each tour being a bit different depending on time, place, and thematic focus (e.g. working class neighbourhoods, political protests and activism, the rise and fall of industrialization) (Workers' History Museum, 2016D). Moreover, these tours are often given on holidays (e.g. Colonel By Day, May Day, Bytown Day, and Heritage Day) or during organised events like Jane's Walks, which is a festival of free neighbourhood walking tours provided by local people in order to share the community's local heritage (Jane's Walk, 2016). In the same vein as the WHM's other activities, walking tours are accessible to different audiences and share the narrative flow of storytelling – but allow less images to be constructed by the audience. Instead, walking provides many of the images, itself. Tours that highlight past events or once-used landmarks present to the audience the 'end of the story aftermath' images in real time. For instance, as a part of Canada's sesquicentennial celebration, the WHM, in collaboration with the Bytown

³⁷ Items, like the map, were created to facilitate knowledge sharing while providing accessible opportunities to privately explore the museum's narrative and commemorative landmarks.

Museum, examined areas near the Rideau Canal that showcase how Americans, the military, and the railways influenced the development of jobs in early Ottawa (Workers' History Museum, 2017B). Furthermore, walking tours have an organic feel to them that is free of the artificially propped-up displays that are hermetically sealed in museums. In this instance, like ecomuseums, the 'collections' presented during the tour already belong to the community and are presented intact, bearing the marks of their historical journey. The narrative presented is both relevant to and reflective of the identity of the local population, enabling the museum to empower local people to reappropriate their surroundings through these tours and stories.

Finally, the museum develops educational programming and materials for schools, labour bodies, and community groups; it also offers oral history workshops and training to institutions and community groups. Some examples of direct pedagogical creation include the development and facilitation of workshops for organisations or conferences. For instance, *Labour and Capital II: Making Labour History in Ottawa* was one of the museum's larger events. The daylong event presented many union-related information and histories including sessions like *Capital Organizing*, *CCF/NDP History*,³⁸ and *Histories from Below*. Oral history workshops are facilitated by several members with oral history and video documentary experience, which includes beginner and advanced-level oral history training to organizations or small groups of people interested in organizing their own oral history projects. These training modules and events are often coupled with walking tours or film screenings. The simple format of the training modules provides a balance of knowledge sharing through several insightful and in-depth

³⁸ The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was succeeded by the New Democratic Party (NDP).

presentations of labour history and local heritage from speakers (university professors and museum professionals), walking tours, and social engagements.

In the case of ÉFM, the notion of ‘presence’ emerges in its physical location, historical formation,³⁹ and overall continued development and support of its community. The clearest example of community support and dedication is the ecomuseum’s involvement in charitable activities. Since 2001, ÉFM annually organizes a benefit auction where the profits (shared with the ecomuseum and the artists) allow it to continue its activities. The auction is an approach to raising operating funds that relies on the community to both provide artworks for the museum to auction and purchase through the auctioning process. For its 15th auction, ÉFM listed for auction 60 Canadian artworks that have made a mark in the past decades. Ultimately, the auction creates space by using the ecomuseum as a community intermediary that—for a shared goal—brings together representatives of the museum, members of the public, and patrons in support of local arts. Similarly, the recently created *History and flavours* event brings people together to enjoy an experience with the guidance of Romain Gruson, professor at the Institut de tourisme et d’hôtellerie du Québec and President of the Association of Professional Sommeliers Québec. The 2016 rendition of History and flavours, *Arômes et Parfums d’Asie*, celebrated the unique tastes of sake-dishes, while the 2015 edition, *Goûtez l’Italie!*, arranged kiosks with different-tasting Italian-inspired products and other local *terroir* products created by the Montréal Italian community (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2015C; 2016N).

³⁹ As mentioned in a previous section, in the face of the deindustrialisation and economically weakened local population, ÉFM was established as a protector for le Centre-Sud. The ecomuseum created a public place for people to meet, discuss, and mobilise. Through its deindustrialisation, the heritage and cultural identity of the neighbourhood was lost. When the industries left, so did the jobs and high income earners. People fled the sector for newer developed areas, and places close to the metro (Binette, 2009).

For all these events, what have been particularly unique are the attempts to present an authentic cultural experience and aesthetic. For example, the 2014 edition of History and flavours, *Vodka et petits plats*, was described as a “gourmet journey from Poland to South Central” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2014B). Outside of door prizes, the event provided guests with various vodka samples made from a variety of products from all over the world, coupled with specific dishes and meat samples. The event was described as “ambient sound, images of old, antiques and quiz [...] discuss the theme to remember some historical and anecdotal facts relating the Polish community” (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2014B). In other words, the event attempted to recreate, to some extent, many unique characteristics of a community for its guests so that they could experience, limitedly, a ‘new flavour’ of distinctness. The event’s profits are also donated to the ecomuseum to further reach their operation budget’s targets.

Outside of major events, ÉFM also provides expertise for local development committees. Between 2009 and 2015, ÉFM has listed over a dozen different activities each year in which it participates, which totals over 80⁴⁰ instances. As of its 2014-2015 annual report, the ecomuseum listed 21 different committees in which it served. For some activities, there were possible financial benefits and support for participating (e.g. *Chambre de commerce gaie du Québec*, *Chambre de commerce du Montréal métropolitain*, *CanaDon*, etc.), while for others, the motivation was cultural networking and the development of partnerships (e.g. *Société des musées de Montréal*, *Société des musées du Québec*, *Association des musées canadiens*, etc.). Still, in other cases, the museum participated in activities to help develop the local area and community (e.g.

⁴⁰ This includes repeat instances of serving on a committee or as an association member.

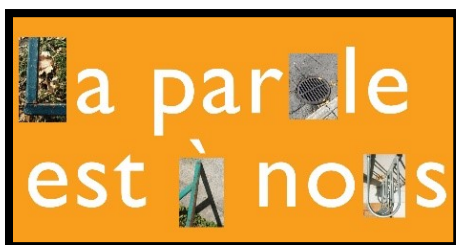
Comité d'économie sociale de l'île de Montréal). For example, the ecomuseum was involved with the *L'Ilot Saint-Pierre : un héritage pour la communauté* project. This was a large multi-year cultural research project jointly undertaken with the Centre Saint-Pierre, le Service aux collectivités de l'UQAM, le Laboratoire d'histoire et de patrimoine de l'UQAM, and le Studio Via Le Monde (*L'Écomusée du fier monde*, 2011A; *L'Îlot Saint-Pierre Apôtre*, 2012). The focus of the project was on the heritage of Ilot Saint-Pierre, a classified heritage property. The project aimed to document the written and oral histories of the many buildings located on Ilot Saint-Pierre, with several activities planned beginning in 2010, including tours, a gathering of testimonies and photographs, and conferences. The project focused on three major themes:

- 1) L'action spirituelle et culturelle, marquée par la présence de l'Église, mais aussi par les divers services et activités culturelles développées par les Oblats;
- 2) L'action éducative, qui prend forme d'abord dans le bâtiment de la maîtrise, pour se poursuivre dans l'école Saint-Pierre, construite en 1886 et qui devient le Centre St-Pierre, centre d'éducation populaire, en 1973;
- 3) L'action sociale, développée en collaboration avec d'autres communautés religieuses et destinées à offrir des réponses précises à des problèmes vécus par la population. (Centre d'histoire des régulations sociale, 2016)

What makes this project important for the community is its focus on the broad social economy through its examination of the site history and heritage. In other words, this approach uses the site's memory as a tool to review past conditions and for future social development.

Emerging from the seeds of this project was the 2014 exhibit, *Audace et persévérance: l'héritage des Oblats O.M.I.* This mobile exhibition emerged from extensive cultural research conducted by ÉFM, over the previous three years, in conjunction with Le Centre St-Pierre. This exhibit includes photographs (buildings, people and activities), archival documents, and objects that illustrate the history of the Oblate community and the daily life of its members (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2014A). With firm community establishments in Montréal and Ottawa, and as one of the largest religious communities in Canada, the Oblates are particularly unique. More specifically, the exhibit highlights the social role and educative actions of the Oblates in the construction of the diocese and in the growth of a small town that would become the capital of Canada (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2014A). Moreover, the Oblate community has been strongly involved in maintaining the vitality of the Catholic Church while playing an important role in the defense of the French language in Canada.

In addition to physical and cultural community development, ÉFM is involved in a number of initiatives focused on community empowerment through knowledge sharing.



For example, the project, *La parole est à nous!*, is a collaboration between ÉFM and l'Atelier des lettres (ADL)—a literacy group—that dates back

Figure 21 Promotional image for *La parole est à nous* event

more than 15 years (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2013A). The project draws on the work of participants of ADL workshops with the support of photographers of DIASOL—a cultural organisation group fostering artistic engagement with society (Diasol, 2016). These participants roam the area equipped with cameras, searching for letters hidden in architecture and urban landscapes to associate

with words; the project aims to associate a word to each letter of the alphabet. The photos are coupled with collective and individual texts accompanying some of the words mentioned, and fit as part of the permanent exhibition which represents personal testimonies. In other words, not only does the process of compilation reflect a popular educational tool, the compiled final exhibit also becomes a living memory for the community, reflecting individual views and stories about their territory and environment.

Further to the notion of ‘presence’ and education, ÉFM has also directly initiated and supported programs for community educational purposes. In fact, the ecomuseum offers tailored programs that include a mix of visits to the exhibits and guided tours of the neighbourhood for students at all levels of education (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016J). A perfect example of the ecomuseum using its space to bring together experts and local people is the CIVX boot camp. Specifically, the ecomuseum hosts the boot camp which is organised by CIVX—a non-partisan, national registered charity whose focus is building the skills and habits of citizenship among young Canadians (CIVX, 2016)—and is aimed at improving the democratic commitment and pedagogical implementation of local school teachers. The boot camp includes a large roundtable of policy experts, media representatives, and university professors. The hope behind the boot camp is to provide participants with a variety of tools they can use in the classroom, and to reinforce best practices for voting and in-class civic education (CIVX, 2015).

Finally, the educational program camps established by a local Baha’i community, with the support of ÉFM, exemplify willingness, on the part of the museum, to educate and develop local morality and intellect, and a desire to cultivate an active level of civic engagement. The program involves around 60 Montréal youth (separated into two

groups) with an aim to “develop and nurture youths’ power of expression and moral reasoning as well as their capacity to serve their communities” (Bahá’í Community of Canada, 2012). The ecomuseum shares with participants a historical narrative of the community from the industrial revolution and invites them to reflect on the labour history of Montréal. The camps examine how people define ‘effectiveness’ and ‘progress’ through the application of workshops on visual arts, music, and theatre facilitated by local Baha’is with expertise in these areas. Finally, through artistic performances and presentations highlighting friendship and the importance of service to others, the program encourages the youth to devise activities in their groups to empower them to take charge of their own development and contribute to the progress of their communities.

For the MQCP, educational initiatives are an important aim. According to the museum’s outreach statement,

Le Musée déploie sa mission éducative dans tous ses secteurs d’activité, en priorisant l’ouverture et la rencontre avec différents publics. Il s’impose comme acteur social majeur dans l’échiquier muséal québécois en proposant des programmes éducatifs et culturels pour la clientèle scolaire (du préscolaire jusqu’au niveau universitaire), le jeune public, la famille, le grand public et les clientèles vivant en situation d’exclusion culturelle ou sociale. (Canada Donations, 2016)

In other words, the success of the MQCP has been attributed, in part, to its dedication to a strong educational mission to support plenty of activities for a broad and diverse public (Champoux-Paillé, 2008). In this way, the museum anchors its community presence and knowledge-sharing activities inside its walls. Considering this, the museum views itself

as a social actor that works in accordance with *le Programme de formation de l'école Québécoise*, and in partner with *Boréal*, *Centre d'histoire de l'industrie papetière*, to create and offer cultural and educational programs, and develop various projects – such as a rotating permanent exhibition dedicated solely to children.

One of the MQCP's major initiatives is an educative fieldtrip with programs that emphasise an engaged style of learning and exchange, tailored to different levels of education. The 2016-2017 program presents a very structured experience with several types of guided tours and workshops that emphasise creativity and student participation. For example, the program, *Objet patrimonial non identifié*, empowers teams of students to critically investigate and learn how several unidentified objects work. In a stark contrast from traditional museums, the facilitator of the program provides the class with objects from the museum's collection with curator gloves so that they can manipulate the objects as actual musicologists. In another program, *Jouet, qui es-tu?*, facilitators share a brief history of the evolution of toys from different generations; students are encouraged—like in the previous program—to examine antique toys stemming from as far back as their grandparents' generation. In this case, students are able to understand the transformation of toys through time and their relation to the evolution of society.



Figure 22 Logo for the digital exhibit The Beginning of a New Era

Another major educational initiative by the MQCP is the digital exhibit, *Le début d'un temps nouveau*, produced in partnership with the Virtual Museum of Canada (VMC),

an initiative of the Department of Canadian Heritage. Essentially, this virtual exhibit curates all the complexities of a pivotal period in

Québec's history, the Quiet Revolution, through three main components: a gallery of prominent figures from the Quiet Revolution, the events that spanned this period, and a section with the almanac for each year from 1959 to 1970. One of the defining features of this exhibit is its critical look at the postwar period, prior to the Quiet Revolution, highlighting the upheavals in the education community, the redefining of the role of the State, the reclaiming of Québec's economy, and Québec's assertion in Canadian federal politics. More than this, the exhibit also provides a glance into the cultural scene of the 1960s, and various social issues that influenced/informed newly emerging values, including the empowerment of women in Québec.

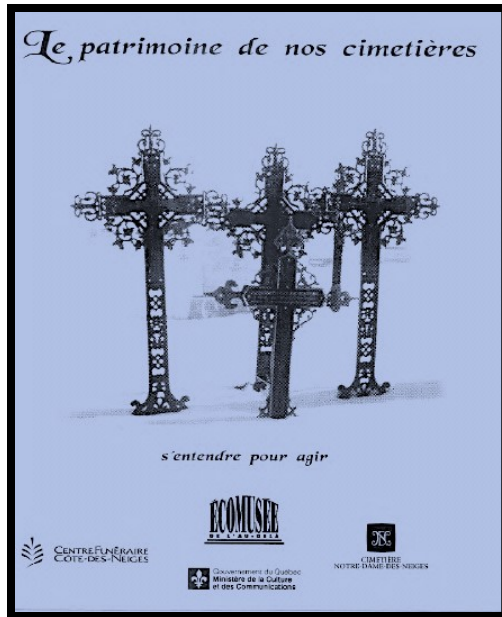


Figure 23 Cover of 1997 symposium, *Le patrimoine de nos cimetières : s'entendre pour agir*

In contrast to the structured educational programs of the MQCP, ÉAD engages in a more reactive approach (reacting to government and policy decisions) that is less scheduled and less restrictive. Not having a physical museum has been a benefit and problem for the ecomuseum. On one hand, lacking a consistent space makes it harder to control when to host events or where to store materials. For instance, it becomes nearly

impossible to maintain a permanent exhibit or display; thus, programs are temporary and activities can only be held intermittently. On the other hand, without a dedicated space, the ecomuseum's events have generally integrated its environment and local peoples as part of its initiatives. Furthermore, branching out to new locations increases its 'presence' and reach, and makes events more accessible. For example, some of ÉAD's intermittent activities include walking tours at *Cimetière St-Christophe d'Arthabaska* and *Cimetière Ste-Victoire* and picnics with other funerary organisations like *des amis du patrimoine funéraire du Québec à Coaticook* and *Patrimoine funéraire Estrie-Montréal*. Finally, the most notable implication of increased community reach is the ecomuseum's involvement in local problems and concerns. For example, to maintain its 'presence,' ÉAD has allied with and joined boards and working groups (such as *la Fédération des sociétés d'histoire du Québec*, *la Fédération québécoise des sociétés de généalogie*, and

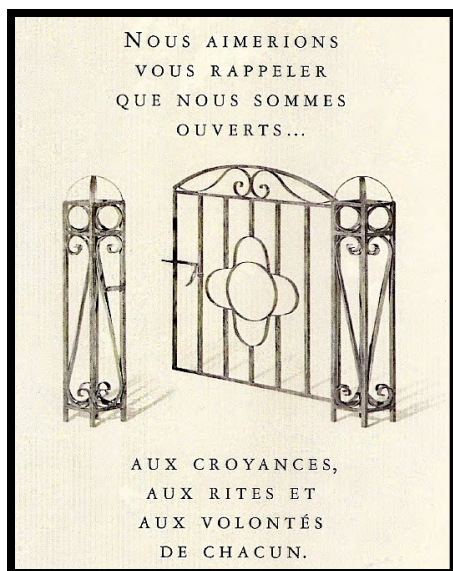


Figure 24 Ad by le Centre funéraire Côte-Des-Neiges

la Table de concertation du Mont-Royal) to create local advocacy sections in the city of Québec, Chaudière-Appalaches, and Montréal region.

