MILLENNIUM DREAMS: ARTS, CULTURE AND HERITAGE IN THE LIFE OF COMMUNITIES

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** The opinions expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Department of Canadian Heritage.

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1. INTRODUCTION

What kind of culture do citizens value? How do they assess what is a cultural activity and how does this activity fit within the everyday life of communities? To what extent is cultural capital linked with the social capital of the community? This study makes use of the *Our Millennium* database, which was a special initiative of the Community Foundations of Canada (CFC) to mark the new century, to try to answer these questions. In 1999 and 2000, the CFC invited Canadians to make lasting millennium "gifts" to their communities to make them a better place and to register these gifts on an on-line database. These gifts could be made under 11 self-selected theme areas: youth and children, arts and culture, the environment, heritage, connections, recreation, learning, safety and crime prevention, care and support, global citizenship and other. A total of 6,558 projects, involving over 4.6 million Canadians[1], were registered on the *Our Millennium* web site by midnight on December 31, 2000.

An assessment of the *Our Millennium* initiative by the Caledon Institute of Social Policy remarked upon the disproportionate number of projects that featured various aspects of arts, culture and heritage – even projects that were formally listed under other categories (Torjman and Levitan: 28). It appeared that culturally-related projects had a special quality that made them the instruments of choice for many ordinary citizens and community groups when planning millennium projects.[2]

This study delves more deeply into the Caledon Insitute's conclusion and, using a social and cultural capital lens, explores why arts, cultural and heritage projects were so prominent among the millennium gifts registered on the *Our Millennium* database. The study is structured as follows:

1) A brief review of the theoretical literature on social and cultural capital, as well as empirical evidence drawn from the author's previous research on this subject;
2) A quantitative overview of the *Our Millennium* database and the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" categories by type of project or major participants;
3) Case studies of specific communities;
4) A discussion of the types of social capital that the arts, culture and heritage projects were intended to further in the communities;
5) Conclusions.

2. CULTURAL CAPITAL – THEORY AND PRACTICE

The definition of social capital that is most often used is the one made popular by Robert Putnam – "social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them "(Putnam,

[1] As attendance was a self-reported statistic, it is impossible to verify this figure. As the Caledon Institute observed in its report on the *Our Millennium* project, "The concept of 'participant' likely was subject to wide interpretation across the country." For example, some projects counted only the organizers of an event among the participants, while others counted all those who attended the event. Due to lack of resources, the Community Foundations of Canada found it impossible to check the accuracy of these statistics and opted to post entries as submitted.

[2] In May 2001, the *Our Millennium* web site was transferred to the National Archives of Canada where it is accessible at http://ourmillennium.archives.ca/registry-home2.html . While the entire database is accessible, there are a number of problems with the search engine. The search functions for keywords and communities on the publicly available web site do not work, and limited keyword searching is only possible through a closed URL, accessible only though special arrangement with the Archives. Even this search function limits "hits" to 100, including overall descriptive pages and monthly lists of projects. Moreover, each keyword search pulls up both the English and French descriptions for each project, rapidly filling up the 100 "hit" limit. To ensure that all projects in the "Arts and culture" and "Heritage" categories were reviewed, the author was obliged to access these categories via the monthly lists, which covered the period from May 1999 to December 2000. To investigate the Caledon Institute's assertion that arts, culture and heritage also figured prominently in projects listed under other categories, a separate, less-comprehensive search was done of the "Environment", "Youth and Children" and "Connections" categories.

2000:19). Putnam has characterized bonding social capital as social networks that reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups, and bridging social capital as networks that are outward looking and encompass people across diverse social cleavages (forging so-called weak ties, as opposed to the strong ones that characterize bonding social capital). (Putnam, 2000:22).

The work of Pierre Bourdieu, a French sociologist, has shaped contemporary thinking on the subject of cultural capital. He defined cultural capital as "the disposal of taste" or "consumption of specific cultural forms that mark people as members of specific classes" (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu's conceptualization of cultural capital, in its simplest terms, consists of three elements: (1) embodied capital (or habitus), the system of lasting dispositions that form an individual's character and guide his or her actions and tastes; (2) objectified capital, the means of cultural expression, such as painting, writing, and dance, that are symbolically transmissible to others; and (3) institutionalized capital, the academic qualifications that establish the value of the holder of a given qualification. (Bourdieu, 1986).

An additional definitional angle has been introduced by David Throsby, an economist who distinguishes between tangible and intangible cultural capital. In his view, *tangible* cultural capital is "an asset that embodies a store of cultural value, separable from whatever economic value it might possess; the asset gives rise to a flow of goods and services over time which may also have cultural value". He places most heritage buildings and artifacts in this category of cultural capital. *Intangible* cultural capital, in his view, consists of "ideas, traditions, beliefs, and customs shared by a group of people, and it also includes intellectual capital, which exists as language, literature, music and so on" (Throsby, 2002:103).

