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MUSEUMS OF CITIES AND CONTESTED URBAN HISTORIES

MUSEOS DE CIUDAD E HISTORIAS URBANAS IMPUGNADAS

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FROM THE CAMOC CHAIR
DEL PRESIDENTE DE CAMOC

JOANA SOUSA MONTEIRO

CAMOC Chair, 2016-2019
Presidente CAMOC, 2016-2019

CAMOC is the Committee of Museums of Cities, one of the international committees of ICOM, the International Council of Museums.

Every year, we organise and present one international conference, as well as other special events on occasion. CAMOC has been organising a conference out of Europe every other year, as we do think and act globally and city museums are clearly growing in number and relevance in the whole world, from Australia to the north of Europe, from East Asia to Latin America.

The experience of holding a conference in Brazil, in the context of the ICOM General conference in Rio de Janeiro, in 2013, was important and fruitful. However, we were still lacking the Latin America Spanish-speaking countries. Mexico City was one of the favourite options, not only for being an impressive megalopolis with amazing heritage but also for portraying some disturbing contrasts.

Thus, in 2017, CAMOC organised the annual conference and the second workshop of the ICOM Special Project "Migration:Cities / (Im)migration and arrival cities".

The conference was made possible through the partnership between ICOM Mexico, the hosting Museo de las Culturas and a wonderful pool of speakers and collaborators.

It must be stated that the CAMOC Mexico Conference was prepared under an especially adverse context: just a couple of weeks before the beginning of the conference, the country and district were terribly affected by a deadly earthquake. It took courage and perseverance from our partners, speakers and attendants to make it actually happen and be a success like it was. To all of them, I send my words of gratitude and admiration.

One of our goals is to edit and release CAMOC conferences' proceedings regularly, and thus to give access to its participants and to a wider group of readers, to the texts related to the conference presentations, creating a resource to the future.

I want to thank all those who contributed to this publication and to express my special gratitude to the editor, Jelena Savic, who is also Secretary of CAMOC.

JELENA SAVIĆ

The Book of Proceedings Editor
Editora del Libro de Actas

PERSPECTIVES ON CITIES AND THEIR CONTESTED URBAN HISTORIES
PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE LAS CIUDADES Y SUS HISTORIAS URBANAS IMPUGNADAS

About this publication
In 2017, CAMOC dedicated its annual conference to rethinking contested histories in the museum context, thus joining the international recognition of the topic's importance. Such importance was also reflected on the theme of last year's International Museum Day.

Within this thematic framework, and in line with its aim – to be at the centre of the current debate on cities and urban living, CAMOC focused on the discussion of museums of cities and contested urban histories. Our forum took place in Mexico City, an exceptional urban environment that deeply resonated with this issue.

This Book of Proceedings is the tangible outcome of our Mexico City meeting, containing 26 original texts which represent state-of-the-art reflections on different aspects of contested urban histories worldwide, from very Mexico City to a number of other cities across Europe, North and South America, Asia and Africa.

In order to promote the crucial debate on contested and traumatic urban histories and to involve more of those interested in city-related matters, for each text in this publication abstracts are provided both in English and Spanish; also, all texts by Spanish-speaking authors are made available in both languages.

The structure and the main themes
The structure of this Book of Proceedings corresponds to the thematic subdivision of the conference, and unfolds through five chapters.
The first chapter centres on Museums, Migration and Arrival Cities. Marco Barrera Bassols and Jesús Antonio Machuca RamÍrez rethink the issues of migration, borders and displacement of people, as well as cultural rights, by promoting the perspective of critical museology and museography within the Mexican context. Marlen Mouliou's approach to the issue of migration is based on both scientific and personal reference points and how they materialised in a project aimed at empowering refugee communities through museum-like activities. Joan Roca I Albert draws attention to a theme often neglected and underrepresented in many large cities' histories – that of shanty towns, and shows how this matter has been addressed by Barcelona History Museum through the conversion of a former shanty town into one of the museum sites. The theme of shanty towns has also been addressed as a part of an effort to illuminate the social reality of 20th-century Madrid, undertaken by the Museum of History of Madrid, and elaborated by Hortensia Barderas Alvarez.

The second chapter of this publication is dedicated to city museums' approaches to the matters of urban memory. In the text by Joana Sousa Monteiro, Daniela Araújo and Rui Coelho, diverse new participatory methodologies and partnership possibilities undertaken by the Museum of Lisbon are presented, as a part of the Museum's efforts to know the city's population better, to acknowledge and integrate diverse migrant populations. Contesting and conflicting aspects of urban history can be presented through sharing individual stories and displaying objects with

biographical narratives, allowing for the recognition of individual standpoints and a plurality of views. This approach has long been established in the Museum of Amsterdam; it helps create empathy and resonates well with the city's super-diversity, as Annemarie de Wildt shows in her text on looking at Amsterdam lives.

In Jennefer Nepinak and Clint Curle's article, acknowledgement of Indigenous Peoples' cultural memory is addressed as one of human rights. In their piece, the process of dialogue in the creation of the new Canadian Museum of Human Rights has been illuminated.

Águeda Oliveira and Ana Gomes dedicate their text to the three city museums of Brasilia. These authors explore the origins and construction of a homogenous discourse on the city's history, and the paradox of existence of a city museum preceding official establishment of the city itself. On the other hand, Laura Acetta contemplates the relation of history and memory as a challenge for a newly established city museum and examines the possibilities of participatory methodologies as a base for the museum's activities.

The following, third chapter is focused on the cities and cultures in conflict. Sarah Henry examines the concept of a museum as a neutral forum to contemplate the inherently contested and controversial nature of a contemporary city. This author leads us through the logic of the new permanent exhibition in the Museum of the City of New York, which reveals conflicts that have shaped the city and gives visitors an opportunity to envision and debate the city's future. Cristina Miedico delves into the issues of the destruction of monuments as a strategic tool for wiping out urban memory and values, as well as reflecting on the importance of museums as agents of peace. Aleksandra Salach and Katarzyna Jarosz also examine destruction by focusing on the consequences of the recent armed conflict to the urban identity of Aleppo and the identity of a specific Armenian community. Bonginkosi Zuma looks at museums as potential agents of social cohesion in South Africa, pointing out, however, the critical issue of political interferences that impede acknowledgement of cultural differences, dialogue and genuine interculturality. The chapter ends with Nayat Karakose's article on the significance of the Hrant Dink Site of Memory, envisioned not only as a memorial site but also as a site of peaceful dialogue, truth and hope.

The fourth chapter, entitled *Saying the Unspeakable in Museums*, deals with the themes of (self) censorship, pressure and stereotypes in the museum discourse of today. These issues have all been touched in Jette Sandahl's critical reflection on Contested Issues and Museum Activism, stemming from her rich and ground-breaking experience in the museum sector, and the belief that museums can contribute to changing the world for the better. Other articles in this chapter, featuring the case studies on the former Soviet resort city of Jurmala (Inga Sarma), hutongs in Beijing residential neighbourhoods (Mingquian Liu) and revisiting 1968 in the context of the post-conflict Northern Ireland (Chris Reynolds and William Blair), show the diversity of manifestations of the unspeakable – and unspoken – in museums and the diversity of possible responses to the issues of conflicting interpretations of the times gone by, consequences of the troubled past, oblivion and disappearance.

The final chapter contains a series of recent or ongoing projects from four continents, reflecting some emerging approaches to the theme of contested urban histories. Within different cultural contexts, Masagake Murano and Chao-Chieh

Wu pose the same, critical question – whose history is actually represented in a museum. Alina Saprykina and Lilia Krysina propose a dynamic model for city museums, without permanent exhibitions, and show examples of several Russian city museums and their efforts to engage as agents of social change. Shreen Amin reflects on the possible and necessary domains of city museums' action in a developing and changing country such as her homeland, Egypt. Elka Weinstein's case study is about a city museum that has never materialised – the Museum of Toronto, and the history of attempts to represent its culturally diverse population through a museological perspective. The concluding text is that of Jonathan Kelley and Chelsea Ridley, who envision a new museum with the aim to build a community and support healing, teaching and learning processes in an inclusive way. In this case, not only will the museum will help to reintegrate formerly incarcerated population but also to improve the chances of the youth at risk to break the cycle of imprisonment and live a better life.

Towards the next CAMOC gathering

CAMOC is about cities, their people and their past, present and future urban relationships. Not only we research city-related themes but also aim at being active agents of social change, thus working for the benefit of society. We strongly believe that "difficult" themes must not be avoided: hence this attempt to illuminate contested urban histories from as many different city-related scientific domains and geographical perspectives as possible. Our Mexico conference was conceived as a forum to acknowledge a plurality of approaches to urban histories and memories, to encourage dialogue, peace, healing and understanding, as bases to building and sharing a brighter, more hopeful and more sustainable future. Precisely, **future** is the CAMOC's key word for 2018: our next gathering in Frankfurt will be devoted to new challenges, definitions and models of city museums for the future.

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MUSEUMS, MIGRATION AND ARRIVAL CITIES

MUSEOS, MIGRACIÓN Y CIUDADES DE LLEGADA

MARCO BARRERA BASSOLS

Museologist and Museographist
Mexico

MUSEOLOGY AND MIGRATION IN THE AGE OF TRUMP

MUSEOLOGÍA Y MIGRACIÓN EN LA ERA TRUMP [*full text in Spanish*]

ABSTRACT

Migration is a topic that has long been tackled by Mexican museology and it is now the subject of analysis and discussion in seminars and debates: it suffices to mention the William Bullock Chair at the UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) from the perspective of critical museology, along with the recent symposium on Borders and Museums organized by the Wenner Gren Foundation, the Smithsonian Institute and the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. The conference "Borders: Museums in the Age of Global Mobility" was held in Mexico City from 7-9 June 2017. However, curators and artists who have submitted various proposals for exhibitions on the subject have found no echo from institutions, with certain honourable exceptions, such as the exhibition ***MONTARlaBestia*** ("RIDINGtheBeast"[TN]) exhibited in CaSa, Etla, State of Oaxaca, and in the Museo Nacional de los Ferrocarriles Mexicanos (National Museum of Mexican Railways) in the State of Puebla, during 2016. It seems paradoxical that, in the age of Trump, museum spaces in the USA and Canada demonstrate greater interest in the subject than those in our own country, excluding a few private galleries that opened their doors to cover the topic on account of the dozens of artists who are addressing it. This leads us to wonder what role museums must assume in light of the emergence of international dilemmas and policies on questions of the utmost importance, such as migration, borders, the displacement of people due to internal or international conflicts. Raising this issue will be the subject of my text.

Key words
migration, war on drugs, refugees, MONTARlaBestia, critical museology

RESUMEN

El tema de Migración en la museología mexicana ha sido abordado desde tiempo atrás y hoy es materia de análisis y discusión en seminarios y coloquios: baste mencionar la Cátedra William Bullock de la UNAM desde la perspectiva de la Museología crítica y recientemente el Congreso sobre las Fronteras y los Museos organizado por la Fundación Wenner Gren, el Instituto Smithsoniano y el Museo de Antropología de la Universidad de Columbia Británica. La conferencia, Fronteras: Museos en la Era de la Movilidad, tendrá lugar en la Ciudad de México del 7 al 9 de junio de 2017. No obstante, curadores y artistas que han presentado múltiples propuestas para llevar a cabo exhibiciones sobre el tema no encuentran eco en las instituciones, con honrosas excepciones como lo fue la exhibición ***MONTARlaBestia*** *que se exhibió en CaSa, Etla, Oaxaca y el Museo Nacional de los Ferrocarriles Mexicanos en Pueblas durante 2016. Resulta paradójico que en la llamada Era Trump, haya más interés en espacios museísticos en los Estados Unidos y en Canadá que en nuestro propio país, exceptuando algunas galerías privadas que empujados por las decenas de artistas que están abordando el tema han abierto sus puertas para tratar el tema.*
Lo anterior nos lleva a preguntar cuál es el papel que los museos deben tener ante la emergencia de problemáticas y políticas internacionales sobre asuntos de primer orden como la migración, las fronteras, el desplazamiento de personas por guerras internas o internacionales. Abordar esta problemática será el asunto de mi presentación.

Palabras clave
migración, guerra contra el narco, refugiados, MONTARlaBESTIA, museología crítica

[TN] *La Bestia"* is the name given to a series of freight trains that national and international migrants ride on their journey north.

INTRODUCTION

First and foremost, I wish to congratulate CAMOC for persevering with the plan to organise its Annual Conference in a city convulsed by two earthquakes and which historically has been a product of migrations, one ot the central themes of this meeting.

According to the Yearbook of Migration and Remittances 2017, in 2015 there were approximately 19.8 million internal migrants within Mexico. That is to say, 16.6% of the population.

Between 2009 and 2014, 716,000 Mexicans emigrated to other countries, of which 74.1% were male and 25.9% were female, with no specific figure on how many were children. Of these, 98.4% were bound for the USA.

Four states presented extremely high absolute values of migratory intensity: Zacatecas, Michoacan, Guanajuato and Nayarit – it is noteworthy that these are also states with a strong presence of drug cartels.

The states that received the most remittances were Michoacan, Jalisco, Guanajuato, Mexico and Puebla.

In 1980, the flow of family remittances from the USA amounted to 699 million dollars; by 2016 it had reached the sum of 26,970 million dollars.

Mexico ranks fourth among remittance recipient countries, only surpassed by India, China and the Philippines.

According to the same source, the majority of Mexican refugees (11,236 people in 2015) are in Canada and the USA, while the total number of what could be deemed "official" refugees increased from 11 to 16 million between 2010 and 2015. In fact, Mexico does not even figure as a country of origin on a map dedicated to the subject of refugees. Another table shows that in 2000, there were 1,291 recognised Mexican refugees in host countries around the world: since then and up until 2016, there has been a recognised increase of 6.3%, while 2,874 refugees were registered in Mexico, the majority being from Central America.

However, by 2015, a total of 12,339,062 Mexicans were identified as having emigrated to other countries.

But why do Mexicans and Central Americans emigrate?

Ever since the last administration, Mexico has witnessed an internal war on drugs which has caused *a decade of failure*, according to Jose Luis Pardo Veiras' article *Mexico: A Decade of Failure in the War on Drugs,* published in The New York Times on 7 September 2016: "A decade later, too many unknown victims have fallen in this war. The estimates are close to 150,000 dead and 28,000 missing. Mr. Calderon's promise was epic; his strategy, simplistic".

If we add Trump's becoming President of the USA and his promises to:

- Build a wall the entire length of the border with Mexico, despite one already existing in those areas with the highest risk of migrants crossing;
- Expel 10 million migrants;
- Terminate programmes that permit the existence of Dreamers, etc, etc.

In view of all of the above, I wonder:

- Have the millions of Mexicans who emigrated done so for economic reasons?
- Should they not be considered as refugees whose country of origin is at war?

I would not venture to suggest data, but several hundred artists have turned to

migration, borders, La Bestia and other related subjects for inspiration. Meanwhile, few museums or venues have dedicated their space to present this harrowing challenge of our times.

The exhibition

Indeed, curator Jose Manuel Springer and I jointly developed curatorial and museographic proposals that have failed to arouse the interest of any director of various museums; some even failed to reply: *Fronteridad* ("Borderness") is an exhibition we have been working on for several years and it seems we may have the chance to set it up in California, but not in Mexico.

The exhibition was the product of collective work between artists, curators and museographers and, thanks to the painter Francisco Toledo, was able to be exhibited first in CaSa, Etla, Oaxaca. It then had the chance to expand museographically, to be presented first in the *Museo Nacional de los Ferrocarriles Mexicanos* (National Museum of Mexican Railways) and then in the USC Fisher Museum of Art, in Los Angeles.

It is pointless to hope that critical museography - a new trend that is fortunately making museologists and museographists reflect - will have greater acceptance if we do not manage to make heard the voices of Central American migrants, those expelled by violence and dispossession, etc., and make them heard in all their rawness.

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MARCO BARRERA BASSOLS

Museólogo y museógrafo
México

MUSEOLOGÍA Y MIGRACIÓN EN LA ERA TRUMP

INTRODUCCIÓN

Antes que nada, quiero felicitar a CAMOC por haber prevalecido en la idea de mantener la organización de su Conferencia Anual en una ciudad convulsionada por dos terremotos y que históricamente ha sido producto de las migraciones, uno de los temas centrales de esta reunión.

Según el Anuario Migración y Remesas 2017, en 2015, había en México aproximadamente 19.8 millones de migrantes internos. Es decir 16.6% de la población.

Entre 2009 y 2014 emigraron a otros países 761 mil mexicanos, de los cuales 74.1% eran hombres y 25.9 mujeres –sin especificar cuántos de ellos eran niños. El 98.4% tiene como destino EUA.

Cuatro estados tenían muy alto grado absoluto de intensidad migratoria: Zacatecas, Michoacán, Guanajuato y Nayarit – vale decir son estados con una alta presencia de los cárteles de la droga.

Los estados que recibieron más remesas fueron Michoacán, Jalisco, Guanajuato, México y Puebla.

El flujo de remesas familiares provenientes de los EEUU en 1980 fue de 699 millones de dólares: para 2016 alcanzó la cifra de 26,970 millones de dólares.
México se ubica en el 4º lugar como país receptor de remesas, sólo después de India, China, y Filipinas.

Según esa misma fuente, la mayoría de los mexicanos refugiados (11,236 personas en 2015) se encuentra en Canadá y EUA, mientras que el total de refugiados, llamémosles "oficiales" ascendió de 11 a 16 millones, de 2010 a 2015. De hecho, en un mapa sobre el tema de los refugiados, ni siquiera aparece México como país de origen de refugiados. En otra tabla, se muestra que en el 2000 se reconocían 1,291 refugiados mexicanos en otros países del mundo: de esa fecha al 2016 se reconoce un incremento del 6.3%, mientras que en México se registraron 2,874 refugiados, la mayoría de ellos provenientes de Centro América.

No obstante lo anterior, para 2015 se reconocen 12,339,062 mexicanos que han emigrado a otros países.

¿Pero, por qué migran los mexicanos y los centroamericanos?
En México desde la administración pasada vivimos una guerra interna contra las drogas que ha causado, según un artículo de José Luis Pardo Veiras, del 7 de septiembre de 2016, publicado por The New York Times y titulado *México cumple una década de duelo por el fracaso de la Guerra contra el Narco,* cito:

"Una década después, esta guerra se ha cruzado en la vida de demasiadas personas anónimas. Se calcula que ha provocado 150,000 muertos y unos 28,000 desaparecidos. La promesa de Calderón fue grandilocuente; su estrategia, simplista; pero el gobierno actual que termina el año entrante continuó con la misma estrategia."

Súmenle a todo ello la llegada de Trump a la presidencia de los EUA y sus promesas de:

- Levantar un muro a lo largo de toda la frontera de México, más allá de que el muro en las zonas de mayor probabilidad de paso de los migrantes ya existe.
- Expulsar a 10 millones de migrantes.
- Acabar con los programas que permiten la existencia de los Dreamers, etc, etc.

Por todo ello, me pregunto:

- ¿Los millones de mexicanos que han emigrado, lo hacen por razones económicas?
- ¿No deberían ser considerados refugiados cuyo país de origen está en guerra?

No me atrevería a dar un dato: pero al menos son cientos los artistas que han tomado la migración, las fronteras, La Bestia y otros temas relativos a esta situación, como objeto de su trabajo. A la vez, son pocos los museos y los espacios que han destinado sus salas a presentar esta problemática angustiante de nuestra modernidad.

La exhibición

De hecho, junto con el curador José Manuel Springer, hemos desarrollado propuestas curatoriales y museográficas que no han tenido eco y a veces ni respuesta de los directivos de varias instituciones museísticas: Fronteridad es una exhibición en la que hemos venido trabajando por varios años y al parecer podremos tener la oportunidad de montarla en California, pero no en México.

Las láminas que ustedes verán tratan de una exhibición producto del trabajo colectivo entre artistas, curadores y museógrafos que gracias al pintor Francisco Toledo pudo exhibirse en CaSa, Etla Oaxaca primero, y que después tuve la oportunidad de expandir museográficamente para presentarla primero en el Museo Nacional de los Ferrocarriles Mexicanos y después en el USC Fisher Museum of Art, en la ciudad de los Ángeles.

De nada nos sirve pretender que la museología crítica, nueva tendencia que afortunadamente hace reflexionar a los museólogos y museógrafos, tenga cada vez más aceptación si no logramos que las voces de los migrantes centroamericanos, de los emigrantes expulsados por la violencia, el despojo, etc., no puedan mostrarse en toda su crudeza.

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BEFORE THE "ARRIVAL"... HOW TO EMPOWER REFUGEE COMMUNITIES IN TRANSITIONAL CITIES THROUGH MUSEUM-LIKE ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

ANTES DE 'LA LLEGADA'... CÓMO EMPODERAR A LAS COMUNIDADES DE REFUGIADOS EN LAS CIUDADES DE TRÁNSITO A TRAVÉS DEL MUSEO CON ACTIVIDADES EN EL CONTEXTO URBANO

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses contemporary human flows in "transitional" cities like Athens (Greece), and how we can understand the everyday reality of a new kind of urban heterotopias like "refugee camps" or self-organised housing projects for homeless refugees. After first drawing from theories in narrative therapy and systems thinking, the paper then focuses on the context and process of creation of a small pop-up museum in a refugee camp at the outskirts of Athens, and, finally, on the results as well as the challenges this project entailed.

Key words

pop-up museum, refugee camp, empowerment, connectivity, city as an open system

RESUMEN

Este texto aborda los flujos humanos contemporáneos en ciudades "transicionales" como Atenas (Grecia) y las maneras en que podemos entender la realidad cotidiana es una nueva forma de heterotopias urbanas como los 'campos de refugiados' o los proyectos autogestivos de vivienda de las personas que no tienen hogar. Después de extraer de las teorías de la terapia narrativa y el pensamiento sistémico, el texto se centra en el contexto y el proceso de creación de un pequeño museo 'pop-up' en un campamento de refugiados en las afueras de Atenas y, finalmente, en los resultados y en los desafíos que este proyecto conllevó.

Palabras clave

museo 'pop-up', campo de refugiados, empoderamiento, conectividad, ciudad como un sistema abierto

INTRODUCTION

Michael White, a world-renowned narrative therapist, begins his seminal book *Maps of Narrative Practice* with a personal narration. He talks about his childhood years in an isolated working-class community in Australia, his long-life fascination with other worlds and his liking for maps that helped him first to dream with and later on to discover those other places. He also talks about when, at the age of 10, he got his first bicycle, and also about a once-in-a-lifetime- experience at the age of 13 – a camping trip with his father, in which they, by not fully predetermining the route to their possible destination, challenged the unknown. His fascination with maps led him to look at them as a metaphor for his work with the people who consulted him about a range of concerns. As he evocatively confesses: "*when we sit down together I know that we are embarking on a journey to a destination that cannot be precisely specified and via routes that cannot be predetermined… And I know that the adventures to be had on these journeys are not about the confirmation of what is already known, but about expeditions into what is possible for people to know about their lives…*" (White 2007, 4).

Why do I use this reference as a starting point? First, because it is a suitable support for my intention to bring a personal perspective, namely when mapping some points of reference of a not fully predetermined route I took, which led me to the creation of a small pop-up museum in one of the Refugee Camps operating near Athens. My intention is to present the context and process of this experience and to reflect on the numerous challenges that are entailed in the passage of refugee populations through transitional cities, like Athens, before their actual settling to "arrival cities", cities they idealize as dream places for their better future. However, before I turn to a more personal perspective, I will, very briefly, point out two theories from the field of narrative therapy and of systems thinking, as nourishing food for thought.

First, I refer to White and one of his key working principles. In his therapeutic sessions, he applies what he calls "the externalising conversations method". According to it, "the problem becomes the problem, not the person", meaning that, as "people who seek therapy believe that the problems of their lives are a reflection of their own identity, or the identity of others, or a reflection of the identity of their relationships…, externalising conversations can provide an antidote to these internal understandings by objectifying the problem. They employ practices of objectification of the problem against cultural practices of objectification of people" (White 2007, 9). This makes it possible for people to experience an identity that is separate from the problem and so the problem ceases to represent the 'truth' about people's identities; thus, options for a successful problem resolution start to become visible. White refers as a source for his own inspiration Michel Foucault and his contribution to understanding "dividing practices" employed by Western culture. Dividing practices, through the ascription or assignment of a spoiled identity, have separated the homeless, poor, mad, and sick people (or in similar vein the migrants or refugees) from the general population (White 2007, 25). In simpler words, it is important to be reminded that labeling and placing human beings in predefined categories based on sets of rigid factors is not good.

The second point is drawn from systems thinking (Capra 1996, 2002) and its application to urban studies as a framework to understand cities as open and welcoming social systems. Richard Sennett (2006) constructs a new urban vision for an Open City, clearly based on the systemic theories of autopoiesis and dissipative structures that represent two different perspectives of life based on the characteristics of a single cell. One of the core principles, according to systems thinking, is that life relies on cooperation, partnership and networking in order to stay sustainable. System thinkers often start from the fundamental principle that a cell is characterised by a boundary (the cell membrane) which distinguishes the system (the 'self') from its environment. Within this boundary, there is a network of chemical reactions, the cell's metabolism, by which the system sustains itself. Membranes are always active, continually opening and closing, keeping some substances out and letting others in. They are the first defining characteristic of cellular life. Membranes are very different from cell walls which are rigid structures. Membranes regulate the cell's molecular composition and thus preserve its identity. Another defining characteristic is the nature of the very metabolism that takes place within the cell boundary and determines its self-maintenance.

So, in relation to cities, Sennett talks about the creation of ambiguous edges in them and the differences between the boundaries (cell wall) and the borders (cell membrane) within an urban context. He refers to the *boundary* as an edge where things define a guarded territory and where the exchange between different races, ethnicities or communities is non-existent. The counter-paradigm is the edge as a ***border,*** which is both porous and resistant, where different groups interact and connect, where organisms become more interactive due to the reunion of different species or physical conditions. Sennett argues that the boundary/wall paradigm dominates the modern city which is cut up into segregated parts, and he proposes instead the adoption of the border/membrane paradigm which brings new

learning, creativity, development and evolution. I believe Sennett's view on the elements that define the polarity between closed and open cities is very relevant to museums of cities.

So, after this introduction, let me now turn to a more personal narrative.

Reference point One: My heritage

Almost 95 years ago, my maternal grandparents were in their early twenties. They were both affluent members of the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna (Izmir in today's Turkey) and of its vibrant Greek community. They experienced, like a million others, a devastating Greco-Turkish War which resulted in the defeat of the Greek army and the catastrophe that befell Smyrna in September 1922 as it was consumed by a great fire. The Greek community was uprooted from their homeland, and had to leave it as refugees. Smyrna, up to this disaster, held a Greek population greater than Athens, the Greek capital, exceeding 620,000 members. In 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne signed by both Greece and Turkey made provisions for a massive population exchange between the two countries, encompassing almost 2 million people (around 1.2 million Greeks and 400,000 Muslims; Clogg 1992). My grandparents eventually settled in Athens in a district (not far from the city centre) specifically designed to house Greek refugees from Asia Minor. Myself, I have always lived in this district, although its place identity changed dramatically in the last 30 years. As a child, I was very fortunate to grow up close to my grandparents and my fascination was endless when listening to their nostalgic stories about their lost paradise and everyday life in Smyrna. Likewise, I admired them for their resilience, creativity, love for learning and living, all the more for their deep belief in the value of intercultural and intercommunal connections and co-existence. Their homeland has always been an imaginary city for me, blessed with the virtues of diversity, openness and cultural richness.

Project - Creation of a small pop-up museum in one of the refugee camps operating near Athens. © M. Mouliou

Reference point Two: Our profession, our museums, our network

Long before the culmination of the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015-2016, museums had already become hugely involved in contemporary debates on migration and the life experiences of refugees and they had developed numerous on-site and off-site participatory projects on issues of identity and belonging. A key factor in museums' social role has been the raising of public awareness: the need to engage in meaningful intercultural dialogues and to create inclusive, more compassionate societies and communities, which thrive through acts of solidarity and togetherness. As museum professionals, we often discuss how museums can be safe spaces for human encounters, as they can bring people together, allowing them to connect, to remember their past, to dream about their future and to gradually become healed and empowered. Museums can curate stories that bring together diverse migrant and non-migrant experiences, but they also need to be reminded not to simplify complex stories and not to reinforce stereotypes about refugees' traumatic experiences and side effects. Museums must understand the complexity of their lives and remember to tell stories of people not only as refugees BUT at a universal level as human beings with many selves. The message that comes through museums is, more and more, the message of creating human networks and relationships. Cultivating connectivity takes time though. Museums with their object-rich and value-rich world can be both spaces of safety, empathy, empowerment, and hope we need in our cities and alternative spaces for the generation of therapeutic narratives that can bridge memories of the past with dreams for the future.

This problematisation has been central for CAMOC. In 2015, on its 10th anniversary, we chose as the main thematic focus of our work the issue of migration. We organized, in partnership with the Museum of Moscow and the Open Museum in Glasgow, a conference and a workshop to reflect on the broader role of city museums as social activists during a period of dramatic human flows. CAMOC then continued its focus on the subject with the *Migration:Cities / (im)migration*

A group of teenagers from the Skaramagkas Refugee Camp © M. Mouliou

and arrival cities project in partnership with the Commonwealth Association of Museums and the International Committee of Regional Museums, and its inaugural workshop was organized in Athens in early 2017 (Mouliou, Leme, Van Dijk 2017).

Reference point Three: Other personal inspiration (re)sources

As a trainee in systems thinking for many years, I am part of a broad network of psychologists, psychotherapists, social workers and other practitioners with whom I have been discussing a diversity of matters in relation to the refugee crisis, both ethical and practical. A year ago, I attended an inspiring conference on Family Therapy and Systemic Practice held in Athens. Many of its sessions were thematically focused on the refugee crisis and I got a lot of inspiration from them. Whilst I was preparing the Athens workshop, I came in contact with a psychologist from Médecins sans Frontières and she introduced me to *The Arrival,* a book by Shaun Tan. This is a migrant story told in a series of wordless images that might seem to come from a long-forgotten time, a very useful book to use as a tool to communicate with refugees. It is a silent narrative, as its author calls it, not only by removing the noise of words but also by allowing the reader to slow down and meditate on each small object and the action he or she notices in the book pages (like we do in museums). The story is about a man who leaves his wife and child in an impoverished town, in order to seek better prospects in an unknown country on the other side of a vast ocean. Eventually, he finds himself in a bewildering city of foreign customs, peculiar animals, curious objects and indecipherable languages. With nothing more than a suitcase, the immigrant must find a place to live. Along the way he is helped by sympathetic strangers, each carrying their own unspoken history.

Reference point Four: Human flows in a transitional city - Athens

Since the crisis, thousands of refugees have passed by the city of Athens and thousands others still reside in several camps around the city and the wider prefecture, more than 60,000 people can be found in the whole country. Most of them want to move forward to other European countries. In order to do so, they must wait several months for an interview, then a relocation proposal and eventually the actual relocation journey.

Apart from the refugee camps officially organised by the Greek state and operated by different NGOs, thousands of refugees remain in buildings around the city, occupied by so-called solidarity groups. Although this kind of occupied squats is on the verge of legality, it seems that a political line of silent toleration is in force. According to some estimations, between 2,500 and 3,000 refugees are being housed in such squats (Georgiopoulou 2017). City Plaza, a derelict hotel in central Athens, for instance, was taken over by activists in April 2016 and, after 18 months of operation, it is now hosting between 250 and 400 refugees, without any government funding but with much help from volunteers. *The Guardian*, which extensively covered this specific example, talked about "a refugee squat that represents the best and worst of humanity" (Crabapple 2017).

These two kinds of transient refugee homes - legal camps outside the city and illegal self-organised squats in the heart of the city - represent different heterotopias with a peculiar polarity and their own developing patterns of normality. According to the humanitarian aid expert Kilian Kleinschmidt, refugee camps may soon become the "cities of tomorrow" (his example is the Zaatari camp in Jordan, which is the second biggest in the world and is evolving into a permanent settlement).[1] This comment had a triggering effect on me. I started toying with the idea that if a refugee camp is like a city, then it could have cultural infrastructures like the ones existing in a city. Given that I was already connected with the Skaramagkas Refugee Camp, 11km west of Athens, through the so-called Hope School[2], an establishment organised by refugees to offer basic schooling to thousands of kids that reside in it, I decided to develop a cultural project in partnership with a team

of teenagers mostly from Syria and Iraq. Teenagers in the camps seem to be the most vulnerable group; as I was later told, due to legal restrictions, they are not eligible to join local schools unlike the younger kids in the camp. Although my original idea was to develop a series of activities within the camp for a larger number of young residents, I decided to follow my instinct that was somehow attuned with White's and Sennett's principles (although I did not know that then). In other words, I decided to develop something that would empower the teens to experience an identity that is separate from their current situation as refugees (thus allowing other sides of their identity to be expressed) - something that would also act as a moving border and as a membrane of their self-contained cell (the camp) mediating for the creation of activities (chemical reactions) that would help them experience life in a city as any other teen (in order to trigger their cell's metabolic mechanisms). So, the idea, and my core objective, was to encourage them to explore, in a creative and reflective way, the city of Athens as a transitional city between their past and their future life, and also to use it as an urban space whereby they can dig up personal memories, collect current experiences and shape future dreams about their personal life journeys. Another wishful thought was to empower them to co-create, with my assistance, a museum-like exhibition in their already existing community centre and use it as a social and creative space in their everyday life in the camp, and, thus, gradually, develop their own participatory projects based on these grassroots experiences. In the beginning, this journey was not predetermined. It was constantly building upon itself and I was constantly learning the process.

Looking back at this period of three months (July to September 2017), from the first day I spoke to the coordinators of Hope School (two Syrian young men age 23 and 28 years old) who were my collaborators and established bridges with the teens in order to pin down the practical aspects of this project (transportation of the group by public transport from the camp, timetables, other needs of the teens, etc.) to the day we inaugurated the little corner museum, on the 23rd of September (coincidentally, not deliberately, during the European Heritage Days celebration weekend, which this year was thematically focused on cities), there were at least four distinctive parts in this journey.

The first part was based in Athens. During the first week of July and for four consecutive days, a group of approximately 15 teens and their 2-3 coordinators visited the city with me, my students and a couple of other colleagues who offered themselves as guides. Together we strolled a lot and discovered the Greek Parliament, the National Garden, all the historical city centre places in Plaka and the Acropolis area, the Museum of Islamic Art, graffiti street art, artistic installations in the Historic Observatory of Athens and the Filopappou Hill (an emblematic installation by a Canadian artist focusing on the refugee crisis), tasted Greek food and spent a lovely time. We took lots and lots of photos, kept notes, made drawings, collected ideas, feelings and sensations. We got to know each other, got connected and created a safe space for self-expression and communication. Although language might have been a barrier (some teens spoke good enough English, others did not), at the end it was not. During these days, I realised that almost all of my teen friends, mostly girls, had never visited Athens and its city centre, although they lived in the camp for a year or longer.

Preparations underway for the inauguration of the museum
© M. Mouliou

The second part was based in the camp. I visited the group several times in July and August, and we discussed the idea of the pop-up museum. Eventually, we figured out what kind of museum we could co-create. Based on their and my memories, the notes and pictures that were taken during those discovering days in Athens, new chunks of text they wrote by completing a questionnaire I designed for them, as well as the artistic talent of one of the teens who wanted to become a painter, we started collecting content for the "museum". With the questionnaire, I intended to compile some information about their personal background, how they experienced Athens, what they liked or disliked and what they would like to do

The Museum of Our Discoveries: Invitation for its inauguration.

Discovering new places / Discovering ourselves

Discovering ourselves: Shana's art work
© M. Mouliou

with this pop-up cultural corner in the camp. We decided to name our project "The Museum of Our Discoveries" because discovery was a key word in their narrations and because they did not want to focus exclusively on their refugee identity.

When visiting them in the camp, not only had I the chance to work with them in their everyday social space (the community centre) but also to spend time with their families in their individual containers and being warmly hosted by them. I tasted their food and learned stories about their difficult refugee experiences, which they eagerly shared with me.

The third part demanded to establish communication with the NGO that managed their community centre in order to get permission to use some space to set up the pop-up museum. From the three hybrid available rooms of the community centre, we were offered a little wall surface to use, with the restriction that whatever we displayed would not occupy much floor space and could be easily removed to allow other activities to take place in the same room.

The fourth part consisted in designing the exhibition, conceptually and in terms of space. The main overriding idea was, of course, the one of discovery, both of other places and themselves (skills, talents, etc.). Our museum mission statement was the following: "A museum is a space of wonder, hope, creativity and discovery. This little corner museum is **about us**, our discoveries and hopes".

The exhibits were divided into two parts:

a) *Discovering places:* a long text written in Arabic by a teen girl, Abeer (and translated to English for the museum by a young man from Iraq who helped me a lot throughout this project), who described with meticulous detail the four days she spent in Athens. Based on her impressions and the memories more vividly shared by the other teens, I created a small picture collection that visually supplemented her narration. I also produced dozens of other photo prints from our discovering days in Athens and placed them in a box, encouraging further interaction and possible commentaries at the back of the photos from anyone who would like to express his/her opinion. In another box unit, a notebook held a collection of memories and impressions written by the teens, which I rewrote in the computer without any editing. In a digital tablet, I included a picture show, created by the Syrian coordinator of Hope School and a series of short interviews some teens offered to me during their strolls.
b) *Discovering ourselves*: aside from some pictures that reflect this theme, there was also an original painting created by a young talented girl from Kurdistan, another notebook with more texts written by the teens about themselves, about their dreams and about museums, a portfolio with drawings of trees, symbolising their past and future created by them, and a box containing cards to pick and hang on the wall, encouraging them to write a wish for what they hope to discover in their lives.

The museum wall was painted in blackboard paint to encourage interactivity and creativity on their part, a possibility they had already explored. The teens absolutely loved the experience, and the museum corner attracted their attention. A Norwegian lady working for an NGO in the camp told me that she loved the project because she "loved seeing how proud the people in the camp were".

This project, however, faced several challenges and risks as many of its original participants and key coordinators from the camp community had already left Greece even before the corner museum had been completely finished. These were:

1. Leadership, one of the most important factors. In other words, assigning the role of museum keeper to one or more members of the community whilst at the same time there is a continuous turnover of coordinators in the Hope School, the establishment I originally liaised with in order to develop the project;
2. Mobility of camp residents and the difficulty to create long-term plans for the

museum based on a continuum of presence and help by community members;

3. Language barriers, especially if the teens continue to stay outside a regular schooling environment when they can learn English or Greek;
4. Lack of resources to continue and to further expand the activities in the city and in the camp on a regular basis and for a larger number of participants who seem to be eager to take part. There is no funding from the State, EU or NGOs and this project was entirely self-funded. There is certainly a need to devise a workable financial model, as well as a set of strategic and flexible synergies with other agents in order to consolidate the good that came out of it;
5. Time resources, a key factor for keeping the project and the connections alive. As it was not easy for me to visit the camp regularly, I used social network channels to communicate with the teens and see how they were doing, and also encourage them to continue working with the museum exhibits.
6. The sustainability of the camp itself and its good management, something that becomes harder and harder by day as resources are scarce and the camp residents lack incentives and proper leadership for its running.

The Museum of Our Discoveries in place. © M. Mouliou

The project is completed but does not end here, because as the keynote speaker/ systemic therapist reminded us during the Athens *Migration:Cities* workshop, it is wiser to become gardeners than builders in our lives. Being a builder is a defined state of being whereby things happen and end. Being a gardener is a more fluid, open, not predetermined condition that also carries some risks; it is a living process from which we constantly learn, and I have surely learned a lot. In the context of museums and their work with migrants, the model of a gardener is much more preferable, because, based on this, we can create the atmosphere, the context and more space for migrant narratives to be heard and constructive networking to happen. So, there are many ideas for the future of this project, and I intend to place all my efforts in order to realise at least some of them: like implementing a regular monthly visit to Athens, to its museums and neighbourhoods for the teens and perhaps their parents, which can prompt the creation of another exhibition. To create synergies with the Ministry of Education and the unit that is responsible for the schooling of the children in camp is another possibility, and I have already started doing this. Another intention is of connecting with former camp residents that have left for Sweden, Germany, Netherlands, France and Ireland (I keep these connections very active through Facebook) to involve them in projects that relate to their lives in their new homes and bring these experiences back to the Skaramagkas camp which has been so important for them during their transitional months in Greece.

Discovering New Places. Interactions. © M. Mouliou

The city connects us; our lives are connected, this is my motto. It is a motto very much attuned to what the keynote speaker in Athens shared with us as a general observation (Mouliou, Leme, Van Dijk 2017, 46). He said that we become foreigners in places where people do not care to know us or understand who we are. As citizens and museum professionals in hyper-diverse societies, we need to get to know the migrant and refugee communities and individuals that are around us. Networking migrant communities within their receiving arrival cities is a priority, and this is what this project tried to accomplish on a small scale. Nature teaches us that co-evolution between living systems is the process that guarantees resilience. Likewise, in hyper-diverse societies, we must not fear co-evolution but rather encourage it, as it will lead us to the creation of a more sustainable future.

Note: This paper was completed in October 2017. By December 2017, the reality of the camp was unfortunately very different. The *Hope School* stopped operating, as all its resources and infrastructure were dismantled by unknown residents of the camp. The *Museum of Our Discoveries* has also "evaporated", as most of its exhibits were taken away by force. This sad news indicates how hard is right now to create sustainable educational and cultural projects within camps that lack defined framework of operation and good leadership by state authorities, NGOs and camp residents.

Discovering ourselves - About us.
© M. Mouliou

SURI is a modular system that enables the creation of virtually any type of building within the emergency camps where it is installed. © www.suricattasystems.com

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Notes
[1] Kleinschmidt was interviewed on this matter by Talia Radford in 2015, and the text is available from *Dezeen*.
[2] On this refugee camp, see the article in *AthensLive News*, 12 May 2017.

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PROJECT: "THE MUSEUM OF OUR DISCOVERIES" - DISCOVERING NEW PLACES / DISCOVERING OURSELVES AT SKARAMAGKAS REFUGEE CAMP AND HOPE SCHOOL

Strolling in Athens with the group of teenagers from the camp © M. Mouliou

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THE INFORMAL CITY IN THE CITY MUSEUM

LA CIUDAD INFORMAL EN EL MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD

[*full text in Spanish*]

ABSTRACT

Shanty towns have been a common element in almost every city in contemporary times, especially during periods of intensive migration in "arrival cities" such as Paris, New York, Boston, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Mexico City, Rio de Janeiro, Mumbai and Seoul. But this crucial theme in urban history around the world is often poorly represented in city museums, and when it is present in a museum, it is often linked only to urban poverty, neglecting the fact that people living in shanties have been crucial for urban economies. This is true, also, in Barcelona and Catalonia. How could a city museum be a city museum while omitting a substantial part of its historical periphery and its inhabitants? To address this subject, MUHBA (Barcelona History Museum) has included a former shanty town at Turó de la Rovira, which was active from the 1940s to the 1990s, as one of its sites.

Key words

informal city, shanty towns, Barcelona, Turó de la Rovira, urban policy

RESUMEN

Los asentamientos informales o barrios de barracas han sido un elemento común en casi todas las ciudades de tiempos contemporáneos, particularmente durante periodos de intensa inmigración hacia "ciudades destino" como París, Nueva York, Boston, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Ciudad de México, Río de Janeiro, Mumbai y Seúl. Pero este tema crucial de la historia urbana en todo el mundo, está a menudo parcamente representado en los museos de ciudad y, cuando está presente en alguno, suele ligarse exclusivamente a la pobreza urbana, pasando por alto el hecho de que los habitantes de barracas han sido decisivos para las economías urbanas. Éste es también el caso en Barcelona y Catalunya. ¿Cómo puede un museo de ciudad realmente serlo si omite un parte sustancial de su periferia histórica y sus habitantes? Para abordar este tema, el MUHBA (Museu d'Història de Barcelona) ha incluido un antiguo barrio de barracas del Turó de la Rovira, activo entre las décadas de 1940 y 1990, como uno de sus espacios patrimoniales.

Palabras clave

ciudad informal, barraquismo, Barcelona, Turó de la Rovira, política urbana

"The terms favela, barriada, kampong, slum, villas miseria, bidonville, asentamiento irregular and so on are local manifestations of a global phenomenon. The idea of the informal has eroded our concept of the city, questioning the goals and effectiveness of urban planning. Mexico City represents, perhaps more than any other, the paradigm of this urban condition."

José Castillo (2001). La metrópoli de lo informal
[The Metropolis of the Informal],
Arquine 16

A LOCAL AND GLOBAL HISTORY

The growth of the suburbs

Throughout history, episodes of accelerated urban expansion have often led to the construction of haphazard housing on improvised streets. However, informal urban growth reached heights never seen before in the early twentieth century, when the old centres of many cities had become saturated, and the limits to the promise of progress generated by their new expansion districts began to become evident. This was when the suburbs began to spread at enormous speed.

In Barcelona, social, hygienist and modernisation urges guided Ildefons Cerdà in his design of an expansion plan, *l'Eixample*. Cerdà proposed a new city large enough to prevent land speculation. However, landowners determined the rate at which the plan was put into effect and rents remained high. Population density also continued to be high in the old town and, beyond Cerdà's new city (known as the Eixample), denser neighbourhoods began to spring up. But even the extension of these suburbs was not enough, and shanty towns began to spread. Over the early decades of the twentieth century, the sides of Mount Montjuïc, the coastline and empty plots of land in the Eixample area were occupied by slum housing. These shanty towns continued to grow until the 1960s.[1]

The informal city

The case of Barcelona was by no means exceptional. In many cities, housing did not increase at the same rate as the arrival of poor migrants. Throughout the twentieth century, the informal city expanded enormously, at a global scale, and in different ways.[2]

Firstly, there were shanty houses, built as migrants arrived in the city, in the hope of finding a flat in the future. These were known in Barcelona as *barraques*, and were present in the city until the early 1990s. However, the inhabitants often stayed longer in these shanties than they had first imagined. In cities like Paris, Barcelona, Madrid and Rome – this last one superbly depicted in Italian neorealist films – the shanty towns that began to appear at the turn of the twentieth century lasted for many decades, fuelled by rural-urban migration and displacements caused by conflicts like the civil war in Spain and the Algerian colonial war in the case of France. In the municipality of Barcelona, which lies in the centre of the metropolitan city, shanties housed 7% of the population – more than 100,000 inhabitants – in the 1960s. In South America, Africa and Asia, this process has occupied a much longer timeline and has affected a much larger population.

Secondly, there was the emergence of self-built housing, constructed with the aim of permanent occupation, and which its inhabitants planned to improve over time. Such housing is not always easy to distinguish from the first type, but its impact in the longer term is different. Their legal situation may also vary, according to whether the land on which this housing stands is purchased, leased or simply occupied. In Barcelona, a considerable number of self-built housing neighbourhoods were established with the hope of making them permanent. Most

The long lasting impact of the Great Depression. Hooverville, Seattle (USA) in 1939. © Museum of History & Industry, Seattle.
The shanty houses of La Magòria, in Montjuïc, in the 1920s. © Brangulí, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.
Bar Noche y día, shanties of Can Valero, Montjuïc, in the 1960s. © Echenique PhD, Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona

Residents of "Els Canons" raising a shanty house in Turó de la Rovira, around 1955. © Custodia Moreno Archive.

Villa 31, a villa miseria in the central quarter of El Retiro, Buenos Aires, since 1932. © Aleposta [6]

were located in townships on the periphery of the metropolitan area and became known as *corees* ("Koreas"), as they began to spread in the 1950s, during the time of the Korean War. Today, many of these sites form a permanent part of the urban landscape. Moreover, they are a large presence in cities in Latin America, Asia and Africa, where the phenomenon has long been studied, providing a solid base for addressing the subject at city museums.[3] These neighbourhoods are more dynamic than they might appear, with economic activities that are not necessarily marginal (or illegal) and where an active real estate market operates. Even today, the debate continues as whether to eradicate them given their structural shortcomings or, given the practical and financing difficulties entailed, to legalise them and provide them with services.[4] Often, too, these are neighbourhoods where the alliance between the inhabitants, the managers of social services (sometimes linked to religious institutions) and the town planners has generated a large number of proposals and social experimentation initiatives.

At least in the case of Barcelona, where most of the shanty town inhabitants later moved out to live in housing estates built in the 1960s and 1970s, it is very important to place this process within its historical context.[5]

Peripheral globalisation

The digital technological revolution, with the mobile phone to the fore, has brought about a change in the relative position of all these neighbourhoods by connecting them with the rest of the world, over and above their links with the central areas in their respective cities.[7] Mobile phones and Skype have enabled contact to be maintained with family members who have migrated to faraway countries, while web pages and other digital resources have enabled a virtual connection both with real and mythical worlds, as in the case of fundamentalist approaches to life. At a time when the formal city has still not been integrated with areas of informal growth, the communication boom enables the cosmopolitism of the disinherited.[8] This is a cosmopolitism that brings with it an undoubted improvement in the social quality of what is a precarious life, but which also generates reactive phenomena that are not explained only by the local environment.[9]

SHANTY TOWNS IN BARCELONA

War and post-war

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39) was won by the armed forces that had risen against the Republic. Supported by the oligarchies, they established an authoritarian regime that lasted for more than forty years and which in many ways continues to pervade the deepest structures of the Spanish State.

For many years, lack of statistical evidence encouraged the idea that migration to Barcelona gathered increasing force from the 1950s on. However, more recently, studies have shown that the arrival of migrants in Barcelona from all over Spain, fleeing from even greater poverty and Francoist repression in villages, where everyone knew each other, was important from the beginning of the post-war years. Existing areas of informal housing grew, and new slum neighbourhoods sprang up. The migrant population that came to Barcelona from the mountain areas of Catalonia and from all over Spain found themselves faced by a dramatic housing shortage, despite the over-occupation of flats and the widespread sub-letting of rooms and *pensions*. All these factors caused the spread of shanty towns.

The situation began to change with the construction of large housing estates in the city suburbs, the periphery, in the 1960s, during the period of Francoist technocratic *desarrollo* (development), a strategy aimed at promoting growth without democracy. However, the new residents of these estates not only found

themselves without services, but also faced enormous deficiencies in town planning, with the result that the associations formed in the shanty towns to demand better living conditions there continued to be active even in their new homes.

Shanty towns in the Carmel neighbourhood

Among the first spurs of Collserola, the mountain range that forms a natural border to the Barcelona Plain, there are three hills known as Els Tres Turons. The Carmel neighbourhood lies between the hill of the same name (Turó del Carmel) and Turó de la Rovira. These two hills are separated by a mountain pass that is crossed by the Gràcia-Horta road. After the war, at the top of Turó de la Rovira stood, abandoned and on publicly-owned land, the structures of the large anti-aircraft battery that had helped to defend Barcelona against the attacks of fascist Italian, German and Francoist aircraft.

The shanty town of Carmel began to spring up here at the very start of the post-war period, in the 1940s, with the occupation of the site of the abandoned Republican anti-aircraft battery. The first families began to settle among these disused facilities, in a neighbourhood that became known as "Los Cañones" ("Els Canons", in Catalan, "The Cannons" in English). Fuelled by migrants from southern Spain, this first shanty town in the Carmel area continued to grow until the early 1970s.[10]

There were about 110 shanty houses in Els Canons out of a total of 600 in El Carmel as a whole. The population of Els Canons comprised around 600 people, and the area was inhabited for nearly half a century, until 1990. El Carmel shanty area was the penultimate to disappear as a whole, just before the Olympic Games in 1992. This was not because the shanties were in a more ruinous state than in other areas; on the contrary, many of its residents organised themselves into the Carmel Residents' Association and, assisted by technical personnel ready to advise them, refused to leave their shanty houses until they received assurances that they would be resettled together in a new accommodation nearby. And they attained their goal. In the 1960s, the shanty town dwellers of Montjuïc, the mountain overlooking the sea in Barcelona, had also fought for the same aim, going so far as to form cooperatives to build their new housing, but the Francoist authorities refused to hear their appeal, and that particular struggle ended in defeat.

The fight for the city and the citizenry

In El Carmel, the resistance against unsatisfactory rehousing proposals was more successful, partly because the residents there had gradually improved conditions in the shanty towns, making them somewhat better living places. These were tiny houses, but neatly organised together, like an Andalusian village, and the residents managed to obtain improvements such as a stairway up the hill, fountains and drainage.

At first, the inhabitants feared a visit from the municipal officer for the Shanty Town Repression Service, along with the order for the demolition of any new homes. However, as years went by, and thanks to the creation of El Carmel Residents' Association in accordance with the model provided by similar organisations in other neighbourhoods, the people here established good channels of communication with the city council in the early years after the restoration of democracy, when Pasqual Maragall was mayor of Barcelona. A symbol of all this was the adult education centre that opened in Els Canons. Accordingly, a satisfactory rehousing proposal gradually took shape, and many of the old shanty town dwellers, who still live in the area, contributed to this.

A decommissioned cannon from the anti-aircraft battery after the end of the Civil War in 1939. © Brangulí, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.

Shanty houses of Francesc Alegre, in the area of El Carmel, with the street paved and with lighting, 1981. © Mariano Velasco, Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge de Barcelona.

A wedding in the shanty at Els Canons, 1978. © Paco González Archive.

Demonstration organised by the Carmel Residents' Association to get flats in the same neighbourhood, as it came down the stairs to the Raimon Casellas shanties, 1976. © Pere Monés Archive

Class in the school for adults. Els Canons, Turó de la Rovira, 1980. © Paco González; Paco González Archive

Contribution to the urban economy

In the middle decades of the twentieth century, shanty towns contributed with a large net amount to the material progress of Barcelona in terms of GDP (Gross Domestic Product, a figure that should be calculated again), and to the reconstruction of the Catalan capital, an industrial city the Francoist regime tried to belittle, but, on the contrary, it grew and grew.

In their self-built houses, lacking all facilities and services, the inhabitants of the shanty towns survived for decades while generating no social expenditure. They are often presented as a brake on wellbeing, although, in many cases, they have contributed in a net way to the economic growth of the city: this was the case, for example, in the Barcelona of the 1950s until the beginning of the 1970s. Needless to say, this changes a lot from case to case. In Barcelona itself, in the 1980s, the Perona shanty town reunited inhabitants from other slum areas that had been demolished as they did not possess even the minimum resources to gain access to a flat. In its last years, the Perona was a population center in a situation of extreme precariousness.

In any case, taken as a whole, the "informal city" cannot be considered as a separate reality from the "formal city"; it rather is an essential element in the urban history of many of the world's cities. City museums cannot fail to be interested in such phenomena.

TRANSFORMING THE INFORMAL CITY INTO HERITAGE

A clear narrative for a complex reality

In pursuit of its goal to become a mirror and a gateway to the city, the Barcelona History Museum has centres scattered around different heritage sites all over the Catalan capital.[11] Greatly missed is the exhibition space devoted to the historical synthesis of Barcelona at its founding site in Casa Padellàs; this facility was dismantled nearly thirty years ago, and the Museum is now working to reestablish it.

Among these sites, the one that best supports the goal of representation of the early twentieth century bourgeois elite is in Park Güell, and the one devoted to the city during the war and the post-war period, is on the Turó de la Rovira hill. They are neighbours, and share a role as part of the route that links viewpoints looking down over the city of Barcelona.

Turó de la Rovira as heritage site

The adoption of Turó de la Rovira as a Museum site, included in MUHBA's strategic plans since as early as 2008, was an important step in its reappraisal as heritage. In the previous year, 2007, Can Baró Residents' Association had organised an international work camp at which young people began to clear the rubble from the site of the anti-air raid battery.[12] This was, we should remember, a time of debate all over Spain about exhuming remains from the Civil War, which had ended nearly seventy years before. Carme Miró and Jordi Ramos supervised the work.[13]

The first campaign produced highly satisfactory results, and little by little the battery was cleared of rubble. However, noting that the shanty structures had been maintained, with their floors and the base of the walls, the Museum proposed that these traces, embedded in the batteries, should not be destroyed. Rather, careful intervention should make them part of the archaeological site. The proposal caused surprise and even disapproval among town planning authorities, who feared an inappropriate celebration of urban precariousness. However, in the end, the Museum's arguments were accepted.

What was emerging from the excavations was a significant chapter in twentieth-century history. Shanty towns are now non-existent in Barcelona, but oral, written and graphic testimonies remain. However, from the heritage standpoint, Turó de la Rovira provided a unique opportunity to show its physical shape and embodied great potential for social representation. The very existence of the archaeological site was a gateway that legitimated shanty town dwellers to take up their rightful place in their city's history.

The geometric regularities of Els Canons shanty town illustrated the technical skill of those who built the neighbourhood. The surfaces of the old tiled floors, reused and superbly organised, along with the remains of drains and other pipes, gave testimony to the desire to make the neighbourhood and the interior of the homes as pleasant as possible. The area could not be considered a "burden on the city"; rather, the shanty town dwellers should be seen as a factor in the post-war economic recovery of the city, as they survived on migrants' wages and were bereft of all social services. The new archaeological site acquired great potential for supporting fresh historical views regarding the role played by the informal city.

Narrative and historical heritage

Creating a site like the one proposed required prior study and exhibitions to gradually give shape to the initiative. In 2008, MUHBA organised at Casa Padellàs, the Museum headquarters in the heart of the old town, the exhibition *Barraques, la ciutat informal* (Shanties, the Informal City).[14] The exhibition was based on the work conducted by the Pas a Pas group, with the support of IPEC (Institute of Ethnological Heritage of Catalonia). These initial materials, coordinated by Mercè Tatjer and Cristina Larrea in cooperation with the Museum's personnel and management, were used to weave a first narrative of the role played by shanty towns in the history of Barcelona:

(I) The origins of the shanty town phenomenon in the first thirty years of the twentieth century, in Montjuïc, on the beaches from Somorrostro to the Pekín neighbourhood and in empty plots of land in the city, with an accelerated growth that led to talk of a *barracòpolis*, or shanty town metropolis.

(II) The consolidation of shanty towns in Barcelona, from the 1940s to the early1970s, with detailed illustration of life in these slum neighbourhoods, the first attempts by the residents to organise (supported by the church and social workers), with the struggle for rehousing and full integration into the city during the period of the Francoist *desarrollo* (development) strategy. And, finally,

(III) The marginalised shanty towns of the 1980s, with a socially very vulnerable population, often Gypsies, that occupied the last shanty towns, whose previous inhabitants now lived in flats that they were paying for little by little.

The official opening of *Barraques, la ciutat informal* took place at a packed Capella Reial (Royal Chapel), in what is perhaps still the most interclass and intercultural event ever organised at the Museum. During the months that it was open to the public, the exhibition attracted visitors from all backgrounds, including even members of the political classes. This way, MUHBA helped break down barriers between different sources of knowledge and between different groups. The informal city was converted into a substantial part of a choral narrative of the city's twentieth century history.

The history and memory of the shanty towns gradually generated many and varied citizen initiatives and projects,[15] while the Museum began to transform Turó de la Rovira into a permanent heritage site.

The Archaeological Park of Turó de la Rovira, with the remains of shanties from the 1940s-1970s embedded in the remains of the 1937 anti-aircraft battery. © MUHBA Archive.

Students outside the school for adults, located in the former Officers' Pavillion, 1980. © Paco González; Paco González Archive.

Restoring the anti-aircraft battery and the shanties

Without forgetting other strata that Turó de Rovira witnessed to during its long presence as part of Barcelona history – the site was already occupied in Iberian times – the intervention was devoted to render testimony concerning the central decades of the twentieth century. The first stage of the project, which was carried out in 2010 and 2011, focused on the external spaces, entailing considerable methodological reflection on how to maintain the traces of the shanties, superimposed over the battery. The work with the architects commissioned to design the park, Jordi Romero Associats and Imma Jansana,[16] was facilitated by the excellent understanding achieved among the different municipal bodies involved. The architects opted for a minimalist and non-invasive intervention that conserved the remains of the shanty town, which occupied a larger area than the anti-aircraft battery itself. The intervention was awarded with the 2012 European Prize for Urban Public Space, and the restoration initiative generated innovative proposals that were fully integrated into the project. This was, probably, the first time that a shanty town wall was transformed into cultural heritage, and it was necessary to find the same kind of bricks to repair the part that had collapsed. Moreover, in the case of the anti-aircraft platforms, the fact the floors of the old shanties were conserved intact, provided they were in a good state of conservation, enabled a dual interpretation of the site.

Thanks to the success of this operation, two years later, under a different municipal government, the second phase of the project was launched. This entailed an intervention in the interior spaces, a delicate subject due to the eternal dilemma of whether to conserve each and every stage of human occupation at the site and how to go about the restoration in places where cleaning and consolidation were necessary. The most complex case was that of the Officials' Pavilion in the anti-aircraft battery, which had been divided into two shanties after the war and, then, after years of disuse, following the restoration of democracy, converted into the local adult literacy school in 1980. When the shanty town was demolished, this pavilion was used as a pigeon loft and, occasionally, as a makeshift shelter. Everything indicated that there would be nothing left to save, but, as so often occurs in archaeological work, the opposite turned out to be true! The other spaces that were to be restored were the Troops' Pavilion and the Command Post, both of which had also been put to new uses as shelters after the war.

The dilemmas regarding how to merge the heritage from the war and the shanty town and how to design the intervention were addressed with the same rigour as if they had been archaeological sites from the Roman city of Barcino, which also form part of Barcelona City Museum. The need for intervention at Turó de la Rovira encouraged research at the Museum to focus on preventive conservation and restoration, with input from archaeologists, architects and the UPC (Polytechnic University of Catalonia) Master's Degree course in the Restoration of Monuments.[17] It was not an easy challenge: conservation was necessary, and it was essential to enable effective interpretation of the results.

In the case of the Officials' Pavilion, for example, the emphasis in its interior was on its organisation in wartime, while the exterior conserves the appearance and doors and windows of the original Andalusian-style whitewashed house when it served as the local adult literacy school. Similar care was taken at the intervention in the Troops' Pavilion and the Command Post. Future campaigns will be needed for the restoration of the tunnels connecting the gun platforms and their service areas, the magazine and other spaces.

As previously mentioned, these mid-twentieth century remains occupy a site among other traces of human occupation by the Iberians in the city side of

Barcelona's closest mountain chain, Els Tres Turons, the three hills. About this site, the Museum has published *Balconada/BCN*, an urban history guide describing an urban trekking route that provides a glimpse of the city's history through landscapes and heritage elements, from Turó de la Rovira to the Vallcarca bridge. Approximately at the centre of this route lies Park Güell, where MUHBA is present in the form of the Guard's House.

A MULTI-SCALE MUSEOLOGY

The park and the museum

The spectacular views that the Turó de la Rovira hill commands over Barcelona have made the place, until recently forgotten, an attractive spot for both locals and tourists, day and night. The Museum forms part of an organisation devoted to maintaining the site, an enterprise that would not be possible without a good communication with the Horta-Guinardó District Authority, the Parks and Gardens services and the local police. All these bodies consider the Museum's presence in Turó de la Rovira to be part of the solution to the problems there, although recognition of the role of city museums in urban planning policy (and not just cultural policy) is still an unresolved matter, and not only in Barcelona.

For the interior spaces, once they were restored to the highest standards, the idea was for this ensemble to provide both a local and global picture of two situations of urban stress characteristic of the twentieth century: war, air-raid bombing, and the informal city. It was necessary to enable interpretation, both separately and overall, of the archaeological structure of the anti-aircraft battery and the shanty town, which are conceptually less distant from each other than might at first seem: war and post-war. Both sites pay testimony to the losers of the civil war and the capacity for resilience in extreme conditions, of a modern urban society subjected to bombing and growth amid post-war repression and poverty.

The intervention at the Turó de la Rovira heritage site, which includes one of the world's first (if not the first) shanty towns excavated and converted into a museum, addressed both the local environment, in which history and memory converge, given that many of the former inhabitants of the place are still alive, and the global historical trajectory of the humblest sectors of society in situations of accelerated urban growth. Accordingly, the physical restoration of the excavated spaces went hand-in-hand with the construction of the accompanying narrative, in the understanding that the goal was not only to interpret the heritage site historically but also to place it in a general historical narrative.

The first stage of this work was devoted, as mentioned, to the exterior spaces. The archaeological site was marked with signposts that linked the heritage elements to each other and to the history of the city. At the second stage, a small museum reception centre was installed, and the intervention focused on three of the interior spaces in the anti-aircraft battery, later converted into shanty houses: the Officials' Pavilion, the Troops' Pavilion and the Command Post. The works were coordinated by Carme Garcia and Marta Iglesias, with Joan Roca, all of them members of the MUHBA staff.