While early project ideas for ÉAD included plans for thematic exhibitions, annual guided tours, restoration of monuments, a library, training workshops, and an interpretation centre, the most notable practices were the hosting of intermittent

symposia and conferences (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 1997). In part, the idea for symposia and conferences stemmed from a growing concern with—and the desire to address—the gap in Québec's cemetery knowledge. This prompted early community members of the ecomuseum to organize a series of seminars culminating in a symposium to enrich the debate on the protection of funerary heritage (L'Ecomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A).

These intermittent conferences represent ÉAD's educational and community 'presence.' First, these conferences create a location-changing temporary space (a community presence) for dialogue by facilitating engagement between the ecomuseum and its community. Together, this exchange of ideas creates new insights from different experts, organisations, and other interested local stakeholders (*e.g.* historians, architects, planners, anthropologists, museologists, theologians, geographers, cemeteries, and funeral homes managers), and has led to new and interesting perspectives, solutions, and techniques to preserve, protect and develop funerary heritage. During six symposia held between 1993 and 2004, discussions included all facets of cemeteries including: history,

spirituality, heritage significance, new burial methods, management, theft and vandalism artwork, legislation, responsibilities, future solutions, development and sharing of knowledge, and aesthetic monuments. Furthermore, much like an exhibit, the conferences also include a wide variety of promotional, albeit provocative, imagery. For example, *le Centre funéraire Côte-Des-Neiges* presents an open gate illustrating a sense of community-wide acceptance and diversity regarding funerary beliefs and commemorative rites.

Second, the dialogue that comes from these symposia forges new directions—through newly adopted declarations—for ÉAD to pursue in regards to community enhancement and knowledge creation for the funerary industry. For example, the 1997 symposium, *Le patrimoine de nos cimetières: s'entendre pour agir*, represented one of the first major networking events and exchanges of ideas among various peoples in funerary sector, who, together, established three courses of action regarding the future of funerary heritage: 1) update knowledge about it; 2) disseminate this knowledge, particularly conservation success stories in this area; 3) create alliances between government, managers, owners, friends, heritage organizations, and local people. These actions emerge from thematic debates on the importance of: seeking ways to involve the community; developing alliances with them; and establishing a sense of belonging through the reappropriation of heritage and culture, the hierarchical realities of the church, and the uncertainties regarding the motivations of private industry (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 1997). In 2000, the next major symposium, *l'avenir des cimetières*, substantiated the identity of ÉAD by engaging with the public and funerary community to establish: characteristics for a working definition of funerary heritage; a list of concerns

in this industry; and steps to operationalize actions to preserve and protect the industry. Similarly, the 2004 symposium, *l'Esthétique de l'art funéraire contemporain*, inspired a more critical exchange regarding the overt commodification of culture and cultural institutions that emerged and progressed under Canada's austerity measures in the 1980s.⁴¹ The conference facilitated exchanges by allowing community members to reveal various concerns and, simultaneously, work together in problem-solving. Ultimately, this community space allowed the public to humanize the funerary industry by reconnecting the industry back to its communities and their various experiences, practices, and knowledge.

In sum, the notion of education in museums is not new; however, how this manifests in ecomuseums is, in some cases, substantially different than the hierarchical practices that appear in traditional museums. While large public museums often include preprogrammed educational opportunities—often tailored to, and attended by, large public and private schools—ecomuseums tend to create specific opportunities for their communities – opportunities that are often made by those same community members, as community curators. In some cases, ecomuseums have even segmented their public into minority groups (*i.e.* different cultures, religions, LGBTQ, accessibility, *etc.*) as a means of better serving them. Moreover, ecomuseum cases tend to favour a knowledge sharing facilitation. Activities like conferences, workshops, interactive camps, cultural experiential events, storytelling, and walking tours all allow for some level and form of interaction and exchange. In part, some of these unique initiatives are the result of a lack

⁴¹ There are various discourses justifying this interpretation. For example, this could be seen as an inherent rejection of dominant hierarchical funerary approaches that were historically dictated, controlled, and imposed by the Roman Catholic Church. On the other hand, it could be seen as a firm rejection of the modern business practices—i.e. less intimate, dehumanizing, and cold practices; a profit driven approach leading to disinvesting of cultural artefacts; etc.—of large institutional organisations that had acquired several funerary services and cemeteries from the Church due, in part, to declining income (Garneau, 1997).

of physical space, limited staff and volunteers, and a drastically smaller budget than that of their traditional counterparts. Notwithstanding these limitations, ecomuseums still draw on traditional activities like exhibit tours and summer lecture-based programs to expand their cultural and educational offerings. Often, ecomuseum activities prioritize the use of local area resources (*e.g.* experts, environments, and celebrations) to facilitate engagement and create knowledge of social issues or policies that, in some cases, becomes formalized and ingrained as a part of the objectives and missions of the ecomuseum.

6.4 Conclusion

Efforts to transform and rejuvenate the role of the museum have led to a more inclusive and socially active discourse, *la nouvelle muséologie*. To understand this alternative discourse, this chapter excavated the discursive formations of four ecomuseums and presented the links that emerged between the institutions' capacities to create knowledge and the overall goal of community social enhancement. By dissecting the elements of each case, the chapter revealed: 1) the importance of pre-established militant norms and values of the community builders and project leaders, 2) how these norms and values impact the rules of formation, and 3) how these rules subsequently shape or limit institutional practices and strategies. More specifically, the case studies illustrated that there was a common normative desire for equality and equity, wherein the community was valued above all else. These activist inclinations manifested in the institutional rules that promote local culture-related projects and the social development of the community, but remain limited by a lack of financial support. Finally, these institutional rules laid the foundation of many of the ecomuseums' practices and

strategies to create a new alternative style of curation (based on the public) that would unearth knowledge about the local culture and heritage, and curate social issues and policy that matter to the community (such as human rights, education, and local employment), or even various local industries (e.g. funerary, pulp and paper, and food distribution).

Unlike the classical museology approach, the practices of ecomuseums not only leave the history of its collections intact, in some cases they are emphasised and glorified (e.g. *À cœur de jour! Grandeurs et misères d'un quartier populaire*; *Le début d'un temps nouveau*; *Family Leave*; and *Rand Formula*) to evoke controversy. While the political inclinations of these curated social issues are blatantly clear, what is less clear are the policy implications. These trends might denote a strong inclination towards creating change, but where does this happen? In other words, at what point in the process of policymaking are these changes most likely to occur? Second, does each case study focus, or emphasize, a similar policy approach? Put differently, how do the varying knowledge-creation practices of each ecomuseum affect the different stages of the policy process they aim to influence? Some ecomuseums have more capacity, resources, and drive to influence public policy, while others may see it as a secondary goal. Finally, how do community-engagement practices work? In what way does the public assist in knowledge creation, and where exactly does the ecomuseum connect with government policymakers? The next chapter looks at how the public participates, and how the ecomuseum – as an instrument and institutional agent motivated by the interests and ideas of these people—connects with policymakers. In sum, the next chapter delves

deeper into the links between the participation, the ecomuseum and how it directly engages with policymaking.

Chapter 7: Public Participation

The public has suffered two violent mistreatments. In chapter four, the role of the community (the public) in policymaking was explored and it was generally understood that, outside of elections, the role of the public was limited to special government consultations. In either case, these opportunities generally presented a marginalised role that severely limited the potential contributions of the public. Paralleling this marginalisation, the local public traditionally held no special privilege in museums and was generally seen as any other visitor. Because the government has confined the museum's decision-making power, attempts to influence it from outside the centralised structure have been filtered out. In both situations, a neglected public is presented where their ability to contribute knowledge unique to their local experiences has been ignored and undervalued. With these two acts of violence inflicted, a large question emerges: how does the ecomuseum act as a catalyst, instrument, and interest-carrying agent representing its marginalised people, both culturally and in matters of public policymaking? More simply, how does public participation manifest in ecomuseums, and how does this knowledge circulate to policymakers?

From a public policy perspective, the idea of empowering a neglected community through public participation has several implications. The general term of “public participation” is often referenced by other names—civic engagement, citizen participation, and political discourse—that incorporate a variety of arrangements and contain mechanisms associated with participatory or deliberative democracy (Bherer & Breux, 2012). Traditionally, these mechanisms can include public hearings, neighbourhood councils, participatory budgets, citizens' assemblies, and deliberative

opinion polls (Rowe & Frewer, 2005). These diverse mechanisms illustrate the complexity of public participation and extensiveness of its scope. For the ecomuseum, a cultural institution, it can contribute to the development and stabilization of citizen preferences by making them clear, coherent, rational, and reasonable through “formal and informal rules, monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, and systems of meaning that define the context within which individuals [...] interact with each other” (Campbell, 2004, p.1). Through these opportunities, the public is offered a more balanced opportunity to influence decisions and implement ‘change,’ which is contrary to the hierarchical top-down decision-making of natural history museums.

On the surface, indeed, ecomuseums purport to represent their communities in promoting public engagement in support of their work and initiatives and provoking policy change. As explored in chapters six and seven, these claims are evidenced in ecomuseums’ discursive rules that generally reject top-down hierarchical systems of decision-making in favour of a grassroots (bottom-up) structure of collaboration and community curating that aims to socially develop the public. Motivated by this desire to serve and enhance its community, ecomuseums also claim to represent local interests and ideas in policymaking matters. A closer inspection of ecomuseum strategies and practices reveals that, in several ways, the public has participated not only in discussions where policy was actually constructed; but also as the conceivers and implementers of many projects that curate social issues. However, it is not clear how exactly these moments have occurred. In other words, rather than tokenistic deception of traditional government consultation mechanisms, how have ecomuseum practices stemmed from community-

focused norms and values? Moreover, what has led to public participation in ecomuseums, and how have those moments translated into policymaking?

Through the four case studies, this chapter examines public involvement through ecomuseums in policymaking. Paying particular attention to the ways ecomuseums enhance, constrain, or eliminate traditional efforts to marginalize citizen participation, this chapter describes the practices ecomuseums have used to create a more significant public discourse in public policy decisions. The focus of this chapter is on exploring the relationship between the public, ecomuseums, and policymaking, and how this manifests in each case study. In other words, who is the public that the ecomuseum works and co-produces with? What are the institutional procedures for public participation, and how are the contributions that arise from them presented to government policymakers? Ultimately, are ecomuseums intermediary policymakers? This chapter explores the link between the ecomuseum and public participation in each case study in order to better understand how their militant norms and values have connected to ecomuseum practices, as interest-carrying agents, and reconnected in policymaking.

7.1 A network of diverse ignored and forgotten publics and valuable allies

As community-owned and managed cultural institutions, ecomuseums profoundly rely on the dedicated work and initiative of their communities. In chapter six, the conditions of formation for each ecomuseum revealed that each was the result of a community movement that was assembled to combat a dominant discourse(s) – whether it was that of traditional museums, the government, or socio-economic and cultural factors that affected the community. The aim of ecomuseums, thus, has been to resist violently imposed discourses by providing an alternative community heritage institution in service for (and

created by) the public to produce and curate something new and different. By forming an ecomuseum, these relegated, ignored, or forgotten victims forged a local community to challenge the oppressive cultural narrative. While chapter six generally explored why these communities came together, this chapter explores the various co-productions assembled and curated by community curators in order to answer the question: who are the organisations and people that make up these local communities, and in what ways do they co-produce?

Standing as a reflection of perseverance, le *musée québécois de culture populaire* (MQCP) is the result of the *Trois-Rivières* community banding together. In particular, the museum's development and success can be attributed to the collective work of many locals, experts, and community organisations – including tourism institutions (e.g. *la Ministère du Tourisme, Trois-Rivières Tourism office, and Tourism Mauricie*), museum associations (e.g. *the Canadian Museums Association, and la Société des musées du Québec*), and specific local and provincial government programs from *le ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine du Québec* and *la Ville de Trois-Rivières*. Two of the MQCP's notable collaborators include CREM⁴² (*les cellules régionales d'expertise en muséologie*), and Médiat-Muse⁴³ – both of which are networks that bring together museums, exhibition centres, interpretation centres, and art galleries from the Mauricie and Centre-du-Québec region (le Gouvernement du Québec, 2016;

⁴² For the CREM, the notions of coordination, participation, and social enhancement emerged as major points to which the members aim to economically and socially develop the cultural industry. In general, the mission is to create a regional museology expertise and strengthen the synergy between institutions.

⁴³ Its creation dates back to 1987, when professionals working in the field began wanting to share their strengths and resources to break a sense of isolation (Médiat-Muse, 2009). Interestingly enough, the Médiat-Muse network was chosen by the *le ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine du Québec* to become one of the first links in CREM. Thus, its development plan allowed it to implement concrete solutions to problems encountered by most of its members. In general, the organisation's mission is to promote the region's rich heritage and arts culture, as well as to develop and defend its members' interests by increasing visibility for members, strengthening their feeling of belonging, acquiring helpful resources, and creating promotional tools and common services (Médiat-Muse, 2009).

Médiat-Muse, 2009). Finally, the MQCP has also engaged in several collaborative efforts with local people, artists, and students. For example, projects like *Art Pop/Pop Art* [2004], *Vivre ici* [2003-2005], *Québec all dressed* [2003-2005]⁴⁴, and *Une histoire de solidarité* [2006], *Au Feu! profession pompier* [2005-2006] included help, contributions, or input from local artists or organisations, while projects like *Passion d'un collectionneur* [2006-2007], *Prendre le bois en Mauricie* [2005-2007], *Ventes de garage* [2006-2007]⁴⁵, *Rousseau s'expose* [2009], and *C'est du sport!* [2012-2013] featured the work or collections of local people.

Likewise, *l'Écomusée du fier monde* (ÉFM) was started by a group of local people who, concerned with the development of housing co-ops and social housing, sought new means of financial support, project collaboration, and product and service distribution (La Maison du fier monde, c. 1985). Since its inception, ÉFM has worked with more than 100 different organisations and lists 10 official local partners—e.g. *Au Coup de pousse Centre-Sud*, *Service aux collectivités de l'UQÀM*, and *Centre Afrika*—who have contributed to several exhibits (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2016J).⁴⁶ Arguably, the two largest supporters and allies of ÉFM are *l'Université du Québec à Montréal* (l'UQÀM) and *le ministère de la Culture et des Communications de Québec*. While, the ministry was a strong source of early funding and continued support that provided ÉFM its first subsidy, l'UQÀM has been a co-organiser with the ecomuseum in events and conferences, such as the roundtable on the social role of the museum, *40 years after the Declaration of*

⁴⁴ The project was well recognised due to the advertising help of trifluvian firm Egzakt.

⁴⁵ Sale of garage is based on Geneviève Saint-Jacques-Thériault's master's thesis in ethnology at *l'Université Laval*. This exhibition depicts this societal fact, emerging in the 1960s, through its practices, codes, prohibitions, and temporal unfolding.

⁴⁶ In addition, for financial donors, there have been contributions from nearly 20 local organisations including the support of several public programs—e.g. *Conseil des arts et des lettres du Québec*, *Ministère de la Culture et des Communications*, and *la Ville de Montréal*. Furthermore, the ecomuseum's main source of funding for maintenance comes from *le Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec* and *le Conseil des arts de Montréal*.

Santiago (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2012). In particular, *l'UQÀM's Service aux collectivités* has been a strong ally to ÉFM by providing continued assistance on many of the museum's projects, such as the production of a manual⁴⁷ that guides participants (museum workers and professionals) through the process of developing an exhibition as both a source and agent of a project. Finally, projects are another major source of collaboration where ÉFM has drawn on the expertise of organisations – such as Institute for Canadian Citizenship (ICC),⁴⁸ *L'Atelier des lettres* (ADL),⁴⁹ *les Archives gaies du Québec*,⁵⁰ *le Regroupement des musées d'histoire de Montréal* and *L'Association québécoise pour le patrimoine industriel* (L'AQPI)⁵¹ – to help fulfil its mandate.