In the context of development theory, some scholars have begun to define cultural capital in collective terms. Helen Gould has observed that "when a community comes together to share cultural life, through celebration, rites and intercultural dialogue, it is enhancing its relationships, partnerships and networks – in other words, developing social capital" (Gould, 2001:87). In this vein, Jeannotte has suggested that while cultural capital has traditionally been thought to contribute to "bonding" social capital by reinforcing ideologies, values and social differences and by strengthening ties between intimates, it may also play a role in "bridging" social capital by promoting social solidarity (commitment to a larger whole), social integration (linkages between functional elements) and sustainable communities (patterns of social and spatial interaction distinguishing a collective) (Jeannotte, 2003a:39).

In a recent study, Jeannotte identified four overall cultural capital research themes flowing from these various definitions (Jeannotte, 2003b: 6):

> *Theme 1: Personal empowerment* (personal benefits derived from investments in cultural capital)
>
> *Theme 2: Cultural participation* (linkages between cultural participation and altruistic behaviour, such as volunteering and civic engagement)
>
> *Theme 3: Cultural development and quality of life* (linkages between cultural capital and economic and social development)
>
> *Theme 4: Cultural sustainability* (ways in which cultural capital supports human development and maintains the cultural life and vitality of human civilization over time)

Research on cultural capital has tended to concentrate on Themes 1 and 2. While Theme 1, focussing on the effects of "investments" in personal cultural capital, has been fairly well researched, especially by educational sociologists, the other themes have only recently begun to be explored. Theme 2 has received a fair amount of attention from researchers working on public policy issues such as social exclusion, particularly in the United Kingdom and the United States. Theme 3 has been the focus of scholars working in the area of urban development and creativity. Both the World Bank and Unesco recently addressed Themes 3 and 4 by examining the role of cultural capital in promoting both cultural development and sustainable communities (Gould, 2001).

Empirical evidence emerging from studies on Theme 2 is highly contested. However, these findings suggest that cultural capital in the form of participatory arts projects reinforces social cohesion

(Matarasso, 1997:vi-vii, Saguaro Seminar, 2002), promotes voluntarism (Jeannotte, 2003a and Bourdeau, 2002), builds trust and tolerance (Stolle and Rochon, 1998) and promotes local networking (Bang and Sorensen, 2001).

In recent years, much attention has been focussed on one aspect of Theme 3 – how the cultural development of urban communities improves quality of life and attracts creative "knowledge workers". The most well-known research in this area is that of Richard Florida, an American scholar who has linked cultural capital and diversity to creative cities (Florida and Gates, 2001, Florida 2001 and Florida, 2002). Others researchers investigating these linkages have also concluded that cultural capital plays a key role in urban regeneration (e.g. Gertler et al., 2002, Landry et al., 1996 and Azmier, 2002). Nevertheless, the form of cultural capital that is responsible for a community's quality of life remains in dispute. Some researchers have suggested that regions scoring highest on creativity tend to have the greatest income inequalities (Donald and Morrow, 2003), while others argue that the kind of urban cultural capital that promotes economic development is inimical to local cultural authenticity (Hannigan, 1998, Swyngedouw and Kaïka, 2003 and Chatterton and Hollands, 2003).

With regard to Theme 4, Throsby has drawn parallels between environmental and cultural sustainability. He suggests that while complex natural ecosystems function to maintain and support balance in the natural environment, equally complex cultural ecosystems are required to maintain the cultural life and vitality of human societies (Throsby, 2002:106). In Canada, however, only a few researchers examining the psychological and social health of Aboriginal communities have given much attention to this subject. These researchers have found correlations between cultural continuity and sustainability in Aboriginal communities and low levels of youth suicide (Chandler and Lalonde, 1998), successful community institutions (Chataway, 2002) and lower poverty levels among urban Aboriginals (Graham and Peters, 2002). Since it is generally acknowledged that Aboriginal cultures have been under extreme pressure for centuries, this attention to their sustainability is understandable. However, given the assertions of authors such as Hannigan, Chatterton / Hollands and Swyngedouw / Kaika that globalized "branding" is also threatening the long-term social and cultural sustainability of other local communities, it is likely that more attention will be paid to this theme in the future.

The rest if this paper will explore a number of the questions raised by the four themes outlined above by examining the projects registered on the *Our Millennium* database. The main questions are:

- To what extent do citizens link cultural capital to social capital?
- To what extent did the projects registered in the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" categories fall within the four cultural capital research themes identified above?
    1. Were they intended to contribute to personal development and empowerment?
    2. Did they attempt to link cultural participation to various kinds of altruistic behaviour such as volunteering or civic engagement?
    3. Were they intended to contribute to economic development or quality of life?
    4. Did they attempt to promote cultural sustainability through such actions as building trust and tolerance or reinforcing local social networks and identities?