The Officials' Pavilion

Before the intervention, it was thought that nothing remained inside the site, which was closed off and inaccessible. Accordingly, the wealth of elements found in the interior, when the work actually began, was an enormous surprise, one that forced a complete change of plans. Careful archaeological and restoration work, coordinated by Jordi Ramos and Lídia Font, even allowed for historical paintings and graffiti to be recovered. Today, simple signage informs visitors about the arrangement and

Restoration of the interior walls of the Officials' Pavilion, 2014-15.

Reception building at the MUHBA Turó de la Rovira site. © MUHBA Archive.

Outdoor explanatory panels in the Archaeological Park of Turó de la Rovira. © MUHBA Archive

The museography inside the Officials' Pavilion, 2015. © MUHBA Archive.

operation of the pavilion during the war (dining-room, dormitories of the officers and the captain, kitchen and latrine). The traces remind us of its use as part of two shanty houses, and the new organisation when, after the restoration of democracy, the site was converted into the local adult literacy school.

Accordingly, the museography installed in the Pavilion depicts the two worlds that existed on the hill: (1) the construction of the battery in 1937, its operation as part of the Barcelona defence system in 1938-39 – the last year of the Spanish Civil War – and the everyday life of the soldiers, illustrated by facsimiles of plans and documents, photographs and oral sources; and (2) Els Canons neighbourhood and the shanty town residents' fight for better living conditions, with the accent on the adult literacy school that occupied the site in the 1980s, including photographs and videos of families that make older women proud of the place, as these "grannies" were the keenest to learn.

The Troops' Pavilion

This pavilion was used as the dormitory for soldiers on duty and adjoined a gun platform and two latrines, all with clearly visible signs of later use as a living space for more than four decades. In this space, equipped with a museography on cement wood, designed by Xavier Irigoyen, we pass from the local narrative, which the visitor has found in the Officials' Pavilion, to the overall discourse, presented here in the form of a small, differentiated exhibition with the title *Barcelona at the Limit: From War in the Air to Living in Shanties.*

The right-hand side of the exhibition is devoted to illustrating the impact of military strategies to attack rear-guard cities from the air, from the first bombardments of colonies in North Africa by Europeans to the bomb dropped on Hiroshima in World War Two. This discourse makes it much easier to understand Barcelona's interest to the fascist Italian air force, supported by German and Francoist planes, as a testing ground for this strategy between 1937 and 1939, as well as the role that the hill played within Republican Barcelona's air and anti-air raid defence system. In an austere but effective museum arrangement, several objects were also installed. The urban history guide *Defensa/BCN*, existing both as an interactive feature installed on the premises and a leaflet, allows visitors to take home with them plans and basic concepts in the form of a printed document.

On the left-hand side of the exhibition, the phenomenon of the informal city is also presented, firstly, within the context of its history at world scale, from the late nineteenth century to the present, from Paris and New York to Brasilia and Seoul. Within this context, we also see the vicissitudes and singularities of Barcelona, where shanty towns were present until the early-1990s. More detailed information is provided on the shanty towns in the Carmel neighbourhood, and a small exhibition case contains documents by hygienist doctors from a century ago, as well as a first edition of the novel that immortalised El Carmel neighbourhood, *Últimas tardes con Teresa*, by Juan Marsé. This part of the exhibition includes the interactive *Barraques/BCN*, whose contents are also included in a printed guide that enables visitors to take some synthesis material away with them, if they choose.

The purpose of this multi-scale approach, from the hill to the world and *vice versa*, illustrating a long history spanning more than a century, is to suggest multiple possible interpretations. Visitors are left to reach their own conclusions. And, from the evidence gathered so far, the fact that the site focuses both on the war and the post-war period, both the anti-aircraft battery and the shanty town, all at once is far from being disorienting. It actually helps create a stimulating environment for visitors who, if they wish, may still continue their tour by inspecting the Command Post at the top of the hill.

The Command Post

The officer responsible for the operational decisions was stationed at the highest point of the battery site, in a small room accessed from the roof where the theodolite stood - today partly covered by the reddish floor of a former shanty. The restoration of the interior room is still incomplete, due to the fact that new walls appeared behind the first walls. Technological information has been installed there about the remote sensing systems, with particular emphasis on the invention and refinement in Barcelona of the *fonolocalitzador*, an acoustic locator, a forerunner of radar used to detect vibrations in the sky and predict the approach of aircrafts from the sea a few minutes before they arrived.

At the rear of this little room, rounding off our tour of the site, there is the video *Barcelona in 360º*, which enables visitors to place the different elements in space and time over the two thousand years of the history of Barcelona, as seen from Turó de la Rovira,[18] establishing links with the Museum's other heritage sites. The video also greatly enriches the experience of those who only climb the hill in order to enjoy the views and are not especially interested in the city's survival under war and post-war conditions, giving them a glimpse of Barcelona's two-thousand-year history.

Museography inside the Troops' Pavilion, displaying the exhibition 'Barcelona at the limit', 2015. © MUHBA Archive.

CONCLUSIONS

Since 2010, the Museum's work on the history of shanty towns has gone hand-in-hand with the activities of the Civic Commission for the Recovery of the Memory of the Shanty Town Neighbourhoods of Barcelona,[19] which proposed the installation of highly visible plaques on the sites of the old shanty towns. The latest plaque installed was, precisely, at Turó de la Rovira, in 2017.

MUHBA's presence at Turó de la Rovira not only enables the Museum to add several exceptional heritage sites to its urban exhibition spaces, capable of supporting key narratives to understanding the twentieth century, but also forms the basis of a permanent link with the system of associations. Strengthened by the progress achieved, the Museum continues its research into other forms of informal housing and the establishment and history of the great housing estates in the periphery of the city in the 1960s and 1970s. These new studies include the one currently under way on the transfer of the shanty town phenomenon to the great housing estates. Thus the urban narrative of the twentieth century is gradually developed.

Early in the 1960s, many shanty dwellers from Montjuic settled in the public housing estate of Sud-Oest Besòs. The residents began to pay for their flats, owning them after 30 years. In 1990, the large empty avenue was converted into a very attractive promenade, Rambla Prim. © Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge de Barcelona.

The idea is to organise an exhibition in 2019, one which will also present and reflect on the already launched work for the transformation of some of the so-called "cheap houses" in the Bon Pastor neighbourhood into a museum. This neighbourhood, built to rehouse shanty town residents from the area affected by the organisation of the International Exposition in 1929, was one of the first public housing sites in the city.

In short, the presence of the informal city at MUHBA has been of great importance. It has encouraged the Institution to pay increased attention, within its overall discourse, to the history of the contemporary city as a whole, a history that is so closely bound up with migration. This phenomenon allows us to suggest a more global description of Barcelona, generating a richer impression of the migrant origins of its urban society and giving legitimacy to the inclusion of the shanty town dwellers into the great history of Barcelona.[20] This is, without doubt, one of the contested urban histories that ICOM/CAMOC proposes to explore.

Notes

1 The impact of shanties was one of the main topics of discussion among urbanists in the 1960s in Barcelona. See Bohigas, O. (1963). *Barcelona, entre el pla Cerdà i el barraquisme*. Barcelona: Edicions 62.

2 A global overview in Davis, M. (2006). *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso.

3 The number of studies has grown exponentially in the last few decades. Examples, with different dates and approaches, include: Canel, P., Delis, P. and Girard, C. (1990). *Construire la ville africaine.Chroniques du citadin promoteur*. Paris: Karthala, based on studies conducted in Douala and Kinshasa between 1982 and 1984; Grupo de Investigación Procesos Urbanos en Hábitat, Vivienda e Informalidad. (2009). *Ciudad informal colombiana: barrios construidos por la gente*. Bogota: Universidad Nacional de Colombia; Gissi, N. and P. Soto (2010). De la estigmatización al orgullo barrial: apropiación del espacio e integración social de la población mixteca en una colonia de ciudad de México. *Revista INVI*, *68*, 99-118; *The Informal City Reader* (2013). Next City (Rockefeller Foundation).

4 The debate is intense in many Latin American countries and, in some cases, such as Brazil, the issue has become a basic question of governance. *Cf*. Saule Júnior, N. (Coord.) (1999). *Direito à cidade: trilhas legais para o direito às cidades sustentáveis*. São Paulo: Max Limonad; Perroni, J.G. and E. David. (2009). A cidade e o direito à moradia: o instituto do usucapião como alternativa de regularização jurídica de habitações precárias em favelas. *Revista Jurídica UNICOC, VI, 6*, 1-18.

5 On the role of the urban peripheries in thinking about Barcelona, see Roca i Albert, J. and Meseguer, M. (1994). *El futur de les perifèries urbanes. Canvi econòmic i crisi social a les metròpolis contemporànies*. Barcelona: Institut Barri Besòs, and the 2012 text from the same authors: Los riesgos de la nueva dimensión urbana. In: Montaner, J.M. and Subirats, J. (Eds.). *Repensar las políticas urbanas*. Barcelona: Diputació de Barcelona. 38-57.

6 Villa 31 has about 40,000 dwellers today (source: https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_31).

7 See an overview of the peripheries at the turn of the century in Roca i Albert, J. (1997). Què és perifèria? In: *La ciutat difusa i les perifèries*. Girona: Universitat de Girona. 19-41; and the 2010 text from the same author: Urban Inclusion and Public Space: Challenges in Transforming Barcelona. In: C. Wanjiku Kihato, M. Massoumi, B.A. Ruble, P. Subirós and A.M. Garland (Eds.). *Urban Diversity. Space, Culture, and Inclusive Pluralism in Cities Worldwide*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

8 For the general approach, see Bourdieu, P. (1993). *La misère du monde*. Paris: Seuil.

9 In the assumption that there is still a long way to go to understand the phenomenon, which alters pre-established patterns of "centres and peripheries". The authors of the brutal attack on La Rambla in Barcelona in the summer of 2017 were not marginalised young people rehoused on an estate in the suburbs with few services, but lads with good friends and well known in the little town of Ripoll, a cradle of medieval Catalonia in the heart of the Pyrenees. However, these youngsters were secretly indoctrinated, as it seems, by an imam into a fanatical Islamist view of today's world.

10 The shanty towns became part of public and social debate thanks to a work that is key to understanding the social and territorial nature of Barcelona: Fabre, J. and Huertas, J.M.(1976). *Tots els barris de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Edicions 62. Vol. IV: *Els Tres Turons i els barris de Montjuïc*.

11 About the structure of Barcelona History Museum, see Roca i Albert, J. (2009). El Museu d'Història de Barcelona, portal de la ciudad. *Here&mus*, *2*, 98-105, and the 2017 text from the same author: Reinventing the Museum of Barcelona. Urban History and Cutural Democracy, *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review 03/2017*. 4-8.

12 With initial impulse provided by the Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de Can Baró (Can Baró Residents' Association), a project was launched to excavate

the Turó de la Rovira anti-aircraft battery, which was covered by shanty debris. The initiative took the form of an international work camp, organised in the summer of 2007 and 2008 with the participation of Horta-Guinardó District Authority, the Agència del Carmel (Carmel Agency) and Barcelona History Museum, with excavation work by scouts from the Fundació Josep Carlos (Josep Carlos Foundation) and personnel from the Atics archaeological services company.

13 As a summary of the archaeological intervention carried out in the Turó de la Rovira, see the latest work, in press, by Jordi Ramos: Ramos Ruiz, J. 2018 (in press)."La bateria antiaèria i el barraquisme al Turó de la Rovira de Barcelona. Un cas d'arqueologia contemporània", *Quaderns d'Arqueologia i Història de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, 14, Museu d'Història de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura, Barcelona.

14 For an overview of the exhibition as a whole, in Catalan, Spanish and English, see barraques.cat/en. The need to produce a leaflet at a price affordable to all led to a lasting innovation in the formats used in the Museum's work. The "MUHBA Llibrets de sala" collection of exhibition room notes, in A5 format, stapled and with ISBN, is the most popular one produced by MUHBA, and was launched with *Barraques, la ciutat informal* (Shanties, the Informal City), Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 2008.

15 The year 2009 saw the release of *Barraques. L'altra Ciutat* (Shanties. The Other City), a documentary by Alonso Carnicer and Sara Grimal produced by Televisió de Catalunya. A new version was later made under the title *Barraques. La ciutat oblidada* (Shanties. The Forgotten City). In 2010, MUHBA published the book *Barraques. La Barcelona informal del segle XX* (Shanties. The Informal City of the Twentieth Century), edited by Mercè Tatjer and Cristina Larrea, including materials from the exhibition; the Catalan and Spanish versions of the book continue to enjoy great success, and an English translation will shortly be published. In 2011, the Museum published *Barraques/BCN*, a brief urban history guide, and the following year the Government of Catalonia agreed with the Pas a Pas group for the publication of *Barraquisme: la ciutat (im)possible*, a book by Xavi Camino, Òscar Casasayas, Pilar Díaz, Maximiliano Díaz, Cristina Larrea, Flora Muñoz and Mercè Tatjer. More publications and exhibitions have followed in recent years, including a photographic show in 2016 organised by the Civic Commission for the Recovery of the Memory of the Shanty Town Neighbourhoods of Barcelona, *50 anys de l'enderroc del barri del Somorrostro* (Fifty Years After the Demolition of the Somorrostro Neighbourhood), and *Els barris de barraques a Montjuïc, Sants i Les Corts* (The Shanty Towns of Montjuïc, Sants and Les Corts), organised in 2017 by the Centre d'Estudis Montjuïc (Montjuïc Study Centre) and curated by Oriol Granados.

16 MUHBA (Barcelona History Museum), the Agència del Carmel (Carmel Agency), attached to the Town Planning Department, and Horta-Guinardó District Authority.

17 Jordi Ramos, Fernado Álvarez Prozorovich, Oriol Hostench and Antoni Vilanova all made very important contributions.

18 Film with script, maps and documentation by Manel Guàrdia, Oriol Hostench and the 300,000 km/s team.

19 The Comissió Ciutadana per a la Recuperació de la Memòria dels Barris de Barraques de Barcelona is formed by Mercè Tatjer, Alonso Carnicer, Sara Grimal, Jordi Giró, Custodia Moreno, Oriol Granados, Rafel Usero, Francesc Banús, Julia Aceituno and José Molina, advised by Jaume Fabre and Grup Pas a Pas.

20 The Carmel and Can Baró residents' associations support the Museum programme, with some very personal visits to the site, in which the historical background narrated by the Museum is presented alongside the oral memories of the residents there.

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LA CIUDAD INFORMAL EN EL MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD

El impacto a largo plazo de la Gran Depresión, Hooverville, Seattle (EE.UU.) en 1939. © Museum of History & Industry, Seattle.

Las barracas de La Magòria, en Montjuïc, en los años 20. © Brangulí, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.

Bar Noche y día, barracas de Can Valero, Montjuïc, en la década de 1960. © Echenique PhD, Arxiu Municipal Contemporani de Barcelona

"Los términos favela, barriada, kampong, slum, villas miseria, bidonville o asentamiento irregular son manifestaciones locales de un fenómeno global. La idea de lo informal ha erosionado nuestra noción de ciudad, poniendo en tela de juicio los objetivos y la eficacia de la planeación urbana. La ciudad de México representa, quizás mejor que ninguna otra, el paradigma de esta condición urbana."

José Castillo (2001). La metrópoli de lo informal, *Arquine 16*

UNA HISTORIA LOCAL Y GLOBAL

El crecimiento de los suburbios

A lo largo de la historia, los episodios de expansión urbana acelerada han comportado frecuentemente la construcción de viviendas precarias en calles improvisadas. Sin embargo, el crecimiento urbano informal a principios del siglo XX alcanzó dimensiones nunca antes vistas, cuando los centros históricos de muchas ciudades quedaron saturados y la promesa de progreso generada con la nueva expansión de sus distritos evidenciaba sus límites. Fue el momento en que los suburbios comenzaron a crecer a ritmo vertiginoso.

En Barcelona, las preocupaciones sociales, higiénicas y modernizadoras guiaron a Ildefons Cerdà en su diseño de un plan de expansión, *l'Eixample.* Cerdà proponía una nueva ciudad lo suficientemente extensa como para evitar la especulación del suelo, pero los propietarios determinaron los ritmos de su ejecución y el precio del alquiler de las viviendas permaneció alto. La densidad poblacional continuaba siendo muy elevada en el núcleo antiguo y, más allá del *Eixample*, comenzaron a crecer los barrios de mayor densidad. No obstante, estos resultaron ser también insuficientes cuando el crecimiento se aceleró y comenzaron a extenderse las áreas de vivienda informal. En las primeras décadas del siglo XX, las barracas ocuparon la montaña de Montjuïc, el litoral y las islas vacías del *Eixample*. Los barrios de barracas siguieron creciendo hasta la década de los 60.[1]

La ciudad informal

El caso de Barcelona no fue en absoluto excepcional. En muchas ciudades, la vivienda no aumentó al mismo ritmo que la llegada de inmigrantes faltos de recursos. A lo largo del siglo XX, la ciudad informal tuvo una expansión masiva a escala mundial, en diferentes modalidades.[2]

En primer lugar, las viviendas efímeras, construidas con la ayuda de los vecinos cuando los inmigrantes llegaban a la ciudad con la esperanza de conseguir un piso en el futuro. Es lo que en Barcelona se conoce como *barracas,* presentes en el municipio hasta inicios de 1990. Sin embargo, las estancias en las barracas fueron a menudo más largas de lo que sus constructores habían imaginado en un inicio. En ciudades como París, Barcelona, Madrid y Roma – esta última magistralmente retratada por el neorrealismo italiano – los asentamientos informales que comenzaron a aparecer a principios del siglo XX permanecieron por muchas décadas, nutridos por la inmigración rural y la derivada de conflictos como la Guerra Civil en España o la guerra colonial de Argelia en Francia. En el municipio de Barcelona, que se encuentra en el centro de la metrópolis del mismo nombre, las barracas llegaron a albergar al siete por ciento de la población – más de 100,000 habitantes – en los años 60. En América del Sur, África y Asia este proceso se ha desarrollado sobre una línea de tiempo mucho más extendida y ha afectado también a una población mucho mayor.

En segunda instancia, las viviendas de autoconstrucción con voluntad de permanencia, cuyos residentes planeaban mejorar con el paso del tiempo. No siempre resulta fácil diferenciar dichas viviendas de aquéllas del primer tipo, pero su impacto a largo plazo es distinto. Su situación jurídica puede variar dependiendo de si el terreno sobre el que se asientan es comprado, alquilado o, simplemente,

ocupado. En Barcelona se establecieron un gran número de estos barrios de autoconstrucción que aspiraban a su consolidación. La mayoría se formaron en los municipios de la periferia metropolitana y llegaron a conocerse como *coreas*, por su proliferación en los años 50, durante la Guerra de Corea. Hoy en día, muchos de estos núcleos forman parte permanente del paisaje urbano. Además, tienen una presencia importante en América Latina, Asia y África, donde el fenómeno ha sido largamente estudiado, ofreciendo así una base sólida para abordarlo en los museos de ciudad[3]. Estos barrios son más dinámicos de lo que aparentan, con actividades económicas que no necesariamente son marginales (ni ilegales) y donde opera un mercado inmobiliario activo. Hasta la fecha, se sigue debatiendo si erradicarlos debido a sus carencias estructurales o, por las dificultades prácticas y financieras que esto conllevaría, legalizarlos y proveerlos de servicios.[4] A menudo, además, son barrios en los que la alianza entre los habitantes, los técnicos de los servicios sociales (a veces vinculados a instituciones religiosas) y los profesionales de urbanismo han generado una amplia gama de propuestas e iniciativas de experimentación social.

Por lo menos en el caso de Barcelona, donde la mayoría de la población barraquista se trasladó posteriormente a los polígonos residenciales construidos en la década de los 60 y 70, es muy importante ubicar este proceso en su contexto histórico.[5]

Vecinos de "Els Canons" construyendo una barraca en el Turó de la Rovira, hacia 1955. © Custodia Moreno Archive.

Villa 31, una villa miseria en el céntrico barrio de El Retiro, Buenos Aires, desde 1932 . © Aleposta.[6]

La globalización periférica

La revolución tecnológica digital, con el teléfono móvil al frente, ha causado un cambio en la posición relativa de todos estos barrios al conectarlos con el resto del mundo por encima de los vínculos con los espacios centrales de sus respectivas metrópolis.[7] Los teléfonos móviles y Skype han permitido mantener un contacto fluido con familiares que emigraron a países lejanos, mientras que páginas en Internet y otros recursos digitales han facilitado una conexión virtual con mundos tanto reales como míticos, como en el caso de las cosmovisiones fundamentalistas. En estos tiempos en que la ciudad formal aún no ha integrado las áreas de crecimiento informal, tal auge de comunicación facilita el cosmopolitismo de los desheredados.[8] Es un cosmopolitismo que implica una indudable mejoría en la calidad social de una vida precaria, pero que también propicia fenómenos reactivos que no se explican sólo por su entorno local.[9]

EL BARRAQUISMO EN BARCELONA

Guerra y posguerra

La Guerra Civil Española (1936-39) la ganaron los militares sublevados contra la República. Apoyados por las oligarquías, establecieron un régimen autoritario que duraría más de cuarenta años y que, en muchos sentidos, sigue impregnando las estructuras más profundas del Estado español.

Durante años, la falta de pruebas estadísticas alentó la idea que la inmigración a Barcelona tuvo su mayor etapa de crecimiento a partir de los años 50. Sin embargo, estudios más recientes han demostrado que la llegada de inmigrantes a Barcelona, procedentes de toda España – que huían de la pobreza extrema y de la represión franquista en pueblos donde todos se conocían –, fue importante ya desde los primeros años de posguerra. Las áreas de vivienda informal existentes crecieron a la vez que aparecían otras en nuevas zonas. La población inmigrante que llegaba a Barcelona desde las comarcas montañosas de Catalunya y del resto de España se enfrentaba a una dramática escasez de alojamientos, a pesar de la sobre-ocupación de pisos y la práctica extensiva de subarrendar habitaciones y pensiones. Todos estos factores fueron la causa de la extensión del barraquismo.

La situación comenzó a cambiar con la construcción de grandes polígonos de viviendas en las afueras de la ciudad, la periferia, durante los años 60, en tiempos

Un cañón de la batería antiaérea, fuera de servicio tras la guerra civil, en 1939. War in 1939. © Brangulí, Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya.

Barracas en Francesc Alegre, en El Carmel, con la calle pavimentada y alumbrado, 1981. © Mariano Velasco, Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge de Barcelona.

Una boda en el barrio de barracas de Els Canons, 1978. © Archivo de Paco González

Protesta organizada por la Associació de Veïnes i Veïns de El Carmel para obtener pisos en el mismo barrio, bajando la escalera de Raimon Casellas, 1976. © Archivo de Pere Monés

del *desarrollo* tecnócrata del franquismo, una estrategia que pretendía promover el crecimiento económico sin democracia. Sin embargo, los nuevos residentes de estos polígonos se encontraron sin servicios y con un urbanismo también deficiente. Esta situación propició la continuidad de las asociaciones que se habían formado ya en las barracas para reivindicar mejoras en las condiciones de vida.

Los núcleos barraquistas de El Carmel

En las faldas de Collserola, la montaña que delimita el llano de Barcelona, se encuentran los tres montes conocidos como Els Tres Turons. El barrio de El Carmel se sitúa entre el monte del mismo nombre (Turó de El Carmel) y el Turó de la Rovira. Un paso de montaña atravesado por la carretera Gràcia-Horta divide ambos montes. Después de la guerra, la cima del Turó de la Rovira albergaba, abandonadas en tierras públicas, las estructuras de la batería antiaérea que ayudó a defender a Barcelona de los ataques de aviones fascistas italianos, alemanes y franquistas.

El área barraquista de El Carmel nació justo al inicio de la posguerra, en los años 40, con la ocupación de los espacios de la batería antiaérea republicana abandonada. Las primeras familias comenzaron a asentarse en aquellas instalaciones en desuso, un barrio que pasaría a llamarse "Los Cañones" (*Els Canons*, en catalán), el primero de los núcleos barraquistas de la zona de El Carmel que, nutridos por la inmigración del sur de España, crecieron hasta principios de los 70.[10]

En Els Canons llegaron a haber 110 barracas, de un total de 600 en todo el conjunto de El Carmel. La población de Els Canons comprendía unas 600 personas y la zona permaneció habitada casi medio siglo, hasta 1990. Los barrios de barracas de El Carmel fue el penúltimo en desaparecer completamente, justo antes de los Juegos Olímpicos de 1992. No se debió a que los asentamientos estuvieran en peores condiciones que otros del área, al contrario, sino a que muchos de los residentes se organizaron en la Associació de Veïnes i Veïns de El Carmel (Asociación de Vecinas y Vecinos de El Carmel) y, apoyados por personal técnico dispuesto a aconsejarlos, se negaron a abandonar sus barracas hasta no tener garantías de que, puestos a pagar un piso, podrían ir a vivir juntos y en un lugar cercano. Y lograron su propósito. En los años 60, en cambio, los barraquistas de Montjuïc, la montaña de Barcelona contigua al mar, habían luchado con el mismo objetivo, incluso llegaron a formar cooperativas para construir sus nuevos hogares, pero las autoridades franquistas se negaron a escucharlos y esa contienda terminó en derrota.

La lucha por la ciudad y la ciudadanía

En El Carmel, la resistencia contra propuestas de realojamiento insatisfactorias fue más exitosa, en parte porque ahí los habitantes habían mejorado paulatinamente los núcleos barraquistas, volviéndolos lugares un poco más habitables. Eran casas mínimas, pero bien ordenadas en conjunto, como un pueblo andaluz, y sus residentes lograron obtener mejoras, como escaleras de acceso, fuentes y desagües

Inicialmente, los vecinos temían la visita del funcionario municipal del Servicio de Represión del Barraquismo de Barcelona junto con órdenes de demolición para toda vivienda nueva. Sin embargo, con el paso de los años, gracias a la creación de la Associació de Veïnes i Veïns de El Carmel, y siguiendo el modelo asociativo de otros barrios, se entablaron buenas vías de comunicación, durante los primeros años del retorno a la democracia, con el entonces alcalde de Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall. Prueba de ello es la escuela para adultos que se abrió en el barrio de Els Canons. Con el tiempo, tomó forma una propuesta de realojamiento satisfactoria, donde aún hoy en día viven buena parte de los antiguos barraquistas.

Contribución a la economía urbana
En las décadas de mediados del siglo XX, el barraquismo comportó una contribución neta considerable al progreso material de Barcelona en relación al PIB (Producto Interno Bruto, una cifra que debería ser calculada nuevamente) y a la reconstrucción de la capital de Catalunya, una metrópolis industrial que el régimen franquista intentó empequeñecer pero que, al contrario, se engrandeció.

En sus viviendas autoconstruidas, que carecían de cualquier servicio o infraestructura, los barraquistas sobrevivieron durante décadas sin generar casi ningún gasto social. Se los presenta a menudo como un freno al bienestar, cuando en muchos casos han contribuido de forma neta al crecimiento económico de la ciudad: así fue, por ejemplo, en la Barcelona de los años cincuenta hasta principios de los setenta. Como es obvio, no siempre es así. En Barcelona mismo, en el asentamiento informal de la Perona se concentraron en los años ochenta numerosos barraquistas de otros núcleos demolidos que no disponían de los recursos mínimos para acceder a un piso. En sus últimos tiempos la Perona fue un núcleo de población en una situación de extrema precariedad.

En cualquier caso, y en su conjunto, la "ciudad informal" no puede ser considerada como un ente separado de la "ciudad formal" sino que, más bien, se concibe como parte troncal de la historia urbana de muchas metrópolis del mundo. Los museos de ciudad no pueden dejar de interesarse en dicho fenómeno.

Clase en la escuela para adultos, Els Canons, Turó de la Rovira, 1980. © Paco González; Archivo Paco González

PATRIMONIALIZAR LA CIUDAD INFORMAL

Un relato claro para una realidad compleja
En su apuesta por ser espejo y portal de la ciudad, el Museu d'Història de Barcelona cuenta con sus salas esparcidas por diferentes espacios patrimoniales de toda Barcelona.[11] Se echa mucho en falta, y éste es un tema de debate importante, el espacio de síntesis histórica de Barcelona en su núcleo fundacional, la Casa Padellàs, que se desmontó hace casi tres décadas y que ahora convendría rehacer.

Entre todos sus espacios hay dos, el que mejor sustenta el objetivo de representación de la élite burguesa de principios del siglo XX, en el Park Güell, y el dedicado a la ciudad de la guerra y posguerra, en el Turó de la Rovira, que son vecinos y forman parte de un itinerario por la que denominamos la primera balconada de Barcelona, una ruta que une miradores con vistas panorámicas de la ciudad de Barcelona.

El Turó de la Rovira como espacio patrimonial
La inclusión del Turó de la Rovira como espacio del Museo, incluido ya en el plan estratégico del MUHBA de 2008, fue un paso importante en su valoración como conjunto patrimonial. Un año antes, en 2007, la Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de Can Baró había organizado un campo internacional de jóvenes para empezar a limpiar la batería antiaérea,[12] en un momento en que, recordemos, el debate sobre la exhumación de restos de la Guerra Civil, que había terminado casi setenta años atrás, era intenso en toda España. Carme Miró y Jordi Ramos supervisaron el trabajo.[13]

La primera campaña produjo resultados muy satisfactorios y, poco a poco, la batería iba quedando limpia de escombros. Sin embargo, al descubrir que las estructuras de las barracas se habían mantenido con sus pavimentos y bases de los muros, el Museo propuso no destruir dichos rastros incrustados en las baterías sino que, con una intervención minuciosa, se los considerase parte del yacimiento arqueológico. La propuesta causó desconcierto e incluso malestar entre las autoridades de Urbanismo, que temían una celebración extemporánea de la precariedad urbana pero, finalmente, los argumentos del Museo fueron aceptados.

El Parque Arqueológico del Turó de la Rovira, con los restos de las barracas de 1940-1970 incrustados en los restos de la batería antiaérea de 1937. © Archivo MUHBA

Alumnos afuera de la escuela para adultos, ubicada en el antiguo Pabellón de Oficiales, 1980. © Paco González; Archivo Paco González

Lo que emergía durante las excavaciones era un capítulo significativo, una expresión relevante de la historia del siglo XX. Sobre asentamientos informales, actualmente inexistentes en el municipio de Barcelona, hay testimonios orales, escritos y gráficos. Sin embargo, desde el punto de vista patrimonial, el Turó de la Rovira ofrecía una oportunidad única de mostrar el rastro físico, con un enorme potencial de representación social: la existencia misma del espacio arqueológico hacía entrar a los barraquistas por la puerta grande de la historia de la ciudad.

Las regularidades geométricas del barrio barraquista de Els Canons demuestran la destreza técnica de quienes lo construyeron. Las superficies de viejos pavimentos hidráulicos, reutilizados y espléndidamente dispuestos, así como los restos de desagües y otros conductos, son testimonios del deseo de hacer agradable el barrio y el interior de los habitáculos. El barrio no podía ser considerado como una "carga para la ciudad" sino que, más bien, habría que hablar de los barraquistas como factor de reactivación de la economía de posguerra, puesto que sobrevivieron con unos sueldos ínfimos y sin prestaciones sociales. El nuevo espacio arqueológico adquiría una capacidad notable para sustentar nuevas visiones históricas del papel que jugó la ciudad informal.

Relato y patrimonio histórico

La creación de un espacio como el propuesto requería estudios y exposiciones previas para ir perfilando la actuación. En 2008, el MUHBA organizó en Casa Padellàs, su sede en el centro histórico, la exposición *Barracas, la ciudad informal.* [14] La exposición estaba basada en la labor realizada por el grupo *Pas a Pas*, con el apoyo del IPEC (Institut de Patrimoni Etnològic de Catalunya). Con estos materiales iniciales, coordinados por Mercè Tatjer y Cristina Larrea en colaboración con el equipo y dirección del Museo, se tejió un primer relato de la trayectoria del barraquismo en la historia de Barcelona:

(I) El origen del fenómeno del barraquismo en el primer tercio del siglo XX en Montjuïc, en las playas, desde Somorrostro hasta el barrio de Pekín, y en terrenos baldíos dentro de la ciudad, con un crecimiento acelerado que dio pie a que se hablara de *barracòpolis*, una metrópolis de barracas.

(II) La consolidación del barraquismo barcelonino, desde los años 40 hasta principios de los 70, presentando en detalle la vida en los barrios barraquistas, los primeros intentos de organización vecinal (con el apoyo de la iglesia y los trabajadores sociales), con la lucha por conseguir un nuevo alojamiento y la integración plena a la ciudad durante los años del *desarrollo* franquista.

(III) Finalmente, el barraquismo marginal de los 80, con una población muy vulnerable socialmente, a menudo gitanos, que ocuparon los últimos asentamientos informales, cuyos anteriores habitantes ya vivían en pisos que iban pagando poco a poco.

La inauguración oficial de *Barracas, la ciudad informal* se llevó a cabo en la Capilla Real, llena a rebosar, para el que posiblemente siga siendo el acto más interclasista e intercultural que el Museo jamás haya organizado. Durante los meses que permaneció abierta al público, la exposición atrajo a visitantes de toda condición, inclusive a miembros de las clases políticas. Así, el MUBHA contribuía a romper límites entre saberes y entre colectivos. La ciudad informal se convertía en parte sustancial de un relato coral de la historia de la ciudad del siglo XX.

La historia y la memoria del barraquismo fueron aglutinando proyectos ciudadanos muy diversos,[15] a la par que el Museo iba transformando el Turó de la Rovira en un elemento patrimonial estable.

Restaurar la batería antiaérea y las barracas

Sin menospreciar otros estratos relacionados con una larga duración histórica, porque el Turó ha estado ocupado desde los tiempos de los íberos, la intervención se dedicó a dar testimonio de las décadas de mediados del siglo XX. La primera etapa del proyecto, que se llevó a cabo entre 2010 y 2011, se centró en los espacios exteriores, precisando una reflexión metodológica considerable sobre cómo mantener, superpuestos en la batería, los vestigios de las barracas. El buen entendimiento que se logró entre las diferentes instancias municipales implicadas facilitó también la labor con los arquitectos encargados de diseñar el parque, Jordi Romero Associats e Imma Jansana.[16] Ambos apostaron por una intervención minimalista y no invasiva de los restos del asentamiento informal, que cubrían un espacio mayor al de la batería antiaérea en sí. La intervención obtuvo el Premio Europeo del Espacio Público Urbano 2012 y la intervención de restauración propició propuestas innovadoras que quedaron plenamente integradas en el proyecto. Era, probablemente, la primera vez que el muro de una barraca se transformaba en patrimonio cultural, y fue necesario encontrar el mismo tipo de ladrillo para reparar la parte que se había derrumbado. Además, en el caso de las plataformas de tiro de los cañones antiaéreos, el hecho de dejar incrustados los pavimentos de las antiguas barracas, siempre y cuando mostraran un buen estado de conservación, ha permitido mantener una doble lectura del espacio.

Debido al éxito que obtuvo esta operación, dos años más tarde se puso en marcha la segunda etapa del proyecto, bajo otra administración municipal. Esta fase implicaba intervenir en los espacios interiores, un tema delicado debido al eterno dilema sobre qué conservar de cada etapa de ocupación humana en el sitio, y cómo llevar a cabo la restauración en lugares que precisaban limpieza y consolidación. El caso más complejo fue el del Pabellón de Oficiales de la batería antiaérea, que había sido dividido en dos barracas después de la guerra y que, después de un tiempo en desuso, en 1980, tras el retorno a la democracia, se convirtió en la Escuela de Adultos. Cuando el barrio fue demolido, este pabellón sirvió como palomar y, ocasionalmente, como refugio. Todo parecía indicar que no quedaría nada que salvar pero, como suele suceder en el trabajo arqueológico, ¡resultó ser lo contrario! Los otros dos espacios interiores que se restaurarían serían el Pabellón de la Tropa y el Puesto de Mando, ambos reutilizados posteriormente con nuevos usos, como refugios, después de la guerra.

El dilema de cómo amalgamar los posos procedentes de la guerra y el barraquismo y de cómo diseñar la intervención se abordaron con el mismo rigor que si se tratase de los espacios arqueológicos de la ciudad romana de Barcino, que también forman parte del Museo. La necesidad de intervenir en el Turó estimuló la investigación del Museo en conservación preventiva y restauración, con la participación de arqueólogos, arquitectos y el máster de Restauración de monumentos de la Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya.[17] No era un reto menor: era necesario conservar y que, además, el resultado se pudiese interpretar bien.

En el caso del interior del Pabellón de Oficiales, por ejemplo, se ha mantenido la disposición que tenía en tiempos de guerra, mientras que el exterior conserva el aspecto y las aberturas de casita andaluza, bien pintada de blanco, que tuvo cuando fue escuela de adultos. Se tuvo el mismo cuidado al intervenir en el Pabellón de la Tropa y el Puesto de Mando. Para campañas futuras queda aún la restauración de los túneles que conectan las plataformas de tiro y sus áreas de servicio así como el polvorín, entre otros espacios.

Tal y como se ha mencionado anteriormente, estos restos de mediados del siglo XX encuentran su espacio, entre otros vestigios de ocupación humana de los íberos, en la primera cordillera de Barcelona, la de los Tres Turons. Aquí, el Museo ha

Restauración de las paredes interiores del Pabellón de Oficiales, 2014-2015. Recepción del MUHBA en la sede del Turó de la Rovira. © Archivo MUHBA

Paneles explicativos exteriores en el Parque Arqueológico del Turó de la Rovira. © Archivo MUHBA

La museografía en el interior del Pabellón de Oficiales, 2015. © Archivo MUHBA

publicado *Balconada/BCN*, una guía de historia urbana que propone un *trekking* urbano con un recorrido que, tomando por eje la historia de la ciudad, muestra de manera articulada paisajes y elementos patrimoniales desde el Turó hasta el puente de Vallcarca. Aproximadamente a la mitad de dicha ruta se encuentra el Park Güell, donde el MUHBA está presente en la "Casa del Guarda".

UNA MUSEOLOGÍA MULTIESCALAR

El parque y el museo

Las espectaculares vistas panorámicas de Barcelona desde el Turó de la Rovira han convertido el lugar, hasta hace poco olvidado, en un atractivo destino para barceloneses y turistas, día y noche. El Museo forma parte de una organización dedicada a su mantenimiento, una tarea que sería imposible sin el buen entendimiento con el Districte d'Horta-Guinardó, Parcs i Jardins y Guàrdia Urbana. Todos ellos consideran la presencia del Museo en el Turó como parte de la solución a los problemas locales, aunque el reconocimiento del papel de los museos de ciudad en las políticas urbanas, y no sólo en las políticas culturales, siga siendo una cuestión pendiente y no exclusiva de Barcelona.

En los espacios interiores, una vez restaurados con el máximo rigor, el propósito era que el conjunto permitiese una aproximación tanto local como global de dos situaciones de estrés urbano, características del siglo XX: los bombardeos aéreos y la ciudad informal. Era preciso facilitar la lectura, tanto separada como de conjunto, de las estructuras arqueológicas de la batería antiaérea y del asentamiento barraquista, menos distantes conceptualmente de lo que a primera vista pudiera parecer: guerra y posguerra. Ambos son testimonios de los perdedores de la guerra civil y de la capacidad de resiliencia bajo condiciones extremas de una sociedad urbana moderna, sometida a los bombardeos aéreos y al crecimiento en medio de la represión y las miserias de la posguerra.

La intervención en el conjunto patrimonial del Turó de la Rovira, que incluía uno de los primeros (si no el primero) núcleos barraquistas excavado y museizado del mundo, debía poder tratar cara a cara tanto con su entorno local, donde historia y memoria confluían por permanecer aún vivos muchos de sus antiguos habitantes, como con la trayectoria histórica global de los sectores más humildes de la sociedad en situaciones de crecimiento urbano acelerado. La restauración física de los espacios excavados iba en paralelo a la construcción del relato que la acompaña, entendiendo que la meta no era sólo "historizar el espacio patrimonial" sino también "poner el espacio patrimonial dentro de la historia".

En la primera fase del trabajo, dedicada como ya se ha mencionado a los espacios exteriores, se señalizó el área arqueológica con plafones que relacionan los elementos patrimoniales entre sí y con la historia de la ciudad. En la segunda fase se instaló una caseta de recepción del Museo y se actuó en tres de los espacios interiores de la batería antiaérea, posteriormente barraquistas: el Pabellón de Oficiales, el Pabellón de la Tropa y el Puesto de Mando. Los trabajos fueron coordinados por Carme Garcia y Marta Iglesias junto con Joan Roca, todos ellos trabajadores del MUHBA.

El Pabellón de Oficiales

Antes de la intervención se creía que no quedaba nada dentro de este espacio, al cual no se podía acceder. Por ello, la riqueza de elementos que aparecían una vez iniciada la intervención fue una gran sorpresa y obligó a un cambio completo de planes. Una minuciosa campaña arqueológica y de restauración, coordinada por Jordi Ramos y Lídia Font, permitió incluso la recuperación de pinturas y grafitis antiguos. Actualmente, con una señalización muy simple, se muestran la disposición y funcionamiento del pabellón durante la guerra (comedor,

dormitorios de los oficiales y el capitán, cocina y lavabo), los rastros de su uso como dos alojamientos barraquistas y la nueva disposición cuando se convirtió, tras la vuelta a la democracia, en la Escuela de adultos del barrio.

La museografía instalada en el Pabellón muestra los dos mundos vividos desde el Turó, en relatos de proximidad: 1) la construcción de la batería antiaérea en 1937, su funcionamiento como parte del sistema de defensa de Barcelona en 1938-39 y la vida diaria de los soldados, ilustrado con facsímiles de planos y documentos, algunas fotografías y fuentes orales; y 2) el barrio de Els Canons y el combate de los barraquistas para obtener mejores condiciones, poniendo énfasis en el centro de alfabetización de adultos que ocupó el mismo sitio en la década de los 80, con fotografías y vídeos de las familias y un papel protagonista de las abuelas, porque las mujeres mayores fueron quienes mostraron más ansia de aprender.

El Pabellón de la Tropa

Este pabellón corresponde al dormitorio de los soldados que estaban de guardia y colindaba con la plataforma de tiro y dos letrinas, todo ello con rastros claramente visibles de su uso posterior como espacio para vivir durante más de cuatro décadas. En este espacio, con museografía sobre madera-cemento ideada por Xavier Irigoyen, pasamos del relato local, que vio el visitante en el Pabellón de Oficiales, al relato general, presentado aquí como una pequeña exposición diferenciada, con el título y subtítulo *Barcelona al límite: de la guerra del aire a habitar en barracas.*

Museografía en el interior del Pabellón de la Tropa con la exposición 'Barcelona al límite', 2015. © Archivo MUHBA

El lado derecho de la exposición se dedica a ilustrar el impacto de las doctrinas militares de ataque desde el aire a las ciudades de la retaguardia, desde los primeros bombardeos por parte de los europeos a las colonias del norte de África a la bomba lanzada en Hiroshima durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Dentro de esta trayectoria se entiende mejor el interés de Barcelona como banco de pruebas de la fuerza aérea fascista italiana, apoyada por aviones alemanes y franquistas entre 1937 y 1939, así como el papel que jugó el Turó dentro del sistema de defensa aérea y antiaérea de la Barcelona republicana. En una austera pero eficaz disposición museográfica, se han podido incorporar también algunos objetos. La guía de historia urbana *Defensa/BCN*, que existe tanto como dispositivo interactivo instalado en la sala como en folleto, permite a los visitantes llevarse consigo los planos e ideas básicas en forma de documento impreso.

A principios de los años 60, muchos habitantes de las barracas de Montjuïc se trasladaron a los alojamientos públicos del sur-oeste del Besòs. Los residentes comenzaron a pagar por sus pisos, convirtiéndose en propietarios 30 años después. En 1990, la gran avenida vacía fue convertida en un paseo muy atractivo, la Rambla Prim. © Patronat Municipal de l'Habitatge de Barcelona.

El lado izquierdo de la exposición presenta también el fenómeno de la ciudad informal, primero en su trayectoria a escala mundial, de finales del siglo XIX hasta nuestros días, de París y Nueva York a Brasilia y Seúl. En este contexto se sitúan las vicisitudes y singularidades de Barcelona, donde el barraquismo estuvo presente hasta principios de la década de los 90. Se abordan de forma más detallada los núcleos barraquistas de El Carmel, mientras que en una pequeña vitrina se han podido incluir documentos de los médicos higienistas de hace un siglo así como la primera edición de la obra literaria que consagró para siempre a El Carmel, las *Últimas tardes con Teresa*, de Juan Marsé. También en esta parte de la exposición, la guía de historia urbana *Barraques/BCN* se corresponde con uno de los interactivos y permite al visitante, si lo desea, llevarse un material de síntesis.

Con esta aproximación multiescalar, desde el Turó hacia el mundo y viceversa, y de una larga historia que abarca más de un siglo, se espera favorecer la multiplicación de reflexiones posibles. En cualquier caso, debe de ser el visitante quien llegue a sus propias conclusiones. La evidencia recabada hasta ahora nos sugiere que el hecho de que se hable de guerra y posguerra, de la batería y las barracas a la vez, no resulta en absoluto confuso sino que, más bien, contribuye a crear un clima estimulante para los visitantes, quienes, si les apetece, pueden continuar el recorrido visitando el Puesto de Mando, en la cima del Turó.

El Puesto de Mando
El oficial responsable de las decisiones operativas estaba instalado en el punto más alto de la batería, en una habitación pequeña a la que se accedía desde la terraza, donde estaba el teodolito – hoy en día parcialmente cubierto por el pavimento rojizo de una antigua barraca. La restauración del cubículo interior aún no ha concluido debido a que han aparecido nuevos muros, detrás de los primeros. Se ha instalado allí un apunte tecnológico sobre los mecanismos de teledetección, con un énfasis especial en la invención y perfeccionamiento en Barcelona del *fonolocalizador,* un aparato precursor del radar, usado para detectar vibraciones en el cielo y predecir con unos minutos de antelación la llegada de aviones desde el mar.

Al fondo de la salita, como colofón de la visita, se puede ver el vídeo *Barcelona en 360°,* que permite a los visitantes situar los diferentes elementos entre el espacio y tiempo de los dos mil años de la historia de Barcelona, vistos desde el Turó de la Rovira,[18] estableciendo vínculos con los demás espacios patrimoniales del Museo. El vídeo también permite que quienes sólo suben al Turó para disfrutar de sus panorámicas vistas, y no estén particularmente interesados en la temática de la guerra y posguerra en Barcelona, puedan enriquecerlas sustancialmente ubicándolas en la trayectoria bimilenaria de la ciudad.

CONCLUSIONES
Desde 2010, la aproximación histórica al barraquismo por parte del Museo ha ido de la mano de la actividad de la *Comissió ciutadana per a la recuperació de la memòria dels barris de barraques de Barcelona* (comisión ciudadana para la recuperación de la memoria de los barrios de barracas de Barcelona),[19] que propuso la instalación de placas muy visibles en los emplazamientos de los antiguos núcleos de barracas. La última en colocarse ha sido, precisamente, la del Turó de la Rovira, en 2017.

La presencia del MUHBA en el Turó de la Rovira no sólo ha permitido agregar a las salas urbanas del Museo unos espacios patrimoniales excepcionales y con una gran capacidad de sustentar narrativas capitales del siglo XX, sino que también es el fundamento de una relación regular con el tejido asociativo. Con el estímulo del trabajo realizado, el Museo continúa investigando sobre otros tipos de vivienda informal y sobre la formación y trayectoria de los grandes polígonos residenciales de la periferia en las décadas de 1960 y 1970. Estos nuevos estudios incluyen actualmente el progreso en la transferencia sobre el paso del barraquismo a los grandes polígonos residenciales de la periferia. Así, el relato urbano del siglo XX se amplía progresivamente.

La idea ahora es organizar una nueva exposición en 2019 que permita también abordar y debatir sobre los trabajos para la museización, ya puesta en marcha, de una parte de las llamadas "casas baratas" del Bon Pastor, construidas para realojar a barraquistas de la zona afectada por la Exposición Internacional de 1929 y que significaron uno de los primeros conjuntos de vivienda pública en la ciudad.

En resumen, la presencia de la ciudad informal en el Museo de la ciudad ha sido de gran relevancia para prestar mayor atención, dentro del relato general del MUHBA, a la trayectoria de la ciudad contemporánea en su conjunto, estrechamente ligada a la inmigración. Este fenómeno nos permite proporcionar una explicación más global de Barcelona, reforzar una visión más rica de los orígenes inmigrantes de la sociedad urbana y dar legitimidad a la entrada de los barraquistas dentro de la "gran historia de Barcelona".[20] Ésta es, seguramente, una de las *contested urban*

histories o historias urbanas controvertidas sobre las cuales el ICOM/CAMOC ha propuesto reflexionar este año.

Notas

1 El impacto de las barracas fue uno de los principales temas de discusión entre los urbanistas de 1960 en Barcelona. Véase Bohigas, O. 1963. *Barcelona, entre el pla Cerdà i el barraquisme*, Barcelona: Edicions 62.

2 Una visión global en Davis, M. 2006. *Planet of Slums,* London: Verso.

3 El número de estudios ha aumentado exponencialmente en décadas recientes. Algunos ejemplos, con diferentes fechas y puntos de vista, incluyen: Canel, P., Delis, P. y Girard, C. 1990. *Construire la ville africaine. Chroniques du citadin promoteur*), Paris: Karthala, basado en estudios realizados en Douala y Kinshasa entre 1982 y 1984; Grupo de Investigación Procesos Urbanos en Hábitat, Vivienda e Informalidad. 2009. *Ciudad informal colombiana: barrios construidos por la gente*, Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia; Gissi, N. y P. Soto, 2010. "De la estigmatización al orgullo barrial: apropiación del espacio e integración social de la población mixteca en una colonia de ciudad de México". *Revista INVI*, 68, 99-118; *The Informal City Reader*, Next City (Fundación Rockefeller), 2013.

4 El debate es intenso en muchos países latinoamericanos y, en algunos casos, como Brasil, el problema se ha vuelto una cuestión básica de gobernancia. *Cf*. Saule Júnior, N. (coord.), 1999. *Direito à cidade: trilhas legais para o direito às cidades sustentáveis*. São Paulo: Max Limonad; Perroni, J.G y E. Dabid. 2009. *A cidade e o direito à moradia: o instituto do usucapião como alternativa de regularização jurídica de habitações precárias em favelas*, *Revista Jurídica UNICOC*, VI, 6, 1-18.

5 Sobre el papel de las periferias urbanas en la reflexión sobre Barcelona, véase Roca i Albert, J. y Meseguer, M. 1994. *El futur de les perifèries urbanes. Canvi econòmic i crisi social a les metròpolis contemporànies*. Barcelona: Institut Barri Besòs; Del mismo autor: 2012. "Los riesgos de la nueva dimensión urbana", en Montaner, J.M. y Subirats, J. (ed.), Repensar las políticas urbanas. Barcelona: *Diputació de Barcelona*, 38-57.

6 La Villa 31 actualmente tiene alrededor de 40,000 habitantes (https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villa_31).

7 Para una visión conjunta de las periferias en el cambio de siglo, véase Roca i Albert, J. 1997. "Què és perifèria?", en *La ciutat difusa i les perifèries*, Girona: Universidad de Girona, 19-41; IBID, 2010. "Urban Inclusion and Public Space: Challenges in Transforming Barcelona", en C. Wanjiku Kihato, M. Massoumi, B.A. Ruble, P. Subirós y A.M. Garland (eds.), *Urban Diversity. Space, Culture, and Inclusive Pluralism in Cities Worldwide*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

8 Para el enfoque general, véase Bourdieu, P. 1993. *La misère du monde* (La miseria del mundo). Paris: Seuil.

9 En el supuesto que aún falta mucho para entender el fenómeno, que altera los patrones pre-establecidos de "centros y periferias". Los autores del brutal atentado en la Rambla de Barcelona, durante el verano de 2017, no eran jóvenes marginados realojados en un polígono periférico y mal atendido, sino jóvenes con buenos amigos y bien conocidos en la pequeña villa de Ripoll, cuna medieval de Catalunya en el corazón de los Pirineos, mientras eran adoctrinados en secreto, al parecer por un imam, en una visión fanática islamista del mundo actual.

10 Las barracas se volvieron parte del debate público y social gracias a una

obra que es crucial en el reconocimiento socioterritorial de Barcelona: Fabre, J. y Huertas, J.M. 1976. *Tots els barris de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Edicions 62. Vol. IV: *Els Tres Turons i els barris de Montjuïc*.

[11] Sobre la estructura del Museu d'Història de Barcelona, véase Roca y Albert, J. 2009. *El Museu d'Història de Barcelona*, *portal de la ciudad. Her&mus*, 2, 98-105; Ibid. 2017. *Reinventing the Museum of Barcelona. Urban History and Cutural Democracy,* (Reinventando el Museo de Barcelona. Historia urbana y democracia cultural.) *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review.*

[12] Con el impulso inicial aportado por la *Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de Can Baró* (Asociación de Vecinos y Vecinas de Can Baró), se inició el proyecto de excavar la batería antiaérea del Turó de la Rovira, que se encontraba cubierta de escombros. La iniciativa tomó la forma de campamento internacional de trabajo durante los veranos de 2007 y 2008, con la participación del Districte d'Horta-Guinardó, l'Agència del Carmel y el Museu d'Història de Barcelona, con excavaciones realizadas por jóvenes de la Fundació Escolta Josep Carlos y la empresa arquelógica *Atics.*

[13] Como resumen de la intervención arqueológica llevada a cabo en el Turó de la Rovira, véase el último trabajo, en prensa, de Jordi Ramos: Ramos Ruiz, J. 2018 (en prensa)." La bateria antiaèria i el barraquisme al Turó de la Rovira de Barcelona. Un cas d'arqueologia contemporània", *Quaderns d'Arqueologia i Història de la Ciutat de Barcelona*, 14, Museu d'Història de Barcelona, Institut de Cultura, Barcelona.

[14] Para una visión de conjunto de la exposición en catalán, castellano e inglés, véase barraques.cat/en. La necesidad de producir un folleto a precio popular llevó a una innovación duradera en los formatos de trabajo del Museo. La colección "MUHBA Llibrets de sala", en formato A5, grapa e ISBN, es la más popular del MUHBA y empezó con *Barraques, la ciutat informal*, Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Barcelona, 2008.

[15] En 2009 se estrenó el documental *Barraques. l'altra ciutat*, un documental de Alonso Carnicer y Sara Grimal producido por *Televisió de Catalunya*, del cual, posteriormente, se realizó una nueva versión bajo el título *Barraques. La ciutat oblidada*. En 2010 el MUHBA publicó el libro *Barraques. La Barcelona informal del segle XX*, editado por Mercè Tatjer y Cristina Larrea, incluyendo materiales de la exposición. Aún hoy sigue siendo un éxito editorial en catalán y castellano y próximamente se publicará una traducción en inglés. En 2011, el Museo publicó la guía de historia urbana *Barraques/BCN* y el siguiente año la Generalitat de Catalunya acordó con el grupo *Pas a Pas* la publicación del libro *Barraquisme: la ciutat (im)possible* de Xavi Camino, Òscar Casasayas, Pilar Díaz, Maximiliano Díaz, Cristina Larrea, Flora Muñoz y Mercè Tatjer. Recientemente ha habido nuevas publicaciones y exposiciones, como la muestra fotográfica en 2016 organizada por la Comissió Ciutadana per a la Recuperació de la Memòria dels Barris de Barraques de Barcelona, dedicada a los 5*0 anys de l'enderroc del barri del Somorrostro* o la muestra *Els barris de barraques a Montjuïc, Sants i Les Corts* organizada por el *Centre d'Estudis Montjuïc* en 2017 y comisariada por Oriol Granados.

[16] El Museu d'Història de Barcelona (Institut de Cultura de Barcelona), l'Agència del Carmel, vinculada a Urbanismo, y el Districte d'Horta-Guinardó.

[17] Jordi Ramos, Fernado Álvarez Prozorovich, Oriol Hostench y Antoni

Vilanova aportaron todos contribuciones muy valiosas.

[18] Audiovisual con guión, cartografía y documentación de Manel Guàrdia, Oriol Hostench y el equipo 300,000 km/s.

[19] Comisión formada por Mercè Tatjer, Alonso Carnicer, Sara Grimal, Jordi Giró, Custodia Moreno, Oriol Granados, Rafel Usero, Francesc Banús, Julia Aceituno y José Molina, con el asesoramiento de Jaume Fabre y *Grup Pas a Pas*.

[20] Agradecemos a las asociaciones de vecinos de El Carmel y de Can Baró y a entidades públicas como la Biblioteca Juan Marsé su apoyo a la programación del Museu, incluídas las "visitas de autor" en las cuales se presentan, conjuntamente, los antecedentes históricos narrados por el museo y las memorias orales de vivir allí.

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DO INDIGENOUS GROUPS THAT SETTLED IN THE CITY HAVE REPRESENTATIVE MUSEOGRAPHIC SPACES?

¿CUENTAN LOS GRUPOS INDÍGENAS ESTABLECIDOS EN LA CIUDAD CON ESPACIOS MUSEOGRÁFICOS REPRESENTATIVOS?

[*full text in Spanish*]

ABSTRACT

Mexico City is a destination for multiple groups pertaining to the vast cultural diversity of indigenous peoples in the country. In their new settings, migrants endeavour to keep their colective and members' unity. Nevertheless in many cases they do not have proper spaces to reproduce their culture and ensure its manifestations, neither do they have proper spaces to preserve and show their most representative objects. Should existing museums receive those elements that allow these groups´s visibility? We ask ourselves if the need for a museum project has been addressed by these social actors following the community museums' model formerly created in their original regions and communities.

The recently promulgated Mexico City´s Constitution could offer the proper field for the development of immaterial cultural processes and manifestations. It could also enhance museological references that would enhance the cultural rights of these collective subjects. It would not only preserve their original culture but it would also account for resulting transformations from new conditions and challenges. Finally it would enhance their identity before others.

Key words

cultural diversity, cultural manifestations, indigenous peoples, museums, Mexico City

RESUMEN

La Ciudad de Mexico es el destino de varios grupos que pertenecen a una tradicion cultural de pueblos indigenas en el pais. En sus asentamientos, los migrantes se han esforzado para conservar la cohesion de la colectividad y entre sus miembros. Sin embargo, en muchos de los casos ellos no cuentan con espacios adecuados que les permita reproducir su cultura y asegurar sus manifestaciones, por lo que es necesario que ellos puedan tener los espacios con las condiciones necesarias para preservar y mostrar sus piezas representativas. Deberian existir museos para recibir estas piezas que permitan la visibilidad de estos grupos? Nos preguntamos a nosotros mismos si necesitamos un proyecto de museo que inscriba a estos actores sociales dentro del modelo de los museos comunitarios creados con anterioridad en sus regiones y comunidades.

La Constitucion de la Ciudad de Mexico, recientemente promulgada, puede ofrecer el campo adecuado para el desarrollo de la cultura inmaterial y de sus manifestaciones. Tambien, puede enriquecer las referencias museologicas que permitan mejorar los derechos culturales de las comunidades. Lo cual, no solo preservaria a las culturas originales, sino que tambien contribuiria a la transformacion de nuevas condiciones y retos. Finalmente, fortaleceria su identidad ante otros.

Palabras clave

Diversidad cultural, manifestaciones culturales, pueblos indígenas, museos, Ciudad de México

INTRODUCTION

Mexico City is a destination where numerous groups that represent the cultural diversity of the country's indigenous peoples[1] have settled. In their new places of residence, the migrants strive to maintain unity among their members, as well as their collective identity. However, in many cases they do not enjoy any space in which to reproduce their culture and present its manifestations, nor reference venues in which to place and preserve their most representative exhibits.
Furthermore, many youths whose parents came from other parts of the country and settled in the city[2] incorporate cultural elements that entail an adaptative substitution of elements such as clothing, hence integrating into a social medium that is more homogenous in appearance, thus enabling a degree of both equality and anonymity. This allows them to evolve more easily in the conditions of urban life: not to stand out. The fact that the identity of this young generation born in the city refers ever more diffusely to its links to a rural community or location contributes thereto.

A question that arises and imposes itself from the outset is: what are the chances that a community that is no longer linked – at least not directly – to a territory and surrounding biodiversity manages to persist and even sustain its cultural reproduction? What could be the foundation of its reproduction and its future perspectives? It is a fact that such groups of city dwellers often preserve ties and a relation of continuity with their locations of origin.

This question is important when pondering the viability of *cultural reference spaces* and museums where the cultural elements of peoples are recovered, taking into consideration the cultural processes that are manifested in the case of the population that moved to Mexico City. It is a matter not only of *tradition*, which can be glimpsed in the ongoing cultures of the peoples who settled the megalopolis[3], but also what Manuel Castells calls *project identity*[4], taking into account the new living conditions in a context of intercultural relations and frictions.

Perhaps one should also start by revindicating socially constructed spaces of living culture, such as those built for the *Mixtec* "*juego de pelota*" (ball game), or which were the venue for the *Guelaguetza* celebration (as occurred for a brief span in Mexico City´s main square, the *Zócalo*) by various ethnic groups from the State of Oaxaca. It would involve spaces in which, as in the case of museums, the sphere of activity would in all likelihood focus mainly on performance displays, which predominate in the peoples' living cultures, obviously with no detriment to that which is held in museographic spaces as a means of preserving memory and heritage. But equally as a space for congregation.

It has become apparent from the migratory processes of people from different parts of states such as Oaxaca, that their places of origin maintain a tight relation of economic and religious dependence with their population who settled in certain areas and neighbourhoods of the city. It remains to be seen whether this situation is transitory or tends to consolidate, taking into account the continual influx of members from these communities to the city and the relation of economic dependence with regard to them.

The indigenous population from communities belonging to the 56 indigenous groups who have left different states in recent decades and settled in Mexico City is essentially "in flux".[5] The researcher Claudio Albertani surmised some twenty years ago that "even with the contradictory information available, it seems prudent to affirm that at least 500,000 inhabitants of the Federal District are indigenous and that approximately one in twenty members of the country's indigenous population lives here. Indeed, without counting those in the 27 municipalities in

the conurbation of the metropolitan area" (Albertani, 1999:197). According to other sources, it currently exceeds a million people.

Should existing museums gather the elements that would grant visibility to these groups, or should *sui generis* spaces be built, according to characteristics defined by the community itself, in accordance with its specific situation, aspirations and concerns?

In either case, it is a scenario which may seem odd at present, much like a western-style implant, but it is likely that initiatives will arise demanding the establishment of representative museums for minority cultures, as has been the case for rock music or indigenous literature. An enormously important precedent is that of C*ommunity Museums* in localities in states such as Oaxaca. However, spaces for memory and identity in Mexico City would be nurtured by the city' own experience, in addition to the creative initiatives that will doubtless arise from its forms of social appropriation. It is necessary to investigate whether these social actors have expressed the need of – or submitted a project for – access to museographic spaces.

There are different forms of appropriation, as well as of conferring significance to places and preserving the memory and identity of groups. Museums have been an important reference and medium to achieve this aim. They offer a space to organise a representation of the world and tell a story; to narrate a temporal sequence in spatial terms. In Mexico City there are several cases of museums of original peoples, such as the one in Xochimilco, which gathers vestiges of prehispanic society, or the former convent of *Culhuacán*, where the community participates through traditional communal forms of reciprocity or collaboration.

Perhaps the lack of a specific territory or original space is what hampers groups of migrants to the city becoming motivated to establish a venue as a *significant space* or one for *memory* (as Pierre Nora calls it). Evidence of the deterritorialization observed in large cities, it translates into a lack of meaningful places that serve as a basis for the idea, project and foundation of a museum (*locus*). Which, truth be told, has not yet ceased to be a profane notion for the representational universe of indigenous peoples. Certainly, it is not obvious to envisage that a figure which is a product of modernity serve the needs of representational expression and reproduction of the communities' sacred spaces (cosmovision).

The city itself, as a virtual space, represents a challenge to all attempts to convert it into an object of symbolic appropriation, since it is organised in a pragmatic-functional manner (let us recall the statues of national heroes, placed in the middle of avenues and thoroughfares with intense circulation that impede access by pedestrians), which hinders communal forms of use and the appropriation of such spaces and their foundational centres. In this sense, the communities of residents (notably the first generation) find themselves uprooted in their destinations. Nevertheless, the new residents have resolved to live in these cities by taking refuge in the family nucleus. This occurs in a consumer society that produces an intense process of individualisation, to which the younger members hope to adapt.

