

Sociomuseology

4



To Think Sociomuseologically

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Judite Primo
editors

Sociomuseology Series 4

To think sociomuseologically

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Sociomuseology Series 4

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Introduction

Since its creation in 1985, the International Movement for a New Museology (MINOM) has contributed to the museum field with reflections and practices related to the use of heritage as a tool for social change. For the occasion of the 22nd ICOM General Conference in 2010, MINOM joins the discussions on the theme *Museums for Social Harmony* with great enthusiasm. We understand issues such as community action, emancipation and solidarity to be paramount to achieving social harmony. Whether social harmony concerns tolerance, mutual trust or dialogue, in our view it is not possible to ignore political aspects that also form the basis of social interaction—and by extension shape heritage and museum work. Harmony should look in the direction of equality rather than that of conformism¹.

As Pedro Cardoso argues in his article, the development agenda has had a deep impact in the museum field since the second half of the 20th century. Today, we speak of sustainable development, social inclusion, cultural diversity, multiculturalism, and social harmony. These are not magical concepts and we must be critical about the fact that many times they operate more to give an illusion of change rather than to promote actual change. For us, change is a political take on the basics of the human condition. It responds to the capacity of people to truly participate in the shaping of their own future. Conscientization, also known as critical consciousness, is a concept developed by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire in the 1960's and 1970's, years before the idea of empowerment made its way into the country. Conscientization lies in the root of new museology and of sociomuseology, advocating for grass-root participation as well as for informed and capable negotiations among heritage stakeholders.

MINOM is a political heir of the Declaration of Santiago de Chile (1972). According to the concept of integral museum, museums should play a role in solving social problems and work in connection with local communities. The Declaration of Santiago, as well as the

¹ to borrow the term from Amareswar Galla. ICOM News Vol 62, no2 2009-2010

work of Hugues de Varine, had a direct influence in adding to the ICOM definition of museums the sentence “*in the service of society and its development*” in 1974. In 1984, a group of practitioners of new types of museums (ecomuseums, local museums, community museums, popular museology) met in Quebec. Together they wrote the Declaration of Quebec, which stated that they were *first and foremost* concerned with the improvement of living conditions, the development of populations and their projects for the future. The principles of new museology were also clear: “It has to some extent become one of the possible forms of bringing peoples closer together, for their own and mutual knowledge, for their cyclic development and their desire for the fraternal creation of a world that respects its intrinsic wealth”.

In France, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Brazil, Canada (Quebec), and Italy, ecomuseums and community museums multiplied, and many initiatives grew outside of the Latin circles. Each have in their own way added to the possibilities and implications of local heritage and development work. Today, ecomuseology and community museology are complex fields of knowledge and experimentation. They maintain specific relations with the world of museology and with that of new museology. Relations we hope will become more intense as we break down language barriers and improve dialogue between different countries.

New museology arrives in the 21st century as a movement, a school of thought and a philosophy. As **school of thought**, new museology has its traditions. As a **movement**, it combines the efforts of MINOM and many other organizations and individuals around a common project. In these efforts we associate with the practice and critical thinking of sociomuseology. Sociomuseology can be seen as the result of a process of maturity of new museology in face of the changes in our contemporary society. The term was coined in the 1990’s and applied in MA and PHD programmes at the Lusófona University in Lisbon; in BA courses as well as policies, museum and heritage programmes in Brazil; in experiments at the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam²; and in the activities of MINOM international, among others. Sociomuseology encompasses ecomuseums, community museums, as well as the work of what once new museologists called traditional museums. For this, it upholds the **philosophy** of new

² See Sociomuseology 4

museology, not necessarily related to the form of ecomuseums or community museums but to the principles of conscientization, participation and social change. Much of the experience of new museums also informs sociomuseology, referring to the power of the process, to the methods, to the role of the professional, to the role of the community and its relation with other stakeholders.

The reader will find in the first part of this publication three reference documents that tell more about this story, the Declaration of Santiago (1972), the Declaration of Quebec (1984) and the Evolving Definition of Sociomuseology (2007 updated version). Sociomuseology brought the philosophy of new museology closer to museums independently of their typology. It sees its role as to contribute to adapting museological structures to a more human view of society. Similar to new museology, it has an interdisciplinary approach, which calls upon other disciplines of human and social sciences.

Sociomuseology is a field of knowledge in development. We know we are not alone in trying to open museums to society. We are, however, aware of our own ways and participate in the international debate hoping to contribute and to benefit from this interaction. Sociomuseology activists have been trying to improve dialogue also by creating better connections with the English-speaking world. In July 2010, MINOM held its first international workshop in English at the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam. The present book is the fourth issue in English of a long series of journals dedicated to sociomuseology, published in Portuguese by the Lusófona University since 1993.

With this special edition published for ICOM Shanghai 2010, we hope to offer the international community a view of ideas, potential and challenges of a sociomuseological perspective. It presents a collection of documents, unpublished articles, translations of texts previously published in other languages, and papers presented at conferences. The authors are active in MINOM, community museology, and sociomuseology, or share much of same concerns and efforts.

In the last decades and especially since the 1990's, the world has witnessed a boom of alternatives to and ameliorations of the modern museum. Besides ecomuseums and community museums, there is the growing work of museums in social inclusion, co-curatorship, museums working with social movements, etc. The growing museal diversity and the democratization of tools pose new questions and

opportunities. Within these movements, MINOM acknowledges a tendency of the mainstream establishment to absorb innovation and empty it from its transformative content. The field has become more complex and nuances are difficult to distinguish. We are aware of the risk of participatory work becoming banal. For this reason, in the last years there has been a growing effort to give body to a sociomuseological critique. The second part of this publication (*To Think Sociomuseologically*) offers reflections in this direction. The articles critically review museums and the museum field, identify trends and propose alternatives based on a deeper understanding of participation and social change. Together, they defend work with participation that is more realistic than romantic, that tries to be honest according to the reality of each specific situation, and that is actually far from being a solved subject.

Participation is not an end in itself. It is a means for creating a better world. As said before, it is neither a romantic nor a magic idea. Since the 1960's, initiatives close to MINOM's philosophy have been working with participation and development, mainly via territorial forms such as ecomuseums and community museums. The third part of this publication (*Community, territory and museums in the 21st century*) updates this work. We could ask ourselves what it means to work with communities and territory today? The articles focus less on the typology of museums and more on what they propose to achieve, their underlying principles and modes of work. Initiatives from Portugal, Spain, Brazil, South Africa, Japan and Mexico show how the concepts community, territory and development gain new connotations within the dynamics of the 21st century. Immigration, gender studies, knowledge networks, globalization, and social movements are some of the forces that have an enormous influence on these initiatives. The reader will find exciting examples of museums (whether community museums, ecomuseums, or just museums) and *memory hotspots* working with people, communities, social movements, accessing territories, dealing with memory, and with art.

The fourth part of this publication brings a number of documents about MINOM and the PhD programme in Sociomuseology at the Lusófona University.

Two of our contributors in this publication, the District Six Museum in Cape Town and the Museu da Maré in Rio de Janeiro are exploring

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the possibilities of starting a partnership. Creating a grassroots network and mode of operation could offer alternatives to local work as well as open new channels of interaction and action in society, in one's own community, but also in the context of the city, country and internationally. It is in this spirit of solidarity that we hope to enhance our dialogue with the museum community.

Paula Assunção dos Santos
President of MINOM International

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PART I

REFERENCE DOCUMENTS

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Round Table Santiago do Chile ICOM, 1972

1 Basic principles of integral museum

Members of the Round Table on the Role of Museums in Today's Latin America, analyzing the leaders' accounts on the problems of the rural environment, of the urban environment, of scientific and technological development and of lifelong education, became aware of the importance of these problems for the future of Latin American society.

They agreed that solution of such problems depended on an understanding by the community of the technical, social, economic and political aspects involved.

Creation of awareness of the present situation and of possible alternative solutions was considered to be an essential step in achieving the integration envisaged. It was in this respect that the members of the round table believed that museums could and should play a decisive role in the education of the community.

Santiago, 30 May 1972

2 Resolutions adopted by the round table of Santiago (Chile)

Considering

That the social, economic and cultural changes occurring in the world, and particularly in many under developed areas, constitute a challenge to museology.

That mankind is living through a profound crisis; that technology has produced an enormous advance of civilization which is not matched by cultural development; that this has led to an imbalance between the countries which have achieved great material development and others which remain on the periphery of development and are still enslaved as a result of their history; that most of the problems revealed by contemporary society have their roots in situations of injustice and cannot be solved until those injustices are rectified.³

³ The above preambular paragraph was approved by a majority of seven votes in favour (those of Mario Vázquez, Raúl González Guzmán, Hernán Crespo Toral, Luis Diego Gómez Pignataro, Luis Luján Muñoz, Carlos de Sola and Federico Kauffmann Doig) to four against (those of Mario

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That the problems involved in the progress of societies in the contemporary world call for an over-all view and integrated treatment of their various aspects; that the solution is not confined to a single science or discipline any more than the decision concerning the best solutions and the way of implementing them belongs to a single social group, but rather requires the full, conscious and committed participation of all sections of society.

That the museum is an institution in the service of society of which it forms an inseparable part and, of its very nature, contains the elements which enable it to help in moulding the consciousness of the communities it serves, through which it can stimulate those communities to action by projecting forward its historical activities so that they culminate in the presentation of contemporary problems; that is to say, by linking together past and present, identifying itself with indispensable structural changes and calling forth others appropriate to its particular national context.

That this approach does not deny the value of existing museums, nor does it imply abandoning the principles of specialized museums; it is put forward as the most rational and logical course of development for museums, so that they may best serve society's needs; that in some cases, the proposed change may be introduced gradually or on an experimental basis; in others, it may provide the basic orientation. That the transformation in museological activities calls for a gradual change in the outlook of curators and administrators and in the institutional structures for which they are responsible; that, in addition, the integrated museum requires the permanent or temporary assistance of experts from various disciplines, including the social sciences.

That the new type of museum, by its specific features, seems the most suited to function as a regional museum or as a museum for small- and medium-sized population centres.

That on the basis of the above considerations, and bearing in mind that the museum is an institution in the service of society which acquires, preserves, and makes available exhibits illustrative of the natural and human evolution, and, above all, displays them for educational, cultural and study purposes, the round table convened

E. Teruggi, Mrs Lygia Martins- Costa, Enrique Enseñat and Hector Fernández Guido) who disapproved of some of the terminology employed.

by UNESCO in Santiago (Chile), from 20 to 31 May 1972 on the role of museums in today's Latin America.

RESOLVES

In general

1. That museums should widen their perspectives to include branches other than those in which they specialize with a view to creating an awareness of the anthropological, social, economic and technological development of the countries of Latin America, by calling on the services of advisers on the general orientation of museums.
2. That museums should intensify their work of recovering the cultural heritage and using it for social purposes so as to avoid its being dispersed and removed from Latin America.
3. That museums should make their collections available in the most convenient possible manner to qualified research workers and, so far as possible, to public, religious and private institutions.
4. That traditional museographic techniques should be brought up to date in order to improve the visitors' comprehension of the exhibits; that museums should preserve the character and atmosphere of permanent institutions, without resorting to the use of costly and sophisticated techniques and materials which might encourage a tendency to extravagance unsuited to Latin American conditions.
5. That museums should establish systems of evaluation in order to verify their effectiveness in relation to the community.
6. That having regard to the findings of the survey on current needs and the shortage of museum staffs to be conducted under the auspices of UNESCO, the existing training centres for museum staffs in Latin America should be strengthened and expanded by the countries themselves; that the system of training centres should be amplified with regional integration as an ultimate objective; that facilities should be provided at the national and regional levels for the re-training of existing personnel and provision should be made for training courses abroad.

Concerning rural areas

That museums should be used to help create wider awareness of the problems of rural areas, by the following means:

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- (a) Exhibitions of technologies which might be applied to community improvement;
- (b) Cultural exhibitions setting forth alternative solutions to social and ecological environment problems with a view to increasing the public's awareness and strengthening national ties:
 - (i) Exhibitions relating to rural areas in urban museums;
 - (ii) Mobile exhibitions;
 - (iii) The establishment of site museums.

Concerning urban areas

That museums should be used to help create wider awareness of the problems of urban areas, by the following means:

- (a) City museums should lay special emphasis on urban development and its problems, both in their exhibitions and in the research facilities provided;
- (b) Museums should organize special exhibitions illustrating the problems of contemporary urban development;
- (c) With the assistance of the large museums, exhibitions should be held or museums established in suburbs or rural areas with a view to acquainting the local populations with the possibilities and disadvantages of life in large cities;
- (d) The offer of the National Anthropological Museum in Mexico City to try out the museological techniques of the integral museum by holding a temporary exhibition of interest to Latin America should be accepted.

Concerning scientific and technical development

That museums should be used to help create wider awareness of the need for further scientific and technological development, by the following means:

- (a) Museums should stimulate technological development based on actual conditions in the community;
- (b) Museums should be included in the agendas of meetings of ministries of education and other bodies specifically responsible for scientific and technological development as one of the means for disseminating the progress made in those fields;
- (c) Museums should promote the dissemination of aspects of science and technology by decentralizing themselves through the organization of mobile exhibitions.

Concerning lifelong education

That museums should intensify their function as the best possible agent of lifelong education for the community in general by making use of all the communication media, by the following means:

(a) An educational service should be included in museums which do not possess one, and provided with adequate equipment and resources to perform its teaching role inside and outside the museum;

(b) Services to be offered by museums on a regular basis should be included in the national educational policy;

(c) Audio-visual programmes on important subjects should be diffused for the use of schools, including those in rural areas;

(d) Duplicate materials should be used for educational purposes, through a system of decentralization;

(e) Schools should be encouraged to make collections and hold exhibitions of items from their cultural heritage;

(f) Training programmes should be established for teachers at different educational levels (primary, secondary and university).

These recommendations reaffirm those made at various seminars and round tables on museums organized by UNESCO.

2. For the creation of a Latin American Association of Museology

Considering

That museums are permanent institutions in the service of society which acquire and make available exhibits illustrative of the natural and human evolution, and, above all, display them for study, educational and cultural purposes;

That, particularly in the Latin American region, they should meet the needs of the broad masses of the population, which is striving to attain a better and more prosperous life through a knowledge of its natural and cultural heritage, past and present, which, in more highly developed countries, are performed by other bodies;

That, with few exceptions, Latin American museums and museologists encounter difficulties of communication owing to the great geographical distances which separate them from each other and from the rest of the world;

That the significance and potentialities of museums for the community are not yet fully recognized by the authorities nor by all sections of the public;

That at the eighth General Conference of ICOM in Munich and at the ninth General Conference in Grenoble, the Latin American museologists present referred to the need to set up a regional organization.

The Round Table on the Role of Museums in Today's Latin America convened by UNESCO in Santiago, Chile, from 20 to 31 May 1972,

Resolves:

1. To set up the Latin American Association of Museology (ALAM), open to all museums, museologists, museographers and research workers and educationists employed by museums, for the following purposes and by the following means:

Providing the regional community with the best museums, based on the total experience of all the Latin American countries;

Creating a means of communication between Latin American museums and museologists;

Promoting co-operation among the museums of the region through the exchange and loan of collections, and exchange of information and specialized staff;

Creating an official body to express the desires and experiences of museums and the profession in relation to its own members, the community, the public authorities and other related bodies affiliating the Latin American Association of Museology to the International Council of Museums and adopting a parallel organizational structure, its members being at the same time members of ICOM;

Dividing for operational purposes the Latin American Association of Museology into four sections corresponding, provisionally, to the following four areas:

Central America, Panama, Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Haiti and the French West Indies; Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia; Brazil; Chile, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay.

2. That the undersigned, participants in the round table of Santiago, Chile, constitute themselves as an Organizing Committee of the Latin American Association of Museology and appoint a working group of five members, four representing one each of the four above-mentioned areas and the fifth acting as general co-ordinator; that this

group will be responsible, within a period of six months at the most, for:

Preparing the association's statutes and regulations;

Agreeing with ICOM on forms of joint action;

Giving extensive publicity to the new organization, and calling elections for constituting the various organs of ALAM;

Fixing the provisional headquarters of this association at the National Anthropological Museum in Mexico City;

Composing the above-mentioned working group of the following persons representing their respective areas: Area 1, Mr Luis Diego Gómez (Costa Rica); Area 2, Dr Alicia Dussan de Reichel (Colombia); Area 3, Mrs Lygia Martins-Costa (Brazil); Area 4, Dr Grete Mostny Glaser (Chile); co-ordinator, Professor Mario Vázquez (Mexico).

Santiago (Chile), 31 May 1972

3 Recommendations presented to UNESCO by the round table of Santiago (Chile)

The round table convened by UNESCO in Santiago (Chile), from 20 to 31 May 1972 on the Role of Museums in Today's Latin America presents to UNESCO the following recommendations:

1-One of the most important achievements of the round table has been to identify and define a new approach to the activities of museums: the integral museum, designed to give the community an over-all view of its natural and cultural environment; the round table suggests that UNESCO use the publicity methods at its disposal to promote this new trend.

2- UNESCO would continue and extend its assistance in the training of museum technicians-both at intermediate and at university level-as it does at the Paul Coremans Regional Centre.⁴

3- UNESCO would promote the establishment of a regional centre for the preparation and preservation of natural specimens, for which the existing Regional Centre of Museology at Santiago might serve as a nucleus. Apart from its teaching function (training of technicians), its professional museographical function (preparation and preservation of natural specimens) and the production of teaching materials, the

⁴ Centro Latino-Americano de Estudios para la Conservación y Restauración de los Bienes Culturales. Convento de Churubusco, Mexico

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regional centre would play an important role in the protection of natural resources.

4- UNESCO would grant research and training facilities for museum technicians at intermediate educational level.

5- UNESCO would recommend that education ministries and bodies responsible for scientific, technological and cultural development should consider museums as one means of disseminating the progress made in those fields.

6-In view of: the magnitude of the town-planning problems in the region and the need to inform people about them at various levels, UNESCO would arrange for the publication of a work on the history, development and problems of Latin American cities; such a work would be published in two versions: scientific and popular. In addition, to reach wider sectors of the population, UNESCO would produce a film on the subject, designed to appeal to all types of audience.

Declaration of Quebec – Basic Principles of a New Museology 1984

Introduction

A movement of new museology has its first and international public expression in 1972 at the "Round table of Santiago (Chile)" organized by ICOM. This movement claims the social function of the museum and its interventions` global character.

Proposal

1. Consideration of universal order

In a contemporary world which attempts to integrate all means of development, Museology should strive to broaden its traditional attributions and functions of identification, preservation and education to encompass wider practices than these objectives so as to better include in its action those related to the human and physical environment.

In order to achieve this goal and incorporate the populations in its action, museology is increasingly using its interdisciplinarity, contemporary methods of communication common to cultural intervention as a whole, and also the means of modern management which integrate their users.

At the same time that it preserves the material fruit of past civilizations, and that it protects those that bear witness to present day aspirations and technologies, the new museology – ecomuseology, community museology as well as all other forms of active museology – is first and foremost concerned with the development of populations, reflecting the modern principles that have driven its evolution while simultaneously associating them to projects for the future.

This new movement has unquestionably put itself at the service of creative imagination, constructive realism and the humanitarian principles upheld by the international community. It has to some extent become one of the possible forms of bringing peoples closer together, for their own and their mutual knowledge, for their cyclic

development and their desire for the fraternal creation of a world that respects its intrinsic wealth.

In this sense, this movement, which aims at manifesting itself globally, has concerns of scientific, cultural, social and economic order.

Among other means, this movement uses all the resources of museology (collection, conservation, scientific research, restitution, diffusion, creation), which it transforms into tools suitable to each specific social context and projects.

2. Making a stand

Considering that over fifteen years of experiments in new museology – ecomuseology, community museology and all forms of active museology – throughout the world have been a critical factor in the development of the communities that have adopted this way of managing their future;

Considering the need, unanimously felt by the participants in the various reflection panels and by the consulted contributors, to accentuate the means to render this movement more widely recognized;

Considering the will to create the organizational basis of a common reflection and of experiments lived in various continents;

Considering the interest in providing itself with a framework aimed at fostering the workings of these new museologies and consequently at articulating principles and means of action;

Considering that the theory on Ecomuseums and community museums (neighbourhood museums, local museums...) was born of experiments conducted in various environments for over 15 years.

The following is adopted:

That the international museum community be invited to acknowledge this movement, to adopt and accept all forms of active museology in museum typology;

That everything be done to ensure that public powers acknowledge and foster local initiatives which implement these principles;

That in this spirit and with a view to allowing the development of the effectiveness of these museologies, the following permanent structures be created in close cooperation:

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An international committee “Ecomuseums/Community Museums”, within the scope of ICOM (International Council of Museums);

An international federation of the new museology, which may be associated to ICOM and to ICOMOS (International Council of Monuments and Sites), with provisional headquarters in Canada;

That a provisional work group be formed whose first initiatives will be: organizing the proposed structures, setting objectives, applying a three-year plan of meetings and international cooperation

Quebec, 12 October 1984.

Adopted by the I International Atelier Ecomuseums/New Museology

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Evolving Definition of Sociomuseology

Proposal for reflection⁵

Mário C. Moutinho

Sociomuseology expresses a considerable amount of the effort made to suit museological facilities to the conditions of contemporary society.

The process of opening up the museum, as well as its organic relation with the social context that infuses it with life, has resulted in the need to structure and clarify the relations, notions and concepts that may define this process.

Sociomuseology is thus a scientific field of teaching, research and performance which emphasizes the articulation of museology, in particular, with the areas of knowledge covered by Human Sciences, Development Studies, Services Science, and Urban and Rural Planning.

The multidisciplinary approach of Sociomuseology aims to strengthen the acknowledgement of museology as a resource for the sustainable development of Humanity, based on equal opportunities as well as social and economic inclusion.

Sociomuseology bases its social intervention on mankind's cultural and natural heritage, both tangible and intangible.

What characterizes Sociomuseology is not so much the nature of its premises and its goals, as is the case with other areas of knowledge, but the interdisciplinary focus which makes it draw on perfectly consolidated areas of knowledge and relate them with Museology itself.

For a long time, the main concerns of Sociomuseology can be found in numerous documents drawn up within and outside the field of Museology. By way of example, we may mention the Santiago de Chile Declaration, dated 1972, the Quebec Declaration (MINOM),

⁵ Proposal presented at the 13th MINOM International Workshop, Lisbon – Setúbal October 2007

1984, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (UNESCO), 2005, the Convention to Safeguard Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO) 2003, the World Heritage Convention, Protection of the Cultural and Natural World Heritage, UNESCO – Paris, 1972. In all these documents we can find a line of continuity which clearly indicates the broadening of the traditional functions of museology and the role that they should take on in contemporary society.

1 – Among these concerns, we should mention the global nature (on a planetary scale) of the problems related to the **preservation and protection** of the Cultural and Natural Heritage within the context of a national and international vision, not only due to the nature of the problems but also to the need to design policies that go beyond national boundaries to impact regions and, in many cases, concern the planet itself, globally considered.

This understanding derives in part from the need to involve human, financial, legal, scientific and technical resources that clearly exceed local or national responsibility. (World Heritage Convention, The Protection of the Cultural and Natural World Heritage, UNESCO – Paris, 1972).

2 – The acknowledgement that the **development issues** have also come to be considered at local, national and international levels, due not only to the character of these issues, but also to the broad nature of the sustainability principle that naturally not only transcends borders but also requires globally sustainable solutions.

In this context, solutions imply many-sided approaches based on the participation principle and on individual and collective commitment. Culture and development are increasingly elements of Social Responsibility, which is where the museum intervention is grounded.

3 – It is also widely acknowledged that all societies are in permanent **change**. For this reason the action of museums must be based on this very change whenever it aims to play a socially intervening role.

That the museum is an institution at the service of society, of which it is a part, and that it possesses in itself the elements

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that enable it to participate in the shaping of the communities' awareness of its purpose;
that it may contribute to the involvement of these communities in action, placing its activities within a historic framework that allows it to clarify present-day problems, in other words, connecting the past to the present, becoming involved in ongoing structural changes and leading to other changes within their respective national realities (Santiago de Chile Roundtable, ICOM, 1972).

4 – More and more, museums are considered to be institutions that provide services, and for this reason they increasingly need to involve knowledge from such areas as innovation management, marketing, design and the new information and communication technologies. These fields of knowledge bring into museums factors that improve the quality of the relationship between Museums and their publics and/or users, regarding which quality management tools can be applied.

These essential approaches, although they are carried out piecemeal, have now found a new area of knowledge generally known as the Services Science, Management and Engineering (SSME). This area seeks to gather and articulate in a consistent way the ongoing work in the field of computer science, industrial engineering, business strategy, administration sciences, social and cognitive sciences, and juridical sciences so as to develop those skills required by an economy increasingly based on and oriented towards the production and use of services. This area of knowledge aims to transversely understand other areas which by themselves have achieved considerable development, but which are seldom the object of articulate and dialectical understanding.

More than a really technical function which derives from the understanding of the museum as an institution at the service of museological objects, Museums are increasingly deemed to be institutions that provide services. In this sense, they have to be understood as any other service activity. Museology and museums (within the context of the economy of cultural services) have taken up a salient role in the services economy in general, which today represents 50 to 70% of the Gross Internal Product of the more

developed countries and has taken a growing place in the majority of the other countries.

5 – The performance of the human resources involved in the various broad functions of museums increasingly calls for thorough training which goes beyond the traditional technical training that narrows the performance of museums exclusively centred on their collections. The Curricula Guidelines for Professional Development, at present under revision by ICOM, clearly state the multiplicity of training areas so as to cover all the fields where the Museum is involved. In a more concise way, ICTOP's 1994 Lisbon Declaration already announced this new revision process regarding the training of museum workers.

Museological training programmes should provide training opportunities that aim to fulfil the immediate needs and expectations of the museological community so as to endow it with proactive programming rather than reactive instruction; (...),

Museological training programmes should prepare trainees at all levels so that they can take on higher leadership roles, fostering intellectual research, imaginative interaction, and brave solutions to apply to museological practices and activities, as well as convey a sense of ethical, professional and social responsibility;⁶

This proposal of a definition for Sociomuseology, rather than being a purely grammatical exercise, in fact seeks to call attention to a vast area of concerns, methods and objectives which increasingly give meaning to a museology whose boundaries keep growing. The restrictive view of museology as a collection-oriented work technique has been replaced by a new museological understanding and new practices directed to the development of mankind.

It is precisely to this reality, borne out of the articulation of areas that have grown sometimes outside museology but which little by little have become unavoidable resources for the development of museology itself, that the definition of sociomuseology can be a contribution that helps understand processes and define limits.

⁶ (Lisbon Declaration, Resolutions of the International Committee for Museum Personnel Training – ICTOP/Universidade Lusófona, 1994)

Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

Seen in this manner, sociomuseology becomes a new field of knowledge which results from the articulation of the other areas of knowledge that contribute to the contemporary museological process. Between the paradigm of the Museum at the service of collections and the paradigm of the Museum at the service of society, therein lies the place for Sociomuseology.

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Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

PART II
TO THINK SOCIOMUSEOLOGICALLY

Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

ICOM 2010: half a century of changes and impasse

Pedro Manuel Cardoso

Half a century, from 1947 to 2010, is enough for us to take stock of the impact of the “ideology of Development” on Heritage. An ideology induced by UNESCO and by ICOM. What has changed and what is still in an impasse? What effects has this ideology had on Heritage? It is after making this assessment that we can better understand the extent to which the theme of this 22nd ICOM General Conference – Shanghai 2010 is ultimately an obvious product of that influence.

From museography to museology

On this path five key moments can be highlighted: i) the early 1970s; ii) the early 1980s; iii) the early 1990s; iv) the editorial drive that took place between 2000 and 2006; v) the redefinition of museology and heritage from 2006 onwards.

The first key moment brought into museology and into heritage the “ideology of Development”. This contamination derived from the simultaneousness of various contributions: the encyclical “*Populorum Progressio*”, published by the Vatican in 1967; the report “*The Limits to Growth*” published by the Club of Rome in 1971; the Founex seminar held in Vaud (Switzerland), also in 1971, with Ignacy Sachs, Gamani Corea, Marc Nerfin and Barbara Ward; the 9th ICOM General Conference of 1971 (‘*The Museum in the Service of Man, Today and Tomorrow*’); the influence of the conclusions of the ‘*World Conference on the Human Environment*’ held in Stockholm in 1972, drafted by René Dubos. These contributions gave rise to the seminal “*Round Table of Santiago de Chile*”, in 1972, which expresses the first great conceptual break in the contemporary history of museology and heritage. In 1974 the word “*Development*” enters ICOM’s official definition of ‘*Museum*’, and there it has remained, motionless and fixed, until today. In these short years of the early 1970s all this happens simultaneously.

The second key moment takes place in the early 1980s. In that year, 1980, the 'International Committee for Museology' is founded within ICOM (ICOFOM), and the historic first issue of its journal is published (*DoTraM – Documents de Travail sur la Museologie – Revue de débat sur les problèmes fondamentaux de la muséologie*, 1980). In 1982 the 'Association Muséologique Nouvelle et Experimentation Sociale' (MNES) is created. In 1984 the Quebec Declaration is presented. And in 1985, at the Lisbon Meeting, the 'International Movement for the New Museology' (MINOM) is founded. We had the privilege of obtaining, by courtesy of Mario Moutinho, a copy of the prized manuscript of the Lisbon meeting. This document, annotated and with the editing produced by the changes that came to be made throughout the said meeting, is a precious source to understand the deadlocks and the solutions that were at the conceptual root of that influential Movement, which today, by its own right, holds a place in ICOM as Affiliated Committee. The concept of "New Museology" and the "International Movement for New Museology" will be the most important factor for theoretical and methodological change to have taken place in this half century. They were responsible for a profound renewal, not merely of museum practices, but also of teaching and academic training. They have eventually become, since 2000, the dominating contemporary programmatic orientation of museology and heritage. The authors of this change are in particular Zybnek Stránský, Vinoš Sofka, Jan Jelinek, Villy Toft Jensen, Tomislav Sola, André Desvallées, Anna Gregorová, Jiří Neustupný, Hughes de Varine, Mário Moutinho and Pierre Mayrand. In 2000 Peter van Mensch summarizes well these trends that arose at the start of the 1970s and continued until the 1980s.

The third key moment occurs in the early 1990s, with the first systematic attempt to explain the museum phenomenon and the heritage issue by Academia. Gathered in over a dozen works published by the University of Leicester (United Kingdom) between 1990 and 1993, museology and heritage enter the academic world as well as universities' agenda of scientific research for good. Outside Leicester, with Reaktion Books, Peter Vergo edits *The New Museology* in 1989 – explanations and interpretations dominated above all by sociological theories and by communication theories. The work edited in 2007 by Simon J. Hnell, Suzanne Macleod and Sheila Mason, *Museum Revolutions: how museums change and are changed*, tries

to summarize those Leicester contributions, whose names include Gaynor Kavanaugh, Ghislaine Lawrence, Paulette Mcmanus, Helen Coxall, Gary Porter, Alan Radley, Kevin Moore, Susan Pearce and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill.

Between 2000 and 2006 there is another key moment in the re-interpretation of museology and heritage. Under the name "Museum Studies", "Museum Theory" or "New Museology" there is an editorial thrust which congregates a new set of authors, at the same time that it broadens and diversifies the approaches. Nevertheless, this important new stage still does not prevent the sociologist impasse and the excessively relational perspective of explanations and interpretations regarding heritage and museology inherited from the Leicester School. Semiological and post-Saussurean textual approaches are attempted, which criticize the random nature of the relation between 'signifier' and 'signified'. The post-structural approach is used, criticizing the almost-generic fixity of an *a priori* grammar which would give individuals merely the freedom to *bricoler* [tinker] as in Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, giving the museum phenomenon a more dynamic dimension or placing it in socio-historic contexts. Use was made of the contribution of Foucault's *epistemes* applied to the characterization of the social contexts of museum practices (*Ancien Regime*, Classical Age and Modern Age). The museum phenomenon is considered from more tinged approaches of the 'total social fact' derived from Mauss. Museum practices and expographies are considered from a post-Marxist perspective, enabling one to include a learning which gives hysteresis to the relation between economic motivations and the political praxis of individuals. However, despite all this analytical diversity, one cannot prevent the impasse between the explanations based on the outside element of heritage (social contexts, community, territory) versus those explanations based on the inside element (museums, collections, objects). Museology and heritage are led to a cultural relativity which is identified with a so-called Post-Modern critical setting, in which both the 'structure' and the 'action', as 'narrative' (grammar or structure) and 'speech' (agency and practice) stubbornly continue to remain in the same duality that Giddens had already criticized. Good examples of this are the contributions of authors included in the works edited by: Susan A. Crane, *Museums and Memory* (2000); Maria Bolanos, *Cien Años de Museología, 1900-2000*

(2002); Janet Marstine *New Museum Theory and Practice* (2006); Sharon Macdonald *A Companion to Museum Studies* (2006); or Steven Conn's work with the impressive title *Do museums still need objects?* (2010).

The fifth key moment occurs from 2006 onwards. Decisive steps are taken to overcome this relational and sociologist impasse – that heritage is explained by the features of each society which at each historic moment provides its context, as if, by some sleight of hand, it was impregnated by the relational contamination of that contact. That contribution would come from a *Processual Theory of Heritage*, which began to be formed in the teachings of Universidade Lusófona in Lisbon. In 2006, Mário Moutinho and Judite Primo introduced the concept of Sociomuseology. Cristina Bruno, of Universidade de São Paulo (Brazil), presented a new theoretical model of the relation between museum, community and heritage. Marcelo Cunha, of Universidade Federal da Bahia (Brazil), introduced a perceptive political criticism to the rhetoric of contemporary expographies. Mário Souza Chagas, of Universidade do Rio de Janeiro UNIRIO (Brazil), brought about the break of the relational structuralism through the “museum poetics and imaginary”. In 2010, Pedro Manuel-Cardoso, of Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, discovers the “Structure of Heritage Value”. He obtains the factual evidence of the cognitive map lodged in the mnesis, constituted by nine codifications of heritage value, which is transversal both to all kinds of heritage and to the different times and social-historic contexts that followed one another along the path of human existence. This allowed us to obtain, for the first time, an alternative vision to the traditional chronological and sociological history of the course of museums and heritage. On the whole, these contributions formed the genesis of a new change which has led to the constitution of Museology as an autonomous scientific field within the Social and Human Sciences.

The transformations of the modern concept of ‘object’ into ‘document’ and ‘information’

In these fifty-odd years of influence of the ‘ideology of Development’ on heritage we can observe the rise of three new factors.

Regarding the ‘object’, we perceive the rise of a new type of heritage which was called ‘immaterial’ or ‘intangible’, but which should be

called 'object-code' because it is made up of «0 and 1», in other words, of an algorithm of signs capable of establishing a binary difference/discrimination. This would avoid the ill-advised rift which we have witnessed within ICOM, and to some extent everywhere else, between 'material' and 'immaterial', the product of a conceptual analysis of the immateriality of heritage objects that is too naïve and shallow, an error which will surely be corrected in the near future by virtue of the contribution of cognitive and computational sciences. The awareness of the conceptual breach between 'medium' and 'document/datum' was caused to a large extent by the effect of the process of 'deconstruction-substitution-reconstruction' which took place in Conservation and Restoration after 1945 in the name of that ideology of Development within Museology, forcing museum work to reconsider the responsibilities for the reconstitution and transmissibility of heritage.

As regards the 'use' and access to heritage, we witness the acceptance of a new paradigm, different from «seeing-gazing-keeping», which starts using all perceptive channels, which we can call 'total communicational usage'. This would force a second conceptual break, this time between 'document/datum' and 'information. With the consolidation of the ideology of Development, objects to be 'musealized' underwent the need to suffer a communication relation to acquire heritage meaning or value. They no longer explained themselves. Now it was the relation with the contexts and the problems which gave them value and meaning. They no longer had the ability, on their own, to operate the 'separation' and the 'localization' necessary to the process of classifying them in reality, as Paul Watzlawick stated in 1972. And that was reflected in his Documentation work. What Heritage 'is' it is to the extent that the individuals of a specific community have agreed that 'that is its being', so that they can share it and communicate it. As Jean-Pierre Mohen stated in *Les Sciences du Patrimoine*: "(...) the object does not possess reality other than through the human being that expresses it and interprets it with reference to a Culture, or, to be more precise, through a particular individual without whom the message would never exist." (Mohen, 1999, p. 139). Consequently, there is now the awareness that the three conditions were closely intertwined in the communicational procedure in Museology, namely: i) the nature of what is communicated, with the need to be aware of the model

through which one communicates; ii) the museum infrastructure or the expographic context which will be designed to enable this communication relationship; iii) the process of turning something into heritage, through which an 'object' gains the so-called 'heritage' quality. This change has rendered invalid the analyses made from a linguistic and semiotics communication model based on the concept of transmission, to give way to the "Communication Pragmatics" model based on a two-way model of information exchange and sharing.

As regards 'heritage value' – in other words, regarding the «motives and reasons for which an object/fact acquires the dimension of heritage» - a ninth heritage value was added to the eight in existence until 1945, namely the 'transformational value'. The impact of the ideology of Development on heritage added to the existing types of heritage a new class of objects/facts: those capable of being tools for the transformation of Society and the human being. The theme of this 22nd ICOM General Conference (heritage and museums in the service of Social Harmony) is an illustrative example of this 'transformational value'. Just as was the case with the theme of the Conference that preceded it (Museums as agents of social change) or the theme of the 9th Conference in 1971 (Museums in the service of man, today and tomorrow). Heritage is now in the service of 'transformation', which becomes possible for the individuals themselves and for society. Heritage is now justified, not by itself, by the materiality that it is, but by the service it renders by its own pretext. This shift can be clearly surmised from Daniel Café's word spoken in 2009 on the subject of a museum in Alcanena (Portugal): *"The scientific basis is the transformation that the population has made of the Territory, that is their Heritage"*. In other words, it is not merely the 'objects' created in the wake of that 'transformation process', it is also the very transformation process used by that population in Alcanena. The same is true of that region's 'immaterial' heritage, specifically the "typical Minde patois". The same justification is emphasized: *"It is a type of heritage that 'results from a communication process' among people so as to make them more efficient and effective in negotiation (business exchange), to the extent that business dealings are crucial to the survival and the preservation of that population in that socio-economic context. There was therefore a socio-economic organization that gave autonomy and survival to the populations of Alcanena for*

*many years without the intervention of the central power. The Territory shapes the human being and the human being 'transforms' the Territory". This example provides a good summary of the impact of Development on Heritage after 1945. And it makes us understand the three transformations that the impact of the ideology of Development has had on heritage: - 'Object' becomes *Object-Code*; 'Use' becomes *Total Communicational Use*, and 'Value' becomes *Transformational Value*.*

The impasse that insists on lingering

But if this is what changed, there is also an impasse that has remained. Amareswar Gala, on page 3 and 4 of "Nouvelles de l'ICOM", vol.62, n° 2 (2009-2010), shows the part that has stubbornly remained unchanged for this half century, by needing to state that *"the blind acceptance of social harmony as an objective to be achieved at all costs, if it were endorsed by museums, it would mean that their role would have evolved closer to that of the agents of conformism. A role which, I dare hope, few among them would accept!"* (p.3)

In fact, there is a still unresolved conflict. The ambivalence of the objective (social harmony, as well as that of development) hides the impasse between a rhetoric that serves at the same time to deny change and to desire/justify change. It serves to hold back change, meaning the preservation of conformism and the status quo; and it serves to wish that the existing reality changes indeed in the direction of a different goal. We know how the idea of 'heritage of humanity', or the idea of one type of heritage for each one of the ten most powerful present-day linguistic blocks, serves to fight cultural diversity and to deny the restitution of heritage to countries and cultures that were plundered of it. We know that the defence of general norms and directives, staunchly upheld by macro institutions led by a limited number of countries that do not represent the whole of what happens in the world nowadays, means to the crushing of cultural and linguistic diversity. This impasse has not yet been resolved. It actualizes again the clash between an evolutionist, globalizing perspective, and a diffusionist, local perspective of which the episode with Franz Boas in the 19th century has become an icon. Just as Régis Debray stated in 1981, regarding the function of illusion which the concept of 'ideology' operates on reality, this apology of

Development (transformed four years ago into *Sustainable Development*, and now into *Social Harmony*) may work as a double register: - simultaneously of causality and of responsibility. Falling into the category of those notions that allow one to move from imputation (you have erred, we are erring, etc.) to an explanation (because we are not developing, or because we are not making social harmony, etc.). This is an operation that is paradigmatic of the model that forms the basis of the “animist mentality” because, as he states regarding magic, “[they] *carry the solution in the problem itself*”. They give the illusion of change. This type of uncritical discourse, historically opportune in times of crisis and anomie, relates to the shamanic role of political speech, in which the authors of the errors theatrically direct the logic of blame towards themselves. As Paul Ricoeur stated in 1988, “the specific element of promise is to construct, by saying, the doing of the promise. To promise is to place oneself under the obligation to do what one says today one will do tomorrow”. This magic ceremony of the ‘art of doing with saying’ does not seem to have been absent from the media-celebrated Conferences promoted by the UN on “The State of the World”. And then, from the ones on “The State of the Planet”, promoted by the main producers of pollution, allowing them to exorcize the non-Development with the notion of Development, even if it is just a promise with no applicability, the illusion of which is renewed from conference to conference. This shamanic role of the “promise of Development”, which is here renewed with the theme of Social Harmony, may correspond more to a wish than to the effective search for the causes of non-Development. And thus the notion of Development would serve not to “heal” but to reduce anxiety and ensure the homeostasis of the (worldwide) social group. On this subject, Régis Debray suggests that magic may have been the first “theory of human practice”, because it would allow its authors (for instance, those who hold power) to perpetuate reality (for example, the true cause of asymmetries and social problems) with the *promise*. The function of illusion would be to effectively condition any possibility of change.