Unlike the two previous cases, the next two have a less geographically defined community. For *l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà* (ÉAD), its community is less defined and largely consists of artisans and funerary workers. Originally composed of Montréal communities, ÉAD has grown to include three new areas, each represented by three affiliated organisations: the Mont-Royal working group; *la Fédération des sociétés d'histoire du Québec* (FSHQ); and, *la Fédération québécoise des sociétés de généalogie* (FQSG). ÉAD has also helped found local affiliated groups like *la Section Québec-Chaudière-Appalaches* (founded in 2008), *la Section région-Montréal* (founded in 2010),

⁴⁷ Pierre Mayrand, René Binette, and other students of the muséologie program of l'UQÀM assisted in the initial project by providing much needed museological expertise. The manual was published in 1990 and awarded the Prix publication from the *Société des musées québécois* in 1991.

⁴⁸ The ICC is known for its specialization on active citizenship (ICC, 2016). Together, the ICC and *l'ÉFM* hosted and helped organize the CIVX boot camps for local students.

⁴⁹ L'Atelier des lettres is known for its pedagogical techniques and experts on learning to read, write, and communicate and Diasol, an organisation that fosters artistic engagement and commitment to society (Diasol, 2016; ADL, n.d.). Both were involved with the ecomuseum in the *La parole est à nous!* project

⁵⁰ Les Archives gaies du Québec is a non-profit organization dedicated to documenting the history of the gay and lesbian communities in Québec (Les Archives gaies du Québec, 2016). With the assistance of guest curator Jean-François Larose, the exhibit presented the photographic canon of Alan B. Stone. Difficulty in procuring government funds were thought to be related to a lack of institutional experience, and Stone's relatively unknown status. In the end, the perseverance and commitment to this project is a result of the ecomuseum's dedication to ensuring that the whole Centre-Sud neighbourhood is represented.

⁵¹ Both organisations have missions that, in part, aim to enhance and promote, and offer a forum to discuss Montréal's cultural and heritage issues (l'AQPI, 2016; Les Musées d'histoire Montréal, 2016). In the case of the AQPI, the mission has an even more narrow focus on industrial heritage, workers, and companies.

and *la corporation Patrimoine funéraire Estrie-Montérégie* (founded in 2014). Additionally, ÉAD has worked with several allies and government departments – notably *le Centre de Conservation du Québec*; *Héritage Montréal*; Parks Canada; *le Conseil des monuments et sites du Québec*; *la revue Frontières*; *la Commission de la capitale nationale du Québec*; *l'UQAM (le Centre d'études sur la mort)*; and *l'Association des cimetières chrétiens du Québec* – on various functions (e.g. financing partners, organizers, co-authors in heritage information and research of memorandums, and event hosts). Due in part to ÉAD's structure 'without walls,' its overall organisation is arranged radically different than typical museums. For instance, ÉAD has no need to employ a full-time curator. In cases where ÉAD needs to develop action plans to save localised monuments (e.g. *le mausolée Bellemare-Paradis-Jutras*) or cemeteries (e.g. *le cimetière Saint-Antoine*), or in celebration of less recognised traditions (e.g. *la Fête des Morts*), the ecomuseum hires extra help on a case-by-case basis to complete projects. Likewise, outside general funerary specialists, ÉAD seeks out specialized subject matter experts for each project. All of this is to say that ÉAD relies on its networks of friends and allies to complete its projects.

Finally, like ÉAD, the emergence of the Workers' History Museum (WHM) is also the result of a network of locals from similar industrial backgrounds. In this case, the WHM was formed by three local groups who sought to circulate and commemorate ignored labour milestones in the Ottawa region. The first group consists of (retired, former, and current) union and federal government employees. Apart from the WHM's founding members and board of directors, most of the ecomuseum's members have been involved with the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), Congress of Union Retirees of Canada

(CURC), and trade unions like Unifor,⁵² while others were federal government employees involved with federal unions (*i.e.* PSAC, CUPW, or UTE). The second group consists of individuals from the academic sector. Some of the board members from the academic sector have backgrounds in museum and collections management or history, which has helped WHM in developing its historical knowledge, databases, and expertise. Moreover, the WHM's network of universities—Athabasca, Massachusetts, Harvard, and especially Carleton—has led to many locally-produced exhibits and presentations like Bank Street (which evolved into the *Capital History.ca* project). Finally, the last major group of locals involved with the WHM include community organisations and individuals interested in labour heritage. In particular, the WHM has received considerable support (*i.e.* financial, labour, expertise and advice) from other local cultural institutions such as the Bytown Museum. Similarly, individuals have provided volunteer support to the WHM – like David Yazbeck (from the law firm Raven, Cameron, Ballantyne & Yazbeck) – or financial support – like Pat McGrath whose tragic passing bequeathed financial support for a scholarship and future film about campaigning for the rights of disabled workers.

In sum, by examining ecomuseum practices where the community curates directly (*i.e.* actual involvement in producing material) or indirectly (*e.g.* financial, volunteer labour, use of venue, *etc.*), the four case studies reveal that the makeup of ecomuseums is a network of diverse individuals and organisations that are generally motivated by a shared cause or concern. Because of these causes and concerns, these case studies can be categorized into two community-themed categories: geographical and industrial. For

⁵² Unifor was formed from the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) and the Communications, Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada (CEP). Both of these trade unions have a rich labour heritage.

ÉFM and the MQCP, the community was predominantly geographical. The locally shared heritage exemplified by these ecomuseums is a reflection of the evolving day-to-day life and surroundings – including activities (e.g. work, after work socializing, and formalities) and aesthetics (e.g., the architecture, fashions, foods, car designs, and music). The general problem for these communities has been a lack of financial support and local development. Both communities, through their ecomuseums, have sought to create sustainable growth by drawing on the community's distinctiveness.

On the other hand, for the WHM and ÉAD, their communities are composed of organisations and practitioners of their respective industries. In these cases, the communities largely transcend geographic barriers, reflecting shared industry norms, values, and practices rather than locality. For communities of industry organisations and practitioners (such as union and funerary workers), the problem was neglect and exclusion by the museum sector due to the communities' overall lack of connection with more traditional forms of art and culture. While there was appreciation for the work being achieved by the workers and funerary communities, the skills, process of labour, and traditions and culture that went into their work was not celebrated or recognised by the museum sector.

Regardless of their motivations, the common trait in all four case studies is concern for their respective communities. With the identity of the community in mind, and the understanding that it plays a role in the development and maintenance of the ecomuseum, the questions to ask are: how this development process occurs, and how does it allow the public to connect with policymakers?

7.2 Transferring community ideas to policymakers

As cultural institutions (and communities) composed of local people and institutions, ecomuseums (and their practices) share similarities with classical public museums. For instance, in both public museums and ecomuseums, historical research, exhibits, events, and collections are common practices; however, as discussed in chapter seven, vast differences exist in how these practices are carried out in a public museum *vis-à-vis* an ecomuseum. In the same vein, public participation practices also exhibit differences depending on if they were implemented by a public museum or ecomuseum. While chapters three and four showcased the top-down hierarchical practices of public museums and illustrated the instrumental manipulation of museums by government, chapter five presented a new, more inclusive museological movement and discourse that resists the somewhat tokenist practices of the dominant classical museology discourse by promoting a new type of community curator based on public engagement. Building on the previous sections, this section explores the public participation practices used by ecomuseums by looking at how they: 1) disseminate and connect with their communities through community curators, 2) circulate and reconnect knowledge, as interest- and idea-carrying agents (*i.e.*, intermediary policy actors), to policymakers.

7.21 Connecting with the public: community curation

For classical public museums, like the Canadian Museum of History, there is no need or motivation to connect with any targeted community. Not only does the mandate of

classical public museums not reflect any public engagement requirement,⁵³ their innate status as public institutions guarantees at least some level—more than non-public museums—of financial sustainability. Additionally, these classical museums are guided by the dominant museology discourse, which empowers the curator to implement and impose an evolutionary order of things to segment and categorize its objects. On the other hand, as a community movement, it is vital that ecomuseums continuously connect with their diverse communities. For ecomuseums, participation occurs through community curation, which involves: 1) public empowerment via knowledge sharing through the circulation of self-produced info-letters; 2) shared leadership and management through general membership elections, 3) shared space for the development of locally targeted social exhibits or projects calling for action or feedback.

⁵³ According to the Canadian Museum of History Act, the aim of the museum is “to enhance Canadians’ knowledge, understanding and appreciation of events, experiences, people and objects that reflect and have shaped Canada’s history and identity, and also to enhance their awareness of world history and cultures.”



One of the ecomuseum's most popular methods of sharing knowledge of social issues, problems, or policies is through the distribution of a bulletin or info-letter. Although the circulation frequency varies from seasonal to sporadic, each ecomuseum (covered in this dissertation) offers the community a digital bulletin. Each circulation serves as a direct outlet to transparently inform the public of the ecomuseum's initiatives in support of social causes of community concern, the advancement of local goals, and new or upcoming initiatives. From an activist perspective, the info-letter also serves as a call to action that may provoke mobilisation. For instance, by exposing certain government projects that are not in the best interest of the community, the ecomuseum may rally its members or call for a meeting to share stories and experiences, which often leads to the curation of a new social exhibit or policy project. The most interesting example of direct connection through knowledge circulation is the *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal*, which is a non-profit institution – and supporting division of *la Fédération Écomusée de l'Au-Delà* – composed of volunteers specialized in various fields (e.g., archaeology, urban planning, museology, history, architecture, and anthropology). Founded in 2012, the main objective of *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal* is, much like a think-tank, to disseminate funerary information in the Montréal area – either through guided tours of cemeteries, conferences, information campaigns, cultural activities (i.e. *la Fête des Morts*), or web publications of their newsletter (*La Veille*) and bulletins (Patrimoine funéraire Montréal, 2015A). *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal's* approach to the circulation of information can expose certain government projects, previously unexposed social problems, or proposed changes to funerary law or burial sites to the

public; it can also present opportunities to socialize and experience various funerary sites through activities to mark a celebration,⁵⁴ special event, or guided cemetery visits.⁵⁵ In other words, the *Patrimoine funéraire Montréal*'s primary purpose is to act as an arm's length think-tank and share knowledge with the public on behalf of the community curatorial expertise and authority of ÉAD.

Another way the ecomuseum connects with the public is through shared leadership and management, done through general membership elections. The idea of museum membership also has different implications for public museums and ecomuseums alike. For classical museums, like the Canadian Museum of History, membership is promoted as a business deal for patrons, with an emphasis on discounts to 'see more, do more, and save more.' Often, these membership discounts come in the form of savings on food, parking, gift shop, admission, express tickets, and/or special invitations (The Canadian Museum of History, 2017B). Notably absent from the perks of membership is the right to attend meetings or to partake in general discussions that affect the museum's operations. For instance, the Canadian Museum for Human Rights originally held roundtables between 2009 and 2010 to gather stories, ideas, and perspectives in an effort to develop the content, programming, and archives of the museums (The Canadian Museum of Human Rights, 2017). However, these roundtable exercises reflected more of a nationwide effort to appease (*i.e.* tokenism), than any serious attempt to establish a stable connection between the museum and the public.

⁵⁴ One interesting special event that had a good turnout was the founding of the new organization, *Patrimoine funéraire Estrie-Montérégie*, which has a mission to preserve and publicize the funerary heritage of these two regions of Québec.

⁵⁵ Victoria Day included a guided visit to *Cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*.

Comparatively, ecomuseum memberships offer more than simple discounts; they create a sense of cultural reappropriation and empowerment. For instance, some ecomuseums (*e.g.* ÉFM) are open and willing to receive project proposals from anyone so long as they adhere to certain local criteria, while other ecomuseums (*e.g.* the MQCP) require membership or some type of affiliation to submit proposals. Membership with an ecomuseum, however, is more than the ability to submit proposals; it allows people to attend the ecomuseum's general assembly and elect—or even run for—positions of leadership on the board of directors. Moreover, membership offers patrons the ability to be involved in the overarching decisions and strategies of the ecomuseum. In the case of the WHM, membership is open to “all those who support the objects and purpose of the Workers' History Museum”; members are, in turn, able to “have voice and vote at Membership Meetings and Annual General Membership Meetings” (Workers' History Museum, 2014, pp. 2-3). Inspired by trade unions, the WHM is organised in such a way that most of its power is concentrated in collective decisions at the Annual General Membership Meeting, which is designated as the “supreme governing body of the WHM” (Workers' History Museum, 2014, p. 2). In turn, the board of directors carry out decisions and administer the day-to-day affairs between annual meetings.

Arguably, the biggest benefit of ecomuseum membership is community curation. Again, while many of the comments and suggestions exchanged at WHM's meetings are about the museum's general direction or specific projects, some are proposals for new and exciting projects. For example, for proposed projects and the implementation of actions plans, the WHM draws on the dedication of ad hoc working groups and the experience of four committees—education and exhibits, communications, fundraising

and membership, videos⁵⁶—that are made up of board directors and regular members. In other words, any regular member of the ecomuseum (*i.e.*, community members) may propose a project and follow through with the implementation of said proposed project.

For example, for the WHM, community curators are how projects are generally completed. Depending on the nature of the project, community curators form working groups that typically work through the education and exhibits committee – although some, more technologically-inclined projects go through the video committee. From inception to finish, the process of developing a project by community curators is



Figure 25 Project development process

relatively organic and informal. Project ideas can be introduced by anyone (see Fig 1)⁵⁷ and presented to the board of directors. Approval of a proposal is contingent on the number of current ongoing projects, funding deadlines, and available resources. Supposing a project is green-lit, the drive and development of the project is left up to the individual who proposed it – and any other interested members – to form a working group of interested people and, when needed, ask for assistance from other specialised committees.

Finally, emerging from community curators are shared spaces used for the development of locally targeted exhibits or projects in order to connect with the public in calling for action or feedback. For public museums and ecomuseums, the notion of a

⁵⁶ In a conversation with Bob Hatfield (2015-02-13), he explained the function of the committees.

⁵⁷ In a conversation with Arthur Carkner (2015-10-15), he delineated the development process for projects.

shared space marks a strong point of difference. For the Canadian Museum of History and the Canadian Museum of Nature, shared space generally refers to renting out museum space for weddings, conferences, banquets, receptions, and other special events. Presented as ‘doing business with the museum’ and with fees as ‘low’ as \$2,800 per room, these services reflect violence of accessibility towards the local community where the museum is less a cultural hub for gatherings, and more of an exquisite hotel for wealthy elitists (The Canadian Museum of History, 2017). For ecomuseums, shared space is seen as: 1) an opportunity for social inclusion in the development of exhibits, and 2) a place to circulate these developed ideas and interests. For example, efforts to build local trust and engage with diverse neighbourhoods led ÉFM to curate the social issues and problems of the community through a digital exhibit called the ‘ecomuseum collection,’ which involves community curators in the identification of elements to include in the ecomuseum’s collection (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2014C; L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2011A). Organizations and neighborhood residents are invited to jointly curate in the identification of local heritage elements that deserve to be preserved and shared with the public (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2011A). In this sense, local citizens—much like classical museum—become curators in the community’s culture and heritage, and share responsibility for its conservation and development. Thus, because the practice of community curation is, by definition, a grassroots community movement, it reflects a discursive resistance over the classical museum curator.

Similarly, the MQCP provides exhibit space for local artists and collectors such as Jean Laprise, a playwright and author from *Trois-Rivières*, who was asked to create the

soundtrack for *L'hiver des casse-noisettes*⁵⁸ (Biophare, 2014). Another example is the exhibit, *Cirque Champagne de A à Z*, created by Bruno Champagne, a promising up-and-coming folk artist (Champoux-Paillé, 2008). Similarly, the MQCP frequently works with local/regional organizations – like *le Collège Laflèche* and *l'Orchestre symphonique de Trois-Rivières* – and government departments – like *le Conseil québécois du patrimoine vivant* – to curate its exhibitions to highlight local social issues. For instance, the exhibit, *Now that's Sports!*, was based on a partnership with Sport-hommage Mauricie, a non-profit organization created in June 2000 in an effort to consolidate activities that recognize regional sporting merit in conjunction with the Mauricie Sports Hall of Fame (Biophare, 2014).



Arguably, the MQCP's most impressive shared space project is the upcoming *Le projet d'espace éducatif - L'éducation partagée au MQCP*, a social development initiative that seeks to create a space for community social education and retainment (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016H). This space will be entirely dedicated to the community development of educational programs, including training on the use of new technologies like interactive whiteboards. The space draws on the education mission of four programs:

- 1) an educational program that supports preschool, primary, and secondary school students;
- 2) a program that provides innovative proposals/alternative ways of learning through multimedia for teens and young adults;
- 3) a mediation program that presents

⁵⁸ This is a project by the museum with the help of students from Saint-Paul and Saint-Philippe schools who performed the songs.

lectures, family entertainment, and experimental workshops to encourage questioning, the thirst for discovery, reflection, and emotional engagement; and 4) an accessibility program where museum space is used for meeting and sharing activities adapted to the diversity of the public. The idea behind these programs is to break social and cultural barriers for disadvantaged people or those living in situations of disability or cultural exclusion. In other words, these programs build on the notion that classical museums inadequately meet the needs of the community (Canada Donations, 2016).