The opportunity of a new Constitution for the city

Despite the controversy surrounding it, the recently adopted Constitution of Mexico City (31 January 2017), which will enter into force in 2018, could offer a fertile ground for the development of processes and manifestations of immaterial cultural heritage. It could also establish references which foster recognition – *of themselves* – on the part of these collective subjects: cultural conservation, as well

as the changes to a way of life resulting from the new conditions and its challenges, as a further means to make known their own heritage.Such an initiative would proceed in the framework of the right to exercise *self-determination* (the phrasing that appears in the Constitution) and the exercise of cultural rights.[6]

It was recently announced that the first *Centre of Interculturality of Mexico City* will be launched, refurbishing for the purpose a historical building dating from the 16th century, for which an investment of 35 million pesos is foreseen on the part of the *Secretaría de Cultura* (Ministry of Culture), that will be operated by the *Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural y Equidad para las Comunidades* (Ministry of Rural Development and Equality for Communities), following an agreement signed with the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* (National Institute of Anthropology and History, INAH). However, this venue will mainly be destined to housing pieces from prehispanic cultures, the Colonial period and the Porfiriato,[TN] though allegedly its doors will be open to members of original and indigenous peoples.

The Centre, first of its kind in the city, will include an auditorium for 300 people, an open-air stage, toilets, a warehouse, a radio transmitting station, a cantilever bridge joining two buildings, classrooms for cooking, herbalism, information technology, dancing and other workshops. It is the first centre of its kind where, purportedly, members of indigenous and original communities who have been marginalised and scattered will be able to congregate.[7] However, this project did not respond to a social process whereby indigenous organisations in Mexico City intervened, participated or were even consulted. For example, with regard to the characteristics and intentions of the project, its physical location or how the centre's contents were conceived. It is not the result of a specific social demand, but rather, an initiative on the part of government institutions and, furthermore, apparently its content is not contemporary and it would seem to be a repetition of what has already been done in several other museums of this sort. In this case, it would basically recover remnants of *Mexica* (Aztec) society.

The opportunity to establish museums that address the cultural diversity of the peoples who have settled in the city should be promoted in a framework of recognition, whereby cultural rights are considered equal to civic rights, which also addresses the city's current intercultural conundrum and its challenges.

This also alludes to the purpose of the origin of museums where traditional culture coexists and contrasts with the experiences of city life. Through presentations such as gastronomy or evoking territory, it is possible to bring to the *here and now* that which is fading over time and distance, in addition to offering this exponent of identity to the city's general population.

In these more specific spheres, such as that which refers to the rights of groups of different ethnic origin who live in Mexico City and seek to establish spaces for their cultural expressions, the following considerations could be raised:

- Cultural rights have – at the general level – the same characteristics as civic rights, but differ in that they refer to specific social uses and new orders of identity.
- The right to freedom of expression and association stipulated in citizens' civic rights should be extended to cultural expressions and manifestations. This includes – most specifically – public spaces.
- It must be made clear that cultural spaces where ethnic and social groups in general carry out their cultural expressions and manifestations (dance,

[TN] The 35-year dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1911.

music, religion or carnivals) have public spaces as the natural venue in which to develop.
- Public spaces are not the monopoly of jurisdictional powers, a space for social control. Such powers exist to guarantee citizens equal access to them. In this sense, liberty – in the public sphere – is extended to social and cultural uses.
- Legislation must explicitly include (since it cannot be deduced from the "right to access to culture" that figures in Article 4 of the Constitution) the right to preserve, practice, develop and enrich one's own culture. It concerns the rights of *collective cultures* (and their members) to enjoy spaces in which to preserve their cultural traditions, as an expression of their identities, which is grounded in the recognition that Mexico is a multiethnic and multicultural nation.
- Establish, at the judicial level, the obligation to respect these spaces and practices, as well as the sanctions applicable to those who fail to respect these dispositions or attempt to coerce, profit by or benefit from them, to the detriment of such practices.

In general, allusion is made to people (for example, in the reformed Art. 4 of the Constitution the *right to culture* refers to "access to the cultural goods and services provided by the State") but not to the rights of *cultural collectivities* to their own spaces, nor of their members to practice their cultural traditions as an expression of their identities. Neither does it specify what these *cultural rights* consist of and, furthermore, the law has yet to establish the *mechanisms* for *access* to culture, with cultural rights being those that refer to the expression of one's own culture, as well as its preservation and reproduction in dedicated spaces. The right to "culture", without the right to exercise one's own culture, is an empty legal formulation, or at best, an abstract one.

The current situation

It would be meaningful for people from different groups, states and regions to see the elements of their *cultural memory*, as well as their living culture, reflected.

There is no apparent sign of interest expressed in having a specific museum space in the city, establishing within it a referent that could assume the value of *significance* of a cultural nature for the indigenous peoples living in the city. Hitherto, other than religious centres, Catholic for the most part, the groups temporarily take over certain urban spaces (streets) adjacent to the headquarters of some centre dedicated to serving them (as occurs on International Day of Indigenous Peoples) to hold their festivities.

The option of having representative museums for indigenous groups who settled in the city does not currently seem to be an aspiration, nor the central feature for affirming their identities. Perhaps insofar as conscience of the cultural diversity among themselves is raised, and is expressed in specific spaces in a distinctive way, a better sense of cultural appropriation of urban spaces could be formulated. Only then could an emblematic space for one or several cultural groups finally come about. Meanwhile, the people living in the city organise themselves according to their pressing needs, related to employment and health.

The museum as an entity that participates in the notion of cultural space

Cultural space constitutes a category through which UNESCO has recognised and registered those meeting spaces that are sometimes occupied by different groups to carry out culturally significant activities. It frequently concerns locations selected due to tradition, or that are linked to a historical or religious motive or event.

In spatial terms, cultural space represents an aspect or dimension of what is known as *immaterial cultural heritage*, in the sense that it is socially produced on the basis of performance presentations (contests, ceremonial acts, dancing, oral).
In some way, the museum of a communal group participates in the founding aspect that establishes a form of social consecration in certain physical spaces, but it does so as a permanent *crystallization* (I borrow the term used by Elias Cannetti for institutions as crystallizations of *masses*). It is, thus, established as a *place* that should, to a greater or lesser extent, be the condensed expression of this phenomenon.

This relationship is particularly important - as the contemporary musealisation process has manifested in recent years - as a phenomenon through which the formal and physical limits of the conventional museum are transcended, reaching outward to the public sphere, beyond its walls. Hence, one can distinguish an opening up to neighbouring closed and open spaces. In Mexico, community museums have demonstrated this permeability and interconnectivity in extremely original ways.

However, as is customary in this country, the sociocultural groups have still had to earn the right to occupy these public spaces, as an aspect of civic liberties and distinctive cultural ones. An outstanding example, which has been followed and studied by the anthropologist Rocio Durán,[8] is the celebration of the festival of the *Guelaguetza* in Mexico City's historical centre. Groups of different ethnic backgrounds from the state of Oaxaca living in Mexico City began to celebrate the traditional dance festival, the *Guelaguetza*, on the city's main square, the *Zócalo*, which meant presenting an event that is specific to a regional identity on the emblematic stage of national identity.

Unfortunately, this display, whose scope was magnified when presented in this national space, was forced to leave it due to attempts to condition the political affiliation of its groups by a sector of the political party that governed the city at the time. In refusing this condition, the people who held the celebration were forced to withdraw to a minor venue and carry out the festivity on the street of a more distant neighbourhood.

We are in the presence of two orders of heritage: the monumental and constructed environment as a referent for citizens and, on the other hand, that which the inhabitants of the city carry within themselves, as bearers of a multicultural heritage (nowadays, the city has over one million indigenous inhabitants). In this sense, it is very important to:

- Guarantee spaces for social and cultural *reproduction*. Hitherto, these have mostly withdrawn to the family environment.
- Concretize the linguistic guarantees of cultural and museographic spaces, by fostering both using and teaching these languages within them.
- Respect the built *spaces* that have been destined to preserving the *memory* of the groups and peoples, for which they acquired that selfsame character and value.
- Exercise and enjoy the rights related to the diverse cultural expressions that correspond to *cultural citizenship*, that are manifested in the use and production of physical and communication spaces (such as radio), those related to sport (such as the case of the *Mixtec* ball game), food (gastronomic fairs) and rituals (*Guelaguetza*).
- Revindicate cultural rights as an aspect of the *right to the city*. A city can be conceived wherein its inhabitants can recognise themselves and leave their own cultural imprint, within the framework of everything that is

implied by the *right to the city* (see Harvey´s definition).[9]

- Clarify how citizens' rights are translated into cultural rights of equal rank, for example, when it concerns spaces defined as *public*. The population resent the increasing privatisation of public spaces, bearing in mind that the State in turn exercises a prerogative over that which is public, from which it tends to favour privatisation. This results in profit-oriented restrictions to gaining access.
- Foster the creation of places that bear witness to a population's existence and culture, since this demonstrates appropriation of, or at least familiarity with, the spaces occupied (essential for the group's survival) against the tide of urban segregation processes suffered by indigenous groups residing in different parts of the city.
- Demonstrate autochthonous culture and promote knowledge on cultural diversity in a broader and more inclusive way, where public policies can, indeed, play a key role.

Inclusive rights related to the *use* and *cultural significance* of urban spaces exist, which should benefit members of the country's different cultural groups who reside in Mexico City.

For museographic spaces dedicated to migrant groups in the city to be viable, the following conditions should be met:

- Formulating the desirability or need to create such a museum should emanate from an initiative on the part of the community (or communities) engaged as a collective subject.
- Interest in revindicating one or several of the peoples' original referents (symbolic, religious, territorial) *ex situ*.
- The place of residence should be assumed as a new living space, a reference and renewal centre for the consolidation of memory; as the site of a new beginning.
- It could occur that conviction and conscience of diversity gives rise to a new environment of (multicultural) identity, doubtless projected towards the future, added to the exceptional circumstances in which a multi-situated community finds itself; in the end, as a means to counterbalance the feeling of being uprooted and of loss of identity.

Conclusion

Whoever reflects on the importance of museums in cities cannot overlook the concern that museums collect, register and reflect identity founded on memory, but equally identity as a project; the issues, interests, experiences and aspirations of the inhabitants re-settled in the big city. But time and opportunity must be given for those inhabitants to generate their own projects in the struggle against the disintegration of their identities, as well as spaces for their affirmation and recapitulation. The arbitrary character with which *space* and *place* are conceived in the modern Western world differs from that where the relationship with the land is both emotional and spiritual. The first proceeds with a separate treatment for the decision and selection – of a practical nature – of what could be a museum, detached from that "which occupies it". Within cities, for many groups of migrants and original peoples, the centre for culture has been displaced towards the site of the festivity (celebrating the patron saint) or a religious celebration in a given church according to the Catholic calendar of saints or the agricultural cycle.

Perhaps, in deciding on culturally active centres for the diverse groups, motives other than those concerning the speciality of museographers and curators will intervene; this could lead to the introduction of innovations, which would also be a legitimate way of doing.

Notes

[1] Article 2 of the Constitution of the United States of Mexico indicates that "its indigenous peoples are those who descend from populations that inhabited the country's current territory at the onset of colonialisation and which maintain their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions, or parts thereof".

[2] Towards 1940, the indigenous population in the capital was still concentrated mainly in rural areas of the southern part of the city, it was not until the 50s ad 60s that a large indigenous migration was observed. Albertani, C. (1999). Los pueblos indígenas y la ciudad de México. Una aproximación. [Indigenous Peoples and Mexico City: An Approximation]. *Política y Cultura 12/1999*. 195-221.

[3] If language can be a marker of the cultural persistence of a group, we find that: according to the Inter-census Survey of 2015, in Mexico there are 7,382,785 people over the age of three who speak an indigenous language, a figure that represents 6.5% of the national total; of which, 51.3% are female and 48.7% are male. Nonetheless, 24.4 million people over three years old consider themselves indigenous, a number that represents 21.5% of the Mexican popluation in that age group. This percentage is three times higher than the population who speak an indigenous language.

[4] Castells, M. *La Sociedad Red* [The Network Society]. Fondo de Cultura Económica.

[5] Who are established and have been recognised as *settled* or *resident.* Of this population, two thirds are indigenous *Nahuas* and the remaining are mostly indigenous migrants who live mainly in the following urban districts: Iztapalapa – 61,320; Gustavo A. Madero – 29,187; Cuauhtémoc – 15,745; Coyoacán – 14,720; Venustiano Carranza – 10,238 speakers of an indigenous language. Albertani, C. (1999). Los pueblos indígenas y la ciudad de México. Una aproximación. [Indigenous Peoples and Mexico City: An Approximation]. *Política y Cultura 12/1999*. 195-221. This author has proposed that "it is necessary to draft specific legislation for migrant indigenous and original peoples. These have repeatedly expressed the need to be recognised as communities and therefore as entitities of public law which at the same time demand the possiblility of creating an association of communities for a formal and real recognition of indigenous autonomy in the Federal District. This autonomy would allow them to exercise other rights in economic, political and cultural spheres" (Claudio Albertani, *op.cit.,* 221). See also: Sanchez, M. J. (2001). *Migración Indígena a Centros Urbanos. Al área metropolitana de la ciudad de México con referencias a las ciudades de Guadalajara y Tijuana.* [Indigenous Migration to Urban Centres. To the Metropolitan Area with Reference to the Cities of Guadalajara and Tijuana]. IISUNAM (CD version).

[6] *Constitution of Mexico City.* (2017, February 5). Official Gazette of Mexico City. *Article 8. A City for Education and Knowledge. Cultural Rights* (pages 12-13). Thus, it is established that:

D) Cultural Rights.

1) every person, group or commuity enjoys the irrestrictive right of access to culture. Art and science are free and any form of censure is forbidden. In a specific but not limitative way, they have the right to:

a) Choose their cultural identity and it be respected, in the diversity of their modes of expression;

b) Know and respect their own cuture, as well as the cultures that, in their diversity, constitute a common heritage of humanity;

c) An education that contributes to the free and full development of their cultural identity.

In addition, Article 58 : *Multicultural, Multilingual and Multiethnic Compositon of Mexico City.*

[7] Flores Gómez, L. (2017, July 9).CDMX tendrá primer centro de interculturalidad en Centro Histórico. [Mexico City will have its First Intercultural Centre, in the Historic Centre]. *La Jornada 18*. 8.

[8] Duran, R. *La Guelaguetza en la Ciudad de México y la Disputa por los Espacios Públicos.* [The Guelaguetza in Mexico City and the Struggle for Public Spaces]. Doctoral Thesis, CIESAS- D.F.

[9] Harvey, D. (2010). *El Derecho a la Ciudad.* [The Right to the City]. See also: *Carta de México por el Derecho a la Ciudad* [Letter from Mexico for the Right to the City], July 2010.

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¿CUENTAN LOS GRUPOS INDÍGENAS ESTABLECIDOS EN LA CIUDAD CON ESPACIOS MUSEOGRÁFICOS REPRESENTATIVOS?

INTRODUCCIÓN

La Ciudad de México, constituye un lugar de destino para el establecimiento de numerosos grupos pertenecientes a la diversidad cultural de los pueblos indígenas del país.[1] En los nuevos lugares de residencia, los migrantes se esfuerzan por mantener la unidad entre sus miembros, así como su identidad colectiva. Sin embargo en diversos casos no cuentan con espacios para reproducir su cultura y hacer patentes sus manifestaciones, así como tampoco lugares de referencia para colocar y resguardar los exponentes más representativos.

Aunado a ello, muchos jóvenes que son hijos de quienes provienen del interior del país y se han establecido en la ciudad,[2] incorporan elementos culturales que conllevan una sustitución adaptativa de elementos como la indumentaria, integrándose de este modo en un medio social más homogéneo en apariencia, facilitando con ello tanto cierta igualdad como el anonimato, lo que permite desenvolverse con mayor facilidad en las condiciones de la vida urbana, curiosamente en ese aspecto: para no diferenciarse. A ello contribuye el hecho de que la identidad de esta generación de jóvenes nacidos en la ciudad se refiere de manera cada vez más difusa a su vínculo con una comunidad y un territorio rural.

Una interrogante que surge y se impone en principio, es ¿qué posibilidad existe de que una comunidad que ya no se halla ligada – por lo menos no directamente – con un territorio y un entorno de biodiversidad, logre persistir, así como sostener su reproducción cultural?; ¿cuál podría ser el fundamento de su reproducción y las perspectivas hacia el futuro? Lo cierto es que muchas veces estos grupos establecidos en la ciudad preservan los nexos y la relación de continuidad con las localidades de origen.

Esta pregunta es importante al cuestionarse sobre la viabilidad de los *espacios de referencia culturales* y de museos en los que se recuperen los elementos culturales de los pueblos, tomando en cuenta los procesos culturales que se ponen de manifiesto en el caso de la población asentada en la Ciudad de México. Se trata no sólo de la *tradición*, que se podría advertir en la vigencia de las culturas de los pueblos asentados en la megaurbe,[3] sino de lo que Manuel Castells denomina como *identidad* proyecto[4] tomando en cuenta las nuevas condiciones de vida en un contexto de relaciones y fricciones interculturales.

Quizá habría que comenzar también por reivindicar los espacios socialmente construidos de la cultura viva, como son aquellos dispuestos para la realización del juego de pelota mixteca, o en los que se ha llevado a cabo la celebración de la Guelaguetza (como fue durante un breve tiempo en el Zócalo de la Ciudad de México) por parte de varios grupos étnicos de Oaxaca. Se trataría de espacios en los que, como sería el caso de los museos, lo más seguro es que el ámbito de su actividad se desdoble dando lugar a manifestaciones de tipo performativo, que es lo que predomina en la cultura viva de los pueblos, sin demérito desde luego, de lo que retiene de todo ello el espacio museográfico, como un modo de preservación de la memoria y el patrimonio. Pero igualmente como espacios de congregación.

Algo que han dejado notar los procesos migratorios de personas provenientes de regiones de estados como Oaxaca, es que las localidades de origen mantienen una relación estrecha de dependencia económica y religiosa con los pobladores que se han establecido en ciertas localidades delegacionales y colonias de la ciudad. Todavía está por verse si esta situación es transitoria o tiende a consolidarse, tomando en cuenta la recurrente afluencia de miembros de las comunidades a la ciudad y la relación de dependencia económica que se tiene con respecto de los mismos.

La población indígena que proviene de comunidades de los 56 grupos indígenas procedentes de los distintos estados del país que se ha establecido en las últimas décadas en la Ciudad de México, se halla prácticamente "en movimiento".[5] El investigador Claudio Albertani planteaba hace cerca de 20 años que "aun con las contradictorias informaciones disponibles, parece prudente afirmar que por lo menos 500 000 habitantes del Distrito Federal son indígenas y que aquí reside aproximadamente uno de cada 20 indígenas del país. Incluso, sin contabilizar a los indígenas que viven en los 27 municipios conurbados de la zona metropolitana" (Albertani, 1999:197). Según otras fuentes, asciende actualmente a más de un millón de personas".

¿Deberían los museos existentes recoger los elementos que permitan la visibilidad de estos grupos, o bien se requeriría de la construcción de espacios *sui generis,* cuyas características estarán definidas por la propia población en función de su situación específica, así como de sus aspiraciones e inquietudes?

De cualquier manera, es un escenario que, aunque de momento pueda parecer extraño, como un implante de corte occidental, es muy probable que las iniciativas por instituir museos representativos de las minorías culturales surja como una demanda, así como lo ha sido la música de rock y la literatura indígena. Un antecedente de enorme importancia es el de los *museos comunitarios* en las comunidades de estados como Oaxaca. En la ciudad de México sin embargo, los espacios de memoria e identidad se estarían nutriendo con las experiencias de la propia ciudad, además de las iniciativas creativas que con toda seguridad surgirán de sus formas de apropiación social. Es necesario investigar si se ha puesto de manifiesto la necesidad o el proyecto de contar con espacios de tipo museográfico por parte de estos actores sociales.

Existen diferentes formas de apropiación, así como para conferir de significado a los lugares y mantener la memoria y la identidad de los grupos. Los museos han sido un importante referente y medio para lograr ese cometido. Brindan el espacio para organizar un modo representación del mundo y narrar una historia; dar cuenta de una secuencia temporal en términos espaciales. En la Ciudad de México existen varios casos de museos de pueblos originarias, como el de Xochimilco en el que se recogen los vestigios de la sociedad prehispánica, o el Ex Convento de Culhuacan en donde la comunidad participa mediante las formas de reciprocidad o colaboración comunitaria tradicionales.

Quizá sea la falta de un territorio específico o un sitio original lo que priva de motivación a los grupos de migrantes a la ciudad para instituir un espacio como *lugar significativo* o de *memoria* (como lo denomina Pierre Nora). Una prueba de la desterritorialización que se experimenta en las grandes ciudades, se traduce en la carencia de lugares con sentido que sirvan de base a la idea, el proyecto y la fundación de un museo (*locus).* El cual – cabe decir – no deja de ser todavía una noción profana para el universo representacional de los pueblos indígenas. Desde luego, no es algo evidente la pretensión de que una figura que es producto de la modernidad sirva de expresión de las necesidades de representación (cosmovisión) y reproducción de los espacios sagrados de las comunidades.

De por sí, la ciudad como un espacio virtual, representa un reto para los intentos de convertirla en objeto de apropiación simbólica, ya que está organizada de manera pragmático-funcional (recordemos las estatuas de los próceres, instaladas en medio de avenidas y circuitos de intensa circulación que impiden el acceso al peatón) que no facilita las formas de uso y apropiación comunitarias de los espacios y sus centros fundacionales. En ese sentido, las comunidades de residentes (especialmente de primera generación) se encuentran en los lugares de destino en

una situación y condición de desarraigo. No obstante, los nuevos residentes se han propuesto habitar esas ciudades para subsistir refugiados en el núcleo familiar. Esto se da en una sociedad de consumo donde se produce un intenso proceso de individualización al que pretenden adaptarse los más jóvenes.

La oportunidad de una nueva Constitución para la ciudad

La reciente promulgación de la Constitución de la Ciudad de México (31 de enero de 2017) y que entrará en vigor en 2018, aún cuando pende sobre ella una controversia, podría brindar un campo propicio para el desarrollo de procesos y manifestaciones del patrimonio cultural inmaterial, así como para fundar referentes que permitan el reconocimiento – *de sí* – por parte de estos sujetos colectivos; la preservación cultural, pero también las transformaciones de la forma de vida que resultan de las nuevas condiciones y sus retos, además de ser la forma para dar a conocer lo propio.

Una iniciativa así, procedería en el marco del derecho a ejercer *autodeerminación* (que es la figura que aparece en la Constitución) y del ejercicio de los derechos culturales.[6]

En recientes fechas se ha anunciado la construcción del *primer Centro de Interculturalidad de la Ciudad de México,* habilitando para ello un edificio histórico del siglo XVI para el cual se tiene prevista una inversión de 35 millones de pesos de recursos de la Secretaría de Cultura y operado por la Secretaría de Desarrollo Rural y Equidad para las Comunidades, llegando a firmar un acuerdo con el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH). Sin embargo, este recinto será destinado principalmente para albergar piezas de culturas prehispánicas, época colonial y porfiriato, aunque se ha manifestado que sus puertas se abrirán en beneficio de integrantes de pueblos originarios e indígenas.

El centro, primero de la ciudad en su tipo, tendrá un auditorio para 300 personas, un foro abierto, sanitarios, bodega, cabina de radio, un puente voladizo para conectar dos edificios, aulas de cocina, herbolaria, cómputo, talleres y de danza. Se trata del primer centro de la ciudad en su tipo, donde – se dice – podrán convivir las comunidades indígenas y de pueblos originarios, que han estado marginadas y dispersas.[7] Sin embargo, este proyecto no responde a un proceso social mediante el cual las organizaciones indígenas existentes en la Ciudad de México hubiesen intervenido, participado o por lo menos sido consultadas. Por ejemplo en relación con el las características y la intención del proyecto, su ubicación física y el contenido del centro que se ha concebido. No es el resultado de una demanda social expresa, sino de una iniciativa que proviene de instancias del gobierno, además de que, al parecer su contenido no es actual y parecería una repetición de lo que ya se ha venido haciendo en diversos museos de este tipo. En este caso, se estarían recuperando básicamente restos de la sociedad mexica.

La posibilidad de establecer museos que den cuenta de la diversidad cultural de los pueblos que se han asentado en la ciudad, debería promoverse en un marco de reconocimiento donde los derechos culturales aparecen como el equivalentes de los derechos ciudadanos y donde se de cuenta de la problemática intercultural contemporánea de la ciudad y sus desafíos.

Esto alude también al sentido del origen en museos donde la cultura tradicional coexiste y contrasta con las experiencias de la vida en la ciudad. Mediante muestras como las de la gastronomía o la evocación territorial, es posible traer al *aquí* y *ahora* lo que se aleja en el tiempo y la distancia, además de ofrecer este exponente de identidad a la población de la ciudad en general.

En estos ámbitos más específicos, como el que se refiere a los derechos de los grupos de origen étnico diverso que habitan en la Ciudad de México y buscan establecer espacios para sus expresiones culturales, podrían plantearse algunas consideraciones como las siguientes:

- Los derechos culturales son – en un nivel general – del mismo carácter que los derechos ciudadanos, pero se distinguen en que se refieren a usos sociales específicos y nuevas órdenes de identidad.
- El derecho a la libre expresión y reunión que se estipula en los derechos civiles del ciudadano, debe hacerse extensivo a las expresiones y manifestaciones culturales. Ello incluye – de modo especial – los espacios públicos.
- Debe quedar claro que los espacios culturales en que se concretizan las expresiones y manifestaciones culturales (dancísticas, musicales, religiosas o carnavalescas) de los grupos étnicos y sociales en general, tienen en los lugares públicos su ámbito natural para desplegarse.
- Los espacios públicos, no son monopolio de los poderes jurisdiccionales; un espacio de control social. Dichos poderes están para garantizar la igual libertad ciudadana de acceso a los mismos. En esa medida, dicha libertad – en el ámbito público – se hace extensiva a los usos sociales y culturales.
- Se debe incluir explícitamente en la legislación (pues no se deduce del "derecho de acceso a la cultura" tal y como aparece en el art. 4 Constitucional) el derecho a preservar, practicar, desarrollar y enriquecer la cultura propia. Se trata de del derecho de las *colectividades culturales* (y sus miembros) a disponer de espacios para preservar sus tradiciones culturales, como expresión de sus identidades, lo cual tiene su fundamento en el reconocimiento de que México es una nación pluriétnica y pluricultural.
- Establecer a nivel jurídico la obligación de respetar los lugares y las prácticas, así como las sanciones que se aplicarán a quienes no respeten esas disposiciones o intenten coaccionar, sacar provecho o posibles ventajas a expensas de tales prácticas.

Generalmente se alude a las personas (por ejemplo la reforma al art. 4 Constitucional, el *derecho a la cultura*, que alude al "acceso a los bienes y servicios culturales que presta el Estado") pero no del derecho de las *colectividades culturales* a sus espacios, así como de sus miembros para practicar sus tradiciones culturales, como expresión de sus identidades. Tampoco se dice cuáles son los *derechos culturales* y además, faltan los *mecanismos* que la ley todavía está por establecer para el *acceso* a la cultura, siendo los derechos culturales aquellos referidos a la expresión, así como a preservar y reproducir las propias identidades, contando con sus espacios. El derecho a la "cultura", sin el derecho a ejercer la cultura propia, es una formulación jurídica vacía o por lo menos abstracta.

La situación presente

Lo importante sería que los miembros de pueblos, estados y regiones de distinta procedencia pudiesen ver reflejados los elementos de su *memoria cultural,* así como de su cultura viva.

No parece haber señales de que se hubiese manifestado el interés por contar con un determinado espacio museístico en la ciudad, instaurando en el mismo un referente que pudiese adquirir el valor de un *significante* de orden cultural para los pueblos indígenas asentados en la ciudad. Hasta hoy, aparte de los centros de la religiosidad católica, principalmente, los grupos hacen acto de posesión momentánea y temporal de ciertos espacios urbanos (calles) cercanos a edificios

en los cuales tiene su sede algún centro de atención para los mismos (como sucede en el Día Mundial de los Pueblos Indígenas) para llevar a cabo sus festividades.

La posibilidad de contar con museos representativos de los grupos indígenas llegados a la ciudad, no parece ser por el momento una aspiración o el aspecto central de la afirmación de sus identidades. Quizá en la medida en que se afirme de modo creciente una conciencia sobre la propia diversidad cultural por parte de dichos grupos, y se exprese en determinados espacios de manera distintiva, pueda llegarse a formular mejor un sentido de apropiación cultural de los espacios urbanos, y sería entonces, cuando pudiese concretarse un lugar emblemático que podría ser de uno o varios grupos culturales. Mientras tanto, las personas establecidas en la ciudad se organizan en función de necesidades apremiantes que tienen que ver con el empleo y la salud.

El museo como entidad que participa de la noción del espacio cultural

El *espacio cultural* constituye una categoría mediante la cual la UNESCO ha reconocido y registrado aquellos espacios de encuentro que son ocupados ocasionalmente por diversos grupos, para la realización de actividades culturalmente significativas. Muchas veces se trata de lugares cuya elección es el resultado de una tradición o por algún motivo o acontecimiento histórico o religioso.

El espacio cultural representa. en términos espaciales, lo que viene a ser un aspecto y dimensión de lo que se conoce como *patrimonio cultural inmaterial,* en la medida en que es socialmente producido en función de manifestaciones performativas (contiendas, actos ceremoniales, dancísticos, orales).

En cierto sentido, el museo de un grupo comunitario participa de ese aspecto instituyente que establece una forma de consagración social en determinados espacios físicos, sólo que como una *cristalización* (tomo el término que Elias Cannetti usa para las instituciones como cristalizaciones de *masas*) permanente. De ese modo se constituye como un *lugar* que sería la expresión más o menos condensada de dicho fenómeno.

Esa relación es particularmente importante, a partir de que el proceso de musealización contemporáneo se manifiesta en los años recientes, como un fenómeno por el cual se trascienden, y relativizan los límites formales y físicos del museo convencional hacia el ámbito público, más allá de sus muros. Con ello se distingue una apertura hacia la colindancia entre espacios cerrados y abiertos. En México, los museos comunitarios vinieron a dar cuenta de esa permeabilidad e intercapilaridad de manera sumamente original.

Sin embargo, todavía, como sucede en este país, los grupos socioculturales han tenido que ganarse a pulso el derecho de ocupar esos espacios públicos, como un aspecto de las libertades ciudadanas y distintivamente culturales. Uno de los ejemplos sobresalientes que ha sido seguido y estudiado por la antropóloga Rocío Durán,[8] es el de la realización de la festividad de la Guelaguetza en el centro histórico de la ciudad de México. Grupos de distinto origen étnico procedentes del estado de Oaxaca y establecidos en la ciudad de México, empezaron a celebrar la festividad dancística tradicional de la Guelaguetza en el Zócalo de la ciudad, lo cual significaba la representación de un evento propio de la identidad regional en el lugar emblemático de la identidad nacional.

Por desgracia, esta manifestación, magnificada por el alcance de su representatividad en el espacio nacional, fue retirada del lugar por motivos de un condicionamiento de adhesión política de los grupos, impuesto por el sector del partido político que

en ese momento ocupaba el gobierno de la ciudad. Al no aceptar esa condición, las personas que llevan a cabo la celebración se vieron obligadas a replegarse a un espacio marginal y realizar la festividad en la calle de una colonia más alejada.
Nos hallamos ante dos órdenes de lo patrimonial: el monumental y el entorno construido como referente de la ciudadanía y el que por otra parte llevan consigo los habitantes establecidos en la ciudad, como portadores de un patrimonio multicultural (en la ciudad ya hay más de un millón de población indígena). A ese respecto, es muy importante:

- Garantizar los espacios de la *reproducción* social y cultural. Hasta ahora, estos se han replegado principalmente en el ámbito familiar.
- La concretización de los derechos lingüísticos en los espacios culturales y museográficos mediante el fomento al uso y enseñanza de las lenguas en los mismos.
- El respeto de los *espacios* construidos que han sido destinados a la preservación de *la memoria* de los grupos y pueblos, por lo cual adquieren ese mismo carácter y valor.
- El ejercicio y disfrute de los derechos que competen a las diversas expresiones culturales que corresponden a la *ciudadanía cultural*, y se ponen de manifiesto en el uso y producción de los espacios físicos y comunicativos (como la radio) los relacionados con el deporte (como es el caso de la pelota mixteca), el alimentario (ferias gastronómicas) y el ritual (Guelagutza).
- La reivindicación de los derechos culturales como un aspecto del *derecho a la ciudad*. Se puede concebir una ciudad en la que los habitantes puedan reconocerse y dejar su impronta cultural en el marco de lo mucho que implica el *derecho a la ciudad*[9] (ver la definición de Harvey).
- Cabría la aclaración sobre cómo se traducen los derechos de la ciudadanía en los derechos culturales del mismo rango, cuando se trata por ejemplo del espacio definido como *público.*

La población, resiente negativamente la privatización creciente de los espacios públicos, tomando en cuenta que el Estado ejerce a su vez, una prerrogativa sobre lo público, desde la que tiende a favorecer su privatizacion. Lo que tiene consecuencias en la restricción mercantilizada a su acceso.

- Fomentar el establecimiento de lugares que den cuenta de la existencia y la cultura de una población, ya que ello denota la apropiación, o por lo menos familiaridad con el espacio habitado (indispensable para la sobrevivencia del grupo) a contracorriente de los procesos de segregación urbana que padecen los grupos de indígenas asentados en varias colonias de la ciudad.
- En efecto, las políticas públicas pueden jugar un papel importante para desplegar la cultura propia, así como para dar a conocer la diversidad cultural en un sentido más amplio e incluyente.

Hay derechos incluyentes en relación con el *uso* y *significado cultural* de los espacios urbanos, de los que deben beneficiarse los miembros de los distintos grupos culturales del país que residen en la ciudad de México.

Es posible que para que los espacios museográficos de los pueblos migrantes a la ciudad tengan viabilidad, deban estar presentes ciertas condiciones como las siguientes:

- Que la formulación sobre la conveniencia o necesidad de crear un museo, surja de una iniciativa de la comunidad (o comunidades comprometidas) como sujeto colectivo.
- El interés de reivindicar uno o varios referentes (simbólicos, religiosos,

territoriales) *ex situ* de origen de los pueblos.

- El hecho de que se asuma el lugar de residencia como un nuevo espacio de vida, centro de referencia y reanudación para la consolidación de una memoria; como el lugar de un nuevo comienzo.
- Podría también darse el caso de que se asuma una convicción y una conciencia sobre la diversidad y por tanto de un nuevo ámbito (pluricultural) de identidad, proyectado sin duda hacia el futuro, además de la situación excepcional en la que se encuentra una comunidad multisituada. En fin, como una forma de contrarrestar el sentimiento de desarraigo y de pérdida de identidad.

En conclusión

La preocupación por que los museos recojan, registren y reflejen la identidad fundada en la memoria, pero también la identidad como proyecto; las inquietudes, los intereses, las experiencias y las aspiraciones de los habitantes re-asentados en la gran ciudad, no puede pasar por inadvertido para quienes consideran la importancia de los museos en ciudades. Pero hay que dar tiempo y oportunidad para que dichos habitantes generen sus propios proyectos en la lucha contra la disgregación de sus identidades, así como sus espacios de afirmación y recapitulación. El carácter arbitrario como se conciben el *espacio* y el *lugar* en el mundo occidental moderno, difiere de aquel en el que la relación con el territorio es de orden afectivo y espiritual. En el primero, se procede a un tratamiento por separado de la decisión y la elección – de orden práctico – sobre lo que puede ser un espacio museístico, aparte de aquello "con lo que es ocupado". En las propias ciudades el centro de lo cultural se desplaza para muchos grupos de migrantes y originarios hacia el lugar de la fiesta (la del del santo patrono) o la celebración religiosa en algún templo de acuerdo con los calendarios del santoral y el ciclo agrícola.

Quizá en la decisión sobre los centros culturalmente activos de los diversos grupos intervengan criterios y motivos distintos de los que tienen que ver con la especialidad de los museógrafos y curadores, lo cual podrá introducir innovaciones, siendo también una forma legítima de llevarlo a cabo.

Notas

[1] El artículo 2º de la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos señala que "sus pueblos indígenas son aquellos que descienden de poblaciones que habitaban en el territorio actual del país al iniciarse la colonización y que conservan sus propias instituciones sociales, económicas, culturales y políticas, o parte de ellas".

[2] Hacia 1940, la población indígena de la capital todavía se concentraba principalmente en las delegaciones rurales del sur de la ciudad, y no es sino hasta los años cincuenta y sesenta, cuando se observaron grandes cantidades de población indígena migrante. Albertani, C. (1999). Los pueblos indígenas y la ciudad de México. Una aproximación. *Política y Cultura 12/1999*. 195-221.

[3] Si la lengua puede ser un referente de la persistencia cultural de un grupo, tenemos que: de acuerdo a la Encuesta Intercensal 2015, en México hay 7,382,785 personas de 3 años y más de edad que hablan alguna lengua indígena, cifra que representa 6.5% del total nacional; de las cuales 51.3% son mujeres y 48.7% hombres. Aún así, hay 24.4 millones de personas de 3 años y más que se autoreconocen indígenas, cifra que representa 21.5% de la población mexicana en ese rango de edad. Este porcentaje representa tres veces más que la población hablante de lengua indígena.

[4] Castells, M. *La Sociedad Red.* Fondo de Cultura Económica.

[5] Que se establecen y hacen reconocer como *radicados* o *residentes.*
De esta población, las dos terceras partes son indígenas originarios nahuas, y los

demás son indígenas migrantes que residen principalmente en las delegaciones Iztapalapa con 61 320 hablantes de lenguas indígenas, Gustavo A. Madero con 29 187, Cuauhtémoc con 15 745, Coyoacán con 14 720 y Venustiano Carranza con 10 238. Albertani, C. (1999). Los pueblos indígenas y la ciudad de México. Una aproximación. *Política y Cultura 12/1999*. 195-221. Este autor ha planteado que: "es necesario redactar una legislación específica para indígenas migrantes y pueblos originarios. En múltiples ocasiones, estos últimos han manifestado la necesidad de ser reconocidos como comunidades y por consecuencia como entidades de derecho público que reclaman, al mismo tiempo, la posibilidad de crear una asociación de comunidades para un reconocimiento formal y real de la autonomía indígena en el Distrito Federal. Esta autonomía permitiría el ejercicio de otros derechos en los ámbitos económicos, políticos y culturales" (Claudio Albertani, *op.cit.,* 221). Véase también: Sanchez, M. J. (2001). *Migración Indígena a Centros Urbanos. Al área metropolitana de la ciudad de México con referencias a las ciudades de Guadalajara y Tijuana*. IISUNAM (versión CD).

[6] *Constitución Política de da Ciudad de Mexico*. Gaceta Oficial de la Ciudad de México, 5 de febrero de 2017. Artículo 8. Ciudad Educadora y del Conocimiento. *Derechos Culturales* (pgs. 12-13) Así, se establece que:

D. Derechos culturales**.**

1. Toda persona, grupo o comunidad gozan del derecho irrestricto de acceso a la cultura. El arte y la ciencia son libres y queda prohibida toda forma de censura. De manera enunciativa y no limitativa, tienen derecho a:

a) Elegir y que se respete su identidad cultural, en la diversidad de sus modos de expresión;

b) Conocer y que se respete su propia cultura, como también las culturas que, en su diversidad, constituyen el patrimonio común de la humanidad;

c) Una formación que contribuya al libre y pleno desarrollo de su identidad cultural.

Asimismo: el artículo 58**:** *Composición pluricultural, plurilingüe y pluriétnica de la Ciudad de México.*

[7] Flores Gómez, L. (2017, 9 jul). CDMX tendrá primer centro de interculturalidad en Centro Histórico. *La Jornada 18*. 8.

[8] Duran, R. *La Guelaguetza en la Ciudad de México y la Disputa por los Espacios Públicos.* Tesis de doctorado. CIESAS- D.F.

[9] Harvey, D. (2010). *El Derecho a la Ciudad.* Asimismo ver: *Carta de México por el Derecho a la Ciudad,* julio 2010.

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MIGRATION AND TERRITORY: POST-WAR MIGRATION AS A STRUCTURING ELEMENT OF THE URBAN AND SOCIAL CONFIGURATION ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF MADRID

INMIGRACIÓN Y TERRITORIO: LA INMIGRACIÓN DE POSGUERRA COMO ELEMENTO ESTRUCTURADOR DE LA CONFIGURACIÓN URBANA Y SOCIAL EN LA PERIFERIA SUR DE MADRID

[*full text in Spanish*]

ABSTRACT

In post-war Spain, a massive migration took place from throughout the country to the capital. The scarcity of affordable dwellings motivated many migrants to settle on the opposite bank of the Manzanares river, outside the city, settling vast areas which hitherto had been unpopulated, or of a rural nature with subpar housing, lacking the minimum conditions for habitation.

The official reaction was slow and always lagged behind the situation's pressing needs. Although first attempts at providing an adequate solution started since the 1950s, it was not until the 60s that a plan would be set in motion to reabsorb the shanty towns, but the other systems that replaced them were, once again, very low quality dwellings, although they would structure the city's current urban design.

Key words

Migration, shanty towns, urban planning, post-war, settlement.

RESUMEN

En la posguerra española se produjo una inmigración masiva desde toda España a la capital. La escasez de viviendas a un coste accesible motivó que muchos inmigrantes se estableciesen al otro lado del río Manzanares, fuera de la ciudad, ocupando amplias zonas antes despobladas o de carácter rural con infraviviendas sin las mínimas medidas de habitabilidad.

La reacción oficial fue lenta y siempre por detrás de las necesidades que exigía la situación. Aunque en la década de los 50 ya hubo unos primeros intentos de proporcionar una solución adecuada, no será hasta los años 60 cuando se establecerá un plan de reabsorción del chabolismo, pero en su lugar aparecieron otros sistemas que eran, nuevamente, viviendas de muy baja calidad aunque estructuraron la organización urbanística actual de la ciudad.

Palabras clave

Inmigración, chabolismo, urbanismo, posguerra, poblado

INTRODUCTION AND PROJECT JUSTIFICATION

Nowadays, when we hear about migration and refugees in Europe, it inevitably brings to mind images of people fleeing armed conflicts and famine in countries south or east of our continent, who reach our territory in extremely precarious modes of transport, risking their lives in the attempt. But such migratory phenomena have been a constant throughout the history of humanity and they have had an enormous impact on the economic, urban and social development of the host villages, cities or countries.

History museums in cities have, in most cases, a historicist character, partly due to our collections tending to be the fruit of inheritances from the local government, royal collections or private donations from great collectors, originating from the upper classes. This is the reason our visitors frequently fail to relate to the history we tell there, since it is not the history of the inhabitants of our cities.

The Museum of History of Madrid plans to develop the 20th century over the next two years and an aspect that interests us particularly is showing the social reality of this convoluted and crucial century. To do so, we will resort mainly to our photographic and archival fund, and objects from daily life.

This new approach includes specific actions, such as a study of the situation of the migrants who came to Madrid after the war and encountered a city that took them in, but in precarious conditions that persisted over time. The accompanying images belong to the Museum of History and the photograph bank *Memoria de los Barrios (*Memory of Neighbourhoods), a Municipality of Madrid project that aims to compile images of the city's history, but not those belonging to institutions, rather, those in private hands, of anonymous citizens, that can truly tell the history of the places where they lived.

Map of the capital and the 13 bordering municipalities.
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End of a war and beginning of reconstruction

Madrid has always been a receiving city. Ever since 1561, when the Court settled there, the migratory balance has always been positive. The first great wave of migration took place at that time and in a single decade the city increased from 16,000 to 34,000 inhabitants. Successive waves of migration from rural areas or smaller towns to the city have led all of us in Madrid to be outsiders and locals at the same time.

But I will concentrate on one of these waves that transformed the city both physically and socially and that, although it has been studied, is not reflected in our social historiography, since it has mainly been analysed from the architectural and urbanistic points of view.

At the onset of the Civil War, Madrid only occupied 11.20% of its current surface. It was an urban nucleus measuring 68 km^2, surrounded by 13 municipalities that totalled 607 km^2, that is to say, almost ten times larger.

To the south it was limited by the Manzanares river and to the east by the Abroñigal stream. On the opposite bank of these rivers were the villages of Carabanchel,[1] Villaverde and Vallecas, which are the subject of this study.

The phenomenon of mass migration to the capital and settlements on the outskirts is not exclusive to Madrid's southern region, but due to the number of migrants, to the size of the territory occupied and, particularly, to the persistence over time of the precarious living conditions (in certain cases extending up to the end of the 20th century), it is the area in which this migration had the greatest social and urbanistic impact.

Before the war, the above-mentioned villages to the south and south-east supplied goods and services to the capital. They specialised in the production of vegetables, wheat and pulses, such as chickpeas, for the famous stew "*cocido madrileño*"; they included factories, such as the Carabanchel match factory; and they hosted large warehouses for produce. Being right next to the city, but on the periphery, there was land for all this, with the advantage of being just a few minutes away from the city centre, crossing the river that separated them. Furthermore, in the case of Carabanchel, during the 19th and part of the 20th century the nobility owned recreational residences in the area, which made Carabanchel synonymous with luxury and aristocracy.

Unfortunately, these fluvial boundaries were the very same which separated the Republican and National forces during the 27 months that the front was around Madrid. Most of these neighbourhoods were totally destroyed, losing almost all of the economic and social fabric they enjoyed until then.

Glorieta del Marqués de Vadillo, next to the Manzanares River, 1939. © Sonia Dorado

Once the war was over, one of Franco's central objectives was to create a great and powerful capital that would be the image of the new political system, a unitary and centralist conception. The construction of "Grand Madrid", as it has been called, using the expression Hitler employed for Berlin, consisted of several phases. Initially, when migration was more or less stable, the main measures concerned reconstruction, as proved by the photographic study carried out by the Municipality between 1941 and 1943, where the before and after State intervention were recorded street by street. This reconstruction was mainly promoted by the *Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid* (Madrid Board of Reconstruction), which was created in 1939, immediately after the war. It is noteworthy that this project was carried out in just two years, practically throughout the entire city and including its main thoroughfares. This demonstrates the importance the regime placed on the capital's recovery, as a reflection of its government.

But it was not merely a matter of cleaning up the streets of the capital, it was also necessary to take other actions in line with this imperialistic view which affected peripheral lands, the aforementioned bordering villages. The creation of *poblados mínimos* (minimum settlements) and *poblados agrícolas* (agricultural settlements) correspond to this initial period. The intention of these first building formulas was to provide housing for those who had lost theirs during the struggle, but had remained in rural areas, close to the city. It was estimated that 60,000 people lost their home, but stayed on in their area, living among the rubble. The formulas involved terraced housing, but with the aim of preserving the rural spirit; they had back yards for animal husbandry and were in the more outlying areas of the neighbouring municipalities.

Ayto. de Madrid. (1945). ***Obra ejecutada en la vía pública de la Capital en el 1º año después de La Liberación****. © Museo de Historia de Madrid.*

As Jesús Díaz (2003) explained so clearly, action in these areas did not correspond to the municipalities (neither that of Madrid nor the neighbouring ones), but rather, to the *Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas* (Directorate General for Devastated Regions), a state organism in charge of the reconstruction in areas that had suffered over 75% destruction.

Actions in these years were often contradictory and poorly organised, since there were constant disputes between State and Municipality, and even among the different national institutions. It was based on planning sattellite nuclei to maintain orderly city growth, functional zoning and the establishment of green rings to act as barriers to growth and delimit the different areas, aiming to avoid two things: urban sprawl and structures from prior times, usually based on the presence of an interior patio with rooms surrounding it. These ideas did not materialise largely because the population overflowed them almost before they were launched.[2]

But this was not the only reason this project failed to materialise; the paralysis of industrial and agricultural production were contributing factors, due to the the legacy of the war and Spain's political and economic isolation at the time, which led us to be at levels well below those seen before the war (Jesús López, 2003). Other aspects that influenced the project's implementation becoming impossible were the the high price of land in the centre of Madrid and the extremely high rates of speculation in the sale and rent of properties, which obliged a large segment of the population to leave for the outskirts, occupying those very spaces foreseen for the plan.

Agricultural town of Vallecas, 1941. Memoria de los Barrios Project. © Emiliana Saavedra

It was already proposed at the time that it was necessary to annex certain bordering municipalities,[3] since the municipality of Madrid was already covering the majority of the expenses they generated, but did not receive the corresponding taxes in return.

Furthermore, certain municipalities were unable to cope with the requirements of this massive influx of migrants, who worked in the city but collapsed the municipalities' public services.

There are many versions of who wanted what, since certain municipalities were interested in this annexation, while others fought it.

The fact is that between 1948 and 1954, they were all absorbed by the capital, finally approaching the Grand Madrid the regime intended.

Mass migration

In the 50s, following the initial years of constant but not excessive migration, the original solutions became insufficient. Private construction remained stagnant due to the depression of the immediate post-war years and was aimed primarily at the middle classes, while social housing had only managed to rehabilitate the destroyed dwelling or otherwise attend to the needs of state officials.

By 1954, there was emerging awareness that the problem was getting out of hand.

But what started this massive migration to Madrid from other regions ?

Madrid mainly received migrants from its own province, that is, from its villages; from bordering provinces (such as Toledo or Avila) and from the south of the peninsula, Andalucia and Extremadura. The peninsula's southern regions were the most punished during the post-war years for various reasons, but a crucial one was its pre-existing social and economic structure, almost entirely lacking industry, that failed to adapt to the few existing opportunities of the time. The south was a Republican region at the beginning of the war, which also translated into a lack of State support, with deficiencies in infrastructure, while certain aspects, such as education, were completely neglected. There is no precise figure, but P. Montoliu (2007) estimates that there were over 200,000 deaths from starvation in these areas, after the war was over. Added to this, work in the agricultural sector declined while the tertiary sector, which builds up in cities, was incapable, in the case of southern provincial capitals, to absorb the excess, leaving only two solutions: emigrate abroad or migrate to larger cities, such as Madrid and Barcelona, where industrial growth was taking off at the time and required a workforce (Horacio Capel, 1967).

Table developed by the author, based on data from López de los Mozos and Espejo Marín, 1989. The population increase. Table developed by the author.

The photo series: Cerro del Tio Pio settlement, around 1960. The migrants tended to settle in the area closest to their places of origin and tended to replicate the habitat of their place of origin. Building was illegal, so it had to be done clandestinely. Construction was done with low grade materials, at night, in such a way that the following morning there was one dwelling more.

The precarious conditions existing in the places of origin of migrants who settled the southern part of Madrid also contributed to their situation of marginalisation persisting over time. In his article on migration to Madrid, López de los Mozos (1989) affirms that these neighbourhoods had the highest rates of illiteracy or people with low-level education, and hence with fewer chances of obtaining skilled jobs that would help them overcome their situation.

The figures for migrant arrivals grew continuously and increasingly from 1940 up until 1975, when they began to subside. The decade that saw the greatest number of arrivals was the 60s, when the population rose from 2 million inhabitants to over 3 million.

Through a collection of photographs acquired by the Museum a few years ago, which gathers a series of images of the *Cerro del Tío Pío*[4] settlement around 1960, we shall attempt to see what life was like for those migrants who arrived in Madrid with no resources or prospects.

The migrants tended to settle in the area closest to their places of origin, even though these were located many kilometres away. They were the places through which they reached the capital, and there was a general idea that it was easier to establish relations with other people in similar circumstances. Furthermore, they tended to find a greater similarity between the landscape and their places of origin. Frequently, their arrival was the effect of a call from other relatives who had arrived beforehand, which is called chain migration. Despite the misery of their situation, in Madrid they could find work. As Vilasante *et al.* (1989) put it, a salary meant "a fire and food".

They were not individuals seeking to improve their existing conditions, but rather, whole families expelled from the more backward agricultural regions which offered them no chances of subsistence at the time. Therefore, in configuring these settlements, they tended to replicate the habitat of their place of origin, converting them into rural areas within the city.

The historical pre-war migration to Madrid, largely from Galicia and Asturias, had traditionally settled in more centric areas or in the northern part of the city, as continued to occur.

Thus, the areas along the road to Extremadura and Andalucía became the great hosts of post-war migration.

One of the main problems, which became a major element when it came to designing urban spaces and new neighbourhoods, was illegal subdivision by owners. Large rural tracts were parcelled out by their owners and sold as small lots, turning it from rural to urban space with no due legal process. This was possible due to the passivity of the government, which was incapable of reacting to the fact since it had no alternative to channel this massive influx of migrants. The profits were very high and speculation rampant.

Building was illegal, so it had to be done clandestinely. Valenzuela Rubio (2010) explains the simple mechanism. Construction was done with low grade materials, often secondhand, at night, with the help of relatives and neighbours, in such a way that the following morning there was one dwelling more, turning it into a *fait accompli*. If the roof was in place, the authorities could not demolish it.

Irregularities in the terrain and even hollows in small hills or mounds were often used to sustain these precarious dwellings. The walls were made of masonry and

wood and the roofs were often no more than canvases or slabs of *uralita*[1TN] held down by stones or other materials.

The owners of such dwellings usually tried to improve them little by little, adding elements or enhancing those that were put up initially, in haste. Coverings with roof tiles were added to boost insulation and avoid leaks, doors and windows were added, floors were tiled, etc.

A family who bought such a plot with the meagre savings they brought with them only purchased the physical space, without water, electricity or sanitation. The space was very cramped, generally comprising a single room and another area that served simultaneously as kitchen, living and eating quarters, etc.

One must keep in mind that the birth rate for that generation was extremely high. In addition to the ignorance and lack of sources of information faced by women at the time, we must add the iron control exerted by the government and the Church over these aspects. Hence, we find that many of the shacks were inhabited by large families who shared the room and beds.[5]

Electric lighting in the streets, if it existed, was obtained by stringing up cables from a neighbouring settlement and consisted of bulbs spaced many metres apart. The houses did not usually have electricity, only candles and natural light, although the street installation was sometimes spliced to obtain a spot of light indoors.

Water was carried to the houses by water carriers who charged a small fee for this service, or on foot by the inhabitants themselves. Sometimes it meant walking several kilometres to reach the closest source.

They were isolated areas, without transport or roads. Streets were not paved, they were merely gaps left to allow for movement between shacks; when it rained, the tracks leading to the city became real mud pits.

There was a total lack of public services such as schools or health centres. Frequently it was the neighbours themselves who organised these services in community centres, thanks to volunteers and/or the support of the Church. It was often a challenge to find such places and to avoid overcrowding.[(6)]

The living conditions in these settlements were abysmal. Studies have been carried out which prove that the insalubrious setting and deficient nutrition have influenced the migrants' biotype, with the second generation being several centimetres shorter than the inhabitants of other parts of the peninsula. In addition, increased rates of criminality have been noted, along with greater suicidal tendencies, mostly among females, due to the trauma of being uprooted and the living conditions.

We should also note the fact that Madrid is a city with an extreme climate, with very cold winters and very hot summers. The minimum temperature in January is around 0º, while the maximum in July is over 33º. These temperatures also presented a problem, since the shacks did not have any sort of insulation and they had to endure the inclement weather.

The strangest thing is that, despite these conditions, most migrants never returned to their place of origin, because only a city such as Madrid offered them a future on the horizon.

Many of the shacks were inhabited by large families who shared the room and beds Electric lighting in the streets, if it existed, was obtained by stringing up cables from a neighbouring settlement and consisted of bulbs spaced many metres apart.

[1TN] A corrugated asbestos and cement roofing material, usually referred to by the name of the country's main producer.

Official policy regarding migration

Towards the end of the 50s, when the number of migrants skyrocketed, they attempted to seek new solutions to this surge. First and foremost, they sought measures to stop the arrival of new migrants by controlling the shanty town areas through the *Servicio de Vigilancia del Extrarradio* (Outlying Areas Vigilance Service), entrusted to the *Guardia Civil* (Civil Guard). In addition, they attempted different construction measures to ease the situation, bringing about numerous settlements or neighbourhoods. The problem was the lack of a unified urban development criterion with proposals based on rational land use. The formula was to simply act where there was free space and inhabitants in need of a dwelling.

This caused the urban map of this part of the city to be very disjointed, scattered with different systems of housing construction and acquisition, but always directed at a sector of the population that faced difficulties obtaining it.

Several of these systems were especially significant due to their building characteristics.

The *unidades de viviendas de absorción,* UVA (Absorption Housing Units), commonly referred to simply as absoption settlements, were, as their name indicates, a system to reabsorb the shanty towns. They consisted of units with minimal conditions, built so that families could leave their infra-dwellings and enjoy better conditions. They were built quickly and with limited resources (the postwar economy still precluded excessive costs). They were envisaged as being of limited duration, the intention being to replace them with permanent homes once the authorities had had time to plan them. Their structure was very simple: rows of low houses with small dwellings and token infrastructure.

They were built on sites neighbouring the shanty towns with the intention of erecting permanent houses on the plots left vacant by the absorption, but the influx was so great and sustained that, in the majority of cases, these were occupied once again by new migrants, leaving no space for future construction.

The main dilemma of these settlements was that they lasted much longer than foreseen, the materials underwent tremendous deterioration and the inhabitants sometimes suffered from problems stemming from the precarity of services, which in certain cases even caused serious accidents.

Another, more successful construction system was the Directed Settlements. It was an innovative measure which bore good fruit. It consisted of designing neighbourhoods, but in conjunction with the inhabitants, meaning that the dwellers built their own homes. Fortunately, the projects were developed by young architects who had recently graduated from university, resulting in fresh and graceful designs that proposed modern solutions that were highly aesthetic. (7) They consisted of neighbourhoods that alternated four of five-storey buildings with single-family units on one or two levels; the centre of each block was occupied by low-rising constructions for trade, such as a market, a pharmacy, etc. and in certain cases, schools and a church.

The architects broke with conventional urban planning of streets and blocks. Cars were left on the edges of the settlement and the internal pedestrian areas were completed with terraces, stairs and retaining walls.

Cooperatives of slum-dwellers were created to perform the building work, advised by construction technicians. More specific tasks required hiring specialised companies that would usually do the groundwork, the remaining was then

Water was carried to the houses by water carriers who charged a small fee for this service, or on foot by the inhabitants themselves. They were isolated areas, without transport or roads. Streets were not paved, they were merely gaps left to allow for movement between shacks; when it rained, the tracks leading to the city became real mud pits.

executed by teams composed of members of the cooperatives. These teams comprised twenty or thirty people who worked on the weekends, for which they gained the name of *domingueros* ("Sunday-ers").

Esteban Maluenda (1999) stresses that the success of these settlements was partly due to this cooperation, which created a euphoric and friendly atmosphere among the participants that would have been difficult to achieve any other way.

In addition to these two governmental attempts to build social housing, there was also massive construction of neighbourhoods and settlements by cooperatives or private companies which, sheltered by the economic recovery and taking advantage of the huge demand for housing, now constituted a major part of these areas' urban fabric.

These areas typically endured the same infrastructure problems as the social neighbourhoods, since, as noted repeatedly in this text, solutions always came after the needs. The term high-rise slums has frequently been used to describe the situation in many of these units: large blocks of dwellings, four or five storeys high, in areas with limited planning and public services.

Despite all these efforts, the accelerated rate of migration during the 60s meant that by the end of the decade, almost 1,000 hectares of ground, representing 10% of residential land, was occupied by substandard housing varying in type, from poor rural housing that had been swallowed by the urban nucleus to shanty towns with absolutely no infrastructure.

Decrease in migration

By the early 70s, migration dropped drastically. The global crisis at the time meant that any type of migration, whether internal or external, had decreased or practically come to an end.

It therefore represented a good moment for the government to attempt to regulate many of the temporary measures it had taken hitherto. The *Programa de Barrios en Remodelación* (Programme of Neighbourhood Remodelling) was launched. Its main goal was to intervene in interim neighbourhoods, such as the UVA (Absorption Housing Units) or minimum settlements built in the 50s.

In contrast to the decade before, it ignored any urban planning aimed at rational and modern organisation. This was due to it now being necessary to work in constrained spaces with a very high population density, which forced building to go upward, with fewer green areas and limited opportunities for open design.

The dwellings in these neighbourhoods or settlements had been built as a stopgap measure but remained over time, the majority were now in developed and enclosed areas. The inhabitants did not want to be penalised by decisions taken by the State in past decades and hence demanded dignified permanent solutions.

There were attempts to transfer some inhabitants to other areas, but the majority refused and neighbourhood associations were crucial in this struggle. This led to a jumble of old buildings, temporary barracks and new buildings all side by side.

We must keep in mind that the fount of community solidarity that developed in the slums and moved with the residents to the new buildings had forged a strong bond of identification with the settlement itself, over and above the city. Therefore, the people of this area considered themselves to be more from "the shanty" or "Vallecan" than "from Madrid".

Total lack of public services such as schools or health centres. Frequently it was the neighbours themselves who organised these services in community centres, thanks to volunteers and/or the support of the Church.

Procession of Palm Sunday in the UVA of Vallecas, 1967.

Floods in the UVA neighborhood of Vallecas, 1971. ***Memoria de los Barrios*** *project. © Francisco Sánchez Palos*

Map of the different social housing systems on which the Barrios Remodeling Plan acted (Source: Villasante et al., 1989, pp. 14-15)

The most negative social consequence of the situation of precarity these neighbourhoods endured for so many years meant they dragged along a burden and became continuous centres of marginalisation, suffering more severely through subsequent crises and problems, such as the impact of heroine on youth during the 80s, a higher-than-average unemployment rate or greater proportions of school dropouts.

Conclusions

The conclusion to all of the above is that the urban structure of the entire southern part of Madrid is the product of a series of measures that were more or less planned, more or less on target and more or less consensual with the population, which has configured a particular urban and architectural network that is already entrenched in these areas, and which does not figure in history, although it forms part of it.

Poverty, cooperation between neighbours, class struggles, have all given the south of Madrid a specific idiosyncrasy, which its inhabitants feel tremendously proud of.

Notes

(1) Although Carabanchel was divided at the time into lower and higher Carabanchel, throughout this text I shall refer to Carabanchel as a single unit, since they were usually mentioned jointly as the Carabancheles and, following the annexation, they became a single district, hence this distinction was no longer made when speaking of the area.

(2) This was set out in the Bidagor Plan of 1946, which had been foreseen since 1941 and gathered some of the urban ideas of the Falange movement.

(3) These 13 villages: Aravaca, Barajas, Canillas, Canillejas, Chamartín de la Rosa, Carabanchel Alto, Carabanchel Bajo, Fuencarral, Hortaleza, El Pardo, Vallecas, Vicálvaro and Villaverde, along with another three: Pozuelo, Leganés and Getafe, had already formed an association in 1910, with the aim to improve their relations with the capital and achieve greater security for the inhabitants and their properties through the extension of the urban police, consolidation of education, improvement to intermunicipal communication, public health, water and sewage (García J.M., 2005).

(4) The Tío Pío Hill was a shanty town settlement that developed between the 50s and 60s in the Vallecas district; it was demolished and its inhabitants were relocated in the 80s. The land currently hosts a park of the same name but popularly referred to as Parque de las Siete Tetas [Seven Tits Park] due to the shape of its mounds.

(5) The average number of members per family was 5.65, but many shacks housed more than one family, at least temporarily, until they could build their own.

(6) According to data for 1953 provided by the church itself, at the time it supported 215 schools in the "suburbs" and 44 parochial workshops for different classes and activities, in addition to clinics, shelters, etc.

(7) Many of these architects eventually became great masters of architecture, including Antonio Vázquez de Castro and José María Íñiguez de Onzoño, who had just graduated from The School of Architecture of Madrid, in 1955. They were the youngest members of a new generation that comprised Alejandro de la Sota, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Javier Carvajal, José Antonio Corrales, Ramón Vázquez Molezún, José María García de Paredes and Luis Cubillo.