It is necessary to bear in mind that in the notion of Development (or of Social Harmony) there is an active, still unresolved, conflict between a vertical concept of development-conciliation (or exo-development) and a horizontal concept of development-

transformation (or endo-development). By introducing the ideology of Development into museology and heritage, UNESCO and ICOM have forced us to inherit that rift, between a vertical type of development conceived from the norms and directives emanating from these political macro structures (UN, UNESCO, ICOM; and others, at regional and national level, many of which lie hidden today under the label of “networks”) and a horizontal type of development, derived from local and community participation of the populations, organized in grassroots associative movements (as opposed to top-down initiatives), being active agents in the diagnostic of needs, in heritage solutions and decisions. This is a rather stormy rift between two different ways of understanding Development and therefore of accepting the way of realizing in practice that future promise – one type of Development we could call exo-development, in which top-down association movements overlap the directory of a few, taken for «representative» of the majority, to the genuine will of the local communities; and another type, endo-development, in which the consideration for the endogenous diversity and resources (human, technical and territorial) make grassroots association movements overcome the directory of the top elements. Daniel Café, in the 1st Seminar on Sociomuseology Research, which the Museology department of Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias organized on 22 and 23 January 2010, regarding the Museum Networks, showed that this conflict was expressed in the very marked difference between “horizontal networks” (almost non-existent) and “vertical networks” (the overwhelming majority). In the latter there is no sharing or exchange of resources, and they serve to impose the directives and norms received from the top structures led by the political power of the State and the International Organizations.

In the former case, the directory (norms and directives imposed from the outside by the museum macro-structures) is imposed on the participation and decision-making of local communities. In the latter case, the participation and attention to the opinion of local communities rises above the directory, enabling another path to the future based on endo-sustainability, where responsibility is local, the principle of subsidiarity is respected, and where each particular population/community makes decisions given the endogenous resources of the territory it occupies; «growth» is not the basis of Development, but rather the transformation of the territory and of

the individuals which will enable them to achieve self-sustainability at the level of basic biological/environmental, economic and social needs. In exo-Development, conciliation serves to keep the ideas of «progress and growth» in existence, in other words, just a pause before global uniformization. Indeed, it is still easy to perceive in «strategic Development documents» the minute presence of the cultural element – both in its structure and its ideological statement. Emphasis is given to the technological and scientific aspects, and the contribution of social and human sciences becomes secondary. Thus criticism of the production and reproduction processes of that social change strategy is waved aside.

In short, the political reading of the convergence of the ideology of Development with museology and heritage, induced by ICOM and by UNESCO throughout this half century, enables us to distinguish two views of Development and Social Harmony in active conflict: i) «development as conciliation factor» (to enable the old goal of progress and economic growth of the 18th and 19th centuries to continue to be the key idea for the future in exchange for well-being and world-scale generalized consumption); ii) and «development as factor for the transformation of the individuals and of society», still not followed through despite being announced as the «good utopia». Endo- and exo-development are the expression of this clash between the «local and the global», between «the directives» and the «community participation», between «top-down association movements» and «grassroots association movements».

What will be the outcome of the Shanghai Conference 2010?

Which of these two Social Harmonies will find an echo in the conclusions to be published next November? Will there finally be the contribution to a new paradigm of Human Development, and therefore also to museology and to heritage? Or will everything continue to be as it was fifty years ago?

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Museums, memories and social movements

Mário Chagas⁷

I

From modernity to the contemporary world, museums have been acknowledged for their power to produce metamorphoses of meanings and functions, for their ability to adapt historic and social determination, and for their calling for cultural mediation. They derive from creating gestures which bind the symbolic and the material, which bind what is sensitive and what is intelligible. For this very reason the bridge metaphor fits them well, a bridge cast between different times, spaces, individuals, social groups and cultures, a bridge that is built with images and which holds a special place in the imaginary.

For this period of time museums have served merely to preserve the registers of memory and the vision of the world of the wealthier classes; likewise they have functioned as ideological devices for the state and also to discipline and control the past, the present and the future of moving societies. At present, besides these classical practices a new phenomenon can already be observed. The museum is going through a democratization process, a process of re-signification and cultural appropriation. This is no longer merely about democratizing the access to instituted museums, but rather about democratizing the very museum understood as technology, as work tool, as strategic device for a new, creative and participating relationship with the past, the present and the future. This is a bold fight to democratize democracy⁸; this is about understanding the museum as a pencil⁹, as a simple tool which requires certain skills in order to be used.

⁷ This article was published previously in Portuguese on the online museum Journal Revista Museum in 2008. www.revistamuseu.com.br

⁸ See SANTOS, Boaventura de Souza (org.). Democratizar a democracia: os caminhos da democracia participativa. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002.

⁹ Realizing that museums can be used as much to light up as to erase memories, Professor Regina Abreu has suggested that they be considered rubbers. Bringing these two images together we can think of museums as pencils that carry rubbers in them.

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The pencil metaphor suggests the need to learn the technique of using it, together with a process of learning how to read and write. Still, even if the individual is literate, even if he/she can read and write the world, there is no assurance regarding the ideological bias of the stories and narratives he/she may write and read. In other words: museums are tools which, in order to be used, require special skills and techniques, with them we can create varied, multiple and polyphonic narratives. Learning museum skills and techniques implies a certain command, a certain ability to navigate the visual universe.

LIST OF BRAZILIAN MUSEUMS (according to Guy de Hollanda, 1958)	
Century/decade	museums created
19 th century	
1811 to 1820	1
1841 to 1850	1
1861 to 1870	2
1871 to 1880	1
1881 to 1890	1
1891 to 1900	2
Note: Two museums in the set of museums with no indication of creation date may have been created in the 19 th century	2
Subtotal (including those mentioned in the note)	10
20 th century	
1901 to 1910	8
1911 to 1920	4
1921 to 1930	7
1931 to 1940	25
1941 to 1950	29
1951 to 1958	31
Museums being organized in 1958	9
Museums with no indication of creation date	22
Subtotal	135
Total (19 th century and 20 th century until 1958)	145

This ability can be called visual or museum literacy¹⁰. Provisional synthesis: it is not enough to fight for social movements to have access to museums. This is fine, but it is still too little. The challenge is to democratize the tool known as museum and place it

¹⁰ The individual's ability to read and write the world by images and things, their values, meanings and functions. About the concept of visual literacy see the text "Museus são bons para pensar: o patrimônio em cena na Índia", by Arjun Appadurai and Carol Breckenridge (2007) [Museums are good to think: Heritage on View in India].

at the service of social movements; place it in favour of, for instance, the construction of another world, of another globalization, with more justice, humanity, solidarity and social dignity. As Pierre Mayrand put it: “Today the steam roller of globalization once again forces the museologist to join his energy to the plea of populations and organizations committed to the transformation of the museum framework into a Forum – Agora – Citizen, and also forces him to place himself in the field of otherworldliness with a didactic, dialectic position, capable, through the vital energies he generates, of fostering dialogue between peoples”¹¹.

It is in this sense that the museum can transform itself – and this is already happening – into a cultural practice of great interest to social movements, since the registers of the memory of these movements may contribute to the fight they are engaged in. As Maria Glória Gohn explains:

“In historic reality, [social] movements have always existed and we believe will always exist. This because they represent organized social forces which congregate people not as force-task, of a numerical order, but rather as a field of activities and social experimentation, and these activities are generating source of creativity and socio-cultural innovation. The experience they bear does not derive from strengths frozen in the past – although this has crucial importance by creating a memory which when recovered, gives meaning to today’s struggles. The experience is recreated daily, in the adversity of the situations they face”. (2003, p.14)

Activated by social movements as mediators between different times, different social groups and different experiences, museums become practices engaged with life, with the present, with day-to-day activities, with social transformation and are themselves moving beings and places (biophile museums).

¹¹ “Manifeste L’ Altermuseologie”, launched by Pirre Mayrand, in Setúbal (Portugal), on 27 October 2007. In this manifest, the author proposes an “altermuseology”, “a gesture of cooperation, of resistance, of liberation and solidarity with the World Social Forum”.

Nevertheless, before a devouring being such as the museum, often called dinosaur or sphinx, one cannot be naïve. It is wise to keep the blade of criticism and suspicion close by. The museum is tool and artifact, it can serve for generosity and for freedom, but it can also be used to enslave life, history and culture; to imprison the past and imprison beings and things in the past and in death (necrophile museums). To enter the narrative realm of museums it is necessary to trust by distrusting.

The configuration of the modern museum dates back to the 18th century, is associated with the emergence of national states, and has in the British Museum and in the Louvre Museum two classic examples. From the 18th century to the present time, they have constituted privileged fields both for the exercise of a creating imaginary that takes into consideration the power of images, and from the dramaturgy of the artistic, philosophical, religious, scientific past – in short, the cultural past. It is within the frame of modernity that the museum is configured as stage, technology and vessel of time and memory. As stage, it is space for the theatricalization and narration of collective and individual dramas, love stories, comedies and tragedies; as technology, it becomes a device and tool for social intervention; as vessel, it fosters imaginary and memorable journeys along the river of memory and time. All this implies the production of new meanings and knowledge, from previous senses, feelings and knowledge. It is because it can be stage, technology and vessel that museums can be understood as pencil (and rubber), with which it is possible to produce writing capable of narrating hybrid stories, stories with multiple entries, meanders and exits.

II

Although the exercise of museum imagination in Brazil in the 19th century showed some good examples, it was especially in the 20th century that this imagination developed so remarkably.

The researcher Guy de Hollanda, in his book *Recursos Educativos dos Museus Brasileiros* [*Educational Resources of Brazilian Museums*] published in 1958, identified 145 museums in Brazil. To analyse that collection of museums I have made a table which organizes these 145 museums by the century and decade when they were created. Some museums come up in Guy de Hollanda's book with no reference to date of creation, so I have searched data

available today to complement that information. The result is indicated in the table below:

This is a rather partial, but quite expressive, depiction of the museums in existence in Brazil at the end of the 1950s. Even considering the hypothesis that some of the museums founded in the 19th century died young – as is the case of the Army and Navy military museums which, after their death, were resurrected during the military regime and therefore are not mentioned in Guy de Hollanda's collection – the general picture is still valid, since it represents the museum heritage received.

An analysis of the table indicates that the spread of Brazilian museums in the 19th century (representing 6.89% of the total of 145 museums) was not as accelerated as one may think. The first three decades of the 20th century together come up to 19 museums (13.10% of the total of 145), which constitutes a quite higher acceleration vis-à-vis the previous century. Still, nothing is comparable to the boom of the last three decades covered by the mentioned collection, which in total show 94 museums (64.82% of the total of 145 institutions), including those which in 1958 were being organized. It should also be pointed out that whereas in the 19th century the 10 museums listed were scattered over 7 cities and 7 federal units (including the Federal District), the 135 museums created in the 20th century are spread over 71 cities and 21 federal units (including the Federal District and the Amapá Territory).

There is no doubt that from the beginning of the 1930s, a huge transformation in the field of museums takes place in Brazil, a direct reflex of political, social and economic changes. In the 1930s the State becomes more modern, stronger and establishes a new order. Strengthened and restructured, it now intervenes directly in social life, in work relations and in the fields of education, health and culture. Various sectors of society now contribute to re-imagining Brazil. There is a broad longing for the symbolic construction of the nation, from which derive the re-imagining of its past, its symbols, its allegories, its heroes, its myths. The new order requires a new imaginary and it will be necessary to re-people the past once again. This explains, at least partially, the expressive multiplication of museums from the beginning of the 1930s. At that moment, the device of *museum imagination* will be activated as a renewed tool of great political and social use. To reduce museums and the practices

aimed at preserving fragments of the past to mere ideological machines of the State is to desist from understanding their complexities, their internal dynamics and their complex fields of possibilities, as much of constraint as of emancipation.

The remarkable proliferation of museums that started in the 1930s continued and widened in the 1940s and 1950s, across the Second World War and in the so-called Vargas Era, vigorously reaching its golden years. Nowadays, there are in Brazil, according to recent data of the *Cadastro Nacional de Museus* [National Museum Census], 2470 museums¹². It therefore becomes clear that this is an expanding universe and that the 20th century, more than the 19th, may be called in Brazil the century of museums. It is important to note also that this proliferation is not only expressed in terms of quantity, it also implies a new way of understanding museums and a greater effort to professionalize the field. There is clearly an emphasis on the educational dimension of museums, together with the broadening of museum-diversity and the development of regional and local experiments besides the former Federal District.

III

The conceptual surgery operated in modern museums was so radical that, after it was implemented, everything would come to be seen from the very framework of the museum. Palaces and stilt houses, manor houses and *senzalas*, castles and bungalows, factories and schools, samba schools and cemeteries, forests and ports, *candomblé* yards and mediumistic centres, Masonic lodges and Catholic churches, people, animals, plants and stones, trains, airplanes and cars, pieces of the moon and fragments of the soul, urban and rural landscapes, country and town, in short, everything came to be understood as part of an applied museology or a special museography.

Donald Preziosi, in a text published in the catalogue of the XXIV São Paulo Art Biennial, identifies the cannibalistic power of the museum and looks for strategies to “avoid being eaten up”. Still, according to Preziosi (1998, p.50): “We cannot escape museums, since the very world of our modernity is, in its deepest aspects, a supreme museological ‘artefact’”.

¹² Accessed on 7 November 2007.

Further on, this author claims: "To avoid being eaten up by a museum is definitely a universal problem, since we live in a world in which virtually anything can be staged or exhibited in a museum or in which virtually anything can serve or be classified as a museum". (Preziosi, 1998, p.50).

Even though I agree with Preziosi's diagnosis, I do not agree with his stance and even less with his suggestion that museum cannibalism should be avoided. From the Timbira's perspective, for instance, in order not to be eaten it is enough to cower in the face of the risk of death, it is enough to lack the dignity to die. This is probably not Preziosi's proposal. But even so, I would like to state: only those who are courageously ready to be devoured are also capable of savouring the banquet.

Acknowledging the cannibalistic power of the museum, its aggressiveness and its gesture of violence towards the past is, as I see it, an important step; but maybe the biggest challenge is to recognize that these institutions create and welcome what is human, and for this very reason can be devoured. To devour and re-create meaning for the museums, now here is a challenge for the new generations; here is the challenge that is being faced for instance by Centro de Estudos e Ações Solidárias da Maré [Centre for Studies and Charitable Work of Maré], when it creates the Maré Museum, in a *favela* [shanty town] with more than 15 communities and over 132,000 thousand inhabitants.

Nowadays, the claim that museums are places of memory has become a cliché. If, in the 1980s and 1990s Pierre Nora's research on the places of memory could produce creative impact, today his impact tends to be absorbed, neutralized and naturalized.

It became common practice in corporate praise to say that museum "x" or "y" is a place (or house) of memory; as if memory per se had value and was the expression of pure truth and supreme good; as if forgetting was evil or a criminal virus which should be fought, deleted, destroyed. Anyway, seen as houses of memory, museums entered the 21st century in marked movement of expansion and keep exerting, on behalf of more or less hidden subjects, their power which serves both to liberate and to enslave the past and history, art and science.

Maybe it was adequate, in order to understand them better from a critical perspective, to accept the obvious: museums are

places of remembering and forgetting, just as they are places of power, of fight, of conflict, of silence, of resistance; in certain instances, they may even be non-places. Every attempt to reduce museums to a single aspect runs the risk of not accounting for the complexity of the museum setting in the contemporary world.

When considering the movement of proliferation and reassigning of meaning of museums in Brazil in the past thirty years, I believe two aspects stand out: the museum diversity and the democratization of the museum technology.

The phenomenon of the broadening of the museum diversity brought about the erosion of museum typologies based on disciplines and collections, the broadening of the spectrum of institutional voices, the flexibilization of the museographic narratives of great national or regional synthesis, the experimentation with new museological and museographic models, the dissemination of museums and memory houses all over the country. Democratizing the museum technology has implied appropriating (or cannibalizing) this tool by different ethnic, social, religious and family groups, with a view to constituting and institutionalizing their own memories. Some examples: Koahi - Museu dos Povos Indígenas do Oiapoque [Museum of the Indigenous Peoples of Oiapoque] (Oiapoque, AP), Museu Casa de Chico Mendes [Chico Mendes House Museum] (Xapuri, AC), Museu da Maré [Maré Museum] (Rio de Janeiro, RJ), Casa de Memória Daniel Pereira de Mattos do Centro Espírita e Culto de Oração Casa de Jesus Fonte de Luz [Daniel Pereira de Mattos' House of Memory of the Mediunistic Centre and Prayer Cult Jesus Source of Light House] (Rio Branco, AC), Museu Indígena de Coroa Vermelha [Red Crown Indigenous Museum] (Santa Cruz de Cabrália, BA), Museu Magüta dos índios Ticuna [Magüta Museum of the Ticuan Indians] (Benjamim Constant, AM), Ecomuseu da Amazônia [Amazonian Ecomuseum] (Belém, PA), Museu Vivo de Duque de Caxias [Duque de Caxias Living Museum] (Duque de Caxias, RJ).

The examples of cultural appropriation could be doubled or trebled. I believe, however, that those mentioned above are enough to corroborate the claim that it is a pertinent (and impertinent) challenge to think of museums as cannibalistic (or even cannibal) lairs and beings that can be cannibalized.

Somehow, museums make us despair and still keep the treasures of our humanity, treasures which await us and which, in

order to be found and enjoyed, require the courage to be, the courage to deal with them sensitively and creatively. It is necessary that we approach them without naiveté, but also without the arrogance of a know-it-all. It is necessary that we appropriate them. One of our challenges is to accept them as fields of tension. Tension between change and permanence, between mobility and immobility, between what is fixed and what is volatile, between difference and identity, between past and future, between memory and forgetting, between power and resistance.

And it is for that reason, because they are tension and process, because they are in motion that museums – houses of dreams, of creation, of education and culture – are of interest to social movements: ethnic-racial movements (Indian and Black); movements that address gender issues (women and homosexual); rural movements for land, agrarian reform and access to credit for rural settlements; solidarity and support movements regarding street boys and girls; movements fighting for habitability conditions in the city; movements which defend greater participation in the political-administrative structures of cities (participative budget, managing councils, culture councils, etc.); movements which fight against neoliberal policies and the effects of globalization; movements in defence of the environment and the democratization of urban equipment; movements which fight for universal accessibility; movements which are not against but are not in favour either... and so many other movements.

I suppose those who think there is only one possibility of memory and that this unique possibility would imply repeating the past and what has been produced are wrong; I suppose those who think humanity is possible outside the tension between forgetting and memory are wrong. It is this tension, contrarily to what we might think, that ensures the hatching of the new and of creation. The future also gazes and winks at us from inside the past (if the past even has an inside). Total forgetting is sterile, total memory is sterile.

A territory which is fertile and propitious to the creating and generous imagination has striation produced by memory; the possibility of human creation inhabits and lives in accepting the tension between remembering and forgetting, between the same and the denial of sameness, between permanence and change, between stagnation and movement.

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Museum of the City of São Paulo: A new paradigm of City Museums in the Era of Megalopolises¹³

Maria Ignez Mantovani Franco

The City is a tomography of the present, indicating to the future, strata of past times.

Nowadays city growth averages one million people every week; while back in 1950 there were eighty six cities with more than one million inhabitants, today they are four hundred all over the world. However the most significant effect of the urban process is, doubtless, the explosion of megacities. It took one century for the urban population – around three point four billion inhabitants – to surpass the number of people in the country, but United Nations projections indicate that by 2025, urban population will reach 61% of the total.

Creating a new *city museum* in São Paulo requires that, in a first analysis, one should consider as geographic area of study some fifteen hundred square kilometres corresponding to the patrimonial intervention area. That is the area of the Municipality, politically divided into ninety six districts where eleven million people live, while approximately twenty million people live in the metropolitan area.

During the last decades studies confirmed by satellite images have indicated that two conurbation¹⁴ axes are clearly characterized and expanding: one extends in the direction of Rio de Janeiro, four hundred kilometres away from São Paulo, and another is directed to Campinas, one hundred kilometres from São Paulo.

Travelling along either axis one cannot help concluding that it is difficult to talk about São Paulo as a subject for musealization and, at the same time, ignore the Greater São Paulo with its already inevitable progressive conurbation processes.

¹³ Paper presented at the CAMOC's Conference in Istanbul - September/2009

¹⁴ Conurbation – Large urban area formed by cities and villages that *appeared and developed side by side until they touched each other.* (Houaiss, 2001, p. 826).

This theoretical model – territory museum – is nourished by the clear and evident notion that the city is something undergoing mutations, a permanently pulsating being. The City Museum of São Paulo, supposed to have as its musealization object that very metropolis, requires dynamical structures capable of undertaking real time mutations, in order to cope with trends and oscillations of social life in the big city.

This gigantic urban spot characterizes the first macrometropolis of the southern hemisphere, inhabited by twenty two million people, approximately 12% of the Brazilian population. Its factories form the richest industrial complex in Brazil. They are responsible for 65.3% of the gross product of the State of São Paulo or 21,1% of the Brazilian GNP (gross national product).

With respect to the global scenario, one can say that the Brazilian macrometropolis¹⁵ is surpassed only by the macroregions of Tokyo-Kobe in Japan, Shanghai in China and Mexico City in Mexico. This ranking reinforces the idea that the group of emerging countries will be, in the next decades, the biggest generator of megalopolises.

Although this analysis tries to focus on the municipality of São Paulo as the museal object of its reflection, one cannot deny or ignore the fact that a huge crowd moves daily along the axes that, as tentacles, connect São Paulo to its peripheral regions. Migratory fluxes have intensified along both directions in such a way that today there is social contact in São Paulo between São Paulo born people and inhabitants of the macrometropolis.

The economic wealth of the State of São Paulo when considered in the general Brazilian context raises serious concerns related to this macroaxis. Besides its natural potentialities it becomes the target of important political and economical dispute.

Modern urban planning requires multifaceted knowledge involving analysis by competent architects-urbanists, but it is also fertile soil for other spheres of social science: anthropology, sociology, psychology, education and social museology.

¹⁵ In his studies to define urban planning for the northwestern part of the United States, the Scotsman Patrick Geddes, in the beginning of the twentieth century, defined the concept of macrometropolis as a widespread urban area, multipolarized by conurbated metropolises. The apocalyptic term "necropolis" was also used during that period, assuming that megalopolises were doomed. From: Zanchetta, D. (2008, agosto). A primeira Macrometrópole do Hemisfério Sul. In: *Revista Megacidades – Grandes Reportagens*. São Paulo: O Estado de São Paulo. p. 64

All the different professional views converge to the study of the way-of-life and organization of the populations in the megacity. In the outer edge of the megalopolis one can identify new social arrangements that articulate and make possible a collectively organized life that goes beyond government initiatives. Considering the concept of multiple centralities imposed by the megalopolis itself, we see that those populations gravitate around other urban milestones, new social references, new expanded centralities, other forms of circulation, communication and social interaction. The word periphery presents itself with significant ambiguity since one can always ask: peripheral in relationship to what?

Looking at the global scenario just presented it seems correct to state that the need to create City Museums has never before presented itself with such intensity, mainly in the megalopolises of emerging countries. It is necessary to consider the scale, the extension of the territory and adopt a more diversified format, multicentered, able to articulate social forces in a more encompassing way.

Possibly we can make evident the fact that City Museums, within this theoretical model, consider public interest as its priority and that it takes actions that give priority to democratic access and enjoyment of the population involving knowledge about the city where they live and perform.

The City Museum of São Paulo, through exploratory dynamics with young members of the population, adopts the idea that São Paulo is an Educating City. Thus, it considers itself as an active institution able to translate into an interpretative scale the yearnings of its population.

Cities are the natural ground for multiculturalism, territories where diversities coexist, where differences are confronted.

Furthermore in South America and especially in Brazil, where São Paulo is doubtless its greatest expression, large cities received multiple migratory fluxes as well as immigrants, during most of the twentieth century, characterizing them as a hybrid space, contradictory and multicultural.

Therefore it might be considered that in a large Brazilian city all newcomers could rapidly find their most closely related ethnic group, offering them a first adhesion, a first exercise in complicity and

belonging; from this first welcome gesture the newcomer will feel as part of the group, but not confined to a ghetto; members of different groups do not tend to exclude each other; on the contrary they establish multicultural relationships, they socialize and absorb each other's traditions and contradictions.

Considering the global scenario of intolerance between people, transitive multiculturalism that characterizes Latin American metropolises may be their most emblematic reference link, their most powerful exchange mechanism. It is possible that Latin American cities have the potential to develop new hybridation models, revealing some aptitude to adapt themselves, possibly in a more ingenious form, to new global challenges.

In 2003, as part of the commemoration of four hundred and fifty years of São Paulo foundation, the Culture Secretary of the city of São Paulo proposed the creation of a City Museum of São Paulo that, at the same time, would value former patrimonial initiatives but that should aim at broadening traditional views in acknowledgement of the territorial complexity of São Paulo. The model of a city museum developed during that period was the object of in depth investigation and analysis in my doctorate thesis in Museology presented to the "Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias" in November 2009.

In the experiment conceived in 2003 the process of musealization of the urban space has taken into account that:

- museal discourse should be established from questions, problems and argumentation addressed to the museum by the population and not following a dynamic going the opposite way;
- present time and contemporary collection should become the main protagonist of patrimonial actions;
- the museum accepts the challenge of real time interaction with different populations, looking for references representative of present times and aiming at a collective construction of a perspective of the future;
- the exact point of foundation is no longer chosen and revered as the first or socially accepted centrality; expanded centralities will be considered through the enlarged concept of territoriality;

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- other forces in different regions of a territory shall be considered as legitimate and equally symbolic and referential to the populations;
- interaction will proceed with an increasing number of citizens, becoming part of associative and interpretive networks that constitute the new logic of living – why not say surviving – in the large urban centres;
- it is accepted that other communication scales should be explored, using the intrinsic logic of contemporaneous processes, but shaping them to the patrimonial intentions of each program;
- a new anthropophagic discourse is adopted that admits and digests different types of knowledge, logic and discourses, favouring a multidisciplinary architecture.

Among the various experiments carried through in association with the development of the City Museum of São Paulo, one of them became widely known: the "São Paulo Expedition four hundred and fifty years"

The idea was to obtain a contemporary tomography of the city of São Paulo. An urban expedition was undertaken with an interdisciplinary characteristic and two different routes were followed during one week. If we could attach special and unusual values to the "Expedition São Paulo four hundred and fifty years" they would be the *method* and the *intentionality* of the program. It surely was not a picturesque or naïve trip, nor a group of academic people in search of confirmation for their theses. There was a detailed planning and we could count on managers and operators of public policies of the Municipality who indicated points to be considered in the definition of the routes to be followed by the travellers. Suggestions on the points of interest to be included in the program totalled seven hundred. The coordination group analyzed the suggestions and decided on two final routes: *North-South* and *East-West*. Two groups of travellers, of multidisciplinary nature, were composed of anthropologists, architects, educators, psychoanalysts, archaeologists, artists, photographers, filmmakers, museologists, sociologists, geographers, ambientalists, historians, planners and organizers. Travellers were assisted by a group of young students, mostly with a graduate degree in History, Museology and

Anthropology. They were responsible for approaching people to be interviewed, for distributing at the visiting points printed material concerning the City Museum and the Expedition itself. They were also responsible for obtaining authorizations for image use. Their most important task, however, was to take notes on forms specially conceived for that purpose, concerning items identified as being of interest for the future museum. Initially the idea was to make a record of items only and no collection had been foreseen. However growing enthusiasm led many of the travellers to start direct collection of items and it became necessary to arrange for a daily reception of those items in predetermined points of the city. Items collected that way have been deposited at the Iconography and Museums Division of the Municipal Secretariat of Culture of São Paulo.

The dynamics of the Expedition included travelling along each route during the day and evening sessions devoted to evaluate what had been accomplished and planning by the travellers of what should be done along the following stretch. Every night each of the groups received a visit from a *social actor* specifically chosen; while one group heard the intense account of a homeless girl, the other received a deaf-blind woman; both tried to explain how to orient yourself in São Paulo facing your own limitations. The two groups went by different visiting points: slums, rap and hip hop groups, neighbourhood soccer clubs, samba clubs, different religious gathering places, telecenters, cooperatives, indigenous villages, social assistance, health, education and cultural centres. The city was seen from an elevated heliport at Avenida Paulista as well as from the bottom of an urban crater resulting from the impact of a large meteorite at Vargem Grande – southern extreme point – some four hundred thousand years ago.

The two groups went through tunnels of the Metro, streets and bowels of the historic center of the city, narrow passages of slums, internal alleys of Dwelling Centers, and even cemetery blocks and maximum security prison cells. Those dynamics allowed to observe how the city subverts the use of its spaces: a football club that shelters a school, the samba club that takes care of milk distribution, a religious space where the rapper learns how to read a musical score, schools where families find adequate space for their leisure, local clubs where the elders find a suitable space for meeting their equals, the street that stages cultural events and last but not

least the concrete slab (the "laje"¹⁶) covering some of the houses: that is the most important social meeting place in destitute areas visited.

The Expedition was not a comfortable promenade: violence and insecurity accompanied the travellers on both routes and were part of the narrations of the dwellers. Human deficiencies and lack of suitable public services mark the precarious living condition of those populations and produce a permanent discomfort for them. Social and environmental unbalances do not provide a serene landscape; on the contrary, they show a conflict scenario, and a territory devastated by insecurity became evident.

On the opposite direction to those sensations that were latent and present, the Expedition was, doubtless, an opportunity to demolish many stereotypes about São Paulo. Discovery was much more intense than apprehension and everyone had the strong feeling that the mission of the City Museum will be to reveal to the public – more than the needs and inconsistencies – the laborious day by day of the São Paulo inhabitants, both in their formal and informal jobs; the fraternal generosity between equals, the social networks that assure life and survival in the city; the counterpoint between apparent chaos and the unbelievable capacity of organization developed by the associations we visited; the environmental issues and the alternate solutions that prevent a final congestion.

Discretely a few journalists from "O Estado de São Paulo" – one of the most important large circulation newspapers in Brazil – joined the Expedition. The day São Paulo commemorated four hundred and fifty years of its foundation, the newspaper published a supplementary section devoted to the interdisciplinary experience, reaching three hundred thousand readers all over the country.

The last day of the Expedition was taken by a final evaluation. Both groups met in a downtown hotel and recalled their routes, faces they met, oral statements that were recorded, photographs yet to be developed and collected items. It was a final effort towards an interdisciplinary synthesis, towards the definition of a logic that might give sense to the next phases. It was an intense working day and finally as a result of systematic observations the

¹⁶ Houses built in the "favelas" or in peripheral urban areas may have a concrete slab as their top floor or roof; it is normally used as a space for socializing, leisure and community activities.

three founding bases were selected: territory/ sociability/ imaginarium¹⁷ (Figure 3).

These orienting concepts formed the structural basis for the editorial organization of all the other products connected to the Expedition such as: a book, the exhibition, a video documentary and the creation of a data base in multimedia format that consolidated all the documentation related to contemporary items collected during the Expedition, in view of the effective creation of the City Museum of São Paulo in 2004.

After the election of a new Mayor of São Paulo in 2005, the project of the new City Museum of São Paulo, already detailed and having its implantation initiated was interrupted following a governmental decision that maintained the *status quo*; the City Museum of São Paulo went back to its traditional condition. From that moment on, the City Museum of São Paulo has been cited by some of the existing memory institutions of the city, but São Paulo was going back to the parish logic of a post-colonial city, neglecting the conscience of the complexity and gigantic condition that characterizes the city as one of the global megalopolises.

Some of the questions related to the creation and implantation of the City Museum of São Paulo are still waiting for answers. First of all, one should revisit the sequence of studies and negotiations undertaken along the twentieth and twenty first centuries, aiming at the accomplishment of the project. This activity would allow us to produce some fundamental questions:

a) What threat to decision taking people at the political/institutional level, is represented by the project endeavouring to create a museum that is based on the collection of contemporary items? Why is it that items produced contemporarily by our societies have a musealization process that is much more threatening than the traditional collection of cultural items that legitimate and sanctify the historical path of an object?

b) The model of a *historical museum* that reveres the past would be safer, therefore? Ancient objects would ask less questions than their contemporary counterparts? The extraction of objects pertaining to every day activities, in real time, would it introduce

¹⁷ Imaginarium refers to things, real and fantasy, that are recurrent in the minds of a social group.

irreparable voids in our society? Or should we just allow objects, that irrevocably would fall into oblivion, to be discarded by passing time and then, as a consequence, we would naturally preserve those with a "vocation" to become musealized?

c) Or should our selection be based on other values and criteria? Could it be the aesthetic value of the object, its social representativeness, its age, the profile of its owner, its monetary intrinsic value? Those values which in the past had been great references during centuries, do they apply today, to our transterritorial, globalized world? If our society struggles against its own aging, by multiplying logics of reconstruction and likelihood, why don't we feel referenced to the present?

d) Could it be that a city museum that articulates itself upon contemporary collection is a threatening museologic model by a simple inversion of the symbolic weight of the objects, or such discourse provides an inversion of other social senses far more encompassing?

e) Assuming that the selection of an object presupposes a logic of discarding it, are we afraid of the power of museologic manipulation of our own lives, of our path, of our memory, that a choice of a contemporary object could determine? Are we more afraid of making a selection or of discarding? Are we less happy by living with what is retained or by abandoning what is discarded?

f) How does the museum fit into this contemporary equation? What history is it intended to legitimate? What do we want to recall, what are we allowed to forget? This new museum, shall it be a territory for new senses, new expectations? If traditional museums had the power to revere and nominate what should not be forgotten, why can't we consider that the city museum has the power of reflecting, of modifying, of restating, of heightening the present, and thus redesign, in real time, our own future? Would there be time to wait for the natural aging of objects? Wouldn't that process be much more contaminated nowadays than it was in the past?

g) Why does our society applaud, consume and musealize contemporary art, building "cathedral museums" to keep it, all over the world? Could it be that art speaks about life without presenting so many threats as objects do?

h) Why an increasing number of science and technology museums is created, making evident to the public the great themes

that concern our planet survival? Wouldn't human extinction be a greater fear than that imposed by the collection of contemporary objects?

i) Why initiatives focused on the conscientization about the importance of solidary coexistence between different cultures are supported and implemented without hesitation in different countries? Why *museums of contemporary history* are so few in Brazil and why are they considered to be threatening? What in our life today is unbearable to the point that we don't want to remember it, to select it, to elect it and musealize?

j) Why should we revere the myth of the founding father of the city? The locus, the enlarged area standing off from the center, is it a desirable and commendable concept? Why is it that fear comes up to the surface whenever we pierce the symbolic surrounding walls and face the increased size of the territory, beyond our ties, to peripheral areas? Could it be that a medieval atavism prevents us to go outside the center, fooling the walls and delving into the complex surrounding urban mesh, nobody's land, as people refer to it?

k) Would it be possible to substitute an imitation for the object? Why not use available technology to express unforgettable feelings, gestures, tastes, odors and images? Would the fascination of motion be more stimulating than the object at rest? Does the object rest, talk or ask questions? Should we give up original items and assume a definitive adoption of virtual interaction? Following the tracks of collaborative networks, would it be possible to create virtual collections and even virtual museums, rejecting the imperative logic of generating and maintaining patrimonial institutions? Why should we maintain original when we already have frozen their images for the future? Are we not even able to modify, edit and recreate them? In the age of human clones, when the logic of ancestral relationships and heredity is openly defied, why not think of the obsolescence of the original object? Why not clone the object, reproduce it and discard it?

l) Could it be that the most important concern is related to who chooses the object instead of what is chosen? Would there be many people entitled to choosing in this new model? Would History be told with references to people unknown in the social scenario? Would silent crowds start to be given a voice? As it speaks would that crowd use a syntax that we would not follow or understand? If that is

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a different syntax many will recognize themselves. What about us? Would we remain with no connection, therefore voiceless?

The City Museum of São Paulo as subject of study and museological problematization tries to explicitly present a multidisciplinary methodology – already tested in 2003 and 2004 – that enunciates the conception of a new model of *city museum*, whose objective is the analysis of the great metropolis – São Paulo – maintaining a dialogue with the proper logic of a globalized world, but canonically erected over the founding precepts of Sociomuseology.

Focusing on city museums, that model tries to stimulate an alternative new path, that observes and interacts with the reality that is inherent to contemporaneity, to Latin American megacities, as it endeavours to problematize and understand the dynamics that characterize human life in those vast and complex territories.

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Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

Give or take: thoughts on museum collections as working tools and their connection with human beings¹⁸

Paula Assunção dos Santos

INTRODUCTION

This paper proposes a look at museums from the perspective of sociomuseology, an area of research and practice under development in countries such as Portugal, Brazil and Spain. Sociomuseology was born from the Latin new museology tradition and is closely connected with the International Movement for a New Museology (MINOM/ICOM). The Lusofona University in Lisbon offers MA and PhD programmes in Sociomuseology. The University supports a research centre in Sociomuseology and publishes the journals *Cadernos de Sociomuseologia*, in Portuguese, and *Sociomuseology*, in English (for more information see <http://tercud.ulusofona.pt>). Sociomuseology concerns the study of the social role of museums and of the continuous changes in society that frame their trajectories. The practice of sociomuseologists is based on their work with the different dimensions of social and community development from ecomuseums to networking and other ways of organizing social action in the 21st century in which heritage plays a strategic role.

The scope of the applied theory of sociomuseology highlights the ideas of means and ends; of the agency of museums (i.e. their capacity to act in society) and the tools, methods and languages they use for this purpose. Museum objects and collections could be regarded as working tools. Their use changes according to the new roles and strategies museums employ in the search for their place in a dynamic society. Another important aspect refers to the political dimension of working for and with people. Questions about 'who produces', 'who decides', 'what for' and 'why' inform the considerations about the ways museums carry out their activities.

¹⁸ This article was first published in "The Museums as Forum and Actor", Fredrik Svanberg (ed.), The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm. Studies 15, 2010.

The political dimension of the ‘human factor’ seems to be becoming an increasing concern of museums in different parts of the world. In the second half of the 20th century there has been a growing awareness of the social role of museums, referred to by Peter van Mensch as the “second museum revolution” (van Mensch 1992). Since the end of the 1990s, we could speak of a third museum revolution relating to the rise of new stakeholders in the museological field (Meijer & dos Santos 2009). This happened to a great extent thanks to the mobility of human beings around the globe (see for example the impact of immigration in Europe), globalization and the shaping of a network society in which the dominant forces of change are to be found more in the social movements and grass-root organizations than in the traditional structures of civil society (Castells 2004). As new social actors emerge, people are getting closer to museums in many ways. Be it in relation to the users’ voice, the participation of new co-producers or disputes for more democratic modes of governance in heritage affairs; the avenues of interaction between museums and people in society are wider and more varied.

The changes taking place impose new urgencies onto the systems at work in the museum world. They challenge every operational aspect of museological institutions. How museums deal with their publics, the services they offer, the discussions about representation and authority are very clear examples of that. In addition, we see how the political dimension of connecting with people in society can transform the life of what many consider to be the very foundational components of museums; that is, their objects and collections.

Objects and collections have a social life inside museums. By looking at them as prime working tools, it is possible to explore how they relate to the lives of people outside.

In this paper, I do not mean to touch upon their connections with people in the past or focus on the subject of creating knowledge and giving meaning to objects. Thinking in terms of the social and political role of museums, I propose to look at how objects and collections can connect with us, human beings living today, social actors striving to cope with the challenges of the modern world.

In order to draw some thoughts together on these possible relations, I will refer to a personal experience I had in mid 2007, when in the short period of a week I had the opportunity to visit for the first time the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg (Sweden) and the

Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (France). Moving from one museum to the other felt to me like being hit by a museological shockwave, so strong was the impact of confronting their intentions and exhibitions. They could not have been more different from each other and at the same time they could not be more representative of the attempts of trying to cope with the new challenges of multicultural societies. The Museum of World Culture opened in December 2004 and the Musée du Quai Branly in June 2006. Since their openings they have occupied a central position in discussions regarding the changing role of museums in the 21st century and the strategies thereof. The original ideas concerning the review of the exhibitions at the Museum of World Culture and the Musée du Quai Branly presented here, were developed for a discussion group of young museum experts organized by the Tropen museum in Amsterdam in 2007/2008.

INTO THE WORLD OF MUSEUMS

In the Museum of World Culture an exhibition called *Horizons - Voices from A Global Africa* ran from the opening in December 2004 until June 2007. *Horizons* brought up a “number of stories about Africa as a continent, an idea or a cultural identity. Voices from today and voices from the past open up horizons in an increasingly globalized world” (<http://www.varldskulturmuseet.se>). The exhibition was divided into six main themes: Voices from the Past (on slavery), Voices of Resistance (starring the Jamaican Reggae artist Bob Marley), Voices of Power and Survival (on colonialism and resistance), Voices on Gender, Urban Voices and, the main object of this paper, Voices from the Horn of Africa in Sweden.

On the wall, an enormous glass case displaying a large number of ethnographical artefacts stood facing stations where it was possible to watch videos made by inhabitants of Gothenburg with roots in Ethiopia and Eritrea (mostly immigrants and refugees), on different aspects of their lives in Sweden and their countries of origin. It was very interesting to see the way the objects were displayed, in a quite old-fashioned way, in connection with the videos about contemporary life. To my knowledge, the main purpose of these objects was not to illustrate a story about the Horn of Africa; nor were these objects serving to represent culture. Instead, they were used as representatives of one of the parties in the dialogue between museum and society.

Such a way of making use of objects signals a broader tendency within museums. Confronted with the limitations of cultural authority and with the dilemmas of representation, many museums are reviewing their relationships with their own collections. Instead of trying to tell what a culture is through objects, exhibitions tend to re-contextualize and access collections as a work in their own right, i.e. as museological objects. This way of approaching collections aims to show them more for what they are: abstractions, authorial, timely and ideologically bonded in their conception and use.

Still, there are many ways of dealing with collections- especially when we take into consideration that they are not an end in themselves but are tools in the service of the museum and its purposes.