In sum, this section explores how ecomuseums empower their public in order to resist dominant museological discourse through their practices (*i.e.*, community curator) and strategies (*i.e.*, shared spaces curating social issues), providing an alternative narrative of the community's identity and heritage in the process. While there exists overlapping strategies and aims between ecomuseums and classic museums, the overall delivery of these strategies creates vastly different results. First, knowledge-sharing is probably the most similar strategy. Both ecomuseums and classical museums have bulletins or info-letters that share salient information with their publics. However, ecomuseums include activist inclinations in their bulletins—inclinations that seek to challenge government or social policy initiatives that directly involve the community. This is not the case with classical museums given that they are owned and managed by the government, and do not identify with community groups. Second, membership offered by ecomuseums reflects a genuine effort to not only connect with the community, but empower it as curators of their own local identity. Rather than provide members with simple discounts on merchandise, food, and parking, ecomuseum memberships present an opportunity for the public to take on management roles and act as community curators. Finally, building

on exhibit proposals, ecomuseums use the notion of shared space as a gesture of community participation in the inception and implementation of exhibits. More than simply a physical space to be rented for weddings, these shared public spaces are curated by community members to display social issues and policy problems. Thus, each of these strategies and practices illustrates how the ecomuseum connects with its community not simply to inform them, but to include them as creative authorities of their own community identity and culture. In doing so, the community, through the ecomuseum, is able to resist pre-established heritage narratives and provide an alternative narrative that honours the community's past by owning and managing how its cultural narrative identity is presented and displayed.

7.22 Reconnecting with policymakers: ecomuseum as an intermediary actor

If knowledge sharing with the public draws out and solidifies community ideas and interests—leading to community-curated projects reflecting local social concerns and policy preferences that resist the government-sponsored cultural narrative—how does the ecomuseum mobilise these ideas and interests to change public policy? Strategies that control and interpret the past are nothing new for classical museums. However, as alluded to earlier in this dissertation, ecomuseums have also claimed they influence the future of their communities. If true, what are the future-altering practices in which the ecomuseum engages? This section will examine the ecomuseum practices that (re-)connect community interests and ideas (*i.e.* their preferences and concerns) with policymakers. Ecomuseums do this by acting as intermediary policy actors—much like think-tanks—through 1) soft interventions (*e.g.* critical articles in third party newspapers, self-produced

exhibits, or widely circulated media), and 2) hard interventions (*i.e.* memoranda or public hearings and testimony).

Soft interventions are generally understood as indirect challenges to the government and policymakers. In the previous section, exhibits were explored as strong practices for reappropriating culture through the community curation of social issues. For example, the ÉFM exhibit, *À cœur de jour! Grandeurs et misères d'un quartier populaire*, curates the socio-economic disparity of successive phases of industrialization and deindustrialization that shaped the destiny of working classes. Similarly, the WHM's *Canada's Rand Formula: Bitter Strike, Inspired Resolution* exhibit curates the social and economic benefits of the Rand Formula, and challenges opposing legislation and plans to replace it (*e.g.* former Ontario Progressive Conservative Leader Tim Hudak 'right-to-work'). Likewise, the MQCP's *l'Union Nationale (le musée québécois de culture populaire)* exhibit curates a highly critical view of the social and economic problems emerging from the former conservative party by examining the role democracy plays in society's evolution in contrast to the ways in which *l'Union Nationale* sought to manipulate democratic outcomes through manipulation of political marketing.

The other common soft intervention used by ecomuseums is knowledge sharing of these social issues through third party distribution and broadcasts by newspapers and online periodicals. While it is not uncommon for museums to purchase ad space to promote a new exhibit, event, or celebration, ecomuseums have used media to express dissatisfaction with certain practices or to promote a cause or message. For ecomuseums like ÉAD and the WHM, the lack of a physical location necessitates a reliance on hardcopy newspapers to create a presence and reinforce the ecomuseum's work within

the community. Comparatively, museums like ÉFM use newspapers to provide targeted information to its community or the public at large. For example, *La Presse* and *Radio-Canada* have published ads for and articles on exhibitions, like *Expo : à l'heure du laitier* (Lemay, 2010) and *L'art pour le Fier monde* (Radio-Canada, 2007), to inform the public of the ecomuseum's forthcoming exhibits and events. On the other hand, *Le Devoir* has featured several articles highlighting the critical social-economic messages of ÉFM's exhibits, including *Grandeurs et misères du Centre-Sud* (Doyon, 2012), *Affiches sociales - La parole de la rue* (Montpetit, 2012), and *Histoire de bouffe* (Delgado, 2017). These articles were provocative and sought to shed light on community needs and socio-economic disparities – such as the effects of deindustrialisation on labour, education, and people; the concern of food accessibility in the neighbourhood; or the history and impact of forgotten neighbourhood movements.

More than evocative, for ÉAD, the aim of newspaper articles and ads is to challenge the government and mobilise the community. For example, some of ÉAD's publications that sought social and cultural policy change include: *Groups say too many tombstones on the mountain* (Riga, 1991), *Unburied Dead* (Weston, 1990), *Cemetery plan sets off alarm* (Bronson, 2001), *In Mémoriam* (Cousineau, 2000), *Le patrimoine est menacé, selon Alain Tremblay* (Brosseau, 1995), and *Pour une réforme de la gestion de l'au-delà* (Drouin, 1993). Much of the content of these publications reflects concerns and dissatisfaction with public policy issues in funerary heritage and the negative impact they have on the neighbourhood. Generally, the articles also include social and cultural policy demands for action by the government. Even with the launch of a website in 2004, ÉAD's strong activist inclination has motivated it to publish regularly on the cemeteries

of Montréal, Québec and Chaudière-Appalaches, with several annual publications in well-known local and international presses (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2002).

Finally, hard interventions directly involve the ecomuseum in policymaking forums. These interventions can take the form of direct intervention through memoranda—essentially informal communication that contains a directive, an advisory, or an informative matter—or through testimonials at public consultations. Although not always stated outright, these memoranda emerge as a result of decisions made at membership assemblies, industry roundtables, or collaborative planning meetings—which include strategies and suggestions for development based on the expertise of the ecomuseum and its members. For ÉFM, in at least three instances, memoranda have been submitted to the government that propose initiatives or changes to social and cultural policy or programs. For instance, in 1999, ÉFM was asked to give its opinion on an old community building (*l'ancienne station de pompage Craig*) by *Alerte Centre-Sud*⁵⁹ (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2002). The memorandum, *le Mémoire de l'Écomusée du fier monde sur la Station de pompage Craig du 2000 est rue Saint-Antoine*, reflects ÉFM's direction for government action by highlighting the building's story and heritage, its symbolic presence in the neighbourhood, and its overall rarity as a representation of an industrial era (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2002). ÉFM's curatorial expertise and authoritative analysis supported the conservation of the building based on its high value in terms of age, architectural quality, and historical value. Arguably, ÉFM's strongest contribution to

⁵⁹ This group represents a coalition of community organizations of le Centre-Sud with more than 50 groups members claiming to represent all major sectors of the community—from the elderly to children, through sex workers, families, young people, and the population in general (Alerte Centre-Sud, 2004). Its mission is “[t]o promote and defend the needs and rights of communities for their maintenance in the area, with a priority for low-income populations; promote community, urban and economic development to maintain and improve the quality of life of neighborhood communities; develop information actions, consultation, representation and mobilisation to achieve the objects mentioned above” (Alerte Centre-Sud, 2004, p. 4).

change was its policy recommendation that a thorough study and documentation of the building be conducted and financed by the Ministry of Transportation and the City of Montréal with assistance by the expertise of the ecomuseum.

In another example, ÉFM—along with other members of *Le Regroupement des musées d'histoire de Montréal* (Les Musées d'histoire Montréal, 2016)—was an active participant of a public consultation held by *l'Office de consultation publique de Montréal (l'OCPM)* (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2013C). The city of Montréal had proposed a protection and enhancement plan for Old Montréal that would significantly change the face of the city by potentially improving the living environment of the district, protecting and enhancing its unique characteristics, and developing activities that would “have Old Montréal contribute fully to the city’s social, economic and cultural life” (la Ville de Montréal, 2012, p. 26). In response to this plan, ÉFM submitted a memorandum that argued that the city’s past treatment and plans—which had unfocused development objectives, prioritized short-term development goals, and treated Old Montréal as a ‘normal’ neighbourhood—had led to Old Montréal’s weakened image (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2013C, p. 1). With its 20 recommendations, the memorandum emphasised several points: the role of local history museums; the importance of highlighting the cultural, heritage, and historical traits of Old Montréal; and, the need to engage with and involve all local community actors—private business, public organisations, and residents—in the development and implementation of a plan.

In contrast to the previous examples, ÉFM’s 2015 memorandum to *l'OCPM* regarding *le Carré des Arts project* (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015D) highlights the ecomuseum’s public dedication and cultural resolve by taking a much firmer stance

against the city. In this case, the city of Montréal's proposed draft law sought to enlarge a former church built in 1924 north of Saint-Jacques market in the Centre-Sud neighborhood (l'OCPM, 2015). Originally, the church was converted into commercial premises in the middle of the twentieth century. The proposed expansion and enhancements of the building would see it host an additional 46 housing units along with commercial premises that would incorporate elements of the old church into the new building. However, ÉFM—on behalf of the city sector and community—has cited many problems with the proposed changes: poor integration of the historical church, the disappearance of a park and limited green space, and the construction of a huge 'closed' structure that does not conform to the 'open' surrounding architecture and environment, effectively creating a wall that blocks the neighbourhood sites (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015D). In general, ÉFM cites a lack of an overall long-term development plan and vision for this city sector as its major concerns with the project. Worst still, according to ÉFM, the development plan largely misses or ignores the significant historical and cultural importance the church has for the sector (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2015D).

With more than a dozen interventions, the most active ecomuseum is ÉAD. Starting in 1999, ÉAD's first memoranda connected with *le Ministère de la Culture et des Communications de Québec* was entitled *la Proposition sur la conservation et la mise en valeur du patrimoine funéraire*. Motivated by a disconnect between the funerary heritage and what was traditionally defined as culture, ÉAD and a community curatorial working group on funerary heritage invited the minister to act and extend financial assistance programs in support of funeral heritage and monuments. ÉAD's memoranda additionally implored the government to provide financial assistance to develop a comprehensive

digital directory of Québec’s funerary heritage organizations and sites. Moreover, the proposal⁶⁰ insisted that a subcommittee be formed to “review existing laws and propose necessary modifications” (l’Écomusée de l’Au-Delà, 2000, p. 12). Per the memoranda’s requests, the subcommittee would be composed of representatives of the Catholic cemetery corporations, cemeteries of parishes and communities, cemetery corporations of other faiths, and other organizations in defence of funerary heritage. Thus, the subcommittee would be able to rely on the cooperation of concerned governmental bodies like Environment, Health, and Finance.

Between 1999 and 2015, ÉAD’s interventions could be separated into two

Table 2 Memoranda and interventions

Memoranda and interventions	
Protection and development of funerary property	
1999	Présentation à la Ville de Montréal d'un mémoire concernant le programme de développement du Repos Saint-François d'Assise (dossier no S980545052)
2002	Présentation le 7 mai 2002 d'un mémoire à la Consultation publique sur l'avenir du mont Royal, organisée par la Commission des biens culturels du Québec.
2003	Présentation d'un mémoire à l'Office de la consultation publique de Montréal sur le plan directeur du cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges.
2006	Présentation d'un mémoire à l'Office de consultation publique de Montréal à propos du CHUM [Centre hospitalier de l'Université de Montréal]
2008	Présentation d'un mémoire sur le Projet d'aménagement du chemin de ceinture et des chemins de traverse dans l'arrondissement historique et naturel du Mont-Royal Projet de Plan de protection et de mise en valeur du mont Royal
2011	Projet de règlement sur la constitution du Site du patrimoine pour le square Dorchester
Policy and process on heritage recognition	
1995	Présentation d'un mémoire à la Commission sur la révision des procédures de participation et de consultation publique à la Ville de Montréal.
2005	Présentation d'un mémoire à l'Office de consultation publique de Montréal à propos la politique du patrimoine de la Ville de Montréal Présentation d'un mémoire sur l'avenir du patrimoine religieux, à la consultation publique organisée par la Commission de la culture de l'Assemblée nationale du Québec La protection et la mise en valeur du patrimoine funéraire : mémoire de l'Écomusée de l'au-delà soumis à la Commission de la culture de l'Assemblée nationale lors des auditions publiques sur Le patrimoine religieux du Québec
2008	Mémoire <i>Un regard neuf sur le patrimoine funéraire</i> , consultation publique sur le livre vert de la ministre de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine.
2011	Loi n° 82 - Loi sur le patrimoine culturel
2015	Loi n° 66 - Loi sur les activités funéraires

⁶⁰ The Declaration for an International Charter of Funerary Heritage was the result of the 2000 Conference on the Future of Cemeteries, where it emerged and was discussed by various industry stakeholders and experts,. Through this process, ideas emerged and led to a joint statement (declaration) of intent and mobilization plan.

categories⁶¹: 1) the protection and development of funerary property, and 2) policies concerning the recognition of funerary heritage. In the first category, ÉAD intervenes by describing the value (heritage, culture, community) of the cemeteries, monuments, or property in order to protect them. In other circumstances, ÉAD proposes a series of value-enhancing suggestions in order to preserve and develop the property. For example, in 1999, ÉAD proposed ways to develop the *Repos Saint-François d'Assise*. Similarly, in a 2011 intervention, ÉAD argued that a city project did not do enough to protect a heritage site and insisted on proper enhancements in accordance with their own public consultation. Finally, the ÉAD's 2008 intervention addressed a new beltway road project⁶² that would spread across Mont-Royal. However, the ecomuseum felt that this project was being proposed without real discussion or public consultation regarding the specific concepts and definitions being introduced by the project (Décarie & Tremblay, 2008). Not even the local authorities responsible for urban planning were consulted. In response, Alain Tremblay (director of ÉAD) and Décarie (who formerly worked on a 1992 version of the beltway project), argued:

They [local urban planning for Mont-Royal] did not participate in the tracking, route selection, or the negotiations with the Mount-Royal Cemetery, provided there were any. And they are not even sure it was done because they did not know who did it.⁶³ (Tremblay & Décarie, 2008)

⁶¹ One aberration to these categories could be the 1995 intervention on participation procedures in Montréal; however, it could also be seen as the early catalyst that established a reputation for the ecomuseum, but also facilitated the following interventions.

⁶² This was a project that was included in the final plan originally adopted in 1992, but was also suspended in discussion, due in part, to “furious opposition” (Tremblay & Décarie, 2008).

⁶³ Translated from French.

In the memorandum, ÉAD elaborates on previous projects that lacked consultation and how it led to their failing or abandonment due to the public's unwillingness to accept development. For this reason, ÉAD plead for future public consultation, highlighting the negatives and risks associated with bilateral discussions. Instead, ÉAD favoured more inclusive and creative multi-lateral negotiations (Décarie & Tremblay, 2008). With this said, the beltway project, itself, was not a poor project, per se. In fact, there were many interesting ideas proposed in the beltway project, as stated in the public hearing and the memorandum; however, it lacked the support of the public and partners who would be involved in its development.

In the second category, ÉAD's interventions broadly aim to insulate the idea of funerary heritage in order to more formally establish its place in heritage and cultural policy. Because of its obscurity, there is a need to mobilise funerary heritage and its representatives to ensure it has a voice and consideration in city regulations and provincial policies. There are at least three examples where ÉAD represented community and funerary sectoral interests by directly intervening in the policy process to offer its expertise on funerary heritage: 1) the 2005 heritage policy project in Montréal; 2) the 2011 cultural heritage law (Bill n° 82); and, 3) the funerary activities law (Bill n° 66).