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Colony of the Virgin of the Graces, Carabanchel, 1956. © Pedro Aguado Rubira

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INMIGRACIÓN Y TERRITORIO: LA INMIGRACIÓN DE POSGUERRA COMO ELEMENTO ESTRUCTURADOR DE LA CONFIGURACIÓN URBANA Y SOCIAL EN LA PERIFERIA SUR DE MADRID

INTRODUCCIÓN Y JUSTIFICACION DEL PROYECTO

En la actualidad, cuando oímos hablar de inmigración y refugiados en Europa, inevitablemente se nos vienen a la mente imágenes de personas que huyen de conflictos armados y del hambre en países de sur y este de nuestro continente y que llegan a nuestro territorio en medios de transporte muy precarios, jugándose la vida en el intento. Pero estos fenómenos migratorios son una constante en la historia de la humanidad y han afectado enormemente al desarrollo económico, urbanístico y social de aquellos pueblos, ciudades o países receptores.

Los museos de historia de ciudad tenemos, en nuestra mayoría, un carácter historicista debido en parte a que nuestras colecciones suelen ser el fruto de herencias del gobierno local, colecciones reales o donaciones particulares de grandes coleccionistas, de las clases acomodadas. Por esa razón muchas veces nuestros visitantes se sienten poco identificados con la historia que allí contamos, ya que no es la historia de los habitantes de nuestras ciudades.

El Museo de Historia de Madrid pretende desarrollar el siglo XX en los dos próximos años y uno de los aspectos en los que tenemos más interés es en mostrar la realidad social de un siglo tan convulso e importante. Para ello nos vamos a basar sobre todo en nuestro fondo fotográfico y archivístico, y en objetos de la vida cotidiana.

Dentro de este nuevo camino se enmarcan algunas actuaciones, como este estudio sobre la situación de los inmigrantes que llegaron a Madrid en la posguerra y que se encontraron una ciudad que les dio cabida, pero en una situación precaria que se mantuvo en el tiempo. Las imágenes que lo acompañan pertenecen al Museo de Historia y a la base de fotografías Memoria de los Barrios, un proyecto del Ayuntamiento de Madrid que pretende recopilar imágenes de la historia de la ciudad, pero que no pertenecen a las instituciones, sino que están en manos particulares, de ciudadanos anónimos, y que son los que verdaderamente pueden contar la historia de los lugares donde vivieron.

Mapa de la capital y los 13 municipios limítrofes.
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Fin de una guerra y comienzo de la reconstrucción

Madrid siempre ha sido una ciudad de acogida. Desde que en 1561 la Corte se estableciese en ella, el saldo migratorio siempre ha sido positivo. La primera gran oleada de emigrantes se produjo ya en ese momento y la ciudad pasó de tener 16.000 a 34.000 habitantes en solo una década. Sucesivas oleadas del campo a la ciudad o desde ciudades más pequeñas, han hecho que en Madrid todos seamos a la vez extranjeros y oriundos.

Pero voy a centrarme en una de estas oleadas que ha transformado la ciudad de manera física y social y que, aunque estudiada, no tiene un reflejo en nuestra historiografía social, ya que se ha analizado sobre todo desde un punto de vista arquitectónico y urbanístico.

Cuando se inició la Guerra Civil, Madrid ocupaba tan sólo un 11,20% de la superficie que tiene actualmente. Era un núcleo urbano de 68km^2 rodeado por 13 municipios que sumaban 607km^2, es decir, casi diez veces más.
Por el sur se encontraba limitada por el rio Manzanares y por el este por el arroyo del Abroñigal. Y al otro lado de estos cauces fluviales se situaban los pueblos de Carabanchel [(1)], Villaverde y Vallecas, sobre los que trata este estudio.

El fenómeno de la inmigración masiva a la capital y su establecimiento en la periferia, no es exclusivo de la zona sur de Madrid, pero debido al número de inmigrantes, a la extensión de la zona ocupada y sobre todo al mantenimiento en

el tiempo de las condiciones de precariedad de sus viviendas (llegando en algunas ocasiones hasta finales del siglo XX) sí es la zona en la que esta migración tuvo más impacto social y urbanístico.

Antes de la Guerra, los pueblos comentados, del sur y del sureste, eran suministradores de bienes y servicios a la capital. Estaban especializados en la producción de verduras, trigo y legumbre, como los garbanzos para el famoso cocido madrileño; tenían instaladas sus fábricas, como la Fosforera de Carabanchel; y en ellos estaban los grandes almacenes de productos. Al estar junto a la ciudad, pero ser la periferia, tenían terrenos para todo ello, pero contaban con la ventaja de estar en pocos minutos en el centro de la ciudad, cruzando el rio que lo separaba de ella. Además, en el caso de Carabanchel, la alta nobleza tenía en sus terrenos quintas de recreo que durante todo el siglo XIX y parte del XX hicieron que Carabanchel fuera sinónimo de lujo y aristocracia.

Glorieta del Marqués de Vadillo, junto al río Manzanares, 1939 Proyecto Memoria de los Barrios, donación Sonia Dorado

Desgraciadamente estos límites "fluviales" fueron los mismos que separaron al bando republicano del nacional durante los 27 meses que el frente estuvo en Madrid. Estos barrios fueron en su mayoría totalmente destruidos, perdiendo casi todo el tejido económico y social que tenían hasta el momento.

Una vez acabada la guerra, uno de los principales objetivos de Franco era crear una capital grande y poderosa que fuera la imagen de un nuevo sistema político, una concepción unitaria y centralista. La construcción del Gran Madrid, como se le ha denominado, usando la expresión que Hitler utilizó para Berlín, tuvo varias fases. En un primer momento, en el que la inmigración estaba más o menos estabilizada, las medidas fueron en su mayoría de reconstrucción, como demuestra el estudio fotográfico que hizo el Ayuntamiento entre 1941 y 1943, en el que se aprecia calle a calle, el antes y el después de la intervención del Estado. Esta reconstrucción fue promovida principalmente por la Junta de Reconstrucción de Madrid, creada en 1939, recién acabada la guerra. Hay que tener en cuenta que este proyecto se llevó a cabo en tan solo dos años y prácticamente en toda la ciudad y las grandes vías de comunicación. Esto demuestra la importancia que dio el Régimen a la recuperación de la capital, para ser reflejo de su gobierno.

Ayto. de Madrid. (1945). ***Obra ejecutada en la vía pública de la Capital en el 1º año después de La Liberación****. © Museo de Historia de Madrid.*

Pero no sólo era cuestión de limpiar las calles de la capital, también era necesario tomar otras medidas que fueran acordes con esta idea imperialista y que afectaban a los terrenos de la periferia, estos pueblos limítrofes mencionados. A estos primeros momentos pertenece la creación de los poblados mínimos y los poblados agrícolas. Lo que pretendían estas primeras fórmulas de construcción era proporcionar casas a aquellas personas que las habían perdido en la contienda, pero que seguían estando en zonas rurales, cercanas a la ciudad. Se calculaba que 60.000 habitantes se quedaron sin hogar, pero permanecían en sus barrios, viviendo entre escombros. Eran casas adosadas pero con idea de mantener el espíritu rural, con patio trasero para los animales y en las zonas más externas de los municipios limítrofes.

Como explica muy bien Jesús Díaz (2003), la actuación sobre estas zonas no recayó en los municipios (ni en el de Madrid ni en los limítrofes), sino en la Dirección General de Regiones Devastadas, un organismo estatal que se encargó de la reconstrucción de las zonas que hubiesen sufrido destrucciones superiores al 75%.

Las actuaciones en estos años fueron en muchas ocasiones contradictorias y poco organizadas, ya que las disputas entre Estado y Ayuntamiento, e incluso entre las diferentes instituciones nacionales, fueron constantes. Se partía de la base de una proyección de núcleos satélite para ordenar el crecimiento de la ciudad, la zonificación funcional y el establecimiento de anillos verdes que debían actuar

Poblado agrícola de Vallecas, 1941. Proyecto Memoria de los Barrios, documento donado por Emiliana Saavedra

como barreras al crecimiento y delimitación de las distintas áreas, intentando evitar dos cosas: el crecimiento en forma de mancha de aceite y las estructuras de épocas pasadas que solían basarse en la existencia de patios interiores alrededor de los que se colocaban las viviendas. Pero estas ideas no se materializaron en gran parte porque la población las desbordó antes casi de ser iniciadas.[2]

Pero ésta no es la única razón por la que este proyecto no se pudo llevar a cabo; a ello hay que añadir la paralización de la industria y la producción agraria, debido a la herencia de la guerra y al aislamiento político y económico de España en esa época, que llevó a situarnos a niveles muy anteriores al inicio de la guerra (Jesús López, 2003). Otros aspectos que influyeron en la imposibilidad de realizar los proyectos fueron el alto precio del terreno en el centro de Madrid y la altísima especulación en la venta y alquiler de inmuebles, que obligaba a gran parte de la población a salir a la periferia, ocupando estos espacios destinados al plan.

Ya en este momento se plantea la necesidad de proponer la anexión de los municipios limítrofes,[3] debido a que el ayuntamiento de Madrid se estaba haciendo cargo de gran parte de los gastos generados por ellos, pero en cambio no recibe los impuestos correspondientes.

Y por otra parte, algunos municipios se veían incapaces de hacer frente a las necesidades de esta llegada masiva de inmigrantes que trabajaban en la ciudad pero colapsaban los servicios de estos municipios.

Hay muchas versiones sobre quien quiso qué, puesto que algunos municipios estaban interesados en esta anexión, mientras que otros se defendieron contra ella. La verdad es que entre 1948 y 1954 todos ellos fueron absorbidos por la capital, acercándose por fin al Gran Madrid que el Régimen pretendía.

Inmigración masiva

En la década de los 50, una vez pasados estos primeros años en los que la emigración fue constante, pero no excesiva, las soluciones iniciales se van quedando cortas. La construcción privada sigue estancada por la depresión de los años inmediatos de posguerra y se dirige en su mayoría a las clases medias, y las casas de protección tan solo han conseguido rehabilitar las viviendas destrozadas o atender las necesidades de los funcionarios del estado.

A partir de 1954 se comienza a tener consciencia de que el problema se les está yendo de las manos.

¿Por qué se inicia esta emigración masiva de otras zonas a Madrid?

Madrid recibió principalmente migraciones de la propia provincia, es decir, de sus pueblos; de las provincias limítrofes (Toledo, Avila…) y del sur peninsular: Andalucía y Extremadura. Las zonas del sur de la Península fueron las más castigadas en esta posguerra debido a varias causas, pero una de las principales fue su preestructura social y económica, casi sin industria, que no se adaptó a las pocas oportunidades existentes en este momento. El sur era zona republicana al principio de la guerra y eso también se tradujo en una falta de apoyo del Estado, con deficiencia en las infraestructuras, y algunos aspectos como la enseñanza quedaron absolutamente de lado. No hay una cifra exacta, pero P. Montoliu (2007), estima que los muertos por inanición superaron en estas zonas los 200.000 en la posguerra. A esto hay que añadir que el trabajo en el sector agrario decae y el sector terciario, que se acumula en las ciudades, no es capaz, en el caso de las capitales de provincia del sur, de absorber este excedente, quedando solo dos soluciones: emigrar al extranjero o emigrar a ciudades mayores donde el

crecimiento industrial está despuntando en estos momentos y necesita mano de obra, como es el caso de Madrid y Barcelona. (Horacio Capel, 1967).

La ya precaria situación del lugar de procedencia de los inmigrantes que llegaron a la zona Sur de Madrid, también ayudó a que la situación de marginalidad se alargara en el tiempo. López de los Mozos (1989) en su artículo sobre la inmigración madrileña afirma que estos barrios eran los que tenían el nivel más alto de analfabetismo o personas con estudios de bajo nivel, y por lo tanto con menos posibilidades de conseguir trabajos cualificados que les hicieran salir de la situación en la que se encontraban.

Tabla de elaboración propia con datos de López de los Mozos y Espejo Marín, 1989

Las cifras de llegada de inmigrantes crecen de manera continuada y ascendente desde 1940 hasta 1975 cuando se inicia su ralentización. La década que más población recibió fue la de los 60, cuando la población pasó de unos 2 millones de habitantes a más de 3 millones.

A través de un fondo de fotografías que compró el Museo hace unos años y que reúne una serie de imágenes del Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío [4] alrededor de 1960, vamos intentar ver cómo fue la vida de estos inmigrantes que llegaron a Madrid sin medios ni posibilidades.

La serie de fotos: Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío, alrededor de 1960.

Los inmigrantes tendían a quedarse en la zona más próxima a los lugares de donde venían, aunque estos se encontrasen a muchos kilómetros de distancia. Eran las zonas por las que llegaban a la capital y por lo común se tenía la idea que era más fácil establecer relaciones con otras personas en su misma circunstancia. Además solían encontrar una relación paisajística mayor con sus lugares de origen. En muchas ocasiones había un efecto llamada de otros familiares que habían llegado con anterioridad, lo que se denomina migración en cadena. Por miserable que fuera la situación, en Madrid se podía conseguir un trabajo. Como dice Vilasante et al (1989), un salario significaba "lumbre y puchero".

No eran personas que buscasen mejorar una situación preexistente, sino que eran familias enteran expulsadas de las zonas agrarias más atrasadas que no les ofrecían en estos momentos ninguna posibilidad de subsistencia. Por ello, al configurar estos poblados se solían reproducir el hábitat de sus lugares de origen, convirtiéndose en zonas rurales dentro de la ciudad.

Además la inmigración histórica a Madrid anterior a la guerra, gallega y asturiana en gran parte, por tradición se había asentado en zonas más céntricas o del norte de la ciudad y así siguió ocurriendo.

De esta manera, las zonas alrededor de las carreteras de Extremadura y Andalucía se convirtieron en las grandes receptoras de la inmigración de posguerra.
Uno de los principales problemas, y que ha sido, al mismo tiempo, uno de los elementos más importantes a la hora de configurar los espacios urbanos y los nuevos barrios, fue la parcelación ilegal. Grandes terrenos rústicos fueron parcelados por sus dueños y vendidos en "pedacitos", convirtiendo este espacio de rústico a urbano sin mediar un proceso legal. Esto se hizo debido a la pasividad del gobierno, que no fue capaz de reaccionar ante el hecho ya que no tenía otras alternativas para canalizar esta llegada masiva de inmigrantes. Los beneficios eran muy elevados y la especulación altísima.

La construcción era ilegal, por lo que era necesario hacerla de manera clandestina. Valenzuela Rubio (2010) nos explica cómo era el sencillo mecanismo. Se construía con materiales de baja calidad, muchas veces de segunda mano, por la noche, con

la ayuda de familiares y vecinos, de manera que a la mañana siguiente había una vivienda más, convirtiéndolo en un hecho consumado. Si el techo estaba puesto, las autoridades no podían echárselo abajo.

Muchas veces se utilizaban las irregularidades del terreno e incluso oquedades en pequeños cerros o colinas para sustentar estas precarias viviendas. Las paredes se construían de mampostería y madera y los tejados muchas veces no eran más que lonas o planchas de uralita sujetas con piedras u otros materiales.

Generalmente los dueños de estas viviendas intentaban ir acondicionándolas poco a poco, añadiendo elementos o mejorando aquellos que se habían puesto en un primer momento con las prisas. Se añadían cubiertas de teja que mejorasen el aislamiento y evitaran las goteras, se añadían puertas y ventanas, se enlosaban los suelos, etc.

La serie de fotos: Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío, alrededor de 1960.

La familia que compraba una de estas parcelas con los pocos ahorros que traían, tan solo compraba el espacio físico, sin agua potable, luz, o saneamiento. El espacio era muy reducido, generalmente una sola habitación y otro espacio que servía simultáneamente de cocina, salón, comedor, etc.

Hay que tener en cuenta que la tasa de natalidad de esta generación era altísima. Al desconocimiento y poca información que tenían las mujeres en esos momentos, hay que unir el férreo control que ejercen el gobierno y la Iglesia sobre estos aspectos. De esta manera, nos encontramos con que muchas de estas chabolas estaban habitadas por familias numerosas que compartían habitación y camas. (5)

La luz en las calles, cuando la había, se conseguía trayendo cables desde las barriadas más cercanas y consistía en una bombilla cada muchos metros. En las casas no solía haber electricidad, solo velas y luz natural, aunque en algunas ocasiones se hacían empalmes a la instalación de la calle para tener algún punto de luz en el interior.

El agua era llevada hasta las casas o bien mediante aguadores que cobraban una pequeña cantidad por su servicio, o a pie por parte de los propios vecinos. A veces era necesario recorrer varios kilómetros para llegar a la fuente más cercana.

Eran zonas aisladas, sin transporte ni carreteras. Las calles no estaban asfaltadas, eran tan solo espacios que se dejaban para poder moverse entre las chabolas y los caminos que llevaban a la ciudad, cuando llovía, se convertían en auténticos lodazales.

Había una ausencia absoluta de servicios públicos como escuelas o centros sanitarios. En muchas ocasiones eran los propios vecinos los que organizaban estos servicios en centros comunitarios, y gracias al voluntariado y/o el apoyo de la Iglesia. En muchas ocasiones el problema era conseguir estos espacios y evitar la masificación. (6)

Las condiciones de vida en estos poblados eran ínfimas. Se han realizado estudios comprobando que tal insalubridad y la deficiente alimentación han influido en el biotipo del inmigrante, siendo la segunda generación varios centímetros más baja que los habitantes de otras zonas peninsulares. Igualmente se ha estudiado un aumento de la criminalidad y la tendencia al suicidio, mayoritariamente femenino, debido al trauma del desarraigo y las condiciones de vida.

También tenemos que fijarnos en el hecho de que Madrid es una ciudad con un clima extremo, con inviernos muy fríos y veranos muy calurosos. La minina del

mes de enero ronda los 0º, mientras que la máxima en julio supera los 33º. Estas temperaturas también suponían un problema, ya que estas chabolas no tenían ningún tipo de aislamiento y tenían que soportar las inclemencias del tiempo.

Lo curioso de esto es que, a pesar de estas condiciones, la mayoría de inmigrantes nunca volvieron a su lugar de origen, porque solo una ciudad como Madrid les ofrecía un horizonte de futuro.

Politica oficial ante la inmigración

Al llegar a finales de los años 50, cuando el número de inmigrantes se disparó, intentaron buscar nuevas soluciones para este crecimiento. En primer lugar buscaron medidas para cortar la llegada de nuevos emigrantes mediante el control de las zonas de chabolismo por parte del Servicio de Vigilancia del Extrarradio, encomendado a la Guardia Civil. Por otra parte intentaron diferentes medidas constructivas para paliar la situación, dando lugar a muchos poblados o colonias. El problema fue que no hubo un criterio urbanístico unificado y con planteamientos basados en una racionalización del terreno. El criterio era simplemente actuar allí donde había espacios libres y población necesitada de vivienda.

Esto provocó que el mapa urbanístico de esta zona de la ciudad sea muy poco unificado, salpicado por diferentes sistemas de construcción y de adquisición de las viviendas, pero siempre dirigido a un segmento de la población que tenía dificultades para encontrarlas.

Algunos de estos sistemas fueron especialmente significativos por sus características de construcción.

Las UVA, unidades de viviendas de absorción, comúnmente conocidas simplemente como poblados de absorción, eran, como su nombre indica, un sistema para reabsorber el chabolismo. Eran casas con unas condiciones mínimas, construidas para que las familias pudieran abandonar sus infraviviendas y tener unas mejores condiciones. Se hicieron rápidamente y sin muchos medios (aún la economía de posguerra no permitía excesivos gastos). Estaban pensadas para un tiempo determinado con la idea de ser sustituidas por casas permanentes una vez que a las autoridades les hubiese dado tiempo a planificar. Su estructura era muy sencilla: hileras de casas de poca altura con viviendas pequeñas e infraestructuras mínimas.

Se construían en terrenos anexos a las chabolas y la intención era construir las casas definitivas en los espacios que la absorción iba dejando libres, pero la llegada era tan masiva y continuada que la mayoría de las veces estos espacios eran nuevamente ocupados por nuevos inmigrantes, quedándose sin el espacio para la futura construcción.

El principal problema de estos poblados fue que duraron en el tiempo mucho más de lo previsto, los materiales sufrieron mucho deterioro y los vecinos padecían en ocasiones los problemas derivados de la precariedad de los servicios, llegando en algunos casos a producirse accidentes graves.

Otro sistema de construcción, más exitoso, fue el de los Poblados Dirigidos. Era una medida innovadora y que dio bastante buen resultado. Consistía en proyectar unas barriadas pero en colaboración con los vecinos, es decir, fueron los propios habitantes los que levantaron sus viviendas. Por suerte, los proyectos los hicieron jóvenes arquitectos recién salidos de la universidad que dieron frescura y plasticidad a los diseños y propusieron soluciones modernas y de un

La serie de fotos: Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío, alrededor de 1960.

Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío
La serie de fotos: Poblado del Cerro del Tío Pío, alrededor de 1960.

alto valor estético.[7] Se trataba de barriadas que alternaban pisos de 4 o 5 alturas, con viviendas unifamiliares de 1 o 2 plantas y en el centro de cada manzana había edificaciones bajas para los locales de servicios como mercado, farmacia, etc. y en algunos casos escuelas e iglesia.

Los arquitectos rompieron con el urbanismo convencional de calles y bloques. Los coches se mantenían en la periferia del asentamiento y los espacios interiores peatonales estaban completados con terrazas, escalones y muros de contención.
Se crearon cooperativas de chabolistas que realizaban las labores constructivas asesorados por técnicos de construcción. Los trabajos más específicos requerían de la contratación de empresas especializadas que solían preparar el trabajo, pero eran ejecutados por cuadrillas de cooperativistas. Estas cuadrillas se componían de unas veinte o treinta personas que trabajaban los fines de semana, por lo que recibían el nombre de domingueros.

Esteban Maluenda (1999) destaca que el éxito de estos poblados se debió en parte a esta colaboración porque se creó un clima de euforia y amistad entre los participantes que difícilmente se hubiera conseguido de otra manera.
A estos dos intentos de construcción de vivienda social por parte del gobierno, hay que unir la masiva construcción de colonias y barriadas por parte de cooperativas o empresas privadas que al resguardo de la recuperación económica y aprovechando la gran demanda de viviendas, constituyen gran parte del tejido urbano en estos barrios.

Estas barriadas solían padecer los mismos problemas de infraestructura que las barriadas sociales, porque, como se ha repetido varias veces en este texto, las soluciones iban siempre por detrás de las necesidades. En muchas ocasiones se ha hablado de un chabolismo en altura para definir la situación de muchas de estas viviendas. Grandes bloques de viviendas, de 4 o 5 alturas en zonas aún poco planificadas y dotadas.

A pesar de todos estos intentos, el ritmo acelerado de la inmigración en los 60 provocó que a finales de esta década casi 1.000 hectáreas de superficie, lo que significa que el 10% del suelo residencial, estuviera ocupado por lo que se denomina infravivienda, aunque en este caso la tipología es muy variada y va desde las casas bajas rurales que se han quedado dentro del núcleo urbano, a las chabolas sin ningún tipo de infraestructura.

Ralentización de la migraciones
Llegada la década de los 70, la inmigración decae de manera drástica. La crisis mundial de este momento hace que cualquier tipo de migración, interna o externa, se ralentice o que casi se paralice.

Por esto fue un buen momento para que el gobierno intentase regular muchas de las medidas transitorias que habían tomado hasta entonces. Se puso en marcha el Programa de Barrios en Remodelación. Se pretendía sobre todo intervenir en las barriadas levantadas de manera temporal como las UVA (Unidades vecinales de Absorción) o los poblados mínimos en la década de los 50.

Al contrario de la década anterior, se olvida cualquier planteamiento urbano que pretendiese una organización racionalizada y moderna. Esto es debido a que es necesario trabajar sobre un espacio constreñido y con unas densidades de población muy altas que obligan a construir en alto, con menos espacios verdes y con menores posibilidades de diseños abiertos.

Las viviendas de estas barriadas o poblados se habían construido con una idea de temporalidad, pero se mantuvieron por mucho tiempo, y la mayoría de ellas se encontraban en barrios ya desarrollados y acotados. Los vecinos no querían salir perjudicados por las decisiones que el Estado había tomado en décadas anteriores y por eso demandaban soluciones finales dignas.

Se intentó trasladar a algunos vecinos a otros espacios, pero la mayoría de ellos se negaron y el asociacionismo vecinal fue crucial en esta lucha. Esto supuso que conviviesen edificios antiguos, barracones temporales y edificios nuevos al mismo tiempo.

Hay que tener en cuenta que el poso de solidaridad comunitaria que se fue gestando en los barrios de chabolas y que se trasladó con los vecinos a las nuevas edificaciones, había provocado una identificación muy fuerte entre los barrios y sus habitantes, estableciendo la concepción de barrio por encima de la de ciudad. De esa manera, los habitantes de esta zona se sienten más "carabancheleros" o "vallecanos" que "madrileños".

La consecuencia social más negativa fue que esta situación de precariedad que estos barrios han vivido durante tantos años, ha provocado que arrastren un lastre y se conviertan de manera continuada en focos de marginalidad, sufriendo con mayor virulencia las crisis y problemáticas posteriores, como el impacto de la heroína en la juventud en los años 80, una tasa de paro superior a la media o unos índices de fracaso escolar elevados.

Procesión del Domingo de Ramos en la UVA de Vallecas, 1967. Memoria de los Barrios, documento donado por Francisco Sánchez Palos

Colonia de la Virgen de las Gracias, Carabanchel, 1956. Memoria de los Barrios, documento donado por Pedro Aguado Rubira

Conclusión

La conclusión de todo esto es que la estructura urbana de todo el sur de Madrid es producto de una serie de medidas más o menos planificadas, más o menos acertadas y más o menos consensuadas con la vecindad, que han configurado una red urbanística y arquitectónica peculiar que ya se encuentra enraizada en estas zonas, y que no aparece en los manuales de historia, pero que forma parte de ella.

La pobreza, la cooperación entre los vecinos, la lucha de clases han dado al sur madrileño una idiosincrasia particular de la que se sienten muy orgullosos sus habitantes.

Notas

(1) Aunque Carabanchel estaba en ese momento dividido en Carabanchel Bajo y Alto, en todo el texto hablaré de Carabanchel como una sola unidad, ya que generalmente se les nombraba juntos, como los Carabancheles y posteriormente a la anexión pasaron a ser un solo distrito y no se hace esa distinción al hablar de esa zona.

(2) Éste era el planteamiento del Plan Bidagor de 1946, que se venía proyectando desde 1941 y que recogía algunas de las ideas urbanísticas del movimiento de la Falange.

(3) Estos 13 pueblos, Aravaca, Barajas, Canillas, Canillejas, Chamartín de la Rosa, Carabanchel Alto, Carabanchel Bajo, Fuencarral, Hortaleza, El Pardo, Vallecas, Vicálvaro y Villaverde junto a otros tres más, Pozuelo, Leganés y Getafe, ya habían formado una mancomunidad en 1910 con el fin de mejorar sus relaciones con la capital y conseguir mayor seguridad para los habitantes y sus propiedades con la extensión de la policía urbana, consolidación de la instrucción, la mejora de las comunicaciones intermunicipales, la higiene pública, agua potable y alcantarillado (García J.M. 2005).

(4) El Cerro del Tío Pío fue un poblado chabolista que se desarrolló entre la década de los 50 y 60 en el distrito de Vallecas, y fue demolido y sus habitantes realojados en los años 80. Actualmente en sus terrenos hay un parque denominado con el mismo

Mapa de los diferentes sistemas de vivienda social sobre el que actuó el Plan de Remodelación de los Barrios, (Villasante et al., 1989, p. 14-15)

nombre, pero que popularmente se conoce como Parque de las Siete Tetas, debido a la forma que tienen sus colinas.

(5) La media de miembros por familia era de 5,65, pero muchas chabolas estaban habitadas por más de una familia, aunque fuera temporalmente hasta que se pudiera construir la suya.

(6) Según cifras de 1953 dadas por la misma iglesia, se mantenían en aquel momento 215 escuelas en los "suburbios" y 44 talleres parroquiales para diferentes cursos y actividades, además de dispensarios, asilos, etc.

(7) Muchos de estos arquitectos llegaron a ser grandes maestros de la arquitectura y entre ellos estaban Antonio Vázquez de Castro y José María Íñiguez de Onzoño, que acababan de graduarse en la Escuela de Arquitectura de Madrid en 1955. Eran los miembros más jóvenes de una nueva generación formada por Alejandro de la Sota, Francisco Javier Sáenz de Oiza, Javier Carvajal, José Antonio Corrales y Ramón Vázquez Molezún, José María García de Paredes, Luis Cubillo.

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URBAN MEMORY, AMNESIA AND CITY MUSEUMS

MEMORIA URBANA, AMNESIA Y MUSEOS DE CIUDAD

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THRONES AND SEEDS – MIGRANT CULTURES FLOW IN LISBON: NEW CHALLENGES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

TRONOS Y SEMILLAS, FLUJO DE CULTURAS MIGRANTES EN LISBOA: NUEVOS RETOS, NUEVAS PERSPECTIVAS

ABSTRACT

The Museum of Lisbon has recently started some communitarian projects by means of participatory methodologies towards the mapping of Lisbon's inhabitants of today. Following the remodelling of the museum, that started three years ago, one of our goals is to better know the current city population. This is a long-term multifocal project to be developed in partnership with universities, community associations and researchers. In 2015, around 50,000 immigrants were living in the city of Lisbon and about 170,000 in the Lisbon district. The most represented immigrants come from Brazil, China, Nepal and Cape Verde (Africa), bringing with them a multitude of social and cultural issues, including conflicts and appropriations of Portuguese cultural habits to better fit their own needs.

Key words

Museum of Lisbon, communitarian/collaborative projects, mapping projects, urban cultural landscape, migrant populations, urban gardens, foodscapes

RESUMEN

Recientemente, el museo de Lisboa, inicio proyectos comunitarios lo que significa el empleo de metodologias participativas para mapear a los habitantes actuales de la ciudad. Si se sigue la remodelacion del museo, que empezo tres anos atras, una de nuestras metas es conocer mejor a la poblacion de la ciudad, y a largo plazo, desarrollar un proyecto multifocal que se llevara a cabo en colaboracion con universidades, asociaciones comunitarias e investigadores. En 2015, cerca de 50,000 inmigrantes vivian en la ciudad de Lisboa, y alrededor de 170,000 en los distritos de la ciudad. La mayoria de la poblacion inmigrante proviene de Brasil, China, Nepal y Cabo Verde (Africa), lo cual ha generado multiples problemas sociales y culturales, lo que incluye los conflictos y apropiaciones por parte de los portugueses para adaptarse mejor a sus propias necesidades.

Palabras clave

Museo de Lisboa, proyectos comunitarios / de colaboración, proyectos de mapeo, paisaje cultural urbano, poblaciones migrantes, jardines urbanos, foodscapes

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this article is to put forward and to question two of the Museum of Lisbon's ongoing first projects involving migrants and local NGOs. One is related to the ways of popular devotion to Saint Anthony of Lisbon, and profane practices associated with these devotions, like the handmade "thrones of St. Anthony", or the selling of ethnic food, mainly during the city festivities in June, which can be a mean to integrate migrant people living or working in some of Lisbon's neighbourhoods, bringing a new perspective to the old traditions.

The other is concerned with the city's increasing urban gardens, focusing on some that are being taken care of by migrant populations, including internal migrants from rural areas to the city, populations from former Portuguese African Colonies, and recent immigrants from Brazil, East European and Asian countries. People are moving, seeds are circulating and new agricultural and feeding practices are brought into town, challenging our own habits.

As the Museum of Lisbon approaches the city's current population that includes various types of migrants, our perspectives on Lisbon's urban cultural landscape are being broadened to embrace surprise, paradox, conflictual values and cultural enrichment. Trying to get wider pictures of the human urban reality without prejudice-making is one of the Museum's aims.

The Museum of Lisbon has recently started some communitarian projects towards the mapping of Lisbon's inhabitants. Following the remodelling of the Museum, which started three years ago, one of our goals is to have a deeper knowledge of the current population of the city, a long-term multifocal project developed in partnership with universities, community associations and researchers.

In 2015, around 50,000 immigrants were living in the city of Lisbon, and about 170,000 in the district of Lisbon. Most immigrants came from Brazil, China, Nepal and Cape Verde, bringing a multitude of social and cultural issues, including conflicts and appropriations of Portuguese cultural habits to better fit their own needs.

The article is focused on two of the Museum of Lisbon's ongoing projects involving migrants and local NGOs for the first time.

The city festivities: thrones and foodscapes

One of the oldest and most typical Lisbon neighbourhoods is Alfama, and every June it becomes the heart of the city festivities. One of the traditions that have lately been revitalised by the Museum is the making of "thrones of St. Anthony", which are placed all over downtown, in windows, staircases and food stands. Some of the thrones, based on an old Catholic tradition, are made by elderly people from the neighbourhood and placed in immigrants' shops (regardless if they are Hindus or Muslims) in order to catch the attention of others.

In Alfama, we can map foodscapes of spicy samosas, typical Lisbon food (cabbage soup and sardines), and international fast food like hamburgers and hotdogs. All of this can be sold at the same food stands, e.g. Portuguese wine and beer being served alongside *mojitos* and *caipirinhas*. Their clients are Lisboans, including

immigrants, other Portuguese people, and lots of tourists coming from everywhere. The result is a cosmopolitan melting pot where we can feel a certain thrill out of food neophilia, in people keen to try the typical Lisbon and the migrants' exotic specialities.

The June festivities can be seen as an image of the migration flux from the post-revolution times (after the 1970s), connecting India, Mozambique and Portugal, amongst other places. It also reveals the way that food and recipes can change according to market trends, resulting in reinvented products. Finally, it shows cases of unplanned community integration strategies between neighbouring social groups.

The story of Dhan is a good example. Dhan was born in Mozambique in 1977. Her hindu family is from Diu, a former Portuguese colony in India. They arrived in Portugal in the 1980s. First they lived in a shanty town but later they moved to an apartment on the outskirts of Lisbon, along with other immigrants and Portuguese returnees from the former colonies. Dhan and her husband own a small shop in Alfama, where they sell a bit of everything. During the June festivities, they set a food stand outside, and sell up to 500 samosas a day, made with spices coming from London.

The urban gardens

The second case we are working on regards the city's growing urban gardens, focusing on some that are being taken care of by migrant populations, including internal migrants from rural areas to the city, populations from former Portuguese African colonies, and recent immigrants from Brazil, Eastern Europe and Asia.

There is a growing awareness of the importance of sustainable food systems in cities, food sovereignty and food security.

In Lisbon, we can trace a growing number of Lisboans cultivating their own food. A great variety of urban agricultural experiences can be perceived, such as private vegetable gardens, school vegetable gardens, institutional and community vegetable gardens, illegal vegetable gardens, and urban vegetable gardens managed by the municipality. People are moving, seeds are circulating, and new agriculture and feeding practices are brought into town, questioning our own habits.

At the communitarian urban park of AVAAL, many of the food growers come from Angola, São Tome and Cape Verde. They plant sugar cane, harvest corn, sweet potato, cassava, yam, okra, Congo beans and chilli, alongside Portuguese cabbages, onions, and leek.

The African species are brought from their homeland in the form of seeds and seedlings, and they are planted in plots in Lisbon to try to reproduce African ancestral flavours and scents. Such urban garden experiences are also ways to foster mutual assistance, competition among groups integration within their original communities and, outside them, expansion of the group's social circles.

At the urban garden of the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon, national and foreign students practice sustainable agriculture techniques, fostering

organic practices, biodiversity and healthy living, while encouraging cooperative approaches. The Department of Biology and the Museum are working together to study and map sustainable urban gardens, and in the creation of a self-sustainable garden in the Museum.

Simultaneously, we, at the Museum of Lisbon, will turn an old greenhouse into a self-sustainable educational garden, while the broader project will keep aiming at the creation of participatory maps of urban gardens, permaculture workshops and an exhibition about the history of city gardens and their future sustainability.

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NEW SPACES, SAME CHALLENGES. RETHINKING HERITAGE BASED ON THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MUSEUM OF THE CITY OF TOTORAS, SANTA FE, ARGENTINA

NUEVOS ESPACIOS, MISMOS DESAFÍOS. REPENSANDO EL PATRIMONIO A PARTIR DE LAS COLECCIONES DEL MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD DE TOTORAS, SANTA FE, ARGENTINA [*full text in Spanish*]

ABSTRACT
The Museum of the City of Totoras, in Sant Fe, Argentina, is a completely new space, built and opened in 2013, funded by the Municipality.

From the outset, we agreed that the value of the objects in the collection does not reside solely in the quality of their materials, worth or design, but also, and especially, in the stories they convey.

Would it be possible to outline a typology that linked these objects to the mnemic processes they inspire? Would it be possible to contribute other senses and meanings to objects, going beyond the rigid classifications we assign them in the repository, which are useful for ordering and safeguarding purposes, but lack shared memory?

Our challenge is to make the inhabitants of the city themselves be those who inscribe and/or experience these senses. But how to achieve this? To what extent is it even possible?

Four years on, these are some of the concerns that guide our work.

Key words
Cultural heritage, museums, senses, identity, communities.

RESUMEN
El Museo de la Ciudad de Totoras, Santa Fe, Argentina, es un espacio completamente nuevo, de dependencia municipal, construido e inaugurado en 2013.

Desde el inicio del trabajo acordamos en que los objetos de la colección no valen sólo por la calidad de sus materiales, de su factura o de su diseño, sino también – y sobre todo – por las historias que convocan.

¿Será posible esbozar una tipología que vincule a estos objetos con los procesos mnémicos que inspiran? ¿Será posible aportar otros sentidos y significados a los objetos, que vayan más allá de las clasificaciones rígidas que les damos dentro del depósito, útiles a los fines del ordenamiento y la seguridad, pero vacías de memoria compartida?

Nuestro desafío es que sean los propios habitantes de la ciudad los que inscriban y/o vivencien esos sentidos. ¿Cómo lograrlo? ¿Hasta qué punto es esto realmente posible? Luego de cuatro años estas son algunas de las inquietudes que guían nuestro trabajo.

Palabras clave
Patrimonio cultural, museos, sentidos, identidad, comunidades

INTRODUCTION

"To conceive the city as both a place to live and be imagined. Thus, the city becomes dense, loaded with heterogenous fantasies".

García Canclini (1997). *Imaginarios urbanos.* [Urban Imaginaries].109.

Our starting point is the concept that a Museum is in a privileged position to strengthen an individual's connection with his or her identity through recognition of integral cultural heritage. If the aim of museums is to gather, highlight the qualities of, and facilitate a community's access to its cultural memory, through objects pertaining to its own heritage, the members of that community must necessarily become participants in this process of (re)cognition.

The power of museum objects does not lie solely in their capacity to tell stories, but equally, in their potential to create bonds with the community through collective memory.

Based on this premise, and following Batallán (1993), we believe the Museum must generate a space for reflection, for appropriation by the subjects, where in "telling the story" it is understood with connections and diversities. We therefore propose to conceive it "*... as an active field in the creation of new social meanings, based on the recognition of, and respect for diversity*"... (Batallán, 1993: 80).

We believe museums nowadays should be spaces for non-formal education and recreation, but also for gathering and debate; changing from *museums for things* into *museums for people*. Thus, they become living institutions that can create links between visitors, generations and cultures of the world; making way for dialogue and accepting the challenge of rethinking their problems.

Who decides what constitutes cultural heritage?
The concept of cultural heritage is historic. It is about the assets from the past or present which at a given time are considered worth keeping and preserving. Clearly, the selection of what will be preserved from the past is almost always decided by dominant social groups, in accordance with restrictive criteria that are presented as general ones.

But if we agree that heritage does not appear on its own, then its theoretical or practical definition must not overlook that it is at the service of mankind and, in general terms, exists to provide an anchor when giving meaning to life.

Through heritage, a society becomes visible to itself and to others. Communities objectify themselves through what we call cultural heritage, to endure through it. This is why heritage is an area of conflict between different social groups: even though theoretically all citizens have equal rights to it, there are always issues of bias, both in opportunities to access and enjoy it and, indeed, when defining it.

From this perspective, throughout history the conception of cultural heritage is inherently linked to the concept of identity of peoples. Without going into an in-depth analysis, this conceptualisation has its main foundation on considerations regarding collective memory, configured precisely from the coexistence of individuals and being conveyed in material and symbolic culture.

Hence, the relationship between cultural heritage and the identity of the community that creates it is based more on a task of *re-cognition* than knowledge. Thus, it does

not aim to discover the possibility of submitting a given object to a discursive logic, but rather, to confirm the significant values of the event experienced, that is to say, through the occurrence of historical evolution.

However, as already mentioned, it often becomes apparent that what society understands as cultural heritage has more to do with what various organisms say it should be, and that it is usually broached by focusing on that which is tangible, overlooking the immaterial dimension. The distinction between what is and what is not important in the matter of cultural heritage is more often than not established within official, governmental or academic organisms. But could this not be so?

The necessary selection of cultural objects of different value and function within a museological collection in fact remits to a scale of values – not explicit in certain cases and rarely fully pondered – but which obviously guides the decisions and eventually influences the total value placed by the public on the cultural objects displayed therein and, naturally, on museums themselves.

Concerning the implicit importance of objects for museums – an idea according to which objects represent a fundamental principle for museums – it is also a historical matter which should link the evolving relationship of objects in producing knowledge. After all, the museum is not only a historical creation, it is also a new phenomenon. The circumstances that once characterized the foundation of museums are no longer the ones experienced today, nor future ones you can try to imagine.

Fortunately, museums change... Not only must they reflect on their past, but also on how they relate to it, because in addition to historicising everything entrusted to them, museums must also historicise themselves.

The debate on museums and their relationship with cultural objects has been accompanied by debate on cultural heritage, its links to the State, the private sector and a social environment that is increasingly demanding – at times eager, at others apathetic – to participate in the selection, conservation, research and dissemination of their community's (local, regional and national) cultural objects. Judicial protection of cultural heritage in Argentina began a process of change ever since the return to democracy in 1983 and, particularly, stemming from the constitutional reform of 1994. The new National Constitution expressly recognizes the obligation of the State to "*provide for the conservation of natural and cultural heritage*" and puts a halt to certain disputes between the national and provincial levels by specifying that "*it pertains to the Nation to set out the rules that include minimum budgets for conservation, and to the provinces, those necessary to complement them, without these affecting the local jurisdictions*" (National Constitution of Argentina, Art. 41).

Furthermore, Argentina has ratified all the UNESCO Conventions applicable to cultural heritage, notably the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, of 1954, and its Additional Protocols; the Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, of 1970; the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, of 1972; in addition to the Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, of 2003. Moreover, it ratified the Convention on the International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT), on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, of 1995, which is an excellent complement to the UNESCO Convention of 1970; in addition to being perfectly compatible with the latter, it extends its range to apply not only to the protection of goods inventoried by the State, but also to those not recorded.

However, it has, unfortunately, been impossible to pass a framework law or minimum budget for cultural heritage, despite the numerous projects proposed in the National Congress. Nor has there been legislation regarding underwater heritage or on intangible heritage, which are essentially unprotcted by national rules. Furthermore, Law 25.197, that created the National Registry of Cultural Heritage, in 1999, has not been regulated, while Law 12.665, of 1940, on historical and artistic heritage remains in force.

What do we consider heritage within the Museum?
Our reflection within the Museum on the notion of Cultural Heritage did not give rise to certainties or elaborate definitions, but rather, to a series of difficult to answer questions:

- *What is the role of the community, or better yet, communities, in the current concept of culture and heritage? And that of museums?*

- *What place do they occupy in space and time in this conceptualization?*

- *How many types of heritage exist: cultural, archaeological, paleontological, natural, architectural, historic, material-immaterial...? Are these typologies useful?*

- *Why? What for? How? Who? Where?*

This reflection also brought about a few notions that barely attempt to demonstrate the status quo, but which somehow guide our work.

We agree that cultural heritage is present, past and future: it is personal and collective identity; it is experience; it is communal and collective social construction; it is the conservation and communication of that construction; it is polysemy.

It is everything a group has inherited from its ancestors or produced in the past and/or present and which it considers valuable. It is that which is recreated in memory, recollections that weave identification and attachment.

It is "something" – physical, abstract, intangible, quantifiable or not – that is symbolized and assigned a value within a social environment, in a historical context (time) and in a location (space). Therefore, the nature of the heritagisation of that "something" can be modified over the course of time and according to the context, since is does not have the same value in different times / spaces / social environments.

Based on these reflections, we strive to work on the care and conservation of that which we go defining as heritage, in an inclusive and emotional way.

We believe that the Museum today fulfills a strategic role in the collective significance – and re-significance – of cultural heritage, fostering the participation, enjoyment and sustainable exploitation of the heritage that belongs to its communities.

The Museum of the City of Totoras, in Santa Fe, Argentina. © Laura Accetta

What do we have? Where? How?
The Museum of the City of Totoras, in Santa Fe, Argentina is a completely new space that depends on the Municipality of Totoras; it was built and opened in 2013. The objects that comprise its collection – of different materials and those that reflect everyday rural and urban

life in this locality – were donated to the Municpality prior to this date, with the intention that one day they would form part of the collections of a future museum.

The plan of the Museum. © Laura Accetta

The working team consists of a Director, who was recruited by contest in parallel to the Museum's opening; two docents hired beforehand to cover the areas of Education and Research; a (part time) Curator in charge of Collections and Storage; a cleaner, and temporary curators or interns.

Although the Museum was designed and opened without a prior museological plan, the working team conceived it from the outset as a space that would offer the community a chance to know itself, understand its history, reflect on its cultural productions, interpret their creators and recover the characters and institutions that enabled the city to be built.

The collection it houses consists mainly of objects made of different materials, photographs and documents that reflect everyday rural and urban life in the local area, stemming from three large donations:

- *Peña Fotográfica Totorense* [Photographic Circle of Totoras] and *Museo de Fotografía Antigua "Jorge Luis Jose Bertotti"* [Museum of Old Photography "Jorge Luis Jose Bertotti"], that operated in the 90s in the framework of a private initiative.
- *Galeria de recuerdos "Tío Chiquín"* ["Tío Chiquín" Gallery of Memories] owned by Francisco Bonetto, a local collector who habitually opened the doors of his home to show everything he had collected, always related to local matters.
- Ninive "Lula" Moggio, a member of an influential family in the city's early 20th century cultural life, who died without descendants and bequethed part of her family's possessions.

These collections were received by the Municipality of Totoras some fifteen years before the Museum was created, and once it had opened, they were sent to Storage with no registry or classification whatsoever and in a middling state of conservation. After it opened, there were also new donations on the part of private individuals.

The Museum's building included a specific area for storing objects but it lacked the minimum requirements for conservation and preservation. Therefore, it was essential to plan the task of ordering, registering, documenting and storing these cultural objects, but only after minimum conditioning of shelves and storage spaces, so as to hold the objects correctly. Likewise, a specific space was added for archiving paper (photographs, documents and publications).

It currently houses approximately 2,000 objects, 1,500 photographs on paper and an unknown number of documents and publications, all in the process of catalogueing and storing. When deciding the general criteria for implementation, the tools RE-ORG (ICCROM) provides in its recommendations were taken into account.

We believe that storage areas in museums are key players for them to function, of equal importance as other areas. Nowadays the storage area is conceived to be used for preventive conservation of the collections, but also their documentation, research and treatment, acquiring a more active role within the institution and increasing its visibility based on a greater social benefit

The proposal
Our work methodology is based on planning exhibitions and activities that share the same dynamism as the city's current inhabitants, recovering people's direct living experiences from their own subjective, social and cultural perspective.
Parting from this premise, we strive to implement a joint effort with various sectors of the community, to broaden understanding of the present and, hence, the future perspective. Therefore, collaborative alliances are constantly made with different institutions, such as schools, old age pensioners' clubs and other civil associations (Spanish, Italian, Rotary, etc.), creating a participative network whose meeting point is the Museum or other public spaces in the city.

Using the objects and documents from the past as a basis and reference, we aim to incorporate "face to face" with the life experiences of the inhabitants who are a part of – and give shape to – this history. We postulate that, further to evoking memories, each object is subject to linking personal trajectories in this wider fabric we call collective history.

Thus, we work with Oral History as a valid methodology to bolster the memory of peoples, assuming the responsibility of keeping it alive and rescueing it from oblivion through intergenerational dialogue. So we endeavour to generate dynamic and participative exhibitions on diverse subjects that reflect the cultural identity of Totorans.

"When history museums harmonize the natural desire to experience nostalgia in elevated and personal ways, as powerful evocations of each and everyone's past, they become places adult visitors wish to frequent and bring others to" (Spock, 2009).

We also organise gatherings for intergenerational dialogue within the Museum, for example, between school-aged children and OAPs. Using the excuse of sharing a snack, certain objects from the collection and others brought along by the youngsters act as triggers for narratives. In this fashion, inverting the logic of the guided tour, instead of speaking around things in the Museum, we have objects circling around the guests and it is they who tell the stories.

Furthermore, we work in other environments, such as schools, fostering the search for and collection of histories and photographs by students of different levels (nursery, primary and secondary) among neighbours, relatives, grandparents, parents, etc., on a specific topic proposed by the Museum. Through direct interviews with the protagonists, they register their narrations through recordings, note-taking and filming, which are then expressed in a template provided by the Museum. They are subsequently exhibited in public spaces throughout the city and in the Museum.

Added to this methodology, there is an open invitation to the community to participate through loans of objects or documents that are linked to certain exhibitions, which are then exhibited along with the story of the person who lent it. In this way, every Sunday – the day the Museum receives the greatest public attendance – these people are part of what we call a living exhibit. In accordance with current regulations, the owners of private collections or objects permit access to the material and are identified as Custodians of Heritage.

These proposals represent just a fraction, that joins a much broader, longer and more interdisciplinary process which involves teachers, designers, curators, exhibition technicians, historians, anthropologists, artists, etc., but above all, the community.

This work does not intend to offer a closed and concrete planning, but rather, from this perspective, we open the game up to the numerous possiblities for potential participation.

Closing thoughts

The proposals that have been suggested contribute more senses and meanings to the objects, going beyond the rigid classification by coordinates and types that we assign them in storage, which are useful for the purpose of classifying and for safeguarding, but are devoid of shared memory.

We mantain that the objects safeguarded in the Museum are nor valuable exclusively due to the quality of their materials, their worth or their design, but also – primarily – because of the stories they evoke. Since not all memories are the same, would it be possible to outline a typology that links these objects to the mnemic processes they inspire?

The challenge is to expand the transformation of the conception of museums seen in recent years, that also relates to a shift in public perception. Following Asesio and Pol (1994), such changes can be summarized in four aspects:

> *1 – An epistemiological change: going from a positivist or neopositivist conception, in which the accumulation of data predominates, to a rationalist perspective, where the theories that allow us to explain the data are important.*
>
> *2 – A disciplinary change: shifting from a descriptive perspective with a taxonomic focus to an explanatory perspective, in which the focus is relational.*
>
> *3 - A museological change: going from a conception of storage museum, which stresses classification and cataloguing the acumulated material, to one of a more communicative museum, where emphasis is on disemination.*
>
> *4 – A change in the role of the visitor: previously aimed at an expert, elitist audience with a more passive and contemplative attitude in front of the object; nowadays having in mind a mass, non-expert audience, with an active attitude and the intention to comprehend.*

Nestor García Canclini tells us that heritage is not a set of fixed goods, whose value has been established once and for all, but rather, it is a social process much like capital: it is accumulated, renewed, it yields profits, and it is appropriated unequally by various sectors. He describes heritage as something dynamic, in contrast to its historical linkage anchored in an unmovable past.

Based on this, we believe in the potential of the museum to shatter stereotypes that lead to viewing it and its exhibitions as static and immutable, out of touch with the present.
How do the inhabitants of Totoras envision their city museum? How can they enjoy, experiment and live it? How can we build a dynamic space for dialogue where the idea of cultural heritage is commonplace?

Four years after it opened, these are some of the queries that guide us and make us ponder what type of museum we strive to be. The challenge is to try to be relevant for the community at a time when information is at their fingertips, citizens have much less time, and heritage is frequently under threat.

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NUEVOS ESPACIOS, MISMOS DESAFÍOS. REPENSANDO EL PATRIMONIO A PARTIR DE LAS COLECCIONES DEL MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD DE TOTORAS, SANTA FE, ARGENTINA

INTRODUCCIÓN

"Pensar en la ciudad a la vez como lugar para habitar y ser imaginado. Así, la ciudad se vuelve densa al cargarse de fantasías heterogéneas."

García Canclini (1997). *Imaginarios urbanos.* 109.

Partimos de la idea de que el Museo ocupa un lugar privilegiado para fortalecer la conexión del individuo con su identidad a través del reconocimiento del patrimonio cultural integral. Si el fin de los museos es reunir, poner en valor y facilitar el acceso de una comunidad a su memoria cultural a través de los bienes patrimoniales que les son propios, necesariamente se debe hacer partícipes a los miembros de esa comunidad de este proceso de (re)conocimiento.

El poder que tienen los objetos museísticos, no solo reside en su capacidad de contar historias, sino también en su potencialidad para crear un nexo con la comunidad a través de la memoria colectiva.

Bajo esta premisa, y siguiendo a Batallán (1993), pensamos que el Museo debe generar un espacio de reflexión, de apropiación por parte de los sujetos, donde al "contar la historia", ésta sea entendida con cruces y heterogeneidades. Entonces proponemos concebirlo "... *como un campo activo en la creación de nuevos sentidos sociales, sobre la base del reconocimiento y el respeto a la diversidad* "... (Batallán; 80).

Creemos que los museos hoy deben ser espacios de educación no formal y esparcimiento, pero también de encuentro y debate; pasando de ser *museos sobre cosas* a ser *museos para personas*. Así, se convierten en instituciones vivas que permiten crear enlaces entre los visitantes, las generaciones y las culturas del mundo; dando lugar al diálogo y aceptando el desafío de repensar su problemática.

¿Quién decide qué es patrimonio cultural?

La noción de patrimonio cultural es histórica. Es lo que en una época se considera que hay que valorar y guardar del pasado y del presente. Evidentemente, casi siempre la selección de lo que se rescata del pasado la hacen los grupos sociales dominantes, de acuerdo con criterios restrictivos que se presentan como generales.

Pero si acordamos que el patrimonio no surge por sí mismo, en su definición tanto teórica como práctica no debe olvidarse que está al servicio del hombre y que, en términos generales, existe con la finalidad de ser anclaje para dar sentido a la vida.

A través del patrimonio una sociedad se hace visible ante ella misma y ante los otros. Las comunidades se objetivan en lo que llamamos patrimonio cultural, volviéndose perdurables a través de él. Y es por esto que el patrimonio es un espacio de conflicto entre los distintos grupos sociales, ya que aunque teóricamente todos los ciudadanos tenemos el mismo derecho sobre él, siempre hay problemas de inequidad, tanto en las posibilidades de acceso y disfrute como en su definición misma.

Desde esta perspectiva, la concepción de patrimonio cultural está vinculada indisolublemente al concepto de identidad de los pueblos a lo largo de su historia. Sin entrar en un análisis exhaustivo, esta conceptualización encuentra su principal punto de apoyo en las consideraciones que se hagan sobre la memoria colectiva, configurada precisamente a partir de la coexistencia de los individuos y su plasmación en la cultura material y simbólica.

Entonces, la relación del patrimonio cultural con la identidad de la comunidad que lo crea se basa más en una tarea de *re-conocimiento* que de conocimiento. Es decir, no se trata de descubrir la posibilidad de someter a una lógica discursiva un elemento dado, sino de confirmar los valores significativos a partir de la experiencia vivida, o sea a través de una evolución histórica experimentada.

Sin embargo, como ya se dijo antes, muchas veces se hace evidente que lo que la sociedad entiende por patrimonio cultural tiene más que ver con aquello que desde los distintos organismos se dice que debe ser y que, generalmente, su abordaje está centrado en lo tangible, dejando de lado su dimensión inmaterial. La distinción de lo que es importante y lo que no, en materia de patrimonio cultural, se establece en la mayoría de los casos desde los organismos oficiales, gubernamentales o académicos. Pero ¿puede esto no ser así?

La necesaria selección de bienes culturales de diferente valor y función dentro de una colección museológica, remite en los hechos a una escala de valores – en algunos casos no explícita y casi nunca cabalmente reflexionada –, pero que obviamente orienta las decisiones, e influye, finalmente, en el valor total que el público le otorga a los bienes culturales allí contenidos o exhibidos, y por supuesto a los museos mismos.

En cuanto a la importancia implícita de los objetos para los museos – idea según la cual los objetos representan un principio fundamental del museo –, se trata igualmente de una cuestión histórica que conviene vincular a la relación evolutiva de los objetos respecto de las elaboraciones de conocimientos. Después de todo, el museo no es sólo una creación histórica, sino también un fenómeno nuevo. Las circunstancias que caracterizaron la fundación de los museos no son las mismas que se viven actualmente ni las del futuro que pueden imaginar para sí mismos.

Los museos cambian, por suerte… No sólo deben reflexionar sobre su pasado, sino también sobre la relación que mantienen con éste, porque además de haber historizado todo lo que se les ha confiado, los museos deben historizarse a sí mismos.

La discusión sobre los museos y sus relaciones con los bienes culturales ha venido acompañada de la discusión sobre el patrimonio cultural, su vinculación con el Estado, la iniciativa privada y un entorno social cada vez más exigente – a veces deseoso, a veces apático – de participar en la selección, conservación, investigación y difusión de los bienes culturales de su comunidad (local, regional y nacional).

La protección legal del patrimonio cultural en la Argentina comenzó un proceso de cambio desde el retorno de la democracia en 1983 y, particularmente, a partir de la reforma constitucional de 1994. La nueva Constitución Nacional reconoce expresamente la obligación del Estado de *"proveer a la preservación del patrimonio natural y cultural"*, y pone fin a ciertas disputas entre la Nación y las provincias al especificar que *"corresponde a la Nación dictar las normas que contengan los presupuestos mínimos de protección, y a las provincias, las necesarias para complementarlas, sin que aquellas alteren las jurisdicciones locales"* (Constitución Nacional Argentina, art. Nº 41).

La Argentina, además, ha ratificado todas las Convenciones de UNESCO aplicables al patrimonio cultural, en especial la Convención sobre la Protección de Bienes Culturales en Caso de Conflictos Armados de 1954 y sus Protocolos Adicionales, la Convención sobre Medios para Prohibir y Prevenir la Importación, Exportación y Transferencia Ilícita de Bienes Culturales de 1970, la Convención para la Protección del Patrimonio Natural y Cultural de 1972, además de la Convención sobre la Protección del Patrimonio Cultural Subacuático de 2001 y la de Patrimonio Cultural Inmaterial de 2003. Asimismo, ratificó el Convenio del Instituto Internacional para la Unificación del Derecho Privado (UNIDROIT) sobre la restitución de objetos culturales robados o exportados ilegalmente de 1995, que constituye un excelente complemento a la Convención de UNESCO de 1970, ya que, además de ser perfectamente compatible con esta última, amplía su rango de aplicación al proteger no solo los bienes inventariados por el Estado, sino también los no registrados.

Sin embargo, lamentablemente no se ha logrado aún sancionar una ley marco o de presupuestos mínimos del patrimonio cultural, pese a los numerosos proyectos presentados en el Congreso Nacional. Tampoco se ha legislado en materia de patrimonio subacuático o de patrimonio intangible, que están prácticamente desprotegidos en la normativa nacional. Además, la Ley 25.197 que crea el Registro Nacional del Patrimonio Cultural en 1999 no ha sido reglamentada, mientras que la Ley 12.665 de patrimonio histórico y artístico de 1940 permanece aún vigente.

¿Qué entendemos por patrimonio al interior del museo?
Al reflexionar desde el Museo en torno a la noción de Patrimonio Cultural más que certezas o definiciones elaboradas surgen una serie de preguntas difíciles de responder:

- ¿Cuál es el rol de la comunidad, o mejor dicho las comunidades, en el concepto actual de cultura y patrimonio? ¿Y el de los Museos?
- ¿Qué lugar ocupan el espacio y el tiempo en esa conceptualización?
- ¿Cuántos tipos de patrimonio existen: cultural, arqueológico, paleontológico, natural, arquitectónico, histórico, material-inmaterial…? ¿Nos sirven esas tipologías?
- ¿Por qué? ¿Para qué? ¿Cómo? ¿Quiénes? ¿Dónde?

A partir de esta reflexión aparecen también algunas ideas que apenas pretenden mostrar un estado de situación, pero que de alguna manera orientan nuestro trabajo.

Acordamos en que el patrimonio cultural es presente, pasado y futuro; es identidad personal y colectiva; es experiencia; es construcción social comunitaria y colectiva; es la conservación y la comunicación de esa construcción; es polisemia.

Es todo aquello que un grupo ha heredado de sus antepasados o que produjo en el pasado y/o presente y que representa un valor para ellos. Es aquello que se recrea en la memoria, los recuerdos que van tejiendo la identificación y el arraigo.

Es "algo" – físico, abstracto, intangible, cuantificable o no – que se simboliza y al que se le asigna un valor dentro de un marco social, en un contexto histórico (tiempo) y en una localización (espacio). Por tanto, este carácter de patrimonialización de ese "algo" puede ser modificado a través del tiempo y según el contexto, ya que no todo tiene el mismo valor en diferente tiempo-espacio-marco social.

En base a estas reflexiones nos proponemos trabajar en el cuidado y preservación de eso que vamos definiendo como patrimonio, de un modo inclusivo y afectivo.

Creemos que hoy el Museo cumple un rol estratégico en la significación -y re-significación- colectiva del patrimonio cultural, propiciando la participación, el disfrute y aprovechamiento sostenible de los bienes patrimoniales de sus comunidades.

¿Qué tenemos?, ¿dónde lo tenemos? y ¿cómo lo tenemos?
El Museo de la Ciudad de Totoras – Santa Fe, Argentina – es un espacio completamente nuevo dependiente de la Municipalidad de Totoras; construido e inaugurado en 2013. Los objetos que conforman su colección – de diferentes materialidades y que reflejan la vida cotidiana rural y urbana local – fueron donados con anterioridad a esa fecha a la Municipalidad con el fin de que formasen parte de las colecciones de un futuro museo.

El equipo de trabajo hoy está conformado por un Director, cuyo cargo fue concursado paralelamente a la apertura del Museo; dos docentes contratados con anterioridad para cubrir el área de Educación e Investigación; un conservador (part time) responsable de Colecciones y Depósito; un encargado de limpieza, y pasantes y/o curadores temporarios.

A pesar de que el Museo se proyectó e inauguró sin un plan museológico previo, desde el comienzo fue concebido por el equipo de trabajo como un espacio que brinde a la comunidad la posibilidad de conocerse a sí misma, entendiendo su historia, reflejando sus producciones culturales, interpretando a sus creadores y recuperando los personajes e instituciones que hicieron posible la construcción de la ciudad.

La colección que alberga está conformada en su mayoría por objetos de diferentes materialidades, fotografías y documentos que reflejan la vida cotidiana rural y urbana local, provenientes de 3 grandes donaciones:

- Peña Fotográfica Totorense y Museo de Fotografía Antigua "Jorge Luis Jose Bertotti", que funcionó en la década del 90´en el marco de una iniciativa privada.
- Galeria de recuerdos "Tío Chiquín", perteneciente a Francisco Bonetto quien fuera un coleccionista local que abría las puertas de su casa para exhibir todo aquello que coleccionaba, siempre referido a los acontecimientos locales.
- Ninive "Lula" Moggio, miembro de una familia relevante para la vida cultural de la ciudad a principios del SXX, quien al no tener descendencia donó de forma legal a través de testamento parte de los bienes de su familia.

Dichas colecciones fueron recibidas por la Municipalidad de Totoras aproximadamente 15 años antes de la creación del Museo, y una vez inaugurado el mismo fueron ingresando al depósito sin registro ni clasificación alguna y en un regular estado de conservación. Paralelamente, luego de la apertura, hubo nuevas donaciones de personas particulares.

El edificio del Museo contaba con un área específica para el almacenamiento de objetos pero sin tener en cuenta requisitos mínimos de conservación y preservación. Por ello, fue primordial planificar la tarea de ordenamiento, registro, documentación y guarda de estos bienes culturales, previo acondicionamiento mínimo de estanterías y espacios de almacenaje para albergar correctamente a los objetos. Así mismo, se incorporó un espacio específico de archivo para papel (fotografías, documentos y publicaciones).

El Museo de la Ciudad de Totoras, © Laura Accetta

Actualmente se albergan aproximadamente 2000 objetos, 1500 fotografías en formato papel y un incierto número de documentos y publicaciones, todo en proceso de catalogación y guarda. Al momento de decidir criterios generales de implementación se tomaron en cuenta las herramientas que RE-ORG (ICCROM) proporciona en sus recomendaciones.