3. CULTURAL CAPITAL AND MILLENNIAL DREAMS – QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The *Our Millennium* database is a self-selected sample. As such, it is essentially a portrait of what citizens themselves considered to be important, lasting gifts to their communities. Citizens could categorize these gifts under any of the eleven headings provided. The database was not subject to editing or reclassification by its sponsor, the Community Foundations of Canada, so how the gift-givers characterized their gifts was how they were shown. As there were no restrictions on who could post a gift description, all citizens and organizations had an equal opportunity to participate. In short, the database is a *collective memoir* reflecting a particular social space at a particular moment in history. The distribution of the millennium gifts, as registered on the database, is shown in Table I.

Table 1 – Distribution of Our Millennium Gifts by Theme

Theme	% of Total
Environment	16.4
Heritage	16.3
Children and Youth	13.3
Care and Support	11.5
Arts and culture	10.8
Connections	9.2
Recreation	6.3
Learning	5.5
Safety and Crime Prevention	4.8
Global citizenship	4.1
Other	1.8

SOURCE: Caledon Institute of Social Policy

To determine the nature of the projects registered in the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" category, each description was analyzed to determine the main type of cultural product or main type of participant. These results are shown in Tables II and III.

Table 2 – Distribution of Our Millennium Arts and Culture Projects By Type of Project or Main Participants

Type	Number	% of Total
Youth performances / art / cultural events	146	20.7
Amateur performances / festivals	80	11.4
Multicultural / ethnocultural performances / art / events	74	10.5
Millennium artworks / public art	53	7.5
Special exhibitions (professional artists / galleries)	39	5.5
Professional performances / festivals	37	5.3
Quilts / wall-hangings / textile art / quilting events	34	4.8
Exhibitions (amateur artists)	27	3.8
Cultural fundraising events for non-cultural purposes	26	3.7
Capital building projects (cultural and heritage)	23	3.3
Special literary works or events	21	3.0
Seniors performances / art / events	19	2.7
Cultural fundraising events for cultural purposes	16	2.3
Heritage events / activities (e.g. development of historic sites or databases)	16	2.3
Disabled persons performances / art / events	15	2.1
Women's performances / art /events	13	1.8
Multicultural events for youth	12	1.7
Cultural events promoting voluntarism, peace, etc.	9	1.3
Library events or donations	9	1.3
Creation of arts councils / arts directories / endowment funds	9	1.3
Cultural learning events for youth	8	1.1
Cultural events promoting environmental causes	7	1.0
Cultural district revitalization / redevelopment	5	.7
Aboriginal performances / art / events	3	.4
Cultural learning events (e.g. conferences, lectures)	3	.4
TOTAL	704	99.9

Table 3 – Distribution of Our Millennium Heritage Projects By Type of Project or Main Participants

Type	Number	**% of Total**
Restoration / conversion / improvements of heritage structures and objects	113	10.6
Multicultural / ethnocultural arts and cultural events	112*	10.5*
Histories (of communities, organizations, families)	96	9.0
Special heritage events / community celebrations / reenactments / religious services / parades / tours / rededications	94	8.8
Time capsules	69	6.5
Monuments / cairns / plaques / signage	60	5.8
Youth heritage projects (e.g. photos, yearbooks)	57	5.5
Connections (homecomings, reunions, exchanges)	52	4.9
New museums / special exhibitions	47	4.4
Environmental / recreation activities (e.g. creation / revitalization of parks, trails, gardens)	41	3.9
Youth arts and cultural projects (murals, videos, written histories)	39	3.7
Festivals / concerts / performances	34	3.2
Patriotic activities (e.g. honouring veterans, flying the Canadian flag)	32	3.0
Seniors activities (histories, celebrations, performances)	32	3.0
Quilts / wall hangings / textile art / quilting events	23	2.2
Digitization / archival cataloguing / creating websites	23	2.2
Multicultural heritage events / exhibitions	21	2.0
Fundraising / endowment funds / donations of heritage sites or objects	16	1.5
Photo histories	16	1.5
Aboriginal cultural events	15	1.4
Women's heritage (histories, commemorations)	13	1.2
Historical murals	10	.9
Historical calendars / posters	10	.9
Learning events (conferences, workshops)	9	.8
Public art	8	.8
Films / videos	8	.8
Special editions of periodicals	6	.6
Literary works	4	.4
New cultural facilities / arts stabilization programs	2	.2
TOTAL	1064	100.2

* 86 of the entries in this category recorded individual donations for the construction of a statue honouring immigrants in Hamilton, Ontario. Without these entries the number of multicultural projects falls to 26 or 2.4% of the total.