In the first example, ÉAD intervened in order to bring more understanding and attention to the question of funerary heritage which, according to their view, received little attention (l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A). Notwithstanding the redeeming qualities of the proposed heritage policy project (*e.g.* the development of a general heritage action and goal for the city; formalization of shared heritage responsibilities; and support, conservation, and enhancement of certain heritage areas in a variety of ways),

the memorandum argued for proper consideration and understanding of funerary heritage⁶⁴ and presented safety and preservations reasons⁶⁵ as to why it should be included in the notion of heritage (Office de consultation publique de Montréal , 2004). Similarly, Bill n°82: Cultural Heritage Act proposed a reform of the law applicable to the protection of cultural heritage—currently governed by the Cultural Property Act—and created a different definition of cultural heritage to include “not only heritage documents, immovables, objects and sites, but also heritage cultural landscapes, intangible heritage and historic figures, events and sites” (l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, 2011A, p. 2). Although there was no formal memorandum submitted, ÉAD president, Louise Dusseault-Letocha, intervened and presented the Committee on Culture and Education with administrative concerns⁶⁶ and suggestions on how to be more inclusive of funerary heritage.⁶⁷ Finally, in a statement addressing Bill n°66: Funeral Operations Act, Dusseault-Letocha (2015) empathized with the proposal's concerns regarding “the protection of public health and respect for the dignity of the deceased” (p. 1), but expressed concerns regarding the proposal's provisions on cemeteries and other burial sites – notably with respects to their management, use, and disposition.

⁶⁴ Former EAD president, François Beaudin and director Alain Tremblay argued that funerary heritage “touches religions, history, sociology, urban planning and development, trade, art by sculpture, metalwork, woodworking, architecture, rituals, culture, health, medicine, public and private law, canon law, rituals of remembrance, management and anthropology. (Beaudin & Tremblay, 2005, p. 27)

⁶⁵ The memorandum highlights the artistic value of a significant number of bronze monuments. Many of these pieces were looted and are increasingly found in antique shops. Worse still, these heritage pieces often come from hundreds of monuments commemorating important figures in the history of Montréal, Québec, and Canada. (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2005A, p. 4).

⁶⁶ Regarding administration, EAD argues that funerary heritage is a complicated web where protection and safeguarding of heritage operates under the umbrella of two main statutes: the Planning Act and the Planning and the Cultural Property Act (l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, 2011B). This could be problematic because the mix of different authorities and duties may not achieve substantial results for a variety of reasons: having the authority to carry something out but not having the means or expertise; having the means and local knowledge, but not having money or jurisdiction; unequal jurisdictions and municipalities may be uncooperative and unwilling to seek consultation, *etc.*

⁶⁷ There is a challenge to create more conceptual space for funerary heritage in policy. Dusseault-Letocha argues that gravesites and cemeteries must be recognised as multidimensional places and complex assemblies that include both the reticular architecture, buildings, monuments, memorials and artworks. (l'Assemblée nationale du Québec, 2011B).

In sum, this section builds on the previous section by exploring how—through the interest and ideas of community curators—the ecomuseum, as an agent wielding preferences and local expertise, reconnects the community as an intermediary actor to government policymakers. In other words, this section highlights how the ecomuseums act as an intermediary actor through twofold strategies to intervene in policy discussions and, generally, attempt to change the future of their local community. First, ecomuseums engage in soft interventions where they—like think-tanks—engage with the public through the dissemination of curated social issues via information-based mediums—such as externally-produced newspapers, self-produced exhibits, or widely circulated media. The aim of soft interventions is to be critical and bring attention to social issues or policy concerns without directly confronting policymakers. Second, ecomuseums also engage in hard interventions where they submit formal memoranda or voluntarily testify at public hearings and open consultations. These interventions present a clear resistance against (and also challenge to) government and are normally more severe than soft interventions. In either case, these strategies aim to connect the community to the government. Thus, through these strategies and practices, the ecomuseum presents itself as an interesting intermediary actor that promotes public participation by circulating the social issues and ideas that were curated (conceived, developed, implemented) by members of the community.

7.3 Conclusion

As a movement motivated to resist classical museology and museum practices, ecomuseums claim to represent an alternative option with extensive networks of ignored and excluded peoples, cultures, and industries. This chapter explored the efforts of

ecomuseums and public participation. By connecting with their communities through community knowledge creation and dissemination (via info-letters, shared space for exhibits, workshops, symposia, and/or general membership meetings), ecomuseums then connect these social issue exhibits, ideas, and preferences to policymakers through soft and hard interventions. Together, these practices imply several things. First, they exemplify a level of local solidarity in working with other cultural and heritage institutions to achieve a goal beneficial to the community. Second, by submitting a memorandum and proposing actions, the ecomuseum plays the role of community expert by using its curated knowledge (conceived, developed, and implemented by the public) of the local area to suggest better ways of enhancing and developing the community. Finally, more than the role of the expert and curator of community social issues, the memorandum also implies the ecomuseum is an active resistance and policy actor for the community. More specifically, the ecomuseum—much like a think tank that is partisan in nature, but pushes forward a specific agenda—draws on its expertly gathered knowledge and offers critiques from the perspective of a group (*e.g.* the community) by highlighting social problems or policy missteps in relation to its local development and enhancement. Ultimately, these interventions highlight the ecomuseum's capacity to be more than a hollow institution dedicated solely to public engagement; rather, the ecomuseum has capacity to network and collaborate with local organisational partners in the community and mobilise—from the inception of a project to its development and implementation—their projects to curate social issues, then circulate them in the form of a proposal, testimony, or widespread public narrative containing concrete suggestions. In order to

further examine these implications, the next chapter examines these interventions and reconnects the practices explored in previous chapters to policy theory.

IV: Analysis: Linking Policy and Museums

Chapter 8: Connecting Public Interests in Policymaking

In chapters six, seven, and eight, this dissertation excavated the intellectual history, practices, and strategic interventions of four ecomuseums. Together, these ecomuseums reflect the spirit of new museology by illustrating a strong set of militant norms and values that have influenced their rules of formation, general practices, and strategies. These militant norms manifest in the ecomuseums' desires to empower their publics as community curators who curate social issues as opposed to simply objects, and to circulate these ideas and interests to policymakers. Moreover, the ecomuseums openly promote their practices and alternative modes for public service through claims that they are 'public actions' devised to influence and affect public policy; however, it is not clear exactly how, from a public policy perspective, these practices affect or influence the policymaking process. This chapter connects the excavated practices and strategies of ecomuseums to public policy theory. In doing so, this chapter asks: what are the policy implications of these practices? While it has clear limitations in its representations of a highly complex and interrelated myriad of processes, the stages of the policy cycle model serve as a heuristic of the main areas of policymaking. With this in mind, where and how do ecomuseums fit into the cycle? Do ecomuseums live up to their claims of influencing policy and shaping the future? By using the archaeological analysis of the case studies covered in the previous chapters (derived from site visits, interviews, institutional documents, and archival work), this chapter highlights the overarching trends in 'what' the ecomuseums do and showcases empirical evidence of 'how' these trends manifested. In other words, this chapter demonstrates how ecomuseums use tours, stories, community-curated collections, and exhibits of social issues to grapple with conflicts or

challenge prevailing norms and values. The chapter also looks at how ecomuseums, as intermediary actors, interact within and as a part of their communities, and how they use their expertise to develop solutions to prevailing socio-economic problems.

8.1 Democratic and cultural implications – art as a catalyst for change?

The formation of ecomuseums is largely the result of dissatisfaction with the pre-existing dominant discourse (*i.e.*, classical museology) affecting the museum's internal functions and relationships to its larger environment, community, and public. In the face of the prevailing discourses of classical museology, ecomuseums are dedicated to promoting community involvement, the celebration of other cultures, and lifelong social altruism (Davis, 2011). By rejecting the view that classical museology's evolutionary ordering – and the historical discourses that proceed it – in a mechanistic fashion through rational examinations of objective information and conditions by social and political actors, ecomuseums represent a policy tool and discursive resistance. What marks ecomuseums as an alternative public service option from classical museums, are their activist inclinations towards public participation and the mobilisation of knowledge through the betterment of their surrounding publics. In other words, rather than service the public by curating objects and sorting them under evolutionary theory, ecomuseums curate social policies and problems that require attention or community action. For example, *l'Écomusée l'Au-Delà* (ÉAD) claims “to take the measures required for its [funerary heritage] conservation and its appreciation” (L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà, 2014C), while *l'Écomusée du fier monde* (ÉFM) more directly claims to be “a tool at the service

of citizens” that “addresses social issues and promotes dialogue”⁶⁸ (L’Écomusée du fier monde, 2013A, p. 3). In essence, what this new museological movement implies is a stronger emphasis on public participation and a collaborative approach (*i.e.* community curating) to creating and implementing exhibits and circulating knowledge creation for the sake of community enhancement and change.

Of course, initiatives to encourage public participation in museums are not new (Simon, 2010; Tapsell, 2015); however, in the science and technology sector, the use of institutional space in science museums and technology centres in Europe for participation and co-production has been more significant than other types of museums. For example, Boyle and Cliff (2014) remark how large provocative and interactive constructs like the CERN Large Hadron Collider—a major temporary exhibition in the Science Museum in London—create a sense of enthusiasm about cutting-edge science by making otherwise complex subject matter more accessible. Similarly, Bandelli and Konijn (2015) point out how these spaces in science and technological institutions make them “brokers of public participation” through debates, dialogues, and workshops which serve to enhance the formal policymaking science infrastructure’s relatively weak public engagement practices.

Similarly, the space of the museum can function as an interactive and co-produced assemblage of things, people, and wider political issues. According to Latour (2005), this co-production—a process of materially and semiotically constituting issues—is referred to as ‘making things public,’ whereby people play with different connotations of representation. In this case, museums might be seen as assemblies where the political

⁶⁸ Translated from French by the author.

issues that emerge or are displayed can be carefully made up by different participants—including the public—things, and the wider world. Latour argues that people should jettison ‘matters of fact’ (*i.e.* representationalism) and focus, instead, on collaboratively building ‘matters of concern,’ which serve as a way of bringing together different meanings of representation and act as a sort of “object-orientated democracy” (2005, p. 16; Weibel & Latour, 2008, p. 107). In other words, the “object options” and “object fields” (art as a social construct and the artistic practice) that create interactive visitor-dependent exhibits serve as the medium for actions and represent a performative democracy (Weibel & Latour, 2008).

While European science museums and technology centres emphasise the role of space as a tool to facilitate public participation in policymaking, what is less known is the museum’s potential to act or mobilise ideas. The activist inclination to mobilise ideas is not a role commonly exhibited by classical museums; these museums normally subscribe to a classical museology, serving under the management and ownership of much larger and more controlling political interests. The mobilisation of ideas, however, is a common claim made by ecomuseums—one which stems largely from a new museological set of norms and values that seek to promote and enhance the local environment, community, and public. From an institutional perspective, it can be argued that the institutional body of museums (or ecomuseums) is an apparatus with formal and informal rules, mechanisms to monitor and enforce those rules, and systems that construct meaning and context in which individuals operate and interact (Campbell, 2004). The museum system is embodied by a particular discursive formation which acts as a roadmap for various actions, functions, and strategies, and largely determines organisational goals and

objectives. Thus, once established, a museum, like a think-tank, has not only the power to create knowledge, but also the potential to disseminate it.

Unlike a think-tank, ecomuseums are authoritative subject experts due to their community curators and their power of exhibit inception, development, and dissemination. Similar to how social medicine (through social workers) reflect a resistance against medial physicians, what makes ecomuseums unique are their discursive practice of community curators—which act as a social resistance against the more classic museum curator—and their distinct grassroots expertise in creating knowledge and disseminating it. For example, ÉAD's community curators focus on its grassroots experience and knowledge of funerary heritage—something few others have achieved in the funerary field. These community curators are composed of: artisans in the field who create ceremonial architecture; local family businesses who maintain a role in the industry; and various other local organizations, community members, and archivists. For the Workers' History Museum (WHM), its community curators are composed of former union workers, their extensive networks with other union locals, and their links within the community. The WHM's experience is supplemented by the hard work of museum experts and other volunteer researchers based in Ottawa. Finally, much of the WHM's information and resources are provided or donated by community members—sometimes coming in the form of interviews and testimonials by people involved in specific worker related issues, discussions, or projects (*e.g.* the Rand Formula and the museum's Rand Formula Project), or were related to someone who was (*e.g.* the Bank Street project).

8.2 Policy narratives – translating from display to policy

If narratives—driven by the norms and values of the new museological discourse—are one of the distinguishing elements used by ecomuseums to influence and change policy, then the question remains: how? In broad strokes, ecomuseums mobilise their ideas and interests through the creation of narratives and stories that focus on a social issue or policy problem. These social issue narratives are of central importance in communication and are used to convey specific interpretations, expressions of identity, or claims. (Wagenaar & Hartendorp, 2000; Wagenaar, 2006). What makes ecomuseums policy actors is their ability to draw on narratives to negotiate the realities that confront them. These narratives emerge as a part of community-curated projects that include objects and places in physical and digital exhibits, storytelling events, walking tours, conferences, and symposia. With this in mind, Wagenaar (2006) suggests that the narratives, themselves, translate into public policy:

The routine telling and understanding of a story is an intricate practical achievement. In a situated story the teller manages in one sweep not only to convey what the story is about, but also the reason for its telling, and – a very important function of any real-life narrative – is to bring about some kind of management of both the listener's opinion about it all, as well as the teller's own moral reputation. (p. 46)

In other words, through the ecomuseum's curated structuring of experiences, policymakers learn about intentions; articulate vague goals and ambitions; and recognise a plethora of constraints, conflicts, and possible courses of action. Moreover, the community curator's expectations and moral nature are made apparent through characters

in the story and the way they respond to social situations/problems that arise. Simply put, to know the policy problem or what people want as a solution, it is important to ask about the story.

Thus, in the context of the larger discursive picture, museum narratives (*e.g.* exhibits, collections and objects, tours, and conferences) are a complex function. On one hand, for large public museums, narratives act as ideological reinforcements. On the other hand, for ecomuseums, narratives are generally curated around social and economic problems; they critically resist these dominant ideologies by highlighting the ecomuseum's community preferences, norms, and values. With this view in mind, a sub-question emerges: how do these narratives translate from display to policy? Although earlier dismissed as a heuristic, the steps in the policy cycle—simplified as they may be—still provide a general starting point to deepen discussion on recognising the different impacts and affected areas of each ecomuseum practice in relation to the government's policymaking process. According to Howlett, Ramesh, and Perl (2009), the policy cycle can be depicted in five corresponding stages. First, agenda-setting refers to the process wherein the attention of government is occupied with a particular problem. Second, policy formulation is the process of how government forms policy options. Third, decision-making refers to the process of government adopting or not adopting a course of action or strategy. Fourth, policy implementation is simply how these actions and strategies are put into effect. Finally, policy evaluation is the process of monitoring the results by government or other societal actors and may lead to a reconceptualization of the original problem. The following sections draw back to the case studies' practices to

illustrate how narratives are translated in three policy areas: evaluation, formulation, and agenda-setting.

8.21 Evaluation and Learning

The notion of policy evaluation refers broadly to the area or policy stage in which it is determined how successful a public policy has actually been. This determination is done through the assessment of the means being employed and the objectives being served through a policy—a process that involves close scrutiny of the problems that arise during a policy’s operation, the range of results it provides, and a comparison with its original intent. Nachmias (1979) defines evaluation as “the objective, systematic, empirical examination of the ongoing effects policies and public programs” have (p. 18). While other formal and mechanistic definitions of policy evaluation exist, they can be extremely problematic. In particular, there exists an interpretative nature to evaluation that stems from how the results are formulated, which is largely contingent on any number of different evaluation types, styles, instruments, and people involved in conducting the evaluation. In effect, this implies that there is no definitive way of determining the ‘correct’ evaluation mode due, in part, to the inherently political and interpretative nature of the evaluation process. Thus, the prevailing interpretation of evaluation may ultimately be determined by various challenging narratives and compromises between several conflicting actors (Ingram & Mann, 1980). Furthermore, this implies that overreliance on formal evaluations sanctioned by a single party or government to draw conclusions regarding the success or failure of a policy may yield problematic and limited insights about its outcomes.

Drawing on a broader idea of evaluation is the notion of ‘learning,’ which generally refers to “the intentional, progressive, cognitive consequences of the education that results from policy evaluation” (Hessing, Howlett, & Summerville, 2011, p. 242). Actors involved in evaluation efforts are part of a larger process of learning, where suggestions for policy enhancements or changes emerge through deliberate assessment of the original policy’s intent, how it achieved its goals, how its function changed, and whether it was the appropriate tool (Sabatier, 1988). With this in mind, the notion of policy evaluation can be seen as a constant process of active learning regarding the nature of policy problems and the potential to address them through various solutions (Levitt & March, 1988). The rejection of a mechanistic and formulaic view of evaluation and learning implies that the process of policy learning and evaluation is more complicated; the process is complex and may involve a variety of external actors—governmental or non-governmental, like think-tanks or ecomuseums—that mobilise ideas and interests and choose to be involved directly (through testimonies or memoranda) or indirectly (call for actions in media or through petitions).