Creemos que los depósitos de los museos son actores clave para su funcionamiento al mismo nivel que el resto de los espacios. Hoy en día el área de almacenamiento es concebida para servir a la conservación preventiva de las colecciones, pero también a su documentación, investigación y tratamiento, adquiriendo un rol más activo dentro de la institución e intensificando su visibilidad basada en un mayor beneficio social.

La propuesta

Nuestra metodología de trabajo se basa en la planificación de muestras y actividades que tengan el dinamismo propio de quienes hoy habitan la ciudad, recuperando las experiencias directas de la vida de las personas desde su propia perspectiva subjetiva, social y cultural.

Desde esta premisa, se busca realizar un trabajo conjunto con distintos sectores de la comunidad para ampliar la comprensión del presente y, por tanto, la perspectiva del futuro. Así, se establecen constantemente alianzas colaborativas con distintas instituciones, como escuelas, centros de jubilados y adultos mayores, clubes, y otras asociaciones civiles (española, italiana, Rotary, etc.), generando una red participativa cuyo lugar de encuentro es el Museo u otros espacios públicos de la ciudad.

Tomando como base y referente a los objetos y documentos del pasado, proponemos incorporar el "cuerpo a cuerpo" con la experiencia vital de los habitantes que forman parte de, y le dan forma a, esa historia. Postulamos que, además de evocar recuerdos, cada objeto es susceptible de ligar las trayectorias personales en ese tejido más amplio que llamamos historia colectiva.

El Museo, planta general. © Laura Accetta

Por ello, trabajamos con la Historia Oral como una metodología válida para sostener la memoria de los pueblos, asumiendo la responsabilidad de mantenerla viva y rescatarla del olvido a través del diálogo intergeneracional. Nos proponemos generar así muestras dinámicas y participativas sobre temáticas diversas que reflejen la identidad cultural de los totorenses.

"Cuando los museos de historia armonizan con el deseo natural de experimentar la nostalgia de modos elevados y personales, como evocaciones poderosas del pasado de cada uno y de todos, se convierten en lugares donde los visitantes adultos desean concurrir y llevar a otros" (Spock, 2009).

También organizamos encuentros de diálogo intergeneracionales al interior del Museo, por ejemplo, entre niños de entre 6 y 12 años y adultos mayores. Con la excusa de compartir la merienda, ciertos objetos de la colección y otros que traen los chicos actúan como disparadores de relatos. De esta manera, invirtiendo la lógica de la visita guiada, en lugar de hablar desde el Museo alrededor de las cosas, ponemos a girar los objetos en torno a los invitados, y son ellos quienes cuentan las historias.

Así mismo, trabajamos en otros ámbitos como el escolar, propiciando la búsqueda y la recolección de historias y fotografías por parte de alumnos de los distintos niveles (inicial, primaria y secundaria) entre vecinos, tíos, abuelos, padres, etc. a partir de una temática específica propuesta por el Museo. Mediante entrevistas directas con los protagonistas se registran los relatos a través de grabaciones, toma de apuntes o filmaciones que luego son plasmados en una plantilla brindada por el Muse. Las mismas son exhibidas luego en distintos espacios públicos de la ciudad y en el Museo.

A esta metodología se suma la invitación abierta a la comunidad de participar mediante el préstamo de objetos y documentos afines a algunas muestras, los cuales son exhibidos junto con el relato de quien lo presta. De esta forma, todos los domingos – día de mayor concurrencia de público al Museo – estas personas son parte de lo que llamamos un montaje vivo. Siguiendo algunas normativas vigentes los propietarios particulares de colecciones u objetos permiten el acceso al material, y son identificados como custodios del Patrimonio.

Estas propuestas son solo una parte que se suman a un proceso mucho más amplio, largo e interdisciplinario con educadores, diseñadores, curadores, montajistas, historiadores, antropólogos, artistas, etc., pero sobre todo con la comunidad.
No es la intención de este trabajo brindar una planificación cerrada y concreta sino por el contrario, desde esta perspectiva abrimos el juego a las muchas posibilidades de participación posibles.

A modo de cierre

Las propuestas sugeridas aportan otros sentidos y significados a los objetos, que van más allá de las clasificaciones rígidas con coordenadas y tipologías que les damos dentro del depósito, útiles a los fines del ordenamiento y la seguridad, pero vacías de memoria compartida.

Sostenemos que los objetos que están resguardados en el Museo no valen sólo por la calidad de sus materiales, de su factura o de su diseño, sino también – y sobre todo – por las historias que convocan. Como los recuerdos no son todos iguales, ¿será posible esbozar una tipología que vincule a estos objetos con los procesos mnémicos que inspiran?

El desafío es profundizar el cambio en la concepción de museo que se ha producido en los últimos años, relacionado también con el cambio en la percepción del público. Siguiendo a Asensio y Pol (1994), estos cambios se pueden resumir en cuatro aspectos:

> *1- Un cambio epistemológico: Se pasa de una concepción positivista o neopositivista, en la cual predomina la acumulación de datos; a una perspectiva racionalista donde importan las teorías que permiten explicar esos datos.*

2- Un cambio disciplinar: Se pasa de una perspectiva descriptiva con un enfoque taxonómico a una perspectiva explicativa, en la cual el enfoque es relacional.
3- Un cambio museológico: Se pasa de la concepción de museo almacén, donde lo importante es la clasificación y catalogación del material acumulado, a una concepción del museo más comunicativa, en la cual el énfasis está puesto en la difusión.
4- Un cambio en el papel del visitante: Antes se pensaba en un público experto, elitista, con una actitud pasiva y contemplativa ante la pieza. Actualmente se piensa en el público como masivo, no experto, con una actitud activa y una intención comprensiva.

Nestor García Canclini nos dice que el patrimonio no es un conjunto de bienes estables, con valores fijados de una vez y para siempre, sino que es un proceso social que como el capital, se acumula, se renueva, produce rendimientos, y es apropiado en forma desigual por diversos sectores. Describe al patrimonio como algo dinámico en contraste con su vinculación histórica anclada en un pasado inamovible.

En base a todo esto, creemos en la potencialidad del museo para quebrar los estereotipos que llevan a pensar al mismo y a sus muestras como estáticas e inmutables, sin contacto con el presente.

¿Cómo se imaginan los totorenses al museo de su ciudad? ¿Cómo lo pueden disfrutar, experimentar y vivenciar? ¿Cómo construir un espacio dinámico, de diálogo, en donde la idea de patrimonio cultural sea cotidiana?

A cuatro años de la inauguración, estas son algunas de las preguntas que nos guían y nos hacen reflexionar acerca de qué tipo de museo queremos ser. El reto es tratar de ser relevantes para la comunidad, en un momento en el que la información se encuentra en la punta de los dedos, los ciudadanos están cada vez más pobres de tiempo, y el patrimonio está muchas veces bajo amenaza.

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CLINT CURLE

Canadian Museum for Human Rights

Museo Canadiense de los Derechos Humanos

ACKNOWLEDGING ANCESTRAL LANDS AT THE CANADIAN MUSEUM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

RECONOCIENDO LAS TIERRAS ANCESTRALES EN EL MUSEO CANADIENSE DE LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS

ABSTRACT

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights is a new national museum in Canada. It opened in September 2014 with the mandate to "explore the subject of human rights, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, in order to enhance the public's understanding of human rights, to promote respect for others and to encourage reflection and dialogue." The journey through the museum spirals through ten permanent and two temporary galleries on the way to the "tower of hope" at the top, addressing Canadian and global human rights themes.

The location of the Museum is in the city of Winnipeg, at the forks of two primary rivers: the Red River, which flows south to north, and the Assiniboine River, which flows west to east. The juncture of the two rivers has been a traditional meeting place for Indigenous Peoples for thousands of years, and continues to be so today. How can a new museum properly acknowledge the layers of significance attached to the land upon which it stands?

Through an extensive process of dialogue with diverse Indigenous leaders, elders and community organisations, the museum's installation, "Acknowledgement of Ancestral Lands", was brought to life. Its purpose is to acknowledge, in a good way, the location of the Museum on ancestral lands and the significance of all that goes with it.

In light of the fact that the project is a significant part of the arrival experience for visitors to the Museum, the need for a high-level broad inclusive approach to the introduction was identified. While the acknowledgement includes First Nations and Métis, we learned through our engagement process that a high-level approach and use of supportive language was critical to ensure inclusivity in the broadest sense. Ultimately, the text and artwork that make up the installation are intended to be inclusive of all Indigenous Peoples for whom this land has meaning, to those who travelled across the continent to this location for various reasons, and to those who have lived here in the past and present, and who will live here in the future. It also serves as a reminder to everyone who comes to the museum that they are standing on land that has been the site of negotiation, exchange and peace-making for thousands of years.

Key words
human rights, Indigenous Peoples, museum, acknowledgement, Canada

RESUMEN

El Museo Canadiense de los Derechos Humanos es un nuevo museo nacional en el país. Fue inaugurado en septiembre de 2014, bajo el lema de "explorar el tema de los derechos humanos, con especial atención, aunque no exclusivamente, en Canadá, para mejorar la divulgación popular de los derechos humanos, de esta forma, promover el respeto hacia los otros y motivar la reflexión y el diálogo". El trabajo del museo gira en torno a diez salas permanentes y dos exposiciones temporales para colocar la esperanza en la cima, abordando los temas canadienses y de los derechos humanos universales.

El museo se encuentra ubicado en la ciudad de Winnipeg, en las bifurcaciones de dos ríos principales: el Río Rojo, que fluye de sur a norte, y el Río Assiniboine, que corre del oeste al este. La confluencia de ambos ríos ha sido un espacio tradicional de encuentro para los pueblos indígenas desde hace miles años, y aún continúa siendo

así. ¿Cómo un nuevo museo puede proporcionar nuevos significados a la tierra sobre lo ya establecido?

A través de un gran proceso de diálogo con los diversos líderes de los pueblos indígenas, ancianos y organizaciones comunitarias sobre la instalación del museo, ha dado vida a "Reconociendo las tierras ancestrales". El propósito es lograr el reconocimiento, en una buena forma, de la ubicación del museo sobre tierras ancestrales y el significado de todo lo que conlleva.

De hecho, el proyecto tiene una parte significativa de las experiencias de los visitantes al museo, la necesidad de un nivel mayor de inclusión ha sido identificada. Mientras que el reconocimiento incluye a los Pueblos Originarios y Métis (grupo indígena), hemos aprendido a través del compromiso adquirido que un enfoque con alto nivel y el uso de lenguaje favorable has sido crucial para asegurar la inclusión en el sentido más amplio. Finalmente, el texto y el trabajo artístico provocan que la instalación tienda a la inclusión de todos los Pueblos Indígenas para quienes esta tierra ha tenido un significado, para aquellos que han viajado a través del continente hasta este espacio por distintas razones, y para quienes han vivido aquí, antes y ahora, y en el futuro. De igual manera, sirve como recordatorio a los visitantes del museo que están parados sobre una tierra que ha sido el lugar de negociación, intercambio y construcción de paz durante miles de años.

Palabras clave
derechos humanos, Pueblos Indígenas, museo, reconocimiento, Canadá

PART 1 – INTRODUCING THE CANADIAN MUSEUM FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

The Canadian Museum for Human Rights, as a Canadian national museum, was created by the Federal Museums Act. Our legislative mandate is set forth in section 15.2 of that Act: "The purpose of the Canadian Museum for Human Rights is to explore the subject of human rights, with special but not exclusive reference to Canada, in order to enhance the public's understanding of human rights, to promote respect for others and to encourage reflection and dialogue."

The Museum's galleries are built around human rights themes rather than specific events. They are designed as a journey upward, which passes through 12 galleries on the way to the Israel Asper Tower of Hope at the top. The journey begins with an introductory gallery that looks at the sources of human rights in world cultures, a gallery that explores human rights and responsibilities from the perspectives of Indigenous Peoples in Canada. Then it proceeds up through a suite of galleries on Canadian struggles for human rights and the Canadian system of human rights protection mechanisms, through another set of thematic galleries that addresses the global situation of human rights, and ends with a gallery that invites visitors to take action in promoting human rights today.

Since we opened our doors in September 2014, we have welcomed over one million visitors. So far we have won 38 regional, national and international awards, and our exit surveys show visitor satisfaction scores between 94 and 97%.

PART 2 – SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE

The Museum is located in the city of Winnipeg, at the forks of the Red River, which flows south to north and the Assiniboine River, which flows west to east. The juncture of the two rivers has been a traditional meeting place for Indigenous Peoples for thousands of years, and continues to be so today.
The site is well known by Indigenous Peoples as a seasonal trading location. Archaeological work done during construction revealed a very rich record aligned with the knowledge shared by Elders. There was an abundance of pipes and other ceremonial objects that indicated that this place was not only a trading site but also a site of treaty-making between First Nations, going back thousands of years.

At least 191 fire pits (or hearths) were uncovered, pointing to repeated long-term use of The Forks every summer and fall by First Nations as a gathering place. This find is currently accepted as the one with the most hearths ever found in Canada in such a small area. About a half dozen of these were found with an uncharred bison skull ceremoniously placed upside down upon them. This setting has only been seen once before, and its reason remains a mystery to archaeologists. A high concentration of sacred materials such as ceremonial pipe fragments supports the traditional knowledge that the site was a place of peaceful meeting, alliance-building and celebration.

Today these lands are recognised as Treaty One Territory. Between 1871 and 1921, while Canada was a colony of Great Britain, the British Crown and several different First Nations entered into eleven separate numbered treaties that enabled the Government to actively pursue agriculture, settlement, transportation links and resource development in the Canadian West and North. The First Nations negotiated and entered into these treaties in order to formalise a long-standing relationship with the Crown. This relationship developed through many years of interaction and trade with newcomers. The First Nations entered into treaties to protect their livelihoods, cultures, languages and land bases. First Nations did not view the treaties as a surrender of their land but as an agreement to share the land with Newcomers. From the Crown's perspective, under these treaties, the First Nations ceded tracts of land to the Crown in exchange for specific rights. These treaty rights include reserve lands for the sole use and benefit of First Nations, education, health, agricultural assistance, livestock, annuities, ammunition, clothing, taxation exemptions and continued rights to hunting, fishing, trapping and harvesting. Different perspectives on the meaning of these Treaties continue today (see the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba website at ***www.trcm.ca***).

The Museum's location is also recognised as the homeland of the Métis people. Who are the Métis? The advent of the fur trade in west central North America during the 18th century was accompanied by a growing number of descendants of First Nations women and European fur traders. As this population established itself, distinct communities which were separate from those of First Nations and Europeans established themselves, with their own unique culture, traditions, language (Michif), way of life, collective consciousness and nationhood (see the Métis National Council website at ***www.mnc.ca***).

What is the significance of the site today? Winnipeg has the highest *per capita* percentage of Indigenous People of all the major cities of Canada; 12% of the population of the city self-identifies as Indigenous, which is around 93,000 people. Like many other cities with a growing Indigenous population, Winnipeg has seen more than its share of racially charged conflict, but the signs of an increasingly prominent indigenous community are apparent. At almost every major public event in Winnipeg today, Treaty One and the Métis homeland are acknowledged.

Canada recently concluded a Truth and Reconciliation process for victims and survivors of the Indian Residential Schools system. For over 150 years, residential schools operated in Canada. Over 150,000 children attended these schools. The TRC found evidence that over 6,000 children forced into these schools were killed or died through starvation, disease, neglect, and direct abuse. Often underfunded and overcrowded, these schools were used as a tool of assimilation by the Canadian state and churches. Thousands of students suffered physical and sexual abuse. All suffered from loneliness and a longing to be home with their families. The damages inflicted by these schools continue to this day. When the TRC process concluded, the next stage was the creation of the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, which was tasked with promoting reconciliation in Canada between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous peoples. This National Centre is also located in Winnipeg (see the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation website at ***www.nctr.ca***).

All this background provides a sense of place for the Canadian Museum for Human Rights.

PART 3 – THE NEED FOR ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

How can a new museum appropriately acknowledge the layers of significance attached to the land upon which it stands and the peoples who have lived and continue to live on this land? Such acknowledgement is a significant part of the arrival experience for visitors to the Museum. Prior to opening, the Museum identified the need for a high-level broad and inclusive approach to the introduction.

From the beginning of our development process, we knew we wanted to start the visitor's journey with the significance of space. In our earliest iteration, before we had begun a public engagement process, we envisioned a Welcome to Treaty One territory. Looking back on it now, this approach was really problematic! First of all, the only thing on our radar at that time was a narrow slice of the significance of place, which was the location of the Museum on Treaty One lands. The second problem was that the approach assumed that it was the Museum's role to unilaterally welcome visitors to Treaty One lands as if we were the sole owners of these lands. And, we had envisioned the welcome being outside the building. In one perspective, this would be fitting because it connects directly to the significance of the land, but in another perspective, it could be perceived as an exclusion or trivialisation of the message.

The engagement process led us on a path of reflection about the Museum's role and place regarding the proper acknowledgement of where we were.

PART 4 – ENGAGEMENT PROCESS

Through an extensive process of dialogue with Indigenous leaders, elders and community organisations, the Museum's installation, "Acknowledgement of Ancestral Lands", was brought to life. Its purpose is to acknowledge, in a good way, the location of the Museum on ancestral lands and the significance of all that goes with it.

To whom do we talk? That was our first big question.

The Museum began by talking to a group of Indigenous Elders who we were already working with the Museum on other projects. Additional respected Elders were recommended to us by Indigenous political organisations. Why Elders? They are the traditional knowledge-keepers. There are different ways of knowing and being, and Elders are carriers of the ways of knowing and being alive within Indigenous communities.

We also connected with Indigenous political organisations. Why political organisations? They are the elected representatives of Indigenous Peoples. Certainly, there is a risk of 'politicising' issues when you consult elected representatives but, on the other side, there is also a risk of subverting Indigenous democratic processes if these organisations are not brought into the conversation. The risk of politicisation can be reduced by engaging with multiple organisations, each of which with their different constituency and perspective. Furthermore, Museums are political spaces – not in the partisan sense of supporting particular parties or candidates, but political in the sense of exercising power; creating exhibits and programmes that can include or exclude, bringing some voices forward and potentially leaving some voices out. Curating, in this sense, is a political act.

The Museum also engaged with the Museums Standing Indigenous Advisory Council. This is a Council with a national membership. It consists of Indigenous museum professionals, leaders and Elders who advise the Museum on a wide array of topics, from exhibitions to human resources policy.

We did the actual engagement in three distinct steps.

The *first step* was to determine the physical location of the acknowledgement. Where in the Museum should it be? We identified four possible spaces, one outside and three inside. The first thing we asked all our interlocutors was, of these four places which would you recommend? For this first question, we received a unanimous answer from all the people we engaged. The best place was in the big hall at the entrance of the Museum, beside the words of welcome in 10 Indigenous languages and 28 other languages.

The *second step* was to inquire about the acknowledgement's overall appearance. What should it look like? We received much common feedback: the acknowledgement should be large and very noticeable from far away. Its shape should be circular. It should clearly indicate at first glance a clear connection to the land.

The *third step* was to decide on the wording of the text. This was definitely the most difficult part of the engagement process. But since we already had a consensual agreement from the different interlocutors on the physical location, the general look and the feeling of the acknowledgement, we had a strong basis from which to work on the text. We received a great deal of feedback on the wording. Given that the site is much layered, different interlocutors advised us to acknowledge different layers. But there was some accord too. First of all, everyone agreed that the text should not be entirely historical. We were told that we needed to acknowledge the history, but also acknowledge the present realities in relation to the land and the peoples on the land. We were also told by all that the water was important – the rivers. And we were told by all that we needed to go beyond just a bare acknowledgement of Treaty One.

Notwithstanding the inclusion of First Nations and Métis in the acknowledgement, we learned through our engagement process that a high-level approach and use of supportive language was critical to ensure inclusivity in the broadest sense.

PART 5 – WHAT WAS CREATED

The Acknowledgment of Ancestral Lands piece consists of three elements:

- A large artistic circular installation on the wall
- A footstep in the floor
- An interpretive panel with a tactile bronze cast of the footprint

Artistic circular installation

Initially, we brought all the feedback to the Museum's master design firm. They did up an initial concept that was a big circle of land on the wall. We reached out to a local Indigenous artist, and we facilitated a dialogue between our master design firm and the artist. Some brilliant ideas emerged from this dialogue, and they worked together to do something very creative and also very appropriate.

This dialogic process resulted in the creation of a seven-foot, or two-and-a-half-meter, drum frame. A drum skin was stretched across it: then, upon the drum skin, some of the earth from the site was placed, along with sacred medicines such as sage, sweet grass, tobacco and cedar. The sacred materials are arrayed on the drum skin in a way that seems to capture the essence of a drumbeat in visual form.

This artistic installation met all the feedback we had received – large, visible and dramatic; circular in shape, connected to the earth. And, in addition, it was beautiful in appearance.

Footstep on the floor

In our own research process, we were intrigued by the way that the Elders' traditional knowledge of the site connected perfectly with what the archaeological

research was saying. We wanted a way to tie in the archaeological finds with the acknowledgement of ancestral lands. One of the really compelling and evocative aspects of the archaeological exploration was the uncovering of a human footprint, well before Europeans came to North America. It was preserved by water and river clay and is between 750 and 800 years old. What better way to acknowledge that we today, in this new museum, are not the first people to gather here to exchange ideas and perspectives? Those activities have been going on at this site for time immemorial. When visitors come here, they are in fact joining a conversation that has been happening at this site for thousands of years. The footprint was placed on the wall, as it was found, along with a slightly stylised version on the floor so people could actually place their foot inside it as a way of connecting in a tactile form with those who have been here before.

We were not sure how this idea would be received by the Indigenous communities. Overall, it has generally been supported. There were some voices that worried it might bring disrespect to the individual who left the footprint here. But most of our interlocutors were supportive. One individual remarked that the drumbeat on the wall helps the footprint on the floor to dance.

Text

The text and artwork that make up the installation are intended to be inclusive of all Indigenous Peoples for whom this land has meaning, to those who travelled across the continent to this location for various reasons, and to those who live here – in the past and also the present and future. It also serves as a reminder to everyone who comes to the Museum that they are standing on land that has been the site of negotiation, exchange and peace-making for thousands of years.

In drafting the text, we had several points to communicate. First, the text had to capture that there is a past, present and future relationship between the land and Indigenous Peoples. In other words, it had to present the significance of place in relation to time. Second, we wanted to indicate that the land has a role in preserving the people who live upon it. Third, we needed to specifically acknowledge and respect the Ancestors. Fourth, the importance of the rivers needed to be signalled. Fifth, the text had to identify the site as a place of peace-making, dialogue and exchange. Finally, the text needed to reference the footprint. All these messages are inclusive and relevant to everyone who visits the Museum.

The final text reads: "The land beneath this Museum has always been and will continue to be home to the Indigenous Peoples. This footprint was preserved here by water and earth. It connects us to the Indigenous ancestors who followed the waterways here, to the centre of the continent, for peace-making, dialogue and trade. This footprint reminds us that Indigenous Peoples continue to be connected to these ancestral lands".

PART 6 – CONCLUSION

How has the visitor reception of the Acknowledgement been received? It has been well received. Every guided tour in the Museum begins here, by acknowledging the significance of the place and the Indigenous Peoples who have lived and continue to live here. The desired outcome of the installation is to encourage humility, understanding and respect in our visitors. It sets the tone for the whole Museum journey that follows. The Acknowledgement of Ancestral Lands is a foundational component of the museum's approach to engaging with its location, its history and its current context.

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EXCEPTIONAL CITY, ORDINARY ISSUES: THREE CITY MUSEUMS IN BRASÍLIA

CIUDAD EXTRAORDINARIA, PROBLEMAS ORDINARIOS: LOS CASOS DE TRES MUSEOS DE LA CIUDAD DE BRASÍLIA

ABSTRACT

The Built from scratch in the 20th century, Brasília was the first modern city to be inscribed in UNESCO's World Heritage List. Its construction was a colossal endeavour – bringing together thousands of workers who expected to build a better life together with the new Brazilian capital.

Today, three public museums are responsible for the preservation and communication of those early memories: the City Museum, which displays the reasoning behind the move of the capital, The Catetinho, which conserves Brasília's first Presidential house, and the Living Museum of Candango Memory, which exhibits the point of view of pioneer workers, the candangos.

Despite their potential to approach a wide range of topics from different perspectives, these museums offer a homogeneous and harmonic narrative of the capital's origins. Their outdated exhibitions challenge museum workers to deliver a critical interpretation of facts while maintaining their celebrative character. This task proves itself arduous as collections are roughly documented.

Key words

city museums, historical museums, cultural heritage, collective memory.

RESUMEN

La capital de Brasil, Brasilia, fundada en los inicios del siglo XX, fue la primera ciudad moderna en ser considerada como Patrimonio de la Humanidad por la UNESCO. En sus construcciones se aprecia un esfuerzo colosal, que requirió miles de trabajadores, quienes esperaban que esta nueva capital les trajera una mejor vida.

Hoy en día, son tres los museos públicos encargados de la preservación y la difusión de estas primeras memorias. El museo de ciudad presenta una lógica detrás del cambio de la antigua capital de Río de Janeiro al centro del país; el Catetinho conserva la primera casa presidencial de Brasilia; el Museo Interactivo de la Memoria de Candango muestra el punto de vista de los trabajadores pioneros, los candangos.

Puesto que existen tres museos de ciudad, se presenta la oportunidad para alcanzar un rango más amplio de temas a tratar, por ejemplo la planeación urbana, ecología, pobreza, raza y género, todos ellos desde diferentes perspectivas. Además del potencial de cada uno, estos museos encarnan la museología nacionalista, pues ofrecen una narrativa bastante homogénea y armónica sobre los orígenes de la capital.

Sus exposiciones obsoletas desafían a los expertos en el museo para entregar una interpretación crítica de los hechos mientras se mantiene su carácter celebrativo. Esta tarea es ardua ya que las colecciones son toscamente documentadas.

Palabras clave

museos de la ciudad, museos históricos, patrimonio cultural, memoria colectiva

INTRODUCTION

In 1987, UNESCO inscribed its first modern site in the renowned World Heritage List. UNESCO's website describes Brasília as "a landmark in the history of town planning", selected to be on the list for its "singular artistic achievement" and for being "a unique example of urban planning brought to fruition in the 20th century". Given the exceptional circumstances in which the city and its museums were created, we feel the need to briefly contextualise the creation of Brasília before we engage in the museums' history and their present issues, which are the main topics of our ongoing research.

From 1763 to 1960, Brazil's capital was Rio de Janeiro. Brasília was built in 1956 from scratch to be the new capital by order of President Juscelino Kubitschek. However, even at the time, the idea to change the capital city was not a novelty. According to Laurent Vidal (2009), since colonial times intellectuals had discussed plans and projects to change the capital's location from Rio de Janeiro to elsewhere in the country's interior – as opposed to the coastline. Arguments ranged from improving the military defence to getting away from the supposed unwholesome life in big cities, which was deemed unsuitable for the political needs of a capital city.

These past projects and ideas were used to justify the construction of Brasília. They also served as foundational discourses, implying that the city was yearned for and, therefore, was not a costly whim carried out by an extravagant ruler. Museums were ideal places to showcase those discourses, as we will see next.

A city museum created before the city

One of our most curious museums is the Historical City Museum. To the unsuspecting visitor, the strange T-shaped structure raised in the centre of Brasília, in the midst of the National Congress, the Federal Justice Court and the President's Palace, is just another nationalist monument, like others in the same area. Its marble walls register inscribed texts recounting old visionary dreams of building a great city in the heart of Brazil.

Historical City Museum. © Eric Gaba (CC BY-SA 3.0 license)

The odd monument, however, is called a museum since its creation, in 1960, and it has been under the supervision of the Museum Programme at the District's Culture Department for decades.

The mere existence of this museum is a riddle: how could a city that hadn't been inaugurated yet – in other words, a city which still did not officially exist – have its own city museum? If the city still did not have its own history, what collections would this historical museum hold? What would its exhibitions show?

We are aware that not all museums are created to receive preexisting collections. Still, we expect that a historical city museum, built before the city itself and supposed to tell its story, should come as a puzzlement to anyone.

The key to understanding this monument is President Kubitschek's necessity to support his endeavour. Criticism of the government's expenditure abounded. It was not enough to justify the construction of a new capital; that capital had to be a long-time wish from great men in Brazilian history (Perpétuo, 2015). The thoughts of national heroes from the Inconfidência Mineira, an 18th century separatist

movement, are represented on the walls, telling visitors that they, too, wanted the change of the capital. José Bonifácio, an important politician and abolitionist from the 19th century, also endorsed the change. There are sixteen texts altogether, telling visitors of a two-century-old desire to build a new capital.

Historical City Museum, interior. © Eric Gaba (CC BY-SA 3.0 license)

Perpétuo (2015) analyses how Kubitschek seemed to strive not only for the city foundation but also for the establishment of a discourse about the city history that went back to the colonial period and climaxed with the inevitable achievement of Brasília. The creation of a museum that attested such discourse was part of his plans.

The symbolic significance of the City Museum as a constitutive element of this idea can be measured by two facts: first, it was designed by Oscar Niemeyer, Brasília's architect, in the heart of the city; second, and most revealing, the President officially inaugurated Brasília standing right in front of it on April 21st, 1960 (Gomes, 2009).

Brazilian historian Ceballos (2005) states that the artistic works made by the official artists to legitimise the interiorisation of the capital gave the city a historicity that preceded its inauguration. She quotes a newspaper columnist who wrote in 1960 that "generally, cities are born to enter History. In Brasília, History made itself City" (Orico *apud* Ceballos, 2005). This unusual museum seems to be an effort to see *History made into City*. Our next museum is also part of this *History made into City* legacy.

The Catetinho: a modest presidential house

When the construction of Brasília began, there were no facilities whatsoever in the city. The workers built wood and canvas shacks for themselves, but a president needed something more appropriate. President Kubitschek then asked architect Oscar Niemeyer to build him a proper but simple house as fast as possible. The house was built in ten days, in 1956, and it was nicknamed the Timber Palace.

The Palace was later affectionally called Catetinho (Little Catete) in reference to Rio de Janeiro's Presidential Catete Palace. It was the place where the President would hold his meetings, receive his guests and rest. In 1959, the President personally requested the registration of the Catetinho as national historical heritage to the director of the National Heritage Institute of Brazil. In sequence, he asked a close pioneer worker, Mr. Luciano Pereira, to be Catetinho's first manager and tour guide in order to keep the memory alive. Mr. Pereira (as reported by Ceballos, 2005) said that he was chosen to "explain to tourists how President Kubitschek got there, how the first workers got there, how the first engineer got there". In November 1959, five months before the inauguration of the capital, Brasília already had its first museum (Oliveira, 2016).

Catetinho Palace. © Alice Camara (CC BY 2.0 license)

In any other city, a museum such as the Catetinho would be considered a house museum. Most of the museum showcases the simple furniture used by the President, arranged as it would be used in a house. However, some rooms are dedicated to displaying the history of the city's construction. Photographs and objects recount the difficulties of building the city and how people overcame them. In this museum, as well as in Brasília, city and President are indistinct from one another – or so the museums tell us.

Despite its historical importance, the Catetinho suffers from a lack of organised documentation from both archival and museological perspectives. There are next to none administrative files about the 60-year-old building and there is no current record of the objects presented in the museum. It is our evaluation that, along with the City Museum, the Catetinho is treated by its caretakers as a historical

monument and not so much as a museum with all it entails: research, collection documentation, communication and educational needs (Oliveira 2016).

Pioneers get their own museum

For the first two decades of its existence, Brasília's two historical museums told the stories of national heroes and great politicians. Nevertheless, in the 1980s, a group of people who had come from all over the country to build Brasília – the *candangos* – filed a lawsuit against their landlord to protect their housing complex, which they claimed to be of historical interest and, ultimately, cultural heritage. The plain wood houses that once harboured Brasília's first hospital were at the time in danger of being demolished. To protect the city's history, the District Heritage Department registered the housing complex and turned it into a museum dedicated to the city pioneers (Gabriele, 2012).

The creation of the Living Museum of Candango Memory shifts the narratives told by previous historical museums. For the first time, the spotlight turns to the simple folk. The District Heritage Department, directed by the architect Silvio Cavalcante – himself a candango –interviewed dozens of pioneers to understand their stories and their points of view. The museum opened its doors in 1990. It contained two exhibitions, a small theatre, an open picnic area and offered craft classes.

Living Museum of Candango Memory. © Secretaria de Estado de Cultura do Distrito Federal[1]

Those craft classes were aimed at adult candangos, with the objective of teaching them new trades to promote economic independence. Although there were no museologists at that time at the District Heritage Department, one could identify the change of perspective on what a museum was for. It was no longer a nationalist symbol, unifying History and Destiny; it had a social function and aimed to improve society's living conditions.

In spite of its modern approach, the Living Museum's long-term exhibition corroborates the same epic narrative presented in the other two museums. President Kubitschek championed the move of thousands of workers to the *Promised Land* in the west; the construction of Brasília was harmonic and full of optimism; the celebratory nature of the exhibition shows no signs of race, class or gender disputes.

Thus it comes as a surprise that, even after all the interviews the District Heritage Department held with candangos, the only named individuals in the main exhibition are the ones we already met at the City Museum and Catetinho: President Kubitschek, the architect Oscar Niemeyer, the urbanist Lucio Costa and the people who envisioned Brasília before them. The candangos, on the other hand, are one homogeneous group of unnamed, hard-working people.

In the interest of fairness, those criticisms may be somewhat anachronistic. The Living Museum was, at the time of its creation, a new take on museums and cultural heritage policies. Until then, only monuments and artistic-valued buildings were being registered by the local government to be protected. The Living Museum housing complex, on the other hand, held little artistic value; its protection was justified by its historical importance. And for the first time, the history of poor people was lifted to the same level as the history of the great national heroes. Its fault is not how it represented history then: it is that the long-term exhibition, meant to be improved and replaced every few years, remains the same since 1990.

The musealisation of the present

The extraordinary conditions in which Brasília and its first museums were created clash with traditional academic views on monuments and museums. The City Museum and the Catetinho, specifically, have their origins in the desire to preserve

the memories of Brasília's foundation, inscribing the capital in the national history by the constitution of monuments and historical monuments. We shall break down this statement to shed some light on the terminology so we can understand the contradictions imposed by these two museums.

At first, we need to differentiate memory from history. We borrow the meanings of those two words from Halbwachs (1990), when he writes that history begins when tradition ends, *i.e.*, when social memory is erased.

In his perspective, there is history only when we cease to have memory. Memory and history are not synonyms; on the contrary, they interpose each other.

Following Halbwachs conclusions, and extending his analysis to cultural heritage, Pierre Nora (1993) understands museums as places of memory, born from the feeling that there is no spontaneous memory. Museums claim to evoke a memory that no longer exists. The mere existence of places of memory proves that remembrances are threatened to disappear in a movement of history seizing memory, on its turn reconstructing memory inside museums in a historicized fashion. Nora is categorical when he says that "if we still inhabited our memory, we wouldn't need to consecrate it to places. There would be no places because there would be no memory transposed by history".[1]

In addition to the game of memory and history, to understand the peculiar characteristics of the present museums, we must also ground ourselves in the definitions of monument and historical monument.

The word monument comes from the Latin *monere*, which means "that which brings something to memory". Choay (2006) defines monuments as edifications made by a community to remember something or to make other generations of people remember specific events, sacrifices and rites. Thus, there is an affective dimension intrinsic to the concept of monument.

Choay differentiates monuments from historical monuments by saying that a monument is a deliberate creation whose function was established *a priori*, while an historical monument is constituted *a posteriori* by historians and art lovers who selected it from the mass of existing urban constructions.

Historical monuments come to existence through a process similar to the musealisation: the object is withdrawn from the economic circuit and becomes a common good (no longer a private one), taking on new meanings, representing something beyond its materiality, receiving some kind of magical value (Brulon Soares, 2012).

In a simplified manner, we can assert that the monument is related to memory and the historical monument comes from a historical perspective. Following Choay's definitions, we can categorise the City Museum as a monument, seeing that it was created purposely to remember and celebrate an event (Brasília's foundation), and our other two museums, the Catetinho and the Living Museum, as historical monuments, since they were elevated to their heritage condition *a posteriori*.

As Santos (2002) affirms, museums do not preserve the past; they assign new meanings in the present to objects that were withdrawn from their location and time of production. The musealisation process is built on the triangle of the past, the present and the future. In other words, we musealise traces of the past that

[1] Translated from the Brazilian edition.

we consider relevant to the future generations, attributing them a magical and immaterial value.

However, when the City Museum and the Catetinho were created, Brasília had not even been inaugurated. There was no memory to be seized by history; no traces of the past to musealise.

Facing a blank canvas, Kubitschek created places of memory where there was no memory at all. History was written considering the expectations for the future, while disregarding the need of a past. The historical inevitability of Brasília, as told by the *Inconfidentes*, was enough to narrate the capital's past.

And so we find ourselves with city museums born at the same time as their own city. They describe memory and history still in the making. Standing firm in the present and based on their creator's expectations for the future, monument and historical monument create city history and are concomitantly created thereby. In Brasília, just as Alice through the looking glass, history did not arise after social memory's decomposition: the city had a history even before it had memory.

Historian Thompson (1988) once wrote that "where there is no apparent history it is inevitably created". So it appears to be the case here. In the opposite world, memories evoked by the City Museum come from the future, not the past. They remind us of Kubitschek's project, the pioneers' hopes and dreams, the promise of a great future for city and nation alike. Contradicting Pierre Nora, Brasília's places of memory eternalise the wish to remember the future.

Potential for improvement and challenges

City museums provide museum workers with great possibilities for dealing with different urban issues. However, despite the exceptional character Brasília and its museums have, they suffer from the same problems as most Brazilian museums, such as lack of funding, untrained staff and outdated exhibitions.

Still, there is much potential in the three museums we have addressed. The Living Museum, which already leaned towards the New Museology at its creation, could invest once more in trade classes. By establishing partnerships with other governmental institutions, the museum could create entrepreneurship classes. The museum could host conferences on migration and urban planning, a delicate subject for all cities, but even more so for a listed city that continues to expand and receive incomers despite its many building restrictions.

Altering the exhibition, though, could pose a challenge. Interviews with candangos show that they felt they were part of that epic narrative. It is not unusual to hear the pioneers say they built the city like they would tend their own sons. Mr. Rui Faquini (as reported by Ceballos, 2005), a candango, told how he felt when visitors mocked Brasília's dust and mud at the city's inauguration: "it hurt me a lot because Brasília was made by me to offer to this people as a gift. That was our thought at the time, do you understand? Juscelino [Kubitschek] and us, humble men, stood shoulder to shoulder making a gift that he was going to offer to someone. It was something like that. And people didn't appreciate it; they worried about the dust and mud. It was the dearest, most important and most wonderful thing one has ever done".

Evaluating his statement, we might try and grasp the emotional ties candangos have with Brasília. Therefore, changing the exhibition to tackle race, gender, class and other conflicts could backfire and be regarded as disrespectful to the pioneers' memory. That is our biggest challenge in modernising Brasília's city museums:

they must maintain, somehow, their celebratory essence, while paving the way to discuss underlying issues.

The answer to this enigma may be in better educational materials and staff training. Good graphic materials and educational activities could raise questions that are not explicit in the exhibitions. That might be one of the few ways to improve public satisfaction when visiting the City Museum, as its exhibition cannot be changed and the museum interior is too narrow for temporary installations.

The Catetinho presents a different problem altogether. Its expography was reformed in the 1990s by a private company, in an effort to make it appear more scenographic. As a result, most of the objects exposed in the museum as authentic are just staged retro furniture (Oliveira, 2016).

This problem is magnified by the lack of documentation and research in these museums' collections. The Catetinho is an extreme example of this. Its registration as cultural heritage in 1959 put it under federal administration for a few years. Later, it was transferred to the District Department of Tourism and, decades after, it went to the District Department of Culture. Most of the original documents about the Catetinho were lost in these administrative changes. Today, there is only a list from the 1970s describing the original museum items. Comparing that list to the current exhibition, we discovered that only one room was furnished with authentic objects (Oliveira, 2016).

It is not our intention to campaign for an alleged superiority of authentic objects and thus the inferiority of replicas. However, the expography must make it clear to the visitor what one is seeing.

Improving museum experience is a complex effort. The three city museums presented here have great potential to educate, promote social and economic development and discuss relevant questions about urban life. Most efforts, however, stumble upon the lack of financing and research. We consider that a partnership between museums and universities or other research centres is of utmost importance to change our lackluster museological scenario.

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Notes
[1] Brazilian copyright laws don't apply to government works.

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LOOKING AT AMSTERDAM LIVES – THE BIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE IN URBAN MEMORIES

MIRANDO LAS VIDAS DE AMSTERDAM - LA PERSPECTIVA BIOGRÁFICA DE MEMORIAS URBANAS

ABSTRACT

In the permanent rooms and exhibitions in the Amsterdam Museum, we often present individual stories and objects with a biographical narrative. This paper discusses the possibilities and pitfalls of this way of presenting urban history in the light of contestation and conflict. This plurality of stories approach, which focuses on individuals rather than on communities, seems a good way to deal with a city as super-diverse as Amsterdam. I will analyse many examples of the use of biographical perspective from my own practice as a city curator at the Amsterdam Museum (formerly Amsterdam Historical Museum). I have added case studies and the questions and dilemmas they present.

Key words

Participatory heritage, super-diversity, emotions, intersectionality, Amsterdam

RESUMEN

En las salas permanentes y exposiciones en el Museo de Ámsterdam, a menudo presentar historias y objetos individuales con una narración biográfica. Este texto discute las posibilidades y trampas de esta forma de presentar la historia urbana en la luz de la contestación y el conflicto. Enfoque de pluralidad de historias, que se centra en las personas en lugar de las comunidades, parece una buena manera de hacer frente a una ciudad tan super-diversa como Ámsterdam. Analizaré muchos ejemplos del uso de perspectiva biográfica de mi propia práctica como curadora de la ciudad en Museo de Ámsterdam (antes Museo Histórico de Ámsterdam). He agregado estudios de casos y las preguntas y dilemas que presentan.

Palabras clave

patrimonio participativo, super-diversidad, emociones, interseccionalidad, Ámsterdam

INTRODUCTION

Let me introduce you to Gally Wu. His father came from China to the Netherlands around 1911, when Chinese sailors were deployed to break a strike. He started a boarding house for his fellow countrymen and married a girl from Amsterdam. In 1920, their son Gally was born. The Wu family lived in the Nieuwmarkt quarter, a part of town where many Jewish people lived. In 1927, when shipping deteriorated, Wu transformed his guest house into one of the first Chinese restaurants. Most of Gally's classmates and neighbours were Jewish. Gally was their Sabbath *goy*: every Friday evening, when the Sabbath started, he turned on their electric lights and put food in the oven. This story, in a room about the children of Amsterdam, touches upon many contested urban histories: the position of foreigners in the labour market, mixed marriages, and the fate of the Jewish community.

Individual stories, such as this, have been extensively used at the Amsterdam Museum (at that time Amsterdam Historical Museum) since the 1990s, highlighting the diverse and often contested histories of the Dutch capital. This biographical lens allows for the experiences and views of individuals from Amsterdam. Inevitably, this focus has brought conflict and contest to the foreground, in the context of the 'general' history of the city. Not just *the story* of the city, but *a plurality of stories*. A biographical approach enables us to talk about abstract social phenomena like the declining death rate, migration, religious differences and changes in upbringing as well as gendered behaviour. Personal stories can bridge the gap between grand urban changes and the concrete reality of Amsterdam citizens. The biographical lens also helps visitors to relate to history/histories on a more emotional level. A focus on individuals, who are always also part of various groups, is more fruitful than a focus on communities in a city as 'super-diverse' as most European metropolises (Vertovec, 2007).

The case of Gally Wu in the room Amsterdam Children (1999-2014). © Amsterdam Museum

For the Amsterdam Museum, this shift of emphasis was part of the transition to becoming a city museum dealing not just with the distant past but also with the recent past and present of the city. In the 19th century, portraits and life stories of distinguished citizens were regarded as means of shaping the moral and social conscience of the nation (Albano, 2007). Now, the lives of ordinary people form the backbone of the museum's narrative. These narratives may create empathy and allow visitors to draw parallels between their experiences and those of people in the past.

I will explore the way the city museum of Amsterdam exhibits these personal stories and objects as well as the possibilities and pitfalls of this way of presenting urban history in the light of contestation and conflict. I will dwell on my more than 30 years of experience as a curator at the Amsterdam Museum and other institutions. The profession of curator has changed. More and more cultural institutions are urged to adopt a mediating position or even an activist one regarding sensitive issues and conflicts (Knoop *et al.,* 2017: 130). I see my role as an interpreter/translator between museum visitors and the individuals and communities whose story is told – and, preferably, as much as possible in their own words. I hope some of the examples and dilemmas of the Amsterdam Museum resonate with museum colleagues in other city museums.

Single human beings versus groups and society

An inspiring example when talking about individual stories is the prize-winning *Museum of Innocence* in Istanbul, created by the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk, in 2012.The museum as well as the novel with the same name is centred on the stories of two Istanbul families and thus offers a glimpse into upper-class Istanbul life in the last decades of the 20th century. In his *Modest Manifesto for Museums,* Pamuk states that "We don't need more museums that try to construct the

Room of the Amsterdam Children (1999-2014). © Amsterdam Museum

Glass case of Heinrich Fischer and photo by Ad Windig of a transport of burial crosses to the Oosterbegraafplaats. © Amsterdam Museum

historical narratives of a society, community, team, nation, state, tribe, company, or species. We all know that the ordinary, everyday stories of individuals are richer, more humane and much more joyful".[1] According to Pamuk, present and future museums should no longer represent the state but recreate the world of single human beings. Pamuk's appeal raises questions about the way museums might deal with the intersectionality of identities (Crenshaw, 1989). How does a focus on individuals take into account that we are part of ethnic and religious communities, which have migratory trajectories, sexual identities, class backgrounds and skin colours?

Good and bad - showing both sides of a conflict

In 1995, we showed *Toen Hier* (Then Here), an exhibition about the Dutch capital from the summer of 1944 till the summer of 1945, our so-called hunger winter and the summer of liberation. The narrative space was an imaginary street with cabinet-like rooms, inviting the visitors to peek through the windows and meet diverse people. We invited visitors to explore the variety of positions and moral attitudes during wartime. However, the present always shapes the narrative of an exhibition. In the mid-1990s, the Balkan countries were at war. With the designer Jeroen de Vries, who lives part-time in Belgrade and on the Croatian isle of Hvar, we were creating an exhibition about the earlier conflict that is considered 'THE war' by the majority of the Dutch. The discourse in the Netherlands on the Second World War always tended to concentrate on the dichotomy between 'good' and 'bad', however, since the mid-1980s, the in-between came more into focus. Not only had we wanted to show the spectrum of actions and the attitude between resistance and collaboration but also different responses according to class, ethnicity, gender and age. We planned to evoke the feeling of living in an occupied city, the hunger, the fear. The exhibition would be about the struggles of parents to feed their children, the mistrust of neighbours who chose the side of the Germans, the continuation of life in schools and sports clubs and the workings of the Amsterdam municipality. Our curatorial and design strategy was to present 35 biographical stories, featuring a housewife, a person who joined the armed resistance, a schoolteacher, the rabbi of a hidden synagogue, a member of the Dutch Nazi youth organisation, the mayor of Amsterdam and a German soldier who died and was buried in Amsterdam. We struggled with the implications of including the 'bad guys' such as a bunker builder and a member of the Nazi youth organisation *Jeugdstorm*. To present the 'good' with names and the 'traitors' anonymously was not the solution. Thus we chose people whose collaborations with the occupiers had already become public. We exhibited personal objects, such as the gun of the resistance fighter and the drawings of schoolchildren of a precious orange they were given in the winter of 1945. During the research for the exhibition, we linked objects in the museum collection to specific people.

The collection contained a flag with a swastika that had been used at the burial of German soldiers in the Amsterdam graveyard of Oosterbegraafplaats. A photo by Ad Windig revealed the identity of one of these dead Germans through the names on the wooden crosses in the cargo bike. We investigated the life story of Heinrich Fischer. The Resistance Museum Friesland, which had reopened in the same memorial year of 1995, also chose to present personal stories, but they decided to do so with fictive and anonymous persons: the collaborator, the persecuted, the resistance fighter, the bystander. They showed variations in experiences, but it still felt flat and less alive than our 'street'.

Do you face similar dilemmas in your museum? How do you deal with (the objects of) people who made the wrong choice during a war? How can the past be used to heal rather than to deepen wounds?

The personal is political
A strong example of an exhibition capable of healing wounds of war is the *Museum of Broken Relations* (MoBR) founded by the Zagreb film producer Olinka Vištica and the sculptor Dražen Grubišić. A joke about setting up a museum for personal items left over after their four-year relationship came to an end sparked the idea for the exhibition. In 2006, the first *Museum of Broken Relationships* contained the detritus of break-ups donated by friends of Olinka and Dražen. After its initial success, the exhibition toured the countries of former Yugoslavia, gathering new objects in each city. The objects and stories touched people who had been enemies during the Balkan wars. A Croat could be moved to tears by the objects or story of a Serb and vice versa, creating a feeling of empathy that, at that time, was rare in the region.

The hugely successful MoBR now tours the world and has found permanent homes, first in Zagreb and later in Los Angeles as well. I helped to create the Amsterdam MoBR exhibition in the Oude Kerk (the Old Church), in 2014. Not only they tell a personal story but the objects also allude to tensions in society. For instance, there was a prayer mat left behind at the house of an atheist lover, or the high heel an SM mistress had given to a customer who turned out to be a childhood sweetheart. A painting of an Amsterdam gay love triangle now travels to countries where same sex-marriages are still forbidden. Some donors stretched the concept of broken relationships: a woman contributed with leftover pills and syringes she used when trying – unsuccessfully – to get pregnant through IVF. Sending an object to the museum becomes "an act in the process of coping with loss" (Vištica, 2014). The first person stories that are part of this community-built collection are displayed anonymously, thus reinforcing the universality of the feelings of pain, loss and sometimes relief. The MoBR does not deliberately set a limit to the number of words; some stories are a few sentences long, others up to 400 words. How many words and objects do you need for a (biographical) story? Museum staff usually prefers formats that account for the limited attention spans of visitors; a label or panel must be so many words, a video cannot last longer than so many minutes – and these numbers tend to diminish each year. In most museums, and the Amsterdam Museum is no exemption, stories are edited and shortened. It is interesting to note that, in the *Museum of Broken Relationships,* the audience does not seem to mind. People read texts of 400 words just as eagerly as of 20 words.

Prosthesis of war-invalid,
MoBR Zagreb.
Museum of Broken Relationships,
Old Church, Amsterdam.
© Annemarie de Wildt

Can the act of collecting very personal objects and stories related to broken relationships be a way to document social trends and tensions in your city? How many life stories does your museum present? How many objects and how much information do you need to show a personal story?

Generational conflict
Urban conflicts can be of a very different nature. There are conflicts that arise from class, religious or ethnic differences. Since the 1960s, in particular, generational conflicts have become significant. In a room telling the stories of 14 Amsterdam children, one from each decade since the 1860s, there are some cases related to generational conflicts and ruptures. We showed a girl who lived in the orphanage building that now houses the Amsterdam Museum. Orphanages are a relic of the past, but many children remain wards of the state. The room (which was replaced several years ago) was popular with groups of parents who followed a museum tour on child-raising.

There is also the story of Anouk, who attended the anti-authoritarian kindergarten in the early 1970s and which caused a lot of discussion during these tours. The children of the kindergarten were allowed to do (almost) whatever they wanted,

The glass case of Anouk in the Children's Room.

Ajax stadium with fans waving an Israeli flag.

Demonstration on Dam square. © Amsterdam Museum

Jan Vietmeijer outside Ajax stadium. © Annemarie de Wildt

such as throwing around toys or painting each other's naked bodies. A group of parents founded the place and took turns minding the children. Initially, Anouk was surprised that I wanted to include her story and her child-size hippie clothes made by her mother in the exhibition. "I always thought you had to be dead to be in a museum", she said at our first meeting. Indeed, in the last decades, the Amsterdam Museum, like many institutions, has increasingly moved towards displaying the contemporary. Collecting objects and the intangible heritage they represent turns personal possessions into modern relics that have a broader social and cultural significance (Albano, 2007, 18).

What is your museum's relationship to the contemporary?

Negotiations about stories and objects

A typical urban conflict lies in football rivalries. The fiercest group of Ajax fans call themselves the F-side; many others call them hooligans. In 2014, we created the European travelling exhibition *Football Hallejulah!* around the question: is football the new religion? It is an ***interactive exhibition about heroes, rituals, faith and superstition***, exploring and comparing the similarities and differences between football and religion. In every city where it is shown, the global and international football story is linked to the local situation.

Including people in a museum not only means building a relationship but also negotiating how their stories are represented. Our first meeting with members of the F-side took place in a bar. Over quite a few beers, we discussed the representation of the F-side in the exhibition. This group is quite cautious of 'the media', who condemn their violence and the way they have appropriated the name Jew or even Superjew.[2] In the stadium, the F-side waves Israeli flags and shouts: 'who doesn't jump, is not a Jew'. Ajax never was a Jewish club, but the stadium was built in the 1930s in a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood and, after the war, some Jewish survivors played an important role in it. The identification became even stronger in the 1970s when other clubs started to use anti-Semitic slogans against Ajax. When we brought this up during our conversation in the bar as a theme in the exhibition, they urged us: "Please not again about this Superjew issue". We ordered more beer and I said that in an exhibition about football and religion this theme was indispensable. They wanted us to include their fight for the old logo of Ajax as "he was a god, wasn't he?" As they were both relevant, we included both themes in our local Amsterdam exhibition.

We were able to portray the F-side's Jewish references at a very personal level. Not long before the opening of the exhibition in Amsterdam, I was contacted by the family of Jan Vietmeijer. I had met him at the stadium and had mentioned his outfit in a blog. He was wearing a necklace with a Star of David and a silver hammer, representing his other identity, a construction worker. Jan's mother told me he had died suddenly. His family was happy to lend the necklace and his Israeli flag for the exhibition. To the visitors, this gave a name and a face to a member of a group that is often disapproved of.

How does your museum deal with objects with intense emotional value? Do you negotiate with community groups and individuals about objects and information which might be controversial to be included in exhibitions?

Emotions about a painful past

In exhibitions on recent history, witnesses can tell their stories. The history of colonisation and slavery continues to be an important topic in discussions about

(the making of) heritage. In the Netherlands, as elsewhere, there is a gap between how descendants of enslaved people and many white people regard Dutch history. In 2013, Amsterdam celebrated 400 years of canals and 150 years since the abolition of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean. At the museum, we created a slavery trail through the exhibition *The Golden Age*. The transatlantic slave trade and its heritage have left traces on the city and still stir strong emotions. I invited descendants of enslaved persons to the *Golden Age* exhibition, and the trail was created around their reactions. Namely, we invited the Winti priestess Nana Markelo to look at the 17th-century paintings of canal scenes. Winti is the religion that enslaved persons and escapees developed in Suriname. Her reaction was: "When I walk along the canals I often think that part of this building belongs to me because my ancestors worked hard to make it possible. Unpaid work". The trail was visually striking. On cloth from Surinam, we printed quotes and crowned them with the traditional female headgear *angisa*, folded in a way that signifies: let them talk.

Room in the Golden Age exhibition with part of the slavery trail, 2013. ©Annemarie de Wildt

It thus linked contemporary views on Amsterdam's colonial past and present-day experiences to the period which we - unfortunately - still refer to as the 'Golden' Age. Markelo was also present at a Keti Koti meal we organised in the Amsterdam Museum that year, where individuals from Amsterdam of various races talked about the heritage of slavery, including present-day conflicts around *Zwarte Piet*, or Black Pete, the controversial figure who accompanies St. Nicholas.

Heritage not only encompasses sites, objects and practices but also feelings. The concept of emotional networks could be applied to this gathering in the Amsterdam Museum. Rather than sharing emotions in a homogenous community, visitors interact with networks of those holding divergent opinions, which may cause emotional and ideological shifts (Rana *et al.*, 2017).

How do you connect contemporary views on past conflicts and traumas to the narrative about your city? Who has the right to tell which story? How do you facilitate encounters between people with divergent perspectives?

Shame and anger

These examples lead to a further question: what does co-creation mean in relation to biographical objects and stories in collections and exhibitions? Especially, when dealing with contested histories, selecting which stories to tell, and who tells them, is critically important. The Amsterdam Museum presents itself as a podium for stories about the past and present of the city. This sounds very neutral, but are we fully aware of the selection mechanisms? Are we merely telling safe stories or are we allowing/should we allow discomfort, anger and shame into the museum? And then again, whose anger and shame? An anthropologist can make his or her informers anonymous. In a museum, staff and visitors prefer 'real people' with names and faces to make the narrative more authentic. In the context of contested histories, some people may not be willing to share their painful stories with visitors of the museum or feel safe in doing so.

Marian Markelo does the libation during the Keti Koti meal, May 5th, 2013. © Monique Vermeulen, Amsterdam Museum

Despite the legalisation of prostitution in the Netherlands, the stigma of prostitution remains strong, and few women

Rooms in exhibition Liefde te koop (Love for sale), 2002. Top: the Red Light District. Bottom: the Tippelzone (Streetwalkers zone). © Amsterdam Museum

Screenshots of story websites Geheugen van Oost (Memory of East) and Buurtwinkels Neighborhood shops

or men are open about it. When preparing an exhibition on 400 years of prostitution in Amsterdam, in 2002, however, we found some women who were willing to share their stories. Metje Blaak, spokesperson for the first Dutch union of sex workers, lent some of her lingerie to the museum - her professional wardrobe. Around the time we made the exhibition, she became a photographer specialising in sensual portraits of women, who would wear Metje's sex worker outfits. These photo shoots were also sex therapy sessions because - as Metje told me – "no-one feels ashamed to discuss sexual experiences with an (ex) prostitute". Metje's life story allowed us to talk about stigmas and social constructions of 'good' and 'bad' women. For visitors, such personal stories were important for understanding how women entered the business and learning about the daily life of sex workers.

I filmed an interview with Spanish Henriëtte (her professional name), who had worked in the Red Light District from the 1950s till the 1980s. The matter-of-fact and sometimes humorous way she talked about her work, her customers and colleagues made a significant impression on visitors. The impact of her stories was heightened by the narrative space: a typical 1960s room in the Red Light District, where visitors could sit on the bed and listen to Henriëtte.

We showed the working conditions of *streetwalkers* through a reconstruction of a part of the Amsterdam streetwalkers' zone. In the archives of the local television station, I found an interview with a woman who said she was happy to do the work so she could pay her debts. Although I could not trace her, her openness in talking about her work was the deciding factor to include the footage in the exhibition. However, she called, saying she had stopped working, and asked us to remove the video. Before the opening, we had decided that we would immediately remove a photo or video from the exhibition if someone objected. And so we did. I went to see her with a bunch of flowers. We talked about people's ignorance and the continuing stigma around the profession. This was a painful way to realise that, although we hoped to combat the stigma surrounding prostitution, the museum could also make people vulnerable to abuse and disapproval.

Can unsafe stories be told in a museum without harming people? What are the ethical rules regarding showing personal stories in the museum?

Sharing authority

Other kinds of collaborations raise similar questions. Internet 2.0, social media and the popularity of digital story-telling have influenced the way museums tell stories and create/use platforms where people share their stories. As a museum we increasingly use digital platforms, thus making information more accessible and sustainable, because it lives on digitally after the exhibition. With *Memory of East* (2003/4) and *Neighbourhood shops* (2010/11), exhibitions accompanied by interactive websites, the Amsterdam Museum created examples of participative urban storytelling (De Wildt, 2015b).

The stories about life in Amsterdam-East and about shops were published on the website by volunteers and museum staff. Some people contributed with their own stories; others reacted to the stories of third parties, offering their experiences.
Curators and oral historians play an important role in the collection of personal stories. As we move more towards the contemporary city, we use more anthropological methods, such as watching and listening to people and their environment. One of the most important effects of participatory observation or hanging out together is that it provides a report, a trust between museum staff and

people outside the museum. That may be one of the most important aspects of sharing authority in the museum, especially with people for whom the museum is an unfamiliar institution. Nevertheless, this sharing of authority creates dilemmas when dealing with urban conflicts. Not everyone has equal access to the museum or to story websites or is even interested or willing to share stories. Moreover, although post-modernism disrupted the notion of a single, indisputable truth, professionals have to decide how to respond to factual errors in the stories people contribute to our websites. We discuss the extent to which personal stories need context to understand them and how to provide this context where necessary. These two tasks require considerable amounts of time.

In 2009, the Amsterdam Museum exhibited portraits by Van der Vegt of the people from the alternative cultural enclave of Ruigoord. As we wanted to add personal stories to the portraits, I spent some days in the village, hanging out with the inhabitants and artists and interviewing them. It was the first time the Amsterdam Museum used a Wordpress site, even as we were developing a more customised interactive website, so the portraits and texts would stay online after the exhibition.[3]

Ruigoord is known for the extensive use of all kind of drugs and, without putting a lot of emphasis on the subject, I mentioned it in several of the short biographies. Years later, one of the interviewees called me. Initially, she had not objected to my mentioning that she smoked joints, but now she was looking for a job as a book-keeper and asked me to remove this information. Which, of course, I did.

Technological changes have influenced storytelling within the museum as well (Visser, 2014). For several years now, each visitor to the Amsterdam Museum is offered an audio tour. These tours include personal stories about artefacts, and often the donors or lenders describe their personal objects. The exhibition *Transmission,* about transgender individuals (2016), featured a photo series on an Amsterdam transwoman, accompanied by her story. In collaboration with transgender persons, we collected other personal objects, such as the first razor of a transman, the bandages someone used to flatten her breasts during the transition and high heeled shoes as a first step towards accepting one's transgender identity. These short background stories were available in the audio tour and are still on our website.[4]

Exhibition 'Ruigoord' with the paintings of Van der Vegt and short biographies of the people portrayed, 2009. © Monique Vermeulen, Amsterdam Museum

Exhibition 'Transmission', 2016/2017. © Amsterdam Museum

Did technological developments help your museum to share stories about personal transformations and transformations in society?

Conclusion

For the past decades, the Amsterdam Museum has been experimenting with giving a voice to a great variety of individuals from Amsterdam, by including their personal objects and stories in exhibitions and in the museum collection, and by literally adding their voices on video or audio to the exhibition narrative. The ways of presenting have changed over time, as a result of new technology and because we more and more try to take sharing authority seriously. A focus on biographical aspects has added more in-depth information to objects and to the museum narrative and it has created an empathetic space between the object as a biographical relic and the viewer. Presenting personal stories also enabled us to negotiate difficult subjects by adding multiple and sometimes conflicting and contradicting voices to the narrative about (aspects of) Amsterdam's history. Working with people outside the museum in order to show a multitude of Amsterdam stories in the city museum is a rewarding but also difficult process. Being open, transparent, and also keeping in mind the dilemmas regarding the

ways we deal with urban histories and urban memories, opens up the discussion within and outside the museum walls.[5]

Notes

[1] Pamuk, O. (2012). A Modest Manifesto for Museums. [online] Retrieved from: ***http://en.masumiyetmuzesi.org/page/a-modest-manifesto-for-museums*** (accessed October 2017).

[2] More about this controversy in: Kuper, 2003.

[3] See ***https://ruigoordportretten.wordpress.com/ruigoord***

[4] See ***https://hart.amsterdam/nl/page/51989*** with the collection of objects and stories, in Dutch, on Soundcloud.

[5] Thanks to Amy Levin for editing and helpful suggestions. Thanks to ICOM Netherlands for a travel grant to attend the CAMOC conference in Mexico City.

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SHARING HISTORY? THE PROBLEM OF AUTHORITY AND NARRATIVE(S) OF THE PAST IN MUSEUMS

¿COMPARTIR LA HISTORIA? SOBRE EL PROBLEMA DE LA AUTORIDAD Y LA(S) NARRATIVA(S) SOBRE EL PASADO EN EL MUSEO [*full text in Spanish*]

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ABSTRACT

This article broaches the dilemma of authority in history museums, one of the key debates not only inside these institutions but also among historians and in the domain of so called public history. History museums frequently present themselves as trustworthy referents that offer the "correct" version of the past. However, towards the end of the 20th century, questioning arose from various sources regarding these institutions and the State, generating demands for democratization of the processes of interpreting the past. In Mexico, this went hand in hand with a transformation of the museological panorama, with new institutions now coexisting with well-established ones, thus generating a complex archipelago of voices demanding their right to history. The article recognises the opportunities, but also the risks, associated with opening up narratives on the past.