The development of these tables involved a certain amount of subjective judgement as to the main purpose of the project, based on the description provided by the gift-giver. For example, many of the youth-oriented projects involved the production of millennium art by school children or youth groups. However, as the intention was clearly to foster creativity and a sense of historical significance among youth, rather than to produce a "professional" mural or sculpture, these types of projects were placed under the "youth" heading, rather than under the "millennium artworks / public art" one. Similarly, in the case of projects involving demographic groups such as seniors, women or the disabled, the purpose of most special performances, exhibitions or artworks was primarily to give special recognition to the accomplishments of these groups over the past century or millennium. As a result, these types of projects were categorized by principal participant group rather than by the nature of the cultural activity.

An analysis of Tables II and III provides a number of insights as to the nature of community perceptions and priorities. First, in terms of perceptions, there is a considerable amount of overlap between the two lists, suggesting that those who engage in cultural and heritage activities may not draw clear distinctions between them. For example, performances and festivals are a feature of both lists, and, in fact, of the 151 performing arts events included in these two categories, 34 of them, or about 30%, are listed as heritage gifts. As well, gifts involving the creation and exhibition of quilts and wall-hangings of various types also figure prominently in both categories, suggesting that their creators were motivated both by the legacy they were leaving and the artistic aspects of the gift. On the other hand, 16 heritage events and activities are listed as "Arts and Culture" gifts, suggesting that at least some citizens viewed them as creative rather than legacy undertakings.

Second, in terms of priorities, the largest number of arts and culture projects, by far, involved children and youth. In fact, if one adds the multicultural youth, youth learning, youth heritage and youth arts and culture activities included in the "Heritage" category, 262 of the 1768 projects listed in the two categories were primarily gifts by or for youth (a number which is probably understated, since youth also participated in many of the other types of projects). Although some gifts, such as a special exhibition developed by the Hamilton Children's Museum entitled "Crazy About Canada" were gifts from professionals to children, many of the instances of gift-giving went in the opposite direction. For example, students at A.Y. Jackson Secondary School in Ottawa, Ontario marked the millennium by holding a gala featuring the art of A.Y. Jackson, as well as a play about the Group of Seven and a musical performance, both performed by students. The purpose was to raise funds for an arts scholarship program for future students at the school. In Loretteville, Quebec, a group of students organized an evening of song, dance and musical performances to raise funds for the Fondation canadienne Rêves d'enfants. The same group of students also organized another performance of Disney characters and songs to fulfil the wish of a four-year old patient.

Third, (again in terms of priorities) the increased diversity of Canadian society is reflected in the number and variety of multicultural and ethnocultural events included in the arts, cultural and heritage gifts (even if one excludes the 86 entries recording individual donations toward a statue honouring immigrants in Hamilton). These events were almost all celebratory, and once again, many of the heritage projects involved performing or visual arts. For example, the *Navrati Festival* of Hindu dance in Hamilton was recorded as a "Heritage" event, as was the Haitian *Soirée hommage aux Potomitans* in Montreal, an evening of Haitian dance, theatre and music performances intended to transmit the culture from elders to younger people.

Fourth, the relative balance of the projects that contributors considered to be special enough to register as cultural or heritage gifts is heavily in favour of amateur activities. The majority of the approximately 220 items listed as "Youth" and "Multicultural / ethnocultural" performances, art and cultural events (in addition to the approximately 100 items in the "Amateur performances" and "Amateur exhibitions" categories) involved non-professional forms of cultural expression. This compares to about 75 professional performances and exhibitions (although many of the 30 or so items under "Capital building projects", "Cultural fundraising events", "Creation of arts councils" and "Cultural district revitalization" might be added to this total). This tendency was even more evident in the "Heritage" category, where most of the restoration projects involved improvements to historic community buildings, most of the histories written were of local organizations or small communities and most of the events were community celebrations or commemorations of various types.

A final general observation to be drawn from Tables II and III is the extent to which cultural and heritage activities are linked to other purposes or ends. As has been noted above, many of the events and initiatives for youth, seniors, the disabled and other demographic groups were clearly intended to celebrate the group as much as the expression. The large number of projects intended to raise funds for non-cultural purposes, to promote learning among young people or to advance environmental causes also fall into this category.

4. CULTURAL CAPITAL AND MILLENNIAL DREAMS - QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

A portrait of the full variety of projects offered as gifts is well beyond the scope of this short paper. As an alternative, case studies of three communities of differing sizes and from different parts of Canada will be presented. These communities are Dieppe, New Brunswick; Kingston, Ontario and Revelstoke, British Columbia.

Dieppe, New Brunswick

The town of Dieppe had a population of 14,951 in 2001, an increase of close to 20% since 1996.[3] The median age of the population was 35.8 years, somewhat younger than the provincial median age of 38.6. Over 75% of the population listed its mother tongue as French, while 23% indicated that English was their mother tongue. In 2001, less than 1% of the population had a mother tongue other than English or French. Only 2% of the population was foreign-born, about 1% was Aboriginal and less than 1% (about .4%) were visible minorities. The median income of those 15 of age and over was $24,486, as compared to the provincial median income of $18,257.