In the case studies, the rejection of mechanistic evaluation is the first action taken by the ecomuseums. This step typically manifests in the creation of social narratives that critique and evaluate old or present events, or that serve to commemorate historical critiques of policy and hard-fought struggles for social and economic change. For many ecomuseum projects and exhibits, a critique is presented through images, narratives, and stories that relay to the public what is wrong, why it is wrong and, at times, what can be done to address/remedy it. In other words, ecomuseums partake in evaluation through the retelling of their past, highlighting dissatisfaction, or promoting alternative counter-

narratives. For example, the exhibits and digital media presented by the WHM retell and celebrate Ottawa's community history and labour heritage—which is generally underrepresented or outright excluded in the city's federally-operated national heritage sites and institutions. For example, the WHM's *Britannia on the Bay* project presented a careful narrative of its inception as a for-profit amusement destination by Ahearn & Soper's (A&S) Ottawa Electric Railway Company. The digital exhibit and its narratives served as a critique of the exploitative practices by A&S, which were used to manipulate the public into using their transportation by creating a weekend destination for the family through which A&S could solicit people to purchase food and tickets to attend the destination's events (Workers' History Museum, 2016F).

Narrative critiques of the past are also present in ÉFM's permanent exhibit, *All the lifelong day - the triumphs and tragedies of a working-class neighbourhood*. The exhibit presents a critical retelling of the history of workers in *le Centre-Sud*, their living environments, and the daily strategies used to make ends-meet. In this case, the exhibit explains how the neighbourhood was shaped by the broader economic influence of industrialization and deindustrialization, which, in turn, shaped the destiny of Montréal's working classes. While the exhibit's narrative highlights the neighbourhood's social and economic struggles—such as population decline, health and hygiene issues, residential housing, and unemployment—it maintains a broad, forward-looking optimism as a reminder of community solidarity in acting for improvement. Similarly, in the temporary exhibit, *In MéMontréal*, ÉFM commemorated the 350th anniversary of Montréal by presenting the results of a survey of all the graves in the city since its inception. The narrative of the exhibit informed people of the important—yet typically overlooked—

cultural tradition of burial—a tradition that affects people every day—and makes a case for its place in local heritage policy and discourse. For MQCP, the exhibit *BDQ: L'art de la bande dessinée québécoise* highlighted the distinctiveness of Québec comics by presenting various Québécois comic artists and artisans, their unique processes and styles, and their impact on the international level (Le musée québécois de culture populaire, 2016F). In these cases, both exhibits curated social issues and served as critiques driven by a need for the community to recognise the importance of a practice or group of local individuals, how they, together, represent a culture, trade and artisan, and heritage that would otherwise remained unknown, unprotected, and unrepresented in all levels of cultural and heritage policy.

In this respect, not only do ecomuseums present critiques of the past, some of their projects—including *Family Leave* by the WHM, *L'avenir des cimetières* by ÉAD, *Citoyens – Hier, aujourd'hui, demain* by ÉFM, *l'Union Nationale* by the MQCP—have also curated social and economic struggles and policies in order to encourage reflection on the present and future. These narratives and moments are often presented evocatively—albeit carefully—in order to ensure the events surrounding them are accurately portrayed and resonate with what matters to the community. The curated social narratives presented in these exhibits create an intimate relationship between the public and the story by making the public's history and heritage the main subject. These evocative retellings of stories and informal discussions were accessible and emerged through a variety of means—including course conferences, walking tours, and other opportunities where critique could be had. Ultimately, these projects presented narrative critiques of various historical events and shed light on what was missing, what was good,

and what could have been better. How, then, are these preferences identified and assembled as coherent policy ideas?

8.22 Formulation

The second area where narrative finds its place in policy is in the policy formulation stage of the policy cycle. In fact, policy formulation involves the development of new narratives in response to prevailing dissatisfaction with old narratives. It is at the stage of policy formulation that possible solutions to policy problems are identified and assessed (Kingdon, 2010 [1984]). After a policy has been evaluated, it might be reconceptualised or modified before moving forward, to address any problems that were identified; alternatively the status quo might be maintained. Where reconceptualization is preferred, changes need to be proposed—which range from minor changes to fundamental reformulations of the policy, to outright terminating of a policy (DeLeon, 1983). It should be noted that policy is not formulated by one person or group, is it a practice reserved exclusively to government(s). Rather, there are many, often competing groups involved in the policy formulation stage (Jones, 1984). The process of formulating policy is vague, highly diffused, fragmented, and typically varies per case. For instance, policy formulation can proceed: 1) without a clear understanding or definition of the problem, or without communication with the groups and people affected; 2) through any number of institutions, not necessarily bureaucratic ones; 3) over a long period of time and without ever building support or agreement on a single proposal; and, 4) over several levels of government. All of which is to say that the policy formulation process is not a formulaic science with one right answer.

In fact, the question of ‘how’ to determine the ‘right answer’ to a policy problem emerges as a controversial issue in public policy development and discourse. The role of the public (those mostly affected by policy issues) in policymaking is often seen as limited—especially outside of election periods—because there exists few, if any, established or formalised, fair and accessible steps and mechanisms to include them in the process. Although the model has faced criticisms,⁶⁹ Arnstein’s (1969) “hierarchy of citizen participation” sheds light on the different gradations of citizen participation (ranging from total citizen control, to tokenism, to total government control) and the variety of government manipulations that occur under the guise of ‘citizen consultation’ or ‘participation’—which, when taken together, illustrate how the public’s role in policymaking is generally marginalised due to the exclusivity and selectivity of spaces for public policy formulation. According to Hajer (2005), how public input on policy options is structured and engaged can have a considerable impact on public participation (for both the policy process and participants); however, formal consultations and public hearings – the forms of public participation most used – tend to privilege expert input and frustrate new participants.

Exploring the ongoing democratic deficit by looking at the role of citizen participation and deliberation in modern governance and policy making, Fung (2006A) argues that the tension between professional expertise and popular voice in contemporary polities remains unresolved because of the challenges of complexity and scale. In other words, where possible, citizens do participate in substantial numbers given motive and

⁶⁹ Since its publication, this piece has undergone numerous critiques citing its problematic, innate, adversarial orientation and scepticism of government (Bishop & Davis, 2002), an improper fusion of normative prescription with an empirical scale of individual influence over collective decisions (Fung, 2006A; Fung, 2006B), the assumptions of citizen powerlessness (Cooper, Bryer, & Meek, 2006), the lack of realism and conditions for citizen control (Skelcher & Torfing, 2010), and its overall simplicity (Arnstein herself pointed this out!).

opportunity, but participation requires time and energy that might be better devoted to private aspirations and enjoyments. Outside of government imposed restrictions and limitations, there exist several other limitations plaguing the everyday citizen from participating in the policy process. First, the preferences of citizens are constantly changing, unstable and sometimes unclear. Second, the information relaying capacity of electoral mechanisms to politicians is meagre because elections provide only periodic opportunities to relay information that is often reflective of an instant and not the changing preferences of the public. Third, there is a lack of constant and effective politician accountability tools for citizens. Citizens are limited to elections, which are, again, the only constant mechanism to hold politicians to account. Finally, there is a deficit in state capacity to implement citizen decisions. Because of the complex and ever changing social and economic environment, some administrative apparatuses and policy decisions are not easy or possible to control and monitor).

In the face of these deficits, ecomuseums have claimed to have overcome these structural issues by not only ‘making [...] public’ hallowed (museum) spaces for the purpose of discussing and negotiating ideas, but as intermediary actors that mobilise these ideas. First, ecomuseums create a shared space for public participation. They do this by empowering their public(s) as community curators that are in charge of the inception, development, and implementation of new projects and exhibits. More than this, these community members curate social issues and policies; rather, than objects and artefacts. Second, ecomuseums—as agents carrying out the interests and ideas of the community curators—communicate and mobilise community curators through projects that include stories, exhibits, tours, and collections. In other words, ecomuseums act as intermediary

policymakers that carry local interests and preferences by proposing policy directions inspired by these community-curated projects—such as lessons learned, past victories and struggles, and tragic events. Thus, the idea of having a space for public participation, having a structure that is holistic and accessible, with built-in mechanisms to include the public and community as part of the internal decision-making process, gives ecomuseums a level of public legitimacy and popular authority needed to mobilise and actively impose the public's will and policy preferences.

Take, again, for example, the WHM's relatively flat organisational structural, characteristically similar to that of a local trade union—replete with a board of directors drawn from general membership and people from the community (Workers' History Museum, 2014). The WHM's board of directors is in charge of maintaining the ecomuseum's day-to-day operations and completing any ongoing projects. Each member of the board has a voice and vote in the museum's decisions; however, despite their ranks within the organization, the board members are not remunerated and are forbidden from directly or indirectly profiting from their positions. This type of structure allows for an even distribution of power and control, with most power concentrated in collective decisions that occur during the Annual General Membership Meeting where all members have a voice and vote.

Similarly, ÉFM and the MQCP have more formalised and structured institutions, where organizational roles and mandates are clearly defined (*e.g.* curator, director, archivist, communications, and researcher). However, unlike the WHM, ÉFM and the MQCP have more hierarchical organizational structures. In other words, it is unclear how these positions and separation of duties function in terms of authority, feedback and

criticism, and overall weight in decision-making. In both cases, public participation seems to occur through community volunteerism, on an institutional level, in the form of support networks between different institutions. In some cases, support is provided financially, while in others it is provided in the form of inventory (objects, photographs, *etc.*) or information. Comparatively, ÉAD collaborates in an ad hoc fashion and relies heavily on its network of allies for support and consultation. Because ÉAD lacks a physical location, its overall organisation is arranged radically different than large public museums. For instance, ÉAD has no full-time curators or researchers on staff. Because of its more haphazard organizational structure, ÉAD is more flexible and able to—ad hoc—commission projects, researchers, and organizers to complete tasks, assignments, and short-term goals with any number of people—staff, president, and director—to contribute the necessary finances and labour. Thus, ÉAD—much like ÉFM and the MQCP—relies somewhat on institutional-level collaborations with volunteer members as a means of including the community in its decision-making processes and exhibit building.

Despite these structural differences in public participation, similarities exist in these ecomuseums in terms of the practices and strategies they use to mobilise ideas. In all four cases, socio-economic and cultural narratives emerge with respects to public participation (*via* community curators): 1) cultural narratives of appreciation and commemoration that serve to remind the public of their uniqueness, heritage, and identity; and 2) socio-economic narratives of what is desired, what is optimal, what is preferred, and what change should look like. Typically, based on the community's history, these narratives simultaneously reflect the public's heritage and government resistance in an effort to produce alternative solutions to policy problems (social development, community

economic rehabilitation, cultural tourism, heritage protection and recognition) and mobilise in solidarity. For example, through *les Archives gaies du Québec*, community curators in ÉFM organised, developed, and sponsored an event that showcased the local talent of Alan B. Stone, a prolific Montréal photographer that documented the memory of a community and its uniqueness in culture. This initiative reflected a community curation of cultural recognition with an institution (*les Archives*) on behalf of the gay and lesbian peoples in Québec. This curated project was driven by a cultural desire to promote, recognise, and commemorate its heritage and history. In this case, the photographs provided a visual insight into the past and acted as a reminder of and cultural appreciation for a community. Similarly, for WHM, the community-curated Rand Formula project presented a social policy problem. While the digital exhibit informed the public of the history behind the social struggle for this legislation, the companion video—that was circulated and shared among a network of allies—reflected the urgency of the labour communities to counter a conservative government’s movement to reduce the power of labour unions. The video implored its viewers to reconsider the actions of the government. The project served as an evocative challenge to its community to take action, re-evaluate the benefits and protections provided by the Rand Formula, and reconsider how its removal might affect communities all over Canada.

8.23 Agenda-setting

The final stage of the policy cycle in which narrative finds its place is *agenda-setting*. Agenda-Setting is the stage where formal recognition of a solution to a problem is debated and discussed by politicians and policymakers. According to Kingdon (2010 [1984]), “[t]he agenda [...] is the list of subjects or problems to which governmental

officials, and people outside of government closely associated with those officials, are paying some serious attention at any given time” (pp. 3-4). In other words, the agenda is about recognizing a problem that requires government attention (Baumgartner & Jones, 2005). Thus, agenda-setting focuses on the manner and form in which policy problems—matters of concern that a critical mass of people wants to change or affect (Kingdon, 2010 [1984])—are recognised, if at all. Recognition of policy problems is important because it plays a role in whether, and how, problems will be addressed by policymakers. For ecomuseums, agenda-setting occurs through both informal means (*i.e.* media posts and blogs, fundraising and highlighting milestones, and news articles and reports) and formal means (*i.e.* memorandums or public testimony during public consultation). Together, these actions—as discussed in chapters six and seven—stem from three types of thematic motivations: heritage protection, cultural recognition, and cultural expertise.

First, heritage protection—a common concern for all cultural institutions—refers to the idea of preventing further destruction or deterioration, or to promote the enhancement and development of heritage objects and sites. With respects to the protection and development of heritage objects, ÉAD has been involved in at least seven active propositions including: the development of *le Repos Saint-François d'Assise*; the future and protection of Mount Royal; the development of *le cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges*; and the heritage regulation of *le square Dorchester*. For the WHM, heritage protection means the physical conservation of heritage places and the digital conservation of historical people. For instance, one of the WHM’s projects took thousands of photos and several hours of video footage of the EB Eddy factories as an example of a vanished

labour history that was being redeveloped. Similarly, the WHM used storytelling events to represent an evocative narrative preservation of the 1942 Almonte Train Wreck.

Second, cultural recognition has also been a concern, especially for ÉAD. In this case, the lack of inclusion or celebration led to little or no financial support and—worse—little-to-no inclusion in cultural policy for the cemeteries ÉAD represents. For this reason, ÉAD has been quite active in formal memorandum and public consultations for the protection and development of funerary properties and for policies concerning the recognition of funerary heritage. ÉAD has also been involved in the development of several policies and laws (*e.g. Loi n° 82 - Loi sur le patrimoine culturel; Loi n° 66 - Loi sur les activités funéraires; Le patrimoine religieux du Québec; la politique du patrimoine de la Ville de Montréal, etc.*). For the WHM, narratives unearth what has been ignored and neglected in the cultural sector of the greater Ottawa area. For instance, the WHM has drawn attention to the contributions of Cal Best – Canada’s first Black ambassador and a founding member of PSAC – and the importance of the RAND formula. For the MQCP, many exhibits— such as *Jutras Street in Trois-Rivières*, *Pedal to the Metal*, and *En chair et en muscles: Le phénomène des hommes forts québécois*— presented unique cultures, traditions, and/or celebrations that were relatively unknown but hold local and regional significance.

Finally, as community curators (*i.e.* specialists and experts) in a specific domain or field of culture and heritage, the ecomuseums have created a wealth of experience and knowledge that can (and does) inform policy. For each ecomuseum covered in this thesis, there is a body of knowledge that resulted from the research and experiences of the ecomuseum’s practices and strategies. From these bodies of knowledge, the ecomuseums

were able to create unique expertise that can be used to inform policy development or change. This is very much the case for ÉAD, which has, on a number of occasions, participated in public consultations and released media and news articles attesting to the neglect of funerary heritage. For the WHM, its expertise has emerged primarily through contract requests from its partner organisations to produce knowledge products and materials. For example, PSAC and the Union of Taxation Employees have both requested historiographies of their organizations' 50-year history in the form of history books, documentary films, and other informational products. Similarly, the mission and values of the MQCP reflect a celebration of its unique expertise in the *popular culture* of *Trois-Rivières* and the greater Québec region. Not only does the MQCP dedicate specific space for the display of popular culture, it also has many initiatives (and even a long-term learning space project) that encourages the exchange and reflection of knowledge with the local community.

8.3 Conclusion: More than a space for engagement

Traditionally, museums have been a self-interested, materialistic, exploitative and exclusionary institutions that sees their public as 'visitors' that need to be 'enlightened,' and generally arranged their objects in accordance with evolutionary theory. Although museums are in service to society, the social and cultural welfare of the community and public did not factor as main sources of concern for the museum. Unlike its classical museum counterpart, the ecomuseum is a movement motivated by the activist norms and values of new museology; thus, it is inclusive and accessible to its public, focused on creating local solidarity through networking with other institutions, celebrating other cultures, and driven by altruism and a willingness to learn more about its community and

surrounding environment. More importantly, the ecomuseum is often self-defined as having a social role within the community because it resists classical museology practices. Instead of having a scientific curator, ecomuseums have community curators. Rather than focus on curating objects, ecomuseums curate social issues and policies. Finally, unlike classical museums, ecomuseums are interested in changing policy. However, what does this all mean? How does this all link together to have meaning in public policy?