Key words

History museums, Mexico, authority over the past, institutional change, historical narrative.

RESUMEN

El artículo aborda el problema de la autoridad en los museos históricos, uno de los debates más importantes no sólo de estas instituciones sino también de la disciplina histórica y de la llamada historia pública. Los museos históricos a menudo se presentan como los referentes confiables que ofrecen la versión "correcta" del pasado. Sin embargo, hacia finales del siglo XX, diversos cuestionamientos hacia las instituciones y el Estado han generado demandas de democratización en los procesos de interpretación del pasado. En México, esto ha ido de la mano de la transformación del panorama museológico, en el que nuevas instituciones coexisten con otras ya establecidas, generando así un complejo archipiélago de voces reclamando su derecho a la historia. El artículo reconoce las posibilidades pero también los riesgos asociados a la apertura de las narrativas sobre el pasado.

Palabras clave

Museos de historia, México, autoridad sobre el pasado, cambio institucional, narrativa histórica

INTRODUCTION

History museums present narratives of the past. But in contrast to books, historical exhibitions are more complex means of communication, due to this form's infinite possibilities; that is to say, the variety of resources and strategies through which content on the past is presented (Leon & Rosenzweig, 1989: xviii). Therefore, there is a great diversity of history museums, depending on their institutional affiliation, types of collections, location, historiographic perspective, museographic resources, use of evidence, vision and mission, and fundamentally, the social function they fulfill. Ergo, there are no superior or inferior types of history museum, only *different* ways of musealising the past that coexist in a given society.

Despite their differences, museums dedicated to history have in common that they present versions of the past through words, images and artifacts (Gable, 2008: 110). But above all, they share something else that defines them: their character as an open space requiring interlocutors to make sense; the more, the better. Contrary to books, or even films, that can remain filed on a shelf with nobody consulting them, museums cannot exist without their visitors; they have a social responsibility to remain open, receive visitors and use their budget for public programmes.

Museums can be considered a component of what is denominated *public history* (De Groot, 2009; Jordanova, 2006; Kean & Martin, 2013): they form part of the wide network of actors and processes through which representations of the past are created, compared, discussed and/or assimilated by the general public, beyond closed, specialised niches, such as academia. This makes them privileged stages to analyse the conflicts that exist between these actors; that is, the tensions between different ways of interpreting or generating narratives on the past. To begin with, at least two visions can clash: the one presented by the institution or curator and researcher, and that sought or demanded by the visitors. But strife can also develop at other levels or be less binary; for example, among museum staff itself (when there are different visions within an institution) or between various groups from the community. In either case, the underlying problem is the struggle over the past, or more precisely, to exert authority over its interpretation: whose voice is authorized to convert the past into history?

Before proceeding to analyse the problem of authority over the past in history museums, it is necessary to review the particular context in Mexico. An essential aspect that differentiates history museums from each other is their location or place of origin – which does not occur, or not so markedly, between those of contemporary art, characterised by a surprising similarity, the similarity of the white cube. As cultural geography suggests, "*where* things occur is essential to know know *how* and *why* they occur" (Warf & Arias, 2009: 9). For example, in the specific case of Mexico, we cannot comprehend history museums (nor the general history of the 20th century) without considering the impact of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* [PRI, Institutional Revolutionary Party] and the post-revolution governments.

Some local particularities:
Change and permanence in history museums in Mexico City

During the post-revolution period (approximately 1930 to 1980), the PRI turned-State exercised a dominant role on the City's social configuration, institutions, ideologies and urban planning. In the context of history, this was manifested by the creation of large institutions entrusted with rescuing, concentrating and interpreting and/or exhibiting the past, such as the *Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia,* INAH [National Institute of Anthropology and History] in 1939, the *Museo Nacional de Historia* [National Museum of History] in 1944, the *Galería de Historia* [Gallery of History] in 1960, the *Museo Nacional de*

Antropología [National Museum of Anthropology] in 1964, among others. It was also manifested in drawing up primary education plans that included free text books, with specific historical narratives. In the same way, a nationalist programme was generated through various media, ranging from television to murals, parades and films, in which the dissemination of historical characters, ideas and narratives was essential.

However, towards the end of the 20th century a significant transformation became apparent: the PRI-run State switched from a nationalist to a neoliberal model. The post revolutionary policies that had characterised it, which included a series of institutions to protect workers, an economy focused inward on the national market and an omnipresent position in the expression and representation of social interests was – and to date continues to be – gradually replaced by a series of private interests (Loaeza, 2010: 26). Consequently, there has also been a decrease in State presence in cultural spheres, particularly museums. A figure paints the picture: between 1960 and 1970, 80% of Mexican museums were owned by the State, while in 2000 only 15% were (Lacouture in Rosas, 2005:141).

Hence, an analysis of the museological panorama shows how the State has been losing ground and has had to negotiate its narratives, spaces and symbols of the past with other social agents. This has resulted in the magnification of a fundamental dilemma both for museological and historiographic reflections: who is entitled to represent (the past in this case)? How and where?

New institutions

As briefly noted in the introduction, the majority of museums dedicated to addressing subjects related to the past (whether archaeological, historical or anthropological) depend on the INAH. Created in 1939, the INAH has since then concentrated and managed the vast majority of what is denominated national cultural property. This continues to be the case even in the 21st century. However, a more thorough analysis helps identify a significant change: the INAH is no longer the *only* institution in charge of historic museums. Nowadays, the panorama shows various spaces that depend on other institutions or entities, in such a way that there is coexistence of INAH governmental museums and others that enjoy a greater "civil autonomy" (Morales, 232).

Thus, several museums with a historical slant have opened so far in the 21st century, belonging to other public institutions, non-governmental organizations or privately funded. This is the case of the *Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México,* UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico], that has played a central role in the creation of museums such as *Palacio de la Autonomía* [Palace of Autonomy], the *Museo de las Constituciones* [Museum of the Constitutions] and the *Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco* [University Cultural Centre in Tlatelolco], the last of which includes three separate museums: the *sitio de Tlatelolco* [site of Taletelolco] in collaboration with the INAH, the *Colección Stavenhagen* [Stavenhagen Collection] and the *Memorial del 68* [Memorial to 1968]. With regard to NGOs, the *Casa de la Memoria Indómita* [House of Indomitable Memory], a relatively small building in the historical centre, stands out. The sphere of private capital provides the opposite to the *Casa* in terms of size and resources, though also dedicated to memory: the monumental *Museo Memoria y Tolerancia* [Museum of Memory and Tolerance].

The current institutional panorama of history-related museums is, therefore, much more diverse and complex than at the end of the 20th century. The gradual contraction of State participation following the switch to a neoliberal model in the 80s resulted in a sort of institutional void in cultural matters, which is precisely the void that other institutions have gained ground in, to compensate. It could be

argued that the City has always had cases of non-governmental museums, such as the Frida Kahlo (1959), the Franz Mayer (1986), the Soumaya (1995), or the Jumex (2013); however, it should be noted that these are all dedicated to art, whether decorative arts, art history, fine arts or contemporary art. What is an entirely new phenomenon, of great relevance, as I have strived to demonstrate in this article, is the participation of non-governmental or autonomous agents in the sphere of museums dedicated to the past.

New narratives

The majority of national museums were created between 1940 and 1980, especially those dedicated to the past. In those decades of domination and centralisation of the state by the PRI, they triggered the creation of a "national history". This history, albeit with certain variations and distinctions, emphasized just a few characters, events and periods, such as Prehispanic Civilizations, the Independence and the Revolution. In particular, certain aspects of the revolution – such as the notion of a government that emerged from popular will, as well as that of a benevolent and equitable state – contributed significantly to moulding ideas about "Mexican identity" (Morales, 2012: 216).

Nevertheless, since they were created, all the INAH museums have undergone reforms, whether major or partial. Accordingly, the contents have been changed or updated by broaching new topics and characters, or by revisionist approximations of those already known. The trouble is that these changes have usually been subtle and, therefore, went unnoticed.

It is outside the INAH museums that a greater transformation of historical narratives has taken place, particularly with regard to the country's contemporary history. The main conceptual leap in the narratives of these institutions could be summarised as the irruption of the notion of memory (Velázquez, 2011). Whether it be the Memorial to 1968 (UNAM), the House of Indomitable Memory (NGO) or the Museum of Memory and Tolerance (private), there is a vindication of the notion that there are *other* histories to tell: histories that have usually been overlooked by the contents of existing museums or what has been popularly conceived as "national history". These institutions use, to a greater or lesser extent, resources that are virtually absent in INAH history museums: oral testimony as a primary source to understand history, art and installations as a powerful interpretative resource, as well as the political dimension of history.

Who makes history in museums? The problem of authority over the past

The changes to the institutional panorama of history museums in Mexico enable launching a debate on the problem of authority over the past and its narratives. As mentioned earlier, history museums are diverse in their approach to the past and they all share the public space, not only with each other, but with the population. Such a diversity of forms of musealising the past generates conflict at numerous levels: between members of the museum staff themselves (for example, between the curators and the educators); between museums (as would be the case of two museums that present different narratives on the same subject); between museum staff and visitors (when the exhibition presents an interpretation the audience dislikes); between the State or financer of the institution and the curators (when these propose approaches that are deemed politically unacceptable by a given government department), to mention a few.

All these forms of conflict, which can range from a subtle disagreement between colleagues to a demonstration outside a museum or the dismissal of the director, are in fact a consequence of the problem of authority: who owns the past? Who has the right and the authority to convert that past into history – *the* history?

In literature on public history, one of the crucial points of debate is precisely the subject of how, and whether it is possible, to share authority over the past and its interpretation (Kean & Marin, 2013). This debate has frequently carried out a juxtaposition between "academic history" and "popular history" or "public history", where the former is considered to end up imposing itself and dominating the latter because it has a degree of "moral authority".

It must be acknowledged that the terms popular history and public history are themselves the subject of intense discussion, especially due to the difficulty defining them and the confusion surrounding their nature. The notion of academic history, conversely, seems better defined, since it is generally considered to be that carried out by professionals, in specialised institutions – universities or research centres. However, this opposition between a so-called academic history and other forms that are more focussed on public dissemination has resulted in a polarisation or dichotomy that oversimplifies the problem (Cannadine, 2004: 2, 3). For example, it overlooks the fact that the so-called academic history is often made by intellectuals who, albeit subtly, have political commitments and affiliations (Camp, 1991); that history is an exercise that is always done with an ideological perspective; that public history is often sourced from the so-called academic history; or indeed, that there is public history made with great quality, rigour and social resonance, while equally, there is academic history with scant validity or social impact.

In the specific context of history museums, this apparent discrediting of public history by academic history is manifested in various ways. One of them being the belief, as denounced by Starn (2005) and Leon and Rosenzweig (1989), that the history made in museums is second-rate; in other words, of lower quality than that of specialised articles and books. The foundation behind this belief is that "lowering" the explanatory level of history to make the past accessible to the general public means simplifying it – some might even say banalizing it– or instrumentalising it, for example, for nationalist purposes. Another is the conviction that the museum and its staff – in this case curators and researchers – are those who should always have the last word regarding interpreting the past. The communities that visit the museum are seen exclusively as "consumers" of historical narratives, with no say in the matter.

As of the 80s, but more intensely since the 90s, there has been a strong push on the part of museums to incorporate new voices through collaboration with, and participation of communities (Witcomb, 1997, 2003; Harrison; 1993). At the same time, it has been acknowledged that the museum is never neutral and has political affiliations, no matter how subtle (Karp & Lavine, 1991). These tendencies have had differing effects, from the most discrete, where new social actors are invited to suggest themes to be exhibited in the museum, to the most radical, where the museum "hands over" control and power to the communities so that they may represent themselves. More recently, the appearance and galloping expansion of new digital technologies based on users generating content have stimulated other forms of cooperation and joint creation of narratives of the past (Adair, Filene & Koloski, 2011).

In Mexico, however, museums continue to exert significant control and authority over the interpretation of the past. As mentioned, new narratives have appeared thanks to the total or partial renovation of spaces, as well as the creation of new institutions. The appearance of different museums that address the country's contemporary history from the point of view of memory works as a sort of counterposition to, or querying of, the notion that there is a *single* "official history", or at least, an entrenched narrative. The new institutions irrupt onto the public stage to demand the right to interpret the past, the right to say: "this past is also a part of the country's history".

Conclusion

The diversity of history museums that now coexist in the city can be deemed healthy: in a plural city that considers itself democratic, it is as natural as it is desirable to have different forms of appropriating the past. The current image of Mexico City is one where the State, through large centralising institutions, still exerts a preponderant role, but where other voices and actors increasingly demand to make their historical narratives visible. However, this coexistence of diversity is marked more by atomisation, indifference and cacophony that by convergence. We are still far from achieving that citizens (visitors or not) and museum institutions establish routine dialogue on the limits and options to share authority over the past. It is as yet unheard of that staff from a history museum sit down to discuss, negotiate or exchange views with visitors, with peers from other museums or even with governmental or private institutions, about the type and sense of narrative history they should display.

Naturally, there are people with solid arguments who point out the risk involved in the museum letting go of the moral authority it enjoys. The underlying fear of anybody being able to suggest their own interpretation of the past is that it would not only relativise it, but could even call into question the credibility of history itself, along with the value of the past. This is even more relevant at a time when it has become commonplace to hear the use of terms such as "alternative facts" by members of Donald Trump's team, or the v*erdad histórica* ("historic truth") declared by Jesús Murillo Karam.[1TN] These assertions have a foundation and purpose; hence, it is vital to keep them in mind when pondering the issue of moral authority and narrative of museums. However, these institutions could benefit unmeasurably from launching spaces for debate, joint work and exchange of ideas and perspectives.

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[1TN] The phrase used by the Attorney General in January 2015 to present the official version of the death of 43 missing students, amply refuted by independent investigations.

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¿COMPARTIR LA HISTORIA? SOBRE EL PROBLEMA DE LA AUTORIDAD Y LA(S) NARRATIVA(S) SOBRE EL PASADO EN EL MUSEO

INTRODUCCIÓN

Los museos de historia presentan narrativas sobre el pasado. Pero, a diferencia de los libros, las exposiciones históricas son un modo de comunicación más complejo debido a las infinitas posibilidades de su forma; es decir, a la variedad de recursos y estrategias a través de los cuales es presentado contenido sobre el pasado (Leon & Rosenzweig, 1989: xviii). Como resultado, existe una gran diversidad de museos de historia, dependiendo de su afiliación institucional, tipos de colecciones, ubicación, perspectiva historiográfica, recursos museográficos, uso de evidencia, visión y misión y, de forma muy importante, la función social que desempeñan. Por ello, no hay mejores ni peores formas de museos históricos, sino sólo formas *diferentes* de musealizar el pasado que coexisten en una determinada sociedad.

A pesar de sus diferencias, los museos de corte histórico tienen en común el presentar versiones del pasado mediante palabras, imágenes y artefactos (Gable, 2008: 110). Pero sobre todo, tienen en común algo aún más importante que los define: su carácter de espacio abierto y necesitado de interlocutores para tener sentido –y entre más mejor. A diferencia de los libros, o incluso de las películas, que pueden permanecer archivados en los anaqueles sin que nadie las consulte, los museos no pueden existir sin sus visitantes; tienen una responsabilidad social de permanecer abiertos, de recibir visitantes y de utilizar sus presupuestos para hacer programas públicos.

Los museos pueden ser considerados como parte de la llamada *historia pública* (De Groot, 2009; Jordanova, 2006; Kean & Martin, 2013): son parte de la amplia red de actores y procesos por los cuales representaciones del pasado son creadas, compartidas, discutidas y/o asimiladas entre la población en general más allá de cerrados nichos especializados como la academia. Esto los convierte en un escenario privilegiado para analizar los conflictos que existen entre estos actores; es decir, las tensiones entre diversas formas de interpretar o generar narrativas sobre el pasado. En principio, pueden llegar a confrontarse al menos dos visiones: aquella presentada por la institución o el curador e investigador, y aquella procurada o exigida por los visitantes. Pero esta confrontación también puede darse en otros niveles o menos binariamente; por ejemplo, entre el propio personal del museo (cuando existen diferentes visiones dentro de una institución) o entre diversos grupos de la comunidad. En cualquiera de estos casos, el problema subyacente es la pugna por el pasado o, más bien, por ejercer autoridad sobre su interpretación: ¿quién es la voz autorizada para convertir al pasado en historia?

Antes de proceder a analizar el problema de la autoridad sobre el pasado en los museos de historia será necesario revisar el contexto particular de México. Un aspecto fundamental que diferencia a los museos de historia entre sí es su ubicación o lugar de origen –cosa que no sucede, o no con tanta intensidad, entre los de arte contemporáneo, caracterizados por una asombrosa similitud, la similitud del cubo blanco–. Como plantea la geografía cultural, '*dónde* suceden las cosas es esencial para saber *cómo* y *por qué* suceden' [*sic*] (Warf & Arias, 2009: 9). En el caso particular de México, por ejemplo, no podemos entender los museos de historia (ni la historia en general del siglo XX), sin tomar en cuenta el impacto del Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) y de los gobiernos posrevolucionarios.

Algunas peculiaridades del panorama local: cambio y permanencia en los museos históricos de la Ciudad de México

Durante la posrevolución (entre 1930 y 1980 aproximadamente), el PRI convertido en Estado ejerció un rol dominante sobre la configuración de la sociedad, instituciones, ideologías y urbanización de la Ciudad. En el contexto histórico esto se manifestó en la creación de grandes instituciones encargadas de rescatar, concentrar, interpretar y/o exhibir el pasado, tales como el Instituto Nacional de

Antropología e Historia (INAH) (1939), el Museo Nacional de Historia (1944), la Galería de Historia (1960) y el Museo Nacional de Antropología (1964), entre otros. También se manifestó en la articulación de planes educativos de nivel básico que incluían libros de texto gratuitos, con narrativas históricas particulares. Similarmente, se generó un programa nacionalista a través de diversos medios, que incluían desde la televisión, hasta los murales, los desfiles y las películas, en el que la diseminación de personajes, ideas y narrativas de corte histórico era esencial.

Sin embargo, hacia finales del siglo XX se evidenció una transformación significativa: el Estado priísta transitó de un modelo nacionalista a uno neoliberal. Las políticas pos-revolucionarias que lo habían caracterizado, entre las cuales había una serie de instituciones de protección al trabajador, una economía volcada hacia el mercado nacional y un lugar omnipresente en la articulación y representación de los intereses sociales, fue –y continua siendo hasta la fecha– sustituida paulatinamente por una serie de intereses particulares (Loaeza, 2010: 26). Consecuentemente, ha habido también una disminución de la presencia del Estado en la esfera cultural y, en particular, en los museos. Una cifra nos da una idea al respecto: entre 1960 y 1970, 80% de los museos mexicanos pertenecían al estado, mientras que en 2000 sólo el 15% (Lacouture, en Rosas, 2005:141).

Así, un análisis del panorama museológico actual muestra cómo el Estado ha ido perdiendo terreno y ha tenido que negociar sus narrativas, espacios y símbolos sobre el pasado con otros agentes sociales. Esto ha derivado en la agudización de una encrucijada fundamental tanto de las reflexiones museológicas como historiográficas: ¿quién tiene el derecho a representar? (en este caso el pasado), y ¿cómo y dónde lo representa?

Nuevas instituciones

Como se mencionó brevemente en la introducción, la mayor parte de los museos dedicados a abordar temáticas relativas al pasado (sean arqueológicos, históricos o antropológicos) dependen del INAH. Creado en 1939, el INAH ha concentrado y administrado desde entonces la mayor parte de los denominados bienes culturales de la nación. Este sigue siendo el caso incluso en el siglo XXI. Sin embargo, un análisis más minucioso permite identificar un cambio significativo: el INAH ya no es la *única* institución responsable de los museos históricos. Hoy en día, el panorama muestra que hay diversos espacios que dependen de otras instituciones y entes, de forma tal que hay una coexistencia entre museos de corte gubernamental INAH y otros con mayor 'autonomía cívica' (Morales, 232).

Así, diversos museos de corte histórico se inauguraron en lo que va del siglo XXI pertenecientes tanto a otras instituciones públicas, como a organizaciones no gubernamentales y de capital privado. Este es el caso de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), que ha jugado un rol preponderante mediante la creación de museos como el Palacio de la Autonomía, el Museo de las Constituciones y el Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco, con sus respectivos tres museos: el de sitio de Tlatelolco (en colaboración con el INAH), la Colección Stavenhagen y el Memorial del 68. En cuanto a las ONG, destaca la Casa de la Memoria Indómita, un inmueble relativamente pequeño en el centro histórico. En el rubro de capital privado está el opuesto a la Casa en términos de dimensiones y recursos, aunque también dedicado a la memoria: el monumental Museo Memoria y Tolerancia.

El panorama institucional de museos de corte histórico actual es, por lo tanto, mucho más diverso y complejo que a finales del siglo XX. La paulatina contracción de la participación del Estado a partir del cambio hacia un modelo neoliberal en los años 80 devino en una especie de vacío institucional en cuestiones culturales,

y es precisamente en ese vacío en donde otras instituciones han ganado terreno para cubrirlo. Se podrá argumentar que en la Ciudad siempre hubo casos de museos no gubernamentales, tales como el Frida Kahlo (1959), el Franz Mayer (1986), el Soumaya (1995) o el Jumex (2013); sin embargo, nótese que todos ellos eran de corte artístico, sea de artes decorativas, historia del arte, bellas artes o arte contemporáneo. Lo que es un fenómeno nuevo, de gran trascendencia, y que he querido mostrar en este artículo, es la intervención de instancias no-gubernamentales o autónomas en el rubro de los museos dedicados al pasado.

Nuevas narrativas

La mayor parte de los museos nacionales fueron creados entre 1940 y 1980, sobre todo los dedicados al pasado. En esas décadas de dominio estatal y centralizador por parte del PRI, se dio impulso a la formación de una "historia nacional". Esta historia, aunque con ciertas variaciones y diversidad, enfatizaba algunos personajes, eventos y periodos tales como las civilizaciones pre-hispánicas, la independencia y la revolución. En particular, diferentes aspectos de la revolución – tales como la idea de un gobierno surgido de los deseos populares así como la de un estado benefactor y equitativo – contribuyeron significativamente a moldear ideas sobre la "identidad mexicana" (Morales, 2012: 216).

No obstante, desde su creación, todos los museos del INAH han experimentado reformas, sean mayores o parciales. Como resultado, los contenidos se han cambiado o actualizado mediante el abordaje de nuevos asuntos y personajes, o bien de aproximaciones revisionistas de otros ya conocidos. El problema es que estos cambios han sido generalmente sutiles y, por tanto, han pasado desapercibidos.

Es fuera de los museos del INAH en donde ha habido una mayor transformación de las narrativas históricas, y en particular, en lo relativo a la historia contemporánea del país. El principal salto conceptual en las narrativas de estas instituciones podría ser resumido como la irrupción de la noción de memoria (Velázquez, 2011). Ya sea para el caso del Memorial del 68, (UNAM), la Casa de la Memoria indómita (ONG) o Museo Memoria y Tolerancia (privado), existe una reivindicación de la idea de que hay *otras* historias que contar; historias que generalmente han quedado al margen de los contenidos de los museos actuales o de lo que popularmente se ha concebido como la "historia nacional". En estas instituciones se hace uso, en mayor o menor medida, de recursos que están prácticamente ausentes en los museos de corte histórico del INAH: el testimonio oral como fuente primaria de comprensión histórica, el arte y las instalaciones como poderoso recurso de interpretación, así como la dimensión política de la historia.

¿Quién hace la historia en los museos? El problema de la autoridad sobre el pasado

Los cambios en el panorama institucional de los museos de historia en México permiten abrir la discusión en torno al problema de la autoridad sobre el pasado y sus narrativas. Como se mencionó al inicio del artículo, los museos de historia son diversos en su aproximación al pasado y todos ellos comparten el espacio público, no sólo entre sí, sino con la ciudadanía. Tal diversidad en las formas de musealizar el pasado genera un conflicto a diversos niveles: entre los propios miembros del museo (por ejemplo, entre los curadores y los educadores), entre museos (como sería el caso de dos museos que presentan diversas narrativas sobre un mismo tema), entre personal de museo y visitantes (cuando la exposición presenta una interpretación que desagrada al público), entre el Estado o financiador de la institución y los curadores (cuando éstos proponen aproximaciones que son consideradas políticamente inadecuadas por alguna dependencia de gobierno), por mencionar algunos.

Todas estas formas de conflicto, que pueden manifestarse desde un sutil desacuerdo entre colegas hasta una manifestación afuera del museo o el despido del director,

son en realidad resultado de un problema de autoridad: ¿a quién pertenece el pasado? ¿quién tiene el derecho y la autoridad para convertir ese pasado en historia –*la* historia? En la literatura sobre historia pública, uno de los mayores puntos de debate es precisamente el tema de cómo, y si se puede, compartir la autoridad sobre el pasado o sobre su interpretación (Kean & Marin, 2013). En este debate a menudo se ha realizado una contraposición entre una "historia académica" y una "historia popular" o "historia pública", en donde se considera que aquélla (la académica) acaba imponiéndose o dominando a ésta porque tiene una cierta "autoridad moral".

En el contexto específico de los museos de historia, este aparente desprestigio de la historia académica hacia la historia pública se manifiesta de diversas maneras. Una de ellas es la creencia, como lo denuncian Starn (2005) y Leon y Rosenzweig (1989), de que la historia que se hace en los museos es de segunda; es decir, de menor calidad que la de los artículos y libros especializados. El fundamento detrás de esta creencia es que "bajar" el nivel explicativo de la historia para hacer accesible el pasado al público en general implica simplificarlo –algunos incluso dirían banalizarlo– o instrumentalizarlo, por ejemplo, con fines nacionalistas. Otra es la creencia de que el museo y su personal –en este caso, los curadores o investigadores– son quienes siempre deben tener la última palabra en cuanto a la interpretación del pasado. Las comunidades que visitan el museo son vistas únicamente como "consumidoras" de narrativas históricas, sin mayor voz ni voto.

Desde los años 80, pero más intensivamente desde los 90, ha habido un fuerte empuje en los museos por incorporar nuevas voces mediante la colaboración y participación de comunidades (Witcomb, 1997, 2003; Harrison; 1993). Paralelamente, se ha reconocido que el museo nunca es neutral y que tiene filiaciones ideológicas, aún si son sutiles (Karp & Lavine, 1991). Estas tendencias han tenido diversos efectos, desde los más discretos en donde se invita a nuevos actores sociales a sugerir temáticas para ser expuestas en el museo, hasta las más radicales en donde el museo "sede" el control y el poder a las comunidades para que éstas se autorepresenten. Más recientemente, la aparición y expansión desmesurada de nuevas tecnologías digitales basadas en la generación de contenido por parte de los usuarios han estimulado otras formas de colaboración y creación compartida de narrativas sobre el pasado (Adair, Filene & Koloski, 2011).

En México, sin embargo, los museos siguen ejerciendo un gran control y autoridad sobre la interpretación del pasado. Como se mencionó, se han abierto nuevas narrativas gracias a la renovación total o parcial de espacios, así como a la creación de nuevas instituciones. La aparición de diversos museos que abordan la historia contemporánea del país desde la perspectiva de la memoria funciona como una especie de contraposición o cuestionamiento a la idea de *una* "historia oficial" o, por lo menos, de una narrativa establecida. Las nuevas instituciones irrumpen en el espacio público para reclamar un derecho sobre la interpretación del pasado; el derecho de decir: "este pasado también forma parte de la historia del país".

Conclusión

La diversidad de museos históricos que hoy coexisten en la ciudad puede ser considerada saludable: en una ciudad plural, que se considere democrática, es tan natural como deseable que haya diversas formas de apropiarse del pasado. La imagen actual de la Ciudad de México es una en la que el Estado, a través de grandes instituciones centralizadoras, aún ejerce un papel preponderante, pero donde cada vez más se incrementan otras voces y actores en ese reclamo por visibilizar sus narrativas históricas. Sin embargo, esa coexistencia de diversidad está marcada más por la atomización, la indiferencia y la cacofonía, que por el encuentro. Aún estamos lejos de lograr que ciudadanos (visitantes o no) e instituciones museales establezcan como práctica corriente el dialogar sobre los límites y posibilidades de compartir la autoridad sobre el pasado. Es un escenario aún no visto el que

el personal de un museo histórico se siente a dialogar, a negociar, a intercambiar perspectivas, sea con los visitantes, con pares de otros museos o inclusive con otras instancias gubernamentales o privadas, sobre el tipo y sentido de la narrativa histórica que debería exhibir.

Existen, por supuesto, quienes con argumentos sólidos cuestionan el peligro de que el museo deje ir esa autoridad moral que tiene. El miedo que hay detrás de que cualquier persona pueda sugerir su interpretación sobre el pasado es que no sólo se relativizaría sino que, inclusive se pondría en tela de juicio la propia credibilidad de la historia y el valor del pasado. Esto es aún más grave en una época en donde se ha vuelto moneda corriente el uso de términos como los "hechos alternativos" del equipo de Donald Trump, o la "verdad histórica" de Jesús Murillo Karam. Estos argumentos tienen un fundamento y razón de ser; por ello, es indispensable tenerlos en consideración a la hora de pensar en el asunto de la autoridad moral y narrativa de los museos. Sin embargo, estas instituciones podrían beneficiarse infinitamente de empezar a abrir espacios de discusión, de trabajo conjunto, de intercambio de ideas y perspectivas.

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DISPUTED PRESENT: CITIES AND CULTURES IN CONFLICT

EL PRESENTE EN DISPUTA: CIUDADES Y CULTURAS EN CONFLICTO

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CONFRONTING NEW YORK'S PRESENT AND FUTURE

CONFRONTANDO EL PRESENTE Y EL FUTURO DE NUEVA YORK

ABSTRACT

The Museum of the City of New York's new permanent exhibition, *New York at Its Core* (2016), devotes its largest space, the *Future City Lab,* to a consideration of New York City's present and future. Centered on five key challenges that face New York in the 21st century, it confronts the inherently contested nature of contemporary events through a variety of exhibition techniques. The paper positions the *Future City Lab* as part of a larger commitment from MCNY to connecting past, present, and future and to serving as a neutral forum for learning and debate; it further analyses the meaning of being a neutral forum through a variety of case studies from the Museum's current and recent exhibitions.

Key words

Museum of the City of New York, New York City, conflict, future

RESUMEN

La nueva exposición permanente del Museo de la Ciudad de Nueva York, New York at Its Core (2016), dedica su espacio más grande, el Future City Lab, a una consideración del presente y futuro de la ciudad de Nueva York. Centrado en cinco desafíos clave que enfrenta Nueva York en el siglo XXI, confronta la naturaleza intrínsecamente controvertida de los eventos contemporáneos a través de una variedad de técnicas de exhibición. El texto posiciona el Future City Lab como parte de un mayor compromiso de MCNY para conectar pasado, presente y futuro y para servir como un foro neutral para el aprendizaje y el debate; además analiza el significado de ser un foro neutral a través de una variedad de estudios de casos de las exposiciones actuales y recientes del Museo.

Palabras clave

Museo de la Ciudad de Nueva York, Nueva York, conflicto, futuro

INTRODUCTION

How does a museum confront the complicated, contested, ever-changing nature of the present-day city, and how can it reckon with the city's unknown but equally contested future? This paper looks at multiple initiatives at the Museum of the City of New York to do just that, focusing on a major and ambitious permanent gallery dedicated entirely to the city's present and future.

The Museum of the City of New York (MCNY), founded in 1923, was the first museum in the United States to dedicate itself to the study and interpretation of a single city. Today, it is an institution transformed, after a decade-long, $97-million physical modernisation and expansion project, followed by the creation of the first-ever permanent exhibition surveying the full sweep of the city's history – the multi-million dollar *New York at Its Core*, which opened in November 2016.

MCNY's mission dedicates the institution and its programming not to history *per se*, but to exploring the nature of urban life in the United States' largest city, and to connecting the past, present, and future of the five boroughs of New York. This commitment to the present and future as well as the past is at the heart of programming at MCNY, underlining the institution's commitment to the profoundly civic enterprise of engaging people in the affairs of New York and encouraging them to use the past to inform the future. This focus on where the city is now and where it is going is represented in a bold move in the Museum's new core exhibition, which dedicates the largest gallery of the Museum – more than a third of the physical space of the entire core exhibition – to the future: a center for hands-on learning called the *Future City Lab.*

This ambitious move required that the Museum confronted the questions of the contested present in every decision that was made. In doing so, the *Future City Lab* builds on MCNY's commitment to dealing with highly contentious topics and its embrace of the conflicts that have shaped the city since its inception, all while remaining committed to maintaining its institutional role as a neutral forum for debates around the city's past, present, and future.

Defining neutrality in an age of polarization

The Museum of the City of New York has, since long, committed itself to the ideal of being a neutral forum, a place where people of varying views can find themselves and freely explore and debate sensitive issues. But what does it actually mean to be a neutral forum? And what kind of information and experiences can a city museum make available and meaningful to promote such dialogue?

These questions are particularly poignant at a moment when the politics of the nation are deeply polarized. In fact, even the Museum's temporary exhibition schedule for 2017, which seemed unremarkable when it was established prior to the election of 2016, soon became politically salient in new ways. Topics such as the work of New York graphic artists during World War I (*Posters and Patriotism: Selling World War I in New York*); the multiethnic roots of one of the city's great cultural creations, New York-style salsa music and dance (*Rhythm and Power: Salsa in New York*); the activism behind art and caregiving in the HIV/AIDS crisis (*AIDS at Home: Art and Everyday Activism*); women and electoral politics (*Beyond Suffrage: A Century of New York Women in Politics*) – all of these resonated in new ways in a changed national political environment. Even the history of public art (*Art in the Open: Fifty Years of Public Art in New York*) and ice skating (*New York on Ice*) took on new meanings, as new debates over public space, infrastructure, and the role of public and private dollars in urban planning came to the fore (and MCNY also added an exhibition in direct response to national politics – *Muslim in New York: Highlights from the Photography Collection*, see final section).

Adding to this dynamic is the fact that MCNY is located in and tells the story of a city that is overwhelmingly liberal, both politically and culturally. Indeed, in many ways, American urban liberalism was born in New York, and its legacy is still very much alive and is constantly being reinvented and reinvigorated by new configurations of the politics of place, race, class, gender, and citizenship. This liberal urban political culture can sometimes sit in an uneasy relationship with broader American culture and politics. The fact that this disjuncture is felt so keenly today is a reflection, of course, of the highly charged national political scene of the present moment. But it is instructive to remember – and MCNY's programming helps to remind visitors – that in fact, there is a continuing historic theme of a duality in New York's relationship to American identity. Indeed, New York has, since long, had a history of being seen and seeing itself as simultaneously and paradoxically the most American and least American place in the country: both the embodiment of American values of capitalism, diversity, tolerance, opportunity, and freedom, and a foreign-inflected, even threatening, cauldron of un-American traits, including what critics variously characterize as social deviance, big-government radicalism, overcrowding, disorder, oppression, inequality, or exoticism.

Yet, even as these issues of New York's political culture and broader cultural meaning become increasingly salient in the historical and contemporary discourse (in the 2016 presidential campaign, candidates Ted Cruz and Donald J. Trump invoked this tension when they exchanged barbs about the meaning of New York City and "New York values" in a primary campaign debate), it is important, indeed critical, not to essentialise a single New York "character". Equally important to the city's history and present are the sometimes bitter struggles within the city. Local rifts – over identity, culture, resources, and power – run deep and have divided and continue to divide New Yorkers. To treat New York's past or present as a story of consensus would be a severe misconstruction. Indeed, as the historical galleries at MCNY show, this polarization is present throughout New York's history as much as it is nationally and globally.

The conflicts that the Museum must confront are thus both those of subject and audience, both historical and metahistorical. Each project at MCNY grapples with the conflicts and multiple perspectives among New Yorkers as historical actors, and with the conflicts and multiple perspectives of our visitors. MCNY's commitment to being a neutral forum for dialogue is, thus, critical to honour both the integrity of the historical record and our visitors' standing as participants in the construction of their own knowledge.

That commitment builds on a dedication to the following four goals:

1. **Education:** The responsibility to provide factual, accessible, accurate, and clear-eyed information;
2. **Impartiality:** Refraining from endorsing a point of view or telling audiences what to think;
3. **Inclusion:** The commitment to representing a wide variety of historical and interpretive viewpoints;
4. **Empowerment:** Providing a place for the expression of multiple visitor viewpoints, via dialogue and visitor-generated content.

It is critical to recognize that each of these principles is complex and contains within it challenging contradictions. The very act of selecting *information* to use as an educational resource is a form of interpretation – and acts both in terms of inclusion and exclusion. Likewise, the quest for *impartiality* is in tension with the imperative of providing a thesis and an intellectual framework to construct

meaning from the stories the Museum tells. And, critically, the imperative of *inclusion* – the commitment to represent multiple points of view – inevitably raises difficult questions about whether all viewpoints get equal space, and which points of view are considered acceptable parts of civil discourse. Curators inevitably find themselves as the arbiters of social and political acceptability, and as a consequence, they also commit to bringing heightened scrutiny to decisions involving views – present or historical – that they personally might find politically or morally abhorrent. They are even charged with navigating the limits of *empowerment,* tasked with establishing fundamental norms in disallowing or discrediting hate speech or patent falsehoods.

At its heart, the quest to provide a neutral forum depends on the willingness to actively embrace conflict and to represent points of view that are highly contested. This is entirely appropriate for a museum about a city as diverse and rife with multiple perspectives as New York, both past and present. In its historical analysis, MCNY centers conflict as a fundamental topic of investigation; by describing and analysing conflict, the institution advances its goal of serving as a neutral forum. As Fred Siegel wrote of MCNY's exhibition *America's Mayor: John V. Lindsay and the Reinvention of New York* (2010), the interpretation "neither shies away from controversy nor renders judgment" (Siegel, 2010). Some liberal observers may well have found this praise from a conservative historian regarding an exhibition about a liberal, Kennedy-esque figure to be disquieting, but MCNY embraces the "all controversies but no judgments" standard as its goal.

Confronting the future

The history of New York City is inherently fraught with such considerations, but nowhere do these issues come out as clearly or as forcefully as in the *Future City Lab*. Indeed, if multiple perspectives palpably define and shape history, these points of view are significantly magnified when the subject is the present and the future. Class, race, nationality, ethnicity, geography, culture, gender, religion, political or personal philosophy – all of these are potential sources of friction among those whose stories we tell and among those who visit our galleries. And with the politically charged national and global atmosphere that today surrounds issues such as race relations, climate change, infrastructure, taxation, gentrification, and immigration, the discussion about the challenges of the present and future are hypercharged as well.

Given the high stakes around such questions, a clear intellectual framework and solid grounding in history were indispensable. The *Future City Lab* is embedded in and in dialogue with the overarching *New York at Its Core* exhibition, including its two historical galleries: *Port City: 1609-1898* and *World City: 1898-2012.* The question that frames the entire project is "What Makes New York, New York?" The exhibition answers that question by distilling the story into four Key words, each explicated by a statement that considers its complexity and inherently contested nature.

> *[TEXT]*
> New York has always been a **money** town – a fierce marketplace and global financial engine. A place of both great opportunity and inequality, the city has also pioneered reforms to temper the hardships created by its competitive economy.
>
> The power of New York's economy has drawn people from around the world. The resulting **diversity** has caused social conflict, but New York has also been a model of cross-cultural interaction and tolerance.
>
> **Density**, a defining feature of New York, is both an asset and a challenge. The concentration of people fuels commerce and

New York at Its Core' Keyword Statement. Graphic Design: Pentagram

culture, while the stresses of the crowded city have spurred innovations to make New York more livable.

New York's potent blend of money, diversity, and density has sparked **creativity** across all spheres of life. Creativity drives New York's relentless change and energy, attracting yet more money, diversity, and density, and continually redefining the urban condition.

'Future City Lab' looking north
Exhibition Design: Studio Joseph;
Architecture: Ennead
© Thomas Loof

The *Future City Lab* carries these themes into today's, 21st-century city, and looks ahead to the issues facing the coming generations. It organises this investigation around five big challenges:

1. *Housing a Growing City*: How can we meet the housing needs of New Yorkers?
2. *Making a Living*: What can we do to provide economic opportunity for the next generation?
3. *Getting Around*: How can we make it easier for people to get into and around the city?
4. *Living Together*: How can we foster a more inclusive city?
5. *Living with Nature*: How can New York City enhance its natural environment and cope with climate change?

These challenges are truly testing, as each involves difficult trade-offs, potentially clashing interests and values, and strong passions. The Lab fully embraces the fundamentally contested nature of each one. Yet, at the same time it is important to acknowledge that in the very framing of the questions is an implicit assumption of consensus on shared values. In fact, the questions themselves valorise a set of fundamental objectives: that we do *want* to house people, provide opportunity, promote inclusiveness and mobility (physical and economic), and protect nature and fight climate change. How and at what cost are the questions that are up for debate.

Introducing the *Future City Lab*

MCNY's *Future City Lab* occupies a soaring space, the James G. Dinan and Elisabeth R. Miller Gallery, added to the Museum as part of the expansion and modernisation project of the past decade. In marked contrast to the subdued lighting and black surfaces of the two historic galleries, this space is high ceilinged and filled with natural light – an appropriate metaphor for the openness of the future.

The introductory experience in the Future City Lab: 'Mapping New York'. Physical Design: Studio Joseph; Experience Design: Local Projects; AV Integration: BBI.
© Filip Wolak

How do you build an exhibition about the future? The curatorial team took as its guiding principle that it was not the job of the Lab to make predictions about what the city *will* become. Instead, the installation invites people to envision and debate what it *could* be – or even what it *should* be. To do that, it provides opportunities for exploration and fact finding, and for imagination, speculation, and debate.

Four major sections define the visitor experience. The exhibition's monumental introductory feature is an original media installation called **Mapping New York**. *Mapping New York* is displayed on 12 x 22.5 foot (3.66 x 6.86 meters) table that curves from horizontal to vertical, using 30 high-definition screens (image 3). Featuring approximately 100 animated maps of the city today, it cycles through the five challenges to provide an empirical and detailed exploration of where New York is and poses questions about where the city may be headed to. The table is controlled via a content management system and mapping and graphic software that allow MCNY staff to update the maps with new data sets as they are released by government agencies and research groups.

Each chapter of *Mapping New York* ends with an invitation to explore the challenge more deeply at one of five **Challenge Tables** located at the north end of the gallery (Image 4). It is in this space that the true laboratory work can be done. Visitors can find infographics that provide greater detail about each challenge, neighbourhood profiles that provide local perspectives on the different ways that specific communities are affected by that challenge, discussions of related contemporary issues, and examples of strategies that are being proposed for New York or are already being implemented in other cities around the world that could provide a model for the 21st century. The Challenge Tables also incorporate design games for the three challenges that involve the built environment: Getting Around, Housing a Growing Population and Living with Nature; these games invites visitor participation and publication and are discussed further below.

The third component of the gallery is the **What If? Table,** an analog interactive space. Its design invokes the domestic scale of a large dining room table (4 x 14 feet/1.22 x 4.27 meters), inviting social interaction and quiet engagement. The interactive design is simple: a supply of colored cards printed with "What If" on one side and "Then" on the other, and a supply of writing implements. Visitors are invited to make propositions for the city's future using the "what if" format and place their contributions anywhere within the wooden grid that covers the table. They may also respond to their own or others' questions under the prompt "Then…." Questions are regularly collected by MCNY staff and tabulated, and each month a question is selected to be featured on the table and on MCNY's website and social media channels, including responses by varied experts in the field.

The final gallery component is a video by artist Neil Goldberg, called **Then & Now & Then.** It presents interviews with New Yorkers conducted on the streets of the city, inviting them to voice their opinions and perceptions about how the city has changed, what life is like today, and their hopes, fears, and predictions for the future. The videos are deployed in a grid, with faces and voices appearing and disappearing across the screen, creating a virtual conversation among people of many different identities and life circumstances.

Three of five Challenge Tables. © Thomas Loof; What If Table in action. Design: Studio Joseph © Thomas Loof; Still from 'Then & Now & Then', Courtesy of Neil Goldberg

Facing New York's contested present and future

Together, these four components give a set of powerful tools for providing a neutral forum in which contested views on the city can be welcomed and explored. As discussed above, MCNY's goals for such a forum include **education** (the delivery of information), **impartiality** (not passing judgment on contested issues), **inclusion** (the representation of multiple viewpoints), and **empowerment** (providing a place for dialogue and visitor expression).

1) Education: The gallery provides a vast array of information, layered into multiple resources so that visitors can explore according to their own interests. *Mapping New York*'s data-driven maps provide local and citywide information on all five challenges and show the variations and local conditions that affect New Yorkers in different ways across the boroughs. Data visualisations on the Challenge Tables enable visitors to explore the challenges as they manifest for the city as a whole and in comparison to other world cities.

2) Inclusion: The Lab represents varying points of view through its maps, data visualizations, and through a variety of human-scale narratives, including diverse neighborhood

10 Largest Immigrant Populations: Screen shot from Mapping New York Graphic design: Local Projects; Data Visualisation: MCNY and Pratt Institute Spatial Analysis and Visualization Initiative

Still from 'Strangers Aren't Strange'. Directed by Josephine Decker

Panel on New York as Sanctuary City. Added to Challenge Table on Living Together, Spring 2017. Graphic Design: Pentagram

Visitor-generated cards and expert answers on What If Table Graphic Design: Pentagram; Physical Design: Studio Joseph. © Thomas Loof

portraits. Additionally, Neil Goldberg's *Then & Now & Then* (see above) puts a human face on major urban challenges, while a series of videos called *Strangers Aren't Strange* further humanise the challenges and joys of living in a diverse city, by sitting down two people to talk, who encounter each other casually in daily life, but have never had a chance to learn one other's story. And, as new issues have arisen in the months since the exhibition open, curators have added new content to reflect the concerns of additional groups of New Yorkers, such as a unit on New York as a "sanctuary city".

3) Impartiality: Especially on the most controversial issues, the Future City Lab strives to refrain from steering visitors to a particular point of view. Hot-button contemporary issues, such as the issue of immigration – documented and undocumented – are discussed as matters of controversy, with accounts of arguments put forward on both sides, and are updated as political events require.

4) Empowerment: The Lab offers visitors a chance to reimagine the city and express their own visions through two major avenues: the What If Table and the design activities. The What If Table, allows for free and unmoderated expression and exchange. The conversation continues online via Twitter and MCNY's website.

The design games on the Living with Nature, Housing a Growing Population, and Getting Around Challenge Tables offer visitors a chance to "author" their own city by choosing a site in a specific neighborhood and digitally designing a residential building, a waterfront park, or a street that will address the challenge in the local context. Drag-and-drop tools and playful graphics allow a wide range of creative expressions; feedback on metrics such as sustainability and cost give a sense of the tradeoffs involved in urban planning; and animated passers-by offer quintessentially New York reactions to the proposed changes in their neighborhoods (typically complaints about change, but occasionally enthusiasm). When the visitor completes their design, they can publish it to a large (9 x 16 feet/ 2.74 x 4.88 meter) wall of screens, where the design comes to life with moving residents, whimsical inventions (such as futuristic human-powered vehicles, dog-walking drones, and fantastical playgrounds), and visitors' own images, captured by Kinnect cameras and inserted in real time into their own creations, which they can also email to themselves. The joyfulness of the experience also carries with it a serious message: much as the city of today was shaped by visions and decisions of people lived here before, so will the New York of the future be shaped by visions and decisions of those who are here today – including the visitors themselves, empowered in the Lab to reimagine what New York could be.

Other case studies

MCNY's more historical activities – including exhibitions and public programs – are likewise in dialogue with the present; and sometimes they are directly inspired by current and recent events. Among these are: **Activist New York**, a long-term exhibition in the Puffin Foundation Gallery for Social Activism, which includes a rotating array of case studies on the history of social activism in the city. A new (June 2017) unit on the Movement for Black Lives brought this history up to date; the accompanying public programmes have drawn interested crowds and occasional on-line protestations. In the aftermath of the ban on travelers from seven predominantly Muslim countries announced shortly after the presidential inauguration, MCNY installed **Muslim in New York: Highlights from the Photography Collection**, featuring images of Muslim New Yorkers from the 1940s to the present.

MCNY's historical exhibitions are also designed to allow for visitor input. *Activist New York* includes a crowd-sourced image feed of contemporary activism in the city, projected on a wall in the gallery and available online. *Beyond Suffrage* includes an opportunity for visitors to "vote" on an assortment of contemporary

political issues related to the themes of the show, including whether there should be an Equal Rights Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

But the task of defining limits continues to be a challenging one. Some topics, like ballot access, raise such charged and untenable claims in the current environment – when unfounded allegations that millions of illegal votes were cast in the presidential election have tinged the political discourse – that sometimes the choice is made that the educational benefit of broaching such topics is outweighed by the distraction that an emotional debate would create, distraction that might detract from the important conversations about New York that are at the center of the Museum's mission.

Such choices are never easy. But at a time when civic and civil discourse are at risk, and when present and future concerns can threaten to become ungrounded from the facts and from history, city museums have a crucial role to play in creating spaces where people of different backgrounds and beliefs can be treated with respect and be given a chance to speak across their differences, if only for a short time in a gallery. The powerful dialogue among past, present, and future that this enables makes the city museum experience valuable, powerful and unique in this highly contested age.

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Design Output Wall
Architecture: Studio Joseph;
Experience Design: Local Projects;
AV Integration: BBI.

Movement for Black Lives Case Study in 'Activist New York'.
Exhibition and Graphic Design: Pentagram.
© Michael James Wilson

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CRISTINA MIEDICO

Angera Civic Archaeology Museum and Open-Air Museum, Italy

Museo de Arqueología de la Civilización de Angera y del Museos al Aire Libre, Italia

THOSE WHO DESTROY MEMORY CAN DOMINATE THE FUTURE: MEMORY IN ART AND MUSEUMS

QUIEN DESTRUYE MUSEOS PUEDE DOMINAR EL FUTURO: MEMORIA EN ARTE Y EN LOS MUSEOS

ABSTRACT

Museums and monuments – when well preserved and evocative – are important tools for reflecting on the present through evidence of the past; they are powerful weapons against those who have deliberately destroyed beauty, who plan to kill people and eliminate all examples of human and cultural sharing, and to erase the memories present in our society – which is made up of many aspects, cultures and components.

With regard to the works of art housed in our museums and artistic monuments, we must listen carefully to the memories they have to recount – which go beyond merely technical and art-historical aspects – and seek to comprehend the many tales they have to tell. If we want to counter those who destroy, we need to understand exactly what they are destroying and defend ourselves by focusing on the incredible objects that humanity has been able to produce in every age, at every latitude – by learning, observing carefully, asking questions, and being receptive to every nuance.

We can, of course, describe the painting Saint Mark in Alexandria, by the Bellini family (kept in the Brera museum in Milan), with respect to its exceptional artistic qualities, but we can also make it the subject of a historical study of the relationship between the Christian and Islamic religions. We may consider the acts of destruction carried out by ISIS at Palmyra brutal and uncivil, or reflect on the fact that this was part of a carefully planned project, in which ISIS intentionally set out to destroy a city which was symbolic of the extraordinary development that is possible when East and West meet and respect one another.

The only way we have to gain a direct understanding of our heterogeneous and multi-ethnic roots is to identify them in diverse periods of our history through works of art which conserve the memory of them; the only weapon we have against those who demolish monuments is therefore the enhancement of memory, and the protection of historic places and objects, and museums. The more sites that are destroyed, the more funds should be given to the museums, sites and artworks that recount our history. We need to talk about monuments and works of art, and to show their evocative power, to allow them to tell our human story, to narrate our essence, our nature as hopelessly – and wonderfully – unique and mixed-up beings.

Key words

memory, museums, destruction, monuments as instruments of peace, GARIWO

RESUMEN

Los museos y los monumentos –cuando estos están bien preservados– constituyen herramientas importantes para la reflexión sobre el presente a través de la evidencia del pasado, son armas muy poderosas contra quienes han destruido de manera deliberada la belleza, contra quienes planean el asesinato de personas, la eliminación de los ejemplos del intercambio social y cultural, la anulación de las memorias de nuestra sociedad, lo cual está formado de muchos aspectos, culturas y piezas de museo.

Con el reconocimiento de las obras de arte que albergan nuestros museos y los monumentos artísticos, debemos ser muy cuidadosos con las memorias que nos muestran –que va más allá de

los aspectos técnicos de la Historia del Arte-y buscar la comprensión de varias historias que nos son dichas. Si queremos combatir a quienes destruyen, entonces debemos entender exactamente porque están destruyendo y debemos defendernos a nosotros mismos a partir de centrarnos en las increíbles piezas de la humanidad que se han producido en cada época, en cada latitud: observando cuidadosamente, aprendiendo, realizando preguntas y siendo receptivos ante cada matiz.

También podemos, por supuesto, describir la pintura de San Marcos en Alejandría, Egipto, realizada por la familia Bellini (conservada en el Museo de Brera en Milán) con respecto a las cualidades artísticas excepcionales, pero también podemos convertirla en tema desde el punto de vista histórico de la relación entre las religiones cristiana y musulmana. Debemos considerar los actos de destrucción del grupo ISIS de Palmira, como brutales e incivilizados, o como un reflejo del hecho de que esta guerra es parte de un proyecto cuidadosamente planeado, en el cual, este grupo intenta destruir de manera sistemática la ciudad que es símbolo de un extraordinario desarrollo cuando Occidente y Oriente se conocieron y se respetaron uno al otro.

La única manera de obtener un entendimiento profundo de la heterogeneidad y de las diversas raíces étnicas es identificando los diversos periodos de nuestra historia a través de los trabajos artísticos, los cuales conservan la memoria de estos, por lo tanto, la única arma que tenemos contra quienes destruyen los monumentos es preservar la memoria, y proteger los lugares históricos, además de las piezas y los museos. Mientras más sitios sean destruidos, más fundamentos tienen los museos, los sitios y las obras de arte para contar nuestra historia. Necesitamos hablar sobre los monumentos y las obras de arte, y mostrar su poder evocativo que permiten contar la historia de la hmanidad, que permiten narra nuestra esencia, nuestra naturaleza, así como nuestras esperanzadoras, maravillosas, únicas y diversas formas de existencia.

Palabras clave
memoria, museos, destrucción, monumentos como instrumentos de paz, GARIWO

INTRODUCTION

Human communities have always felt the urge to celebrate their achievements and to be sure that their descendants will remember them. Human beings, once their basic needs have been met, have always shown the desire to express, to share and teach beautiful and memorable things and to affirm goodness.

The earliest museums in the classical world seem to have been established to celebrate and commemorate past glories, in particular, important military victories. After the Persian Wars, many constructions were erected so the victory would not be forgotten. About 475-450 BC, for example, the *Stoa Poikile*, or Painted Porch, was built in Athens – an art gallery located in the northern part of the *Agora*. The name derives from the paintings on wooden boards hung in the portico, in full view of the citizenry, which portrayed victories – either real (such as Marathon), or mythological (such as those against the Amazons or the Trojans). When Pausanias visited Athens, 600 years later, he was still able to see them, and described them as the work of the best painters in antiquity. He recounted that, by the paintings, a few Spartan shields captured at Pylos in 425/4 BC were displayed, with the caption *(Taken by) the Athenians from the Spartans at Pylos.*[1]

Thus, the *Stoa Poikile* was a museum made to house commemorative paintings and sculptures, along with weapons captured from enemies,[2] with the purpose to keep alive memories of military achievements and help express the values of the *polis* – its inspiring victories and the enemies to be feared or fought. The decorations on the Acropolis had a similar function: the *propylaea* held works of art[3] and the metopes, in particular, illustrated victories against the Amazons, the Trojans, giants and centaurs – mythological victories that celebrated the collective triumph of the Delian and Attic Greek culture over the Persian barbarians. More than a century later, when Alexander the Great wished to celebrate his victories over the

armies of Darius, he decided to recall those of the Persian Wars and presented the city with the captured shields, which were hung on the Parthenon.[4] Greek artists were well aware of the evocative power of displaying the weaponry of the enemies and made it a constant decorative feature – although Plutarch condemned the habit of putting on show the spoils of war, especially those from fratricidal wars involving Greek against Greek: these objects were capable of reviving old hatreds.[5]

It was obvious, then, that the choice of which objects to exhibit – which to emphasise and which to destroy or transform – involved the responsibility of deciding which memories to hand down to posterity and which not. So, even culturally advanced peoples, who produced exceptional masterpieces, did not refrain from demolishing the monuments and works of art they deemed politically inappropriate. The Greeks, in particular, eliminated monuments of tyrants, statues of political opponents, presents from cities that had become enemies and works commemorating facts or personages that had become inconvenient for public remembrance. With regard to the history of the Parthenon, we must remember that the Christians demolished the pediments and chiselled the metopes; when the Temple of *Athena Parthenos* ("the virgin") was transformed into the Church of the Virgin Mary, they wanted to erase the signs of the pagan religion. Later, during Ottoman dominion, the bell tower was substituted by a minaret and the church became a mosque. The Acropolis was used as a gunpowder store, and so the Venetians decided to bombard it.

A smaller mosque was rebuilt among the surviving columns, and the Ottoman government was not concerned with preservation of the remaining old sculptures and architectural decorations, allowing Elgin to further reduce the building's state of preservation by taking these elements to London.[6] The display of the Marbles in the British Museum had major political and cultural repercussions and is still one of the most emblematic images in any British museum. When Greece regained independence, the choice of which monuments to conserve had to be made before the restoration work of the Acropolis began: the mosque inside the Parthenon was demolished, and indeed most signs of Ottoman domination were eliminated from Athens, with rare exceptions. In deciding which monuments to give museum status, the Athenians largely opted for those that represented a small part of local history: the glorious epoch of Athenian 'democracy'. The transformations of the 19th and 20th centuries conditioned subsequent evaluations of the monuments and the academic research of the following decades, namely, traces of the Ottoman period have indeed been largely removed. Today, despite considerable attempts at cultural and artistic recuperation, few visitors to Athens realise that for centuries the city's inhabitants spoke Arabic and prayed to Allah. Those who demolish monuments or museums can therefore truly control a community's cultural future.

When we turn our attention to the Roman world, we see that here too there were places that celebrated collective memories, especially those concerning important military victories. Exceptional collections of war booty were established in the forums, in public buildings, porticoes and gardens of private villas. At the end of the 3rd century BC, Rome gained supremacy over the Mediterranean and quickly seized hundreds of works of art that were carried away from Syracuse, Taranto and conquered Greek cities, thus demonstrating its military and political superiority. Their wars were always opportunities for large-scale looting, and the stories of Pliny, Polybius, Strabo and Livy tell of the Romans' unbridled voracity and the amassing of public and private collections.[7] In his account of the sack of Syracuse, in 212 BC, by Marcellus, the Greek historian Polybius openly criticises the ill-advised behaviour of Rome towards the defeated city. He states that when the victors assume the tastes – and take the artwork – of the losers, they provoke envy, rancour and arouse compassion for those who have lost their possessions.

Polybius argues that it is understandable that the winner collects all the gold and silver that serve for the maintenance of supremacy, but that it would be more appropriate to leave works of art where they lie – and thus increase the glory of their homeland by showing dignity and magnanimity, not by accumulating stolen paintings and sculptures. He concludes with "what I have said is worth teaching to those who will in the future come to occupy a position of supremacy, so that they do not loot cities, thinking that the misfortunes of others can provide ornaments for their homeland".[8]

Cicero, who was an insatiable and impatient collector, confesses to the sense of uneasiness and remorse felt by some collectors for the way in which they acquired the works that decorate their dwellings.[9] He also shows an appreciable sensitivity for the era, albeit unacceptable today, when he suggests that to avoid such a sense of discomfort it is better that the looted works of art are displayed only in the public spaces where everyone can see them, so they can offer happiness and teaching also to those whose poverty prevents them from acquiring such pieces.[10]

The Romans were also well aware of the consequences of venerating sculptures, pottery or paintings produced by other peoples. Horace recounts that Greece, after being defeated, conquered the proud winner – *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*[11] – and there were others who criticised their fellow citizens for having given up their own memories and cultural traditions in favour of those defeated. Cato refers to sculptures brought from Syracuse as enemies, and fears for the city's destiny, because "I have heard too many men praising and admiring the works of art from Corinth and Athens, while laughing at the terracotta antefixes of Roman gods".[12]

Artworks taken from foreigners cannot represent Roman cultural tradition, but only military and economic success, the triumph of luxury over our fathers' austerity.[13] This observation of Pliny regards especially the habit of hanging portraits of complete strangers in galleries instead of fathers and forefathers: "since no one survives their own image, what they leave are portraits of their money, no longer of their features".[14]

The Ancient World thus reveals that humanity has always been aware of the cultural and educational implications of selecting and publicising the best artistic productions and greatest political success. So there have always been places and buildings that functioned as museums where memories were entrusted; in their destiny, wars and other military matters have always been an extremely powerful creative or destructive force.

Since Antiquity, every time there have been significant cultural or religious changes or rulership has changed hands, the new values have required for the demolition or transformation of even the most important monuments; it has been necessary to cut the roots that united the community to its past in order to erase the deepest memories of it and create a new community.

Those who destroy monuments can control the future

Museums and monuments have always been exceptional instruments for building cultural memory and places of social and cultural sharing. They have the ability to convey values, tell stories, and generate admiration and empathy. This is precisely why those who want to change today's society, and establish new values for the future, might want to destroy them. As discussed before, looting the defeated, demolishing, transforming, or simply not protecting 'inconvenient' monuments and artworks are not recent developments, but have been around for millennia in several parts of the world. We could also consider many examples from the

wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We might recall the bridge of Mostar, an architectural treasure of the Ottoman Empire and one of the symbols of Bosnia and Herzegovina, destroyed by shellfire on the 9th of November 1993, or the Buddhas of Bamiyan, in Afghanistan, destroyed by the Taliban in 2001.[15] I will, however, limit myself to several examples of the devastation of recent years, during which we have witnessed – scandalised but apparently impotent – demolition acts of unprecedented violence.

The most famous, and indeed symbolic, event was the destruction of the ancient city of Palmyra, a UNESCO World Heritage site.[16] The city was occupied by the Islamic State on the 20th of May 2015: three 1st-century AD tower tombs, the temple of Bel, the temple of Baal Shamin and a triumphal arch were destroyed. On the 18th of August of the same year Khaled al-Asaad was killed, after a month of torture – with the complete inaction of the international community. He was decapitated and his body hung by the feet from a column of the Great Colonnade, probably because he refused to reveal where he had hidden the museum's treasures. Khaled has been recognised as one of the Righteous Worldwide, and I have had the honour of representing him as an ambassador of GARIWO.

The city of Palmyra was liberated on the 27th of March 2016, but it fell once more into the hands of IS on the 11th of December 2016 and the demolition continued. Between the 26th of December and the 10th of January the *Tetrapylon* was destroyed, with only 4 out of 16 columns left standing, as well as the theatre's *proscenium*, that had already been used as the setting for the brutal execution of enemies. The city was retaken on the 3rd of March 2017, but the archaeological area was mined by the IS before leaving, so the risk of further destruction remains.

Unfortunately, Palmyra is only one example in the apocalyptic panorama of the bombing, demolition and plundering of such monuments in recent years.[17] In Syria, bombs have gravely damaged the UNESCO sites of Aleppo, Bosra and Damascus, and the IS has also demolished the Armenian Martyrs' Memorial Church at Deir ez-Zor, which was a museum and a memorial to the Armenian genocide. Deir ez-Zor has been called the Armenian Auschwitz, and the attempt to cancel the memory of this extermination finds followers in many places and gains strength from the scarce attention given in the press to this devastation.

Destruction by the IS has also hit Iraq hard. Here mechanical excavators and pneumatic drills were used to dismantle ancient Nimrud, bulldozers knocked down walls and reduced to rubble the Assyrian Gate of ancient Nineveh (modern Mosul), and also ruined its museum.[18] Since then, hundreds, indeed thousands, of works of art from Iraq have swollen the clandestine market.