Of the seven "Arts and Culture" gifts recorded by the community, five involved community celebrations, and two were focussed on youth. In addition, two projects classified in the "Youth and Children" category and two in the "Learning" category also had cultural elements.

The community celebrations tended to be annual events that were given special millennial themes. During the Fête du Canada on July 1 a special community "tattoo" was designed and distributed to the first 2000 participants. At the Fête des acadiens on August 15, in addition to the usual musical performances and family activities, the organizing committee distributed 2000 Acadian flags. At the annual Carnaval d'amitié, a special outdoor "tintamarre" (noisemaking) session was organized so citizens could welcome the new millennium with their own music. For the annual outdoor "Mercredi Show" – a series of performances by professional artists during July and August – area schoolchildren were invited to design special millennium art which was used on all advertising for the event. The community organized a special Fête du 1er janvier 2000 on New Year's Eve, which featured two musical performances and an exhibition of historical photos of the town, along with family events, such as skating, tobogganing, and sleigh rides.

L'École Anna-Malenfant organized a special millennium performance focussed on the theme of peace. The school also held a couple of events, classified in the "Youth and Children" and "Learning" categories which involved special book purchases and a challenge to students to read 2000 books and make presentations to the rest of the school on what they had learned. This project was specifically designed to promote French language and culture, as well as a love of reading among the young. In the "Arts and Culture" category, young people at a summer camp were asked to paint an image reflecting their vision for the year 2000. These paintings were later exhibited at a local hotel. During the year, Dieppe hosted a *Forum jeunesse* where 500 young people from all parts of the world participated in cultural events, (classified as a "Youth and Children" project). In addition, an educational forum held by La federation des Comités de Parents du Nouveau-Brunswick in Dieppe featured a "volet culturelle" of performance art . This, however, was classified as a "Learning" event.

All three projects registered in the "Heritage" category were intended to leave permanent legacies to the community. A time capsule, containing objects representative of the town in 2000, was buried in the park with a plaque indicating its location and the date it should be opened. The town council installed a "millennium clock" in a central location as a permanent gift to the community. A town history between 1730 and 2000 was written to ensure that citizens remained aware and proud of their past.

[3] The demographic information for Dieppe and the other two communities is drawn from the Statistics Canada Census website at http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/home/index.cfm .

Kingston, Ontario

The population of the City of Kingston in 2001 was 146,838, an increase of 1.6% since 1996. The median age was slightly above the provincial median of 37.1 at 38.1 years of age. Over 88% of the population spoke English as a mother tongue, with only 3% speaking French and 9% other languages. About 12% of the population was foreign-born, while less than 2% cited Aboriginal origins. Visible minorities accounted for just under 5% of the total population. Median income of persons over 15 years of age was $23,538, as compared to the provincial median of $24,816.

Kingston citizens registered 24 projects in the "Arts and Culture" category and 70 projects in the "Heritage" category, with another three projects in the "Environment" group having heritage elements.

The "Arts and Culture" project distribution was as follows: youth = 3; amateur performances = 4; ethnocultural performance = 1; public art = 2; professional performances = 3; professional exhibitions = 2; quilts = 3; amateur exhibitions = 2; special literary works = 3; environmental art = 1.

Youth arts and culture projects included the production of a musical and a mural, as well as the selling of calendars depicting local artwork to raise funds for the school and develop entrepreneurial skills. Two of the amateur performances involved original music by local composers. Another was a musical written by a member of the Kingston Symphony and a local opera singer, directed by a local theatre professional and performed by 46 special special-needs youth. One of the public art gifts registered was actually the final piece in a series of 45 environmental art sculptures installed by the Kingston Artists' Association over 10 years. Both the Kingston Symphony and Queen's University registered special professional performances, while Theatre 5's gift was a benefit performance for the Canadian National Institute for the Blind. Kingston Heirloom Quilters donated a series of slides to the Queen's University Archives recording all quilts made by the group since its founding. An annual outdoor art show initiated an award for a local high school student showing artistic skill. A writers' collective produced a millennium book of prose and poetry from writers across Canada.

The distribution of the "Heritage" projects was as follows: restoration = 6; histories = 10; time capsules = 14; monuments / commemorative objects = 3; youth heritage = 10; youth arts and culture = 10 (+1 project labelled as "Environment); ethnocultural = 2 (+1 labelled "Environment"); seniors = 1; quilts = 1; digitization = 1 (+1 labelled as "Environment"); photo histories = 3; women's heritage = 2; special editions = 2; historical murals = 1; special exhibitions = 1 (but labelled as "Connections").