In this chapter, the practices and strategies (previously examined in chapters seven and eight) were re-examined in the context of public policy theory. While, in chapter six, the dissertation delineates the militant norms and values that influenced the ecomuseum's rules of formation—and, ultimately, their strategies and practices—chapter seven focuses on the activities aimed specifically at public participation. Although these examinations illustrate what ecomuseums meant by their early claims for public action and community enhancement, this chapter illustrates how these policy claims are more than an expression of an organisational identity. More specifically, ecomuseums emerged as a mutation of the museum sector with an ethical aspiration for public service as evidenced in their mobilisation of policy ideas in three policymaking areas: formulation, evaluation, and agenda-setting.

Looking at the broader implications, two overarching revelations can be observed. First, internally, the ecomuseum generally relies on the creation of narratives—through images, objects, stories, and tours—as tools to evoke emotion, convince and influence people, and mobilise ideas. These museum socio-economic and cultural narratives reveal policy preferences favoured by and for the benefit of the community. Thus, these

narratives are used as catalysts for change. Second, given this potential to influence change through public action, ecomuseums can be seen as intermediate policy actors. Not only are ecomuseums a space for allowing people to engage with issues through discussion, ecomuseums are also actively involved in the creation, evaluation, and agenda-setting of policy through the mobilisation of social policy ideas for the enhancement of their communities. Together, ecomuseums have not only rejuvenated the museum sector by reinventing the institutional role of museums and museum professionals, they have also expanded perspectives on policymaking by firmly establishing a place for the public to seriously consider the potential and effects of local museums, community heritage centres, and the like.

Conclusion

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights (CMHR) located in Winnipeg, Manitoba, was created in 2008, through the enactment of Bill C-42, with the hope of developing a museum, far from Ottawa, that could more broadly represent the diverse spectrum of Canadian cultures and peoples, as opposed to the more narrowly focused current national museums. Opening its doors in 2014, the museum's aim has been to devote its collections to the Holocaust with a mandate to:

[E]xplore the subject of human rights with a special but not exclusive reference to Canada, in order to enhance the public's understanding of human rights, to promote respect for others and to encourage reflection and dialogue (Mahabir, 2008, p. 2).

Despite this goal, not only has the museum done little to achieve this claim of 'respect for others' or promote some type of democratic 'dialogue,' it has also failed to overcome the exclusive nature that plagues other national museums. In fact, years before the opening ceremonies of the CMHR (during the unveiling of the project), there were protests by many Eastern European cultural groups who objected to the Holocaust being a central focus of the museum (Lett, 2010), while several Palestinian-Canadians felt ignored as the museum did not include their story (Hicks, 2013). Similarly, several First Nations groups—including the Manitoba Metis Federation and the White Buffalo Spiritual Society—boycotted the museum, arguing "we are not invited," and citing grievances regarding the ownership of the land on which the museum was built (Brean, 2014; Cassie, 2011). For each of these groups, the museum took many egregious missteps: it

was mislabelled a Holocaust museum when only a portion of its exhibits focused on this; the exhibits reflected only a handful of Canadian-recognised atrocities, while others were condescendingly mentioned in passing as potential ('arguable') tragedies; and, these atrocities were set against others, compared and controversially ranked. From a cultural perspective, this approach was seen as an elitist view of history and human rights that elevated one atrocity over others, with little local feedback and participation (equity and inclusivity) in the matter. In other words, these boycotts represent a larger dissatisfaction with the exhibits, narratives, and overall creation and mandate of the museum.

As delineated in the relationship between the various community groups (the public) and, in this case, the CMHR (classical museums), the overarching theme of this dissertation has been to shed light on the dominant classical museological discourse that perpetuates democratic deficiency, elite hierarchical authority, and exclusivity, and which has continued to exist in nearly all manifestations of museums since their early emergence as scientific institutions to the curiosity cabinets in the Renaissance (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992) and the eighteenth century (Bennett T. , 1995; 2003). Moreover, the aim of this dissertation has been to explore how an alternative new museology discourse, embodied in community-owned and managed museums—ecomuseums—have resisted the dominant discourse and overcome the classical narratives of public museums, like CMHR, through holistic community participation and shared narrative construction (through community curators), and public service mandates that extend well beyond classical self-interested internal goals (*i.e.* conservation and preservation) to include social and economic enhancement for the community. In doing this, this dissertation demonstrates how ecomuseums reflect a discursive resistance and, ultimately, an idea

that is completely different from its vis-à-vis. In other words, ecomuseums can be seen as a cultural and institutional resistance and alternative to classical public museums by being more than spaces for public participation that empower local publics to create and showcase social problems and policies; but, also community agents circulating these public ideas and preferences to policymakers. The ecomuseum circulates these ideas and preferences to socially and economically enhance the community by attempting to influence and change public policy. Finally, while the penultimate aim of this dissertation is to describe and illustrate the emergence of this alternative ecomuseum discourse and its relationship with public participation and policy change, there remain many avenues of analysis and possibilities for future research—including exploring the effectiveness of ecomuseums as intermediate policy actors, their limitations, the underrepresented people and membership that they purport to represent, and whether these qualities also exist in other similar cultural and heritage institutions.

Summary

This dissertation investigated four Canadian *écomusée* case studies: *l'Écomusée du fier monde (EFM)*, *l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà (EAD)*, *le musée québécois de culture populaire (MQCP)*, and the Workers History Museum (WHM). These case studies were chosen due to their similarities in claims regarding: missions/goals/objectives, community engagement and participation, practices and management strategies, and intertwined relationship with their community and environment. From these ecomuseums, an inventory of physical and digital documents was collected from site and archive visits. Some examples of documentation collected include: email exchanges, public documents (official memos, annual reports, bylaws, self-reported histories,

meeting minutes, records, and archival material), media releases, personal notes on observations at public meetings, and notes on key informant interviews.

This research on ecomuseums was rooted in the discourse analysis tradition of qualitative research as inspired by Michel Foucault's archaeology of knowledge (1972 [1969]; 1981). The concept of political discourse was seen as a way of understanding the historical evolution of society by examining the practices, strategies, and effects (implications) of the ecomuseum. As a method, discourse analysis enables its user to provide a thick description of various narratives as it emerges through institutional practices and strategies, and offers possible insights into their effects and implications. In the context of museum research, discourse analysis has been used to highlight institutional discursive practices and artefacts and objects that were used to display power and knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; Bennett T. , 1995; 2004). In this research, the focus was on two levels: 1) excavating the intellectual history of the ecomuseum discourse as an alternative—and resistance against—classical museology, and 2) describing the institutional level of resistance using empirical data unearthing ecomuseums' strategies and practices (exhibits, stories, and objects), and the effects that followed them. In other words, this dissertation excavates the ecomuseums' discourses and implications with a particular interest in examining their distinctive institutional identities and ethical stances by tracing the relationship between the ecomuseum, the public, and public policy. This relationship raises several questions: how does the ecomuseum intervene in the overall policy development process? How are the ecomuseum's community members included in the negotiations of an ethical stance of the ecomuseum? And how does the ecomuseum's role as an authoritative expert and

witness enable it to reappropriate culture and heritage by creating knowledge on behalf of its represented community and publics? In sum, how, through ecomuseums, does the public connect—or, rather, reconnect—with politicians, the media, and society? And how do ecomuseums circulate and mobilise the ideas, values, preferences, and knowledge that they have observed or created in their space to influence public policy for the benefit of their communities? Additionally, through its empirical case studies, this dissertation answered several overarching research questions: How do ecomuseums use their space for public participation? Can ecomuseums be an actor in public policymaking? If so, how do they mobilise their ideas and how are they used to influence public policy? What are their strategies and activities? Who do they involve, and how are they involved?

Through this approach, there were several immediate expectations. First, because of the claims made by ecomuseums, it was assumed that these empirical case studies would illustrate various strategies and techniques that engaged with the public and sought different ways to connect (or reconnect) with various types of policymakers. Second, it was hypothesized that the community-centric nature of ecomuseums and the relationship they create between the public and policymakers has resulted in several types of empowerment (culturally, socially, and economically) for the local public. Finally, it was assumed that this new empowerment and connection(s) with policymakers has led to actual policy influence and, ultimately, some variation of change for the betterment of the community.

After completing the analysis, the case study results indicated that the ecomuseum movement has resulted in the local empowerment of underrepresented community groups through community curators that reappropriated their community heritage and landscape

by curating social problems and policies. In other words, through the creation of an ecomuseum, the community had not just created an alternative space as a means of displaying reappropriated heritage; but, also the authority and power—in the form of the community curator—to challenge the mainstream cultural landscape by choosing what culture and history to display, develop, and implement. From a cultural lens, the ecomuseum serves as a space for public participation and collective decision-making, and for the sharing of stories and creation of symbolic cultural representations of those stories. The ecomuseum serves as a physical embodiment of these combined cultural experiences and a new community knowledge that is reflected in exhibits and narratives, the identification of heritage places or cultural things, or through the presentation of objects. From a public policy lens, this new space for public participation also acts as an agent that embodies the socio-economic ideas and interests of the community curators. In other words, it not only reflects a type of public participation whereby the public is empowered to curate critically-engaged social discourse about what (artefacts, narratives, and memories) should be part of their local heritage, the ecomuseum, itself, serves as an authoritative presence as an institutional expert, much like think-tanks, legitimising stories and creating ‘authentic’ knowledge distilled from community interest and ideas. Furthermore, the case studies also reveal that the ecomuseum can serve as an agent that influences public policy by conveying community interests, ideas, preferences, norms, and values through its strategies and practices. Put differently, through an ecomuseum, communities are able to empower their locals as community curators in order to create a solid base of knowledge by curating social issues. By creating an ecomuseum, the

community is able to proficiently create and present social problems and policy preferences to policymakers.

Research Implications

Through a myriad of practices, the ecomuseum case studies have illustrated three interesting effects. Firstly, ecomuseum practices have brought attention to unknown and ignored local cultures and community heritages (cultural recognition) that represent an alternative to the exclusive and self-interested classical museums. In conjunction with aforementioned claims and in accordance with the new museology literature, these ecomuseums have all, in a variety of ways, provoked change in the ceremonial landscape through their community curators and their local projects. In other words, by rejecting the evolutionary order of things adhered to by classical museums, and through the creation of an alternative community time and space, ecomuseums have challenged the national cultural narrative. In this case, the ecomuseum's relationship with the public is typically more harmonious and participatory, rather than exclusive and elitist. Furthermore, in gaining the participation of the community, ecomuseums have established legitimacy behind each of their projects through testimonies and shared experiences from local witnesses—a legitimacy that is often lacking in classical museums precisely because they generally exclude the public from their practices and decisions. Thus, the ecomuseum can be seen as a unique community space enabling cultural inclusion (from project inception to implementation) where the public is able to reappropriate and memorialise different stories and places through a different organisation of history that might otherwise be unknown, unrecognised, or ignored.

Secondly, ecomuseum practices have shed light on social changes (recognition of and the subsequent drawing from social differences and community diversity) that have led to local empowerment. In other words, through community curators, the ecomuseum has curated social issues as their exhibits, with the mandate of developing and socially enhancing the community through identity recognition, skill development, or joint experience and creative opportunities. For example, EFM's project, *La parole est à nous!*, was a collaboration with *l'Atelier des lettres* (ADL)—a literacy group—that dates back over 15 years (L'Écomusée du fier monde, 2013A), which draws on the work of participants of the ADL workshops with the support of photographers in search for letters hidden in architecture and the urban landscape in order to associate a word to each letter of the alphabet. The photos are coupled with collective and individual texts/testimonials accompanying some of the words mentioned, and ultimately fit as part of the permanent exhibition. Similarly, MQCP developed the program, *Objet patrimonial non identifié*, which empowers teams of students to critically investigate and learn how several unidentified objects work. In a stark contrast to classical museums, the facilitator of the program provides the class with objects from the museum's collection with curator gloves so that they can manipulate the objects as actual museologists.

Finally, the ecomuseum has policy implications. Much like the classical museum's goal to be a public good and in service to society, the ecomuseum's approach offers an alternative way of achieving this through its practices – which have the potential to allow the ecomuseum to create policy change as an intermediate policymaker. Simply put, the ecomuseum represents democratic empowerment through its community space and curatorial practices; it enables the public to share experiences and a new cultural

narrative. In each of the empirical cases presented in this thesis, these community-curated social issues had three targeted policy effects. The first effect is policy evaluation, which occurs with the creation of different cultural narratives that critique and evaluate old narratives. This is done by weaving current social problems and concerns within the narrative of projects of the past. Similarly, policy formulation emerges by creating new exhibits and narratives that have emerged as a result of dissatisfaction with the socio-economic *status quo*. These new narratives propose policy solutions (lessons learned) that draw from failed or successful past experiences. Finally, ecomuseums also engage agenda-setting (the formal recognition of a problem or solution) through a variety of means (memoranda of action, public testimonies, or news releases). This is a more direct intervention where ecomuseums directly lobby for a problem to be recognised by the government.

Implications for future research

In sum, this dissertation has illustrated that ecomuseums may not only be able to empower their local communities by creating a community space for the public to populate with local projects and narratives, but act as an intermediate policymaker. While the early classical museology literature has generally centralised the museum and viewed its public as a secondary consideration, the later cultural participation literature has introduced new concerns with a much broader and more socially-conscious public service aim for museums. However, much of the cultural participation literature has remained focused on the cultural narrative. The case studies examined in this thesis suggest that museums—especially ecomuseums—should be studied in an even broader scope. All four cases illustrate that the public is driven to create an ecomuseum for several reasons.

First, the creation of an ecomuseum serves to protect heritage and prevent cultural destruction, or to support the ongoing development of local culture. Second, the ecomuseum can also challenge the longstanding cultural domination of classical public museums (like the CMHR) by providing an alternative approach that curates social issues and policies instead of objects and artefacts. In this case, the ecomuseum enables communities to make room for, interpret, and present their own sense of place and heritage in a sector where it would otherwise be ignored or unrecognised. Finally, through the community curation of social issues in the form of community exhibits, shared stories and narratives, and public activities, an ecomuseum wields an authority and knowledge in order to legitimize its expertise. Through the ecomuseum, community members become empowered as authoritative experts (community curators) that are able to share their stories, heritage, and cultural stories as a professional and, thus, are able to testify on behalf of their larger community in order to create new policy or challenge existing policies.

From a public policy perspective, there is a lot of potential in research exploring ecomuseums. These cases suggest that ecomuseums play a larger role in policymaking than previously thought. From this view, ecomuseums are, again, intermediary policymakers that use their community-curated exhibits as a reflection of public interests, ideas, and preferences, and circulate them into memoranda and public consultations. As intermediate policymakers, ecomuseums have impact on the construction and interpretation of social problem narratives and stories that express, critique, or propose a solution to a policy problem. From a cultural perspective, ecomuseums have the potential to provide representation to unrepresented (or ignored) communities. As illustrated by the

case studies, the formation of ecomuseums are often motivated by a lack of recognition and willingness to challenge the dominant (and exclusive) cultural narrative – which is established by the dominant discourse, classical museology. With this in mind, there is research potential in further exploring specific projects that deal with combating social exclusion through ecomuseums and in unearthing which groups were actually helped.

More research about the ecomuseum's effectiveness and impact is needed in order to better assess its potential to socially enhance communities or as an intermediate policymaker. It remains unclear what the limits are of public action through ecomuseums. Moreover, it also raises the question of whether this activist inclination exists in other cultural or heritage institutions. This research is especially important in the face of the many challenges facing the museum sector, such as the financial dismantling of local museums in Québec, and the general federal government's feeling of uncertainty in the current state of museums in Canada. Finally, Canada's growing concern with social inclusion and cohesion presents a unique opportunity for ecomuseums to address these social problems as they exist or emerge in their respective communities (The Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology, 2013).