Connected to this renewed and growing familiarity in working with objects as integral parts of authorial constructions (i.e. collections), many museums are stepping up to the mission of facilitating connections and advocating for understanding in a global context, in their desire- or need- to be meaningful to society. Among them, the museums of ethnography stand in a pivotal position, but they are not the only ones. Museums of history, religion, Jewish culture and the new Museums of Consciousness are examples of organizations looking for similar approaches.

In Gothenburg, *Horizons-Voices from a Global Africa* reflected the museum's ambition to serve as "a place for dialogue, where multiple voices can be heard and also controversial topics can be raised - an arena for people to feel at home across borders" (<http://www.varldskulturmuseet.se>). With this and other exhibitions and activities, the museum intended to act as an intermediary, aiming at building connections between people, by providing opportunities for communication and understanding in a global context.

In Paris, the Musée du Quai Branly also states its responsibility in promoting connections and understanding. At the opening ceremony, former President Jacques Chirac presented the museum as being a place where a breath-taking aesthetic experience would be combined with a vital lesson in humanity for our times. "Each culture enriches humanity with its share of beauty and truth, and it is only through their continuously renewed expression that we can perceive the universal that brings us together" (http://www.ozco.gov.au/news_and_hot_topics/speeches/mqb_opening_speech/).

By communicating and valuing diversity and the collaboration between cultures, the museum “seeks to encourage open and respectful views of the audience on other cultures” and “to promote the importance of breaking down barriers, of openness and mutual understanding against the clash of identities and the mentality of closure and segregation” (ibid).

The Musée du Quai Branly also has the dilemma of working with collections. On the website (<http://www.quaibrantly.fr>), the institution is presented as a museum of non-western art. It is an art museum with an ethnographical collection originating mainly from the legendary Musée de L’Homme and to a lesser extent from the Musée National des Arts d’Afrique et d’Océanie. Still according to the website, the museum tries to promote a review of this ethnographical collection based on a multidisciplinary approach. This is probably true for the research and other activities. However, for the exhibition- particularly of the permanent collections- it is very clear how the museum places the focus on their aesthetic value and their approach to art.

The “breathtaking aesthetic experience” at Quai Branly begins before the exhibition itself. A very long walkway takes the visitor up and into another world. This world is one world, one very large space where objects from Oceania, Africa, the Americas and Asia are grouped in geographic regions without borders and connected by crossroads. In this almost ritualistic walk to the main gallery, round glass cases display artefacts on gloomy shelves as they appear in museum storages. It feels as if these cases are telling the story of the artefacts: first, they are on standby; later, they become alive in the exhibition. For me, it also serves to remind us that these artefacts belong to a collection - a discourse - and are to a certain degree alienated from real life (or, better said, from life outside the museum).

Despite other media in the exhibition, it is primarily the lighting that adds value and meaning to the artefacts. Light and the lack of it are the key resource deployed to make them into art. Artefacts float in a dark and fluid environment. They exist. Whereas the attention falls on the physical features of the objects, other aspects stay in the background in most of the permanent exhibition, being conveyed with the use of videos and very small texts (in both size and length).

Since opening, the museum has been in the spotlight for its highly aesthetic approach to artefacts. Some of the declared intentions behind transforming artefacts into art works refer to levelling the hierarchy between cultures, to highlighting the universal value of diversity and how different cultures dialogue with and influence each other. It is clear that focusing on the aesthetic value is just one option of many other possible common aspects that could be used for that purpose. I believe that a major motivation to treat artefacts in this manner is one of the problems museums must face concerning the way they represent cultures and exercise their cultural authority. As said before, museums are moving from telling what a culture is to telling what their collection about a culture is. By presenting objects as art, it works as if it would be possible to converge the attention to the qualities inherent to these objects (i.e. physical) and minimize other judgements on their cultural qualities (besides the judgement necessary to “elevate” objects to the category of art, of course). Perhaps this could be seen as another alternative museums employ in their attempt to deal with collections as an authorial work.

In Sweden and France, two high-profile national museums - both opening in a time that many call a crisis for ethnographic museums - are looking for their own ways (and within their own contexts) of reviewing old colonial collections and using them as their prime working tools. They assume missions that are not so distinct from each other in the sense that, facing globalization, they both seek to promote understanding, value diversity, and ideally foster connections between people of different cultures.

Whereas it is possible to recognize similarities in their purpose, their strategy and approach to their collections could not be more different. Actually, they seem to head in two completely opposite ways.

While looking for words to describe what these two museums have in common after my one-week experience, I ended up struggling with the concepts of empathy and sympathy. Perhaps the subtle but significant difference between these two ideas can be useful in helping to explain not what these two museums have in common but what actually makes them so different from each other.

Empathy is the act of attempting to understand others' perspectives and experiences from their own frame of reference. It is trying to wear other people's lenses, perceiving the world as they see

it. The Swedish museum employs a concept of world culture that stresses the uniqueness of individuals and tries to be an arena for multiple points of view. In the exhibition *Horizons*, this meant literally giving a voice to a number of people and trying to create the possibilities for the visitor to experience the other's frame of reference. A good example was the display of a loincloth worn after female circumcision. Next to the artefact, a woman voiced: "No matter how beautiful the garment is, the girls dislike them, they remind them too much of a bad memory, a suffered pain. It is the loincloth of misfortune. When this loincloth appears in your life, your freedom has ended" (<http://www.varldskulturmuseet.se>). No matter how hated the garment is, I could not help thinking that it could have been easily displayed in another museum as just a beautiful example of a beautiful culture.

It does not necessarily follow that this will lead someone to put on another's lenses. In the same way, the museum is not free from providing its own frames of reference. However, the choices in the exhibition point to an empathetic approach of listening to others.

Differently, sympathy refers to affinity, to sharing the feelings and understanding of others. Once it is based on the identification of a "shared sameness", sympathy means that we depart from our own frame of reference while imagining and interpreting others perspectives and experiences. That is to say, from our own lens we perceive what others have in common with us. The French museum appeals to the existence of a universal human quality in order to portray the value of diversity. It calls for the acknowledgement and appreciation of what we have in common, as a route to understanding, bonding and respect. Arguably, in this case what we have in common departs from us. Of utmost importance in the exhibition at the Musée du Quai Branly is the fact that the channel chosen to convey this feeling of sharing commonness between different cultures (i.e. art) is a western concept. It is a western lens.

The way the two museums bring forward these different strategies is also very important. As said before, they are in a comfortable position of being able to explore collections in their full potential for what they are as museological creations- and not necessarily as pure representations of reality. How do they make use of their collections in order to foster empathy and sympathy? I would say that one exhibition tries to connect with society by giving the

objects to the people (people, not in the sense of museum visitors, but of producers of culture), whereas the other tries to connect with society by taking the objects from the people.

“Give or take” is the title of this paper and it is what places both museums at such opposite ends of the spectrum. The allusion may be a bit rough, but it tries to summarize crucial aspects of the connection between objects and people as producers and consumers of these objects. Give and take has to do with the frames of reference of ourselves and of others. Giving can also speak for the act of engaging people directly in the process of working with collections. Most importantly, the idea of giving and taking goes much deeper into the social life of objects inside the museum.

Peter van Mensch explains that objects are documents (sources of information) and have a complex data structure (section “Object as data carrier” in van Mensch 1992). He speaks about four levels of data: structural properties (physical characteristics of the object); functional properties (potential or realized use of objects); context (physical and conceptual environment of the object); and significance (meaning and value of the object). The historical process adds layers to these different levels of information. That is to say, an artifact has a life story. It started with an idea, in a specific context (e.g. the culture, the times and the choices of the maker). In time, it has been used and re-used, it has decayed, perhaps it has been restored. During its life, the object has changed again and again, the context has changed, perhaps its use, meaning and value have changed. The latter is certainly true for all museum objects, once they have been elected to integrate into a museum collection, gaining a different role, value and meaning. This all adds to the amount of data of an object, making it into an almost unlimited source of information.

Responding to historical and societal constraints, and following the wishes of their owners, museum actors decide on the layers and levels of information to be explored and conveyed. The structure, function, meaning and value of objects also keep changing during their museum life. Today museums seem more comfortable in stressing objects as components of a created discourse about reality. Yet it remains complex. As part of collections, objects (generally) have their own life pre-collection. They have a past as part of the collection, and they have a present and a future as part of the collection. Both the Swedish and the French museums propose a new use for their

collections, which means new uses and new ways of exploring the information potential of their objects.

In the exhibition *Horizons*, a layer of information common to all objects concerned their role as part of a collection – that is as the museum counterpart. It was possible to see something about the life of objects in the exhibition, however what really spoke out was the search for extra layers of information coming from outside the museum; interpretations, meanings and values of others, of living people and about the contemporary world. The loincloth is a good example of adding this layer of information to the use and meaning of an object, done by an author outside the museum and living in her specific reality. Also the glass case facing the video stations: the whole of the objects gained another layer of information in their silent dialogue with the Ethiopian and Eritrean inhabitants of Gothenburg. One could say that the exhibition at the Museum of World Culture tried to give the objects to people (producers of culture) in the sense that it is up to them to add an important, if not the most important layer of information. In short, they work in helping to bring the objects into a new frame of reference.

The Musée du Quai Branly also stresses the use of objects as museological items. It focuses on the object placed in the museum context and on its character as an abstraction of life outside the museum. What the permanent exhibition does is to privilege one aspect of the physical properties of the objects (i.e. aesthetic) and add to it the value of art, which tells more about the people who consume these objects than about the people who produce them. By doing that, the museum empties objects from other layers of information about their life, about the context they have lived in, about the people who have made and used them, about the functions, meaning and values of them outside the museum. Objects are emptied of times, spaces and faces other than the museographical time and space. In the way it presents its collections in the exhibition, the museum keeps objects away from others' frames of reference. Such practice is common to the nature of museums, however it is taken to a new level at Quai Branly. What really takes the objects away from people (producers of culture) is the emptiness regarding what emanates from them when exhibited. The way in which they have been exhibited, although stressing a universal human quality, makes them feel sterile, as if they are emptied of traces of humanity.

A certain level of abstraction is inherent in every museum collection; it is an integral part of what makes an object a museological object. Still, there are many possible degrees of abstraction and levels of distance from reality. There are strong criticisms on exhibiting cultural artefacts as art which explore these issues. Collecting and exhibiting objects of other cultures as art is not a new phenomenon. In his seminal work *The Predicament of Culture*, James Clifford criticizes the concept of primitive art and the system that transforms cultural artefacts into masterpieces, and vice-versa, for being appropriative and alienating (Clifford 1984). The use of alienation here can be associated with the Marxist idea of commodity fetishism: the belief that inanimate things (commodities) have human powers (value) able to govern the activity of human beings. Alienation is the transformation of people's own labour into a power, which rules them as if by a kind of natural or supra-human law (<http://www.marxists.org/subject/alienation/index.htm>). Canclini is also emphatic in associating the idea of alienation and fetishism to museums: "To the extent that museums make people forget that a pan was made for cooking, masks for celebration, and sarapes for warmth, they are places that fetishize objects. Just like shops and boutiques" (Canclini 1993).

Many museums of ethnography have been experimenting with portraying their objects as art and certainly the Musée du Quai Branly has extended the frontiers in this direction.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

For all that "give" and "take" comprise in the scope of this paper, I believe that museums face important challenges in using their collections in their work for and with people in society. The two museums used as examples represent the opposing ends of the spectrum, perhaps with the choices of the Musée du Quai Branly being even more extreme than the Museum of World Culture. Most museums would navigate more freely and variably in the spectrum of possibilities of "giving" and "taking" objects from people.

If we consider the importance of objects in museums as assets, resources and tools, it is paramount that they participate in the discussions about the role of museums in society. Museums make use of collections as working tools, however these are not the property

of museums only. They are also primary links with social actors that each time claim a larger role in museum affairs.

The consequences of “giving” and “taking” objects are felt directly in the role museums can play in society. The exhibition at the Museum of World Culture shows how ways of “giving” objects to people could work in fostering empathy, for example. How can museums go further in approximating objects to people? The example of the Musée du Quai Branly also raises important questions. What happens when a museum portrays a world without faces and human activity? In trying to create connections with human beings, the museum employs a strategy based more on “taking” than “giving”. Could the action of estranging collections from people (and alienating the humanity in objects) leave us with too few to connect to?

If we believe that it all comes down to people, to us, these are some of the vital issues for assessing the role of museums in the 21st century.

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Socio-cultural visions of Interactivity within Museums

Angelina Tsitoura

The ideas on which this paper is based are drawn from my thesis “Interactivity in Museums. A Relationship Building Perspective” written in 2007 for the fulfillment of the Master Degree in Museology at the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam. The main arguments are that the notion of Interactivity conceptualized within a technological orientation coupled with the pedagogic approach of mere information transmission need to be reconsidered; that Interactivity in museums is a conception both misinterpreted and under-implemented; and that the problems of understanding Interactivity will resolve by identifying the aspects which define Interactivity and most importantly focus on why they matter in a broader socio-cultural context within museums. Without an intention to attribute all the developments and advances associated with new museological practice, in some deterministic way, solely to politics and economic change, I argue that the new strategies adopted by museums towards progression and broader accessibility—at least regarding interactivity, seem to be linked more with a dominant commercialization of culture and education, than with a belief towards an effect on social change through the promotion of social interaction within a pluralistic and multicultural society, acknowledging the diversity of nature, opinion and practices, which can be combined instead of contrasting each other.

A broader perspective of socio-cultural factors focusing on processes of meaning making rather than outcomes and on natural ways of interactions needs to be discussed. Such a perspective may not only improve the conception of interactive exhibits but also broaden the role of Interactivity in museums; within the last framework a potential relationship building approach is proposed. It is suggested that Interactivity acts as a variable of relationship building between museums and the public. The notions of engagement and participatory culture by means of collaboration, dynamic dialogue, active involvement and participation rely heavily on the quality and

duration of human relations formed, thus making Museums accountable on their part in terms of the way interactive relationships are implemented and sustained.

Museums are very clear about incorporating interactivity in their exhibition techniques usually centering the discourse on interactive devices. Within this context, the role of an exhibition, the channel of museum's communication function, can be thought as entity transmitting and receiving information. However in order to determine whether the selected approach to Interactivity is doing a good job, we need to know first what this job is supposed to be doing. Interactive applications have been approached by many museums, used as learning tools, justified by educational policies and/or as attraction points for justifying contemporary relevance; often resulting in a tension between "educational" and "commercial" objectives driving the implementation of interactive applications to the edges: towards an either strict didactic solution or a mere entertaining one. In none case however the educational outcomes are always verified (Adams & Moussouri, 2002; Pekarik, 2002; Heath et al., 2005; Zheng et al., 2005), while the communicative function of museums can be said to lacking strongly of interactive qualities¹⁹.

In museums, the term "interactivity" is strongly associated with the use of "interactive exhibits" and consequently with the notions of education, entertainment and socializing, where it is being used as a variable of the effectiveness certain activities may have on visitors' learning and appreciation within the museum. A considerable confusion and misunderstanding concerning Interactivity within museums derives from the notion of Interactivity evolving around the use of "interactive exhibits". The latter, equate the concept mostly with technological means, ignoring social and emotional aspects as well as wider spatial and social contexts within which, both exhibits - as forms, and Interactivity - as a process, can take in museums. Exhibits tend to be called interactive by the inherent use of technology even if their interactive "value" is very limited. On the other hand, non-technologically based exhibits usually called "hands-on", "minds-on", or "participatory" tend to be distinguished by the "interactive" exhibits, despite their potential ability to provide

¹⁹ See for example the case study Naturalis in *Interactivity in Museums; A Relationship Building Perspective* (Tsitoura, 2007)

opportunities for interactivity within museums. Hence, although the words interactivity, interaction and interactive are used very widely, there seems to be a concentrated focus on technology as a main property of exhibits and displays. However interactive exhibits alone are inadequate in creating a powerful, successful interactive experience, mainly due to a lack of input options and the inability to provide more than a sequence of reactions. Despite this, museums bank on the notion of such applications -being connected with popular experiences through immersion, active involvement and knowledge enhancement-, in order to fulfil their educational role but also to attract visitors by positing a renewed image separated from the traditional public conception of museums. "The personal encounter has been acknowledged as the ground of an experience, and museums bank on it to fulfil their educational promise" (Hein, 2000).

The popularity of such exhibits adding to the "success", which has come to be measured in terms of visitors' numbers responding to these kinds of "experiences", has resulted in a trend that has overwhelmed their use, usually illustrated even by the solid presence of interactive exhibits within exhibition settings (Caulton, 1998; McLean, 1999; Gammon, 2003). This can be interpreted as the broadening of the visitor base has resulted in mere visitor attraction aiming to more attention, sponsorship and funding, thus making the rhetoric about democratizing access, being driven by economic calculations through some broad mission to empower public access. "Museums increasingly look to a general public audience for support, and competition for a market share of people's leisure time is a driving force that focuses the heat on exhibitions" (McLean, 1999). Furthermore, as the educational intention is being blurred with a marketing one, attracting visitors to museums by offering "enjoyable" educational experiences has lost sight of a wider purpose of museums; that of promoting critical thinking for the sake of individual's and society's development.

While the idea of incorporating interactivity in museums is not new, the lack of identification that purely incorporating technologies in museums does not immediately distinguish them as "interactive" seems to diminish the potential use of Interactivity within such spaces. Notwithstanding the arguable learning outcomes of such implementations, museums not only put at stake their accountability

towards the public, but also fail to realize or acknowledge the wider purpose of establishing interactive relationships with the visitors and the impact Interactivity can make when conceptualized as a process and implemented towards establishing connectedness and trustworthiness next to the deep-seated belief of contribution to educational and enjoyable experiences. Therefore by deconstructing the concept of Interactivity within museums it is possible to identify in which aspects current practices and technologies fail to promote interactivity and in which ways apart from incorporating technologies, museums can establish interactive relationships with their visitors.

Andrea Witcomb (2003) has described her objections to the technological approach to interactivity seen in many science museums and increasingly in other sorts of museums. She gives examples of two other types of interactivity, which she calls Spatial Interactivity and Dialogic Interactivity, which according to her seem particularly appropriate for cultural and historical exhibitions. In both her examples the notion of Interactivity is being used as opposed to mere access to finished statements and fixed narratives and far from being purely technologically driven. Nevertheless it requires high levels of knowledge and common consent as an approach. Witcomb's examples provide an interesting viewpoint on providing opportunities in museums for active interpretation and personal meaning generation within exhibitions. Nevertheless, the possibility of museums to allowing different perspectives to be represented engenders a lack of curatorial perspective within a political discourse (Witcomb, 2003). In this sense the difficulty for those museums, which wish to be less didactic and more interactive is to achieve a balance between multiple points of view while maintaining an editorial line which is not reductive to fixed meanings. The need is then to develop an approach to interactivity that remains open ended but which nevertheless engages in a dialogue from a position. This kind of interpretation needs to be explicitly demonstrated within the context of the exhibition, providing an opportunity for dialogue and allowing an exchange of views and interactions between the museum and the visitor and among visitors themselves.

A further implication is that in order for visitors to be engaged in such a dialogue, they may require high levels of knowledge concerning not only the content of the exhibitions but also the processes of

knowledge generation within the museums; therefore such an approach to Interactivity can be considered inaccessible for the general public. The need here is to take into consideration the nature of visitors' backgrounds - the knowledge, experience, and social dynamics -, since they constitute an important element in combination to the type of influences people can "take away" from their museum visits. Museums may provide a platform on which meaningful conversations can be built if only they are able to also use and incorporate the "tools" that people bring with them.

Socio-cultural theory on learning emphasizes the idea that meaning emerges in the interplay between individuals acting in social contexts and the mediators - tools, talk, activity structures, signs, and symbol systems - that exist in that context. Spatial theories uncover body-space relations and examine how meaning emerges during the process of human experience in a physical space. "Exhibitions provide a safe and interesting environment in which to bring people together, and the presence of people- whether they are visitors or staff-transforms a constructed exhibition setting into a dynamic public space. Staff explainers, docents, storytellers, artists, and actors enliven exhibitions, create context, and encourage people to interact with each other and with the exhibits. Even without staff, an exhibition designed to encourage face-to-face interaction and dialogue among visitors-often strangers-is arguably one of the most vital contributions museums can make to the social dynamics of our times" (McLean, 1999). Without social interaction, it is easier to deliver content about objects than to teach skills in discovering content in any object. That is why the curatorial voice expressed via written materials prevails in most of museums. And although educators recognize the importance of discussion and guided observation, the sole use of interactives present in most modern museums is perhaps an attempt to achieve the give-and-take of live facilitation without the facilitator.

Building on the educational and wider social role/responsibility proclaimed by museums, it is argued that Interactivity conceptualized as a characteristic of mediated communication (socially and/or technologically) may increase with mutual apprehensibility of shared goals. Interactivity is here conceptualized as having some meaningful social and psychological relevance beyond its technical and technological status as a property of media systems or message

exchanges. Interactivity is reviewed as opposed to mere access to finished statements and fixed narratives and as from being purely technologically driven towards examining spatial, social and cultural aspects of its implementation within museums. This approach to Interactivity needs to be re-conceptualized within its potential to bridge the gaps of current “distorted” communication among individuals and institutions alike. This line of thinking certainly moves a step beyond the interactions supported by the majority of current interactive exhibits existing in museum galleries. However further work is needed to locate ways, in which dialogue can occur by involving broader audiences, support visitor's expectations in such situations so that they know how to approach, extend and enrich their understanding and provide opportunities for visitors to be involved in mutual cooperation and contact with each other. By viewing communication as culture, instead of communication as transmission, we may move the focus towards the multiplicity and the socio-cultural aspects of interpretation and narration (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This raises however yet another set of questions regarding the form of museum narration, the power-relationships between curators and different visitor groups, and the politics of museums' exhibition design.

However, the possibilities from applying the cultural model of communication far outweigh the disadvantages (ibid). The potentials for museums encompass:

- The incorporation of new learning styles
- The recognition of differentiated audiences
- The development of museum professionals to incorporate a wider set of competencies
- Creation of innovative partnerships with their audiences
- Regeneration of museums as vital contemporary institutions

Those museums that seek to enhance their character in the function of interpretation and mediation of heritage, in providing access and enhance understanding by becoming places for dialogue and by promoting participation need to invest on establishing relationships with their visitors. Therefore they have to redefine the term Interactivity and rethink its implementation beyond the current conceptualization. Interactive exhibits if reconsidered may be one, but not the only way. For relationships to be built and to be sustained

mutual trust, understanding and effort from both sides is required. Communication is not inherently interactive; neither is a two way communication, unless there are relevant responses and reciprocity of messages exchanged between the participants involved; and interactions need not only take place between individual visitors and exhibits but among visitors and between visitors and museum staff. Within such an approach a dialogue instead of a monologue is supported and enhancement of knowledge instead of information transfer adds value in a participation of both the museum and its visitors in a relationship based on mutual trust and effort. Investment on Interactivity in this way promotes co-operation, which in a strong sense means that actors work together, create a new emergent reality and have shared goals; they all benefit from co-operating and can reach their goals in joint effort rather than on an individual basis; they learn from each other mutually, and can be interconnected in a network seeking to direct social and cultural life rather than merely following it. If the implementation of the concept which so far seems to be meeting consumer-marketed intended objectives within a leisure-industry-market oriented solutions won't be critically revised, the role of museums will only contribute to the already mass customization of services provided in cultural consumption and will only be able to serve the society in reproducing existing patterns of communication rather than contribute to its further development by posing a critical thinking attitude which is more likely to meet the purpose of museums as places where cultural heritage is not only preserved and presented but also generated and discussed, integrated and understood within a contemporary environment. The perspective of a relationship building between museum space-places and the public through the concept of interactivity challenges established and dominating tenets encountered in current interactivity approaches and implementation. While usability and measuring results -like attraction and holding power- refer to the exhibit's aspects and support the creation of a product, the relationship building perspective relies on expression and the shaping of activities of humans regarding perception, inducement and sense experience in supporting a process. The approach contrasts efficiency and accountability of the product to quality of the process. While educational objectives and knowledge transmission prevail in the current implementation of the concept, the new perspective draws

attention to meaning creation and cultural awareness supported by the entire environment. While in the first case visitors are assumed to be participants or more likely consumers in the new perspective they are perceived as performers and recognized as partners.

The conceptual framework of museum-society provides the ground for communication and cooperation among people, organizations and institutions within society, which share a vision and work towards a common goal. Within this dimension lies also a potential attitude of museums enabling visitors to participate actively in the setting up of exhibitions, to provide a space for contemporary discussions and debates as well as casual social interaction. The opportunity of visitors being actively involved within museum spaces can be regarded as the core feature of the concept of interactivity within museums. The involvement of visitor in having an effect on the museum environment implies a truly interactive experience to the point where the visitor has as much influence on the actions as the museum. It can then argued that Interactivity has the potential to support the notion of participatory culture by means of forming and sustaining strong relationships based on equal partnerships, collaboration, active participation and dialogue between museums, cultural organizations, educational institutions, social service organizations and the public.

Generation of such a dialogue between the museum and visitor, between nationalities, generations and regions, with one impacting on the other, can promote the concept of museums as sites for intercultural dialogue, encouraging respect and understanding of cultural diversity. Application of such a concept in museums is aligned with "New Museology" perspectives such as the epistemological shift towards viewing the museum as a heterogeneous space of multiple perspectives and critical thinking; challenging dominant views towards representing race, class and gender; and prioritizing the role of content over material objects. Interaction in this sense emphasizes communication and balance between the participants involved as well as integration of all human aspects (mental, emotional, physical and spiritual), creating an empowered and mutual relationship. It is based on shared goals and active participation of all parties, especially through communication, caring and sharing. Synergistic and symbiotic differences complement and enhance shared goals.

Relationship building by Interaction consists of recognizing:

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- Thoughts, feelings and actions culminating in teamwork.
- Creative energy, active involvement and initiative that constantly builds and recreates itself in new ways.
- An opportunity to a deeper connection between people who share common values as human beings, acknowledging their socio-cultural diversity.

In order to survive, museums must not claim to compete on purely economic terms but must emphasize the unique role they play in the creation of social and cultural value. The social and economic goals of the museum need not be in conflict, rather cultural activity can be used as an economic force.²⁰ Museums have the potential to bring about economic regeneration and social change as well as become leading cultural institutions with not only an educational focus but also a socio-cultural one. The museum is a space for many diverse people who view the world in different ways, whose previous experiences may be very different. The challenge is to create an environment where many needs are met. Education and outreach activities, together with access to information and decision-making, are the essential initial steps in unpicking the barriers – physical, intellectual, sensory, emotional, attitudinal, financial, cultural and technological. The removal of these barriers is complex, involving a holistic approach by the museum. The discussion about how to create interactivity in future museums is obviously not only about specific physical features of interactive exhibits; the discussion have to be keenly aware of ideological, societal, and historical aspects of how and what to communicate and what forms of participation and activities should be enabled to fit into a changing society. This is probably a good starting point in future studies of what Interactivity may consist of in the next generation of museums. It is also important to avoid homogenization and realize the uniqueness of each museum as well. No “one size” fits all. Each case has to be examined in its own characteristics, features, demands etc. “The situation of museums is obviously very complex and I think when we try to work out how to deal with this complexity, it is important not to reduce our reflections

²⁰ Round Table discussion on the Conference Theme of "Managing Change: the museum facing economic and social challenges". 19th General Conference and 20th General Assembly of the International Council of Museums, ICOM 2001, Barcelona

to one single model but to study several different ones, historical models, but also contemporary models. One of the real threats of globalization is the homogenization of the world of museums, and it is urgent to actually generate a situation which is receptive to interlocking spaces or bridges between old and new, but also keeping in mind the notion of acceleration and deceleration, moments of speed and moments of slowness, where you have zones of noise and where you have zones of silence, where you have actually also negotiations between the private and public space”²¹. Museum literature on interactivity in museums is, through its narrow view of interactive exhibits proves insufficient to research the opportunities Interactivity may bring to museums. The current interactive applications in most of the museums likewise are limited to the refashioning of older concepts and formats. New ideas are emerging, which offer exciting opportunities for museums to redefine Interactivity and its purpose though, in the sector as a whole, there remains considerable confusion and misunderstanding. The situation is worsened by the fact that many equate interactivity solely with technological means ignoring the wider forms it can take in museum philosophy and practices. Research suggests that there are a number of very different ways in which museums and galleries can implement meaningfully the concept of Interactivity though these are not always understood or accepted both within and out of the sector. Interactivity can be applied with technology, but also form the basis for non- technological practices and products. A holistic approach offers many new concepts that surpass the idea of Interactivity as means for previously existing functions, and can be useful to museums. The concept of Interactivity as has been examined here causes a change of behaviour of its users and their expectations and by this necessitates a changed approach by museums. Possible changes for the museum are: a new approach in the presentation of collections, towards a use of concepts such as social interaction and participatory culture, and a revaluation of both analogue and digital means for explanations. A new approach of the visitor: a participator in the development of knowledge and meaning and a partner in cultural value. If indeed Interactivity is not a promise unfulfilled but

²¹ Presentation | Hans Ulrich Obrist, Art Basel Conversations | Thursday, December 2, 2004
http://www.art.ch/global/show_document.asp?id=aaaaaaaaaiwor,
<http://www.art.ch/go/id/ern/> [last accessed 1 June 2007]

rather a concept not yet realized, the museum as facilitator of debates, forum of ideas, learning environment about past and current issues and developments, and a hub between different (inter)national knowledge centres, events and the visitor might find its new role in society.

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Global models for concrete realities

Óscar Navajas Corral

The need for a change

The twentieth century has been characterized by having some of the crucial moments that have significantly changed the social vision of the world and influenced the social structures of societies in the XXI century. The highlights may be found in the totalitarianism of the early twentieth century, two world wars, economic crises, civil disobedience and economic neocolonizers, student revolutions, ideological quarrels during an iron curtain which grew opposite positions from the radical liberalism capitalist to communist tight state control. Thus, this situation led to a globalization marked by what we call postmodernism, a way of defining the random and varied social and cultural results of a global village increasingly dizzying favoured by the media.

The barrier that delimits these changes was marked by the end of World War II in 1945. This defined the transition from modernity to postmodernity where the events of the war marked, a before and after, reflection on the debate about the human condition. The most obvious example is the postmodern artistic movements of the fifties and sixties who worked from anthropology as a journey to the essence of human being, outside the institutional organizations. Cultural heritage and museology changes were reflected in several substantial changes the redefinition and expansion of obsolete concepts and not consistent with the social development rhythm worldwide. A new opening of cultural institutions to disciplines like anthropology and pedagogy took place with the help of the newly created United Nations (Alonso Fernández, 2006: 79-80).

The museum and heritage began to be defined as spaces for social action and cultural communities. Spaces where not only has a contemplative visitor-object direction but could be reciprocal. The concept of heritage object, outside or inside the museum, changes the passivity concept of the "window" to the vision alive and useful

as evidence of societies. Museums, new and institutionalized, had to adapt to new social needs.

In essence, a return to humanism. It would be difficult to try to understand the current museum and heritage that we do use today without the structuralist vision of Levi-Strauss, the pragmatism of historical and cultural facts from Marvin Harris's, social pedagogy of Paulo Freire, and the concept of space as non-place or direction of the ruins in our society and our individual vision without Marc Augé. These authors helped to understand that the Heritage are social constructions that were created by a need (material or spiritual) and they are determined and part of human evolution, so it must remain to some extent and it must be useful from the identity point of view with the past.

The key date in this process can focus on the May 68 French. A student movement and workers who overcame the barriers of Gallic country to become the most important social movement of the twentieth century. Decolonization brought political independence to countries wishing to strengthen and regain their cultural identity. The museum was a way to begin this work of re-identification. Ethnic minorities in developed countries like the United States was another focus for the struggle of equalities. To this social situation, the American Southern Cone countries status were also added to the same scenario where the national identity of each state was promoted through anthropological and archaeological studies of native cultures while dictatorial movements were developing at the same time.

A final result to take into account of these changes was the institutional support achieved at international level. In the Hague Convention of the United Nations in 1954 was transmitted to the damage caused to the assets during conflict are arming damage to the heritage of all mankind. Years before, immediately followed by the creation of the United Nations (UN) created the International Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (UNESCO) which was gradually adding different international agencies to safeguard the Heritage and culture, equality of human rights in education and scientific development²².

²² In museum and heritage matters the most prominent were the creation of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1946, the International Committee for Museology (ICOFOM) in 1977, the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural

We must add in this introductory overview the emerging culture of consumption and leisure and the growing tourism industry bringing new social actors in the global map. The tourist, massive or alternatively, is positioned as the neo-colonizer and exotic landmarks. Some visitors with a will to discover are a source of revenues for those touristic destinations, that without adequate supervision, can have negative direct consequences for the survival of a heritage and identity of their communities .

A change in the paradigm

The museum since its inception in the revolutionary movements of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries, was a mirror in which society could reflect their cultural identity must adapt to this new social landscape. But the modern museum inherited from the French Revolution which was born to safeguard the heritage of all citizens of a country and at the same time, provide a space for the enjoyment and education, the Bible of people, it was becoming a rut a place for research and conservation of relics of the past had access to only a minority of "experts". This museum is the nineteenth century has survived to this day and even today many social sectors have in your mental image of it. But the museum also has sometimes been misunderstood entity, and other manipulated. On numerous occasions they have served as a political weapon for the exaltation of a fervent patriotism for sacral reasons through the contribution of the art market, or stop mass tourism which saw in them a pilgrimage to Mecca at any scheduled trip. The museum has become more than ever, and increasingly diverse circumstances, public purpose and objective of desire (Alonso 1999, 12).

This scenario required new ideas, new policies and a redefinition of museums that are still divided between those who held that the work of the museum focused on the object-collection, and those who understand the museum as a work relationship human being with the heritage and the environment (Teixeira in 2002)²³.

Heritage (ICOM), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN). All these organisms represented a clear commitment to renewal in the form and substance of heritage and museums worldwide.

²³ TEIXEIRA MOURA SANTOS, M^ª C. (2002). *Reflexões museológicas: caminhos de vida*. Caderno de Sociomuseologia nº 18. Universidade Lusófona (Portugal).

New and different museums began to appear in different countries. And if new museums appeared also sprouted new thoughts and ways of understanding the museum and the museum, museum of science methodology. Jean Gabus, Duncan F. Cameron, Georges Henri Rivière, Hugues de Varine, Miriam Arroyo, Nancy Fuller, Marc Maure, Pierre Mayrand, Mario Moutinho, René François Rivard and Wasserman are some of the authors, museum curators of *les jeunes contestataire génération*²⁴, in charge of renovating museums and museology, which was called the New Museology. The New Museology be understood as an applied science and a science of action (Alonso Fernández, 1999: 63). A movement that comes from the hand of a number of professionals of different disciplines in the 70's with a different look (multidisciplinary) to the museum. The starting point of this way of museums and the museum will be the Roundtable held in 1972 in Santiago de Chile, organized by UNESCO and with the title "the role of museums in Latin America." Although as institutionalized movement joined the International Council of Museums (ICOM) we can not mention it until the Quebec Declaration 1984 and the subsequent founding of the International Movement for a New Museology (MINOM) in Portugal in 1985.

In the history of this paradigm shift in the philosophy of museums have been some key facts that are references to understand the change. Freeman Tilden in 1957 published his book *Interpreting Our Heritage*. A new discipline was born in environmental education that was gradually influencing the cultural heritage and museums, which consists of transmitting a message to the public able to make them feel relevant and part of the heritage by promoting understanding and awareness to preserve, respect and exposure of it. A year after celebrating the UNESCO Regional Seminar on the Role of Education in Museums. Rio de Janeiro (Brazil, 1958), where the heritage object ceased to have a unique aesthetic dimension but also has a historical dimension and education (Primo, 1999: 9).

In 1966 the conference of Lur (Provence, France) was organized in which early reflections on museums in the country were discussed. In these years, France is developing the Natural Regional Parks Act that would come the following year, in 1967. Georges Henri Rivière, who sponsored the creation of ICOM in 1946, was incorporating the ideas of a sustainable heritage to invoke the cultural and natural

²⁴ Olcina, 1984: 52.

museum influenced by the experiences of Scandinavian museums in the late nineteenth century, a huge economic boom France , with a population of new rights who enjoyed four weeks of paid vacation per year, and a domestic tourism growing as a direct result of depopulation had suffered in the migration from the countryside to the city.

The qualitative and quantitative leap took place in the Round Table of Santiago de Chile, organized by UNESCO in 1972 under the title: The role of museums in Latin America. The Round Table of Santiago de Chile was a before and after the conception of the museum as a place for space heritage and to society. At an event in which at first intended only to weigh the state of museums and heritage in Latin America became an international forum for professionals of all disciplines concerned with the use of heritage and museums.

In Chile, it was agreed this new museum that it had been anticipated by the name of eco-museum in 1971 by the French Minister Robert Poujalde, with the advice of GH Rivière and Hugues de Varine, during the Ninth Meeting of ICOM, and in Chile are trying to unite within other community experiences with the name of Integral Museum. A museum *oriented to offer the community a global view of its material and cultural environment. With the concept of museum the institution becomes an instrument of social change, as a tool for development and as action. Therefore this museum works with the perspective of global heritage. (Primo, 1999, 11).*

Also in Latin America was another of the highlights of the new museum. Oaxtepec Seminary. *Ecomuseums - Planning - Heritage – Community* in Morelos city (Mexico, 1984). Morelos's statement stands as an emblem for the New Museology theory which gradually ceased to be a mere disintegration of the traditional museum became a reality with adherents throughout the world. The equation Heritage - Territory - Community and pillars for the establishment of museums in the orbit of this emerging discipline is evidenced by the multitude of activities which met at the seminar and later served as the theoretical corpus of the discipline.

After Morelos and the Declaration of Quebec the same year 1984, in which a series of museum gathered to give shape to an idea that came out years before forming a movement to the New Museology, it was created, in Lisbon, the International Movement for a New Museology (1985).

At present the MINOM is an international movement, associated with the ICOM-UNESCO, which brings experience and professionals involved with museums and heritage and with the strong conviction to create a museum in direct relationship to society, using its Heritage for social development, and where conservation, research and dissemination and continues to grow as the lab makes clear Sociomuseología Lusófona created at the University of Lisbon, the IRES of Piedmont (Italy), the Manifesto for Altermuseología (Pierre Mayrand, 2007), or the boom of experiences and activities with the parameters of the New Museology emerged in Asia.

The new parameters. A new instrument.

Among the many writers who have professed and contributed theoretically and pragmatically to the New Museology is the Scandinavian Marc Maure who defined it as a historical phenomenon and a system values²⁵ organizing its basic parameters:

1. Cultural democracy. *No culture should be dominant and be treated as "culture" to the detriment of the existing cultural diversity.* Cultural democracy seeks participatory dialogue of all parties involved in the community (and museum professionals from other disciplines, political or governmental authorities, institutions or private companies, associations or community movements, and by the citizen.)
2. A new triple paradigm: from monodisciplinarity to pluridisciplinarity; the public and building community in the territory. The New Museology passes from one object to a heritage (natural and cultural), from a public to a community and from a building to a territory.
3. Awareness. This system requires a pedagogy focused on the interpretation, provocation, and community awareness of being linked to its heritage.
4. An open and interactive system. A new way of working in the museum, not closed doors but in the opposite direction.
5. Dialogue between subjects. Interaction and participation as keys to community development.

In these new approaches no the exposure nor the museum are the goal themselves of the museum action, but tools. These are the tools by which the community can dialogue with its heritage. The tools by which the community can transmit their identity. And, ultimately, the

²⁵ (ICOFOM Study Series, nº 25: 1996, 127-132; Alonso, 1999: 73; 2006: 27)

tools by which the community develops and evolves into a future through the recovery, use and enhancement of the past.

The intangible heritage and the collective memory are the parts which have to be conserved and worked with. The tangible objects are the material witnesses bearing these meanings. The inheritance object is a means of communication which carries a message given and reinterpreted by its creators, the community.

The proposed new museum should have an utterly different conception when opposed to the traditional museum, without disregarding or neglecting the conservation functions and the heritage research, though. Yet, its aim was focused on a global vision of the reality. Not only should the researches on the heritage which it holds be a means to go deep into the objects of the research, but also it should have a correlation with the identity of its creators, society itself. Thus, the museum should abandon the limits of the building and conceive its relation with the inhabitants and the territory. Hence, the ecologist anxieties aroused in the sixties, the Interpretation theories of authors such as Tidden and Aldrige or the forms of formal and non-formal pedagogy by Paulo Freire were essential for the conception of a museum with these features.

This new museistic typology proposed will be made real through one of its most emblematic typologies: the ecomuseum. Emblematic because it was, jointly with the community museums and the neighbourhood museums, among the first to raise the alert on the necessity of a new museistic institution and a new way of working upon it, right in times of social changes – the seventies. Besides, it came up with practical solutions, without being restricted only on the theoretical part of the “revolution”.

About ecomuseums and ecomuseology

Hugues de Varine (2006) summarized the concepts expressed in the previous epigraphs into three phases: Innovation, Formulation of new Concepts and the Development of New Practices and Musicological Experiences. The innovation phase is characterized by the arousal of new experiences which set forth a different museum. Epitomes of this are: the Scandinavian outdoors museums, which represent an attempt to recover the identity of local populations in an industrialized *fin de siècle* society; the Mexican community

museums, outcomes of the anthropological school lead by Mario Vázquez and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología – INAH (National Institute of Anthropology) which had just been constituted in the sixties, the neighbourhood museums, such as the Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum, created in the United States- in a context in which the struggle for equality and the civil rights marked the agenda in the “country of the opportunities and freedom”; the creation of the National Museum of Niamey (Niger) as a unifying place in a country where all ethnic groups have their participation and place guaranteed; or the outdoors museums and future ecomuseums which started to come to life in France during the sixties, as a result of new environmental policies envisaging to protect nature.