Restoration projects in Kingston included an historic train station, an historic steam ship, the women's institute building and a military monument, as well as expansion of the marine museum and the revitalization of a downtown square. A history was written of the local area for use in schools. Written histories were also produced of 190 local monuments, the local construction association, a now-defunct locomotive manufacturing company, the skating club, Wolfe Island (near Kingston), the physics classes at a local college and the archaeology of the area. The majority of the time capsules were assembled by school children, but the Chamber of Commerce, a school of dance and a local church also registered theirs. A commemorative drinking fountain was erected in memory of workers who died building the Rideau Canal. Most of the youth heritage projects involved special photographs or yearbooks, but one group of students produced websites featuring historical overviews of the village of Sydenham and a local cemetery (including links to information about the occupants of the graves). Another group of students produced family heritage videos. While most of the Kingston youth arts and culture projects registered in the "Heritage" category consisted of quilts and murals, one school group produced an original play and another held a millennium writing contest. The most original of the ethnocultural projects involved the construction of a Scandinavian log home using traditional materials and heritage techniques. A seniors group created CD-ROMs depicting the history of the village of Odessa and donated them to every school, library and archive in the county. Photo histories of local schools and community architecture were registered, as were two histories of women at Queen's University. Both the *Kingston Whig-Standard* and *Profile Kingston* magazine produced special millennium issues, and 55 historical murals were painted by 12 local artists on the walls of a parking garage.

Revelstoke, British Columbia

In 2001, the population of the community of Revelstoke was 7,500, a decrease of 6.8% from 1996. The median age was 38.5, almost identical to the provincial median of 38.4 years. Over 88% of the population spoke English as a mother tongue, about 10% spoke a language other than English or French, and only about 1% spoke French. About 10% of the population was foreign-born, but only about 3% were visible minorities and 5% Aboriginal. Median income was $20,793, below the provincial average of $22,095.

A total of nine Revelstoke "Arts and Culture" projects were registered, along with two in "Environment", one in "Connections" and one in "Learning" which included cultural elements. There were 11 "Heritage" projects registered, as well as one "Youth and Children" project with a heritage dimension.

The distribution of "Arts and Culture" projects was as follows: youth =1 (registered as a "Learning" event); amateur performances = 2; millennial art = 1; professional performances = 2 (+2 registered in the "Environment" category); capital building = 1; literary events = 1 (+1 product listed in the "Connections" category); women = 1; arts directory = 1.

The local library registered a summer club to encourage children to read (registered as a "Learning" event). Two special performances were given by the local choir and one by an East Coast fiddler. A millennium blues festival was organized. As well, two performances registered under the "Environment" category included an original play celebrating human connections to natural waterways and a children's performance teaching environmental stewardship. The town administration invited clubs, businesses and individuals to paint 100 millennial banners which were displayed throughout the community. A former ski chalet was renovated and converted into a playhouse for the local theatre company, and the local arts council produced a directory of over 50 artists living in the community. A regional author gave an evening of readings at the local library, and a CD-ROM was produced, providing a virtual tour of the community (registered as a "Connections" activity). A local women's writing group held a two-day workshop with a professional writer.

The distribution of "Heritage" projects in Revelstoke was as follows: history = 1; special events = 3; youth = 1 (+1 under "Youth and children"); special exhibition = 1; environment = 2; performance = 1; women = 1; film / video = 1.

A 92 year-old local historian produced a history of the town. Two special heritage events – a presentation of Victoriana and carriage tours – took place, along with an antique car show. The local museum organized a children's event to teach local history and a summer program of activities to explore the community and its heritage. The town hosted a major travelling exhibition on British Columbia history. Two projects were linked to the community's environmental history – a hike commemorating the designation of Mount Revelstoke as a national park and the development of a park surrounding the local railway museum. The local theatre company presented a play based on local history, and museum personnel gave a lecture on women's history in Revelstoke. Finally, the History Channel featured the local area in an episode on the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway through Rogers Pass.

5. CULTURAL CAPITAL IN THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

It is now time to return to the first of the questions posed at the end of section 3 of this paper: To what extent do citizens link cultural capital to social capital? The "millennial dreams" of Canadians in the year 2000 frequently involved the creation of material and symbolic cultural landscapes. Many of the projects registered in the *Our* Millennium database, however, illustrate the extent to which citizens merged the social and cultural capital within these landscapes. The case studies provide a flavour of this symbiotic relationship. In addition, the author's brief survey of the gifts registered in the "Environment", "Youth and Children" and "Connections" categories tends to reinforce the findings from the analysis of the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" categories.

The environment, in particular, seemed to be a powerful motivator for a number of creative initiatives. For example, in Toronto, the *Planet in Focus* film festival was intended as a catalyst to promote public discussion of environmental problems. On the other hand, in the "Heritage" category, an ecotourism project in Bouctouche, New Brunswick was designed to help visitors understand the historical, cultural and natural sites of the surrounding countryside and to bear witness to the Acadian, Micmac and other peoples who built the community.