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Appendix A: Classical and New Museology

Classical Museology	New Museology
Specialisation	Multidisciplinary displays; curators with several skills
Form (What?)	Exhibition themes that promote enquiry; different orientation for research
Authoritarian Hierarchies	Networking (internal and external) group and institutional objectives
Individuals	Community involvement; outreach team working in museums
Exploitation	Conservation ethic; recycling, energy conservation
Confrontation	Networking with other organisations in the cultural sector
Exclusion	Access policies; outreach; social role
Centralisation	Site Museums
Cultural dominance	Celebrating other cultures; involving other cultures
Representation	Honesty and 'truth' in exhibitions

Partial reproduction of table by Davis (2011, p. 64).

Appendix B: Ecomuseums in Canada

Museums	Province
l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà l'Écomusée des pêches aux îles de la Madelein l'Écomusée du fier monde l'Écomusée d'Anticosti l'Écomusée de Hull (archived/closed) l'Écomusée Tracadieche l'Écomusée de la Mi-Carême l'Écomusée de Saint-Constant l'Écomusée du Patrimoine de Memramcook l'Écomusée de Rivière-Pentecôte l'Écomusée de la Haute-Beauce l'Écomusée des Deux Rives Moulin Legare Village Québécois le musée québécois de culture populaire	Québec
l'Écomusée De Hearst et de Le Region (ON) Workers History Museum (ON) le Muséoparc (ON) l'Éco-musée de l'huître (NB) Winterland Ecomuseum (NL) Kalyna Country ecomuseum (AB)	Other

Document Inventory

Écomusée de l'Au-Delà

- Declaration for an International Charter of Funerary Heritage [2000]
- Mission statement [2014]
- Mont-Royal
 - Inventory and action plan for Mount Royal Cemetery [2006]
 - Report on the Summary of interpretive tools used on the Mount Royal Historic and Natural District [2006]
 - LaPresse - Le projet de grand parc bat de l'aile [2008]
- Cimetière Saint-Charles
 - Info page - Historique du cimetière
 - Info page - Le terrain
 - Lapresse - Le cimetière Saint-Charles vandalisé [2015]
 - Lapresse - Les pierres du Cimetière Saint-Charles prendront la parole [2015]
- Bellemare-Paradis-Jutras
 - Report - Projet Bellemare
 - Annexe-I motifscitation
 - Annexe-II motifs de l-identification
 - Depliant monument Baie-du-Febvre
 - Le courrier sud - Un personnage historique y serait enterré [2014]
- Le Mémontréal [1992]
 - Clipping from La Presse - Montreal En Ville – Project description and public announcement
- Report Archives - Brief research notes and Bio on JOSEPH BRUNET
- Report Archives – Brief research notes and Bio on sculpteur québécois Émile Brunet [2006]
- Publication - Biographie- Emile Brunet - Un bâtisseur de patrimoine [2006]
- Biography - Pierre-Pascal Bourque [2012]
- Concept de Vigile citoyenne [2001]
- LeDevoir - L'avenir des cimetières-un débat bien vivant [2007]
- RadioCanada - Irez-vous au cimetière aujourd'hui [Project Info] [2012]
- Des démarches qui ont porté fruit [2017]
- Current list of Exhibits [2014]
- Current list of Activités [2014]
- Inventaire du patrimoine d'Austin [2015]
- LE MONUMENT AUX VICTIMES POLITIQUES DE 1837-1838 AU CIMETIÈRE NOTRE-DAME-DES-NEIGES : HISTOIRE ET COMMÉMORATIONS Par Samira Karboudj, candidate à la maîtrise d'histoire à l'UQAM Travail réalisé pour l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà [2008]
- Monument-aux-Patriotes_C14_mai_2008-numerique

- Pétition - Better Access to NotreDameDesNeiges Cemetery
- Presentation - L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà présente un passage d'histoire du cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges [2007]
- Presentation - L'industrie des monuments funéraires au Québec: des balbutiements à l'âge d'or. La contribution de Joseph Brunet - Par Manon Cornellier - Conference présentée dans le cadre de la programmation de la Fête des Marts [2011]
- L'Avenir des cimetières du Québec - Actes du colloque organisé par la Fédération Écomusée de l'Au-Delà en collaboration avec la Société québécoise d'ethnologie [2014]
- List of COLLOQUES PASSÉS
- Resume-des-conferences
- L'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà Missing and History - [1991]
- Patrimoine Québécois - L'Écomusée de l'au de la [BIO] [2015]
- List of Patrimoines documentaires et archivistiques
- List of Sorted History
- PREMIER CONGRÈS - FÉDÉRATION ÉCOMUSÉE DE L'AU-DELÀ POUR LE PATRIMOINE FUNÉRAIRE DU QUÉBEC – Invitation Congrès Federation - le projet de loi 83 [2015]
- Colloque L'avenir des cimetières au Québec [2013]
- Colloque Patrimoine de nos cimetières [1997]
 - Colloque-1997-reduite-1 [Transcripts in part]
- Colloque The future of cemeteries [2000]
 - L'avenir des cimetières - Actes du colloque [2000]
- Colloque Stolen funerary objects - Declaration on the loss of funerary heritage in Québec [2002]
- Colloque Symposium on the aesthetics of contemporary funerary art [2004]
- Programme - Colloque L'avenir des cimetières au Québec [2013]
- Table ronde [2014-04-16] Devrait-on interdire la dispersion des cendres de personnes incinérées [2014]
- Memoranda - 2003 - Plan directeur du Cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges
 - Mémoire de l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà
 - Public Consultation Development Plan - OCPM - PLANS D'AMÉNAGEMENT Cimetière Notre-Damedes-Neiges Oratoire Saint-Joseph du Mont-Royal [2003]
 - COMMISSION DES LIEUX ET MONUMENTS HISTORIQUES DU CANADA RAPPORT TITRE - Le cimetière Mont-Royal, Outremont et le cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges, Montréal, Québec. Rapport supplémentaire - Nathalie Clerk Direction des services historiques
 - Office de consultation publique de Montréal - PLAN DIRECTEUR D'AMÉNAGEMENT - Cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges - RAPPORT DE CONSULTATION PUBLIQUE - [10 mars 2004]
 - OFFICE DE CONSULTATION PUBLIQUE DE MONTRÉAL - CONSULTATION PUBLIQUE SUR LE PLAN DIRECTEUR DU CIMETIÈRE NOTRE-DAME-des-NEIGES ARRONDISSEMENT DE

CÔTE-des-NEIGES - NOTRE-DAME-de-GRÂCE - Séance tenue [10 novembre 2003, à 19 h]

- Le Plan directeur du cimetière Notre-Dame-des-Neiges - SOMMAIRE DU PLAN DIRECTEUR
- Memoranda - 2005 - Politique du patrimoine
 - Consultation – avis politique du patrimoine [2005]
 - Heritage Policy [draft] [2005]
 - Heritage Policy [mandate] [2005]
 - Heritage Policy – Full plan [2005]
 - OCPM - Public Consultation - Draft Heritage Policy for the City of Montréal
 - Mémoire de l'Écomusée de l'Au-Delà
 - Rapport patrimoine
 - Notes - Séance tenue le 8 février 2005, 13 h
 - Notes - Séance tenue le 8 février 2005, 19 h
 - Notes - Séance tenue le 31 janvier 2005, 19 h [EFM]
- Memoranda - 2005-2006 - Consultation générale sur le patrimoine religieux du Québec
 - Journal des débats - September 20, 2005 - Vol. 38 N° 50
 - Le patrimoine religieux du Québec
 - Memoire - 2005 - Patrimoines religieux [past symp]
 - Rapport patrimoine- [English]
- Memoranda - 2006 - Centre hospitalier de l'Université de Montréal (CHUM)
 - Mémoire Écomusée de l'Au-Delà [2006]
 - Projet de règlement P-06-040
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 - Historique
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 - Mission
 - Organisation
- Fédération Écomusée de l'Au-Delà
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Workers History Museum

- List About Us
- List Board of Directors
- Web Page on Volunteer Spotlight on Bob Allen
- Certificate of Status (Corporation)
- Charitable Organization Info
- Web Page on Volunteer Spotlight on Christine Goneau
- Web Page on Volunteer Spotlight on David Yazbeck
- Web Page on Volunteer Spotlight on Evert Hoogers
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- Collections Info
- Acquisitions Info
- Research Info
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- Course
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- Education
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 - Janes Walk - what it is
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- Exhibits and Activities
 - Almonte Train Wreck exhibit
 - Almonte to mark 70th anniversary of Dec
 - Britannia-on-the-Bay exhibit
 - Ahearn & Soper History
 - Celebrate Colonel By Day with the Workers' History Museum
 - Colonel By Day 2013
 - Cal Best exhibit
 - Black Workers in Canada
 - Announcement - the J Cal Best Boardroom
 - PSAC History
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 - Cross-Canada Tour
 - Celebrating Black History Month 2014
 - EB EDDY exhibit
 - EB EDDY photos from Domtar (26 of interior and exterior)
 - Blog - A Day in the Life EB Eddy 1 to 4
 - Chaudiere Project database invitation to researchers
 - Les Allumettières – A Story by Ruth Stewart
 - McCallum 2015 Allumettieres EB EDDY
 - The Rich Workers' History Behind Toilet Paper
 - Family leave exhibit
 - Family Leave Campaign

- Worth Preserving info
- Main Street - Ottawa Bank 2015 exhibit
- Photo of 2015 exhibit - Bank Street - Main Street of Ottawa
- Political Rights exhibit
- Political Rights for Public Servants
- Same-sex rights exhibit
- Brian McDougall member
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- History in the making PSAC
- The Rand Formula - Bitter Strike Inspired Resolution exhibit
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- 2016-2021 Work Plan
- Work Plan for 2016

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- Draft Budget 2015
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- Treasurer's Report for 2014
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- Become a Volunteer Info
- Make a Donation Info
- Sponsorship Info
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- WHM Arthur Carkner - October 5 2015
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- OMA Workshop – Frequently Asked Questions
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- OMA Workshop – Museum Assistance Program -- What's New
- OMA Workshop - OMA ethics guidelines
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- List of Patrons and advisors
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- Stories - What do you mean I need my husbands signature Oct 30 2015

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- UQAM - Projet Soumis au CEPREC - Formation dans le cadre des services aux collectivités

MqCP

- Finance MQCPnotes
- Email notes with Claire Plourde
- MqCP tour museum notes and interview notes with Claire Plourde 2016-07-04
- Museum and Old Prison Photos from 2016 tour
- 2008 Interview with Benoit Gauthier
- Notes on Network Project - PIREPI [Patri Immater] - Chaire de recherche en patrimoine ethnologique
- Exhibit - Dans mon temps... les jouets
 - Notes on Dans mon temps..
- Exhibit – En chair et en muscles
 - En chair et en muscles - Expositions à l'affiche - Expositions et collection - Musée québécois de culture populaire
 - des hommes forts du Québec
- Exhibit – Histoires de pêche
 - Histoires de pêche_ dans les filets de Benoît Desjardins _ L'Écho de Trois-Rivières
- Exhibit – La boîte à jouets de Fred
 - la-boite-a-jouets-de-fred-fiche-technique-mqcp
 - La boîte à jouets de Fred - Expositions itinérantes - Expositions et collection - Musée québécois de culture populaire
- Exhibit – La Petite Vie
 - expo-la-petite-vie-fiche-technique-final-mqcp
 - L'exposition La Petite Vie - Expositions itinérantes - Expositions et collection - Musée québécois de culture populaire
- Exhibit – La rue Jutras et la famille Provencher
 - Report La rue Jutras et la famille Provencher à l'honneur _ L'Écho de Trois-Rivières
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 - Mireille Racine et les chapeaux au Musée québécois de la culture populaire _ L'Écho de Trois-Rivières
- Exhibit – V - The Beginning of a New Era
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- Exhibit - Event - Poutine - Radio-Canada - Exposition Relais poutine au Musée québécois de culture populaire _ Bien dans son assiette
- Exhibit - Ferey2010 - Sur le chemin des légendes avec Jean-Claude Dupont
- Exhibit - LaPresse2008 - Passe-Partout
- Exhibit - radioCanada2007 - Passe-Partout
- Exhibit - radioCanada2014
- Exhibit and Event - Québec Criminally Speaking
- Expo – Notes on Poutine2015
- expo – Notes on Une histoire de solidarité 1 to 3
- expo - Une histoire de solidarité 2006-histoire-populaire
- Article Expositions - Archives - Expositions et collection - Musée québécois de culture populaire
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- Tricots-graffitis de la Marche mondiale des femmes - Expositions éclair - Expositions et collection - Musée québécois de culture populaire
- Notes - Visite-expérience en PRISON! - Vieille prison de Trois-Rivières - Musée québécois de culture populaire
- Organization notes
 - 2006-histoire-populaire - Musée québécois de culture populaire
 - Historique - Vieille prison de Trois-Rivières - Musée québécois de culture populaire
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 - History - Mission - CanadaDonations Profile
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Curriculum Vitae

Candidate's full name: Christopher Gunter

Universities attended (with dates and degrees obtained):

- | | |
|------|---|
| 2011 | M.PHIL. (Honours), Interdisciplinary Policy Studies (Philosophy, Political Science & Economics stream), University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B., Thesis: <i>Transforming the New Brunswick Energy Hub: An Analysis of Renewable Energy</i> . |
| 2010 | University Teaching Diploma (DUT), University of New Brunswick. |
| 2008 | B.B.A. (Honours), Finance, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B. |

Publications:

Peer Review Journal Publications

- Gunter, C. (2017). *Ecomuseums: challenging temporality through community reappropriation*. The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society, 47(4), p. 259-273, doi:10.1080/10632921.2017.1320617
- Paquette, J. Beauregard, D. & Gunter, C. (2016). *Positivism and cultural policy: Saint-Simon, Comte, Littré and the French Cultural Policy*. Modern & Contemporary France, p.15-30 25(1), doi: 10.1080/09639489.2016.1197894
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- Paquette, J., Beauregard, D. & Gunter, C. (2015). *Settler colonialism and cultural policy: The colonial foundations and refoundations of Canadian cultural policy*, The International Journal of Cultural Policy, 21(5), p. 1-16, doi: 10.1080/10286632.2015.1043294

Conference Proceedings

- Paquette, J., Lacassagne, A. & Gunter, C. (2016). *Terroir and the Makers Movement: the entrepreneurial renewal of a cultural industry in North-America* at at The Cultural and Technological Innovation Symposium (November, Shenzhen).

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Book Review

- Gunter, C. J. (2014). Review of “*Museums and Social Activism: Engaged Protest*,” by Kylie Message. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 44(3), 202–204. doi:10.1080/10632921.2014.943445

Conference Presentations:

- Gunter, C. (2016). *An archaeology of l'écomusée: Exploring the social action museum* at The 42nd annual Social Theory, Politics and the Arts (STP&A) Conference, l'École nationale d'administration publique (l'ÉNAP), Québec, October 14-16, 2016.
- Gunter, C. (2016). *Creating Policy through Participation: The case of ecomuseums* at the 5th Annual National Conference of the Canadian Association of Programs in public administration (CAPPA), l'École nationale d'administration publique (l'ÉNAP), Quebec City, May 16-17, 2016.
- Gunter, C. (2014). *Internet Gaming Disorder and the Canadian Armed Forces* at CF Health Services Group, National Defense. December 10, 2014.
- Beauregard, D. & Gunter, C. (2014). *Distopic Culture: The Portrayal of Policy Decisions in Science Fiction* at The 40th annual Social Theory, Politics and the Arts (STP&A) Conference, University of Ottawa, October, October 11th, 2014.
- Gunter, C. (2014). *The Social Action Museum* at The 40th annual Social Theory, Politics and the Arts (STP&A) Conference, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, October 10th, 2014.
- Beauregard, D. & Gunter, C. (2014). *A Cycle of Change: The Policy Implications of Doctor Who* at Politics and Law of Doctor Who symposium, Westminster University, UK, September 5, 2014.
- Gunter, C. (2013). *The problematization of wind energy in New Brunswick* at The Canadian Science and Technology Historical Association 2013 Conference, Energy and Society: An Energy Rich Canada in an Energy Hungry World, UQAM, Montreal, Quebec, November 1-3, 2013.
- Gunter, C. (2012). *The North American Electric Reliability Corporation: An Institutional Approach* at The Public Administration Graduate Student Conference: Painting the Future of Public Administration, University of Ottawa, April 13, 2012.

- Gunter, C. & Ericson, G. (2011). *Institutional Design: An Analysis of the Interdisciplinary Department* at Crossing Boundaries: Moving Among, Between, and Around Disciplines, Dalhousie University, May 26-27, 2011.
- Gunter, C. (2011). *Transforming the New Brunswick Energy Hub: An Analysis of Renewable Energy* at UNB 2011 Graduate Research Conference, April 29, 2011