In the second phase proposed by Varine, *formulation of new concepts*, the stress on museistic creativity and on the labours to use the heritage as a means of social participation and a tool to recognize cultural identities, soon found a response in the professional and institutional international panorama. It is at this moment that the coinage of two important concepts takes place: the ecomuseum, in Grenoble in 1971, and the *Museo Integral*, in Chile 1972, whose tangible reflection will be seen in the creation of the ecomuseum Le Creusot-Montceau in 1973.

In the third phase, after Le Creusot, the Latin American experiences and the Summit in Santiago de Chile, came forth the *development of new practices* which gradually were introduced into the scope of what was starting to be called the New Museology.

From the analysis of Varine’s proposal, we will focus on the second phase, once it is when the community museum, social museum, neighbourhood museum and ecomuseum are conceptually established. A list of typologies with very little differences but which play similar roles in the integration of the heritage as a *dynamic* of the communities in their relation with the place they dwell. The ecomuseum was one of the first terms to be coined and internationally exported, being present in the five continents.

Conceptual evolution of the ecomuseums.

Defining ecomuseum as a concept, as well as the museistic institution itself, has always been a complex enterprise to act out. Some “inconveniences” that the possible definition of this museistic typology arouse dwells, on the one hand, in the heterogeneity of the experiences and standards which it has developed and, on the other hand, in the terminology used to describe it and which is immediately bound to the social and human sciences, widening the possibilities of debates and dialectic subjectivities around it.

The same person who helped – in the fifties – to coin the generic definition of museum, George Henri Rivi re is the one who gave ecomuseum its first definition in 1973 – a year after the round-table conference in Santiago de Chile, later extending it in 1978 and eventually consolidating it in 1980, as follows:

Un ecomuseo como un instrumento que el poder y la poblaci3n conciben, fabrican y explotan conjuntamente. El poder, con los expertos, las instalaciones, y los recursos que ponen a disposici3n; la poblaci3n, seg3n sus aspiraciones, sus conocimientos y su idiosincrasia.

Un espejo donde la poblaci3n se contempla para reconocerse, donde busca la explicaci3n del territorio en el que est3 enraizada y en el que se sucedieron todos los pueblos que la precedieron, en la continuidad y la discontinuidad de las generaciones. Un espejo que la poblaci3n ofrece a sus hu3spedes, por hacerse entender mejor, en el respeto de su trabajo, de sus comportamientos y de su intimidad.

Una expresi3n del hombre y de la naturaleza. El hombre es all3 interpretado en relaci3n a su 3mbito natural, y la naturaleza est3 presente en su estado salvaje, pero tambi3n tal como la sociedad tradicional y la sociedad industrial la transformaran a su imagen.

Una expresi3n del tiempo, cuando la interpretaci3n remonta hasta el momento de la aparici3n y se va escalonando a trav3s de los tiempos prehist3ricos e hist3ricos para desembocar en el tiempo del hombre de hoy. Con una apertura al ma3ana, sin por ello arrogarse poderes de decisi3n, el ecomuseo cumple una funci3n en el campo de la informaci3n y del an3lisis cr3tico.

Una interpretaci3n del espacio: de espacios privilegiados donde detenerse, donde caminar.

Un laboratorio, en cuanto contribuye al estudio histórico y contemporáneo de la población y de su entorno y favorece la formación de especialistas en la materia, en cooperación con otras organizaciones de investigación.

Un conservatorio, en la medida en que contribuye a la preservación del patrimonio natural y cultural de la población. Una escuela, en la medida en la que asocia esta población a sus actividades de estudio y de protección, donde le incita a tomar mayor conciencia de los problemas que plantea su propio futuro.

Este laboratorio, este conservatorio, esta escuela se inspiran en principios comunes. La cultura a la que pertenecen debe ser entendida en su sentido más amplio, y es por eso que se esfuerzan por hacer conocer su dignidad y su expresión artística, cualquiera sea el estrato social del que emanan esas experiencias. Su diversidad no conoce límites, a tal punto difieren sus elementos de un caso a otro. Su característica es la de no encerrarse en sí mismos: reciben y dan²⁶.

This is the definition which the majority of professionals and authors appeal to in order to explain an ecomuseistic institution. Other authors, however, have given some interesting definitions to ecomuseums. The creator of the word ecomuseum, Hugues de Varine (1978:28) defined this typology as *une institution qui gère, étudie, exploite à des fins scientifiques, éducatives et en general culturelles le patrimoine global d'une communauté donnée, comprenant la totalité de l'environnement naturel et culturel de cette communauté.*

An institution which was defined by all the means and methods upon its reach so as to enable a community to be aware of itself (of its identity) and its territory to be able to face, thence, its problems and necessities with a high degree of autarchy. According to Pierre Mayrand (2004 : 45-46) *on peut tenter de caractériser globalement l'écomusée (...), comme une organisation à vocation socioculturelle, utilisant l'histoire et l'exposition, l'éducation populaire, comme les outils privilégiés d'un projet de connaissance de soi, de développement harmonisé et d'ouverture su le monde. Il peut éter un instrument de*

²⁶ Original in: RIVIÈRE, G.H (1985). **Tercera definición, versión de 1980.** Revista Museum, nº 148, vol XXXVII, nº 4: 182-183. spanish edition

luttres des groupes défavorisés, de revendication de l'environnement durable.

Any of the definitions quoted previously coincide in saying that the ecomuseums are, in essence, experiences focused on the development of the community²⁷ in all levels by means of the research on the heritage and the reappropriation of the cultural identity of a population which has created it along its existence in a delimited territory. (Murtas y Davis, 2009: 150).

Even though, the ecomuseum – which has been almost 40 years in effect – keeps on being a hard term to define and to explain and, fundamentally according to what Pierre Maurand set *que l'écomusée ne peut être considéré comme une catégorie muséale, mais plutôt comme une philosophie de l'action muséale conjugée, intimement liée au processus du développement. Ainsi, l'écomusée renferme plusieurs formes de musées à la fois, l'écomuséologie étant ce qui l'unifie. Ce que distingue cette muséologie du musée "conventionnel" (régé par des normes universelles) est le facteur de "gestion communautaire" étendu à l'ensemble du territoire d'appartenance (auto approprié) qu'elle contribue à créer ou à recréer* (Mayrand, 2004: p 11-12).

Along the following pages we will analyse the key characteristics of the ecomuseums on an academic basis, so as to compare them to the Japanese ecomuseums, in an attempt to check the globalization of the term and its evolution towards the future.

Ecomuseum indicator

If a consensual definition of the ecomuseum is a hard task to perform, much less specify the characteristics (indicators) which make it different and particular from other museistic typologies. In previous epigraphs we have set that the parameters on which the New Museology was based and the *new* museum meant cultural democracy; a new triple paradigm; the social awakening; an open and interactive system; and the dialogue between individuals. The guidelines coined by Maure will be the preliminary base to know which is the essence or the philosophy from where the New

²⁷ Para Hugues l'écomusée (...) c'est d'abord une communauté et un objectif: le développement de cette communauté. C'est ensuite la pédagogie globale s'appuyant sur un patrimoine et sur des acteurs, appartenant tous deux à cette même communauté (1978: 31)

Museology start. But in order to take a deep look into the concrete features of the ecomuseums, we must appeal first to the creator whose definition we have coined in the previous epigraph from which it is possible to infer that the ecomuseum is characterized as being:

1. A concurrence of continuous democratic dialogue between the Civil Powers of a territory and its people in equality of conditions.
2. A space for research focused on the scientific recovery of the cultural heritage, besides the recovery of this people's cultural identity.
3. An open space, deprived from predefined administrative limits. It is defined by means of the usage and inhabitability which this community made of it along its past and present evolutionary time
4. A laboratory in which the population jointly with the experts research on their culture, their necessities and their problems. The ecomuseum is a living space which acts as a bond between the past and the future.
5. A place for the participation and education as instruments of awakening. The heritage is the reflection of a people, what it has been and what it is at the current moment. Participation is the key element in the ecomuseum; this is what fundamentally makes it distinct from the traditional museum.
6. A lasting instrument, sustainable in space and time. The ecomuseum is an evolutionary form, changing, in continuous movement like the society that lives in it and develops it.

The guidelines taken from his definition of ecomuseums are the basis of the first ecomuseums, whose experience is marked by the influence of the Scandinavian outdoors museums, the proto-ecomuseums (Maggi and Falletti; 2000) emerged from the previous and incipient French regional natural parks in the sixties and the first ecomueistic experiences such as Creusot-Montceau-les-Mines. It makes evident the social purpose of the ecomuseum, the horizontality of the democratic management in which the experts are as important as the people and the territory as a space for participation and continuous coexistence in the past and in the future.

In concurrence with these experiences and with the dates of the evolutionary definition of the ecomuseum, de Varine asserted that the ecomuseums should set the community as the object and the subject of the ecomuseum, overcoming the functions of the traditional museum and turning into an element for the development of this community having the heritage and the social memory as raw material and the integral education as an instrument of awakening (1978: 31-34)

The holistic sense and the global pedagogy are the breakthroughs which de Varine materialized regarding Rivière's definition. Democratization, participation and the course of the social development are the maxima which they share. In both definitions we can infer that the Cultural and Natural Heritage are the reflection of the identity of a community and that they must aim at a sustainable economic and social development.

Therein, Jean Claude Duclos - in his text *L'écomusée, Histoire et actualité* (1990: 13) – compounded the characteristics of the ecomuseums into three basic pillars: the participation of the community, the contribution of the function of the museums (conservation, research and diffusion) to the critical thought of the people about their situation, their surroundings and their identity; the use of a certain pluridisciplinarity in the construction of an ecomuseistic experience which matches the necessities of the people and is alert to the changes that are produced. The community development set the scene for the final goal of the ecomuseums, according to these three authors.

Another author, Moylan (1992) proposed five key elements to define which were the concrete characteristics that the ecomuseums should accomplish: an open territory, a fragmented collection composed by the concurrence of the natural and cultural heritage, professional interdisciplinarity, a network where all the implied actors interconnected can be found, and a management in which the political powers, the people and the associations are in equality of condition, Boyle insists in some of the characteristics proposed by the previous authors but he adds the network as a means of agglutinating work and democratizing the decision making process.

Three years later, in 1995, Hamrin and Haulander in *The Ecomuseum Bergslagen*, published a list containing eighteen indicators to identify

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an ecomuseum and differentiate it from other types of museistic experience (Davis 1999)

1. *Covers a Wide area.*
2. *Consists of selected environments in the cultural landscape.*
3. *Demonstrates what, where and how things took place in their original setting.*
4. *Strives to explain what, where and how.*
5. *Strives to preserve, restore and reconstruct*
6. *Strives to activate the visitors and make the cultural heritage accessible*
7. *Is founded on the interaction between culture and tourism*
8. *Cares for what already exists*
9. *Is based on the joint efforts of local authorities, associations, organizations, companies and private individuals.*
10. *Is dependent on active voluntary efforts.*
11. *Aims to make a little-known district accessible to tourists.*
12. *Appeals to local inhabitants in an efforts to create a feeling of local identity.*
13. *Appeals to schools and education at all levels*
14. *Is in a continuous process of evolution, where new features and improvements both long term and short term are introduced into the development programme.*
15. *Aims to show the whole-from the general to the specific.*
16. *Collaborates with artist, craftsmen, writers, actors and musicians.*
17. *Promotes researches by means of study circles and at an academic level.*
18. *Aims to illustrate the connection between technology and the individual, between nature and culture, between past and present, between then and now.*

A close Redding shows us how many of the indicators are not exclusive features of the ecomuseums. Peter Davis (1999; 220-227) analysed each one of these points, detecting that the idea of the fragmentation of the heritage around a territory is not something particular only to ecomuseums once several countries possess administrative bodies which also have this vision, for instance, the French Regional natural Parks or the American National Parks. Neither is considered exclusive to ecomuseums, the connection of the past and the people by means of the interpretation of the tangible and intangible culture, once several museums play this role by means

of their exhibitions and activities. Hence, the creation of a network with external and internal partners is not an exclusive particularity of the ecomuseums, once the modern museums also need continuous help to sustain themselves.

On the other hand, Davis does highlight some characteristics which a traditional museum does not accomplish. The interpretation of the individual and the community of the territory at a geographical scale, out of the walls of the museum as its habitat and where the ecomuseum is constituted is indeed something exclusive.

Moreover, Davis did that detects certain features that does not meet traditional museum. Interpretation of the individual and the community on a scale geographic territory outside the walls of the museum as their habitat and where is the eco-museum if it is something exclusive to them. This spatial concept inherited from Rivière attached to the sense of identity that unites wills and forges as the engine of eco-museum itself are unique peculiarities of these experiences. They are also characteristics of ecomuseums sense of continuous development and living space that is not stuck in time but as a constantly evolving organism. The interpretation as a tool of appropriation and ownership, education at all levels and awareness of all sectors and stakeholders is what makes these experiences something other than an institution and goes to an organization, changing, evolving, which imply its past and present in the same space for future development²⁸.

From this analysis and their professional and academic experience, the Professor Davis (1999: 228) reduced this list to five indicators museological close to those already proposed Boylan. His work deals with the concept of long-term sustainability as a form of awareness of leg following development: social, cultural and economic.

Since the last decade of the twentieth century ecomuseology longer stay in a range of European and Latin American countries and expanding into Asian Americans who saw ecomuseums a form of cultural expression, to recover the identity and traditions after a rapid industrialization and to develop disadvantaged populations. Asian countries such as China, Japan and Korea are prime examples of this

²⁸ In one of his last publications, Pierre Mayrand, was comparing the ecomuseo with a snail symbolizing the freedom of movement of the ecomuseum and his territoriality not marked administratively *El Lactarius deliciosus: La proyección de un habitat sensible abierto al Universo. Una tertulia que reúne visitantes y habitantes en un acto de respeto compartido para gozar la belleza y la alegría de vivir que inspira nuestra tierra* (Mayrand, 2009: 19).

fact. In 2005 Congress was held on Communication and Exploration in Guizhou, China, with the collaboration of research and development institute IRES Piedmont led by Maurizio Maggi. At this congress the Professor Su Donghai endorsed the basic principles of eco-museums in XXI century has been called the Principles Liuzhi:

1. *The people of the villages are the true owners of their culture. They have the right to interpret and validate it themselves.*
2. *The meaning of culture and its values can be defined only by human perception and interpretation based on knowledge. Cultural competence must be enhanced.*
3. *Public participation is essential to ecomuseums. Culture is a common and democratic asset, and must be democratically managed.*
4. *When there is a conflict between tourism and preservation of culture the latter must be given priority. The genuine heritage should not be sold out, but production of quality souvenirs based on traditional crafts should be encouraged.*
5. *Long term and holistic planning is of utmost importance. Short time economic profits that destroy culture in the long term must be avoided.*
6. *Cultural heritage protection must be integrated in the total environmental approach. Traditional techniques and materials are essential in this respect.*
7. *Visitors have a moral obligation to behave respectfully. They must be given a code of conduct.*
8. *There is no bible for ecomuseums. They will all be different according to the specific culture and situation of the society they present. Social development is a prerequisite for establishing ecomuseums in living societies. The well-being of the inhabitants must be enhanced in ways that do not compromise traditional values.*

These principles greatly emphasizes the social weight that all the premises that are designated for ecomuseums. Likewise, the step involving these principles is the consideration of tourism. Tourism has always been an important feature because it is inalienable ecomuseums this social and business phenomena of cultural mobilization and, at another level, economic XX and XXI century. Tourism is beginning to be understood socially, economically, politically and academically as a *actividad social generadora de actividad económica* (Vera, 1997). Awareness of the positive and

negative aspects of tourism activities in areas such as those developed in ecomuseums experiences makes them tend towards sustainable tourism which has vital importance not only local people but also tourists take an act of awareness and sensitivity to what you are visiting²⁹.

Following Liuzhi Principles, and in an attempt to bring together indicators Boylan and Holleman, Davis and Corsane (2006)³⁰ write twenty-one parameters that are based ecomuseums institutions. Foremost is the idea of comprehensive sustainability that is detected in most of the items listed. Natural and human sustainability that ensures the future of the community. Sustainability is essential for this multidisciplinary work, the awareness of all community stakeholders (public and private) and the use of tourism in a regulated manner, as a support tool and not exploitation.

We conclude that ecomuseums, therefore, have the following fundamental characteristics of ownership and the formation of an experience ecomuseum:

1. Sustainability (development of a community). Sustainability is understood in the ecomuseums as integral approach, which comes not only the preservation of nature but that the term environment is a list of actors in a geosystem considered as a set of entities biotic, abiotic and anthropogenic.
2. A community. Is an essential part of the ecomuseum. Is the engine of ecomuseum. Is the subject and object at in same time of ecomuseum.
3. Social action as altruistic action. The act of community volunteers ecomuseum volunteer does not refer to culture but to the action of critical reflection of the culture of which we spoke earlier. It is the act of awareness which works for the community and the territory as habitat (Mayrand, 2009). The selfless act of

²⁹ In the last decades there is an international movement towards the sustainability and towards a sustainable tourism that is marking all the social, cultural and economic areas. The first one that untied this wave was la Cumbre de Lanzarote de 1992, the next was the meeting of Évora de 1997, and in our field of action the current letter of cultural tourism that has arisen as joint initiative of the International Advice of Museums (ICOM) and the Federación de Amigos de los Museos (FEAMS) of the year 2010. In these declarations the tourism is understood as conquest of the 20th century and the culture as a form of social cohesion.

³⁰ The Twenty-one Principles of Gerard was published in his article *From outreach to inreach: how ecomuseum principles encourage community participation in museum processes* (2007).

community member is being able to put the alarm at times of crisis and alleviate the need to take it.

4. The recognition of a territory not strictly defined by administrative boundaries in which there is a fragmented heritage. This demarcation does not belong to a closed or administrative boundaries but should start one's own experiential interpretation of the community.

5. Economic activities. The permanent exhibition is brewing as a formula for social, cultural and economic development of an environment. This is one of the features that separate the traditional museum ecomuseum. The eco-museum should aim at a list of actors, public and private, which not only lead to the conservation of cultural or natural environment but to the economic survival from the anthropological point of view. Tourism and cultural industries are the focus of attention of this feature.

Ecomuseums are living entities, without apparently changing a single rigid model (Rivière, 1989, Davis, 1999, Corsane, 2006 among others). Each community is different, every need social and territorial demands a precise course of action. We can not only keep these indicators to assess the approach of a supposed institution using the nickname "ecomuseal" to estimate the degree of involvement that planning has its ecomuseological philosophy and.

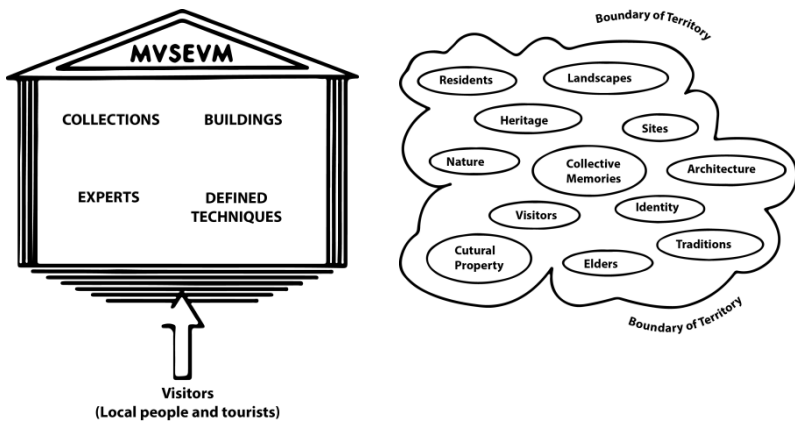
Ecomuseum Models

The first model that comes to this "new museum" is when the building architecture is supplanted by a broader conception, outside the four walls, a geographic landscape. The permanent collections are considered in this space as a set of natural heritage and cultural co-existence, and visitors are not tourists but visitors who are involved in the community or communities that inhabit the territory's. This scheme separates the traditional museum and the new museum and explains the new understanding of the museum itself as it has been ratified and used from contemporary authors who created it as a practical or theoretical Rivière (1989), of Varine and Mayrand on numerous occasions, or Rivard (1984, 1988), to the successive generations of museum curators and ecomuseólogos and Duclos

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(1990), Boylan (1992), Davis (1999), Maggi (2004), Corsano (2006) among others. It has become the main base from which to start ecomuseums models as a way of managing Heritage (natural and cultural) supported by the as an engine through the appropriation of an inner force called collective memory. Rivard (1984) reflected this change made as follows:

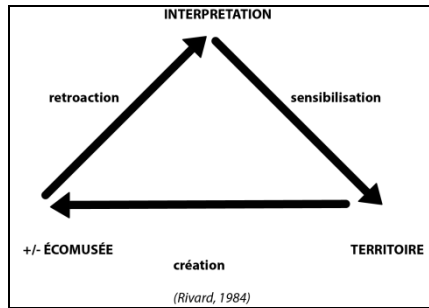
Imagen 1



The first Ecomuseums generation was born in France from the newly created Regional Parks match under this model of fragmented territory and open museum. A symbiosis of the experience learned by Rivière of Scandinavian open-air museums, the exhibitions organized in the Trocadero Museum in Paris, the preservation of natural environment and concern for the recovery of the cultural identity of the populations after May 68 which demanded more social policies.

Imagen 2

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During the Seminar on Ecomuseums Territory, Heritage and Community held in Morelos (Oaxtepec, Mexico) in 1984, Rivard presented a model of *Triangle de la créativité* by the New Museology gives the community or communities receiving a recovery move identity and development of the territory museum to interpret the action and join their environment this way in the management of the museum itself, in this case referred to himself as eco-museum. This model represents a further step in the specification of the ecomuseal structure to explain how to implement a ecomuseal experience in a given community.

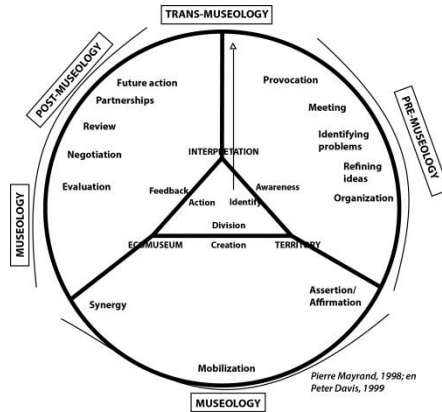
Interpretation is the first state in which society is able to scan and recognize a certain reality. The recognition of the state in which lies the reality of the social environment in all its dimensions, leads to appropriate or reappropriate (awareness) of territory to form a new reality emerging in construction, eco-museum (creation).

Interpretation is a fundamental factor is the way in which the population is again relevant place. At the time that the population is aware of this step creates an awareness that allows forward. The new museum is not only an institution but a movement, dynamic and alive, you need self-assessment (feedback) to re-interpret the new reality.

This last phase is that which closes the triangle as shown in the chart nearby is fed from the dynamics of the community. This structure,

Imagen 3

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This last phase is that which closes the triangle as shown in the chart nearby is fed from the dynamics of the community. This structure, although not fully explain what it is or how to build an eco-museum, it could be the first eco-museum model (Davis, 2005: 371).

Pierre Mayrand, close to the orbit of Rivard, expanded and developed the first model of deepening triangular structure in phases to enable an experience of this type (1994, 1998).

The starting point remains the act of interpretation and reappropriation of a community and its agents of a territory in its geographical sense and equity. This first stage is pre-museum in which the community reflects the status. An act of self-assessment to identify problems, define possible solutions and organization. It involves the act of awareness (identification) by the community of their social and geographical place they inhabit.

This would in essence to deepen the "critical culture, a culture that is the basis for a New Museology and part personal reflection and free the individual. It consists of a steady stream of creations and analysis, enabling the interpretation of both popular culture (beliefs, traditions, etc..) and the culture of science (rational, specialized, etc..). This critical culture is the process of collective identification and individual cultural and natural environment at the same time. The individual becomes an active part of the museum and therefore actively change the process also becoming the museum in a medium to express a reality. The action involves identifying a demonstration in the natural and cultural territory for the creation of eco-museum. The permanent exhibition is the final act of museology as a symbiosis

of multidisciplinary professional and very dynamic force in the local population.

In the last step of the triangular ring structure is the post-museum. The previous steps are accompanied by a change in the reality of the community and its environment. It is necessary to analyze the new situation and plan future actions, possible networks, partners and collaborators and, most importantly, evaluate. This state would lead to a new interpretation, which is considered the ecomuseum as a living form that is fed continuously by the community itself (feedback). This step leads to a trans-museum, a utopian state where the community is self-sufficient to develop this triangular scheme without the need for museological professionals³¹.

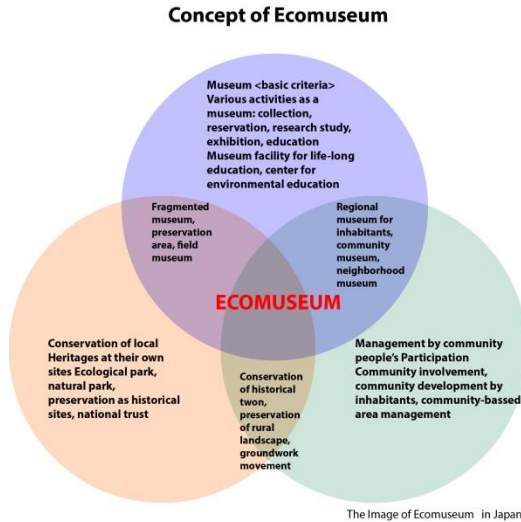
Peter Davis (1999, 2007) presents a model that reflects the relationship between the different actors in an ecomuseum. The permanent exhibition, as in the models seen so far is not necessarily a tangible entity that serves as a link between a satellite network, institutions and working groups with a common goal towards development. It is like a *necklace model* in which all parties join ecomuseum facilitates decentralization and participation in decision-making by different actors without the dominance of a single place to regulate the activities and policies of the different areas of ecomuseum.

This decentralized model is based on the relationship between the community and the territory with a clear vision of environmental sustainability. The importance lies not only in the recovery of identity and heritage of a place and a few people but to make this place, this ecomuseum, sustainable global perspective (social and environmental). Decentralized vision of the ecomuseum management and sustainable value presented by Peter Davis has been followed by professionals ecomuseology such as Professor Kazuoki Ohara which defined a year before the publication of Davis with the following model of decentralized ecomuseum (1998).

This scheme has the rigor researcher and curator of the museum at the same time assimilating the new role of community development and relationship with the environment that forms the eco-museum.

³¹ In 2009 the professor Mayrand ratifies this scheme in his book *Manual del Proceder del Ecomuseo* where it adds a temporary frame to achieve the aim to create an entity with the ecomuseal philosophy.

Imagen 4



For Professor Ohara (1998) the term *ecomuseum* refers to the environmental activities that aim to develop a region as a living museum.

Ecomuseology at present, more specifically, the ecomuseums, essentially divided between the use of Anglo-Saxon model followed by Peter Davis and Francophone model in line with the ideas of Pierre Mayrand. At first glance it would be clear that the first model with its emphasis on environmental and social sustainability and the second emphasizes the role of the community as a major player on the environment. But a closer look glimpsed many points of contact between the two:

- All tend to consider the ecomuseum as an act of democratic and decentralized action on the important thing is the sum of the parts and the interaction between them
- The intangible heritage as a memory to raise awareness and work on their development is essential, in some cases more than the simple recovery of property.
- Awareness of natural and urban geographic space where nature and human lives is the key to understanding the ecomuseal action.
- Integral sustainable development.
- The ecomuseum is a holistic entity. Is the sum of the

community and the environment in which it operates.

All models presented are a tangible way of theorizing ecomuseales experiences, so that help define what is the ecomuseums and what is its functionality. They all coexist and are applicable since the implementation of an eco-museum depends not both professionals and the model you want to implement but on the characteristics of the territory, Heritage and the population or populations that live in.

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Part III

Communities, territory and museums in the 21st century

Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

The community museum: a space for the exercise of communal power.³²

Cuahtémoc Camarena Ocampo and Teresa Morales Lersch

This paper discusses two key elements in the field of museums: a summary of the concept of the community museum, on the one hand, and, on the other, a proposal as to how this concept is put into practice, especially in the early stages of the creation of the museum, when the social basis for the project is being established. We will discuss how the community museum combines and integrates complex processes aimed at strengthening the community as a collective subject, asserting its identity, improving its quality of life and building alliances between communities. In the second part, which has a methodological focus, we will discuss how the museum is born out of community aspirations to strengthen its identity and integrity, the initial process of consensus-building, the roles of different agents, both internal and external to the community, as well as some factors that foster or prevent community appropriation. To conclude we will emphasize the potential of community museum networks as a strategy to generate a broader field of action, in which communities can exercise greater autonomy, by collectively developing and appropriating projects of regional and even international scope.

To begin our reflection on the concept of the community museum, we shall develop a comparison with the idea of 'living

³² Adapted from a paper with the same title, submitted at the 2nd International Conference "Experiencias, Comunicación y Goce" [Experiences, Communication and Fruition], organized by the Mexican Association of Museum Professionals, Colombia's National Museum, and Colombia's National Museum Network, in Bogotá, Colombia, 28 to 30 October, 2008. This article was published previously in Spanish in "Activaciones patrimoniales e iniciativas museísticas: ¿por quién? ¿para qué?", Iñaki Arrieta Urtizberea (ed.), Universidad del País Vasco, 2009.

history museum' which has been disseminated in various media as similar to the community museum. This starting point will enable us to avoid confusion and highlight the specificity of our proposal.

One first consideration is that the museum is never a direct expression of life itself, a piece of life torn from reality and displayed in a venue. The museum is always an interpretation of life, a specific, meaningful selection of reality. If we do not underline this aspect, we run the danger of hiding the interpretation and the author of the interpretation. One needs to ask, "who 'lived' the history presented in the museum? Who is telling the story?"

The word "living" refers us, on one hand, to what is authentic, to what is part of the living experience of different cultures and societies. But we must recall, as Tony Bennett said, "the museum visitor is never in a relationship of direct, unmediated contact with the 'reality of the artefact', and hence with the 'real stuff' of the past. Indeed, this illusion, this fetishism of the past, is itself an effect of discourse. For the seeming concreteness of the museum artefact derives from its verisimilitude; that is, from the familiarity that results from its being placed in an interpretative context which conforms to a tradition and thus is made to resonate with representations of the past which enjoy a broader social circulation."³³

Thus, historic representations may seem "alive" or authentic, simply because they render concrete interpretations which we have seen repeatedly, and which have gained legitimacy due to their association with broadly disseminated images about a community or culture.

Nowadays, the aspect of being "alive" may refer to another aspect of cultural representations, namely, to the degree to which they capture movement and animation, and are capable of entrancing all the senses in a high impact, highly spectacular experience. A simulation of life in past times, which uses all the resources of modern technology to recreate sounds, smells and movement, can be considered "living history".

Pine and Gilmore propose that the changes brought about by the processes of globalization have allowed the creation of a new economic form, the "experience economy". In this new economy, almost all great transnational entertainment companies have started

³³ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, New York, Routledge, 2004, pp. 146-147.

projects to develop “destinations of urban entertainment”, founded on themed scripts, an aggressive marketing, round-the-clock operations, distance between visitors and place, and a dependency on spectacularity.³⁴ For example, in Japan there is a multitude of theme parks such as “the village of the Turkish culture”, “the Yamaguchi village of New Zealand”, and “the Canadian world”. Says Hannigan, “in these simulated enclaves of ethnicity, one gets riskless risk: parks do away with nuisances of travel such as paperwork, crowded flights, foreign languages, and, most of all, crime”.³⁵

For us it is important to clarify: the community museum is not a “living history” museum understood as an enclave of simulated ethnicity, a setting which recreates history, myth and folklore in an antiseptic and safe space for visitors, a space which trivializes the deepest meanings, which decontextualizes the culture from the reality of poverty and exclusion peoples live. But above all it is not a site where the animation of the presentation hides the voice of those who speak, and peoples’ right to speak for themselves, about themselves. The idea is not that the object should come to life in the museum, but rather that social subjects, communities and peoples, should project their lives as interpreters and authors of their history.

Paolo Freire states that man is a subject because he is a being of relations, capable of reflection, of critical thought, of historical awareness; a being who can choose, create and transform reality. To be a subject is man’s ontological calling, to which he cannot renounce without becoming a mere spectator of events, a passive receptor, an object.³⁶ As we see it, the community museum is a tool for the construction of collective subjects; communities may appropriate the museum to enrich their relations, to develop awareness of their history, to foster reflection and critical analysis, and to create projects to transform their collective future.

Being a subject involves self-knowledge, and the community museum is a tool for communities to build collective self-knowledge.

³⁴ Joseph B. Pine y James H. Gilmore, The Experience Economy: Work Is Theatre and Every Business a Stage, Boston, Harvard Business School Press, 1999, pp. 11-12, cited by Martin Hall, “The Reappearance of the Authentic” in Museum Frictions, Ivan Karp y Corinne A. Kratz, eds., Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2006, pp. 70-101.

³⁵ John Hannigan, Fantasy City: Pleasure and Profit in the Postmodern Metropolis, London, Routledge, 1998, p. 101.

³⁶ Paolo Freire, La educación como práctica de la libertad, México, Siglo XXI Editores, 1975, pp. 28-45.

Multiple forms of participation contribute to this end; all community members who are engaged in the museum by selecting the themes to be studied, by participating in oral history or design workshops, by interviewing or being interviewed, by collecting objects, taking photos, or contributing a drawing, are learning more about himself/herself, and at the same time learning about the community he/she belongs to. They are building a collective interpretation of their reality and their history.

Being a subject likewise implies creativity, and the community museum fosters collective creation as it provides people with an opportunity to participate in processes to express their stories in their own way. The creative person does not accept given solutions, but rather seeks to invent new ways of addressing challenges, and the community museum is a site to promote new proposals and community projects.

Therefore, the community museum is a different option from the “mainstream” or traditional museum. The museum institution emerged through a history of concentration of power and wealth, and in many cases reflected the ability of dominant groups to exhibit treasures and trophies taken from other peoples. For instance, to Napoleon, Paris was the place where works of art had “their true place, to honour progress and the arts, under the care and in the hands of free men”, and he filled the Louvre with trophies of war from conquered territories.³⁷ The community museum has a different origin: its collections are not the result of plunder or expensive acquisitions, but rather the consequence of conscious decisions to support a collective initiative. The community museum emerges, not to display the reality of the other, but to tell the community’s own particular story. It develops as community members freely donate heritage objects and elaborate stories of their collective memory.

In the community museum the object is not the dominant value but rather collective memory which is vitalized by the recreation and reinterpretation of meaningful stories. Ansaldi points out “no one can live with a brutal amputation of memory”; in other words, we cannot remember who we are, we cannot be subjects if

³⁷ The text quoted comes from the Convention Decree, in Messidor of the year II, cited by Germain Bazin, in “El museo del Louvre”, Museos: Comunicación y Educación, Antología Comentada, ed. Graciela Schmilchuk, México, INBA, 1987, p. 41.

we do not recreate and elaborate our memory.³⁸ Thus, the members of a community use the community museum to remember how things were before, to relive events and practices which marked their lives. But the museum is also a tool to analyze memory, to re-interpret the past and identify what has been learned from past experiences.

In the community museum people invent a way of telling their stories, and in this way they participate defining their own identity instead of consuming imposed identities. They create new knowledge instead of conforming to a dominant view, to the prevailing interpretation of national history, which always excludes them and eliminates them from the record. They struggle against a history of devaluation, by valuing their stories and the daily events of community life. Thus, they appropriate an institution created for the elite to assert and legitimize their own values.

The community museum becomes a tool to manage heritage through grassroots, community organizations in which communal power is asserted. On one hand, it serves to maintain or recover possession of the community's material cultural heritage, and on the other it allows the re-appropriation of intangible heritage by elaborating its meaning in the community's own terms. Through the museum the community strives to exert power over its patrimony, and resist expropriation. This struggle is carried out through its own organizational forms, the communal assembly, or others. In these grassroots organizations, community members determine what to present in the museum, how it should be run, and which priorities it should address.

Thus, the community museum does not respond to decisions of central authorities, either in its contents or in its operation. It is bonded to instances of local government which more directly represent the community, but it does not depend on state or federal institutions. The group that runs the museum is a community-based entity, whether it is connected to local government or constituted as a non-governmental organization. Throughout time, it fosters the development of skills, experiences and social resources that strengthen its ability to be self-regulated and autonomous. It does

³⁸ Waldo Ansaldo, "La memoria, el olvido y el poder", Seminario das Mercocidades: Cidade e Memoria na Globalizacao ["Memory, forgetting and power", Seminar of the Mercocities: the City and Memory in Globalization], Porto Alegre, Brasil, 2000, p.23.

not promote vertical, dependent relations to authorities but rather horizontal relations between community members and with other communities as well.

As it is a tool to generate awareness, the community museum necessarily brings forth the need for action. It is a site in which consciousness of history leads to initiatives intended to intervene in that history and change it. Projects arise to strengthen traditional culture, to develop new forms of expression, to assert the value of popular art, to generate community-controlled tourism. The museum propitiates multiple initiatives to address the needs of and empower different community groups. It also develops exchanges with a wide range of similar communities, identifying common interests and forging alliances which enable joint projects to be carried out.

Waldo Ansaldi reminds us of George Orwell's words: "Those who control the past, control the future: those who control the present control the past", and quotes Milan Kundera, when he states: "people want to be masters of the future to change the past. They are fighting for access to the laboratories where photographs are retouched and biographies and history rewritten".³⁹ The community museum is an option that contributes to control communities' future by controlling their past. It is an instrument to enable community decision-making entities to exert power over the memory which feeds their future aspirations.

The community museum is a process, rather than a product. It integrates complex processes of constitution of the collective community subject through reflection, self-knowledge and creativity; processes that consolidate community identity by legitimizing its own histories and values; processes that improve the quality of community life, through multiple projects for the future; and processes that strengthen the community's capacity for action through the creation of networks with similar communities. This is a collective process which comes to life within the community; it is a museum "of" the community, not built from the outside "for" the community. The community museum is a tool to foster self-determination, strengthening communities as collective subjects that create, recreate and make decisions that shape their reality.

³⁹ Waldo Ansaldi, "La memoria, el olvido y el poder", Seminario das Mercocidades: Cidade e Memoria na Globalizacao ["Memory, forgetting and power", Seminar of the Mercocities: the City and Memory in Globalization], Porto Alegre, Brasil, 2000, p.1 and p.3.

To address the second issue of this paper, we will now examine the methods to create and develop community museums, which reflect the concept sketched out above, since the processes that community museums generate are more relevant than the product of their exhibitions.

There are three fundamental stages in the development of a community museum: a first stage in which the initiative arises and the first consensus-building processes are carried out; a second stage during which the different community organizations and groups engage in activities to create the museum; and a third stage in which the museum develops its daily activities and projects. In this presentation we will discuss only the first stage, which is of fundamental importance to lay the basis for the museum's connection to the community. In this stage it is possible to observe how the birth of the museum responds to community needs, the bond that is created with decision-making entities, the roles played by the different agents, internal and external to the community, and some conditions that promote or hinder community appropriation.

The project to create a museum springs from deep community interests and concerns, which are related to its disadvantageous position regarding global processes and the need to legitimize its values and experiences. These concerns build up gradually, like an underground current, and become apparent in critical moments, or when certain factors catalyze or trigger their manifestation.

We can point to different examples of this phenomenon, especially of community museums of the state of Oaxaca, Mexico, which we know more closely. In them fortuitous archaeological findings and formal archaeological excavations sparked interest in the creation of community museums in Santa Ana del Valle, San José el Mogote, Santiago Suchilquitongo, San Martín Huamelulpan and Cerro Marín. In 1986, the mayor of Santa Ana del Valle stated the issue as follows:

"When the town square was remodelled, that is when these archaeological pieces came to light. When I saw those pieces I said, these here, they will not go anywhere. These pieces will not go elsewhere, they will remain here. I said that because we will found a museum here and here these works will be

displayed, so that Santa Ana can also have what belonged to its ancestors who were totally craftsmen too".⁴⁰

This testimony helps underline two elements: the catalysing effect of the accidental discovery of heritage objects, and the deep concern aroused to avoid the loss of cultural heritage, the need to assert possession of ancestral objects and keep them in the community. Many community museums have similar histories. The triggering events include archaeological finds and excavations, the loss of documents regarding land tenure (San Miguel del Progreso), the theft of jewellery from the figure of the patron saint (San Juan Mixtepec), the preservation of an extraordinary object (San Miguel Tequixtepec's codex), or the gradual development of archaeological collections (San Pedro and San Pablo Tequixtepec, San Pedro Tututepec, Santa María Cuquila, San José Chichihualtepec).

In the case of San Miguel Tequixtepec, a municipal authority explained why the village decided to display its extraordinary codex in a historic building donated for the museum:

"Our neighbours participated because, more than anything, there had been a long-standing desire, not just recently but for many years, and now the village wanted to give it the place it deserves".⁴¹

Thus, precipitating events have impact when there is a widespread longing, and awareness emerges of community member's connection to objects and practices that constitute a common heritage of their ancestral past.

"To the village, [the museum] is a memory of our ancestors. A memory, like an inheritance. Like things that belonged to my mother, my grandparents, my great-grandparents, we treasure them, we never want to sell them. These are things

⁴⁰ Interview of Othón Martínez by Teresa Morales Lersch, Santa Ana del Valle, Tlacolula, Oaxaca, June 2000, p. 4.

⁴¹ Interview of Alberto López Córdoba by Teresa Morales Lersch, San Miguel Tequixtepec, Coixtlahuaca, Oaxaca, December 1996, p. 2.

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that were useful to our grandparents, our great-grandparents".⁴²

Thus, one of the needs the museum responds to is the wish to honor the bond to one's ancestors, to pay them tribute, to give them the place they deserve. Also, the possession of material cultural heritage affirms the community's capacity to perpetuate itself in the future, because it is perceived as an inheritance which establishes its historical rights. Just as one inherits the collective rights over land, over water, over communal buildings, through cultural heritage one receives a legacy, "a treasure", from previous generations, which must be defended as a basis of the village's integrity and authority. The museum is a way of protecting this legacy and handing it down to the children and youth of the community.