Youth, as is evident from the descriptions above, were central figures in many of the heritage, arts and culture projects registered. A survey of the "Youth and Children" category unearthed further proof of this. For example, many scholarship gifts were registered in this category, including the Starbucks Foundation literacy awards, the Manitoba Theatre for Young People's scholarships, the Manitoba Conservatory of Music bursaries and the Sawitsky Family Millennium Awards for young fiddlers and step dancers.

Typically, "Connections" projects integrated cultural and social capital in a way that made it almost impossible to separate the two. For example, the Maple Ridge Jazz and Blues Festival Society provided free display space in its "Millennium Village" for community non-profit groups. The Celebration Coalition on Salt Spring Island, B.C. held a three-day event, featuring 25 films on subjects such as global warming and social justice, and invited 50 community groups to set up kiosks and make presentations related to the films. Many of the library projects tended to be registered under "Connections" or 'Learning", even if they had a significant cultural element. This was the case for such projects as the Millennium Friendship Award in Hamilton (which honoured an individual who had arranged hundreds of author visits at the Hamilton Public Library), the Fraser Valley Regional Library's fair (which featured storytelling and multicultural events) and the Kingston Public Library's display of rare children's books.

We now turn to the second question: To what extent did the projects registered in the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" categories fall within the four cultural capital research themes identified in Section 2 above?

1) Were the projects intended to contribute to personal development and empowerment?

There is no doubt that a portion of the millennial gifts, especially those aimed at youth, had as a goal the development of *habitus* (Bourdieu's embodied cultural capital). Some were explicit about this. For example, the Greater Victoria Public Library registered a contest 'to encourage an interest in writing and reading among teens" and "to provide a vehicle for self-expression and creativity". The Quest Theatre in Calgary held a summer theatre camp for children to help build "self esteem, group cooperation and balance in the lives of participants".

Many of the heritage gifts, however, seemed to be motivated by a desire to empower at a *collective* rather than a personal level. For example, the reunion of the Belanger Family at Mount St. Louis, Ontario, for which a 300-page family cookbook and a 250-page family tree were prepared, was "dedicated to those who came before us. Those who, with nothing created much … a life, a family, a feast, a home and a heritage". Some of the group histories, heritage restoration projects and special exhibitions were also clearly intended to contribute to the self-esteem of a segment of the population. For example, an exhibition of original artworks organized by the Oshawa Public Library was aimed at celebrating the "True North Strong and Free: Brave Girls in Canadian Children's Literature".

2) Did the projects attempt to link cultural participation to various kinds of altruistic behaviour, such as volunteering or civic engagement?

The linkage of cultural participation to social participation and engagement was one of the most prominent rationales cited in the *Our Millennium* project descriptions. For example, the District of Ahuntsic-Cartierville of Montreal, organized Festiblues de Montréal both to involve youth in a cultural event and to raise funds for youth services in the district. The Alberta Heritage Digitization Project preserved historical resources such as newspapers, local histories and the folklore collection at the University of Alberta so that the province's social and cultural heritage would be more easily accessible to students and citizens. The Ecumenical Downtown Ministries of Hamilton, with help from a local high school and a youth social action group, sponsored a concert by the Montreal Homeless Men's Choir to

raise money for an emergency social housing program. The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts hired a team of Spanish-speaking guides so that public tours could be offered to the Hispanic community. The Canadian Hot Jazz Orchestra of Vancouver donated proceeds from their CD to buy musical instruments and pay for music lessons for underprivileged children.

3) Were the projects intended to promote economic development or quality of life?

Many of the capital building and renovation projects registered in the *Our Millennium* database were explicitly intended to improve quality of life. The proposal to develop a downtown arts district in Calgary was to demonstrate "… that Calgary is one of Canada's greatest cultural centres, and its downtown is a lively and safe place to visit". The residents of Canoe Cove, Prince Edward Island, in restoring the local school house and converting it to a museum, hoped that the project would "reverse the trend of rural decay" and 'promote prosperity". The restoration of the Market Square in Kingston, it was stated, would "produce a revitalized urban civic square of local and national significance, and create an attractive and welcoming venue for public events". Unlike most of the other types of gifts, this benefit was seen to flow primarily from tangible, rather than intangible, cultural capital investments in the community.

4) Did the projects attempt to promote cultural sustainability through such actions as building trust and tolerance or reinforcing local social networks and identities?