The devastating bombardment of Yemen took place before the almost complete silence of the media, at least in Italy; the coalition led by Saudi Arabia has savaged, razed to the ground and destroyed the country's cultural heritage with terrible enthusiasm, since March 2015. The old city of Sana'a, UNESCO listed and with 3000 years of history, has lost at least 19 historical dwellings. Ancient Sa'da, founded in the 4th century BC, has been bombed; the famous mosque of Al-Hadi, the walls of Baraqish and the great Marib dam – considered one of the archaeological and engineering miracles of all time – have all been bombed. It seemed like a deliberate attempt to destroy the artistic and religious expression of a land where everything is historical – and its history documents caravan routes, international ports, and fruitful meetings between widely separated cultures.

Recently, attacks and demolitions have also occurred in Africa; we must remember the disturbing plunder in Libya and Egypt as well as the destruction of the Timbuktu

archaeological complex in Mali by Al-Qaeda militants, another UNESCO World Heritage site that the United Nations failed to protect. We must remember the figure of Abdel Kader Haidara, another of the Righteous Worldwide, who in those terrible days managed to save 350,000 manuscripts from the destructive fury. On the 18th of March 2015, a planned attack on the Tunisian Parliament struck the Bardo National Museum instead, where, alongside innumerable Roman mosaic floors, Christian, Jewish and Islamic mosaics are also exhibited to demonstrate the city's multi-ethnic past. Fortunately, the damage to the archaeological material was limited but, since then, the museum has been empty. So, for more than two years, no one has seen the memory embodied in these works of art. I would like to remind people of Hamadi Ben Abdesslem, also one of the Righteous and a tourist guide at the Bardo, who on that day saved the lives of 40 Italian visitors by letting them out through staff exits.

After considering this list – which is far from being complete – we have to ask ourselves why have the Islamic State, the Taliban, the Al-Qaeda, and the Saudi coalition continued for years to deliberately demolish Syrian, Iraqi, Afghan, Yemeni and African monuments, museums and archaeological sites.

We often attribute such actions to ignorance, barbarism and backwardness, but this explanation is unsatisfactory: it cannot be so simple. If there was a clear division between 'them', who are so backward, and 'us', who are so advanced, we would know and would have stopped them, some time ago, but we did not; obviously, the situation is more complicated than this. The demolition of the Palmyra *Tetrapylon* or the *proscenium* of the Roman theatre, the sale of archaeological finds stolen from display cases of monuments in museums: are not acts of ignorant madmen, performed only to scare the West, to insult the infidels who claim that heritage is universal. If they sell these artefacts to the highest bidder, it means they do not value them as such – or rather they want to eliminate the historical value that those objects have. Unfortunately, the sellers find all too easily those willing to buy, to supply and to justify this market. The buyers help to impoverish the countries who have lost this inheritance, which plays into the hands of those who want to erase the memory it embodies.[19]

The destroyers make things easy for the looters and their goal is even more threatening; their actions are carefully planned, sophisticated, and irreparable. Demolition is the path to erase the memories of all humankind, beginning with those who inhabit the affected territories. Those monuments, many of which were UNESCO World Heritage sites, are no longer there and will not be there tomorrow to bear witness to the fact that a different world is possible.

Even if the terrifying absolutism of the destroyers was definitively defeated tomorrow, the fact remains that no Syrian schoolchildren will ever again visit the Palmyra oasis in its pre-2015 splendour, no one will remain speechless at that unique spectacle, no one will tell those children that two thousand years ago, in that very rich and beautiful city, people of different cultures, languages and religions lived together in peace. Nobody will know now that there existed – and therefore might exist once more – a land where people lived in mutual respect, a place that was the gateway to the East for those coming from the West, and to the West for those coming from the East.[20] Destroying that multi-ethnic city model means eliminating the opportunity to demonstrate and understand that another world, free from present hatreds that once existed and is therefore possible. Destroying the evidence of the past allows them to wipe the slate clean of memories and collective values, and thus to create a new collective culture in the image of the destroyers themselves. The destroyers are succeeding in their intent to dominate the future; years of war and destruction have inevitably led to serious

consequences for all Mediterranean countries. Namely a culture of hatred and the rejection of all that is different are increasingly successful – and we all have heavy responsibilities, much more than we are prepared to admit.

Those who destroy, damage or close museums and monuments are not crazy or uncivilized, but, on the contrary, they are carrying out a very precise project to cancel collective values built up over centuries of sacrifice. They act with an educated vision of the destruction of memory in order to build a society in their own image, in which there are no alternative experiences or possibilities.

The destroyers also win even if they are defeated, because those monuments will never return as they once were, and if we decide to rebuild them we will spend a fortune in order to construct a modern fiction of a lost past, and that money will necessarily be subtracted from other possible forms of progress.

Memory in museums and art

Thus, the only weapon we have against those who seek to erase the Mediterranean collective cultural memory is to be aware of the importance of historically meaningful places, objects and museums, and to protect them. We must be careful about this because our collective memory is extremely vulnerable and malleable – and yet, this is what determines the cultural identity of present and future communities.[21] Museums that choose to take responsibility for perpetuating the memory of a community must carry out this task with great attention because the power that is in their hands is actually very significant.[22] Monuments and works of art embody our unique and unquestionably interbred human nature, and offer us concrete evidence that every form of cultural development is the result of encounters between different peoples, cultures and religions.

At first glance, historical museums devoted to the French Revolution or the Italian Risorgimento, memorials dedicated to the Holocaust or the Cambodian or Rwandan Genocide, museums of native cultures or migrations may seem more appropriate to questions of memory, but the truth is that all museums are full of endless narratives. The memory may be embodied in various scenarios, sometimes in the intentions of an artist or client; to bring this out may require a lot of research and the right approach. The fascination of our work lies in such operations: uncovering the memory of an object.

The responsibility of museums that want to contribute to creating the values of a community is to make the artworks and objects they exhibit 'talk' to the visitors. They ought to make sure that their historical and cultural message – as well as their artistic and aesthetic message – reaches contemporary society, often chronologically and/or geographically distant from the social and cultural environment in which the works on display were produced.

For example, there are many objects from every corner of the Mediterranean on display in archaeological museums, and the story they tell is that peoples have always moved, and by doing so, they spread everywhere their religions, their customs and their languages. It also shows that there has been no development without the meeting of different cultures. In a small town such as Angera, in the Lombard hinterland, the local archaeological museum tells us that there was once a temple of Isis, that women wore a mixture of Celtic and Roman jewellery, and that the first Christian individual at Angera, whose name we also know, was Syrian. Recounting the history of the cults, traditions and alphabets of the 'others' that have passed through that territory can help us understand the value of intercultural encounters, identify the foreign ingredients in local traditions – and perhaps even put ourselves in the shoes of those who pass through today.[23]

The statue of the Gaul who kills his wife and himself exhibited in Palazzo Altemps in Rome is a superbly striking and poignant. It is one of the Roman marble copies from the sculptural group donated by the Attalid rulers to the temple of Pergamum to celebrate the military victory over the Galatians, a Celtic tribe.[24]

What makes it special is the ethnographic treatment of the protagonists, together with the fact that the loser is not shown crushed under the victors' feet or the chariot's wheels, but standing upright, bold and proud. Works like this allow us to talk to museum visitors about the image of war, of how losers were portrayed in the Antiquity – often humiliated, but sometimes treated with notable respect, in order to demonstrate the winner's true greatness through the strength and honour of the defeated – and finally how they are represented today.

Gentile and Giovanni Bellini's marvellous picture of Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria, in Egypt, on display in Milan's Pinacoteca di Brera, was painted between 1504 and 1507, but the event it refers to happened about AD 68, when Alexandria was in the Roman Empire. In fact the saint is wearing Roman garb. According to tradition, at this time Mark evangelised Egypt, founded the church of Alexandria, and was later buried in it. In 828, the Venetians decided to take his relics from there to Venice, where, a few years later, the church dedicated to him was built. At the time, Alexandria was under Ottoman control, and to smuggle out the relics the Venetian merchants hid them among pieces of pork, which no Muslim dared to touch. The square where the scene is set has nothing to do with the 1st-century Roman or the 9th-century Islamic city, but depicts Bellini's notion of an exotic city after having visited Constantinople and, perhaps, Jerusalem. In the background, there is a building of unusual aspect, alongside minarets, bell towers, giraffes and dromedaries. The saint preaches to a mixed audience, including dignitaries in Venetian garb, men in turbans and women with long, tall, Turkish-style veils. This spectacular painting clearly invites a discussion of the encounters between Christianity and Islam over the centuries.

Not only is the Duomo of Milan a cathedral but also a museum that exhibits and explains six centuries of the city's art and history. Few people notice that just above the central doorway, the façade is decorated with two female statues: one – with a radiant crown – representing the Catholic church; the other holding a table of laws, is blindfolded, representing the Jewish religion. The Star of David is also present in one of the display cases made after World War II. Works like these commemorate the role of the Jewish community in Milan before and after the Second World War.

L'alba dell'operaio [Workman's Dawn] by Sottocornola in Milan's Modern Art Gallery, or Pellizza da Volpedo's *Quarto Stato* [Fourth Estate], in the Museo del 900, recount the inhuman working conditions in factories at the end of the 19th century, the social revolution and the military suppression of demonstrations, and offer opportunities to compare the past with the present.

I am sure that everyone can think of other examples of works of art that can evoke valuable memories in any museum in the world.

Museums of goodness, agents of peace

I conclude by briefly describing our project for this year's ICOM Day in Milan and Angera.

For some years, I have been part of a non-profit philanthropic organisation called GARIWO, Gardens of the Righteous Worldwide. Since 1999, GARIWO has worked to bring to public attention the Righteous, people who have endangered or lost their lives opposing genocide and mass murder, upholders of truth and

The Museums of Goodness, Milano and Angera, ICOM Day 2017. © Casa della Memoria, Milano.

saviours of others and of the shared cultural heritage. The Righteous come from every culture, age, religion and nationality. Their actions – sometimes their entire lives – are proof that any human being, at certain key moments of his or her life, might find himself or herself in the position of being responsible for defending other people and opposing repressive, anti-democratic tendencies.

Recounting the unspeakable in museums might seem a daunting task because it requires reference to uncomfortable matters, such as the evil that humans can do to their fellows – and this for a museum is as problematic as mounting a bad exhibition that nobody wants to see.

Remembering the Righteous worldwide, whose actions emerge in extreme situations of inhumanity or contempt for humanity, reminds us of traumatic historical events, but also leads in the opposite direction, to consider the good it was possible to do in such circumstances. GARIWO has asked a number of museums to identify one of the Righteous that could be associated with their collections in order to awaken dramatic memories. We think that remembering the Righteous generates 'contagious' goodness and that the memory of this goodness is a powerful educational tool.

Casa Museo Bagatti Valsecchi during the guided visit.

The Sicilian Righteous at the Studio Museo Francesco Messina. © C. Miedico

Bringing the stories of the Righteous into museums has proven to be an effective way of talking about the horrors of the past and the present, focusing on examples of resistance worth celebrating and of great instructive value. Thus, museums and other cultural institutions become 'megaphones' for positive memories, providing examples to be copied, opportunities to reflect on individual responsibilities, and on the notions of humanity, reception and sharing. All this makes us think about the value of encounter, the importance of widening our knowledge in order to better understand and overcome differences, and also the danger of remaining indifferent in the face of the injustices we witness. GARIWO's archives may be found online at www.gariwo.net for all who want to know more about the Righteous and invite them into their own museums.

The programme of ICOM Day 2017 was promoted by the councillors for culture of Milan and Angera, Filippo del Corno and Valeria Baietti, and by GARIWO's president Gabriele Nissim; it was drawn up by myself in collaboration with Maria Fratelli, director of Milan Civic Museums. A conference was held in Milan's Casa della Memoria, entitled *La Memoria dei Giusti, per narrare l'indicibile nei Musei* [Remembering the Righteous: recounting the unspeakable in museums], where, among others, Armin Wegner and Andrea Schivo were mentioned. There were guided visits to the Garden of the Righteous, the 'museum of goodness' that tells their stories. The Casa Museo Boschi di Stefano organised a guided tour followed by a conference entitled *Una conversazione sul coraggio civile in Turchia* [Talking about Civil Courage in Turkey] led by Valeria Giannotta, lecturer at the universities of Istanbul and Ankara, and director of CIPMO - Centro Italiano per la Pace in Medio Oriente [Italian Centre for Peace in the Middle East].

At the Studio-Museo Francesco Messina, Chiara Fabi, Maria Fratelli and Cristiana Zanetti spoke of *I migliori frutti della Sicilia, artisti e Giusti contro la Mafia* [Sicily's Finest Fruits: Artists and Righteous against the Mafia].

At Milan's Monumental Cemetery we paid tribute to the Righteous women buried there, including Mafia victim Lea Garofalo and the once director of the Brera Gallery, Fernanda Wittgens. Giannino Castiglioni's *Pietà* allowed us to remember the pain of a mother forced to witness the premature death of a child who gave his life for the good of others, and likewise we honoured

the memory of the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo and the Saturday Mothers of Istanbul.

The Museum of Angera hosted an exhibition featuring key figures such as Nelson Mandela as well as some local Righteous, including Calogero Marrone and Lucillo Merci. The event had an unexpected but hoped-for consequence; it reawakened the dormant memories of some senior citizens who could finally recount their experiences of the Lake Maggiore massacre, which was the first extermination of Jews in Italy, but also featured rescuers – some from Angera itself.

In Milan, there have been many interventions designed to revive past memories and also to build our collective memory of the present. One of these was the Shoa Memorial project: at the entrance, the word INDIFFERENCE stands out in block capitals, and for this reason, the museum has repeatedly welcomed today's migrants; ICOM Day was marked by a project entitled *C'era ancora una volta* [Once Again]. At Palazzo Reale there was the exhibition *Libya: a Human Market Place*, whose dramatic images are difficult to forget. The Triennale put on show the powerful, *La terra inquieta* [The Restless Earth)] able to move even the least emotional among us, and the Contemporary Art Pavilion displayed *Africa. Raccontare un mondo* [Tales of Africa], dedicated to contemporary African art.
I believe that interventions such as these have the power to change the present, creating new memories and thus determining the future.

Milan Monumental Cemetery, remembering Fernanda Wittgens.

The Sicilian Righteous at the Angera Archaeology Museum, Khaled al Asaad beside the gravestone of the first Christian from Angera, whose name is known, Maraotes, who was born in Syria. © C. Miedico.

As museum operators, we have the responsibility to keep alive the memory of what is beautiful and what is good, and to ensure that they continue to provide models for imitation. ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums and the Charter of Responsibilities proposed by GARIWO in 2017 invite us to become aware of the active role each of us has in constructing the present and the future of our society.[25] Museums and monuments are repositories of the good and the beautiful, changeable temples of memory, and therefore ideal places to celebrate the multiform aspects of human civilisation; ideal places to lay the foundations for a future based on greater empathy, more assiduous dialogue, an increased awareness of our responsibilities; the good health of museums and monuments allows them to function as instruments for peace among peoples.

Notes

[1] Pausanias. I, 15. 1-4.
[2] The custom of putting artworks seized as spoils of war on public display is known in the Near East from the 12th century BC. Brusasco, 2012: 27.
[3] Pausanias. I, 22. 6-7.
[4] Plutarch. *Life of Alexander*. 16
[5] Plutarch. *Moralia.* 401. c-d.
[6] Panichi, 2003: XII-XIV and 6-8.
[7] For a list of sources on ancient collections, see Gualandi, 2001: 485-544.
[8] Polybius. *Histories,* IX, 10. 2-13.
[9] Cicero. *Tusculanae Quaestiones*. V. 35, 102.
[10] Cicero. *Tusculanae Quaestiones*. V. 35, 102.
[11] Horace. *Epistles,* II, 1. 93-157.
[12] A reference to traditional Roman temple decorations, which were made of terracotta rather than marble, like those on Greek temples. Livy. *Ab Urbe condita.* XXXIV, 4. 1-5.
[13] Pliny. *Naturalis Historia.* XXXVII. 12-14.
[14] Pliny. *Naturalis Historia.* XXXV. 4-5.
[15] There have also been cases of attacks with explosives in Italy, to the country's artistic and museum heritage, such as the bombs placed in 1992 in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, in front of the churches of S. Govanni in Laterano and S.

Giorgio al Velabro in Rome, and at the Pavilion of Contemporary Art in Milan. Cf. *La sicurezza anticrimine nei musei.* 2015. 51.

[16] Grassi, 2017, *passim*; Zenoni, 2017. 41-45

[17] Matthiae, 2015; Brusasco, 2013; Brusasco, 2012.

[18] Brusasco, 2016.

[19] I take this opportunity to reiterate the importance of constantly bearing in mind – especially in these times – the terms of the 1970 UNESCO Convention and the regulations for Member States concerning the unlawful import, export and transfer of cultural heritage. The basic principles are well expressed in the *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums*.

[20] Grassi, 2017.

[21] Assmann, 2011; Assmann, 2012.

[22] Crane (Ed.), 2000, *passim.*

[23] In fact, the triennial project (2016-2018), presented at the last ICOM General Conference in Milan, *The Museum and the 'Others'*, is built around this idea.

[24] Other statues of dying Gauls are kept in the Capitoline and Vatican museums, the Louvre and the Athens National Archaeological Museum.

[25] For GARIWO, see: ***www.gariwo.net***

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CITY IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL CHANGES AND THROUGH THE LENS OF MILITARY CONFLICT. ARMENIAN MINORITY IN ALEPPO IN THE TIME OF WAR AS A PART OF CITY IDENTITY

IDENTIDAD URBANA EN UN CONTEXTO CON CAMBIOS POLÍTICOS Y A TRAVÉS DE UNA PERSPECTIVA DEL CONFLICTO ARMADO. MINORÍA ARMENIA EN ALEPPO EN TIEMPOS DE GUERRA, UN ELEMENTO DE LA IDENTIDAD URBANA

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ABSTRACT
Before the civil war, Aleppo was home to a community of about 80,000 Armenian Christians, who preserved the Armenian language and traditions. The paper aims to analyse whether and to what degree Syria's civil war, which started in 2011, has influenced the Armenian community in Aleppo. The analysis conducted was based on historical sources, Google maps, photographs from private collections, eyewitnesses' accounts, and interviews with the former members of the Armenian community, now refugees. Two periods were examined: before the war in 2010 and the period of conducting the research – from January to September 2017. Likewise, buildings crucial for the Armenian community were chosen, which were also important for the whole community, situated within the territory of the city of Aleppo, and an analysis was conducted in order to verify to what degree the war has destroyed the urban tissue of the Armenian diaspora.

Key words
Aleppo, city identity, Armenia, national identity, civil war

RESUMEN
Antes de la guerra civil, en Aleppo vivía aproximadamente 80,000 armenios cristianos, quienes preservaron la lengua y las tradiciones armenias. El objeto de este artículo es analizar si, y en qué grado, la guerra civil de Siria, cuyo inicio se remonta en 2011, ha influido en la comunidad armenia de Aleppo a partir de fuentes históricas, google maps, fotografías de colecciones privadas, testimonios de testigos y entrevistas con antiguos miembros de la comunidad armenia, que ahora son refugiados. Todos estos elementos serán analizados y comparados en dos periodos: previa al conflicto y durante la realización de la investigación de enero a mayo de 2017. Al definir la identidad de un lugar, debemos limitar y describir, los rasgos particulares, específicos o reconocibles, así como las características típicas de la región y la sociedad. Las unidades habitacionales, las iglesias, la infraestructura e incluso el modo en qué funciona la economía y la sociedad o su jerarquía social, todos estos elementos formarán la imagen de un espacio o región.

Palabras clave
Aleppo, identidad urbana, Armenia, identidad nacional, guerra civil

INTRODUCTION
Aleppo (Halab, Khalpe, Khalibon, Beroea) is, after Damascus, the second largest city in Syria and also one of the oldest and continuously inhabited cities in the world. Situated at the crossroads of two trade routes, Aleppo mediated the trade from India, the Tigris-Euphrates regions and the route from Damascus in the South. As it occupies a strategic trading point midway between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean sea, it has been the greatest centre of trade between Europe and the lands farther east.

In 1986, the Ancient City of Aleppo was inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage Site list (UNESCO, 2017). It bears an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition and Islamic civilisation, and it is an outstanding example of architecture, illustrating a significant stage in human history. The UNESCO selection committee

specifically cites Aleppo's collection of architecture from diverse cultures and civilisation, which "all form part of the city's cohesive, unique urban fabric, now threatened by overpopulation" (UNESCO, 2017).

About 80% of Aleppo's inhabitants are Sunni Muslims; Arabs, Kurds, Turkmen, followed by small groups of ethnic Circassians, Chechens, Albanians, Bosniaks, Greeks and Bulgarians (Fearon 2003: 215). However, it has to be borne in mind that Aleppo is also home to one of the biggest Christian communities in the Middle East. After Beirut, Aleppo is the second largest Christian community in the Orient. There are at least twelve Christian congregations – Catholic and Eastern churches, but the majority of the Aleppo Christians belong to the Armenian and the Syriac Orthodox Church (Kelidar, 1974: 18-19).

The historical Armenian roots in Aleppo go as far back as the 1st century B.C. At the beginning of the 20th century, after 1915, during and after the Armenian genocide, carried out by the Ottoman Empire, the Armenian diaspora in Aleppo had an exponential increase. Many Armenians fled the Ottoman Empire and its persecutions, and found refuge in Syria. (Hovanissian, 1974:24). Since 1915, when the major part of the Armenian community was formed in the city of Aleppo, the Armenian diaspora has always been a significant part of the city, on different levels: cultural, political, social and religious. The Armenians in Aleppo were fairly successful and well integrated. They opened cultural centres, restaurants and educational centres. "They were involved in all sorts of trade, education, medicine, dentistry, and also in more traditional Armenian professions like carpet and jewellery making, among others. So they have transformed Aleppo, and they have been transformed by Aleppo", (Jebeijan, 2017).

Before the war, the Syrian Armenian community numbered around 80,000 people (Jebeijan 2017). Concentrated in the city of Aleppo and in the capital Damascus, the presence of Armenian cultural centres, schools and churches helped the community to preserve its identity, Christian religion and language. The relationship between Armenians and the rest of the society of Aleppo had always been excellent. The Armenians, unlike other ethnic groups, for example the Kurds, were allowed to set up their own schools, where the Armenian language was taught. They also had guaranteed places in the Syrian parliament (Migliorino, 2007:115).

The aim of the work and the justification of the topic

This paper aims to analyse whether and to what degree military conflict is an element of the city identity. The case study is the Armenian diaspora in Aleppo. In the paper, we aim to distinguish the experience of the Armenians in Aleppo from the Syrians in general, and we focus our research on the Armenian community. To define the identity of a place we have to define and describe, individually, specific or recognisable features, which are characteristic and typical for a region and its society. Residential or religious buildings, infrastructure and even the way economy and society. function or how its hierarchy of standards is established, create the picture and individual features of a space or a region (Wrana, 2011:22). It is the way of building the identity of a place, which can be viewed as the "deepest relationship between the landscape, along with its historically layered elements, such as culture, tradition of a place, and its form" (Myczkowski, 2003:24). An additional element that shapes a given region is its political, migratory or military situation. A military factor has a significant impact on the functioning of a society, on its political structures, economy, urban and rural spaces. Regions or cities are often "marked" by military activities. Various stages of infrastructure destruction are clear elements - from minor damage and traces of bullets, through partial destruction to parts of towns/villages transformed into ruins. Other images of war include all the elements, such as abandoned houses, graffiti, slogans and inscriptions that were created after the "negative events".

A military factor has a significant impact on the functioning of a society, on political structures, economy, or urban and rural spaces and on the transformation of the urban structure. These regions include areas of armed conflict or disputed areas where different states, nations or groups claim the right to be the owners of the areas in question. They are often "marked" by military activities. Various stages of infrastructure destruction are clear elements – from minor damage and traces of bullets, through partial destruction to parts of towns/villages transformed into ruins. However, these are only direct images of warfare in an area. Other images/traces of war should include all the elements that were created just after the "negative events". The following elements can be listed by way of example: graffiti, slogans, inscriptions (on both exterior and interiors, on infrastructure, etc.), and abandoned houses of people who emigrated or were displaced due to war activities.

The research methodology

The fieldwork for this paper was conducted within a frame of a wider research study, which aims at the analysis of the importance of cultural heritage in the process of shaping national identity. The research was conducted in the period of January-September 2017, and it was divided in two main stages:

- Firstly, drawing on official sources, interviews, journalism, and political science literature, we have examined and established what elements of the urban landscape were important for the Armenian community and in the formation of the urban identity of Aleppo. That study involved a series of twenty five in-depth, semi-structured, open-ended interviews with Armenians, residents or former residents from Aleppo. The interviews were conducted face to face and via Skype. The interviews were conducted in May and in September 2017. The interviewees are kept anonymous, their sex, age, name and the address of the residents are not revealed. The interviews were not recorded, however, after each interview the notes taken were transcribed verbatim. This remark is with respect to the quotations, which are included in the paper.
- Secondly, seven buildings were chosen and analysed.
  At the selection of the buildings the following criteria were imposed:
  - the building had to be situated within the territory of the city of Aleppo
  - the building had to be a significant element of the Armenian diaspora functioning.

The conflict background

Syria's civil war has begun in March 2011, and includes three main actors: President Bashar al-Assad's government (supported by China, Iran, Russia and the Hezbollah), Syrian rebels, divided in a number of fractions (such as the Kurdish Forces, the Free Syrian Army, the Southern Front Forces and the Army of Islam) with the support of a coalition that includes France, the UK, the Arab League, Turkey and the USA, which led it, and ISIS – the so called Islamic State in Iraq and Syria – an extremist militant group ruled by Wahhabi/Salafi law (Carpenter 2013:2-4).

The war has begun in 2011 and its catalyst was the Arab Spring, which started in December 2010, first in Tunisia, later in Algeria, Bahrein Egypt and Libya. Soon after, pro-democracy protests also erupted in Syria as another Arab Spring uprising, demanding President Assad's resignation. The protests started shyly in February and spread all over the country in March and April 2011. The repressions of the regimes were severe: the security forces opened fire on demonstrators who were mobilised against the president Bashar al-Assad. The opposition brigade was formed, violence escalated and the country descended into civil war. The war reached Damascus, the capital of the country, and Aleppo in 2012. "The conflict is now more than just a battle between those for and against Mr. Assad. It has acquired sectarian overtones, pitching the country's Sunni majority against the president's Shia Alawite sect, and has drawn in regional and world powers. The rise of the jihadist group Islamic State (IS) has added a further dimension" (Syria, the story of the conflict, 2017). The so-called Islamic State seized the opportunity and

took control of large swathes of Syria and Iraq, where, in June 2014, it declared the bringing into existence of a "caliphate" (Syria, the story of the conflict, 2017). On the 19th of July of 2012 a major military confrontation began: it was called "The battle of Aleppo", whose scale of destruction was so big that it was compared to the destruction of Stalingrad (Spencer, 2012).

A large number of Armenians left Aleppo – a part left to Armenia where they could apply for Armenian passport and citizenship, others to Lebanon, others still to Europe and the Arabian Gulf (oral interviewees, May-September 2017).
Aleppo was taken over by the Syrian Army in December 2016 and The Battle of Aleppo seems to be over. According to the interviewees, life in Aleppo has returned to normality. After five years of inactivity, the public buses have been relaunched, schools are being opened, and, what can be considered rather symbolic and optimistic, in June 2017, six months after the government recaptured Aleppo, an open-air restaurant of the Armenian Society reopened, after having been closed for four years. It has to be mentioned that the home to the majority of Aleppo Armenians, the district of Nor Kyugh (which during the war was a front-line area), even in 2017 was sporadically a scene of fighting (according to oral interviews), however, in May 2017 the restoration works in the district began (oral interview).

Analysis of the chosen material
When the city of Aleppo became a battlefield, with thousands of people killed and millions chased away, the urban landscape changed drastically as well.

In September 2010, in Aleppo, there were five Armenian schools, with the Armenian language being taught between 2 and 4 hours per week. Other institutions, important for the Armenian diaspora, can be listed: the Vergine Gulbenkian Maternity – Hospital, five Armenian Apostolic churches, covered by the Armenian Diocese of Beroea, five Armenian Catholic churches, covered by Armenian Archeparchy of Aleppo. Among the cultural institutions, the following can be listed, by way of example: theatre companies, such as Bedros Attamian Theater Group, that in 2011, the year when the war started, celebrated its golden – fiftieth anniversary, a marching band, dance ensembles among them Pountch Children's Dance Ensemble or Antranik Dance Ensemble, music schools and academies, the Spendiarian Choir, Aram Khachatryan Music School or the Gomidas Chamber Orchestra.

In September 2017, there were at least two Armenian schools, teaching Armenian language. Two Armenian Apostolic churches remain severely damaged, one does not operate. However, the cultural institutions are not officially closed, they operate in a limited way (source oral interview). The members of the diaspora are able, albeit in a limited way, to participate in a social and religious life.

The following buildings, according to the adopted criteria, have been selected for the detailed analysis:

The Sahagian School, the Karen Jeppe High School, the Lazar the Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian Central High School, The Forty Martyrs Armenian Cathedral, The Surp Kevork Armenian church, The Armenian Catholic church, and the Vergine Gulbenkian Maternity-Hospital

The following elements have been analysed:

- the history of the building;
- its visual and aesthetic function;
- spatial organisation,
- technical state of the building: whether and to what degree it is preserved, neglected or destroyed;
- the function of the building before the conflict in 2010;
- the function of the building after the conflict, in September 2017.

The above-mentioned objects have been chosen for their functions as well as for their intellectual, educational, religious, social and mental meanings for the local society. Analysis was conducted according to criteria that identified the crucial features of the objects according to their localisation, situation in the city space, history, functional features and visual appeal.

The results of the analysis are presented in the following Table 1.

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF THE EXEMPLARY BUILDINGS OF ALEPPO, PLAYING KEY ROLE IN THE LIFE OF ARMENIAN DIASPORA.

	The Surp Kevork Armenian church	The Forty Martyrs Armenian Cathedral	The Armenian Catholic church	Lazar Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian Central High School	Karen Jeppe Armenian College	The Vergine Gulbenkian Maternity-Hospital
Accessibility of buildings: general accessibility of the building, whether it is open, closed or if it is possible to enter	Not accessible	Accessible	Accessible	Accessible	Accessible as an institution, the building does not operate	Not accessible: closed and unoccupied
The date of construction	1955	1476-1491	1823-1832	1954	1946	1935
Location in the city	Meydan – Armenian district	Jdeyde – city centre	Jdeyde – city centre	Nor Kyough – Armenian district	Nor Kyough – Armenian district	Nor Kyough – Armenian district
Technical state of the building	Set on fire on the 29th Oct. 2012. The interior of the church, including religious vestments, liturgical items, and icons, suffered serious damage.	Damaged by rebels' underground bomb on the 28th of April 2015. Partially destroyed, the church itself and the bell tower survived, partially rebuilt, plans to renovate it as of June 2017.	Undamaged	Partially destroyed	Destroyed	Partially destroyed. Extensive damage in May 2016 and later in December 2016, along with residential buildings and adjacent buildings.
Function of the building before the conflict	Church	Church	Church	Educational – kindergarten, primary and secondary school, high school	School	Maternity hospital
Function of the building now	Church: closed for the general public, however having church status.	Church	Church	Educational – kindergarten, primary and secondary school, high school	School: Starts operating in a new campus in September 2017	Operates in the basement of the St. Gregory Church
Aesthetics and form of buildings	The Armenian style	Three-nave basilica church with no dome, tower bell – Baroque style	Relatively modern when comparing with other churches in the Jdeideh district, a simple construction church with a simple timber roof.	Lack of significant aesthetic qualities. The building is typically functional, no significant details and ornamental elements.	Lack of significant aesthetic qualities. The building is typically functional, low, no significant details and ornamental elements.	Lack of significant aesthetic qualities. The building is typically functional, low building, diverse materials and wall colours, no significant details and ornamental elements.

Findings and discussion

The buildings that were chosen for analysis were constructed between 1476 and 1955. They cover a very long period of Armenian presence in the territory of Aleppo. They also represent a variety of architectural styles and play different functions in the city fabric. The chosen structures have played a key role in the Armenian diaspora life. They have a long history, both as institutions as well as buildings. They are engraved in both the Aleppo and particularly in the Armenian diaspora life for many generations. The structures that were chosen symbolise significant elements that form a national identity: religion, language and health facilities. The Armenian Church has been and remains a force of Armenian nationalism. In Armenia, religion plays a crucial role in the process of formation of a national feeling. "Religion is very important for us. We are Christians, and I always wear a necklace with a cross. We have to underline that we are not Muslims. We are Armenians, we are Christians" (oral interview, June 2017). For the interviewees, religion is a crucial element of cultural and ethnic identity. The interviewees underlined that they are Christians, unlike "our brothers Muslims" (oral interview, September 2017), and this has been stressed as a very significant fact.

The churches that were chosen for the analysis are crucial for the Armenian diaspora in Aleppo. The Forty Martyrs Cathedral, a church built in the 15th century, is one of the oldest churches of the Armenian diaspora that is still in use. It has also been a centre for the Armenian community life in Aleppo for centuries.

The Surp Kevork Armenian Church has a deep symbolic meaning for the life of the Armenian diaspora. In February 1990, a monument to the martyrs of the Maraash massacre was erected in the eastern side of the church courtyard. On the 23rd of April, 1994, with the support of the Zaitoun Association, the memorial for the martyrs of the battles of Zaitoun (designed and executed by the Makardijian brothers from Armenia) was established. Both the Maraash massacre and the battle of Zaitoun strictly play a significant role in the formation and preservation of the national identity formation for Armenians, both in Armenia and in the diaspora. These events are considered to be the commencement of the Armenian genocide (Arkun, 2011:21).

The Armenian language also remains as a key element among the national identity components. The interviewees claimed that they speak western Armenian at home and that Armenian is their mother tongue. The educational institutions have played a key role in the Armenian diaspora. The Armenian schools in Aleppo not only are educational institutions but also places where social life takes place. Schools have been functioning for generations, and the interviewees claimed that whole families attended them, from generation to generation. "This was the school where my aunts learnt, later I attended that school and my sisters too, and now my sister's children attend it", said an interviewee about the Karen Jeppe College. The Karen Jeppe College is considered the biggest school in the Armenian diaspora, with more than 1000 students. At the 60th anniversary of the creation of the AGBU Lazar Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian School, Serzh Skraponyan, Deputy Minister of Diaspora of the Republic of Armenia greeted the gathered crowd with the words:

"AGBU Lazar Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian School not only serves as an ordinary school but has become a second home for all as well. The road between school and club has been walked by thousands of students over the years, who have been brought up in a unique and most patriotic environment. The school will always retain that feeling in spite of the disaster and devastation of war".
(source: video material, private collection – provided by an anonymous interviewee)

In the same speech, he also underlined the great role that the AGBU Lazar Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian School has played in the life of the Armenian diaspora in Aleppo in the course of the preservation of the Armenian national identity.
The hospital not only was chosen as the main Armenian centre for care, for medical help but also, for being a clear symbol of the connection between Armenians, it is run by the Gullabi Gulbenkian Foundation of New York. Another symbolic function, which has to be mentioned, is that it functions as the maternity hospital, serving the whole Armenian community of the diaspora. The interviewees claimed that the hospital plays a crucial role in the lives of the Aleppo Armenians, given that "many of the Armenian children from Aleppo were born there" (oral interview, June 2017). "I was born in that hospital and my son was born there. I was very, very sad that the hospital was ruined. It broke my heart" (oral interview, May 2017).

The buildings are located either in the city centre, in Jdeyde, or in the Armenian quarter – Nor Kyough. Jdeyde is the historical Christian neighbourhood of Aleppo. The buildings are near to other Christian churches – the Maronite Cathedral of Saint Elias and the Farhat Square, situated about one hundred metres west of the central Hatab Square. Before the war, Jdeyde was famous for its beauty with its alleys, medieval courtyard houses, Christian churches and rich mansions. It was considered a big attraction for tourists. Many of the historical palaces were revitalised and became museums, restaurants, hotels or boutiques. Destruction of the buildings in question is the destruction of a vital element of the urban fabric. In Nor Kyough, the majority of the buildings bear traces of military conflict. Some of them are destroyed or not in use, other ones function, even though they are partially destroyed. Some of the institutions that found place in the analysed structures have temporarily changed their premises, like in the case of the the Vergine Gulbenkian Maternity-Hospital, or even permanently changed them, like in the case of the Lazar Najarian-Calouste Gulbenkian Central High School. Some buildings are abandoned, traces of military activities are visible, and they are in bad technical state. At the same time, these places are a clear exemplification of the past.

Final remarks and conclusions

War activities and conflicts – ongoing or past – remain in the memory and the mentality of a society for several years. The disturbed sense of security influences the reception of space, and thus strengthens in people the need to create spaces that will reduce the danger – in a mental and direct context. Reconstruction or restoration to "normality"/condition of use, often includes the most important elements that enhance the sense of security, *i.e.* the creation of clear spaces, where the user can quickly and easily find the exit, the avoidance of visual barriers that prevent free movement, the elimination of objects that attract social pathologies, the localisation of objects (Lis et al., 2014). In addition, referring to the social vulnerability theory, individuals/people/societies that have been victimised in the past are more susceptible to risk. Hence, even if the sites/areas are not subjected to conflict or armed conflict, the population living there will receive spatial stimuli in a significantly more negative way (Vilalta, 2011:109).

During the military operations in Aleppo, a large number of buildings was greatly damaged or destroyed. Among them there were also numerous Armenian structures. After the liberation of the city from the rebel control and the establishment of peace, albeit unstable and shattered by sporadic fighting, the Armenian community and the Armenian part of the city are recovering, although with lots of parts still in ruins. In spite of the large-scale destruction, and in spite of unfavourable and difficult conditions, Armenian schools are reopening their activities, the hospital's activities are being performed in a different building and the authorities are hoping to move back to the permanent building after it has been reconstructed. Khtaching Mouradian, the Program Coordinator of the Armenian Genocide Program at the Centre for the Study of Genocide, Conflict Resolution,

and Human Rights at Rutgers University, said: "The war in Syria shattered the fabric of community life in Aleppo to such an extent, that it is difficult to imagine bringing back the Syria that existed before the war. And this, of course, will have an impact on the Armenian community as well" (Mouradian, 2017, video material). The war has damaged the life of the community; however, the process that can be observed after the war operations demonstrates clearly, that the diaspora activities are directed towards the return to the normal life of the community.

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THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOUTH AFRICAN CITIES' MUSEUMS RIVE(D) TO POLITICAL UNDERTONES: CONFESSIONS FROM A HERITAGE PERSPECTIVE

EL GRADO DE IMPACTO DE LAS RUPTURAS EN LOS MUSEOS DE LAS CIUDAD DE SUDÁFRICA OCASIONADOS POR LOS TRASFONDOS POLÍTICOS: CONFESIONES DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA PATRIMONIAL

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ABSTRACT

The seepage of politics into lower levels has become a norm in most South African cities. This has also affected institutions designed to preserve heritage. The overall image culminating from this is negative as it alienates patrons who subscribe to opposing political viewpoints. The apartheid government strictly captivated itself in documenting Settler's heritage, whilst influencing museums to erect exhibitions echoing the sentiments of the oppressive ruling party. The democratic government followed suit by designing laws geared towards transforming the heritage sector in South Africa, a move that has lead to the eradication of history and its replacement by politically motivated museum programmes.

Of course, the past 23 years have seen South Africa trying to create a socially cohesive society. However, social cohesion requires a united nation as a pre-requisite. South Africa has a mammoth task ahead, wherein she is required to bridge cultural gaps, whilst harnessing some semblance of cohesion. The author of this paper asserts that museums are active role-players in the nation-building process and need to be afforded their space as databanks of history and custodians of heritage. And they should not be mouthpieces of political parties at the helm of government.

Key words
political, cohesion, custodians, government, museums

RESUMEN

ELa intromisión de la política en los niveles más bajos, se ha convertido en una norma en las ciudades de Sudáfrica. Esto ha afectado a las instituciones que se encargan de la preservación del patrimonio. El punto más álgido de esta situación es negativo pues genera patrocinadores que tienen posturas políticas opuestas. Antes de 1994, gobernó en Sudáfrica el Partido Nacional mientras que promovía que los museos presentaran exposiciones que replicaban las ideas represivas del partido al mando y el patrimonio de los colonizadores. En cambio, la Sudáfrica posterior a 1994, presenció el incansable esfuerzo liderado por el gobierno del Congreso Nacional Africano para documentar e incluir en los museos la historia combativa e incorporar el patrimonio de la liberación. Esta intervención ha llevado a los museos de ciudad hacia programas de diseño que respondan a las demandas de cualquier partido político que se encuentre al mando.

En efecto, durante los últimos 23 años Sudáfrica ha tratado de crear una cohesión social. No obstante, ésta requiere de la unidad nacional como un prerrequisito. Sudáfrica tiene una enorme tarea por delante para subsanar las brechas culturales, aunque se aparente que sí hay cohesión. El autor del texto ubica a los museos de ciudad de Sudáfrica dentro del contexto en el cual hay posturas políticas contrarias en las agendas de los partidos en el poder. Los museos deben tener su espacio propio como poseedores de acervo histórico y custodios del patrimonio, y no ser portavoces de ningún partido político.

Palabras clave
político, cohesión, custodios, gobierno, museos

INTRODUCTION

In 2008, the Department of Arts and Culture in South Africa undertook a review of national policy and legislation to take stock of the transformation of the heritage sector and to identify the areas of the legislative and regulatory framework that were in need of revision (*Draft National Museum Policy*, 2008). In addition to the White Paper and the Cultural Institutions Act, 1998 (Act 119 of 1998), a number of heritage laws were passed between 1996 and 1999 that redrew the heritage landscape in South Africa. As these laws and the regulatory institutions founded by these Acts govern the legal framework in which every South African museum operates, and with which all museum policies should comply, a concern on how city museums design their programmes in a politically partisan fashion has risen some eyebrows.

The White Paper of 1996, was the first comprehensive post-democracy statement on the state of the heritage sector (*Draft National Museum Policy*, 2008). It advocated a broad range of structural changes aimed at completely overhauling the sector through a process of restructuring and rationalisation and the creation of new management institutions. The White Paper also sought to transform the conservative, undemocratic institutions governing the heritage sector as well as the demographically skewed management and professional strata of the museums. Based on the above-mentioned Acts, this paper argues that politics exploited city museums using a transformation agenda as an appropriate conduit for political interferences in heritage matters.

One cannot run away from the fact that, in the past 22 years, South Africa has captivated itself in trying to create a socially cohesive society. The problem, however, is that social cohesion does not exist in a vacuum. It requires a united nation as a pre-requisite. It must be emphasised that a united nation has some special attributes, namely: the nation has to share a common past and also to share a common vision for the future. And, regrettably, none of these attributes exist in South Africa. This renders the country incapable of being a socially cohesive society. In short, social cohesion is a utopia in South Africa.

The paper further locates South African city museums within the context where they need to heed ICOM's definition of museums as institutions in the service of society and its development. The paper argues that museums need not be mouthpieces of political parties at the helm of the government amid the risk to alienate museum patrons who subscribe to opposing political viewpoints. It further asserts that museums need to be afforded their space as databanks of history and custodians of heritage, thus engendering conditions conducive to enhance social cohesion and nation-building initiatives in South Africa. It goes on to demonstrate that whilst the democratic government in South Africa tried to nurture institutions designed to redress past injustices, there are still traces of political interferences in matters geared towards preserving heritage, interferences that are masqueraded as transformation.

Of course, the drive by the post-apartheid government to transform museums is apt as it responds to the International Council of Museums' (ICOM) definition of museums as "institutions in the service of society and its development". Of course, museum programmes and exhibitions that are designed to redress past imbalances are directly responding to the development of our societies. This paper accentuates and underscores the fact that social cohesion in South Africa will only come to fruition if museum programmes are designed as memory builders and conciliators at the same time.

Telling the story of museums riving to political undertones in South Africa requires a high degree of reflection as one needs to shine the torch on some important epochs in the development of politics in the country. This exercise certainly requires a careful understanding of two elections in the country, the 1948 elections and the 1994 general elections as they helped set the scene for political interferences in heritage matters.

In fact, and as it will be evident during the present analytical discussion, the political interferences in museum programmes in the post-apartheid era are masqueraded as transformation amid a plethora of legislation acts that have purported to transform the heritage sector in South Africa. This paper further argues that the inability of politicians to delineate between history and heritage has culminated in instances wherein the heritage sector witnessed the total eradication of history, all in the name of transformation. Of course, boundaries between history and heritage are porous. Unless we understand history to chronicle our past events as they unfolded, and heritage to chronicle our past events that are worth celebrating, boundaries between the two will remain a blur. The mere fact that Black South Africans were segregated in the past does not constitute heritage, but history. The realisation that Black South Africans triumphed over segregation constitutes heritage.

As mentioned above, the inability of South African politicians, in particular, and the heritage practitioners, in general, to understand the difference between history and heritage has seen city museums succumbing to political pressures; a phenomenon that has caused the country to gravitate towards alienating people subscribed to different political views. Regarding transformation, Dubin (2006: 4-6) underscores, among others, principles of inclusion, assimilation, participation, collaboration and, to a lesser extent, eradication. I argue in this discussion that eradication, which is less important in the transformation agenda, has taken centre stage in South African city museums. Then, I conclude that museum programmes and exhibits must be designed in a politically non-partisan fashion to avoid the risk of alienating museum patrons who subscribe to opposing political viewpoints. This must be done in the interest to allow conditions that engender social cohesion and nation-building.

Against the backdrop of the discussion provided above, the focus in the following sections will venture into ways in which apartheid governments laid favourable grounds for museums to portray the history of colonisation whilst displaying victories of White Cultures over Black, making museums susceptible to riving to political undertones. I juxtapose to this argument by shedding further light-casting insights into the post-1994 actions of the democratic government, where it employed transformation as a strategy to use museums as conduits for political interferences in heritage matters. The discussion further looks at social cohesion and nation-building as strategies employed by the democratic government to harness some semblance of cohesion within the country. Before the conclusions, I take a glance at failed reconciliation strategies in South Africa, including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Social Cohesion initiatives. This glance is shot through with a high degree of reflection as I do not utterly reject attempts made, but highlight reasons for strategic failures.

As highlighted in the above paragraphs, the 1948 elections in South Africa helped set the scene for political interferences in matters that deal with heritage amid the election results which allowed the National Party to be at the helm of government. The scene set by the National Party government meant the oppression of one race by another and the portrayal of European cultures as superior to African ones. A brief overview of the 1948 elections in South Africa and the way they affected museums is provided in the following sections.

The 1948 elections in South Africa

The 1948 elections and their results saw the National Party being voted into power on the election ticket of apartheid, a deliberate policy to deprive Black South Africans of their freedoms. This policy was not a wholly new initiative as the mineral discoveries in the late 19th century witnessed Africans being increasingly deprived of their rights, and segregationist policies being applied. However, with the implementation of apartheid, black people faced a more determined and systematic onslaught on their freedoms. This practice would later spill over into museums wherein European cultures were portrayed as superior to indigenous cultures.

The election tactics employed by the National Party while campaigning prior to these elections played a pivotal role in exploiting white fears. The National Party was able to argue that a victory for its rival, the United Party, would ultimately lead to a black government in South Africa. This propaganda linked black political power to Communism, which was an anathema to many white South Africans at the time. The National Party's slogans such as "*Swart Gevaar*" ("Black Peril"), "*Rooi Gevaar*" ("Red Peril"), "*Die kaffer op sy plek*" ("The Kaffir in his place"), and "*Die koelies uit die land*" ("The coolies out of the country") played upon and amplified white anxieties, leading to Whites voting for it as opposed to its rival (Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930s and 1940s: *South African History Online*).

The consequences of the 1948 elections in South Africa

As learned in the above section, the elections of 1948 and their aftermath in South Africa played a crucial role in allowing the National Party to exploit museums to its own advantage. This is evident in displays in museums where the superiority of White cultures was portrayed over indigenous ones. Immediately after the National Party victory, South African museums began to actively portray the history of colonisations, often displaying the victories of white cultures over black. Gore (2005: 75) asserts that during the 1960s, the division in display at the South African Cultural History Museum, where white culture was displayed in the cultural history section and the black culture in the natural history section, demonstrated how the museum also made a clear distinction between what they perceived as primitive and civilised, of nature and culture. European cultures were regarded as progressive as opposed to the 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' culture of Africa (Gore, 2004: 33). As cited in Crooke (2005: 135) this approach, in museums, has been interpreted as an expression of apartheid – where belief was that high attainment and ability was of European (Western) origin, whereas black history (which originated in Africa) was absent and not deserving of any attention in museums.

Gore (2005: 77) asserts that, for the first time in 1983, museums were classified according to the Tricameral Constitution, which had apartheid at its foundation. This is the moment when cultural history museums became 'own affairs', under the control of the Department of Education and Culture, and part of the 'white' House of Assembly, whereas museums of natural history, which held material of indigenous Africa, and those which focused on audiences across the racial divide, were grouped under the control of the Department of National Education and classified as 'general affairs'. Gore (2005: 77) further maintains that any efforts to begin transforming museums were restricted by apartheid. This then makes it clear that the way in which museums functioned clearly left the majority of the people out in the cold, wherein their history and heritage were perceived as inferior and not deserving a place in cultural history museums. According to Hall & Kros (1994: 15), the museum, which was a public institution charged with the care of the nation's culture, became an institution which was absorbed into the apartheid system, becoming a part thereof. This saw museums becoming the physical embodiment of apartheid.

It is presumed to be common knowledge that history does repeat itself. Similarly to the 1948 elections, which gave rise to White Supremacy in South Africa, the 1994 general elections laid favourable grounds for the democratic government to exploit transformation initiatives to its advantage, wherein political interferences in heritage matters have been masqueraded as transformation. This interference has now seen city museums being active in designing some programmes in a politically partisan fashion, a move perceived by many as alienating patrons who subscribe to opposing political viewpoints. The following section attempts to briefly unpack some highlights corroborating the above assertion.

The 1994 general elections in South Africa

Subsequent to the ascendancy of the National Party into power, the law of the country that dictated over museums until democracy heralded a change in the museum sphere. This new era presented the museum with its present-day dilemma: how can the West and Africa be reconciled with and integrated in the museum milieu? In other words: how can all the different cultural groups, those that share their origin with Europe and those that have their roots in Africa, come together in the cultural sphere, embodied by the museum?

The general elections held in April 1994 marked the end of apartheid in South Africa. Unlike the 1948 elections, these elections were the first in which all peoples were allowed to take part, and were also the first elections held with universal adult suffrage. As millions queued in lines over a three-day voting period, it was widely expected that the African National Congress would win a sweeping victory, and so it did by taking 62 percent of the votes. The new National Assembly's first act was to elect Nelson Mandela as President, making him the country's first black president.

As expected, social transformation gripped the majority of the public when democracy was established in 1994. Dubin (2006: 1) maintains that in terms of the new constitution all citizens had equal rights. On Heritage Day 1997, President Nelson Mandela used the opportunity to criticise museums as institutions which reflected colonial and apartheid points of view. Through his speech, Mandela demanded a change in the status quo, demanded that museums had to change to reflect the democratic ideals and experiences of the majority, instead of focusing on a privileged view. Of course, long before Mandela's speech, museums were trying to address such imbalances, nevertheless, the speech acted as a catalyst. Dubin (2006: 3) holds that some perceived Mandela's speech as a wake-up call and the museum fraternity duly noted that what museums represented and how they represented their contents was opposed to the new human rights culture of the new South Africa.

No one can escape the fact that Mandela's speech meant that the new government proposed and desired a transformation in the heritage sector. As mentioned in the introduction, Dubin (2006: 5-6) maintains that transformation encompasses inclusion, assimilation, participation, collaboration and, sometimes, eradication. It is a process of constructing new ways of thinking, doing and understanding. The process of transformation dictates that museums should broaden the scope of their exhibitions, so they are as inclusive as possible and exhibit multiple perspectives. Since acquisition policies corroborate a point of view, transformation requires museums to pay attention to previously neglected areas such as indigenous knowledge systems, traditional arts and crafts and traditional practices.

As maintained by Dubin (2006: 5-6), museums had to become relevant to a diverse society, wherein they provide labels in more than one official language,

and to make themselves accessible to all members of society. I argue that Mandela's speech set the new scene in South Africa and history repeated itself. It appears as if eradication, which should be at a lesser extent, in the field of transformation took centre stage. This is evident in a number of legislation acts that the democratic government enacted soon after its ascendency to power. Political interferences in heritage matters employed a transformation agenda as conduits, thus using museums to further government's political scores. Museums began to design programmes and exhibitions that focused on struggle history.

It is not wrong to exhibit struggle history – but it must not be at the expense of European histories, which are expected to shine the torch on the reality that South Africa is a rainbow nation. Without a doubt, South Africa's post-1994 must not become exclusive once again – a nation where a reversed kind of exclusivity is practised. In this fashion, museums can be accused of marginalising and neglecting the non-indigenous South African population in much the same way as they did the indigenous groups in the past. Certainly, the country's non-indigenous members are still part of the nation's history and have a fundamental right to be represented. In other words, instead of being mouthpieces of political parties, museums have to become representative of all members of society, mirroring the ideals of the South African democracy, and places where the West and Africa are reconciled around a common identity.

As social cohesion and nation-building initiatives continued to imbue everyone's wishes of a peaceful and democratic society, the government continued to galvanise meaningful strategies geared towards uniting different peoples in South Africa. Among these strategies was the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which is briefly discussed in the following section.

The quagmire of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa

In response to one of the key recommendations of the transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa, the government promulgated the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act 34, of 1995. One of the aims of this policy was to provide for the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, comprising a Committee on Human Rights Violations, a Committee on Amnesty and a Committee on Reparation and Rehabilitation.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was set up by the Government of National Unity to help deal with the atrocities of apartheid. The conflict during apartheid resulted in violence and human rights abuses. As far as reparations are concerned, the Commission represented some strategic failures. The problem was that a significant proportion of people who were wronged were black and, within this cohort, the majority believes in ancestors. When Whites killed Blacks because amid Blacks' drive to bring apartheid government to its knees, it became difficult for Blacks to easily forgive Whites as they expect their deceased loved ones to be good ancestors. Otherwise, Blacks ran the risk of being seen as traitors by their deceased loved ones, who were killed by the apartheid system. In essence, the letter of this initiative was perfect whilst the spirit was in shambles as forgiveness did not come from the deepest parts of Black's hearts.

Amongst a plethora of efforts to unite different races in South Africa was the National Department of Arts and Culture's (DAC) publication of a document aimed at defining what social cohesion entails and how South Africans should relate to each other in the quest to engender lasting peace and stability in the country. The following analysis is not meant to discredit the efforts by DAC's move but to shed light on some needed interventions, if social cohesion initiatives

are to work in South Africa. Once these interventions are effected, museums will rid themselves of political interferences, thus affording museums their space as databanks of history and custodians of heritage.

The dilemma of social cohesion in South Africa

Based on the number of issues raised in this paper, I am tempted to propose and underscore the motion that seeks to ensure that museum programmes be designed to appeal to the reality that *no matter how diverse South Africa is, South Africans share a common space*. This notion ties very well with South Africa's vision of a socially cohesive society. I strongly believe that museums need not be mouthpieces of political parties at the helm of government as this cripples social cohesion endeavours.

Problems beleaguering social cohesion initiatives in South Africa are further compounded by the **methodology** being used as it breeds social exclusion. An obvious instance of this paradox was shown when the National Department of Arts and Culture organised the National Social Cohesion Summit in Kliptown in 2012, wherein the Department decided not to invite certain organisations (*Mail and Guardian,* 2012). Such organisations included the Unemployed Peoples Movement. It must be clear that the Unemployed Peoples Movement is viewed, by many, as government bashing. Organisations such as these could be meaningful signatories to social cohesion initiatives.

The year 2012 witnessed the National Department of Arts and Culture producing a *National Social Cohesion Strategy* that defines social cohesion as "the degree of social integration … in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities". This, then, formed the basis for discussion at the National Summit on Social Cohesion in Kliptown in July 2012.

With regards to social cohesion, the term has attracted different meaningless definitions. And all definitions, when interrogated in detail, are devoid of enforcement clauses or mandatory regimes. Below there are three definitions that are given by the National Department of Arts and Culture, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development and the internet. They are as follows:

- The **Department of Arts and Culture** defines social cohesion as the degree of social integration and inclusion in communities and society at large, and the extent to which mutual solidarity finds expression among individuals and communities.[1]
- The **Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development** says "a cohesive society works towards the well-being of all its members, fights exclusion and marginalisation, creates a sense of belonging, promotes trust, and offers its members the opportunity of upward mobility".[2]
- **The Scanlon Foundation** defines social cohesion as the willingness of members of a society to cooperate with each other in order to survive and prosper.[3]

If the first definition by the National Department of Arts and Culture is accepted as a working definition, then a problem ensues. There is no social integration and mutual solidarity in South Africa. I want to further focus on the words I underlined. Number one – the word "degree" presents itself as a variable, which suggests that it can be at a lower extent or at a higher extent. In this case, no one knows the extent at which the word was when the definition was conceived.

Number two, in the second definition, the phrase "works towards" creates some problems as nothing compels or enforces a measured impact. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development says: "a cohesive society works towards". Because, according to this definition, the society is already cohesive, *what should it work towards now*? Number three, in the third definition the word "willingness" does not translate into action as one can have a number of desires in one's wish list and accomplish none in the end. So, the word willingness does not make this definition convincing and functional. In short, these words are worrying as they suggest that social cohesion is not a destination, it is a journey. The big question, however, is: if social cohesion presents itself as a journey, it is a journey to what? Or, a journey to where?

This then makes me question the possibility of a socially cohesive South Africa. Perhaps, the reason for scepticism when it comes to social cohesion emanates from unclear definitions of what social cohesion entails. Whilst I do not utterly reject the definitions in question, I do, however, feel that they lack mandatory regimes, and are nowhere nearer of receiving their intended intentions. Social cohesion is predicated on the notion that all members of society must have access to success. Hence, my assertion that South Africa's methodology of trying to create a socially cohesive society runs the risk of breeding social exclusion amid unstructured strategies in bringing everyone on board when it comes to adequately understanding and defining the concept (social cohesion). It appears as if people share similar vocabulary when it comes to social cohesion, but not the similar understanding of that vocabulary. It sounds like the government and some organisations are playing a tricky rhetorical game where they use the term (social cohesion) in a variety of ways without ever understanding its precise meaning.

Even the definition given by the United Nations ***Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA)*** does not respond to the problems faced by South Africa, as it says: "social cohesion refers to the elements that bring and hold people together in society" (DESA, 2012). Nothing holds people together in South Africa. Among the list of problems in South Africa, there are the racist attacks propagated through social networks. These networks are used as conduits for hatred and they further perpetrate superiority of one race over others. Moreover, the definition from DESA goes further to say: "in a socially cohesive society, all individuals and groups have a sense of belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy". Surely, this definition excludes South Africa as the country is not a cohesive society.

I want to venture into the point of South Africa lacking attributes of a nation. I had a look at a plethora of definitions regarding a nation. Instead of listing them all here, I elected to highlight one that seems to represent all of them. Whilst giving various definitions that share similarities, Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question* declares: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture" (Stalin, 1913). This definition makes it clear that South Africa is far from being a nation, which renders it impossible for South Africa to become a socially cohesive society.

The big question, however, is: should South African city museums throw in the towel? The answer is a big NO. Museums have a vital role to play as they are defined by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) as "institutions in the service of society and its development". This definition goes beyond Joseph Noble's account of the hydra-headed role of museums, wherein he asserts that museums have five major tasks, namely: to collect, to conserve, to study, to interpret and to exhibit (Frey & Steiner, 2012).

What must South African cities' museums do to rid themselves of political interferences?

Given ICOM's definition of museums, it is clear that as civic institutions and part of public culture, museums do not exist in isolation. Instead of existing as isolated entities, they are duty-bound to symbolise and mirror the values, attitudes, priorities and ideologies of the societies within which they operate.

If there is an agreement that South African city museums must not throw in the towel in the fight against political interferences, then they need to galvanise meaningful strategies that will ensure their relevance in current societies. To heed ICOM's call of being institutions in the service of society and its development, museums need to be poised as agents of change because they are entities closer to communities. Given the vague definitions of social cohesion, city museums need to intervene in the process of defining terms so that all South Africans are on the same wavelength as regards an understanding of some terms in our societies. If ICOM's definition of museums is to be taken seriously, there is an urgent need to revisit the isiZulu name for a museum,"isigcina-magugu". This name limits people's ability to understand museums beyond preservation as it suggests that a museum's sole responsibility is to conserve treasures.

As people are presumably tired of the sterile and monotonous phrase *South Africa is a diverse country,* city museums need to play a pivotal role in migrating South Africa from being a *multicultural society* into being an *intercultural society*, as Freire (2005: 179) maintains, so as to allow a plurality of cultures to interlace in dialogue and collective responsibility. This will, therefore, lay favourable grounds for reaching *cultural synthesis*. By cultural synthesis, as Freire (2005:179) would argue, I do not necessarily mean a demographically homogeneous society. Instead, I imagine conditions that respect different cultures.

City museums need to design ways of ensuring the fundamental sense that our similarities as South Africans are more profound than our cultural differences. They must ensure that social cohesion initiatives stop being a top-down approach. For now, these initiatives appear to be designed by "specialists" in ivory towers. At best, these initiatives could be like a **social contract** between the South African government and its citizens. Social cohesion also advocates the need to be drawn from a pool of museum practitioners. Linked to that, museums need to ensure that the methodology South Africa uses in trying to reach a socially cohesive society does not breed social exclusion. The mere fact that museums are minimally represented in structures/groupings that discuss social cohesion is, in itself, social exclusion.

There is an opportunity for city museums not only to focus on heritage but on history as well. There is also the failure of some politicians, including some heritage practitioners, to spot the thin line between **history** and **heritage**. Of course, the boundaries between the two are porous. I once heard a heritage practitioner telling scholars that "history is our heritage". I would have preferred to hear the practitioner telling scholars that "**history** chronicles our past events as they unfolded, whereas **heritage** chronicles our past events that are worth celebrating". The mere fact that Black South Africans were once oppressed under apartheid regime is not **heritage.** It is **history**. Triumphing over apartheid becomes heritage.

Most importantly, museums and heritage practitioners have to reach a Memorandum of Understanding regarding what heritage is. Prior to 1994, Whites were captivated by documenting and protecting Settlers' heritage. The post-1994 period has witnessed Blacks being hell-bent on documenting struggle history, incorporating liberation heritage. The question of "**whose heritage?**" has occupied

the centre stage. Before museums and museum practitioners are able to go out and change the world, they first need to get their house in order. Charity begins at home. If museums decide to miss the above-mentioned opportunities, the chances are that South Africa might gravitate towards the historical inequalities and further regress in much desired nation-building endeavours.

I strongly believe that the points raised above are designed to accentuate ICOM's definition of museums as "institutions in the service of society and its development". Surely, it will be one thing to accept this axiom by ICOM and quite another to put it into actual practice. However, the plea to museums and museum practitioners is: "please change the mindset and start galvanising practical/powerful strategies to ensure to the presence of museums in outfits that engineer social cohesion initiatives".

Conclusions

There are some levels of alienation that I think were experienced during the process of transformation in South Africa. The most naked level of alienation lies at the fact that the process was politicised, meaning that political organisations ran the process, leaving museum practitioners and non-governmental organisations outside. The fact that the process was driven by the government alone, who subscribed to political demands, made it difficult for it to be apolitical. It could have been better if heritage institutions led by non-partisan officials were appointed to oversee this process, instead of choosing politicians to run it.

The more practical definition of public participation, crafted by the Task Team that was commissioned by the Joint Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), European Commission for Europe (ECE) and International Labour Organisation (ILO) Committee on Forest Technology, Management and Training to develop *a Guide on Public Participation in Forestry in Europe and North America* states that: "Public participation is a voluntary process whereby people, individually or through organised groups, can exchange information, express opinions and articulate interests, and have the potential to influence decisions or the outcome of the matter at hand" (DPSA, n.d.: 9).

Therefore, the fact that the transformation process was driven by political structures and alienated a significant number of people and other stakeholders means that key principles of democracy, such as public participation, were flaunted. Witz & Rassol (1992) hold that transformation in museums was initiated by museums as an internal change, or by the African National Congress (ruling party in South Africa) itself. I support the latter amid the legislation acts the party tabled after ascendancy to power in 1994. A significant proportion of this legislation highlighted eradication as a key factor, leading to the selection of history in city museums.