In community members' perception, there is no separation between tangible and intangible heritage, because the inheritance of material artifacts and the practice of traditions are part of the same ancestral legacy. They aspire to preserve both the grandparents "things" and the grandparents' stories; they strive to protect both the object and the memory.

"We needed the museum to recover our history, to work with our own identity. What to do to strengthen our cultural identity, which is weakening by the impact of emigration. There are people who say, "I am not Zapotec. I am not a member of an indigenous people." Cultural identity is an element we should not underestimate".⁴³

It should be stressed that these needs are articulated from within the community, by social agents who are part of the community. Certain individuals give voice to needs that are felt by many, and start a process which engages many community members, rendering more and more collective what began as an individual concern. The response from community groups confirms that the need is shared. As they build on their own initiative, both the first

⁴² Interview of Mateo García by Teresa Morales Lersch, Santa Ana del Valle, Tlacolula, Oaxaca, June 2000, p.6.

⁴³ Interview of Narciso Aquino Juan, by Teresa Morales Lersch, Oaxaca, Oaxaca, November, 2007, p.3.

proponents and community groups which join in the effort take responsibility for the development of the project. The relationship of the museum to local needs, the birth of the initiative from within the community, and the expansion of community engagement, are characteristics which make it a community museum.

We have observed that diverse kinds of community leaders may take the original initiative, such as traditional authorities (elders with important roles in their communities), municipal authorities, teachers or young people who develop cultural projects. In some cases individual artisans or organizations of artisans embark on a museum project, or the idea is developed by farmers, retired employees, or emigrants who return to their village with a renewed commitment to their community. The actions they develop at the outset of the project are extremely varied; they seek guidance, organize talks and lectures, develop small temporary exhibitions, collect and exhibit historical photographs, organize many kinds of workshops, and so forth; one group began by organizing presentations of local musicians every Sunday in the town square.

However if the initiative remains confined to the original proponents, it will have difficulty in prospering as a community project. It will be identified by community members as the particular project of a certain individual or group. For community ownership to develop, the project must be taken to different community groups for consultation; it must become a general concern, to be decided upon in the decision-making bodies that resolve on matters of collective interest.

How consensus is generated is different in each community, according to its history, culture, and specific decision-making procedures. In many indigenous villages in America, the communities hold general meetings with broad participation in which communal projects are debated and agreed upon. This is the case of many villages in Oaxaca, where the general assembly is the highest authority and fundamental decision-making body. The general assembly usually brings together all the adult men in the town, who are considered family representatives, and increasingly includes women. This assembly elects the highest authorities of the village, discusses and approves community projects and resolves important conflicts. It is somewhat similar in the Comarca Kuna of Panama, where the kuna villages decide on all collective matters in community

assemblies or congresses. In indigenous communities of America we find diverse complex traditions which enable them to solve daily conflicts and develop collective initiatives.

It is also possible to build consensus through a process of consultation with a broad range of associations and organized community groups. An illustrative example is Santiago Matatlán, in Oaxaca. Here the project was initiated by a group of young adults, who requested that the municipal authorities call a meeting of the various communal organizations: the body of villagers who use communal lands, associations created to administrate communal wells, and parent committees for the local schools. This meeting included 184 citizens, who approved the project to create the museum. Another significant example is the town of Rabinal in Guatemala. The initiator of the project was the Association for the Integral Development of the Victims of Verapaces Maya-Achi of Rabinal (ADIVIMA), created to support the victims of violence during the armed conflict of the 1980s. ADIVIMA invited a group of non-governmental organizations to support the project, including the School Maya Jun Tok, the Academy of the Mayan Language, the Association for the Defence of Women and an association for Legal Advice on Human Rights. By organizing temporary exhibitions, representatives of these organizations were able to establish relations with the municipal authorities and the town's elementary and secondary schools. Nowadays, an executive board representing the various organizations runs the museum, carrying out several projects with adults and young people of the community in a building ceded by the municipality.

Although in this paper we cannot analyze the conditions that enable consensus to be reached in different cases, we mention these two examples to stress the feasibility of reaching agreements with broad community participation in various contexts. In this process, the initial proponents of the project do not remain isolated; instead they develop relationships with a variety of community groups, each of which contributes their own voice to the collective enterprise. In the intense effort of creating networks with multiple groups, the original proponents of the project must raise a series of fundamental issues: is it important to create a community museum or not? Who should be elected to the museum committee? Which themes should the museum research and present? By considering these issues

diverse community organizations become involved in taking an active stance towards their cultural heritage.

In the initial consensus-building process, so significant to lay the groundwork for the project, it is very important to establish the team of community representatives which will coordinate the effort to create and develop the museum. Community appropriation will be generated both by broad community consultation and the creation of operative teams which can implement the decisions taken. In this way the coordination of the project will be carried out by community representatives who can receive advice and guidance from all kinds of specialists and institutions, but cannot be replaced by them in their directive functions. These community representatives, whom we shall call museum committee, have the capacity to call on community members to collaborate, since they were appointed to organize the museum as a collective effort. The museum committee has the responsibility to plan, manage, involve local groups and periodically consult the community with regards to the development of the museum.

The approval of the project to create the community museum will be the first step towards the creation of a site of memory and collective cultural expression, whether it is a product of a traditional decision-making process that is clearly in place or of a consultation with a broad network of local organizations, groups and individuals. The foundation is the process of building consensus, although each community will create its particular path towards this end. In the cases where there are no established procedures for coming to consensus, the museum project (like many others) can contribute to the development of new relations and collaborations which strengthen or re-create the very sense of community.

In this initial consensus-building stage, it is important to include a community consultation on the topics to be researched and represented in the museum's exhibitions. This step is crucial for the museum to become a site of self-reflection and development of community voice. By discussing which themes to study and explore, community members re-consider their historical experience, their traditions, their challenges and their daily life. The topics they choose are not seen as folkloric manifestations of the "other", who in mainstream museums are often represented by exotic objects, strange but still susceptible of being consumed by individuals of

western cultures. In this case community members struggle to present the meaning of their cultural manifestations from within, creating their own voice and interpretation, as those who have received a heritage which they re-create and elaborate as dynamic participants of contemporary society.

Often the initiators of the museum project or the museum committees seek guidance and support from specialists and institutions. At this point, those of us who participate as specialists have the responsibility to reflect on the focus and limitations of our role. First, our participation should be guided by community interests and needs, rather than institutional interests or the possibility of subsuming community efforts in official programs. Community interests may coincide with interests of various institutions, but if the former are subordinated to the latter the project is no longer grounded in the community. Our role should be to listen carefully to the concerns being articulated and offer guidance in terms of their own priorities, without forcing them to conform to rigid, pre-determined programs.

Furthermore, the guidance we offer should be oriented towards the expansion of community ownership. With the initiators of the project, we develop a plan to involve a wide range of local organizations and community groups in the development of the museum. If we are not careful in this respect, the project may remain limited to those who first articulated the initiative, and the museum would thus become their private project.

Rendering the proposal a collective endeavour is a complex process, in which it is not enough to generate community participation in some specific tasks. Appropriation requires the power to decide over fundamental aspects of a project. As we mentioned above, it involves consensus-building, the participation of decision-making bodies and the local power structure. External experts cannot provide guidance to develop this process if they are not aware of local procedures and customs, and the current state of affairs in the community. As well as being aware of these conditions, they should be respectful of community norms and specific local cultural practices.

External consultants should also share and transfer their own skills. Their expertise should be placed in service of the community,

so that its members can acquire the necessary tools to plan, research, design and manage their museum.

In the power relationship which necessarily exists, the power of the expert is based on greater knowledge of the field and capacity to access sources of support. The power of the community is based on its collective action, and its capacity to claim rights over its heritage. Community representatives and external consultants can collaborate through a common commitment to the community project. In this collaboration the expert does not use his knowledge to claim a certain field of action, but rather shares it and offers support to build capacity within the community, including the capacity to develop projects and raise funds. These skills are not transferred to specific individuals as private persons, but to groups of community members and representatives, in the perspective of providing support for collective participation and ownership. Furthermore, this transfer of skills is inspired by the expert's commitment to support the community in its struggle against conditions of subordination and exploitation, in which it may create a common vision to improve its quality of life, defining priorities according to its own particular values.

Building community consensus establishes the social basis for the community museum. It signifies that a new initiative has taken shape, through the consultation and explicit approval of the project, through the establishment of a community team to move it forward, and through the collective discussion to define the subjects to be addressed. Decision making implies a process of empowerment. Through these concrete decisions the museum becomes a site to exercise communal power. By approving the project to create the museum, the community acknowledges the importance of taking action to protect its heritage and its memory. By choosing the subjects to present, the community begins to reflect and decide upon the stories it wishes to tell about itself. By electing a committee, the community creates the conditions to develop self-direction and management of the museum. By making these decisions the community acts as a collective subject with capacity for self-determination. Thus the museum becomes a vehicle to mobilize the community's potential to take action with regards to its own collective memory and material heritage.

To conclude this reflection on the methods to establish community museums, we would like to comment on the importance of community museum networks. Just as the relationship of the museum with a network of local groups and organizations enables the development of community appropriation, so the creation of networks between different communities makes possible community management of regional projects. In 1991, the Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca (UMCO) was founded, which today comprises 15 communities. UMCO participated in the creation of the National Union of Community Museums and Ecomuseums of Mexico in 1994, and in 2000 it fostered the formation of the Network of Community Museums of America, which brings together grassroots representatives of communities and organizations in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and Mexico.

The networks of community museums have strengthened the participating communities. Exchanges provide points of reference for each one to contrast and analyze their specific situation, while they clarify and enrich their vision of the museum. Each participant learns from the others, is inspired by the best examples and develops ties of mutual support and solidarity. Through the network multiple relationships can be expanded, establishing collaborations and alliances with other organizations and institutions, of regional, national and even international scope. Negotiations can be carried out in more favourable terms, as communities are capable of proposing and executing increasingly comprehensive and sophisticated projects. Collective projects can address the needs of all the communities involved, and approach these needs from their own resources as an organized network. Thus networks generate a broader field of action and greater autonomy.

In sum, networks help transform relationships of subordination and disempowerment in non-hegemonic communities. They allow explosions of discontent to be substituted by creative efforts of communities to transform their own conditions. They project the capacity for community self-governance to higher levels, expanding the reach of their organized action. In this sense, both community museums and their networks are tools that local communities can appropriate to help them face the future.

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Musealising hope: reflections on the saga of an artistic installation of human solidarity⁴⁴

Ana Mercedes Stoffel Fernandes

“Musealising hope” reflects on the trials and tribulations of an installation designed as a tribute to the struggle for survival of African peoples who dare make the long trek to Europe by sea. Its accomplishment involved a number of players whose conduct and reactions to events bear witness to the manner in which artists, the media, heads of cultural institutions, museologists, welfare institutions, and politicians cope with the phenomenon of immigration and with our present-day multicultural societies. In turn, this artistic endeavour and its symbolic signification highlight the changes which art and culture have undergone over the past few years and the kind of transformation which new inter-ethnic communities have brought to bear on concepts such as national heritage, identity or memory.

This paper aims to analyse those developments from the perspective of Sociomuseology and to frame them within the context of some reflections, while suggesting a number of action guidelines for museums which may place such institutions on a proactive footing when tackling the phenomenon of the interculturality of the communities of our day and age.

The importance, to the future of Europe and the world at large, of consolidating a vision of cultural solidarity and cultural multi-ethnicity demands of us all, in general, and of cultural agents who work with heritage, very much in particular, that we ponder this theme, strive to understand its implications, and give thought to novel ways in which to act. In their capacity as mediators between the community

⁴⁴ First published in Spain by RDM – Revista Española de Museología nº 46 - 2009, Published in Italy by NM – Nuova Museologia nº 22 - 2010

and its cultural heritage, museums and museologists may not shirk their respective responsibilities.

This paper was compiled based on perusal of the files of Emilio González Núñez, an artist from Spain's Extremadura region who designed the installation in question and plays a leading role in this saga. His files record and document in minute detail all facts surrounding the events described herein and we thank him for having kindly provided them to the effect.

1 – Migration, identity, and multiculturalism

A shipyard in some African country tends to be the point of departure on a long trek that may lead to a new life with dignity or to misery and loss of the hope to ever return, or, tragically, to loss at sea, dead and forgotten. At many locations along the coasts of Africa neighbouring the Canary Islands or the beaches of Southern Spain, people build "cayucos", also known as "pateras", which are small barges a little over 6 metres in length for purposes of transporting people from the African continent to several European countries on an apocalyptic voyage rife with uncertainty.⁴⁵

Among all phenomena associated with immigration, the one which perhaps most impresses modern society, given its dramatic profile, involves illegal immigrants who reach the southern coasts of a few European countries on a daily basis, standing as further evidence of the inequalities brought about by the phenomenon of globalisation at its worst.

Adding to the almost daily drama of arriving African immigrants who reach the Mediterranean shores of Spain after spending their entire life savings and risking their lives by braving the sea on inadequate boats that offer neither safety nor a guarantee of success, is the number of dead by drowning, of hunger, or cold during voyages which often are also made by children, pregnant women, and babies little older than a few months. Almost on a daily basis, national and regional papers publish articles on the stubbornness of those

⁴⁵ - Front page of the "El Periódico Extremadura" newspaper of 26 July 2006

immigrants and echo the misery and hope that motivate those men and women to brave such dangers.⁴⁶

Political leaders move for the striking of repatriation agreements and prepare facilities to shelter and integrate those people but remain overwhelmed by the emergence of novel developments arising around this phenomenon day in and day out, given a lack of definition in EU legislation, the notion of social injustice which this problem entails, and the realisation that, despite all of the above, the fact is that the jobs which many of those immigrants perform do fill the gap caused by the trend of negative population growth which besets the countries of the Northern Hemisphere since the middle of the 20th century. To date, developed societies have been unable to adequately address a flow that will only cease when a new economic model and world order capable of fostering the necessary development in those immigrants' countries of origin emerges.

Spain is one of the European countries forced to deal most closely with this phenomenon. According to M. Carrero, over three million immigrants boosted Spain's population over the past 10 years taking up low-paid jobs that have been indispensable to power the economy's growth in recent years, while studies conducted by Caixa de Cataluña indicate that immigrant labour has prevented the emergence of recessionary conditions in Spain over the past ten years.⁴⁷

At present, immigration is of major concern to European governments and has forced change in those countries' social and labour relations. Africa's progressive impoverishment over the last few decades and the continent's burgeoning ethnic refugee problem in the wake of recurrent wars have led to a deluge of immigrants seeking the shores of Southern Europe. On the other hand, the prevailing global economic and financial crisis and the recent collapse of the real estate market, which had been absorbing significant numbers of workers from this human pool, makes it increasingly difficult to manage their integration. The sudden marked slowdown in building and construction growth has brought acute concerns on widespread unemployment among the more underprivileged classes

⁴⁶ - Suárez, V.- *El Drama de la inmigración ilegal*. "El Periódico Extremadura" of 12 August 2006.

⁴⁷ - Carrero, M. (2006). *Coladero de inmigrantes?* El Periódico Extremadura of 25 – 08 – 2006 – Opinión.

to the fore and may lead to the dangerous temptation of giving preference to nationals for jobs formerly done by foreigners.

In their analysis of immigration to Spain, Iglesias Machado and Becerra Domínguez⁴⁸ rank it as a leading concern among the Spaniards:

España, que constituye parte importante de la frontera sur se ha convertido en un país receptor preferente de los flujos migratorios, pasando a situarse el fenómeno de la inmigración en los primeros puestos de las preocupaciones de los ciudadanos y, últimamente, en un verdadero problema de Estado. Hemos pasado a situarnos a la cabeza de los países de la Unión, con una inmigración neta de 29,9%, seguidos de Italia y Alemania.

[Spain, which occupies a significant portion of Europe's southern border, has become a preferred destination for migratory flows, while the phenomenon of immigration now ranks as one of its citizens' main concerns, and, ultimately, it has become a problem for the Spanish State indeed. We've risen to the top of the European Union's chart with net immigration gains of 29.9%, followed by Italy and Germany.]

In contrast, and as a natural consequence of those new citizens' progressive integration into Spanish society, little by little immigration has been leading to change not only in the economy but also in the patterns of social behavioural of the host human group, resulting in a beneficial miscegenation of cultures and traditions that are becoming increasingly internalised, as is particularly evidenced by the younger generations. It may be noted that the customs, dietary habits, style of dress, and daily habits of the new arrivals do manage to impact and modify the cuisine, culture, and leisure habits of the autochthonous populations to produce a more open and tolerant multicultural society, the presence of isolated acts of racism and xenophobia notwithstanding. Domestic job creation programs and the on-going efforts of cultural and welfare institutions and NGO's,

⁴⁸ - Iglesias Machado, S. and Becerra Domínguez, M. (2007). *La inmigración: el reto del siglo XXI*. Dykinson. Published on-line.
<http://vlex.com/vid/inmigracion-444175>

which have been engaging in initiatives to raise awareness of Multiculturalism that often find favour with the youth, are no strangers to those trends for progressive integration. In that regard, the findings of the *Juventud en España 2008 [2008 Spanish Youth]* survey conducted by *Instituto de la Juventud*, as published in the *El País* newspaper, raise concern, and yet are also encouraging. The survey found that the Spanish youth prizes those institutions and tries to get involved with them, ranking them, together with the UN, above their own country's governmental systems.⁴⁹

This transformation, which is grounded on the integration of different cultures, has led to the emergence of novel concepts, such as Interculturality or Inclusion, and to a change in the traditional meaning of other concepts. The value of the word Identity, for instance, which characterised one of the strongest attributes of culture relative to the sense of nationhood or territory, as derived from an historicist vision of the 19th century, is now being put into question in light of the presence of other identities within modern nations which manage to invade and break down formerly consolidated cultural identities. As noted by Pereira Bastos:⁵⁰

*In the Immigration Wars that follow the Cold War, the West has been patently defeated by its "Other". As was previously the case in the USA, with or without walls and patrolling troops, Europe is condemned to **multiculturalism** from now on, and to religious relativism, cultural syncretism, tolerance to a wide variety of diverse customs and values, and the kind of sexual miscegenation it has battled for so long. Europeans, Europeans from Chinese extraction, Europeans from Indian extraction, Orthodox Christian Slav Europeans, Muslim Europeans, Europeans from South-American extraction, and Maghrebian Europeans*

⁴⁹ - Sahuquillo, M. A. (2008). *Los jóvenes se emancipan antes y son desinhibidos*. Article published in "El País" on 10/12/2008. Madrid: El País. Published on-line. http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/jovenes/emancipan/desinhibidos/elpepisoc/20081210elpepisoc_6/Tes

⁵⁰ - Bastos, J.P. (2007). *A Changing Culture - Identity, Interculturalism, and Cultural Hybridisation*. 12th International MINOM Workshop. September 2007. Lisbon: ULHT- Universidade Lusófona de Humanidade e Tecnologias. Published on-line. <http://www.minom-icom.net/PDF/PB-INTERCUL.pdf>

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will increasingly walk alongside local immigrants who abandoned their rural world to jointly confront the world of white pride with their endeavours and demands, as much as with unfulfilled promises of respect for human rights.

This new concept of Multiculturalism cannot be dissociated from the Northern Hemisphere's current Culture which thrives in cities that appear as a patchwork quilt made of widely diverse societies commingling, miscegenating, or confronting each other, where cultures, religious beliefs, dietary habits, and customs stand, at times, in direct opposition to each other and sometimes intermingle, all having to voluntarily or compulsorily deal with each other in those new urban areas and territories. A recent phenomenon, arising as a result of Globalisation and never before experienced under circumstances where all human beings are declared equal under the law,⁵¹ multiculturalism has not yet been fully assimilated by the public authorities or by civil society itself, which is being overtaken by developments, cultural and social novelty, and behaviours with which it has not yet learned to cope. Transnationality, Interculturality, or Social Diversification are concepts still in progress within the broader evolutionary process of our present-day societies.

2 – Art and cultural democratization and democraticity

Emílio González Núñez is an artist from Spain's Extremadura region whose artwork aims to commit to human solidarity and social intervention. His artistic designs and installations, which are often based on symbolic patrimonialization, invite reflection on current social themes. He's already done some work on globalisation, world peace, and on the Extremaduran victims of terrorism. When he decided to create an installation that paid homage to African immigrants, he wrote to the Red Cross of Algeciras – Spain, in August 2006, to the

⁵¹ - Up until now, conditions under which people of different ethnicity were forced to live side by side in a shared territory have always involved slavery, colonisation, or social and economic dependence enforced by the rule of law and the social standards ruling at the time. Worldwide approval and formal acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by most countries, even if only on paper, in many instances, and the end of colonial states have radically changed the position.

*effect of requesting them to kindly cede him one of the barges or pateras which the Spanish Guardia Civil confiscates and delivers to municipal dumps as a matter of routine, and further, whether they could also let him have some of the clothing left behind by immigrants. The installation was due to be exhibited in front of the Municipal Museum of Cáceres to stand as a token of the denunciation of injustice and the condemnation of social inequality, a bridge to a new era of more dignified living, and an artistic endeavour of educational value capable of raising society's awareness of that theme.*⁵²

Under our society's latest trends, Artistic Production is no longer the result of commissions from the wealthier classes and the work of particular creators selected by the elites. Art has been progressively migrating from ateliers and studios out into the streets, cultural associations, and ateliers dedicated to popular production. Right from the moment that Art and Culture began to be made available to the masses through the major media and the highly lucrative business conducted by cultural industries, their creation and fruition began to bypass their former traditional circles.

The issues that characterised the debate held by twentieth-century thinkers and sociologists such as Weber, Simmel, and Adorno, on Art and Culture, on rationalising the attitudes of social groups, on the cultural signification and selection of human facts, or on the difficulties of choosing between a refined, superior culture yet a positively elitist and unjust one and a popular, democratised culture, are far from being resolved.

As Fleury (2008)⁵³ pointed out, the debate is still centred on a tripartite metamorphosis: on-going revolution in the contributions which particular individuals add to Culture; the changes introduced by the public authorities through their contributions to cultural democratisation and to cultural democraticity; and persistent rekindling of the kind of issues sociologists keep on raising about cultural practices and the aesthetic experience. When it comes to Cultural Democratisation – i.e., making all forms of superior culture available to all – and to Cultural Democraticity – accepting and fostering the manifestation of basic culture as a means of social acculturation – the contradiction between selection and the need for acceptance remains very much alive.

⁵² - Escolha e transporte da *Patera* até Cáceres..

⁵³ - Fleury, L. (2008). *Sociologie de la Culture et des Pratiques Culturelles*. Paris: Armand Colin

But this whole phenomenon of indispensable pondering and searching seems to have lost its value for weighting purposes in light of the indifference with which novel forms of Art and Culture are being experienced by modern societies, together with the most representative examples of traditional intellectuality.⁵⁴ What seems undeniable indeed is that Culture has definitely ceased to be a product of and for the elites to transform itself into a hodgepodge of creations and interpretations of reality where creative originality or the public's appetite often constrains cultural production itself, which thus becomes bound by the rules of the leisure consumption market itself.

In parallel, and now from the standpoint of Personal Creation, the traditional sectors of Art, Music, or Literature have also changed their production and performance principles and paradigms. The number and variety of artists, musicians, and writers have steadily been on the increase thanks to the role played by the mass media, the cultural industries, publishers, television producers, and moviemakers, art galleries, and marketing companies. This novel artistic and cultural living experience has produced idols revered by the masses which become permanent guest speakers of the media or objects of cult who feature in lucrative advertising campaigns. Artistic production itself cultivates the sacralisation of the ephemeral and of awe and the more shocking and surprising cultural products, of which many "installations" stand as an example, become to the public at large the more they're actually appreciated⁵⁵. These days, Art Fairs and Galleries are veritable stages for lucrative trade where, undoubtedly, genius does emerge and is nurtured, but, every so often, they also engender production of artworks and artistic endeavours of questionable depth.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ - Rock concerts where opera solo singers and Rock stars perform together on stage to a diversified range of spectators – intellectuals of the traditional sort, middle-class families with children on their laps, and teenagers wearing the symbols of their street culture: jeans, Rasta hairstyles, tattoos, and piercings – are a standard example of cultural miscegenation.

⁵⁵ - One of the most representative examples of this novel way of producing art are the works of constructivist Christo Javacheff, who has been literally "wrapping" whole buildings and large structures since the 1960s, such as Chicago's Contemporary Art Museum or Berlin's Reichstag, using this type of artistic creativity as a form of protest action or for purposes of political and environmental intervention.

⁵⁶ - ARCO, one of the most prestigious Art Fairs of worldwide acclaim which is held every year in Madrid – Spain, has repeatedly come under fire for the manner in which artists "are born" in its wake through indiscriminate use of economic or social might or of the power to intervene in the Art trade.

Hand in hand with this type of formally accepted activity, creativity has reached thresholds of realisation that are much more widespread and democratised within society while the concept of a work of art in music or literature has widened in scope, both as regards acceptance of new themes and as regards novel forms, creators, or chosen contents. New cultural paradigms that were formerly decried as vulgar or inferior are now being produced and consumed in every type of environment based on acceptance of the emergence of a new, previously denied, social and cultural diversity that recognises those forms of art and cultural assertiveness as valid and respectable⁵⁷.

On the other hand, in Joint Creation, and over and above previous expressions produced by traditional means such as theatre, music, and dance, major inroads have been made to accept cultural processes that develop as a result of a specific social group's willingness to assert their own models, even when such models do not conform to accepted concepts and paradigms. Since the 1970's, the phenomenon of Alternative Cultures has been introducing movements such as rock, punk, heavy metal, rap, or graffiti into the mainstream cultural domain where they compete freely on the streets with the cultural movements deemed socially "legitimate". These cultures, whether rising in the street, the attic, the home, or the "screen", have been taking advantage of the phenomena of the Internet's Blogs, Chatting, and Websites which provide participant or spectator societies with the opportunity to get acquainted with different cultural realities sustained by the market itself and with free, uncontrolled communications that bypass the disciplined social reality to thrive, heedless of commentary or criticism.

Naturally, the novel means of producing culture impact the output to some extent, for good and for evil – they popularise processes and choices; they question the concepts of selection and ownership; and they blur the distinction between culture and entertainment. However, it appears evident that Culture can no longer function as an element of differentiation which is sometimes

⁵⁷ - These new expressions take inspiration from and are often engendered by the influence of migrant communities. The Cultures of Rasta dreadlocks, Tattoos, and Piercings have engendered new consumers, new artists, and new travelling artworks that are built on traditional customs hitherto considered to be the preserve of primitive societies, sailors, or freaks.

consumed more on account of social imperatives and prestige than because of one's likes and dislikes but must rather act as a contributor towards the personal and social uplifting of all, desired by the citizens that consume it for personal enrichment or simply for entertainment. And if meeting those new demands for cultural action and production may lead Culture to fall into excessive popularisation, it is also certain that the magnitude and extension of these new cultural offerings is actively contributing towards wider and better culture and towards an increasingly knowledgeable and aware society. Yet, we're left wondering which of the two components – the intellectual and elitist or the popular and democratised one – should be credited as the leading cause for that trend. Therefore, we tend to agree with López de Aguilera (2000)⁵⁸ when he stresses that Culture is a contradictory domain under constant stress where tradition battles renewal, academics combats popularisation, family culture clashes with street culture, and personal identity is at odds with group identity.

3 – National heritage, museums, and social inclusion

When submitting his project brief⁵⁹ on the artwork to the Cáceres City Council, a city located in Spain's Extremadura region, the artist described the steps required to complete the work, which included discussions with the Head of the Museum of Archaeology of Cáceres, Juan Valadés, who had offered to assist with the patrimonialization of the patera. The completion of this artwork, which entailed restoring the barge and entirely covering it with old, worn-out clothing, the objective was to contrast the emptiness and the shedding of a past rife with sadness and deprivation against the symbolic effect of entering naked a brand new world in the hope of embracing a better fate.

According to the project, the patera was to be installed in Plaza de las Veletas, fronting the Museum, and its inauguration was scheduled for November 28th, later on that year. By the end of the exhibition, it was to be auctioned and the money obtained was to be donated to the Red Cross of Algeciras, to aid the immigrants. The brief also made an appeal to the memory of

⁵⁸ - Lopez de Aguilera, I. (2000). *Cultura y Ciudad. Manual de política cultural municipal*. Gijon: TREA.

⁵⁹ - Nuñez, E. (2006). *História de la Patera e La Patera de la Esperanza*.

*Extremadura's migratory past and to the need to welcome new residents with a spirit of solidarity, while further emphasizing their contribution towards economic growth by paying their social security contributions and performing jobs that fostered the region's development.*⁶⁰

Throughout the course of many decades of political and social depression which saw the region hostage to an economic structure based on a model of land ownership characterised by large estates, the Spanish Extremadura region featured strong emigration. Emigration bled the region of its population and it is estimated that up to a million people left Extremadura in search of a better life elsewhere. In more recent times, economic and social progress has made it possible to reverse that trend and to significantly improve its standard of living. At present, the region gains immigrants from other countries who are mainly employed in agriculture. In co-operation with welfare organisations, the region has put in place a program to provide temporary shelter to Sub-Saharan immigrants and assists them until they find jobs or shelter with family in other regions of the Iberian Peninsula, or elsewhere in Europe. A number of cultural and social integration and awareness-raising programs are also run by the Government of Junta de Extremadura, NGO's, and other cultural and museological institutions. In general, the region seems to play a proactive role vis-à-vis this phenomenon and immigration-related themes are covered by the local daily and weekly press⁶¹, often, on a regular basis, as is the case with "El Periódico Extremadura" or the "Hoy Extremadura papers, which report on the activities of the migrant flow and carry stories on the life of those new citizens and on the actions implemented to support them.

An example of this attitude was an itinerant exhibition⁶² which the Largo Caballero Foundation originally hosted in Madrid titled "De la España que emigra a la España que acoge" [Going from an emigrant Spain to an immigrant-hosting Spain]. When touring other Spanish regions, the Government of Junta de Extremadura

⁶⁰ - Execution of an installation for the "Patera de la Esperanza" artwork. Photos by the artist.

⁶¹ - Armero, A.J. (2006) *Los Cayucos también llegan a Cáceres*. Cáceres hoy. November 19th; Fernandez, M. (2006). *Caritas inaugura por sexto año el Taller de Integración Cultural para inmigrantes*. Cáceres Hoy. September 19th; Garcia Calle, Z. (2006). *Los cayucos de Cáceres*. El Periódico Extremadura. October 18th.

⁶² - Invitation to the exhibition: *De la España que emigra a la España que acoge*.

sponsored its exhibition at the Contemporary Extremadurian and Iberian-American Art Museum of Mérida, in November 2006. The exhibition addressed current immigration trends to Spain and recalled past reality for many Spanish populations that had been forced to emigrate and face much hardship in host countries, at the time. When covering the event in the local press,⁶³ Ramírez Durán also reminds readers of this issue in his editorial, calling for a State Pact on Migration. The exhibition had also been educational for society, especially the younger generations who thoroughly mix, at school and in cultural and leisure spots, with the children of the new ethnic communities which have gathered in the cities of Europe.⁶⁴

This type of initiative reports us to the key role which museums can play as centres for active patrimonialization of a country's heritage and as places that invite reflection on a people's memory, thereby adding an essential contribution towards an issue that makes reference to the diversification and resignification of Heritage and to intercultural dialogue. If, through miscegenation and cultural democratisation, the social and symbolic character of Art and Culture have been strengthening and widening in scope, so has Heritage been broadening its concept with ideas, images, territories, and selections of much wider breadth than what its former definition and boundaries allowed it. Representational heritage, oral memory, or the world of virtual reality, among other ways of reading cultural representation, have changed our ability to be and to represent personal or collective traditions, knowledge, memories, attitudes, know-how and arts and crafts, as reported to both work and play.

One of the main missions of a Museum is to endow Heritage with signification and to keep abreast of its evolutionary process through time, on an on-going basis. During the twentieth century, consolidation of Democracy, provision of affordable education to all, the demise of former colonial empires, and the progress of Ethnology have enabled Heritage and Museums to progress towards the valuing of a culture that is much broader in scope and more respectful. Above all, it was mainly after the launch of UNESCO, after the end of World

⁶³ - Ramírez Durán, A. (2006) *Pueblo emigrante que acoge*. Opinión: Tribuna Extremeña. El Periódico Hoy.

⁶⁴ - F.S. (2006). *Historias de emigración y acogida*. Cultura Sociedad. Unidentified newspaper article.

War II, and thanks to its intervention, from the 1950's onwards, that the issue of Heritage began to be addressed in studies and seminars which explicitly defined and broadened its multiple facets, comprehensiveness, and function. Similarly, the launch of ICOM and its action, together with the changes fostered by cultural and social renewal movements, from the late 1960's onwards, have brought radical change to the social reading of the role of museums and curators.

The main concern of the Santiago de Chile Round Table Talks of 1972, which gathered under the auspices of ICOM, was to consolidate the social role which museums play and to redefine the role of museologists vis-à-vis the public and the areas that surround them, being features which had been hitherto completely ignored. In their Resolutions, as contained in a document that is still surprisingly current in our day and age, those Talks bequeathed us a clear and simple definition of the kind of legacy museums should preserve and their staff, the communities, and the relevant government agencies should work with in order to achieve cultural development and sharing: "...representative testimony of the evolution of Nature and Mankind." ⁶⁵

The introduction of New Museology theories in the 1980's added further impetus to a fresh approach to museological thinking by allowing a novel reading of the traditional elements that constitute a museum's world – its Collection, which was redefined as a new concept of Heritage, at once more comprehensive and more representative of a population's culture and identity; the museum's Building evolved into a museological Territory that extend beyond the boundaries of a museum's walls; and Visitors, with a call for increased focus on the role of the Community, which now evolved from passive spectator to actor and user.

A museum without exhibits that prioritises the representation of memory in its broadest variety of representations and symbolic interventions was one of the cultural options of New Museology and Community Museology. However, its insistence, sometimes excessive, in awarding an inferior status to a museum's

⁶⁵ - ICOM – UNESCO (1972). *The Santiago de Chile Round Table Talks*. Translated by Araújo, Marcelo, e Bruno, M. Cristina. In: A memory of contemporary museological thinking 1995. Subtitles: Base Principles for a Holistic Museum. Resolutions adopted at the Santiago de Chile Round Table Talks.

SIGNUD MINOM <http://www.museummonteredondo.net/sig/DOC%20PDF/197200102.pdf>

exhibits curtailed the importance of the role of near exclusivity which artistic exhibits had played in the traditional exhibitor model and insured the introduction of the patrimonialization of ideas in museum communication programs, which play such a key role in these New Social Culture trends.

The thinking and the field work being developed by New Museology and the Social Museology and Ecomuseums experiments have contributed, at UNESCO and at ICOM, towards the introduction of complementarity and representative intangibility values to Heritage. In 2001, at its Piedmont Round Table Talks, in Italy,⁶⁶ UNESCO began to formally include memory, know-how and art and crafts, and their authors within the scope of Heritage, together with culture' social frameworks, when it defined Intangible Heritage as:

“...les processus acquis par les peuples ainsi que les savoirs, les compétences et la créativité dont ils sont les héritiers et qu'ils développent, les produits qu'ils créent et les ressources, espaces et autres dimensions du cadre social et naturel nécessaires à leur durabilité. Ces processus inspirent aux communautés vivantes un sentiment de continuité par rapport aux générations qui les ont précédées et revêtent une importance cruciale pour l'identité culturelle ainsi que la sauvegarde de la diversité culturelle et de la créativité de l'humanité. “

[... the processes acquired by peoples, together with the know-how, skills, and creativity they inherit and develop further, the products they create, and the resources, spaces, and other dimensions of a social and natural nature they require in order to endure. Those processes inspire living communities with a sense of continuity relative to the generations that preceded them and play a crucial role in the formation of their cultural identity and in the preservation of the cultural diversity and creativity of humankind.]

In turn, ICOM, selected the theme “Museums and Intangible Heritage” for its 2004 General Conference held in Seoul, highlighting

⁶⁶ - UNESCO (2001). Round table Talks on the theme “Intangible Heritage – Operational Definitions” held in Piedmont – Italy. Published on-line http://www.unesco.org/bpi/intangible_heritage/backgroundf.htm

the importance of the role of museums in gathering, preserving, and disseminating this type of heritage. Taking inspiration from the UNESCO definition, Giovanni Pina (2003)⁶⁷, in an editorial written to promote the event, classified Intangible Heritage into three categories: the expression, materialised in tangible forms, of the culture of a certain community, such as its religious rituals, traditional economies, and lifestyles; personal or collective expressions without tangible form, such as language, memory, oral tradition, songs, and unwritten traditional folk music; and, lastly, the symbolic and metaphorical signification of objects that constitute its Tangible Heritage. The last of those categories added further significance to exhibits by attributing to them two dimensions of appropriation: their material aspect and their meaning. In turn, the latter dimension derives from their historical background, the kind of interpretations they evoke, or their ability to act as a link between the present and the past.

The current social role played by museums, a role that is indispensable if they are to integrate into the community they serve, requires them to remain in tune with the social changes that happen around them at all times and to implement actions and programs that are geared to raise awareness of new trends in cultural inclusion and miscegenation. Exhibitions, colloquiums, and meetings on this theme, or workshops attended by a multicultural audience, may speed up the process of integration, prevent the kind of racial confrontation that hovers in the background as a permanent threat to multiethnic cities, and complement the educational work being developed by the schools where youngsters of different national and foreign ethnicity currently share the same educational courses. In this regard, in an article titled “*Educación para la integración*” [Educating for integration] published in June 2003 in “*El País*”⁶⁸, Sami Naïr, a professor, politician, and scientist, wrote that:

*...la escuela tiene como objetivo formar a los
ciudadanos del mañana, permitiéndoles acceder a la*

⁶⁷ - Pina, G (2003) « Le Patrimoine immatériel et les musées ». In: *Journée internationale des musées 2004 et patrimoine immatériel*. Magazine: Nouvelles de l'ICOM, Musées et Patrimoine immatériel no. 4. Paris : ICOM

⁶⁸ - Naïr, S. (2003). *Educación para la integración*. Opinión. Article published in “El País”. June 2003. Madrid: El País. Posdatas. Artículos en la Red.

<http://es.geocities.com/posdatas/articulos.html>

identidad cultural común de la sociedad de acogida. El "multiculturalismo" no debe servir de excusa para formar unos grupos culturales "tolerados" y con tendencia a ser estigmatizados. El objetivo fundamental de la escuela es la identidad ciudadana, construida no a partir de una política de reconocimiento de las especificidades, sino de una concepción de la transmisión de los valores de razón, igualdad y tolerancia. La escuela debe difundir unos saberes para una identidad compartida. Cualquier experiencia de la inmigración en Europa demuestra que lo que desean los hijos de inmigrantes es aprender y aprender, ya que saben que para ellos es el medio de tener éxito en la sociedad de acogida. La escuela tiene como primera función garantizar la igualdad de posibilidades a todos. Es su misión sagrada al servicio de la humanidad civilizada.

...the goal of schools is to groom the citizens of tomorrow by enabling them to tap into the shared cultural identity of their host society. "Multiculturalism" should not serve as an excuse to groom "tolerated" cultural groups that tend to be stigmatised. The key goal of schools is to aim for a citizenship identity which is not to be built based on a policy of recognising specificities, but rather based on concepts of rationality, equality, and tolerance. Schools should disseminate knowledge of a shared identity. All immigration experiences in Europe demonstrate that what the children of immigrants wish is to learn and learn, as they are fully aware that education is the means by which they may succeed in their host country. The first and foremost function of schools is to guarantee equality of opportunity for all. That is its sacred mission in the service of civilised humanity.

Naïr is spot on when he draws attention to one of the most serious problems which integration and inclusion are causing when it comes to Europe's education courses. When educating immigrant kids, should priority be given to their original values or should the aim rather be to foster social integration with regard to the values of their

host society? Which of those options leads them to acquire better and greater rights of equality vis-à-vis the nationals? What is the meaning of historical identity heritage in a multicultural society? Nair supports joint education subject to goals that prioritise integration into the host country, as he firmly believes that that policy fosters equality, but the lack of definition on this theme and of a response to those issues and to many other questions that arise when communicating with the minorities which have settled in Western Europe require thought, action, and welfare practices that reach out to all structures, in a changing society.

Attempts to interpret the new paradigm of a blending of cultures by artists, museum staff, or museographic initiatives have managed to secure the introduction of means of appropriation of new tokens of heritage through their symbolic interpretation. An old barge, clothing, and objects left behind or a cardboard suitcase full of labels may end up as elements of a transient identity and as bridges that link departure points to the regions of destination, in the new crossroads of Culture.⁶⁹

It is with reference to this new vision of what constitutes heritage and to its unifying meanings that museums, namely local museums, can contribute towards a new approach to resignification in the world of social inclusion and in the defence of Multiculturalism. Work programs and cultural initiatives that foster the finding of new ways in which to communicate may help in educating better human beings who think freely and are imbued with a spirit of tolerance, regardless of which country they live in, religious beliefs, or social and ethnic origin.