Many of the multicultural projects appeared motivated as much by "bridging" as by "bonding" considerations and were clearly aimed at promoting trust and tolerance. For example, some groups, such as the Centre communautaire Juif of Montreal, devoted considerable effort to put together a program of mainly cultural events designed to appeal not only to the Jewish community, but also to the general public. Others, such as the First Nations City Celebration Committee of Toronto, worked with the school board to help students gain an understanding of Aboriginal culture. The African Festival and Presentation Society of Calgary organized a festival to bring about more awareness of African culture in the city. The Central Alberta Diversity Project in Red Deer invited diverse groups across Alberta to submit photo collages, then held a gala and displayed the collages at the public library in order to "build bridges of understanding and friendship across racial, ethnic, cultural and ability boundaries".

Social networking was another frequently cited rationale for *Our Millennium* arts, cultural and heritage projects. This often took the form of reaching out to the marginalized, as with the Sommet Artistique of Quebec City, a forum of 85 community groups whose goal was to integrate the disabled and the marginalized through the arts. Social networks, mediated through cultural activities, were also often seen as a means of building trust between the generations, as was evident in such projects as the Victoria Intergenerational Festival of the Ages, which "grew from the need of seniors and teens to have a better understanding of each others fears and concerns".

Community sustainability was also frequently linked to issues of community safety and security. For example, in Thunder Bay, Ontario, the Regional Multicultural Youth Council worked with the local police force to host a talent show, dance and youth festival, involving over 100 young performers, as a way of improving communications between youth and police and promoting community safety. In the same vein but from another perspective, the Fondation le Silence des Armes of Chicoutimi registered a number of projects to combat violence in society, most notably three television programmes it produced in collaboration with the CBC, Radio-Canada and TV Ontario.

Beyond the obvious intent to link cultural and social capital, the majority of the projects inscribed in the *Our Millennium* database appear to have been broadly aimed at reinforcing what Throsby has referred to as the "cultural ecosystem". Whether or not citizens were explicitly attempting to counter the impact of global branding (as described by Hannigan, Chatterton/Hollands and other authors), it is clear that most of the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" gifts were deeply embedded in "place" rather than in the cosmopolitan milieu of mainstream cultural and heritage production. Their primary purpose, in short, appeared to be to sustain the life and vitality of that "place", both socially and culturally, and to reinforce the community's identity.

6. CONCLUSIONS

In his book, *Towards Cultural Citizenship: Tools for Cultural Policy and Development*, Colin Mercer discusses the need to realign current cultural policy and research to address the centrality of culture to human development. His definition of development goes beyond the economic terminology that often dominates discourse on this subject. In his view, the process of "… mapping, auditing and assessment of the true cultural resources of a community becomes part of the task of linking cultural *integrally*, rather than marginally, to the development process". In this vein, he stresses "… the ongoing and indissoluble connection between culture *and* economy, culture *and* social relations, culture *and* power, culture *and* identity, culture *and* rights, *culture and human development* (Mercer: 2002, 53 – italics in original).

The preceding discussion of the role of cultural capital in the *Our Millennium* project hints at the some of the elements of that map.

First, it would appear important to consider a broader range of cultural and heritage activities than those that are normally collected in official statistics. Citizens, when asked to classify their projects, included many activities in the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" categories (particularly personal and collective heritage gifts, such as time capsules and organizational or family histories) that are totally unrecognized in official statistics. Conversely, many activities, such as arts and film festivals linked to causes such as the environment or peace, were not always recognized as "cultural" by those organizing them. Amateur arts, culture and heritage activities also appeared to carry as much weight as professional ones in contributing value to communities.

Second, the impact of youth and ethnocultural groups on the cultural landscape of communities should be given more attention in future assessments of cultural production (and reproduction). The evidence from the database suggests that communities place a great deal of emphasis on integrating the young into the life of the community, and arts, cultural and heritage activities (broadly defined) appear to be one of the primary vehicles in this process. While many of the gifts registered by ethnocultural groups used arts or heritage activities to reinforce the "bonding" social capital of the group, this was not always the case. "Bridging" behaviour figured prominently in a surprising number of the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" projects, as many not only used expressive means to reinforce their identities, but also to share them.

In conclusion, many of the projects registered in the *Our Millennium* database fall within the four cultural capital themes derived from a survey of the research literature. This would suggest that the projects' organizers were motivated by a desire to foster personal development, altruistic behaviour, community development and cultural sustainability. However, time and resource limitations prevented follow-up with even a limited sample of the 1,768 "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" project organizers to determine whether the stated aims were accomplished. A useful second stage of this research might therefore consist of an evaluation of the outcomes of a sample of the "Arts and Culture" and "Heritage" projects with a view to addressing Mercer's challenge to map, audit and assess the cultural resources of communities. Broadly based assessments of the social effects of culture, whether couched in the language of human development, citizenship or cultural capital, are essential tools in charting the future course of cultural interventions, and should take advantage of rare resources, such as the *Our Millennium* database, that provide a relatively unfiltered view of the motivations behind cultural practices and the perceived value of these practices in the life of communities.

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