As far as this field of action is concerned, the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum has been engaged with the community of Setúbal County, in Portugal, in developing a cultural integration and blending task that may well become a paradigm for reflection and action when devising projects of this nature. In Setúbal, a port city, several ethnic communities live close to each other on account of that city's past of extensive industrial tradition, namely industries

⁶⁹ The inauguration of *Musée de l'histoire e des cultures de l'immigration* in Paris and the publication of its initiatives in an on-line magazine and newsletter formats stands as an attempt to interpret and frame these new phenomena with the co-operation of resident immigrants through programs that aim to reflect on their life experience from the moment of departure from their countries of origin to their full integration in their host country.

http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/index.php?lg=fr&nav=446&flash=0&id_actu=1106

associated with the sea, such as canned food and ship repair industries. More recently, the city has seen degradation of the local corporate sector and this has served to highlight some of the contradictions which the mingling of cultures introduces cities: enrichment of the social fabric, hand in hand with increased risk of marginalisation, delinquency, and misunderstanding associated to poverty and to poor urban organisation. Given that context, the museum has been recently been organising an integration initiative called “Intercultural Afternoon Sessions” on the last Saturday of the month, whereby the museum’s halls are made available to every community in turn for purposes of their engaging in joint creation of tokens that value each community’s specificities, thereby putting it in touch with the remaining population. According to Isabel Victor, the Head of that institution, the museum transforms itself into “...an arena for self-representation that inspires dialogue and a stage for identity expression”.⁷⁰ Subscribing to similar goals of fostering integration and by means of organising personalised visits, an initiative called “Hello Neighbours” aims to reach out to people who live in the vicinity of the museum but traditionally stay away from it, experiencing it as an entity that has nothing to do with their daily routines and interests. In cases like this, it is a museum’s ability to mobilise and act that is being engaged in order to stage meetings of generations, ethnicities, and social groups. These and many other efforts being currently pursued by a variety of museums, such as national language courses for foreigners or programs to assist immigrant children with their homework or help adults resolve legal issues, stand as examples of new guidelines on the action of museums which fits them to our present space and time and strengthens the need to employ museums as a privileged conduit whereby people may communicate with each other.

4 – Memory, patrimonialization, and social intervention

The cayuco, which had been collected in October that year and towed all the way to Cáceres thanks to sponsorships provided by local companies, was cleaned, repaired, and covered with worn-out clothing, as projected. A key, a set of hooks, and a few coins were also

⁷⁰ - Victor, I. (2009). “Intercultural Afternoon Sessions” reports. Setúbal: Armazém dos Papeis do Sado.

found inside it, pointing to the possible country of departure of the barge⁷¹. In a letter dated November 7th, Emilio Núñez requested the City Council to authorise the installation of the Patera ⁷² for public display and to consent to its envisaged auction, to be held on the Net at the Ebay.es website.⁷³ Expecting his requests to be duly authorised, and in co-operation with the Municipal Museum, which was organising the event⁷⁴, invitations were sent out and the event was advertised in the usual media.

The social and cultural worth of the initiative and the goodwill which all who were aware of and supported the project had expressed led one to believe that an interesting educational and welfare initiative was on the go. However, from a certain point in time, the entire project and its execution began to suffer one setback after another which apparently put its mission and objectives in jeopardy and, ultimately, compromised the entire project. An identification of the patera with immigration, an issue that is sometimes thorny, and exacerbation of its symbolic value, as it lent itself to a variety of interpretations ranging from mere human solidarity to the most extreme form of protest action about the manner in which the political powers act when dealing with that issue, may have influenced the Council's decision to revoke its consent to erect the artwork on the Plaza fronting the Museum.

A week prior to inauguration day, a letter from Junta de Gobierno Local of the Cáceres municipality withdrew its consent to exhibit the piece at Veletas Square due to "...no ser viable la misma dadas sus dimensiones, así como por el emplazamiento propuesto...."[the fact that its assemblage was unfeasible, given its size and proposed location] ⁷⁵ A brief written by Emilio Núñez to notify the City Council's decision bears witness to his disappointment at a refusal he's unable to understand, being the first time something like that had happened to his work. He further advises their justification for such treatment, as personally conveyed to him by the Mayor and the Councillor in charge of that portfolio, whose reasons he neither believes nor accepts as valid.⁷⁶

⁷¹ - Items found inside the barge.

⁷² - Núñez, E. (2006). Letter addressed to the Cáceres City Council, dated November 7th.

⁷³ - Núñez, E. (2006). Letter addressed to ebay.es, dated November 7th.

⁷⁴ - Invitation and Poster advertising the *Patera's* inauguration ceremony.

⁷⁵ - Cáceres City Council. (2006). Letter from the local government authority to Emilio Núñez with acknowledgement of receipt.

⁷⁶ - Núñez, E. (2006). Brief on the refusal of consent to install the *patera* in Veletas Square.

Bringing symbolism and memory into the fold of Heritage has further introduced a broader, more comprehensive sense to cultural selection and representation, as the scope of heritage was opened to include vaster domains, encompassing recovery of a community's spirit and accomplishments. For long, the option to select what should or shouldn't be classified as heritage was and often still is the sole preserve of the cultured upper classes and of the manner in which they perceive Culture relative to what is to be preserved and what is best forgotten.

The widening and extension of citizen rights and the democratization of thinking have enabled symbolic representation in historical, artistic, or museological production to cease being solely the result of the choices of dominant or triumphant societies and increased its ability to recount other perspectives of events and to exhibit alternative heritage items. Thus, it has been possible to reconstruct parts of history which had not yet been told, especially where wars in which one of the warring parties held a monopoly on power for a long time subsequent to victory are at stake.⁷⁷

Items that may appear commonplace but which symbolic power frames events deserving of remembrance have increasingly been utilised by museums to reconstruct memories and facts which importance they aim to highlight, either for reasons of historic assertiveness or for purposes of recreating moments with special meaning. This type of exhibit has enabled the actors in those events to get closer to the exhibit's end product and to the message they intend to convey. We're dealing with a new type of heritage asset that benefits the population, whose references have now been musealised and thereby often serve to restore to them the sense of pride and of belonging their social marginalisation had stolen from them.

In Brazil, the Maré Museum was built in one of Rio de Janeiro's shantytowns, having been inaugurated by Gilberto Gil, Brazil's Minister of Culture, on 8 May 2006. This museum reconstructs

⁷⁷ - The efforts of many personalities and NGO's who doggedly fought for equal rights in Spain enable the Spanish Parliament to approve the "*Ley de la Memoria Histórica*" on November 1st, 2007, a piece of legislation ruling on the recovery of the memory of the victims of the Spanish Civil War and subsequent dictatorship. That Act was lauded as a hard political and cultural strike against the period of Franco's rule and it has allowed the history of a period of almost 50 years to be rewritten to include a large segment of the population which had been hitherto deliberately excluded and ignored.

the memory and the presence of immigrants from the country's interior who settled in the only area where they were allowed to build their shacks, a swampy, unwholesome region where they built the shacks on stilts that today stand as the core of a city of over 300,000 inhabitants. Its collection, which consists of a variety of items used by people on a daily basis, recounts the origin of the local community with photos and documents which are under constant renovation thanks to the contributions of residents who think of it as their property. Several of its halls exhibit a variety of themes that focus on the resilience of the early settlers and on the shantytown's lifestyle and trade. Branding it an historical landmark in Brazilian museology, Eduardo Sales de Lima explains what the museum means:⁷⁸

...The Maré Museum is Brazil's first museum to operate in the periphery. The residents of the shantytown themselves are the ones who act as curators and donors of its collection of photos and documents. "It stands as a landmark, the achievement of a community's wish to interact with its own history; "the residents themselves have literally put the museum together", says Luiz Antônio de Oliveira, the Head of the Museum. Oliveira stresses the importance of the role played by the museum in upholding the identity of the community: "Children need to be aware of the struggle of their parents and grandparents. And the folks are happy that youngsters get acquainted with their roots because that helps them to build their identity".

The musealisation of memory through the role played by the population of the Maré shantytown in their struggle for survival evidences that it is possible to transform symbolic objects into cultural life experiences and thereby contribute towards their achievement of a dignified social status and to its historical projection on the future of the community's youth.

⁷⁸ - Lima, A. S. (2006). *Memory of the Excluded: Residents help put the Maré Museum together*. Brasil de fato. On-line edition.
<http://www.brasildefato.com.br/v01/impreso/anteriores/170/cultura/materia.2006-06-05.2163508242>

That is also what Mário Chagas⁷⁹ is hinting at when interpreting a museum as a working tool and a space of creation and resignification where new temporal relations are established.

Museums are undergoing a process of democratisation, resignification, and cultural appropriation. It is no longer just a matter of democratising access to established museums but rather of democratising the museums themselves. They are to be understood as a technology, a working tool, and a strategic device to introduce an entirely new form of relationship with the past, the present, and the future that is at once creative and participative. It is a matter of a tough battle to democratise democracy; it is a matter of viewing a museum as a pencil, a modest tool that requires a modicum of ability to be employed.

5 – Media, heritage, and power

The circumstances surrounding the cancellation of the Exhibition and its causes were extensively covered by the local press, which echoed the dissatisfaction many people and the cultural establishment felt over the Council's refusal to authorise the exhibition of the artwork on the square and went on to support the initiative in the defence of the immigrant groups of Spain's Extremadura region.

Reports on the event showed photos of the author and his artwork and criticised the City Council's decision, having namely reported that bulkier artistic pieces had been erected at the same location before. Their news stressed the identitary and symbolic value of the patera and the importance of the goals that stood "...against racism and xenophobia and in favour of manageable, controlled emigration..." and unconditionally supported the struggle of the artist on behalf of the causes of minorities, and his courage and dedication to human solidarity.⁸⁰ The papers reported further that the Head of

⁷⁹ - Chagas, M. (2009). *Museums, Memories, and Social Movements*. Revista Museum magazine. Culture taken seriously. Published on-line <http://www.revistamuseum.com.br/18demaio/artigos.asp?id=16512>

⁸⁰ - Redacción Cáceres: *Deniegan al artista Emilio González el permiso para exhibir una obra en la Plaza de las Veletas*. November 24th; Redacción Cáceres: *Emilio González instalará su patera*

the Museum, who had supported the initiative from inception, offered to erect it in the gardens of the Museum as a means of salvaging the project's continuity, despite the fact that the barge would be much less visible in that area and that its impact, as originally intended through its public exposition, would be lost.

It is rather curious that one of the papers went as far as reporting its inauguration at the Plaza on the 28th as a given fact, which implies that the article was written before the day scheduled for the inauguration ceremony and prior to its writer becoming aware of the Council's prohibition.⁸¹ In this instance, the information was possibly provided with the best of intentions and this case of happenstance only serves as evidence of a status quo which the heads of museums and cultural organisations have become accustomed to: "news" are routinely produced in the absence of reporters and, more often than not, the interested organisation is the one that must supply the news releases, together with photos, to the paper in question if it wants to see it published. It is regrettable to notice how frequently news of a cultural nature score poorly in the ranking of newspaper editors' choices because they are neither considered popular nor appealing from a sales perspective.

The patera was at last installed in the gardens of the museum, again thanks to sponsorships granted by local companies. In an editorial titled "Abrir la calle al arte solidario" [Opening the door to tributes to human solidarity] published in a Cáceres newspaper, the writer laments that, in a matter of a few days, the City Council had barred both this initiative and another artwork commemorating World Aids Day from being displayed on the street.⁸²

While the exhibition ran its course, and taking also advantage of the Christmas Season's festivities, a number of initiatives involving the patera⁸³ were actioned in Cáceres and at the museum, while an Internet page - Yahoo! Noticias – advertised those events and the E-bay.com.sg website carried on with its intended auction. Over the

de la Esperanza en el Jardín del Museo de Cáceres. November 25th. Ortiz, C. (2006). Una Patera llega a la parte antigua. Reportaje. November 29th. Cáceres hoy, El Periódico Extremadura - 2006.

⁸¹ - Gudiel, Toni. (2006). *Muestra-exposición en Cáceres con la "Patera de la Esperanza"* - Redacción Cáceres. Cáceres Hoy, Cultura: November 2006.

⁸² - Editorial (2006). *Abrir la calle al arte solidario*, Opinión, El Periódico Extremadura.

⁸³ - Yahoo Noticias España. (2006). *El Museo de Cáceres expone una recreación artística de una patera como símbolo de esperanza para muchos inmigrantes*. December 17th. Published online.

following weeks and months, Emilio Nuñez tirelessly pursued his mission to raise people's awareness by writing about the initiative with the support of several papers in his struggle to find a permanent home for the barge.

In our day and age, the media are recognised to stand as a veritable fourth power and it is easily admitted that what is not seen, disseminated, or digested in the various media, including the Internet, simply does not exist. This fact leads public and private entities to somehow constrain and tailor their action as a function of the information that the public at large may gather from those media. Some public authorities go as far as setting out and implementing their policies as a function of the poll findings and forecasts the media often makes it its business to publish. Under such circumstances, only professional journalists of good socio-cultural standing who hold steadfast in their independence from the corporate groups that manage them may eliminate the risk of the kind of social manipulation of political and cultural feelings and choices it is in their power to permit.

The kind of changes which the emergence of multicultural societies have brought to bear are clearly visible in all quarters: change in family composition, such as mixed-race marriages or the adoption of children by couples of different ethnicity; cultural changes, such as language diversification and miscegenation or the mixing of habits and traditions; and political changes, which materialise in changes to social and labour relations and in successive amendments to legislation. But in the Western world, the new social and cultural models and paradigms which arose in the wake of migratory movements have not yet secured an adequate, uncontroversial frame of reference in the environments where they've been developing. Despite the evidence of goodwill patented in amendments to legislation and changes in the conduct of a fair portion of society it has not yet been possible to fully transform mentalities and customs developed over centuries of colonial, patronising attitudes. Even if the legal appropriation of certain countries by other countries has ended, it has not yet been possible to "decolonise the minds", an expression invented in the African continent as a challenge to its own sense of dependence. It may well still be applied to the way in which a fair part of the Northern

Hemisphere thinks, as many people remain formatted by centuries of that Hemisphere's global domination of other peoples.

The media's power to influence public opinion may lead one to believe that the manner in which they use and disseminate the information they gather on the new phenomena of ethnic mingling in city life may serve to speed up or delay the process of adaptation to the new circumstances of a multicultural society. In an address presented in September 2008, in Madrid, at "Foro Social de las Migraciones" [Social Forum on Migration],⁸⁴ Harresiak Apurtuz, the Head of an Immigrant Support NGO of the Basque Country we find reflections on how the media performs this key role:

"...Los medios de comunicación, uno de los principales agentes de socialización en la actualidad, se hacen eco de todo lo que afecta a la convivencia intercultural, pero hasta ahora, el tratamiento mediático acerca de la inmigración ha sido discriminatorio y etnocéntrico, como demuestran diferentes investigaciones. En torno a los medios de comunicación hay un debate permanente que afecta a lo que podríamos llamar sus responsabilidades sociales. Es obvio que los medios son hoy los principales constructores de sentido, quienes abastecen al conjunto de la población de los modelos de interpretación de la realidad, de los estereotipos, de los datos que alimentan, configuran, confirman o desmienten las visiones del mundo. Por lo tanto, los medios participan decisivamente en la construcción de los valores sociales, en una relación dialéctica, de permanente ida y vuelta de la realidad: por un lado, los medios son un espejo de los valores de una sociedad y de sus relaciones internas y, por otro, son fundamentales en la definición de valores y actitudes...

[...The media, which act as a leading agent of socialisation in our modern societies, echo everything

⁸⁴ - Apurtuz, H. (2008). "Inmigración y Medios de Comunicación: Manual Recopilatorio de Buenas Prácticas Periodísticas". Keynote address presented within the scope of "Foro Social de las Migraciones", Madrid September 2008. Published on-line. http://www.fsmm2008.org/media/ponencias/ponencia_71.pdf

that impacts on our intercultural living; however, as research has shown, till now the manner in which they've been handling immigration has been discriminatory and ethnocentric. There is on-going debate about the media which bears on what we may term their social responsibilities. It is obvious that, these days, the media are the main builders of sense, the ones which feed the entire population with models on how to interpret reality, with stereotypes, and with the kind of data that supports, configures, confirms, or denies its view of the world. As such, the media play a decisive role in the building of social values, in a dialectic relationship that constantly moves back and forth, to and from, reality: on the one hand, the media mirror the values of a society and its internal relations, but on the other they play a leading role in shaping those very values and attitudes.]

Studies conducted by Margarida Carvalho⁸⁵ in Portugal, as part of her research for her Master's thesis in Sociology, on the manner in which news on immigrants were being reported by two Portuguese newspapers – namely “O Correio da Manhã” and “O Público” – confirm those reflections. Her research allowed her to establish a dangerous relationship between the need to produce news with guaranteed impact on sales and the dissemination, with a lower or higher degree of conscientiousness, of information of xenophobic content or information relating to deviant practices pursued by ethnic minorities residing in Portugal. One of the newspapers, which is reputed to be of a more “popular” flavour, disseminated news on those issues by presenting the phenomenon of immigration in a personalised way and in an unfavourable light much more frequently than the other newspaper, reputed to be a newspaper “of choice”, which approached such news in a much more respectful manner and from an analytical standpoint.

The manner in which the media handle the theme of migrant communities and ethnic minorities may not be held hostage to values that are merely profit-oriented and to a lack of sensitivity or rectitude on the part of its journalists, or to their feelings of xenophobia or

⁸⁵ - Carvalho, Margarida. (2009). *Immigrant and ethnic minority image building in the Portuguese press*. Address to the 10th Portuguese-African-Brazilian Congress for Social Sciences. 4 to 7 February, 2009. Braga

marginalisation when confronted with reality. The risk of a lack of the sense of social responsibility which behoves us all in the process of transformation currently on course is far too high and ought not to be forgotten by such powerful distributors of information and opinion-makers.

Goodwill and political contradictions

Many upstanding citizens and journalists commented the City Council's decision to bar the exhibition of the patera in the press, attributing it political connotations and criticising the liberal party which led the Council at the time for its conservative stance. Albeit acknowledging the work that that political party had already done to embellish the city, they stressed that its involvement with the community was poor at best, especially as concerned social causes such immigration and Aids.⁸⁶

In the meantime, in his search for a permanent home for the patera, the artist came across Talayuela, a small town of 10,400 residents whose Mayor showed interest in the artwork. The Councillor in question had already acquired a reputation of being sympathetic to immigrants, who, in the case of Talayuela, originated mainly from the Maghreb and accounted for up to 40% of its population. His sympathetic views, which included his request to build a mosque in Talayuela, had already won praise from the media and been also the object of criticism and even death threats from extremist factions. On April 2nd, the patera hit the road again to make the trip from Cáceres to Talayuela where it was delivered to its Town Council for installation in that area's Nature Park as a tribute to Immigration.⁸⁷

However, the advent of local government elections for councils and autonomous regions in May 2007 determined a different fate for the cayuco. A change in the balance of political power in the Council following hard-fought elections put the project's execution on hold and, in a letter addressed to Emilio Núñez dated November that year,⁸⁸ the Town Council eventually informed him that the project was

⁸⁶ - Jiménez, J. (2006). *PP, Mission Accomplished*. Solilóquios. El Periódico Extremadura, of December 3rd.

⁸⁷ - Armero, A. J. (2007). *Talayuela se queda con la patera de la esperanza, instalación de Emilio González*. Cáceres Hoy. January 28th.

⁸⁸ - Talayuela Town Council (2007). Letter addressed to Emilio Núñez requesting the removal of the *patera* from the municipal warehouse.

*no longer on the cards and ordered him to remove the barge from the municipal warehouse where it stood*⁸⁹.

When another mayor finally showed interest in the project, Emilio Núñez, in May 2008, wrote a writ of ...Donacion de la Patera al Pueblo de Aldeacentenera [Donation of the patera to the People of Aldeacentenera]⁹⁰..., where he narrated the trials and tribulations of the barge from inception of his creative project right up to the day scheduled for its delivery to this small town of the Cáceres District.

*The patera was installed at one of the town's rotundas in May 2008 and it appeared to have finally reached its ultimate destination at long last. Its exhibition lasted only a fortnight. Three unidentified individuals set the unfortunate "cayuco" on fire late one night, utterly destroying it.*⁹¹

*Again the community and public opinion reviled that act and the media again reported developments,⁹² this time accompanied by statements from many representative of the cultural community. A complaint was also lodged with the Guardia Civil by the Aldeacentenera Town Council to the effect of prosecuting the persons who had set it on fire. Later on in the year, in November, a news item published in the HOY Extremadura newspaper informed that the Juzgado de Instrucción nº 1 of Trujillo was conducting a preliminary inquiry into the matter given that an individual had been imputed to be the alleged perpetrator of the barge's destruction.*⁹³

Politicisation of artistic and cultural phenomena is by no means a rare event, especially when concerning local government bodies which elected Councillors and their constituents, and their public reactions to issues, become highly visible and are fairly

⁸⁹ - Núñez, E. (2007). *La patera de la esperanza varada en un cuarto oscuro*.

⁹⁰ - Nuñez, E. (2008). *Certificado de Donación de la Patera, al Pueblo de Aldeacentenera*. 4 May 2008.

⁹¹ - Photo of the front page of "El Periódico Extremadura" of July 8th, 2008.

⁹² - News ítem on the burning of the Patera (2008): MP – *Queman la patera que homenajea la inmigración*. El Periódico Extremadura, July 8th, P19 / J.S.P. – *Calcinan una patera destinada a un monumento a la migración*. Hoy, Ciudades e Municipios, July 8th, P20 / M.P. – *Gonzalez dice que la quema de la patera "es un acto xenófobo"*. El Periódico Extremadura. Cáceres, July 9th. P21 / Editorial Opinión - *Quemar una Patera*. El Periódico Extremadura, July 10th, P4 / Redacción Caso del Monumento - *El alcalde de Aldeacentenera lleva a juzgado opiniones racistas*. El Periódico Extremadura, July 10th P4. / Jiménez, J. - *La esperanza quemada*. El Periódico Extremadura, July 13th, P6. / Gutiérrez, J. – *Salvajada en Aldeacentenera*. Tribuna extremeña. Hoy Diario de Extremadura, July 16th, P28.

⁹³ - Pablos, J. (2008). *Imputada una persona por quemar la patera de Aldeacentenera*. Hoy Región. November 27th, P17.

immediate. Resort to organising events of all sorts just prior to an election is a fairly common practice and cultural initiatives do not escape that practice. Exhibitions, shows, and museum inaugurations are actually often postponed or brought forward in order that their timing may coincide with particular times of convenience for purposes of canvassing votes.

At present, cultural activities clearly accrue a dimension of economic benefit and prestige to their sponsors which government authorities, particularly at local government level, are sure not to wish to overlook. In local government circles, projects that involve restoration of monuments or renewal of cities and historical villages, or of territories that were patrimonialized as heritage on account of their natural and cultural worth for the tourism industry are increasingly seen by Councillors as a sound investment and a job-creation opportunity in areas which have hitherto been looked at as non-refundable grants. The new Cultural Polices often elect to sponsor landmark national and international projects such the hosting of World or Universal Expositions, the promotion of Cities of Culture, or the achievement of UNESCO recognition for their regions and monuments on account of their inherent grandiosity and ability to capture the interest of the masses, hand in hand with the kind of global notoriety that territories that organise such events stand to gather.

As cultural activities become increasingly more widespread, more in demand, and more profitable, joint public and private interest on them has been on the rise and, at present, there are a number of reasons why private initiative should get involved with Culture, over and above the financial benefits it may possibly obtain. On the one hand, these days, Sponsorships are shared by small and large economic organisations alike thanks to specific legislation that allows them to allocate spend to sponsor artworks or the construction and preservation of monumental and cultural heritage and to cultural activities they pursue of their own initiative or in response to requests from third parties. Those actions are not solely motivated by financial benefit. Ever more, a company's prestige and honourableness appears to be tied to the manner in which it employ its revenues and it often allocates a portion thereof to sponsor social or cultural initiatives. Other valid reasons may be raised, such as the emergence of a higher degree of conscientiousness among

individuals and entities towards their responsibility to contribute towards social uplifting and towards the operation of a real market that demands Culture out of an appetite for enrichment or as a means of entertainment.

Naturally, those organisations employ selection criteria that stem from a host of factors – a guarantee of success, fashion, awe, political, economic, or social expediency, or merely the fact that the selected option will find favour with the masses or with their customers.

Therefore, and when it comes to this cultural sharing, it falls on the public authorities to strive for compensation and balance by channelling their support and gearing their action towards fields that ensure comprehensiveness, democraticity, and inclusion in their cultural options, both by facilitating broad access by the community at large to the major cultural phenomena such as shows and art and heritage exhibitions and by fostering development of novel creativities and the emergence of new cultural values across the entire spectrum of civil society.

In the case we have been reviewing, an artistic creation that paid homage to human solidarity managed, unwittingly, to enter the fray of political confrontation as reflected in the press, which commentary clarified both their views of the events and the positioning of a variety of political forces on the issue of the phenomenon of Immigration, more proactively, in the first instance, and in a more subdued manner, in the second instance.

If the use of Culture, or of any other activity, for electoral ends is a pernicious, negative way of asserting a party's political dogma, then inadequate handling of the sensitive theme of ethnic minorities and their social integration may well become a road fraught with danger of confrontation and hostility among communities, with unforeseeable consequences. The presence of different ethnicities in a city's social landscape now starts to call for measures from government authorities, within the scope of their duties, which go way beyond the kind of measures that central government and applicable legislation already cater for at present. Social integration and cultural enrichment, together with awareness-raising policies, are indispensable means to engender peace and human solidarity when dealing with new situations and with the kind of possible conflicts they may generate. The need to effectively deal with those

citizens on the basis that their rights and obligations are equal to the rights and obligations of a country's nationals requires on-going attention from all local government authorities and the support of all non-governmental institutions, whether they engage in cultural or in welfare activities. Perhaps the recent election of a Black man for President for the first time in the United States' history may positively influence the promotion and acceptance of social miscegenation and the manner in which this new paradigm should be dealt with by government authorities, the media, and society itself.

Correct, inclusive cultural policies applied by government authorities and cultural partners may act as an excellent means of communication and may provide an opportunity to dignify the social status of those communities, thereby acting as a major contributor towards their integration and to the achievement of locally sustained development. Given their proximity to their constituents, Councillors, in particular, stand as both spectators and privileged agents of cultural and social change and need to pay great attention to it, since the success of their initiatives and efforts will depend, to a large extent, on their ability to understand the nature of the cultural values that the society they serve may come to recognise as theirs, at any particular point in time.

Multiculturalism going forward

Emilio González refuses to give up. He's currently working on a project to build a lighthouse which he calls "El Faro de la Libertad entre los pueblos" [The Shining Light of Freedom among Peoples].⁹⁴ If he manages to have it built, and he's banking on the support of the Mayor of Aldeacentenera to the effect, a 6-metre high lighthouse tower will be housing the ashes of the patera to stand as a tribute to hope for a society that has no qualms about its approach to human solidarity and its stance on the eradication of racism and xenophobia.⁹⁵

The local press continues to cover his interventions, local residents support him, and everybody's sure that González will achieve his goals.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ - Nuñez, E. (2008). *Descripción del proyecto del Faro de la Libertad*.

⁹⁵ - Nuñez, E. (2008). *Proyecto para o Faro de la Libertad entre los Pueblos*.

⁹⁶ - Armero, A. (2008). *Un faro marineru en plena llanura*. Hoy Cáceres. 27 de Outubro, P7.

In a world that keeps on changing at a fast pace, everything changes, and what is produced by every human being and by every social group reflects, influences and is itself prey to the influence of the social conduct of others, and mirrors its contradictions in a mix of unconscious selfishness and of conscientious solidarity to which the new missions of heritage and of museums may not remain indifferent. The *Patera* of Hope stands as an example of the numerous ways in which creative endeavours and active participation in the exercise of citizenship may act to the benefit of social integration when duly supported by the political and cultural establishment. As far as inclusion is concerned, we all have an active role to play in our modern multicultural societies: immigrants, hosts, artists, theoreticians, the media, politicians, and museologists. And from among all of them, perhaps the leading role still falls to hope.

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Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

The Centre of Memories: work in progress. Case of the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum, Setúbal, Portugal⁹⁷

Isabel Victor

The **Centre of Memories**, formally presented in the early 2009, at the time of the exhibition "**13 fotos, 13 histórias, 13 filmes**", is today a *key area* of the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum. Its projects, strongly anchored in fieldwork, are the basis of this Centre of Memories and the partnerships which emerge from it, the network that supports it. In this paper we present projects begun four years ago, as is the case of "**Varinos, nós?**", an uneasy reflection on the construction of identity categories, resorting to kinship and family genealogies. Another project entitled "**Cartografias da memória**" refers to places and images which are like anchors of resistance memories. The "**Festa de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Tróia**", the sea procession, which the museum has been following for five years in its multiple changes and adaptations, is another area of study and observation, fully recorded in the "**Caderno de campo virtual**" which we have been creating and sharing through the platform "Memória Média", in cooperation with IELT, Institute for Traditional Languages and Literatures of the New University of Lisbon. Finally, reference is made to the project "**100 anos, 100 fotografias**", a revisitation of the 100 years of Setúbal's highly emblematic club: **Vitória Futebol Clube**. The work on Social Memory, focused on the biographic method and the paths of immaterial Heritage, are the fabric that we have chosen to substantiate the idea of museum. The social dimensions of memory, its construction and representation, are the thickness of the exhibition fabric. The specificity of museological work in contemporary times resembles a fine lace, a meticulous weaving of threads that flow from time, admirable lace, painstaking and complex, created with many needles, made up of hollow spots and stitches (of memories and things forgotten). Repetitions and

⁹⁷ A reduced version of this paper will be published in the forthcoming issue of the journal *Museologia.pt*, IMC, Lisbon, November 2010

symmetries are the pace that perpetuates it, the rhythmic grammar that gives it body. A fluid body, a single piece, circumstantial. It is always possible to create new patterns, new compositions, with the same threads. Accurately made, properly made, this lace of memories and things forgotten is always an extraordinary creation, a web of wonder that expands fantasy, generates value and feeds the endless reserve of the community's knowledge, values and beliefs.

We leave here the metaphor in which we became intertwined so as to, in a pragmatic manner, speak of practical examples. The **Centro de Memórias do Museu do Trabalho Michel Giacometti** [Centre of Memories of the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum], imbued of the strong conviction that everything stems from *field-work*, has developed for over two decades ways of registering and transmitting memories, especially memories related to labour and assembly lines in industrial and craft production contexts. However, this project only started "coming to life" about four years ago, when we were first equipped with the practical and theoretical tools to implement it, when we were able to organize concepts, name the various stages, identify processes and gather the necessary means to put into action and articulate *anchor projects* which came to emerge from the dynamics created between the museum, the local communities, universities, Institutes and Study Centres.

Let us then start describing some of these *anchor projects* and the methodologies we tried out:

"**Varinos, nós ?**" [*Varinos, us?*] was the first of these attempts, carried out jointly with the Anthropology Department of the New University of Lisbon. In this case, a classic anthropological tool was reinvented, kinship, as nuclear net in the transmission of memories within five families of Murtoseira origin, who added to Setubal's migratory ballast in the early days of the fish preserves industry. This thorough fieldwork resulted in an exhibition of the same name and in the production of visual documents which supported it. This proved to be a crucial means to engage in dialogue with the different publics and family members who integrated the network of informants. The carefully chosen objects displayed were the result of negotiation, and represent what in each family represents the Murtoseiro legacy of the *varinos*, who came to Setubal looking for work at the end of the 19th century.

They are icons of a culture, “talking” objects which become heritage by the action of the people in the community and the museological and/or exhibition processes which endow them with a discourse, a relational dynamics involving a rediscovery of the senses. This work proved crucial to understand the museum’s mission and the tools it operates with. The people in the community are involved in the processes leading to the identification and heritage-making of the material and immaterial goods which make up the cultural broth. Rather than being a “resource”, they become “agents” of museological action.

The museum acquires new communication/action dimensions, it expands. Thus the collector is collective and the decision to turn objects into heritage is shared, discussed from the start. When they return to people’s homes, to the families, the objects are no longer the same. They return because the museum’s goal is not to hoard “voiceless” objects in reserve, but rather to give them new life, new cultural uses within the very community, creating networks and complicities around the idea of heritage and the structuring value of memory.

[Varinos, us? How to turn a feeling into a museum...]

“The object only has existence in the gesture that renders it technically effective” (A . Leroi – Gourhan)

What, then, were these objects “offered” in exhibition? What gestures, or to be more exact what gestualities render them significant? What narratives do they refer us to? What subtleties give them emotion? How does one turn feeling into a museum... that is the question.

The challenge was to generate knowledge and raise disquiet regarding an identity category – “**varinos**”, indelible mark in the humanscape of Setubal, apparently crystallized in a historic alley. Now, taking as ballast the meticulous fieldwork carried out by Marta Ferreira and Ricardo Lousa, senior undergraduates in Anthropology of the New University of Lisbon, doing an academic internship at the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum, we sought to transport to museographic language one of the more interesting aspects of this study: “a *varino* feeling”, somewhat diffuse, hard to define, worn out by time, which some people from different generations tell us about,

people related to families of *murtoseira* origin who migrated to Setúbal in the mid 19th century, looking for work in fishing and in fish preserves.

This identity category, so often patented in a quaint “postcard” requires definition. It requires questions for which we seldom find answers in the words spoken. Today, when we ask our informants what is and how we can distinguish a *varino*, they refer to space/time coordinates – someone who lives somewhere between Fontainhas and Bairro Santos, who has ancestors in Murtosa, who lived in a certain way, according to certain principles... which today are very difficult to identify, almost impossible to materialize expographically. The problem is that times have changed, and the idealized notion of the “postcard” fisherman, on a chequered shirt and cap, has also changed. Without these external signs, it is crucial to ask what self-representation do the younger representatives of this so-called “*varino*” identity have, what image do people from Setúbal, in general, have of the acclaimed Setubal fisherman of Murtosa origin. One even asked, by way of provocation – would it be a motive of ethnographic interest, photographic pretext, tourist banner or heritage topic, to have a fisherman who sails the river by morning and surfs the internet in the evening? Does someone apparently indistinct, who wears Lois jeans, a Lacoste polo shirt and Ray Ban sunglasses fit our imaginary picture of the fisherman? Which cartography of the mind does this man fit? In which human landscape do we imagine him? What future do we predict for him? And what about him, how does he feel in these ambiguous times?

This character, paradigm of many others, is not fiction, he has a real existence in the local sea community, summarized in the life story of the youngest link in one of the five “*varino*” families we studied.

By imposition of the times, by social mimesis, in response to new needs and functionalities of modern life, this fisherman of a new kind has cast off stereotypes, definitely lost his outside signs of exoticism, dictated by clothes, speech and way of being. He inhabits another space in the city and in the imaginary world; therefore it is within himself that we must go to discover that “*varino* feeling” “which surfaces when he talks to us about his childhood in the neighbourhood, about the bands of boys who roamed the city on foot, about the time spent fishing with his father, about the ritualization of customs, about playing cards in bars. This is someone

who feels he is an offspring of the contemporary world, member of the global community, but aware and certain of a particular origin which exalts him and anchors him to a striking past. He spoke to us from the standpoint of his thirty five years of age, of the tremendous will to leave everything behind (at present he is towboat captain) and follow in his father's footsteps, invest in the old family boat, a vessel called "Alice dos Santos", the name of his grandmother, and sail away, across the sea, catching octopus, squid, sole, etc., following in the family's tradition, without giving up the company of the modern laptop which throws him into the fast waves of the world when the river waters are more stagnant and the fish insist on hiding.

So, let us come back to the disquiet: *how to turn a feeling into a museum...*, in this case "a *varino* feeling". We decided to ask each family to choose an object which was meaningful to the *varino* inheritance, with a view to presenting five objects with "story". A problem arose – men and women do not converge in this choice. Therefore, we changed the rules and agreed to display two objects per family, one chosen by the men and the other chosen by the women. Also, each family took from the album the more significant photographs for us to exhibit in the museum. All the labels/captions were made with the participation of our interlocutors and in their way of telling. But some, especially older people, could not read... so, to allow visual access, we filmed what they told us about their respective objects, the associated meanings and gestualities. It was then very interesting to find what words do not always explain. Exemplifying by a gesture the use of a simple merino shawl, with silk fringes, kept for over ninety years in one of the oldest families shows us that this shawl takes on different ways of wrapping the body, depending on the occasion and the mood. A subtle symbolic language, probably an element of the *varino* identity (to be confirmed in compared studies), acknowledged among the community's women, passed from generation to generation, in an almost mute seeing/doing which becomes engrained. A singular memory, set in the gestures: - "the shawl for everyday life", laid on the body without artifice; "the shawl for festivity", cheerful, falling from the shoulders; "the shawl for mass" and "the shawl for feeling" which out of respect or mourning, covers the head and comforts the pain.

The objects in this exhibition were presented as fragments of a family “reliquary”, a pretext to spin tales, sketches of a “*varino* feeling” which is being transformed.

Another attempt, another case we submit here as example of a project in this area is that of exhibition “13”, which was the public presentation and discussion of goals and methodologies of the Centre of Memories, in this case based on the photographs of the Américo Ribeiro Municipal Archive which, just like the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum, integrates the Museum Division of the Setubal Municipality.

"No one is equal to no one. Every human being is a strange singularity." Carlos Drummond de Andrade

The photographs were the wick that set memory on fire. It could have been a hundred or half a dozen, but since everything has a beginning, we decided to go with 13, ward off the belief in misfortune, cause a shudder, register the coming together of the moment captured in the image and the unstable, conflicting images that memory keeps building and re-building within a certain time, referred to a certain space; to hear of mismatches (black spots in History), unveil suffering, create complicities, acknowledge the work and the struggles that set the difference, smile at the hesitations, the mishaps and the “things forgotten” which memory weaves; play on the metaphor of the number the ambiguity of the senses that cross the image (also the joys and their celebrations), capture in the uniqueness of each point of view the strange singularity which every human being is. This project catalyses the surprise, individual or collective, that lies on the discovery of a city never seen before from certain points of view. This is all about creating a new and sophisticated cartography of heritage with partners and volunteers, a cartography that is subjective, plural and diversified, reconstructed from the people and their worlds. What is presented here is an infinitesimal part of what we have collected, but the example remains, the synthesis, the pretext for the creation of a centre of memories that will methodically record what lies beyond the obvious. What makes us singular, strangely different, among equals.

This project is in progress. The exhibition has become a travelling exhibition, moving to formal and informal exhibition venues, such as bars, schools, municipal spaces, associations, among others.

The materials that resulted from the ongoing collection have been increasing the database on immaterial heritage and Social Memory, and constitute a strong incentive to studies in this area. The partnerships and protocols we have signed with state and private universities, such as Lisbon's Faculty of Fine Arts and IADE – Institute of Visual Arts, Design and Marketing, have allowed us to combine theory and practice, creating very active inter-generational networks for heritage prospection and inventory. At the same table, we gather people with different skills, different life experiences, different perspectives on the social "uses" of this community property.

Accessible document collection

The starting point for this project involving the collection and register of oral memories was the Américo Ribeiro's photographs, a municipal archive which is part of Setubal's cultural and artistic heritage.

So that we could achieve this synthesis, presented as an exhibition and a film, long and intense background work was necessary, starting in October 2007 and still in progress. So far 398 images have been processed, of which 94 regard Vitória Futebol Clube; 196, the city and its people; 27, the fish preserve factories and 81, the Flower Battle, among other festivals and rituals. In this path, life stories and memories have been collected, affections have been created and knowledge has been generated. Interpersonal networks were established involving the museums and the different groups in the community, contributing to lessening social and intellectual barriers which still today prevent some people from entering museums and having access to cultural and heritage goods which belong to all of us. With this project we aimed at bringing closer the community, the museums, the elements of heritage, and we took advantage of the unrepeatability opportunity to resort to informants who experienced certain events photographed by Américo Ribeiro, turning them into narrators of their own history.

Promoting the knowledge and life experiences of the community members, organized as documents accessible to the public and the researchers, has allowed us to add to the museological spaces

another research dimension, based on listening and on the commitment with the citizens, humanizing the range of services offered by museums as well as the contents of the immaterial heritage.

This kind of work enhances (brings to the fore) the elderly, a fact which adds immense value to the whole community and to themselves. These people, most of whom pensioners, may give precious time to research. The question lies in identifying interests and needs, discussing objectives and their respective work methodologies. It is a labour that entails a routine, in this specific case, weekly sessions, on Tuesday morning. The volunteers, with staff of the Américo Ribeiro photographic archive and of the museum, view and comment previously selected old photos related to the city, the changes in the urban landscape, the crafts, the festivities, the houses, the streets, among other elements. These allow us to reconstruct ways of life, value systems and representations which configure episodes or events that marked the lives of the people and the city. This precious (meticulous) work has allowed us to create an extensive database, featuring hundreds of entries, extended captions of the photos which are also a gallery of localized visual narratives. Mental places that remain registered (on file) in writing and image, for future memory, to the happiness of their co-authors. The wish to be accurate and the joy in corresponding is such that these community researchers organize themselves into small cafe meeting groups, or in associations to clarify doubts and review the subjects, even if that entails spending hours on end at the Municipal Library and/or in the Archives, confirming dates and confronting conclusions – this is also therapeutic work, it is like going back to school, it is being alive.

Another area which we consider to be of crucial importance is related to the **memories of resistance**, paths and byways that many local families were forced to take to face the dictatorship regime. This is sensitive work, of an intense political nature, which requires thorough research and respectful listening. Part of these memories, already addressed in the “13” exhibition mentioned above, are being collected and organized for future memory. They are somehow an exorcism of one part of our History which insists on remaining enclosed in illusory pacification. These are hard memories, but also heroic memories, which deserve telling and re-telling, from various

points of view. The reports collected are individualized syntheses of this country's history, bitterly lived by families in this community, which flow into the immense sea of peoples' fight for freedom and human rights, which cannot, must not, be suspended in a sort of silent limbo, captive of fear.

Cartografias da Memória [Cartographies of Memory] gave its name to an Intercultural Afternoon held in November 2009, at the Labour Museum in Setubal, with a view to discussing some anchor projects in Portugal, Spain and Brazil, which take Immaterial Heritage and Social Memory as the structuring axis of museological activity. This name refers to the imperative need to map the places, the institutions and the images that anchor the memories and give them ballast. This also served to discuss methodologies used to collect, organize and disseminate life stories which are living examples of resistance. This event, which had the participation of museologists and heritage technical experts from Portugal and abroad was a joint initiative of the Museum and Associação Abril, and included the presence of "**Memória Media**" [Media Memory], an exemplary virtual platform of projects and studies on orality, culture, memory and identities, available at <http://www.memoriamedia.net/>. This project was supported by IELT, **Instituto de Línguas e Literaturas Tradicionais** [Institute of Traditional Languages and Literatures], of the New University of Lisbon.

Our Lady of the Rosary of Tróia. A devotional Festivity

Another project we have been developing for about six years is the study of the Festivity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Tróia [Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Tróia], one of the few sea processions in Portugal. This summer festivity, which takes place in August, marks the annual cycle of fishing. The Tróia Festivity is the reference celebration for the Setúbal *varino* community, very closely bond to the Museum and the neighbourhood around it. The building where the Museum is located is itself an old fish preserve factory and symbolizes what physically remains of this industry. The memories and witness accounts collected throughout these years refer back to the system of representations, rites and beliefs which form the

identity matrix of the community and the basis for the museological work, its “**Caderno de campo virtual**” [Virtual Field-Log].

Throughout these years of fieldwork, we have progressed in the means of recording and in the scope of the research itself. In the first year, we left for the terrain as observers, free from any type of record-keeping; the goal was merely to be with the people, to participate in the most elementary tasks of the festivity, following the organizing committee and keeping up with their pace. It was a year of bonding and silent (ceremonious) listening. In the subsequent years, from 2006 to 2009, after various work sessions and meetings held at the museum with sea-related families from Setúbal and Murtosa, we started collecting life stories and we filmed, at different stages, about 17 hours of sequences and episodes regarding the processes of establishing the festivity, its successive adaptations, the reactions and negotiations with the promoters of the tourist complex Troia Resort. Besides corresponding to the imperative need to document and discuss these processes, we sought to include the players in the action, implicating the whole community in the organization of exhibitions, in information gathering and in the cooperation projects between families which had been estranged, in some cases for almost a century. There are many uncles, cousins, brothers-in-law, among others, who had lost track of one another. This path towards reconnecting is very strong. The festivity has been rejuvenated. In summer, in August, it is in the festivity that many of the families that have relatives in the United States, namely in New Bedford, meet. The space time relation, the social usages of this celebration, its continuity and/or adaptation to new models, this is one of the challenges of this study. With the video material recorded, two films were made (two visual documents) which are references for this work, and they are viewed at the museum at different times, in pre-defined contexts and also in family reunions since the festivity committee has copies which it uses in these circumstances.

This work, which is under way at present, is far from being finished although throughout the years it has been marked by various moments of exhibition and reflection, always with the participation of members of the community, students, photographers (namely Sérgio Jacques), journalists, researchers on the theme of sea-related festivities along the Portuguese coast and sea processions.

The festivity of Our Lady of the Rosary of Tróia is one of the anchor projects of the Centre of Memories and an extraordinary study reservoir.

Vitória Futebol Clube 100 years- the first of the Republic

At present the Centre of Memories is working on a research project on Vitória Futebol Clube, iconic institution in the city, which celebrates this year its hundredth anniversary. This is a club which started in 1910, on 20 November, in the wake of the republican movement. In this specific case, we again worked on the very rich collection of photographs of the Américo Ribeiro Municipal Archive, in cooperation with a group of volunteers, themselves former leaders of the VFC.

“100 years, 100 photos” was the motto for this work which started about a year and a half ago, a continuous and persistent challenge of looking at the various angles of the images and the episodes the memory has recorded far beyond the photographic time and the apparent four-lined visual limit of the photograph itself. The repertoire of meticulously recorded stories, under the supervision of anthropologist Maria Miguel Cardoso, became the raw material for the exhibition intitled “**Vitória de Setúbal 100 - O Primeiro da República**” [Vitória de Setúbal 100 – The First of the Republic], which could be visited at the Santiago fair in Setúbal in the summer.

The team: networks, complicities and combinations

The team of the Centre of Memories of the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum joins forces with other areas of the museum, namely with the Documentation Centre, which handles and provides the visual documents; the exhibitions and publications area and the educational service.

From this fieldwork, informal partnerships have been formed with local associations, the social centre, the parish, and protocols have been signed with universities, institutes and other museums, in Portugal and abroad. Example of this is the protocol we have just signed with the Sibiu Museum in Romania, equally interested in the study of memories and identities, with well-known work of an

anthropological nature, which in some aspects is convergent with the work carried out by the Michel Giacometti Labour Museum.

The social and political dimension of Memory and Heritage

The change in paradigm regarding the notion of memory and the social uses of heritage happens not so much due to the distinction, which in our opinion is merely operational, between material and immaterial heritage, but especially through the growing awareness that it is society's duty to take as heritage referential the people and their bonds to memory and to identity.

Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses, one of the most respected voices in the field of social history and cultural heritage, guest speaker at the opening conference of the 6th National Seminar of the Centre of Memory of Unicamp, Campinas (State University), in 2009, stated that the field of cultural values cannot be considered a map with clear borders, secure paths and precise destination points. As he recalled "We find ourselves before an arena of confrontation, an eminently political field, in the sense of shared management, where there is debate, consensus, dissent and conflict."⁹⁸

In truth, there are no innocuous heritage nor unidirectional "stories"; this whole field of social memory and immaterial heritage is fluid and decidedly polysemic, for the most part conflicting. For this reason it makes sense to work the notion of heritage in networks and using several voices, in a logic of permanent construction, where antitheses spring out, for it is there that the vitality of the system lies, as well as its creative core.

How many "cities" are there in the city?

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<http://www.memoriamedia.net/>

Equipments used to capture and process the images:

1 Sony DCR-VX 2100 Semi-professional video camera

1 Pentax K10D camera
2 IMAC 1TB / MacOSX 10.5.8.

This project, sponsored by the Setubal Municipality, was supported by Rede Portuguesa de Museus [Portuguese Museum Network] in the purchase of film and photography equipment, and by the company "Engel & Völkers ", which provided the required computer and software (*final cut*)

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Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

Japan ecomuseums: Global models for concrete realities

Óscar Navajas Corral

Japanese ecomuseums. Applying ecomuseology

The first Japanese experiences around the conception of a museum without walls and based in the symbiosis of the scenery and the recovery of a cultural heritage can be found out in the open-air museums which were developed in the 50's.

In many of them it is intended to keep the building in use, as well as the place where they are located. Maybe we can mention the words of Rivière (1973 in Diallo, 1986: 43-44), whom after his experience with Scandinavian open-air museums defined this typology as *une collection d'éléments d'architecture traditionnelle rurale principalement, transférés dans un parc avec leurs équipements domestiques, agricoles, artisanaux, etc., ou garnis d'équipement équivalents, dotés de cas échéant d'un minimum d'environnement. a ces ensembles de micro-unités écologiques, le musée de plein air ajoute un ou plusieurs bâtiments conservés surplaces, ou construits au dessin, dans les quels son exposés collections complémentaires, en permanence ou temporairement : mobiliers, objets d'art populaire, costumes, etc.*

In the North of Osaka, close to Shin-Osaka, it is located the first open-air Museum of Japan, *Open-air Museum of old Japanese Farm Houses*⁹⁹, created in 1956. This museum is made up of 12 houses and buildings of traditional use such as granaries and mills, excellent both for its good preservation and its active use for the visitors, the Hida-Shirakawago, declared world heritage in 1995. A first approach to keep a traditional heritage that was threatened by the industrialization of the post-war period might be considered.

This museum would be followed by others, such as the *Nihon Minkaen Japan Open-Air Folk House Museum* in the suburbs of Tokyo, opened in 1965, this museum is characterized by its rigor in the

⁹⁹ <http://www.occh.or.jp/minka/>

recovery and preservation of the traditional architecture as well as the work made by the museum staff and museum volunteers regarding the effort in order to keep the houses alive during the open hours¹⁰⁰.

The experiences of Edo-Tokyo Open Air Architectural Museum¹⁰¹ (1993) with 30 unique buildings of Japan from the XVII to the beginning of the XX are also interesting; The Sankeien Garden Open-air Museum¹⁰², an open-air museum characterized by the natural heritage and the static relation between culture and nature; or the Hokkaido Historical Village, in Sapporo¹⁰³, opened in 1983, and, unlike other museums is organized by the different habitats existing in the North part of the country: mountain, farm, city intended to simulate a particular way of life. This fact emphasizes the sense of utility of the recovered and preserved architectures with linked to the recreation of the environments.

However, these open-air museums cannot be strictly considered the beginning of the ecomuseology as occurs in other places of Europe, basically in France and Scandinavian countries. Regarding Japan, they are an achievement of emergency political decisions in order to preserve a heritage at risk of being destroyed after the II World War. The history of the Japanese ecomuseums can be divided in three different periods (Ohara, 2006; Davis, 2007):

1. The first time the ecomuseums in Japan are considered as such is in 1960's thank you to Professor Tsurata (1974) who introduced the word *ecomuseum* in Japan after his participation in the General Conference of the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in 1974, organized under the theme *The Museum and the Modern World*, held in Copenhagen (Denmark). This first approach to the ecomuseums responded to certain environmental worry related with natural and cultural ecomuseal foundations already initiated in other parts of the world.
2. In the 1980's the word ecomuseum was re-introduced as an alternative to the traditional museum for the developing local

¹⁰⁰ In these facilities the visitor can participate in the process of making tea, whose leaves grow in the proximities, they can join the tea ceremony, they can learn about bamboos, cloth dying or watch a Kabuki play

¹⁰¹ www.tatemonoen.jp

¹⁰² <http://homepage3.nifty.com/plantsandjapan/page062.html>

¹⁰³ <http://www.kaitaku.or.jp/info/info.htm>

areas. This new point of view towards the ecomuseum key happens as the same time as the economic bubble. In those years the government was establishing economical projects in order to develop rural areas. A growing in the construction of museums starts with a touristic perspective; however, it will end up in an economical burden for the civil governments which had already serious difficulties to maintain them. In addition, it must be pointed out the beginning of ecomuseal experiences that in those years the state was going through a period of decentralization where the prefectures and towns were having more and more autonomy in making decisions about their local development policies. Many municipalities would were interested in ecomuseums as a way of preserving their territory, recover the heritage and the cultural identity without the need of creating facilities (Ohara, 2006: 1-2)¹⁰⁴. Some of the experiences born in those years are the Asahi-machi ecomuseum, created in 1989¹⁰⁵ and officially established as ecomuseum in 1991 in the prefecture of Yamagata or the community museum of Hirano-cho near Osaka.

Although the fact that the open-air ecomuseum are not the foundations of the future Japanese ecomuseums has been mentioned, they establish some characteristics for the future ecomuseal institutions: new state concerns regarding the heritage preservation; developing of a environmental concern towards the sustainable development, concern for the education, the museography and the heritage interpretation, and an open mind about new generations of professionals working in new types of museums different to the traditional ones.

¹⁰⁴ This is the time when Juzo Arai will begin this new theoretical-practical version of the Japanese ecomuseums. His contribution will not only contribute to the ecomuseal model and its philosophy and characteristics but also it will establish the figure of the ecomuseum in Japan with the creation of the Japan Eomuseological Society (JECOMS) founded on March 26th, 1995. The JECOMS is an association with 250 members approximately who share the principles of the ecomuseology.

¹⁰⁵ It might be mentioned the article written by George F. MacDonald in the magazine *Museum* in 1987, where he analysed the situation of the museums in the world and he started describing Asia, and analysing Japan in detail. The industrialization process had deteriorated the environment and the traditional heritage. The new policies had to develop paying attention to this situation, reason why MacDonald said (1987: 209) that Japan was having more than one hundred open-air museums. Places to recover the architecture but also the education and the cultural identity of the Japanese society.

3. The third key moment in the construction of the Japanese ecomuseology would come in the 1990's when the society and the Japanese government policies change towards the environmental sustainability and the development of communities, been greatly influenced by the international environmental movements which will have the Environment and Development United Nations Conference of Rio de Janeiro in 1992, as frame of action.

This conference suggested parameters closed to the ecomuseal philosophy of promoting the respect and preservation of natural environments and the development of their communities from a wide point of view of sustainability. In Japan was exemplified in the creation of centers for interpretation and learning in the areas of environmental preservation named "ecomuseums" (Ohara, 2006: 2). Following this, in 1998 the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry y Fisheries created the figure of the "Rural Environmental Museums"¹⁰⁶, whose basis belong to the idea of agreeing to the local stories, culture and traditions; the creating of spaces and facilities, spread around the main facility must be connected by paths; promoting the active participation of the local population having them conscious and getting them involved in the scenery and the activities; and the local governments or mixed enterprises will take care of an intended sustainable and effective management.

These characteristics could be the prototype for the creation of and ecomuseum, however, a more carefully look can tell us that the policies of this system are central policies and they come from a vertical structure, opposite to the horizontal democratic situation where the ecomuseums are based in theory. However, following Professor Ohara, these initiatives are the beginning of a ecomuseal policy in Japan.

Nowadays the Japanese ecomuseums and the ecomuseology in general are establishing as well as the definition of a common model of work. La JECOMS, whose center is the National University of Yokohama, under the supervision of Professor Kazuoki Ohara, from the Department of Architecture, is focusing its efforts towards an approach to the museology as a discipline that can be a symbiosis of the technical and human sciences in the theory and practice of the ecomuseal experiences that are being developed in Japan.

¹⁰⁶ Mentioned by Ohara (2006: 2) as DEN-EN KUKAN HAKUBUTUKAN in Japanese.

In the map of the Japanese ecomuseums introduced in 2002 (Davis 2004: 9) the different experiences were both in rural and urban areas. These locations were in Tamagawa; the Kounotori Ecomuseum; Asian Live Ecomuseum; the Osaka neighbourhood, Hirano-cho; the Asahimachi Ecomuseum and the Ecomuseum of the Miura Peninsula. Nowadays the Japanese ecomuseums are over one hundred and they keep an structure of located ecomuseums both in urban and rural locations.

The ecomuseology in Japan has been able to develop due to reassert of the communities identity, which have seen in the ecomuseums a way of participate in their own future by recovering their traditions and developing policies for their future (Ohara, 2006: 3-4).

The reality. Description of the japanese ecomuseums

In this part a brief description of the ecomuseums visited in situ and later on analyzed will be hold

Kawasaki. Kawasaki is a city located in the East part of Tokyo Bay, close to the estuary of Tama River, in Kanagawa Prefecture. Nowadays Kawasaki is a post-industrial city which supplies Tokyo with labor and which has over a million and a half of population.

Among the extended city, the Tama River and its shore make a natural lung for the city and its inhabitants. The river has been an economic resource but also a social and cultural resource for the citizens' life. The economical changes and the diversion of the commercial attention over the river have promoted that the administration establish its social policy in it. Thus, regarding the citizens' participation there are three institutions which work under the preservation of the traditions and cultural identities, and at the same time, they collaborate actively with the population. The first one is the Nihon Minkaen Japan Open-Air Folk House Museum in Ikuta Park. The second one is the Tamagawa Ecomuseum¹⁰⁷, in the Tama-ku area and it is a response to the social needs of this river shore. And the third one is the Kawasaki Industrial Town Museum¹⁰⁸ located in Kawasaki-ku, in the administrative area of Kawasaki.

¹⁰⁷ <http://www.seseragikan.com/ivetokiroku/clean-up1004/index.html>

¹⁰⁸ http://www.city.kawasaki.jp/index_e.htm

Both the Tamagawa ecomuseum and the Kawasaki ecomuseum are urban models of ecomuseums with an administrative center from where there are created different experiences and satellite spaces as initiatives for the population's concern (Ohara, 2008): cleaning and collecting waste from its shore, organizing workshops on environmental concern, popular parties and events both traditional and contemporaneous, etc.

These ecomuseums which were born in the beginning of 2000 try to bring together and in a democratic way the social call, the industrial and economical factors and the civil power of the city. With the support of the enterprises, the government support and the effort of the social associations, the ecomuseums have developed several campaigns counting on the citizens' participation. The idea is the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage (tangible and intangible) that contributes to the development of the community by integrating both the rural and urban sides. This idea of using the concept of ecomuseum tries to recover a holistic area and to get the democratic and social participation as a way of development and learning.

Hirano-cho ecomuseum. It is one of the earliest and most emblematic ecomuseal initiatives in Japan. Hirano-ku is a neighbourhood in the Southeast of Osaka with an unusual history inside the history of Osaka and the history of Japan. It is characterized by an autarchy which gave this neighbourhood a kind of independence from the feudalism to nowadays. The idiosyncrasy of its inhabitants shows a personality somehow unusual compared to the stereotype of the Japanese population; an affable and empathetic community. The main idea to stimulate this neighbourhood started in 1990's following a local movement of the inhabitants supported and coordinated by Ryonin Kawaguchi, the priest of the Buddhist temple of Senkouji, (Davis, 2007). In 1993 it was established as ecomuseum or as an alive museum for the development of the community. The project included the recovery of the neighbourhood through the citizen's intervention, their identity and the renovation of the urban space. The emblematic buildings have been recovered and restored, the personal movable properties have been recovered, the urban facilities have been equipped, and the social, cultural and economical activities have been promoted. Many of the objects that are part of

the identity of the inhabitants are located in small museums or small establishments (satellites) where the economical activity keeps its rhythm, however they include properties related to the history of that place.

Although Hirano appears as “Hirano Machigurumi Museum” in the touristic map of Osaka and there is a marked route that can be visited it is not a touristic place. However, the interesting point is to appreciate that this “related places” not only have an exposure role but the way they are located, the places themselves and even the facilities stimulates the relation with the people and the environment, they involve the visitor. The main and original idea is the sense of community and involvement of all the inhabitants. The visit to Hirano turns out to be a discovery of small identities that become the pieces of a puzzle that is the whole neighbourhood. It is intended to move for a “tourist-visitor” to a “tourist-visitor-participant”.

Hirano includes a model of ecomuseal decentralization where the neuralgic centre do not follow the policies of intervention but it implements a model of interaction where the facilities complement each other by building a net of relations where the idea of ecomuseum is the one that connects the ideal of work (Davis, 2004: 97-101; Corsane, 2006: 116; Ohara, 2008: 45).

Toyo-oka Oriental White Stork Ecomuseum¹⁰⁹. The history of this ecomuseum begins in 1955 when the Association for the Preservation of the White Oriental Stork starts to mobilize together with the government and the local populations in order to preserve this species.

The ecomuseum is located in the town of Toyooka, in the prefecture of Hyogo, a place that is protected since 1919, when the government created the law for the protection of the natural areas under the name of National Natural Monuments. This law has let the Hyogo Prefecture, and specially Toyooka, take benefit from the government support, which has also let the development of a long term project based of scientific research of the natural habitat and the co-existence of the local environment of humans and nature.

The awareness of the population has been one of the priorities of Toyooka and the Center for the Preservation in the last years. It is

¹⁰⁹ <http://www3.city.toyooka.lg.jp/Kounotori/index.htm>

intended to expand a new style of life and economy for the whole area. To achieve it different projects have been developed, such as the “White Store Friendly Farming Method”, created to make the population aware of the rice as an economical source for the area and the domestic tourism of the area. In this effort the new environmental mentality has been essential in the last years. It must be pointed out from this project how the organization has become little by little vertical¹¹⁰ and how the natural species preserved as the symbol of a whole city and area has made the population been involved in their own social, cultural and economical development (Cerny, 2006). In terms of ecomuseology, this ecomuseum would be a centralized model where a main site is the visible focus which centralizes the essential theme of the ecomuseum and the area would be completed with other satellite sites.

Miyagawa Ecomuseum (Ise, Mie prefectura)¹¹¹. The ecomuseum of Mayagawa can be found in the prefecture of Mie, in the South of Kyoto. It is an place with both a seaside area and mountains with thick forests. The center is the city of Ise, a city located in the confluence of the Miyagawa River with the coast, around 200 kilometres from Osaka. This strategic location as well as the environment makes the place ideal fro the development of touristic activities¹¹².

The ecomuseum is another facility of this environment located in Taiki, inside a Natural Park. It belongs to the prefecture but it has completely autonomy of action over the place. The building where it is placed is an old elementary school. It includes several rooms for the interpretation of the environment and some offices from where the activities are centralized. This site is also used as an information office for the visitors (routes, heritage, etc.), despite of the fact that there

¹¹⁰ The prefecture of Hyogo in located right in the centre. The National government is the one which supplies the economical support, however the prefecture and the city of Toyooda are in charge of hiring professionals

¹¹¹ <http://miyarune.cool.ne.jp/>

¹¹² The area of Miyagawa owns a rich cultural Heritage characterized by the temple of Jingu, a pilgrim place in New Year; the natural protected heritage in the West area of Miyagawa Village is a National Park, as well as the area in the South of Ise (National Park of Yoshimo Kumano and National Park of Isehima), whereas the centre is a Natural Park which belongs to Mie Prefecture (Natural Park of the Isehima Gorge) It has also seaside resources both in its use as a commercial port and as a beach and leisure centre. These resources have let the creation of several facilities which promote the natural resources and the seaside, such as the Spanish Thematic Park.

is a great variety of activities to spread and make the population aware.

The ecomuseum is conceived as an alive museum, which involves the population of the community. Thus the historical development of the social environment, the nature, the culture, the heritage and the local industries is explained through the development of the community aiming to show an active museum. In this way, the ecomuseum is a mixture between the civil power and the community. The area of Miyagawa is well known not only for the touristic industry but also for being the third most important area in the production of Japanese tea, for its wood industry and its rice fields.

Chigasaki-Hiratsuka Ecomuseum. These two cities are located in the prefecture of Kanawaga, 30 km. away of its main city, Yokohama. They are two industrial cities developed due to the amount of factories and as the residence of many people working in Yokohama and Tokyo. It does not have an important heritage although close it can be found Kamakura and Hase, two cities known by their famous religious heritage. These two places, on the other hand, belong to the Ecomuseum of the Miura Peninsula.

Among towers of buildings and factories there are heritage places, parks or museums, such as the one in the city or the museum of modern art, with temporary exhibitions and rooms that can be used by any citizen (public gallery). Both cities area also coastal and they take advantage of the sea and the beach, although Chigasaki works more with its seaside resources by promoting the surf.

It cannot be said that they have a settled ecomuseum, however, they have working groups which plan their activities like an ecomuseum. The city of Chigasaki itself is located inside the net of JECOMS. It truly shows a model of community development similar to other city close by, for example Kawasaki. In these places the tourism cannot be the tool for the economical development; they are located close to bigger touristic sites (star heritage). Chigasaki y Hiratsuka, in addition to Yokohama and the capital have their main competitors in places like Hase, mentioned before, and Hakone, an typical place for the Japanese tourism in the western side. The policies of development are focused towards the use of the heritage as a benefit for the community's identity and to improve the quality of life on their inhabitants in a social and cultural sense.

The idea of work in both cities using the independent working groups, moves away from the centralized models of ecomuseums with an administrative base and close to a model of heritage research and social development as the one observed in the Miura Peninsula. It is intended to establish an interconnected working net from which community policies and the sustainability of these places might be developed.

Toya Ecomuseum¹¹³. The area of Toya is a place with volcanic activity until quiet recently. The last eruption dates from 2000 leaving material damage and two new natural resources, a crater and a vent that are still expelling gas. This fact makes Toya have a special idiosyncrasy among their inhabitants who live together with this natural peculiarity. The efforts of the regional and state governments address to preserve this area without damaging the way of life of the communities living there and to educate the visitors on the importance of the place.

In addition, Toya is one of the favourite national touristic places, both for the practice of sky and other winter sports and for its lake in the fall. The tourism is greatly developed in this area. This was thought as dangerous for an area with such characteristics. Thus the ecomuseum was created following this compromise of awareness and economical and ecological sustainability¹¹⁴.

The ecomuseum was created in 2008 with the existence *centro*: Nicho no Eki Sobetsu Information Center, which is the place where all the actions are centralized and where the visitors get information for the excursions. In 2009 another administrative figure come to strengthen this policy: The UNESCO creates the Geopark, defined as *a natural park where you can learn firsthand about "the changing World of Our Mother Earth"*.

Following Hiroyuki Obi, one of the managers of the ecomuseum, the purpose of the ecomuseum is addressed to the preservation and awareness of this National Park rather than becoming an ecomuseal

¹¹³ <http://www.town.sobetsu.hokkaido.jp/eco/english/index.html>

¹¹⁴ According to the prospectus the ecomuseum Lake Toya area is *an ecomuseum is a new type of natural museum" with resident participation an integrated exhibition hall comprising the natural environment, forests, streets and ruins of local communities. Places of interests are categorized according to theme at the Lake Toya Area Ecomuseum, where visitors can learn about the volcanoes, history and culture of the area*

system. The local population uses the ecomuseum as a touristic resource and not so much as a way of expressing its memory.

Asahi-machi Ecomuseum¹¹⁵. The ecomuseum of Asahi was one of the first ones taking the initiative of working in the ecomuseal system in 1988-1989 and establishing as an ecomuseum in 1991. Following one of its initiators, Mr. Noshiwaza, the different steps for the establishment of the ecomuseum were as follows:

The ecomuseology started 35 years ago from a small society of people interested in the environmental education, Naturalist Group, aiming to make the population aware of the importance of the territory and its development. They thought the philosophy of ecomuseums could fulfil this purpose.

The ecomuseum plays the role of advisor and promoter of activities such as the development of Footpath, as well as natural and cultural resources, such as the recovery of the material and immaterial, activity where the population takes part to get them involved in the aware and education, and a star heritage, the Earth Temple built in 1990. The temple was paid by the inhabitants. A plaque in a rock let us see the name of every person who contributed to this construction and how much they paid. This is a very important symbol of citizen's union and involvement. A little path inside the forest holds different monuments related with the nature: wood, fire, land, metal and water. In this last one, the water is the element used to wash one's hands before prying. The temple is a metal sheet which reflects the sky and from where the moon can be seen in clear nights. Under the temple there is an empty space full of earthenware pots in concordances with the nature and the people visiting the place. Every year in July this temple is the place chosen for the community to celebrate a festival where children wearing traditional customs dance over the metal sheet.

Nowadays the ecomuseum is centralized in the office of the "core-center" and it is a centralized ecomuseum with satellites. The "core-center" is a bio-climatic building created around ten years ago which adopted the name of ecomuseum "center", although the real centralization is an office (ecomuseum's room) inside the building. This room shares the building with diverse community services. A general library with an area specialized in the history of the area; an

¹¹⁵ <http://asahi-ecom.jp/>

educational department to support both teachers and students, an auditorium, and several room used for courses, activities or workshops,

Nowadays it is considered as an institution inside the territory (a non governmental organization) which shares the development of the place together with the production of wine, the apple industry and the winter touristic activities, such as sky. However the managers see the ecomuseum as an entity for the citizens' awareness. This is the real sense of the ecomuseum of Asahi, created 30 years ago. It could seem that the ecomuseum has become a bunch of satellites or touristic information points both for guides and visitors. However, its real work is to keep these places alive, relate them and take roots among the population. The ecomuseum does the most important work teaching the meaning of the place. It is a way of knowing the environment. Integration is a key word in this ecomuseum. The ecomuseum lives for the inhabitants and the territory.

Oku-Aziza Ecomuseum¹¹⁶. The area of Oku has eighteen little villages with a population of no more that 2000 people in total. 45% of the population which lives in this mountainous area are retired from their jobs. The birth-rate has gone down and most of the young population has moves to bigger cities to get a job of study at university.

The project of this ecomuseum was born 30 years ago when this area started to be claimed as a touristic place specially in spring and fall for the climate and sceneries. Although the ecomuseal initiative had already thought about this place from 1990's, the main period is in 2002 when the plan to build the ecomuseum is made, and 2006, once the project starts. Two people will be essential in the project: Saga Songhai, current secretary of JECOMS; and Genesis Yukawa, one of the educational section members who introduced the idea of the ecomuseum in this area.

In the city of Mishima the public building which works as a *center* of the ecomuseum can be found. A public place for the community. It has a section which promotes the industry, an area of social wealth fare, a bookstore, a room with the historical documents of this area, the administration and another section for the education of adults and children. The ecomuseal section, managed by Igarashi Yoshinobu, makes the ecomuseal plan work. The main action is to be aware of

¹¹⁶ www.town.mishima.fukushima.jp

the importance of preserving the traditions as an identity and economic resource for the sustainability of the area.

The main industries are related with tourism, Colonial Wood and agriculture, although this last one is done by no more than 100 people and as a way of self supply. The tourism is a source but it is seen somehow distrustfully as a way of getting over the economical and identity crisis. Everything starts with the local concern and the outside visitors.

The Asahi-Machi ecomuseum was a great influence for this place. The both were built for similar reasons: environmental and cultural concern, lost of population, new growing industries like tourism. This creates needs in the population who tries to get back to their past in order to build their future. The ecomuseum is used as an educational tool, as well as to document and value the natural and cultural heritage.

Península Miura Ecomuseum. The Peninsula of Miura is located in the Southeast part of Tokyo, with a length of 21 km. from North to South and around 8 km. from East to West. It is surrounded by Sagami and Tokyo Bay which promote the fishing industry similar to the Caribbean and one of the only places for fishing tuna left over in Japan. In addition to the fishing industry, the Peninsula of Miura is famous for its orography where many hills with less than 300 meters make this geographical space an area with natural green sites coexisting with urban and industrial areas.

In addition to the tuna fishing, the area is surrounded by tropical sea currents with unique sea species. The engine industry is also important, especially in the Northeast area, close to Tokyo and Yokohama, where the car industry is a big economical source. Finally, the leisure and touristic industry is growing, having national and international touristic places, such as Kamakura or Hayama, as well as a developed industry of sport sailing.

In 1998, a group of researchers discovered some activities related with sea activities, agricultural activities and Cultural heritage organized by different working groups, however without any connection among them, which led to an individual and disconnected outlook. A report was elaborated and it was decided to start working with an ecomuseum model. This model followed the outline of the first French ecomuseums and the ones developed in Japan later on, like

the Asahi-Machi ecomuseum. A model with a “core” and some satellites. This model had the inconvenient of many satellites going on disconnected, as well as the length of the land and its orography, which made difficult centralize the work.

The reality of the Peninsula of Miura, its idiosyncrasy and the working groups previous to the creation of the ecomuseum let to the option of creating another model of interaction based on the “necklace model” of Peter Davis. In the case of Miura, this model assumes that every satellite is related with the *center* and interconnected. The *center* does not have the main position, becoming another satellite regarding activity planning, meeting pointy and working groups planning. This decentralized model continues to have autonomy of action but knowing the performance of the other sites.

Ohara recognizes that the creation of such a net work has been difficult. It was a slow process of getting to know each place and each working group, establishing trusting relations. It was mainly an evolutionary process, making first some working groups and having then related later on until recently.

Nowadays the ecomuseum is composed by 45 local groups (ecomuseums), mainly non-governmental organizations, and 7 public official entities working together in the writing of the annual publication, “Totteoki no Hanashi” (Regional Treasures), with researches and activities made during the year and specific guide books of each part of the ecomuseum; a Newsletter with recent information of the whole Peninsula of Miura and distributed for all the population in every public buildings and the main site of the working groups. It is a way of connection with the population and the concern regarding the ecomuseum. In addition to these activities and the meetings of the working groups, an Annual Forum for the working groups and the citizens takes place. This forum deals with the activities of each area, the topics of these activities and the guide books. It is an important place for the debate and the exchange of information.

Peter Davis wrote in 2004 that *the Miura ecomuseum is still at an early stage in its evolution, yet it is evident through conversations with them that the local activists have real enthusiasm for the concept, recognizing the advantages of working together, sharing expertise and training, jointly marketing their enterprises and beginning to prepare shared databases. The involvement of a major local museum*

provides real opportunities, with expertise on hand in relation to documenting and conserving tangible and intangible heritage resources. That the museum is prepared to work within a loose confederation is also remarkable. Unlike many major provincial museums in the world it is not only prepared to accept that small associations of local people have a basic right to be involved with their heritage (that heritage is not just for curators), but also wishes to be actively involved in a larger enterprise, one with a different, more democratic vision. Whether the Miura ecomuseum will succeed as an integrated heritage organization is difficult to tell at this stage; there is clearly strong enthusiasm both from local authorities and some local people that gives reason for optimism. However, whether the ecomuseum will have meaning for all local people and visitors has yet to be tested. For the casual visitor the sites would probably be seen as isolated examples of heritage preservation, and not as an integrated effort. Many of the sites are not even signed or advertised, and most tourists (and locals) would probably pass them by unnoticed.

6 years after the reality is relatively different. The working groups are more and more active, the interrelations are efficient and their action had been extended through publications and diffusion to the population. The Achilles' heel continues been the ignorance of the population regarding what is an ecomuseum, what implies to be, as Davis said, this might lead to a group of isolated activities in the area. However it is important to think about the essential of an ecomuseum in an evaluative way, the main role should be adapting to the social needs and the efforts made to extend the research and documentary works of its heritage as well as the participation of the community.

Following Ohara (2006: 9-10) the purposes for the future address to the protection and spreading of the diversity of the Peninsula of Miura regarding values such us sustainability and promoting the participation of the community, letting the population feel relevant in their own land. These aims start from the research, the development of educational activities and the link with the community through the social work. The main aim is to make the auto management and auto funding of the museum activities possible, and to achieve a strong interconnected local groups' network. This network, according to Ohara, will start wit an active cooperation and a coordinated work between the center of the ecomuseum and the satellites, the first one located in Yokosuka.

New experiences, new challenges.

In addition to the ecomuseums already settled, other experiences were taking place, such as the case of the Prefecture of Kagoshima. The South of the country presents some experiences related to ecomuseums, showing interest for its methodology of cultural and social development in an area where the weather conditions are different from the rest of Japan. It also has an economy based on fishing, agriculture and technological industry, and a population suffering problems of ageing and difficulties to keep young population in rural areas.

One of the examples is the Ecomuseum of Carriageway, where a population of 186 inhabitants with an average of 72 years old created a social committee aiming to revitalize the area through its heritage and stimulating the economy in order to attract young population to the community.

Fukuyama is a place with an important heritage not being used, with an economical activity monopolized for the rice

Sociomuseology: To think sociomuseologically

	KAWASAKI	TAMAGAWA	HIRANO-CHO	TOYO-OKA	MIYAGAWA	CHIGASAKI- HIRATSUKA	TOYA	ASAHIMACHI	OKU-AIIZU	MIURA. P.	KARAEIGAWA	FUKUYAMA
1. Participation of the community in the ecomuseum management (democratic act)			X			X		X	X	X	X	X
2. The ecomuseum is a democratic act between the community and the civil power			X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. The ecomuseum belongs to a civil power	X	X		X	X	X		X	X			
4. There is a building used as the main center in the ecomuseum	X	X		X	X		X	X		X		
5. Natural Environment				X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
6. Urban Environment	X	X	X			X				X		
7. Natural heritage				X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
8. Traditional Heritage	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
9. Contemporaneous Heritage	X	X	X			X				X		X
10. It includes strong touristic resources				X	X		X	X	X	X		
11. It is created from a need (awareness)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. It is created around a theme or topic		X		X	X		X					
13. The participation of the community is important	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X
14. The ecomuseum is another institution in the area	X	X		X	X		X					
15. The ecomuseum contributes to the integral development of the area	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X
16. The ecomuseum is a symbol for the community			X					X	X	X	X	
17. Use of the community volunteers			X		X			X	X	X	X	X

Vinegar production and a decreasing of young population. The ecomuseal methodology is establishing a way of covering these needs in a medium and-long term¹¹⁷.

Principles of the Japanese ecomuseology. Towards the future

The ecomuseal indicators developed by many authors during their theoretical researches and practical experiences, explained in previous chapters as direct references to analyzed the ecomuseums as unique identities different to other kinds of museistic institutions, have led to elaborate a list of indicators created after this research in the field of the Japanese ecomuseums. In the following chart the different indicators are presented as characteristics¹¹⁸ appeared in these ecomuseums.

As it has been discussed, the participation of the community in the management and decision making is a feature that appears in every author and in every ecomuseum, reason why here we refer to the degree of compromise between the community and the local governments regarding a democratic management on equal terms. Only in seven of the twelve ecomuseums analyzed it can be noticed an integral participation (or close to integral) of the community in the management of the ecomuseum. The Achilles' heel of the ecomuseums, not only in Japan, continues being to delegate the management of the ecomuseum from the civil powers and the professionals to the organized community. This is the key to create an ecomuseum, since the first initiatives in the creation of an ecomuseal experience begin with reflexion made by the people in the community who move to readjust that adversity. When an ecomuseum gets the support of public and private institutions, the advice and interest of professionals from different disciplines and certain economical stability the community might lose prominence in favour of those who become the financial support of most of the ecomuseal activities. This post-revolutionary or calm moment has let

¹¹⁷ This city created in July 2010 the "International Forum on the Ecomuseum in Kirishima" with the participation of the whole community, the enterprises, the political powers and the professionals of the ecomuseums, in order to value the possibility and the needs of creating an ecomuseum in that place.

¹¹⁸ It must be considered that some criteria might have different degrees of development due to its qualitative feature, establishing a general pattern in its application.

many ecomuseums around the world (Seixal in Portugal, Creusot in France, Maestrazgo in Spain) become a more institutionalized kind of museum¹¹⁹.

Many of the studied cases in Japan lead to the idea that the ecomuseum is a part of the territory (nº 14). However, this analysis establishes that the starting point in order to get out of a period of crisis, covering the needs and been able to look towards a future development begins with an ecomuseal philosophy. According to many authors this starting point assumes that the ecomuseum must be a constant action, a continuous social movement, a utopia based of its first moments of the community autarchy, as it can be seen in the Ecomuseum of Hirano. The danger of this system is an excessive decline of the ecomuseal strength if the action went to the same group of people who initiated the experience and it did not produce awareness, as it is the case of Asahi-Machi, where a generational support is missed in those ones who stimulated the first generation of work over the territory. In many of the cases suffering this situation the ecomuseum is taken over by the administration and it becomes an institution, as we have mentioned before.

The ecomuseum is a democratic act between the community and the civil power. It is a discussion forum for the whole community in equal terms, a place to solve problems and make decisions. This indicator (nº 2) tries to probe if the analyzed ecomuseum are close to a democratic dialogue or, on the other hand the ecomuseum is a space planned by a few with the later participation of the whole community. The ecomuseum belongs to a civil power. Following the same line of thought of the previous indicator (nº 2), it shows if the decision of creating an ecomuseum in a settled place is a political (from a few) decision of a decision made by the community. The beginning of an ecomuseum involves expenses mainly coming from the public administration, which influence the power of taking decisions and the management for those who are holding the civil power of the community and the territory. In the long run this system makes that

¹¹⁹ Some authors, such as Hugues de Varine (2005) think that even the ecomuseum could change its nomenclature although they try to keep its spirit and methodology of ecomuseal work, as it happened in Creusot and Maestrazgo. In Japan some cases can be found in Asahi-Machi or Oku-Aizu, where the first impulse of change, of warning from the community emerged in the late eighties and beginning of the nineties, however the generational change and the effort to eradicate their needs have evolved the ecomuseum to an important institution for the community however not essential for its integral development.

the administration of the ecomuseum is inherit from government to government reducing enormously the participation of the community over the management. The community ends to assume that the political powers are the ones who have the rights over the ecomuseum, since they have the civil power. All the Japanese ecomuseums but some exceptions belong to a civil power that is in charge of the administration. This economical survival is not a bad option since it guarantees the continuity of the institution but it is also dangerous from a point of view of political manipulation. The ecomuseum of the Peninsula of Miura and the one in Hirano would be in this group of ecomuseum that have some administrative independence or have get a status quo between the political powers and the ecomuseal actors.

The *centre*¹²⁰, place for the ecomuseum coordination and surrounded by satellites was a basic model in ten first generations of ecomuseums in France during 1960's and 1970's. In Japan this system of *centre* has been broadly used and most of the ecomuseums show a clear and distinctive place used as a catalyst of the activities. Toyooka, Miyagawa, Asahi-Machi, Kawasaki, the Peninsula of Miura, are some examples. However the evolution of this ecomuseal models these *centers* stop being the catalytic space to become a place for the coordination and meeting of the proposals and needs of the territory and the satellites. The best example of this kind of *centre* is the Ecomuseum of the Peninsula of Miura, where the administrative building of the prefecture located in Yokosuka is the place to hold the meetings and to compile and spread the information of the different satellites but it does not by any case make decisions nor interfere in the policy of the local working groups.

Due to the social and economical evolution of Japan, many ecomuseal experiences from the end of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI century have been developed in urban environments, something atypical compared to other places like Spain, where the ecomuseum has been used only in rural environments.

The creation of ecomuseums in urban and natural areas has increased that the worry of the Japanese ecomuseums focuses on both the recovery of a traditional heritage and the value and appreciation of the most contemporary heritage. In urban spaces, such us the

¹²⁰ The word used in the international readings to name this place is *core*, here translated as center, although there are other names, such as heart or nucleus.

Ecomuseum of Kawasaki and Tamawaga there is a rich contemporaneous culture that can be seen in the adaptation of its neighbourhood, streets and buildings and in the symbiosis between new and fresh ways of expression of the youngest communities, and the rational classicism of many buildings built before 1990's. Other museums, such as the one in Hirano are a perfect example of the union between the traditional and the contemporaneous. The community has made important efforts to recover all the historical memory through its heritage and at the same time taking care of its contemporaneous heritage that is actually being used (asphalt, adaptation of the streets, cabling, plumbing, etc.) In addition there are ecomuseums where the heritage is mixed like the Ecomuseum of the Peninsula of Miura or the one in Miyagawa.

In every Japanese museum, no matter if they are located in urban places, natural places or a mixture of both there is a palpable worry for the environment. This concern is tightly related to the idea of sustainability. It is not only a concern about the environmental care or the preservation of the unique natural spaces but a concern about the importance of the relation between the natural environment, the territory and the human activity. Some of the ecomuseums are located inside powerful touristic resources as the ones in Miyagawa, the Peninsula of Miura, Toyooka, Toya; or in potential touristic resources as the ones in Oku-Aizu or Asahi-Machi, with rich natural and cultural heritage.¹²¹ Having these resources is a priori beneficial for the development of these places; however it can be detrimental if the ecomuseum is not representative enough in the territory and in the community to make decisions. In any case in the current Japanese ecomuseology the ecomuseums are tools that contribute to the integral development of the community territory in a holistic way in some cases, or with a great implication in the community. In both cases they are considered useful experiences.

One of the main aspects of the ecomuseums is the participation of the community. This factor makes the difference between the ecomuseums and the traditional museums. In the Japanese ecomuseums the participation of the community in the activities is high. Their involvement with the institution is seen as a way of getting to know the place where they live. The only factor in which the

¹²¹ From these two ecomuseums, Asahi-Machi is the one which has started to use its resources, especially the natural ones, for the winter sports.

Japanese ecomuseums needs to continue working is in the participation of the community in the administration and management of the ecomuseums. Hirano, Asahi-Machi, the Peninsula of Miura o Karaigawa are the only examples where this is a reality. In the rest of the institutions administrative managers, professionals related with tourism or social sciences without any relation with the beginnings of the institution are the ones managing these ecomuseums. Although the community has a high involvement, as it has been mentioned before, in most cases this administrative and usually imposed structure slows down an approximation of the spirit of the ecomuseum to the population. The Ecomuseum of the Peninsula of Miura is a good example in breaking this system. Its decentralized working action in local groups has made possible an independence of the different places from the *centre*, what is allowing a dialogue between the dynamizers of the ecomuseums and the population.

The integral development is one of the aspect attempted to fill in every ecomuseum that has been analyzed, thus it has rarely been achieved. However all of them are creating with the idea of a need (awareness) to preserve and research the heritage, to stop the demographic decrease, the social rootlessness and an adverse economical situation. And they are also born in relation with a specific topic or theme that connects with the community and the environment. These criteria are useful to work with the idea of ecomuseum as a reference, a symbol for the community.

Conclusions

After analyzing and concurring both theoretical and practical national and international models and the analytic work made in the Japanese ecomuseal experiences it can be concluded that the creation of an ecomuseal experience begins with a situation of crisis – or needs – from the point of view of losing the community's identity, decreasing of the birth-rate, economical recession or some other paradigms. The accumulation of these factors awakes the concern of a population or a neighbours' association, which is called a minority associated movement which realizes some actions and activities to activate the social and cultural life of a established community in a given environment.

The concern of these minority movements leads to a continuous policy of awareness towards the different agents of the population and the environment. The society is the main focus of this provocation. The tools for this concern, considered as the key factors for the Japanese ecomuseal model start with the creation of an interrelated network of working groups and with enough freedom to work at their own rate; the integral development of the community following the contemporaneous parameters of sustainability established in the last decades and letting the self-sufficiency of the institution without any dependence that might damage the working groups' network.

It must be noticed that one of the beneficial characteristics of the Japanese culture is its power of assimilation and reflexion about the influence of other cultures. In ecomuseological terms it can be observed how the Japanese development is influenced by both the French and English ecomuseal thoughts which adapt to the needs of a specific ecomuseum in a specific moment.

The working group networks are one of the pillars of the Japanese ecomuseal models. A way of decentralized management that implies independence and compromise as well as leave flexibility to the other pillars of the ecomuseums: the critical thought, the interpretation of the environment and the integral development of the society and the environment. From a local point of view (Japan) and in terms of globalization this decentralized and interrelated frame, simulating a spider's web, is one of the contributions that must be taken into account for the ecomuseums of the XXI century.

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Desire for memory, desire for museums: the experience of the Memory Hotspots

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Presentation

Considering the principles of the National Museum Policy, created in 2003, the Brazilian Museums Institute – Ibram supports and encourages the development of museum practices and processes aimed at rewriting the history of social groups which were deprived of the right to narrate and exhibit their memories and their heritage. As effective action, in 2008, the Department of Museums and Cultural Centres (Demu/Iphan) – which gave rise to Ibram in January 2009 – started the Memory Hotspots Programme, with the main goal of fostering wide popular participation in matters related to social memory and museums.

The Memory Hotspots Programme was inspired in and directly influenced by the Ministry of Culture/MinC, which created the *National Programme for Culture, Education and Citizenship (Living Culture)*. The purpose of this Programme is to contribute to make society conquer spaces, exchange experiences and develop initiatives that foster culture and citizenship, in a proactive manner. The partnership struck between civil society and the state power gave rise to *Culture Hotspots*, inspired in the anthropological “do-in” concept, idealized by the then Minister Gilberto Gil.

In other words, Gil set out to massage vital points in the country’s cultural body which lay dormant or were momentarily neglected by public policies. From this point of view, Memory Hotspots are the projects and actions of the Culture Hotspots Programme directed towards the permanent construction of the memory of communities and various groups of civil society. From the influence of Culture Hotspots, Ibram has been developing its own

methodology for Memory Hotspots. Memory initiatives are identified while still in early stages of development and thus the Programme contributes by establishing practices, encouraging the sharing of experiences, fostering qualification and network exchanges, besides providing support for the construction of the participative inventory of community heritage.

The sustainable action approach is also part of the development methodology for the Memory Hotspots. To this end, it is crucial that initiatives foster local knowledge and know-how, by means of museum actions, as a way of integrating the local development framework. Besides, at a later stage in their development, it is estimated that Memory Hotspots may even, if they so wish, apply for public financing bids, both national and international.

The Memory Hotspots Programme is also inspired in contemporary actions, set up from a social museology perspective, which Ibram considers to be *political will for memory*. Political, because the right to memory needs to be earned, maintained and exercised as citizenship right; a right which needs to be democratized and disseminated among the different social groups in Brazil. In this sense, the growing demand for more museums expresses every citizen's right to the means of production for memory, to the processes used in manufacturing, creating and safeguarding memory supports. It is not enough to ensure access to museums already in existence. Furthermore, access to museums is not necessarily proportional to the right to memory, since, by operating with memory, museums also deal with forgetting, with memory selection.

It is necessary to abandon the naïve view which sees memory as an asset in itself. It does not express truth, it does not constitute scientific knowledge, and it can be used as much for imprisoning and enslaving as for liberating. In the same way, museums can be at the service of the historic narratives of dominant groups and of the forgetting of popular struggles. They can be instruments used to enhance multiple discourses and social transformation.

Based on this introduction, the paper now presents the foundations of Memory Hotspots, with an overview of their development, progress, hardships and proposals for consolidating this memory policy.

Every hotspot is a hotspot

The Memory Hotspots Programme is constituted by a group of actions set up by Ibram, based on social museology. Using a methodology that can be considered pioneering in the area of public policies for the development of memory initiatives, it fosters museum processes that represent the local interests of historically forgotten social groups. The initiative also has the partnership of the Ministry of Justice, through the National Programme for Safety with Citizenship (Pronasci) and the Organization of Ibero-American States (OEI).

Memory Hotspots aim to promote an attitude of social transformation through knowledge, the affirmation of belonging and recognition of the identities present in the communities. This set of actions can only be carried out effectively by those that are part of these communities. Therefore, the work methodology for the project, as was mentioned above, involves identifying memory actions in the work of building a critical reflection on the priority issues for the communities, thus, by means of debates and exchanges, enabling these Hotspots, future museums, to be based on supportive and participating management.

At present, Ibram follows the development of 12 (twelve) Memory Hotspots. These are experiments based in different cities in the country's five regions: Museu de Favela [Shanty Town Museum], in Pavão-Pavãozinho and Cantagalo, Rio de Janeiro (RJ); Taquaril, in Belo Horizonte (MG); Brasilândia, in São Paulo (SP); in São Pedro, Vitória (ES); in Lomba do Pinheiro, Porto Alegre (RS); in Museu de Periferia [Suburbs Museum], in Sítio Cercado, Curitiba (PR); Estrutural in Brasília (DF); in Museu do Mangue do Coque, in Recife (PE); Grande Bom Jardim, in Fortaleza (CE); Jacintinho in Maceió (AL); in Beiru, in Salvador (BA) and in Terra Firme, Belém (PA).

Besides these Hotspots, Ibram has been undertaking the commitment to provide technical assistance to the development of other initiatives throughout the country, especially regarding action methodology and the qualification offered to those who become a part of the project. This commitment ensures that the total amount of 12 (twelve) Hotspots can be reached, aiming for work which is inaugural, but which is understood as continuous, comprehensive and is intended as State policy.

The concepts present in the theoretical framework are directly connected to a world vision which integrates participation as a crucial element in forging strong links between the parties involved in the work. According to Juan Bordenave (2002), the word participation, in the format considered for the Programme, is associated with the phrase *take part*, in the sense of sharing ideas as well as actions and results, this joint work being an association of parts united by a common feeling.

The principle of participative work methodology derives from some fundamental premises based on the respect for the local cultural precepts, particularly aspirations regarding quality of life, according to the understanding of its inhabitants with a view to reinforcing their identity. The dialogic relation and the promotion of autonomy are also among the precepts of participative methodology, since work is not carried out by groups that are foreign to their conception, but rather by individuals privy to the foundational concepts of the project, which is methodologically inspired in critical pedagogy, with a view to social transformation.

Methodology

Work methodology with the Memory Hotspots takes the following stages:

- ✓ 1) Community Identification and Awareness-raising Strategies
- ✓ 2) Exchange between Memory Hotspots (network coordination)
- ✓ 3) Constitution of Deliberating Instances
- ✓ 4) Qualification workshops
- ✓ 5) Preparation of the Action Plan (for the development of Participative Inventory and Dissemination Products)
- ✓ 6) Preparation of the Participative Inventory
- ✓ 7) Development of Dissemination Product
- ✓ 8) Inaugural session of the Memory Hotspot
- ✓ 9) Sustainability Strategies

Next, we will detail these methodological stages, emphasising the most significant aspects of the process.

Community identification and awareness-raising strategies:

This stage began with a survey of the communities, following the orientation of Pronasci¹²². Faced with the need to pinpoint 12 different instances of will for memory, the technical team sought, in most cases, to converse with institutions and people who already had some form of exchange with the community in question. By way of example we may mention the Terra Firme district, which for 25 years has been carrying out joint initiatives with Museu Pareense Emilio Goledi.

Strategically, this first contact should be mediated so that the technical team is not treated with suspicion and discredit. Because it influences the methodological options, at the beginning of the project a feature which marks it has so far become quite evident, namely: the need to establish a bond of trust in the traditional manner, in other words, based on the pledged word. This is tied to three essential aspects:

- a) This being a pioneering project in the field of memory and museums in Brazil, there are few instances to be used for reference¹²³;
- b) Ill-fated public policies have negatively marked the groups in the past, leaving them with reservations regarding public power;
- c) The broad path of combativeness on part of these groups led, in some cases, to the development of action and resistance strategies. Therefore, the external suggestion of new methodologies is seen with restraints.

Once this initial survey stage was over, a series of meetings, visits and conversations was carried out with the community. The approached followed the pace of internal negotiations among

¹²² Pronasci, within the scope of the Ministry of Justice, indicated some communities, using as standard the high level of local violence. This strategy was adopted by the team concerning the indications of the Project's partner. However, we do not share this position and believe that the factor to be prioritized by the project in the choice of place should be strictly the will for memory and the will for a museum.

¹²³ In this case, we resort to Museu da Maré [Maré Museum] (Maré-RJ) as the reference for a museum that arose from the will for memory of a suburban community. But the case of the Maré Museum is not used as a standard, because memory hotspots are encouraged to develop museums suited to their conditions. Besides, although reference to the Maré Museum recurs, its construction was not the result of a Programme such as those that are ongoing with the 12 memory Hotspots. For this reason, too, it is different, and the possibility of referencing it in the process of raising awareness is also limited.

inhabitants and also the specificities of each local experience. During these meetings, the technical team introduced Ibram's proposal and the Memory Hotspots Programme. Last but not least, information was gathered regarding each community's training history. Leaders shared their expectations and apprehensions regarding the project aimed at enhancing their memories.

Exchange between memory hotspots (network coordination)

For the development of this stage, it was proposed that a broad exchange meeting be held. Referring to the Web of Culture, which gathers all Culture Hotspots, the broad meeting of Memory Hotspots was called *Web of Memory*. This was the beginning of the harmonization of Memory Hotspots in the network, fostering recognition among initiatives, as attested by the words of Leila Regina da Silva, of Taquaril:

We went to Teia [*the Web meeting*] so that we could heed the methodology of the Programme more (...) The community doings we already do in everyday life, with great difficulty, but we do them, but about the memory, the museum, there was still a bit missing...

(...) When we joined Teia, what impressed us most was the contact with the other Hotspots, (be)cause we related to the struggles... which had a guiding line, the fight for a home... When the photos were shown like this in the exhibitions of the Memory Hotspots... "is this our staircase, is this our street?" We recognized ourselves... Those who went to Teia were delighted and when we came back to the community...

because we realized that we were going in the name of the community, then we had the commitment of giving the community that feedback...¹²⁴

All Memory Hotspots gathered in Salvador (BA) to hold the 1st Meeting of the Web of Memory. The event enabled Ibram and its partner institutions to formally introduce themselves to the memory

¹²⁴ Leila Regina da Silva in an interview given to Inês Gouveia and Sara Schuabb for the Memory Hotspots Programme. Brasília, 13 July 2010.

hotspots, giving an institutional body to the set of initiatives that had been started. Thus this was followed by the presentation of the Memory Hotspots Programme, and the sharing of experience between the Hotspots, by methodological debates and, among other things, the establishment of timelines and strategies for strengthening and consolidating the Memory Hotspots.

The results of the Web of Memory varied. As a landmark of the awareness stage of the Programme, it became clear that from then on the groups were more open to Ibram's methodological proposal. Besides, sharing experiences among the 12 initiatives gave rise to the harmonization of the network, as was expected. Definitely, the Memory Hotspots Programme started to represent a commitment undertaken by those who participated in the Web.

*Perspectiva prá favela se tornar uma cidadela, Muf
Prá agregar e acabar com todas as painelas, Muf
É galeria a céu aberto, no beco e na viela, Muf
Prá envolver, prá vender, receber a clientela, Muf...*¹²⁵

We must stress here that the Web of Memory is inspired by the Web of Culture, of the Culture Hotspots. There is the tacit understanding that, in the network movement, the initiatives become stronger as the whole is also strengthened, in a retro-feed movement. Thus, from the beginning there has been the perspective that memory hotspots should come to integrate *the great Web*, in other words, the Web of Culture. The decisive step in this direction took place between 26 and 28 March, in Fortaleza – CE, when the 2nd Web of Memory Meeting took place. The gathering integrated the programme of the Web of Culture 2010 – Digital Drums. The Fortaleza meeting gave memory hotspots a unique opportunity to understand one another within the Web. Again there was huge sharing of experiences, this time enhanced by the participation of over 2,000 culture hotspots.

From the point of view of Ibram's institutional project, Teia Brasil 2010 [Brazil Web 2010] was a crucial moment to celebrate the

¹²⁵ Chorus of the MUF anthem; Rap composed by: Acme and Aline; sung by: Acme. Translation: "Perspective for the shanty town to become a citadel, Muf / To bring together and put an end to all pies, Muf / It's an open-sky gallery, in the cul-de-sac and in the alley, Muf / To involve, to sell, to welcome the clients, Muf..."

partnership between the Memory Hotspots Programme and the Living Culture Programme, of the MinC, because, from the Institute's perspective, it is crucial to strengthen the basis of this national memory project. Besides, the development of the Memory Hotspots Programme cannot do without the consolidation of a State policy which acknowledges memory as a political right.

Constitution of deliberating instances

In the context of methodology, once again the meeting enabled the collective preparation of initiatives to be developed. To this end, the focus was placed on the constitution of the deliberating instances for each of the 12 hotspots. This group of people would thus become responsible for representing the Programme in their town, as well as for the implementation and/or coordination of the next initiatives to be proposed by Ibram.

The strategy used by Ibram had two quite clear objectives at that moment: to foster the formalization of the group who had been leading each of the Memory Hotspots, preventing the excessive taking-of-turn of the players; to seek to once again ensure the legitimacy of the group. The issue of legitimacy, vital in the methodology of Memory Hotspot, would be reinforced by the constitution of the deliberating instance, created during a seminar where the group would be elected, or chosen, preferably with the presence of Ibram to oversee the activities.

Respecting each hotspot's organization and flow, Ibram left each town in charge of arranging the date of the seminars, the format of the deliberating instances, the number of members and also the methodology used to form the group – in other words, whether by election, indication or any other format of their liking.

Until August 2010, all the memory hotspots had already mobilized to constitute their deliberating instances. At the same time, the groups also started putting together their own internal regulations, which also assisted the institutionalization strategy.

Qualification workshops

One of the more important pillars of the Memory Hotspots Programme is qualification. This is a differentiating element as

regards public policy, since, once the actions that express the will for memory are identified, one of Ibram's pledges is to provide technical support so that the leaders of the initiatives in memory hotspots can be autonomous agents of their development, using the museum as a tool to promote their identities. The experience to implement these workshops comes from Ibram's practical action, from the Training and Education in Museology Programme, which offers various qualification workshops throughout Brazil.

To start the qualification programme, it was agreed during the March meeting in Fortaleza that there would be a common core, of 3 (three) indispensable workshops. Below, we present the subjects and their summarized syllabi:

- **Museum, Memory and Citizenship**

Concept: What is Memory, Social Memory, Museum. Short historic overview of Museology in Brazil. Museums, social movements and citizenship; special emphasis on social museology. Museum experiences based on New Museology. Creation of a public policy for memory and museums: National Museums Policy, Museums Systems, Museum Statutes and the Brazilian Museums Institute.

- **Participative Inventory**

Concepts: inventory, participation. The importance of the inventory. Inventory methodologies. Inventory and memory: what must be preserved. Power relations, conflicts and participation in inventory. Methodology of participative inventory.

- **Project preparation**

Concepts: Plan, Planning and Project. The importance of planning and methodology. Analysis of projects and programmes within the scope of Culture, Memory and Museums. Stages in project preparation. Legal procedures to implement a work plan. Project evaluation. Accountability.

The qualification stage started with the workshop entitled *Museum, Memory and Citizenship*. It is possible to see that, having

participated in qualification, the memory hotspot started to appropriate museum themes, contents, concepts and know-how. Élcio Aparecido de Souza, member of the deliberating instance of Brasilândia Memory Hotspot (SP) made the following comment about the workshop:

...after the workshop, I began thinking that the museum, it comes undone in the way it was, then I make an analogy with the anti-madhouse fight, when you take madness from a restricted space and spread it across society, right? (...) The memory had a closed version, finished, locked-up, and then we are given that responsibility. Then we have to invent a new way of thinking about democratic memory, which is the new way of thinking of madness, as our madness, as our memory.

(...)

The best thing I found in the first workshop was that it enabled all the participants to have a unique language, a unique vision of the process, not a homogenous one, but like “Know the process you’re getting into”, that gives you more grounds for discussions, right? To have better-founded discussions.¹²⁶

FOLLOWING STAGES:

The next step in the methodology is to prepare an Action Plan to make a participative inventory. This is a tool to implement the following stages. Each of the Hotspots must, in this case, deepen the discussion on the profile of museum that it wants to be. Besides, in a practical manner, by means of the **Action Plan**, the Hotspots will plan how their collection – identified in the development of the **Participative Inventory** – will be worked as a **Dissemination Product**. This **Product** will be chosen by each community, and it can be an exhibition, a book, a medium, a film, a website, among others. In this way, when the **Dissemination Products** are launched, there will be an **Inaugural Session** in each Memory Hotspot, a landmark in the

¹²⁶ Élcio Aparecido de Souza. Interview given to Inês Gouveia and Sara Schuabb for the Memory Hotspots Programme. Brasília, 13 July 2010.

museums' launch.

In the context of the Memory Hotspots Programme, the focus on sustainability exists from the initial stage of raising awareness to the experiences. Nevertheless, in the context of the development at the base, it will be from the **Inaugural Session** onwards that the **Sustainability Strategies** will become a strong part of their actions.

Final considerations

The experience of developing the Memory Hotspots Programme is linked to Ibram's project, as one of the main agents of national museology. This was seminaly manifest in 2003, in the National Museums Policy. The broadening of the museum field in Brazil in this context involves acknowledging plural memories, traditionally marginalized. Besides, this is a nation-wide project, closely related to the more general initiatives of the Ministry of Culture, stemming from the perception that local cultural manifestations must not be suppressed.

Strengthening local identities, something that is directly related to memory, is a vital condition to solidify stable social relations, from all perspectives, cultural, economic, political, in short, related to citizenship. Besides, memory is indispensable to create futures. Creating futures is, somehow, to open up paths for evolution, for transformation. It is because Ibram believes in the transforming power of memory and museums that it has been supporting and investing in the development and broadening of the Memory Hotspots Programme.

To a large extent, and considering everything one wants to implement, Memory Hotspots are still in their early stages of implementation. In the meantime, even if there is lack of data for a deeper analysis, one must emphasise that the stages have already had a positive effect, namely: telling stories (or memories) has been resumed. This happened because, as they gather for periodic meetings, with or without the presence of Ibram's technical team, the elements of the memory hotspots encourage various spontaneous memory circles, where the *founding myths* of the communities are told and retold. Fights, conquests, festivals, dances, dates, photos, houses,... are remembered.

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The Maré Museum: an integrated project of community development

Antônio Carlos Pinto Vieira, Cláudia Rose Ribeiro da Silva, Luiz Antonio de Oliveira

Maré neighbourhood

Located between Avenida Brasil and Linha Vermelha, on the shores of the Guanabara Bay, Maré is one of the main places that constitute

the Zone of Lepoldina, in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Its geographical location, its landscape dominated by stilts (supporting precarious housing suspended over mud and water) and its contrasting proximity with Galeão International Airport and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, all contribute to the perception of Maré as a proletarian area, occupied by a population which operates under subordinated socio-professional conditions and low educational levels

Part of the 30th Administrative Region, the Maré community encompasses one hundred and thirty-two thousand inhabitants (132,000), with an average figure of 3.4 people per household (1). This average is very close to that in other cities and regions in Brazil. In comparison, however, when looking at the population density rates one may notice that the Mare complex has about 21,400 inhabitants / km², while the municipality of Rio de Janeiro only has an average of 328 inhabitants per km². The intense process of occupation of the local land is a defining factor of Maré's landscape. It is accentuated, in the absence of trees, the scarcity of empty spaces, the vertical development of the residences and the intense circulation of pedestrians and transportation

The population is distributed across approximately thirty eight thousand (38,000) households and sixteen communities. The concentration of roads, public buildings and industrial / commercial facilities make the borders heterogeneous, with different types of neighbourhood. Also, the rivalry between drug dealer factions is a strong inhibiting factor in the circulation of residents in local spaces. In terms of educational infrastructure, Maré has fifteen public schools, and seven CIEP (Integrated Centres of Public Education). The neighbourhood also has 7 community day care centers for children between 0-4 years old, besides several small private schools, focused on early childhood education and elementary education. There is only one fulltime high school and two other schools that offer classes in the evenings, although the demand for high schools is growing.

According to the Maré Census, the percentage of illiterate inhabitants above 14 years old is almost 10%. The percentage is slightly below the national average (13.3%), but much higher than the percentage for the municipality of Rio de Janeiro for the year 1999 (3.4%). Regarding income, less than 1 / 3 of inhabitants who live Mare earn more than 2 minimum wages salary per month and as for child labor, 2% of

children living in Maré between 10 -14 years old are involved in some sort of work activity while the rate for the municipality of Rio de Janeiro is only 0,6%.

In this context, the Maré Centre for Studies and Solidarity Actions (CEASM) has acted to turn education, beyond the formal system, into a tool for the empowerment of its inhabitants and the construction of new perspectives for social transformation.

The CEASM

Already working thirteen years in Maré, the CEASM – Maré Centre for Studies and Solidarity Actions, was constituted through the articulation of a number of inhabitants who were born and / or lived in the Maré communities. A peculiar characteristic of the founders of CEASM is that they, in their totality as a collective, have each achieved university level education, and have a long history of involvement with collective grassroots movements. Aware of their exceptional socio-professional positions and the need to contribute to improve the quality of life for Maré inhabitants, the group founded the organization with the aim, among others, to break away from the tradition of uprooting and rupture within the home community, a tendency which is common among youth that achieve university-level education.

The core of CEASM actions is guided by the understanding that changing the local reality implies the production of articulated initiatives that involve the inhabitants in its construction, and encouraging a sense of identity and belonging to the Maré community. This has required the construction of a new social network, which offers opportunities for local inhabitants to understand the local space as free of prejudices and stigmas, providing access to various cultural and educational products and stimulating new ways of living.

The formative component of these actions is the fact that they relate to various fields, beyond the formal learning space.

In this context, among the activities currently undertaken by CEASM, are the following:

Maré Community College Preparatory Course (CPV-TIDE):

Currently has 280 students divided into four classes, one in the morning and three in the afternoon. During thirteen years of

activity the CPV-Maré has helped approximately 750 young people to be accepted in the main universities in Rio de Janeiro.

Preparatory Course for the 5th Grade of the Elementary School and High School: This initiative currently enrolls about 105 children and adolescents per year. The goal is through systematic study, to provide this age group, with access to high quality public Elementary Schools and High Schools.

Computer Courses: These courses are developed in two laboratories with the latest technical equipment, designed for different levels, with a special focus on teenagers and young inhabitants of Maré. This course enrolls approximately 200 students per month.

Language Courses: A project that offers English and French classes to 120 inhabitants of Maré.

Center for Image and Communication: Develops professional courses in the areas of video production, photography and visual arts, and aims to offer the local youth professional basic training so they can produce new cultural expressions, enter into the labor market and expand access to other aesthetic languages.

Newspaper "O Cidadão" ("The Citizen"): Local community newspaper, printed in magazine format, and distributed for free every other semester in the 16 communities of Maré, with a circulation of 20,000 copies.

Maré Museum: Heritage education program that aims to record and preserve the daily practices and tangible and intangible heritage of Maré communities. The museum functions as a central receiver, producer and broadcaster that works in partnership with schools and local institutions

All the actions taken by CEASM aims at involving teenagers, young adults and other local inhabitants, at different levels, according to their education level and personal characteristics. The initiatives undertaken are not an end in itself, but are developed from the premise that they are means to stimulate the participants in different social areas in Mare and in other areas of the city.

The Maré Museum

The Maré Museum, founded on 8 May 2006, arose from the desire of the inhabitants of the community to have a place of memory, a place

that is immersed in the past and looks to the future, a place that reflects on this community, on their conditions and identities and on their territorial and cultural diversity. The intention of the Maré Museum is to break with the tradition that the experiences to be recollected and the places of memory to be remembered are those elected by the official version, the "winner" version of the story that restricts the representations of history and memory of large portions of the population. The Maré Museum, as a pioneer initiative in the city scene, proposed to expand the museological concept, so that it is not restricted to intellectual social groups and cultural spaces that are not accessible to the general population. The museum has established recognition that the slum is a place of memory and so has initiated a museographic reading of the Maré community. ..

Maré Museum is defined by a set of actions aimed at registration, preservation and dissemination of the history of the slum communities of Maré, in its various aspects, whether they relate to cultural, social or economic issues. The Museum develops educational activities complementary to the formal education system, through methodologies centered in the concept of heritage education, strengthening local memory and history as tools for building identity references, appreciation of the local space and sense of belonging for the Maré inhabitants, who are confronted with the reality of fragmentation and latent conflict between the local communities.

Actions are developed from the museum's various programmes - institutional, collections, exhibition-making, cultural education, research and dissemination. The backbone to the actions of the Maré Museum is the permanent exhibition, which unfolds into document collection, conducting research in oral history, and the development of recreational and educational activities such as storyteller groups; The museum also hosts various events such as travelling exhibitions, temporary exhibitions in the museum's gallery, seminars, workshops, library actions to encourage reading among children.

The projects carried out by the Maré Museum aim to encourage the creation of channels that strengthen community ties among inhabitants, mainly oriented towards a historical and cultural identity and a concept of education based on these values.

Principles and experiences in which our methodology is based

Above all, the main reason for the creation of this museum space is to affirm it as a meeting place. The city of Rio de Janeiro is a place where differences and similarities have the chance to meet, which allows for the creation of plural identities that are, above all, human. In Rio de Janeiro, as in other large Brazilian cities, however, the majority of the population is gradually narrowing their time and space, thus limiting the possibilities of coexistence and the full exercise of citizenship.

The Museum, therefore, presents a permanent exhibition that advocates the concept of "lived" time represented by calendar and hours. This is why the exhibition is called "Calendar-Museum." Although permanent, everything in the exhibition is changeable. There are twelve "times" represented by expressions and desires that mark the route of community life in Mare. Thus, there is the time of water, festivity, work, children, fear, hope, etc.

The most interesting aspect of the journey of this museum has been the response by the community. It has been incredibly enthusiastic about the idea of being represented in a museum and people wish to express themselves and expose themselves to the city through this museological language. Therefore, many inhabitants have made suggestions, and have brought their personal objects to the museum as a means of participating in its collection. Thus there is an ongoing collective process from which the museum is emerging.

The narrowing of time is associated to the particular spatial condition of the neighbourhood. Life in a restricted physical area without a broader sense of belonging to the city of Rio contributes to this place becoming the point of departure and arrival of one's whole existence. As an inhabitant of the community, the person does not feel, in most cases, a citizen of the polis, of the world.

To overcome this reality it is necessary create a of a virtuous circle, supported by integrated and long term actions, and where the overcoming of local and existential constraints means continuous improvement of the quality of life for Maré inhabitants.

Thus, it is hoped that the **Maré Museum** can contribute to the expansion of citizenship and democratic practice in the neighbourhood and throughout society, in tune with what the Brazilian **National Museums Policy** advocates: *"In a complex society*

such as Brazil, rich in diverse cultural manifestations,, the role of museums in the scope of public policies with a broader character, is of fundamental importance to the enhancement (valorisation) of cultural heritage as a strategic device for improving democratic processes. "

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Representing traumatic pasts at the District Six Museum¹²⁷

Bonita Bennett

At a conference in 2005, scholar Richard Werbner used two metaphors to describe the work of the District Six Museum: he referred to it as being both 'forum' and 'temple'. Elaborating on this he goes on to say, *'being a temple it has objects which we respect and we're bound to venerate in what they reveal to us about the*

¹²⁷ This paper was presented during the seminar **Architecture for memorial sites of conscience**, Constitution Hill, Johannesburg, **28 October 2009**

*mystery of human existence. But being a forum, it engages us not merely in the preservation of the past, of remembering what we have forgotten... it engages us in debate, in making demands and claims for the future... it has got to do with argument in public as well as the keeping and safeguarding of the experiences of people who managed to survive very devastating dislocation in their lives.'*¹²⁸

Using this metaphoric framework as a starting point, I would like to focus on the characteristics of the District Six Museum which extend its work beyond being that of *representation* (of traumatic memory). Representation signifies in some ways distance and separation, a telling of a story depicted for others. The work of the Museum is more akin to what could broadly speaking be described as 'engagement'. Although this word is much over-used, it nonetheless indicates more closely an embodied practice which invites personal insertion, empathy and emplacement. It includes a whole range of sense-making practices by those closest to the Museum's story – the dispossessed ex-residents – who participate in the memorialisation practices of the Museum in both harmonious and dissonant ways. The architectural metaphor of this seminar is key to this approach, indicating a practice which is constructed and layered, fixed yet changeable. It speaks to a spectrum of activities related to the imperatives to develop as well as conserve – elements which are central to the Museum's work in relation to the process of return and restitution. To signify the unfinished business of representation, the permanent exhibition is called *Digging Deeper*, a framework which allows for an always further uncovering of facts, meanings and perspectives.

Encounters in the 'temple'

Engagement with the District Six Museum requires visitors to be 'co-opted' into its story. There is the physical drawing in, onto the central map located on the floor; there is the first-person testimony by ex-resident narrators; and critically, there is the experience and orientation brought by the visitor. A distant visitor who only views the exhibits as a representation of 'the other', or observation of programmatic work by researchers, does not yield a full experience

¹²⁸ Werbner, R. (2005) Paper presented at **Hands On District Six: landscapes of postcolonial memorialisation** Conference, Cape Town. May 2005

of the Museum's offering. An intimate entering into the physical and metaphoric space is invited by the photographs, the fragments of people's lives and homes, the voices - and as a visitor you are invited to take a position. You are presented with the horror of the forced removal - sometimes in an understated way through the visual and aural media - and you react to it in some way. The floor space often gives rise to feelings of shock, horror, complicity, disbelief, self-recognition and then also the beginnings of healing.

The map

The central map on the floor of the Museum is one of its best known features and I would like to take a moment to reflect on its significance. Faded and worn after many years on the floor, the map continues to be a powerful tool which draws people physically and symbolically into the centre of the story. Ex-residents who lived in District Six before its destruction, gravitate in the first instance to the street where their homes were situated. The family name is marked where the home once was, serving as a signifier for what once was and had been erased. At the same time, relational others are sought on the map: friends, neighbours, extended family members. On occasion they have even met in person on the map. Main routes are traced with hands and feet, and inevitably a story emerges. This inscription into the symbolic substitute for the land often stimulates an assertion of presence, a statement about the right 'to be'.

Incorrect markings on the map have given rise to serious disorientations as ex-residents often object to their space having been usurped by others. Sometimes the reasons are simply explained: a neighbour with a large handwriting might have inscribed an entire street with one family name; residents might be referring to a different period of having lived at a particular address, and because the map is not drawn to scale and the streets are not proportional to each other: all of these contribute to markers which might not be accurately placed. Whatever the reason, the map continues to be a place of engagement, of evolving ownership, of debates, affirmations, storytelling and reunions. Intended to be a means to draw ex-residents together when an exhibition opened in 1994 and only meant to be on the floor for a few months, many years later it continues to stimulate and we cannot conceive of lifting it. Together with the objects, recorded voices and ambient sounds that draw

visitors into the space, the performance of memory is another important aspect of engagement in the space. Ex-resident storytelling, intergenerational dialogues, role plays, poetry readings, musical performances and dramatic reenactments: these are some of the other ways that visitors might encounter the Museum's work.

The forum

While in the Museum you will find objects that reveal to us aspects of human existence, the ongoing movement which forms a central core of our work is driven by the *forum* part of our identity which takes us beyond the boundaries of the walls.

In recent years, the focus of our work has shifted from the production of memory and the commemoration of the 'salted earth' of District Six, to memory work closely associated with land restitution and recovery. This shift to 'hands on' District Six has initiated sets of questions around the methodological integrity of the Museum's practice in relation to work on the site i.e. how does the redevelopment of the site affect the ways in which memory work is practiced, and how do we redefine memory work in relation to a changing site? We have tentatively explored these questions with ex-residents on walking interviews through District Six, memory methodology workshops and by documenting both the joys and challenges of the return.

Memory work in the latter context is both difficult and necessary as conflicting emotions and varying approaches to re-settling the site come to the fore. Ex-resident experiences of the site are often as disorienting and alienating as they are triumphal, and the re-mapping of the site through participatory forms of memorialisation needs to heed these experiences.

Conservation Management Plan

One of the projects that has moved us substantially beyond the boundaries of the building has been the development of a Conservation Management Plan (CMP)² for the vacant site in preparation for an application to have it declared as a National Heritage Site. This was an opportunity to work closely with the community who are intimately tied to the site and its story, and to draw on the many different elements of an evolving methodology, developed over the years.

A CMP is potentially a very sterile, technical document which generally focuses on strategies for conservation and preservation of sites. The District Six CMP was unique in some ways: given that the site to be conserved was also one which was in the process of being developed, careful consideration had to be given to what this would mean. In addition, we were determined that the process of producing this document should be continuous with the Museum's methods of working 'in community' and should not stand apart from it. A challenging yet substantially enriching set of engagements evolved from this.

The physical conservation of the site is aided by the attention to the preservation of sites identified by ex- and current residents as specific sites of memory. This is linked to a re-insertion / re-assertion of the *act* of identifying,¹²⁹ re-marking and memorialising potential sites. In these acts of making meaning of their past, strategies of public interaction and participation (within the broader context of the land restitution process), become focal communitydriven memorial practices, and occur in conjunction with acts of remembrance shaped and given voice in private spaces. The intention of the CMP is to provide a framework through which the public and private memorial practices are acknowledged and contribute to the intangible, yet living. In this context, the Museum forms part of an 'engaged public' - a 'diverse body of people joined together in ever changing alliances to make choices about how to advance their common well-being'. It seeks public engagements which allow for a 'committed and interrelated citizenry rather than a persuaded populace' (Matthews 2002: p.i).¹³⁰

This reflects the emergence of an active civic culture that asserts that public education is not solely confined to dialogue or 'teaching' between institutions and communities, but is inherent in the formal and informal methods of reminiscence - performance, music, reunions and exhibitions - that the District Six community uses at their discretion. Through the exchange of stories, experiences, photographs and other expressions of memory, an exchange of

¹²⁹ 2 This was submitted by the District Six Museum to the national council of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) in 2006

¹³⁰ Matthews, D. (2002). **For Communities to Work** (Kettering Foundation Press: USA)

knowledge is effected and public ownership of the spaces of District Six is reasserted.

Mediating traumatic memories

Reunions have been a key way through which ex-resident communities have sought to re-assert and experience those aspects of their individual and group identity as it was shaped by the broader community and institutions of District Six.

Organised in or outside the space of the museum, reunions are a way of re-establishing links between people whose relation to each other has been fractured and which subsequently seeks to create alternative means of refiguring itself. The resolve of individual residents to assemble groups of former residents in the aesthetic space of the museum and more recently in institutions located on the site of District Six embodies a shift in the forms of engagement with the memory of the District beyond that of reminiscence and towards public education and ownership of the site. *Oral histories* The practice of collecting life histories and oral histories is characterised by community acts of recognition, reminiscence and telling that happens in the space of the Museum and within communities. These acts form part of a memory methodology that recognises the authority and expertise of exresidents in *how* they narrate and perform their memories, and how they choose to *represent* their histories. This engagement with memory is a key organising principle of the Museum, and is often brought about by donations.

Receiving artefacts into the archive is premised on the notion that the associational value of the artefact, namely the stories and memories it evokes, are as important as the object itself. These oral histories contribute to a living memory around the object which, when seen in relation to other artefacts and stories in the Museum, allows for the formation of a living archive – refigured through public participation as a space where knowledge is co-created by interviewees and the Museum. The knowledge that we help to create should not only build an archive ‘that knows’, but should also contribute towards building social knowledge and ownership of sites and spaces from which people have been dispossessed. Oral history narrations are therefore much more than research data: they are also opportunities for interviewees to reinsert themselves into the story of a city which has systematically disconnected them from its perimeters.

Memory walks

Nadia Seremetakis (2000:4), reflecting on the workings of memory in contexts of trauma says that 'Memory ... has social and sensory coordinates that are part of the living membrane of the city ... found embedded and miniaturized in objects that trigger deep emotions and narratives ... linked to sounds, aromas and sights. We take this enmeshed memory for granted until the material supports that stitch memory to person and place are torn out from under us, when these spaces suddenly vanish under debris...'

Some of the site walks undertaken with ex-residents were extremely disorienting, particularly for those whose 'social and sensory coordinates' had been obliterated. The reality of having to relate to a newly-configured space was sometimes traumatic, but usually resulted in an eventual sense of spatial reorientation. The walks typically started at the site of the former home of the individual, who was then allowed to direct the route of the walk. It provided opportunities for ex-residents, some who had returned to the site of their homes for the first time since the destruction in the 1960s and 1970s, to reorient themselves into the reconfigured and evolving landscape.

Memory mapping

Individually and collectively memory maps were ways of enabling ex-residents to reassert a relationship with the topography of the land. Using a District Six map on which some prominent landmarks were indicated, residents were allowed to map out different pathways along which they travelled frequently while living in District Six, stimulating through this their ownership of streets and public spaces. They were also encouraged to add places that were not marked on the maps. A process of re-mapping the city of Cape Town which traced movements of citizens from, to and between places of removal and re-settlement was also undertaken with museum partners who are participants in a loosely formed memory methodology network.

Conclusion

These are just some of the ways in which the citizens of Cape Town have been involved in thinking about engaging with their own traumatic histories, and with representation in one project of the

Museum. The application to have District Six declared a National Heritage Site set into motion a series of commitments which had the potential of alienating the Museum from its primary participant base. Lessons learnt from the way in which the Museum itself has had to evolve to accommodate a growing tourist public has provided the organisation with some valuable experience in this regard.

The declaration, when made official, will not be the end of the process but will signal another milestone in the ongoing commitment to remain 'in community'. This has become increasingly difficult in current times in which we observe the global phenomenon of communities becoming more and more alienated, tending to veer more towards becoming spectators more than participants in like it, the Museum strives to remain as an alternative space of interaction whose aim it is to contribute towards growing a public which will continue to actively seek and make opportunities to insert its voices into the fabric of life in its broadest sense.

About the author:

Bonita Bennett was appointed as director of the District Six Museum in June 2008, having been the acting director for nine months prior to that. She had worked variously as the Museum's collections manager and the research co-ordinator since 2001, having a particular research interest in narrative and memory. Her professional training is as a high school English teacher. She completed a BA at UCT in 1982, and a Higher Diploma in Education in 1984. After many years of working as a teacher, educational NGO coordinator and researcher, she went back to UCT to complete her M.Phil in Applied Sociolinguistics and achieved that in 2005. Her dissertation focused on narratives of trauma of people who had been forcibly removed from various areas.

Sociomuseology is a collection integrated in the Journal of Sociomuseology, published by the Department of Museology at the Lusophone University of Humanities and Technologies of Lisbon. Is a peer review collection published in English.

Sociomuseology expresses a considerable amount of the effort made to suit museological facilities to the conditions of contemporary society.

The process of opening up the museum, as well as its organic relation with the social context that infuses it with life, has resulted in the need to structure and clarify the relations, notions and concepts that may define this process.

Sociomuseology is thus a scientific field of teaching, research and performance which emphasizes the articulation of museology, in particular, with the areas of knowledge covered by Human Sciences, Development Studies, Services Science, and Urban and Rural Planning.

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