In the light of the abovementioned strategies to rid city museums of political interferences, I am convinced that South African city museums still possess a unique capacity to make South Africa a habitable country harbouring great South Africans. When I started this concluding section I had resolved to throw concluding points. However, I eventually decided to ask what I termed ***the BIG question***: *should city museums be mouthpieces of political parties at the helm of the government or must they swim against the waves, heed ICOM's call and become institutions in the service of society and its development?*

Notes

[1] This definition appears on the South African Department of Arts and Culture's website and is accessible at ***www.dac.gov.za/content/4-what-social-cohesion***.

[2] This definition is available from the official site of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development: ***https://www.oecd.org/site/devpgd2012/49067839.pdf***.

[3] Scanlon Foundation provides this definition on its website and is accessible at: ***http://scanlonfoundation.org.au/social-cohesion/***

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PERSEVERING THROUGH TIME AND COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE: TOWARDS THE HRANT DINK SITE OF MEMORY

RESISTIENDO A TRAVÉS DE TIEMPO Y LA CONCIENCIA COLECTIVA: HACIA EL SITIO DE MEMORIA DE HRANT DINK

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ABSTRACT

The Sebat Building, located in one of the main avenues of Istanbul, has held a significance in the memory of the city and the collective memory of Turkey since the 19th of January, 2007. In the late 1990s, the *Agos* weekly, the first newspaper in the Republican period to be published both in Turkish and Armenian, moved into one of the apartments in the Sebat building. Through the *Agos* and the work of Hrant Dink, who was the editor-in-chief and founder of the newspaper, the so-called 'Armenian Question' became part of the public agenda with its different dimensions of genocide, minority rights and Turkey-Armenia relations coming to the fore. In the course of time, the past was being unsilenced, the unspeakable became spoken and the invisible became visible. Hrant Dink was touching hearts and inspiring minds with his peaceful language and frank approach, to the extent that he became a threat to the official narrative of the state.

The Sebat Building, which had always represented a site of transformation and hope through this work, was turned into a site of tragedy on the 19th of January, 2007, when Hrant Dink was assassinated in front of the building. His assassination stirred people's conscience and sparked mass protests, transforming the Sebat Building into a site of conscience. A project is being carried out to turn the building into a site of memory. The preliminary project has three principles: exploring and learning from the experiences of other countries, raising awareness about the role that sites of memory, museums and memorialisation projects play in dealing with the past, mutual understanding and peace, and, lastly, conducting an inclusive, democratic and transparent process.

The Hrant Dink Site of Memory is envisaged as a site of truth, memory, dialogue, discovery, comprehension, questioning, debate and hope. It will enable society to understand more effectively that we can break the silence and taboos in order to act for a better future. Moreover it will have a reparative and healing aspect by creating a space for people to interact, imagine, build on and learn from each other's experiences. This article will touch upon the significance of Hrant Dink Site of Memory and its future endeavours.

Key words
collective memory, 'Armenian Question', site of memory, Istanbul, Hrant Dink

RESUMEN

El edificio Sebat, ubicado en una de las principales avenidas de Estambul, ha tenido un significado en la memoria de la ciudad y en la memoria colectiva de Turquía desde el 19 de enero de 2007. El semanario Agos, fue el primer periódico, durante el periodo republicano, que se imprimió en ambas lenguas: turco y armenio, el cual se mudó a un espacio dentro del edificio Sebat. Mediante Agos y el trabajo de Hrant Dink, quien fue el editor en jefe y fundador del periódico, la llamada "Cuestión armenia" se volvió parte de la agenda pública, la cual integró diferentes aspectos como el genocidio, los derechos de las minorías y las relaciones entre turcos y armenios. Con el paso del tiempo, el pasado que había sido silenciado, lo innombrable fue nombrado, y lo invisible se hizo visible. Hrant Dink estaba tocando corazones e inspirando mentes con un mensaje de paz y una perspectiva franca, hasta el punto de que él se convirtió en el narrador oficial del pueblo.

No obstante, el edificio Sebat, que había representado un espacio de transformación y esperanza a través del trabajo que en él se hacía, ce convirtió en un sitio trágico el 19 de enero de 2007, cuando Hrant Dink fue asesinado frente al edificio. Su asesinato provocó que surgiera conciencia en las personas y provocó protestas masivas que transformaron

a este espacio en un sitio de conciencia. Actualmente, se lleva a cabo un proyecto para transformarlo en un sitio de memoria, el cual tiene tres principios: analizar y aprender de las experiencias de otros países, crear conciencia sobre el papel de los sitios de memoria y los museos desempeñan en la forma de abordar el pasado, a través del entendimiento mutuo, la paz, y que conduzca a un proceso transparente, democrático e inclusivo.

El Sitio de Memoria de Hrant Dink está pensado como un sitio para la verdad, la memoria, el diálogo, el descubrimiento, la comprensión el cuestionamiento, el debate y la esperanza. Lo que permitirá que la sociedad pueda entender de una mejor manera que podemos romper el silencio y los tabúes para actuar de una mejor manera en el futuro. Más allá, tendrá un elemento sanador y reparador a través de crear espacios donde la gente pueda interactuar, imaginar, crear y aprender los unos de los otros. Esta presentación abordará la importancia del sitio de memoria de Hrant Dink y sus esfuerzos futuros.

Palabras clave
memoria colectiva, "Cuestión armenia", sitio de memoria, Estambul, Hrant Dink

INTRODUCTION

To remember is to resist; remembering matters, and turning the act of remembering into a collective practice, by means of reminding, is the key to defying the politics of oblivion and social amnesia.

In the course of time, yesterday's sites of persecution or scenes of crime may turn into the ordinary places of today and, accordingly, the truth they harbour vanishes from the collective memory, which is to society's detriment. Collective remembrance through sites of memories, museums or memorials empowers the resistance against oblivion for the sake of a fair present and a peaceful future. A building in front of which we pass every day may shelter a broad range of stories and truths. Rendering these stories and truths – some of which are very much related to difficult, hurtful and violent pasts – visible and accessible, contributes to the efforts of dealing with the past, to acknowledge sufferings and to a mutual understanding and co-existence.

The Sebat Building, located in one of the main avenues of Istanbul, has a powerful presence in the memory of the city, and a significant meaning in the collective memory of the country, since the 19th of January, 2007. Yet, its significance in the history of the city goes to earlier days. The building, projected by the Jewish architect Rafael Alguadis, was erected in the 1920s in the Şişli neighbourhood of Istanbul. The Sebat Building has witnessed to a lot of events for almost a century, from nation-building developments to pogroms; from military coups to migrations; from sufferings to social change.

The word "Sebat" means **perseverance** in Arabic. It has persevered through time and memory, but what renders the Sebat building a site of memory today?

In the late 1990s, *Agos* weekly, the first newspaper in the Republican period to be published both in Turkish and Armenian, moved to one of the apartments of the building. The establishment of the *Agos* newspaper, in 1996, by Hrant Dink and his colleagues, represented a turning point. By aiming to raise awareness of the problems of the Armenians and other minority groups, informing society about the history of Armenians and minorities, promoting minority cultures, contributing to the democratisation of Turkey, by shedding light to the past and raising awareness of the importance of human rights and freedoms, it elevated the mission of the newspaper to a much more important role.
Armenians from Turkey, who had, for a long time, remained in a passive mode and preferred not to be very vocal about their problems, started to find their voice and words thanks to the efforts of the newspaper. The newspaper's coverage

encouraged Armenians to be more active and vocal about the problems and the violations of the rights that were subjected to.

In the course of time, the impact of *Agos* represented a beacon of hope for minority groups, human rights defenders, academics and journalists. *Agos* offered a robust platform of expression and also became a resource centre for a range of groups, including academics, researchers, students, artists, journalists and professionals from different fields. *Agos* not only was producing news reports, revealing unknown facts about the past, producing information that the society was deprived of, functioning as a catalyser wherein decision makers were incited to take solid steps in order to solve the problems of minority groups, shedding light on the past and rendering the invisible visible but was also inspiring and encouraging a range of individuals, including students, human rights defenders, academics, artists and journalists, to produce documents and raise awareness of the subjects that had a special focus on minorities. Through the *Agos* newspaper and its editor-in-chief and founder Hrant Dink, the so-called "Armenian Question", with its different dimensions of genocide, minority rights and Turkey-Armenia relations, was becoming a part of the public agenda and the past was being unsilenced.

Hrant Dink was touching many hearts and inspiring many minds with his peaceful language and frank approach, to the extent that he became a threat to the official narrative of the state. Over time, Hrant Dink became a target; several court cases were brought against him because of his articles; he became one of the targets of the hate speech in the media, and ultra-nationalist circles were constantly threatening him.

The Sebat Building, which housed the *Agos* newspaper and represented a site of transformation and hope through its work, was transformed into a site of tragedy and a crime scene on the 19th of January, 2007. Hrant Dink was assassinated in front of the Sebat Building on 19th of January, in broad daylight, at 3 p.m. The assassination stirred **people's conscience and sparked mass protests**; from the night after the assassination, the Sebat Building became a site of conscience. On the day of his funeral, hundreds of thousands of people walked in the streets of Istanbul, protesting against the assassination and shouting out: "We are all Armenian, We are all Hrant".

The city hosted a historical walk full of sorrow, of unprecedented solidarity, conscience and hope. The historic speech of Hrant Dink's wife, Rakel Dink, after a decade, still rings in the ears of society. Her outstanding words: "Whatever might be the age of the murderers, 17 or 27, I know that they were born babies once. Without **questioning the darkness that created murderers from those babies**, there's nothing to do, my brothers and sisters", represented a strong expression of a demand for tackling the darkness which harmed and tremendously harms society. For the last ten years, on every 19th of January, thousands of people gather in front of the Sebat Building and commemorate Hrant Dink. The official narrative about the Armenians, which started to be questioned by his and *Agos* newspaper's efforts, became much more questioned after Dink's assassination and the pillars of collective memory began to be crumble.

The "Hrant Dink Street"

This country should come to terms with its history without fearing the ghosts of the past, it should acknowledge its responsibility for what happened in the past and free itself from the devastating weight of this dark legacy.

Murathan Mungan
(author, 19th of January 2015)

Every 19th of January, during the commemoration ceremony, a human rights defender, a public figure who raises awareness of the protection and the promotion of human rights and freedoms, or someone who lost her or his loved one as a result of an assassination or human rights violation, makes a powerful speech from the window of the Sebat Building and addresses a mass audience.

Since then, during some of the public protests or rallies in Istanbul, people choose either to rally there, to meet there or to salute the Sebat Building. In the hearts and collective memory of a wide range of groups, the street wherein the Sebat Building is located is renamed as "Hrant Dink Street". On every 19th of January, the "Hrant Dink Street" plate is hung at the corner of the Street.

In the collective memory of some groups, since the 19th of January, 2007, the name of the Street is "Hrant Dink Street". Some people prefer to tag their location as "Hrant Dink Street" in their social media accounts. Those tagging practices are not limited to the dates like the 19th of January or the 15th of September, which marks Hrant Dink's birthday. Some people, when uploading a photo of a different occasion related to their daily life, prefer to indicate the name of the Ergenekon or Halaskargazi Street as "Hrant Dink Street". Hrant Dink's name has still not been given to any street in Turkey; on the other hand, in 2008, his name was given to a street in Lyon, and, in 2009, in Marseille. Hrant Dink's name was given to two parks in Turkey, one in Kınalıada, Istanbul, and the other in Mersin.

In 2012, a commemorative stone was erected right on the spot where Hrant Dink was assassinated. The black and white stone, in Turkish and Armenian, marks the point where Hrant Dink was assassinated, and informs of the date and the time of the assassination. The stone, which became a part of the "Hrant Dink Street", is a constant reminder of the assassination that stirred people's consciences and wrenched the hearts of the millions.

The Hrant Dink Foundation

Since then, The *Agos* newspaper has persisted and continued its work. For a while, it continued to operate from the Sebat Building, which received another resident: the Hrant Dink Foundation, established in August 2007 by Hrant Dink's family and friends to continue his legacy and dream. The Foundation defines the development of a culture of dialogue, empathy and peace as the basis of all its activities. Since 2007, The Hrant Dink Foundation carries out various programmes and projects dedicated to protecting human rights and minority rights in Turkey, writing histories devoid of nationalism, shedding light to the past and encouraging dealing with the past, preserving the culture of minorities in the country, researching hate speech and normalising Armenian-Turkish relations.

The Foundation also began operating from the Sebat Building with the *Agos* newspaper. Over the years, the growing number of projects of the Foundation, the growing number of staff members in both organisations and the the need for new facilities compelled both organisations to move to a new building. In March 2015, both the *Agos* newspaper and the Hrant Dink Foundation moved to a new building, which had formerly been an Armenian School named Anarad Hığutyun School, and had closed down in 2004 due to the lack of students.

The old *Agos* office at the Sebat Building, which also houses Hrant Dink's personal office, possesses a memory, a truth and a spirit. One of the goals of the Hrant Dink Foundation was turning this venue into a living site of memory, to which the Foundation is conducting a preliminary project.

The preliminary project pursues three main principles: learning from the best practices by exploring foreign experiences, raising awareness of the remarkable role that the sites of memory, museums and memorialisation projects play on dealing with the past, mutual understanding and peace, and conducting an inclusive, democratic and transparent process. To reach these goals, the project team visited more than 65 museums and memory sites in Germany, Poland, Hungary, Albania, the United States of America, Italy, Armenia, South Africa, Argentina and Chile. It also conducted meetings with experts, curators, museum directors, education and outreach programme coordinators, artists. It organised panels in Istanbul with the participation of renowned international experts, curators and museum professionals, such as Barbara Kirshenblatt Gimblett, Horst Hoheisel, Andreas Knitz, Mandy Sanger, Tristan Kobler and Lebogang Marishane, in order to raise awareness of the importance of sites of memory and museums, and organised dialogue meetings and workshops.

Within the scope of the study, special attention was given to visiting a range of museums, memory sites and memorials in different parts of the world which were touched by horrendous and difficult pasts such as the Holocaust, the apartheid, military coups and dictatorships. The project team also sought to visit small-scale museums like the house museums of artists. The Hrant Dink Site of Memory found a remarkable, mind-opening and inspiring contribution to future goals and activities of the site, by examining the ways that such sites and museums exhibited and narrated events into stories, observing the role of a peaceful, constructive, non-didactic and inclusive discourse, exploring innovative ways of designing the exhibitions, observing the role of the architecture, examining the discourse of the guides as well as the use of digital technology for presenting the information and by receiving information about the role of the education and outreach programmes.

Many people from different ethnicities, political ideologies, identities or disciplines have a special bond with the Sebat Apartment. Many define the 19th of January as a turning point, representing a debut for discovery, questioning and transformation. The Foundation organised a series of dialogue meetings with participants from different disciplines, and also created workshops with students at the Sebat building. The conduction of an inclusive process and the listening of inputs from multiple voices led to mind-opening and inspiring results.

The Hrant Dink Site of Memory

Sapere Aude, this Latin phrase of Horatius means "dare to know" or "be brave to know". Sites of memory or museums which deal with difficult, hurtful and violent pasts invite individuals to discover the truth they are deprived of and the truth that they are discouraged to explore.

"Come, let us first understand each other...
Come, let us first respect each other's pain...
Come, let us first let one another live…"

Hrant Dink's wishes and dreams, based on universal human values, influence the mission of the Hrant Dink Site of Memory. Among the fundamental dreams of Hrant Dink are a Turkey and a world that are free from discrimination, racism and violence; where people listen to each other, understand and share one another's pain; where people form solidarity movements to prevent new pains; where people are different and equal and where democracy is upheld.

The Hrant Dink Site of Memory is envisaged as a site of truth, memory, dialogue, comprehension, questioning, debate and of hope. It is also aimed to function as

a site to discover, to learn from each other's experiences, to cherish co-existence and to search for alternative ways of living together. The Hrant Dink Foundation aims to create a living place, which will be updated and which will give space for dialogue, imagination and production.

In her TED talk, Nigerian author Chimamanda Nigotze Adichi addresses the danger of single stories. Adichi says: "When we reject a single story, when we realise that there is never a single story of any place, we regain a kind of paradise".

Apparently, the story of the old *Agos* office, at the Sebat Building, is not limited to one narrative; it shelters a range of stories. For some people it may well represent a site of tragedy or a crime scene, whereas for many others it is a site of transformation, a site of inspiration, a site of production and a site of hope. Featuring those different aspects and shedding light on the broad range of the stories that the former *Agos* office shelters will be a significant aspect of the Hrant Dink Site of Memory.

The challenge: bringing together memory and hope

Is there hope in memory? There must be. Without hope, memory would be morbid and sterile. Without memory, hope would be empty of meaning, and above all, empty of gratitude.[1]

As highlighted above by Elie Weisel in his quote, the **challenge also lies for us in bringing together the memory and hope.**

The challenge for the Sebat Building, a site representing a personal tragedy, embodying an old civilisation's tragedy, is turning it into a site of memory, perseverance and hope for the transformation of Turkey's society and reminding everyone of acts of compassion and coexistence.

The people who work with dedication and take risks for a world free of discrimination and racism, who never give up using the language of peace, and who struggle for a democratic world where human rights and freedoms are exercised will continue to live forever, as long as their ideals and efforts are remembered.

While geographies may be different, destinies can very much be the same; the people who struggle for the same ideals can be different but their dedication, efforts and the risks they take can be very much the same. The struggle and the inspiring story of an apartheid survivor for a just and equal South Africa, the story of a human rights defender in Argentina during the military coup, the story of a Holocaust victim who did his/her best to survive, can influence the struggle of people in different geographies, and offer a strategy to respond to current pressing issues. The facts, the truth and the peaceful efforts of people go beyond borders and connect with each other.

Saluting the realities and tremendous efforts of such personalities and groups via memory sites, being encouraged and inspired by their dedication, can pave the way for global solidarity, which is very much needed at these challenging times.

Notes

[1] Address by Elie Wiesel, founding chairman, United States Holocaust Memorial Council, on the 9th of April, 2002, the capıtol Rotunda, Washington, DC. Source: https://www.ushmm.org/remember/days-of-remembrance/past-days-of-remembrance/2002-days-of-remembrance/address-by-elie-wiesel.

PABLO PICASSO – GUERNICA, 1937, OIL PAINTING ON CANVAS, 3.49×7.77M, MUSEO REINA SOFÍA, MADRID, SPAIN

SAYING THE UNSPEAKABLE IN MUSEUMS

DICIENDO LO INDECIBLE EN LOS MUSEOS

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CONTESTED ISSUES AND MUSEUM ACTIVISM

CUESTIONES IMPUGNADAS Y ACTIVISMO EN LOS MUSEOS

ABSTRACT

New museums – whether from the 19th, 20th or 21st century – are often initiated by a group of people finding core areas of their lives unrepresented or under-represented in existing museums. Local history and art museums spring up when a region feels that its specific characteristics are insufficiently covered by national museums. The same is true for specialist museums, like maritime museums, technology museums, museums of agriculture, etc. Creating and establishing new museums often carries an element of activism and protest against a perceived covert or overt display of power and privilege.

This article follows a personal path through five very different museums over a period in which the conflicted and contested societal areas of gender, class, ethnicity, race and their intersections, of colonialism and nationalism, of ethnocentricity and changing climates manifested themselves in emerging new paradigms and interpretations of museum missions, in the creation of new museums and in radical challenges within the old; also, how the cultural sector has anticipated or responded to social and political conflicts, movements and change. This personal path winds through five museums in the Western-dominated world during the period from the early 1980s to the mid-2010s. The museums are: the Women's Museum of Denmark, the National Museum of Denmark, the Museum of World Cultures in Sweden, Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand and the Museum of Copenhagen – as different as museums can be, in terms of scale, scope and funding, traditions and history, purpose and obligations.

Each of the museums represents a particular set of values, a set of epistemological and museological principles and a set of methods and practices, which were developed at and became characteristic for that particular time and place. The transmission and translation of these principles and methods into other museum settings are, of course, essential points of interest, as are, obviously, their discontinuation and seeming disappearance. In the current political climate, it might be time for a process of critical self-reflection to gauge the relative successes and the absolute failure of museums in becoming key orientation points for communities, for cities or even nations in their processes and strategies of socio-political change.

Key words

museum activism, museum mission, critical self-reflection, strategies of change, personal path

RESUMEN

Los museos modernos de los siglos XIX, XX o XX, han sido iniciados, generalmente, por un grupo de personas que encuentran puntos centrales de sus vidas que no han sido representados en los espacios existentes. La historia local y los museos de arte florecen cuando una región siente que sus características particulares están insuficientemente representados en los museos nacionales. Esto mismo, es cierto para los museos especializados como los museos marítimos, museos tecnológicos o museos de agricultura. La creación de estos nuevos museos traen a la par un elemento de activismo y protesta contra las manifestaciones de dominio y privilegios que representan los otros espacios.

Este texto ha seguido una trayectoria personal a través de cinco diferentes museos, en un período donde el conflicto en temas como género, raza, etnicidad, y otras intersecciones, del imperialismo y el nacionalismo, del etnocentrismo y los tiempos cambiantes, se manifestaron en la construcción de nuevos paradigmas e interpretaciones de la misión de los museos, en la creación de museos nuevos y en cambios radicales en lo pasado, el ámbito cultural se ha adaptado y ha respondido a los conflictos políticos y sociales, a los movimientos y al cambio.

Este recorrido personal transita a través de los cincos museos, de la dominación occidental, durante el período de los inicios de la década de los ochenta y hasta el 2010. Estos son el Museo de las Mujeres, en Dinamarca; el Museo Nacional de Dinamarca; el Museo de las Culturas del Mundo, en Suecia; el Museo Te Papa Tongarewa, en Nueva Zelanda y el Museo de Copenhague, todos tan diferentes en términos de escala, alcance, financiamiento, tradiciones, historia, propósitos y deberes.

Cada uno de los museos representa una particular gama de valores, principios epistemológicos y museológicos diferentes, así como métodos y prácticas que se convierten en características propias de un tiempo y un espacio geográfico. La transmisión y traducción de estos principios y métodos dentro de otros museos son puntos de especial interés, así también, como su interrupción y aparente desaparición. En el clima político actual, debe ser tiempo de un proceso de autocrítica y autorreflexión para evaluar el relativo éxito y el absoluto fracaso de los museos, de esta forma pueden convertirse en puntos clave de los procesos y estrategias de cambio político y social para las comunidades, para las ciudades e inclusive para las naciones.

Palabras clave
activismo de los museos, misión del museo, autorreflexión crítica, estrategias de cambio, camino personal

▪ MUSEUM ACTIVISM, OR MARX'S ELEVENTH THESIS ON FEUERBACH

Hurricane Maria blew my travel plans to the winds this autumn, and I could not participate in the CAMOC meeting in Mexico City. CAMOC, however, has asked me to briefly address the conference, across the distance. And so I will with a few statements on experiences with museum activism, starting with Karl Marx's 11th Thesis on Feuerbach, which was a brilliant short version of what was an obvious point of departure for my generation of intellectuals, and which, interestingly enough, has reemerged recently:

"Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it."

This statement has served as a moral foundation, as a commitment to use one's personal intellectual resources as well as those of one's institutions in an active service of changing the world for the better.
For museums, this distinction is, of course, an important one, as interpretation in and by itself is not enough.

▪ KNOWLEDGE AND THE KNOWER ARE ALWAYS SITUATED

The first museum I took part in creating was the Women's Museum of Denmark, which was, by definition and in essence, an activist and advocacy museum.
There were two basic epistemological and museological principles which, given my embeddedness in feminist research traditions, have remained fundamental in the work I have done since.

▪ REASON'S ENTANGLEMENT WITH SOCIAL POWER

The first is that both knowledge and the knower are always situated. Or, as it has been expressed in recent philosophy,thinking is never 'free' but always fundamentally entangled with the social context and with the powers within a given society.

▪ THE RIGHTS TO SELF-REPRESENTATION, CONSULTATION AND PARTICIPATION

The other principle, or set of principles, is that of the rights to self-representation. Given these power structures, given this entanglement and situated knowledge,

any group – any disenfranchised group – needs to fight for the rights to interpret its own history and culture, it needs to participate and be consulted about all relevant matters.

This is a position where indigenous and feminist traditions converge, intersect and speak with one voice.

It is also where the strongest push-back from traditional museum institutions comes from.

The right to self-representation tends to be a principle which Western scientific and academic traditions are most keen to refute and deny.

- **ACCOUNTABILITY**

Accountability – or accountability to society, to communities – is a concept largely absent from Western scientific traditions. It is also largely absent from our current museum definition.

In this definition, museums seem to be free-floating institutions, vaguely, and in totally unspecified ways, at the service of society, although without society having any defined mechanisms to hold the museums accountable.

When, after the Women's Museum, with its deep commitment to social issues, I went to work at the old traditional National Museum of Denmark, I viewed with distrust the 'neutral' or supposedly objective purpose of only documenting and interpreting history and the past.

- **NO SUCH THING AS A NEUTRAL PLACE**

I do not believe there is such a thing as a neutral place. In fact, I managed, in the 1990s, to bring into this old conservative museum a series of radical exhibitions and events on issues such as migration, asylum-seeking and human rights.

However, these types of efforts, especially the institutional memory of them, quickly died out under the changed leadership of the museum and the changes in national politics in the decade following the year 2000.

- **PART OF THE SOLUTION OR PART OF THE PROBLEM?**

In these days of rage but also of contested neo-liberalism, I think it is important for us all, as museum professionals and museum activists, to remember the rich traditions of museum activism and advocacy from the previous century. There is a well-documented active engagement with the civil rights movement, not only in small fringe museums but also in big national museums, such as the National Museum of Denmark, or huge institutions, as, for instance, the Smithsonian.

I think we need, not least right now, to remember and to recognise that individual cannot place oneself, personally or professionally, outside societal issues.

One, willingly or not, is part of the conflicts in one's era.

- **THE ASSUMPTION THAT MUSEUMS ARE A PROGRESSIVE FORCE IN SOCIETY**

We tend to use a tone of voice implying that museums – or the cultural sector in general – are a progressive force in society; that museums are liberal, in the American sense of the word. We focus on the enlightenment traditions of museums.

- **UNDERESTIMATING THE DEEP AFFILIATION BETWEEN MUSEUMS AND THE STATUS QUO**

As a result, I think we often tend to underestimate the deep affiliation, the deep ties between museums and the status quo.

- **DEFENSE OF STATUS QUO IS RARELY PERCEIVED AS POLARISATION**

These days, I am very interested in how to say nothing, how to actively not protest or how to actively resist may prove to be an active defence of the status quo and of the most conservative forces in society.
These days, for instance, when disenfranchised groups have had enough of their ubiquitous absence from history and begin to demand inclusion in the names of streets and buildings, and begin to demand the dismantlement of monuments which celebrate and heroise the oppressors, the status quo likes to present itself as if it were neutral, as if the status quo was not, in and by itself, every day, polarising.

- **WHEREAS SOCIETAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CRITIQUE IS PERCEIVED AS POLITISATION**

I believe it is important for museum professionals, for historians, for people interpreting the past not to accept the position that the polarisation or politisation originate only in those who are critical of the institutions and society.

- **NOT CHANGING THE PAST, BUT RIGHTING PAST WRONGS AND INJUSTICES**

Disputing historical monuments, be it by protesting against equestrian statues in urban environments, or by challenging the ownership of collections from distant cultures and regions, or demanding repatriation or restitution, is not a question of 'wanting to change history' about which the silencing argument runs as the cliché goes; it is a question of addressing and attempting, right now, in the present time, to right past wrongs and injustices.

- **THE VOID, THE VACUUM, THE ABSENCE OF CLEAR ETHICS**

In museology, we have had ethic principles concerning our objects and the preservation of our collections, but less so about human and social relationships.

When we started up the new Museum of World Cultures in Sweden, we had to define our ethics from outside the cultural sector. We firmly embedded and anchored the museum's mission and purpose in the value systems of the UNESCO Declaration of Diversity and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and from these we could then deduce, extrapolate and translate what these values and these commitments would mean, specifically and in detail, for each of the strands of activity in the museum.

- **WHITENESS IS ALWAYS A MORAL CHOICE**

We have to remember, as James Baldwin said, that Whiteness is always a moral choice: it is not a natural category, it is never a gift. Enjoying white privilege – and I mean that now in the full and broadest meaning of the term – is an active moral choice that we make and confirm every day.

I deliberately took an apprenticeship at the Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand, where whiteness is not allowed to run rampant. I went to learn to step carefully, to step back, to stand aside – to un-learn the practices and principles of the European interpretative monopoly.

- **CONFRONTING ONE'S BLIND SPOTS OF SUPREMACY**

The Te Papa provides both a tough and gentle learning environment for *de-colonising methodologies*, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith importantly phrased it.

- **DE-COLONISING ONE'S PRACTICES**

A museum environment for de-colonising one's mind, one's thinking, one's emotional and cognitive set-up and, one might say, for acknowledging that this process of self-confrontation is about examining each of one's interrelated blind spots of supremacy; not only one's default positions of colonialism and imperialism but also of nationalism, Eurocentrism, of class contempt and class hatred, and, finally, of heteronormativity.

- **EPISTEMOLOGY OF IGNORANCE**

It is a question of working one's way out of the entrenched epistemology of ignorance, which allows us, personally and professionally, to not know, to un-know, for instance, not only historical but also present human and financial consequences of the slave trade and slavery; to not know or un-know, for instance, the increasing inequality in even the richest nations; to not know or un-know, for instance, the increasing scale of displacement of people; and to not know or un-know how this will explode in the coming period, when not only wars and poverty but also climate changes begin to really manifest themselves.

- **TAKING RESPONSIBILITY**

I returned from Te Papa to Copenhagen, to the Museum of Copenhagen, to be as close to home as possible, where my entanglement, responsibility and accountability would be as clear and transparent as possible – the homeland where I am part of every historical or current conflict, wherein my duty and my right to intervene and interfere are obvious.

- **RADICAL PARTICPATORY DEMOCRACY**

My efforts and activist methods at the Museum of Copenhagen, one could say, became those of a radical participatory democracy, aligning in many ways our purposes and priorities with the agenda of the municipality, on issues of sustainable development and social coexistence. These included taking the museum to the streets and creating, not least digital, platforms for people to participate in the collecting, curating and interpreting processes of the museum, working very close to the everyday lives of the residents.

- **DISAGREEMENT MAKES US STRONGER**

Contrary to all axioms of the 20th century, *disagreement makes us stronger* is one of the proud and defiant statements or slogans of the period around 2010, which displays an immense faith in democratic processes at all levels, and, perhaps, outside the traditional representative democratic processes.

- **DE-PATHOLOGISING OPPOSITION**

At the current time, around 2017, there is no celebration of differences. These are divisive times, with polarisation and division emanating from our political centres, encouraged by the core of our parliamentary systems.

So, it is even more important that we, in our civil society, and in our professional contexts, recognise these mechanisms of divisiveness, and that we stop supporting the silencing of opposition and protest. It is also important that we, internally, in the sector and in our work environment, cease to discredit and de-legitimise the critical voices.

We need to dismantle our deep-seated institutional cultures of marginalising and pathologising resistance, opposition, protest.

- **ANTICIPATORY OBEDIENCE**

The past decade has been rough on museums. In many countries, the cultural sector has experienced severe cut-backs in funding and opportunities. As a friend of mine, a radical museum director, said, the 2000s were the decade when we started shutting up for fear of hurting our institution and losing our funding.

In some places, right now, the escalating societal conflicts – not least around racism – have led some people to speak up rather than shut up. In the US, radical critiques have come from within the core of the American Anthological Association, protests are vocal on the edges of the American Association of Museums, and ICOM begins to raise a voice in defence of internationalism. With few exceptions, European museums and museum associations seem busy elsewhere.
I think anticipatory obedience is a dangerous position to take at the moment.

- **COLLUSION AND COMPLICITY**

To me, fear and anticipatory obedience, in the current climate, lead only to collusion and complicity, which the sector cannot afford.

My strategy, my bit of activism at the moment, is to enter a process of redefining our ethics and our purposes, of reexamining our value base and reaching across to our partners, not least the UNESCO; to grasp the full meaning of a commitment to concepts of solidarity and empathy, diversity, human rights, of social and natural sustainability; and to see where that leads us within a course of revision and reinvention of the museum definition.

INGA SARMA

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Historiadora en el Museo de la ciudad de Jurmala, Latvia

TO SAY THE UNSPEAKABLE: THE EXPERIENCE OF JURMALA

DECIR LO INDECIBLE: LA EXPERIENCIA DE JURMALA

ABSTRACT

Jurmala is a wonderful city in Latvia – one of the most popular resorts on the Baltic seashore. Although the indigenous people of Jurmala have always been Latvians, the city itself was shaped and developed has a multicultural environment. During its history, Jurmala has gone through a lot of changes, many changes of power and, sometimes, tragical occurrences as well – the incorporation in the Russian empire, two world wars, the Holocaust, the Soviet occupation, and the deportations of the local people. In Soviet times, Jurmala became one of the most popular Soviet resort cities. Regaining its independence as well as its denationalisation and the joining of Latvia to the EU brought new changes.

This article briefly presents the history of Jurmala and the historical changes that have taken place in the city and also outlines the methods used by the Jurmala City Museum to reflect controversial historical events.

Key words

resort, sovietisation, storytelling, museum methods

RESUMEN

Jurmala es una ciudad maravillosa en Letonia y uno de los sitios turísticos más populares de la costa báltica. Aunque los indígenas de Jurmala siempre han sido letones, la ciudad misma se formó y desarrolló en un entorno culturalmente diverso. Durante su historia, Jurmala ha sufrido muchos cambios, transiciones en el poder y algunos eventos trágicos también han ocurrido, por ejemplo: el Imperio ruso, la Primera y Segunda Guerras Mundiales, el Holocausto, la ocupación soviética y la deportación de personas originarias. Durante el gobierno soviético, Jurmala se convirtió en un importante centro turístico. La independencia trajo nuevos cambios, así como ladesnacionalización y adhesión de Latvia a Unión Europea.

Este artículo presenta brevemente la historia de Jurmala y los cambios históricos que han tenido lugar en la ciudad y también describe los métodos utilizados por el Museo de la Ciudad de Jurmala para reflejar eventos históricos controvertidos.

Palabras clave

lugar de veraneo, sovietización, cuentacuentos, métodos museísticos

INTRODUCTION

- **Jurmala city**

Jurmala is a resort city of 57,371 people in the Republic of Latvia (data as of January 2016), which has 2.3 million inhabitants in total. Among the inhabitants of Jurmala today, 27,834 are of Latvian nationality, 21,038 are Russians, 2,051 Belorusians, 1,536 Ukrainians, 884 Poles, 604 Jews and 3,437 are of other nationalities, including unspecified nationality population.[1] Riga, the capital of Latvia, is located only about 20 kilometres from Jurmala.

Jurmala is the only resort city in Latvia and the first Latvian city to be admitted to the European Spas Association. After Riga, it is the second largest city in Latvia. Jurmala is surrounded by water from two sides – to the south, the city borders the Lielupe River for 30 kilometres; to the north, one finds the coast of the Gulf of Riga, stretching over 24 km. Jurmala's beach, slightly over 24 km in length, is formed of fine white silica sand.

- **Jurmala City Museum**

The Jurmala City Museum was founded in the Soviet Union era, in 1962. Until 1989, the museum was located in the premises of the Lutheran Church of Dubulti.

Currently, the museum is in the city centre, in a renovated building adapted thereto. The museum has two branches – the Memorial House of the poet Aspazija and the Open-Air Fishery Museum.

The exhibition and research policy of the Jurmala City Museum is organised in accordance with the museum's mission, which is the main topic of the study in pair with the reflection of the history and development of the resort.

The museum's collection contains a store of photographs, postcards, documents, swimwear (the largest collection in the Baltic), works of art, etc.

The history of Jurmala

Originally, in the current location of Jurmala, there were settlements of a Finno-Ugrian tribe, the Livonians, and a Baltic tribe, the Kuronians. Germanic crusaders founded the city of Riga as a military fortress, in 1201, to subdue the local Livonian and Baltic tribes. Later, Polish and Swedish invaders conquered Latvia as well.

Riga and Jurmala, and the territory of contemporary Latvia, became part of Imperial Russia in 1721, at the end of the Great Northern War.

The health and leisure potential of Jurmala, which led to its later development into a resort, was already noticed at the end of the 18th century when the first visitors started arriving during the summer. This follows the general trend all over Europe, inspired by ideas of the Age of Enlightenment and Romanticism and the preference for nature-based recreation in areas that were previously considered hostile and inhospitable, such as wildlife coastlines and woods.

The social upheavals of the 18th century, along with urbanisation and frequent epidemics, led to a rethinking of the previous views on water treatments and hygiene.

The first healing institutions in Jurmala were developed in the 1830s. At the end of the 19th century, the construction of summer cottages was also extended. The tenants of the summer cottages were mostly Germans from Riga – industrialists and merchants – but also nobles from Kurzeme (Kurland) and Vidzeme (Livland),

who were also Germans. From 1877, a railway line connected Jurmala to Riga and, soon after, to the main cities of Imperial Russia as well, whence an increasing number of holidaymakers started arriving. In the period between the end of the 19th century and the First World War, Jurmala grew into a health resort with a flourishing cultural scene known throughout the Russian Empire. The most famous European musicians and symphony orchestras, at the time, performed in the summer concert halls. The number of summer visitors increased from 18,000 in 1864 to 80,000 in 1914. Famous writers, such as the Latvian national poets Rainis and Aspazija and the Russian authors Maxim Gorky, Valery Brjusov, Ivan Goncharov, together with other artists, wealthy bureaucrats and tsarist officials, spent their summers in Jurmala.[2]

Until the 20th century, the locals of Jurmala were mostly Latvian fishermen and farmers, however, in the summer, they made a living by renting summer residences and servicing vacationers.

During World War I, the resort of Jurmala was severely affected by the war as most of the population went to Russia for refuge. The refugees returned from Russia from 1917 to 1920.

Latvia gained independence in 1918. A new upswing for Jurmala began in the late 1920s and 1930s. At that time, Jurmala acquired a much more Latvian character, in both social and visual terms, as the former guest contingent of the resort was lost – i.e. the Russian aristocracy and wealthy middle class. Guests from the newly-formed USSR did not go to Jurmala, and this was also the only period in the history of Jurmala when there were no vacationers from Russia. The resort was visited by tourists from neighbouring countries, like Estonia and Lithuania as well as from Poland, Scandinavia and Germany. Jurmala had a very active cultural life, especially when it came to music, as before World War I. In promotional booklets of the 1920s and 1930s, Jurmala was dubbed the "Baltic Riviera" and the "Pearl of the Baltic".[3]

Jurmala at the beginning of the 20th century, postcard. Kemeri State Spa hotel, 1936. © Jurmala City Museum archive

In 1940, the Baltic States, including Latvia, were annexed by the USSR. In 1941, the Nazi Germany occupation followed suit and in 1944 Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union. This period brought about a major change in the population size and the composition of Jurmala: the repression by the communist regime in 1940 and 1945, when many thousands were deported, and afterwards the Holocaust during the German occupation, when Jewish people were killed. Many people from Jurmala sought refuge in the autumn of 1944, as the Soviet troops approached, but unlike during World War I, these refugees no longer returned to Jurmala.

From the late 1940s, and especially in the 1960s, a massive number of guest workers from the USSR came to Latvia. The number of residents from Riga, which had been of 400,000 during the pre-war period, increased to a million by 1989.[4]

In Jurmala, a network of sanatoriums and various recreational facilities was created. They were originally located in nationalised buildings, but, since the 1960s, the construction of multi-storey resorts began to expand all along the coast of the Gulf of Riga. The sanatoriums and spas in Jurmala were only partially under the control of the Latvian Ministry of Health – a large part was owned by various ministries, trade unions and institutions of the USSR.

Vacationers came from all parts of the former Soviet Union, but most of them came from Moscow and Leningrad. Jurmala became a stylish resort, popular with the Soviet elite, artists, intellectuals and high-ranking officials from all over the USSR. The local leaders of the Communist Party were keen on hosting their influential visitors. Two elite sanatoriums were built for the top party officials.[5] The USSR

Council of Ministres summer house – the so-called Kosygin's house – was built in 1972.[6] The Communist party secretaries Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev are known to have frequented the resort incognito, as did Boris Yeltsin later on.[7]

In Jurmala, multi-storey dwelling houses were developed, where mainly workers and specialists arriving from the Soviet Union were accommodated. The locals had to wait for decades in a queue to gain an apartment, whereas the visitors from the USSR received, first-hand, new and well-equipped apartments. This, of course, did not encourage sympathy for such visitors. The number of inhabitants in Jurmala increased from 35,000 in 1950 to 60,000 in 1960. The ethnic composition of the population changed radically. In the pre-war period, the percentage of Latvians was 86.6% whereas in 1989 42.1% were Russians.[8]

The 1970s and 1980s in Latvia were marked the intensive *russification* of the USSR, i.e. the guest workers from other republics of the USSR, the prevailing role of the Russian language in culture, the mass media, the administrative institutions and an increase in the involvement in the study process in Latvian schools (Russian schools only taught Latvian language formally). These were the means used for creating the so-called "new human community - the Soviet man" through the implementation of a sovietisation policy. Then, the society of Latvia developed the negatively perceived term "migrant", understood as a person who ignores the history, culture and traditions of the place where they arrive in search of a better life.

There were many reasons for the popularity of Jurmala in the Soviet times. The three Baltic republics – Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania – known as "Pribaltika" in Russian, looked as a "Western" place for the Soviet people (the so-called "Soviet West"). Riga and Jurmala presented a Western lifestyle with different traditions, mentality, architecture, language, alphabets, services culture, etc.

Jurmala was a place that made possible for vacationers to enjoy "Western style" entertainment – the restaurant "Jūras pērle" [The Pearl of the Sea] was the first institution where a night bar was operating and alcoholic cocktails were served (until then they were known only to Black Sea cruise ships in the USSR), as well as one of the first cabaret revues.[9]

Latvia's independence was restored on the 21st of August, 1991. Jurmala and its inhabitants were affected by this dramatic change. Vacationers and tourists from the former Soviet Union did not enter the area anymore because of the introduction of a visa regime, while tourists from the West were not suited for the level of service that once satisfied the travellers from Soviet republics. In 1980, 105 sanatoriums were operating in Jurmala; by 1993, almost all of them were closed, sold, transformed into spas or residential apartments and hotels. Many residents of Jurmala lost their jobs during this period.

In the new millennium, Jurmala became a very expensive place for residents, with disproportionately heightened real estate prices. High land taxes, real estate speculation and residence permits for the sale of property in Jurmala have created such conditions that Jurmala is no longer a suitable place to live for many of its locals. On the other hand, Jurmala is a recognised tourist destination in Europe with such a multicultural environment that it has never had before. The resort is still very popular in Russia.

To say the unspeakable

The historical experience and the assessment of historical processes and events are radically different for different groups of people – there are those who lost their

Multi-storey buildings in Kauguri, 1960s.

Jurmala beach, 1970. © Jurmala City Museum archive

Costume sewn by Astra Pāvula in 1973, exhibition „Fashion in the Resort". © Jurmala City Museum, photo by Inga Sarma, 2012

relatives, property, who experienced exile and *russification* during the Soviet era and, in contrast, those whose lives in Soviet times seem to them like the "golden age". The new generation is creating its understanding of history based on the experience of the previous generation. An individual's experience of history is what one has experienced, not a paragraph from a history textbook. These experiences are something difficult to exhibit in a museum – love, suffering, faith, fear, loss, hope, dreams, etc.

The Jurmala City Museum is an establishment of the Municipality of Jurmala, financed by the Municipality's budget. Since Jurmala is a resort, its economic prosperity is completely dependent on tourism, and the city is interested in creating a positive image of Jurmala. It could be said that Jurmala's museums act to a large extent as resort advertisers. Accordingly, the city administration is not interested in discussing serious issues such as environmental and cultural heritage conservation questions in museums. It cannot be said that there is censorship in Jurmala, but if we want to address the public on these issues through our exhibitions or other projects, then we can count on the fact that there will be no financial support for it.

It should be noted that the Jurmala Museum has always had a rebellious nature: during the "Perestroika", we started the fight for the preservation of the natural environment of Jurmala, and founded a non-governmental organisation dealing with environmental protection. Furthermore, the Jurmala City Museum was the Latvian National Front Coordination Centre in Jurmala, in the 1980s.

In order to inform and educate the public about important topics in cultural heritage conservation, we have established an international network between the Baltic Sea resort towns in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Poland and Russia. In 2015, we launched the project "Northern Stars of the Seaside. Baltic Resort Cultural Heritage". The exhibition "People, Streets, Houses", funded by the Nordic and the Baltic Mobility Programme "Culture", was created within this project. The exhibition was shown in six countries. This is also a way of saying the unspeakable and avoiding self-censorship.

To create an emotionally effective and appealing message, we use meaningful exhibits in presentations that serve as icons of events and ages; we pay attention to colour, sound, and the use of music. Sometimes, simple things can help explain complex historical processes, for example:

From 2012 to 2015, the exhibition (shown in the Pärnu Museum in Estonia in 2016) "Fashion in the Resort" showed a costume made for walks on the beach, sewn by a girl, Astra Pāvula, in Jurmala in 1973. The pattern for it was taken from the German (then – West German) magazine *Burda Moden*. This magazine was a cult thing for all Soviet women, and it was not possible to buy it legally. This magazine was lent to Astra Pāvula for one evening (it was very demanded and passed on from hand to hand), and the cutting was done overnight. Talking about this event with those museum visitors who experienced the deep-seated shortages during the Soviet Union, whether in Russia or other places in the former USSR, creates a complete understanding and is followed by many other stories from the experience of visitors. In turn, in order to speak about it to young people who have not experienced this time, we have to touch themes such as the Berlin Wall and the two Germanies (*Burda Moden* came from Western Europe), as well as the hippie movement in the West (costumes in the hippie style), the food and the consumer goods shortage in the USSR, the black market and many other topics.

The Jurmala City Museum uses the stories of people's lives to say the unspeakable. These are stories of childhood memories that visitors can listen to while looking at the "Child in the Resort" exhibition (2015), gaining an idea of different interpretations of the same event:

- Reinhold Sengbusch, a member of a wealthy family of Baltic German origin, tells about his childhood in Jurmala at the beginning of the 20th century;[10]
- Kathelyne Wishaw, the daughter of a British businessman, talks about the summer she spent in Jurmala in the 1930s;[11]
- Andris Balodis, a child of a poor Latvian family, tells about his childhood in Jurmala during the 1930s and World War II;[12]
- Latvian and Russian children talk about summer holidays during the Soviet times.[13]

These stories show different entertainment and recreation opportunities. Children of different social strata and epochs may use different toys but they all share similar feelings: Jurmala and summer are perceived as symbols of freedom and happiness, which is well characterised by the statement of Reinhold Sengbusch: "In my later years, I couldn't remember a summer as warm and sunny as it was in Jurmala, and all the summers of my childhood were sunny".[14]

In 2015-2016, many European countries were hit hard by the migration crisis. In order to invite young people to evaluate these processes, to promote critical thinking and to understand the ongoing processes, we use stories of people who have experienced the fate of being a refugee during the wars, in the museum's pedagogical programs. For example, the story of a Jurmala local, the actress Zenta Zommere, who travelled by boat from Latvia to Sweden in October 1944: "I took only three things: a handful of the ground from Latvia, a photo album from my first motion picture film and hair rollers".[15]

Exhibition "Child in the Resort". © Jurmala city museum, photo by Inga Sarma, 2016

We have launched new multimedia projects for schools – "The story of a place" and "The history of dreams", in which parents and grandparents talk about their childhood dreams and aspirations in interviews.

The museum's permanent exhibition – "History of the Resort" – tells about the resort as a cultural and historical phenomenon, reflecting both the formation of the resort, the treatments, the history of bathing, cultural life and the life of the hometown. This includes both the site and the history of its social environment. We have tried to show it objectively and, if not always completely dispassionate, to invite visitors to think about the facts presented and draw their own conclusions.

The purpose of these projects is to invite people to listen, respect different views and raise awareness of the fact that we are very different, although we live in a common historical space.

Conclusion

The city of Jurmala, the largest and most remarkable resort in the Baltic, started evolving as a multicultural environment from a very early age. The history of the city has not been simple and still is a challenge today, especially regarding the balance of urban development, nature and preservation of cultural heritage. Through its history studies and public education, the Jurmala City Museum is

developing new ways and methods for improving its performance by developing exhibitions with the use of modern technologies, using life stories in the museum's educational programmes and involving young people in the research of urban history.

Notes

[1] CMA data, as of January 2016. Source: ***www.pmlp.gov.lv***

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[3] Rīgas Jurmalas pilsētas valde, Rīgas Jurmala. 1935. JPM Pmk. Inv.nr. 29098.

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[8] Laakkonen, S., Vasilevska K. (2011). 190.

[9] Sarma, I. (2011). Uz vecā viļņa. *Lilit, 8.* 34-42.

[10] Source: Sengbusch, Reinhold Alexander von, Indexeintrag: Deutsche Biographie, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/gnd101882491X.html; Reinhold Alexander von Sengbusch (2012). *Erinnerungen, Teil I. Meine Jugend*. CD, recorded by Werner von Sengbusch, Jurmala City Museum archive.

[11] Wishaw, K. (2000). *Memories about Jurmala*. Recorded by Nicola Bertolotti. Jurmala City Museum archive.

[12] Balodis, A. (2002). *Labrīt pasaulīt*. Rīga: Antera.

[13] Sarma, I. , Andzans , A., Rave, J. and Ulpe, D. (2011). *Bērnība Jūrmalā, Padomju laiki.* Jurmala: Ulma.

[14] See note x.

[15] *Memories of Zenta Zommere* (1993). Recorded by Inga Sarma. Jurmala City Museum archive.

SHIJIA HUTONG MUSEUM AND THE STRUGGLES OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

MUSEO DE SHIJIA HUTONG Y LAS BATALLAS PARA LA PRESERVACIÓN HISTÓRICA

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ABSTRACT

The preservation of historical hutongs in Beijing's residential neighbourhoods has been facing significant challenges brought by urban regeneration and real estate development. The establishment of community museums, both as tourist sites for visitors and civic centres for the community, is still a new concept in 21st century China. The Shijia Hutong Museum was the first of its kind in Beijing, built as part of the neighbourhood conservation-planning project to promote hutong culture and heritage protection. This study examines the socio-cultural, political, economic and environmental impacts of the museum, aiming to analyse its influences on local residents, tourists, government, NGOs and other stakeholders who were involved in the founding and operation process. Based on literature and exhibition reviews, scholarly research, publicity materials and stakeholder interviews, the study explains what aspects about Beijing historical neighbourhoods are told and untold in the museum, especially regarding recent historic preservation struggles.

Key words

historic preservation, community museum, tourism impact, hutong, Beijing

RESUMEN

La preservación de los callejones históricos (hutongs) en los barrios residenciales de Pekín ha enfrentado importantes desafíos traídos por la regeneración urbana contemporánea y el desarrollo inmobiliario. El establecimiento de un museo comunitario como centro turístico y cívico de la comunidad sigue siendo un concepto nuevo para la China del siglo XXI. El Museo Shijia Hutong fue el primero de su tipo en la ciudad, fue construido como parte de un proyecto de planificación para la conservación del vecindario y así promover la cultura hutong y la protección del patrimonio. Este estudio analiza los diversos impactos del museo: los socioculturales, políticos, económicos y ambientales. Su objetivo principal es analizar las influencias de diferentes partes involucradas, incluidos los residentes locales, los turistas, el gobierno, las organizaciones de la sociedad civil y otras partes que participaron en la fundación y operación del museo de la comunidad. A partir de la literatura, reseñas de exposiciones, investigaciones académicas, materiales publicitarios y entrevistas con la población involucrada, el estudio explica qué aspectos de los hutongs de Pekín y los barrios históricos están dichos y cuáles no lo están dentro de las exposiciones y actividades del museo, especialmente con respecto a las recientes luchas de preservación histórica.

Palabras clave

conservación histórica, museo de la comunidad, impacto turístico, hutong, Pekín

INTRODUCTION

Case study purposes

The lifestyle evolved from traditional hutongs (alleyways) and courtyard houses is at the heart of Beijing's metropolitan culture. The urban fabric and spatial arrangement in hutong neighbourhoods have a history that goes back to the Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368), and the architecture and planning elements are closely related to traditional Chinese culture, especially concerning family structures, community identities and dynamic urban life in the capital. Although the majority of hutongs disappeared in the 20th century due to industrialisation and urban development, the remaining areas are among the top destinations for visitors who wish to know more about local history and the authentic lifestyle from Beijing. Since the 1980s, the local government, businesses and residents started to pay attention to the tourism value of hutongs and "hutong tourism" as a type of cultural experience, and living heritage tourism was widely marketed among both domestic and international audiences.

Compared to the famous rickshaw tours, walking tours, hutong hotels and homestays, community museums located in hutongs are fairly newcomers to the hutong tourism activities. This case study is focused on the Shijia Hutong Museum and introduces the first community museum that was recently established in Beijing's hutong neighbourhoods. By reviewing previous academic writings as well as information provided through public media releases and stakeholder insights, the study aims to produce an overview of how community museums and heritage tourism are studied, presented, and received by people within the academia, the visitors and residents as well as the general public. Through the analysis and evaluation of the museum's origins and performances, this report hopes to address the tourism impacts of community museums from various perspectives, including economic, socio-cultural, political, and environmental. It also discusses how the community museum and the tourism related industries and activities could contribute to the historic preservation efforts of Shijia Hutong neighbourhood. At the end, the study offers recommendations and possibilities for problem-solving purposes, and it may hopefully help the museum to achieve long-term sustainability for its management and development. The preservation aspects of hutong tourism will be used as the most important lens throughout this study.

- **Main research questions**

- *General questions on the subject:*
    - What is hutong culture?
    - What is hutong tourism (history, organisation, products and services, governmental regulations, public opinions, etc.)?
    - What roles do community museums play in historical neighbourhoods (as tourism destination for visitors and as civic space for local residents)?
    - What are the supporting and criticising arguments of community museums in general? How does hutong tourism support or neglect historic preservation?

- *Site-specific questions:*
    - What is the significance of the Shijia Hutong Museum? How does the establishment and operation of this museum contribute to historic preservation and neighbourhood revitalisation in Beijing?
    - What are the impacts of community museums from a tourism perspective (socio-cultural, political, economic, and environmental impacts)?
    - How do the different stakeholders approach and evaluate this museum?
    - How does Shijia Hutong Museum teach us about sustainability in the contemporary society of a rapidly developing world?

- What strategies or actions can the museum undertake to improve its overall sustainability and ensure effective management of tourism-related impacts?

Entrance of Shijia Hutong Museum. © M. Liu

- **Setting of this community museum**

The Shijia Hutong is a 726-meter long and 7-meter wide alleyway, located in the Dongcheng District, the eastern part of Beijing's Ming and Qing Dynasty old town, and it is only a short walk from its western end to the Forbidden City (the geographical centre of Beijing). While the real estate price in the inner city went rocket-high and many hutong neighbourhoods were demolished for regeneration in the second half of the 20th century, the overall urban fabric of this area was largely preserved to what it was like back in the Yuan Dynasty. Nowadays, there are eighty courtyard houses along this alleyway and, among them thirty are in their original complete scale. This number shows a high percentage of carefully preserved traditional courtyard compounds in Shijia Hutong, which other hutong communities in Beijing may not enjoy. Compared to Shichahai (Gu and Ryan, 2008) and Nanluoguxiang (Shin, 2010), where hutongs have a mixed land use for both residential and commercial functions, they have received much more attention from the scholarly world in terms of historic preservation and tourism development, whereas the predominantly residential neighbourhoods in Beijing like the Shijia Hutong still remain less studied. One particularly interesting fact about this alleyway is that some of China's most famous writers, artists and diplomats once lived here, and the hutong witnessed to many historical events and the early development of the city's important cultural institutions. An article tracing the renowned residents of this alleyway calls it "the most legendary hutong in Chinese history" (*Letu Tourism*, 2014).

Shijia Hutong Museum occupies the courtyard house No. 24 in this alleyway, with a total area of more than 100 square meters. The 5.3 million RMB (Chinese yuans, approx. 0.76 million USD) project started in April 2010 as part of the hutong's preservation and regeneration programme (the Prince's Foundation for Building Community, 2010, co-sponsored by the Prince's Charities Foundation, a charitable trust initiated by Great Britain's Prince Charles, and Chaoyangmen Sub-district Office, the most local-level government). The courtyard house was originally owned by the family of Ling Shuhua (1900-1990), a female Chinese modernist writer and painter, whose short stories were very popular in the 1920s and 1930s. Ling was born and raised in Beijing, and her father was a high-ranking governmental official during the late Qing Dynasty. Ling was a leading figure in the anti-imperialist, cultural and political movement that grew out of student participants in the 1910s. She majored in foreign literature at college and she built social networks with various British cultural elites in China through personal and family connections. After Ling's family moved to London in 1947, her residence in Beijing was acquired by the state and, firstly, assigned as factory space and then as a kindergarten in the Shijia Hutong. When the writer returned to Beijing shortly before her death, she could still recall the childhood memory of living in this neighbourhood at the beginning of the 20th century (Bruno, 2013). No. 24 is only an example of the various touching stories coming out of this alleyway. The museum, which opened in October 2013 as a focal point of community history and hutong culture, devotes a large portion of its permanent exhibition to the many celebrity residences and famous institutions that found home in the Shijia Hutong throughout history. Other notable examples include the residence of Zhang Shizhao's (1881-1973, a Chinese journalist, educator and politician of the early 20th century and a leading figure in the New Culture Movement) at No. 51 Shijia Hutong, the Preparatory School for Studying in the

United States (1909, which later became the Tsinghua University), and Beijing People's Art Theater (1952, the most welcomed live theater group in Beijing's cultural circle since its establishment, No. 56 Shijia Hutong).

At a national scale, the high culture of the Shijia Hutong during the late Qing period and the Republican era made it a significant backdrop for many historical trends and events in 20th-century China. At a local level, preservation and revitalisation of this neighbourhood contributed enormously to the overall protection of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Beijing. As hutong tourism became an attractive option for visitors in recent decades, The Shijia Hutong welcomed an increasing number of tourists, who were interested in learning the city's past stories and about the traditional lifestyle that hutongs could offer. Many chose to stay at the hutong hotels, where they could experience the courtyard home and enjoy interacting with the locals. People are absolutely not able to get this sense of "authenticity" by visiting the imperial palaces, altars and gardens in other parts of the city, or living in modern hotels at the centre of the financial district, and this is the key success factor of hutong tourism. From the tourism resource perspective, the Shijia Hutong Museum, which showcases a systematic overview of community history, courtyard house architecture, and Beijing's hutong culture in general, is a much-praised addition to this well-established destination. From the local residents' perspective, the museum, since its inauguration, was continuously used as a civic centre for community weekend gatherings and formal meetings of the resident advisory board. Being the Shijia Hutong Museum an essential member of the community, tourism activities associated with it definitely have profound impacts on both the visitors and the local population. While setting the museum in its historical and cultural background, questions remain on how one can analyse and understand these impacts and, at the same time, offer reasonable suggestions for the sustainable development of this fairly new institution.

Famous residents in Shijia Hutong's history. © M. Liu

Research methods

- **Scholarly information gathering methods**

- Library databases used:
    - Scopus: a bibliographic database of research literature and web sources, covering all disciplines and providing information on the times and references cited.
    - Jstor: a multi-disciplinary archive of digitised scholarly journals, primarily in the humanities and social sciences.
    - Art Source: a database covering a broad range of related subjects from fine, decorative and commercial art, to various areas of architecture and architectural design, including periodicals published in various European languages by art scholars, artists, designers, students and general researchers.
    - Artstor: a digital library of over 550,000 images in the areas of art, architecture, humanities, and social sciences, comprised of worldwide contributions from museums, individual photographers, scholars, special collections at libraries, and photo archives.

Courtyard house used as the museum's exhibition space. © M. Liu

- Key words searched:
    - Museum perspective: community museum; ecomuseum; open air museum; museology; ecomuseology.
    - Historical neighbourhood and community perspective: historic preservation museum; historical neighbourhood museum; historical block museum; historic quarter museum; hutong museum; community engagement museum; community involvement museum; public education museum.

- China perspective: China museum; China community museum; China museum education.
- Tourism impact and sustainability perspective: tourism museum; tourism impact museum; museum culture; museum society; museum economy; museum politics; museum environment; museum sustainability.

- **Direct observation on the case study site**

Site visits to the Shijia Hutong Museum during the academic year 2015/16 provided first-hand observation of the permanent exhibition, cultural atmosphere and community environment, especially during non-holiday periods. The museum is in a two-layer courtyard compound, with plenty of open space in between the exhibition rooms. There are eight rooms for the permanent exhibition and a large multi-purpose room for community gathering. The exhibition covers the following topics: History of the Shijia Hutong (architectural and urban history chronology); Cradle of the Beijing People's Art Theater (a beloved local institution); The Origin of Modern Education in China (the hutong as a backdrop of major historical events); Ling Shuhua's family and career (the former owner of the property and her social circle); Famous Shijia Hutong Residents (adding more stories into the narrative); Hutong Memories (historical objects and artifacts on display) and Sound of Hutong (intangible heritage); Hutong Lives in the Old Days (installations that recreate the typical home scene in Beijing during 1950s-60s and 1970s-80s); as well as Shijia Hutong in the 21st century (major community events in recent years). Overall, the exhibition is very much preservation-oriented, as its first and most visible part is devoted to how the Shijia Hutong evolved through history and recent revitalisation. A large-scale architectural model showing the entire neighbourhood along the alleyway is the very first thing visitors see upon entering the exhibition hall. There are also multiple panels showing the late 20th century urban heritage protection plans in this neighbourhood. In terms of content, the museum exhibition successfully explains the importance of the Shijia Hutong neighbourhood preservation and revitalization project, as the hutong is a physical testimony of traditional family and community life in Beijing. The organisation of public space shows how residents communicate with each other, and the hutong as a stage for the trading of material goods in a micro-scale and an information exchange. The museum, as a typical model of a courtyard house in the Shijia Hutong, delivers this sense of community to visitors who may not be familiar with local history and culture.

Architectural model of Shijia Hutong neighbourhood. © M. Liu

Despite the small scale of its physical shape, the Shijia Hutong Museum has a clear signage system and bilingual exhibition texts, which make it quite accessible for both domestic and foreign tourists. The lighting, air conditioning and restroom facilities are all well maintained, providing a comfortable visiting environment. One thing that can be improved is the staffing of this museum. On non-event days, there are usually several senior hutong volunteer residents who sit in the administrative office, overseeing the facilities' operation and take questions from the visitors. Only on event days, when the museum welcomes multiple school groups or VIP guests, does it call in the full-time staff and more volunteers to give guided tours or carry out specifically designed educational activities. The possible reason might be the fact that the museum only has several hundred visitors per day during weekdays and slightly more over the weekend. The rooms are never crowded; therefore, there is no need to bring in more guides or docents on a daily basis. In other words, behind the problem of staffing is the problem of event

planning and outreach. Educational activities are only available upon request and, in fact, the museum is more of a space owner than an event host. The city's walking tour operators, design contests, and heritage protection NGOs are among the many hosts that choose to have their events at the Shijia Hutong Museum. However, being a site in a historical neighbourhood with much potential, the museum seems not to have a strong educational and outreach strategy, both for the local audience, and the tourist market.

- **Informal information-gathering meetings with stakeholders**

The author has held two informal information-gathering meetings with the aim of learning how local tour operators and urban planners see the contribution of Shijia Hutong Museum to historic preservation and tourism development. The first correspondent is a native tour guide. He is very confident that the walking tour in the Shijia Hutong "offers the best sense the visitors can get of the Old Beijing". The tour is designed as a half-day walking activity, during which the audience will walk together with the guide, and visits the historical sites along the Shijia Hutong, including the representative courtyard houses, the community museum, and the nearby Zhihua Temple (Temple of Wisdom Attained), which is famous for its religious music collection and performances. He explains the motivation of his visitor groups as "being tired of the often crowded tourist sites and looking to find the down-to-earth lifestyle of Beijing", in other words, the search for authenticity. He not only hosts visitors from other parts of the country and from around the world but also people who may have already lived or worked in the city for a long time, but never had the chance to come to the hutong neighbourhoods, let alone to know about courtyard architecture and hutong lifestyle. The importance of the Shijia Hutong Museum, as the tour operator believes, is that it provides a systematic overview of the architecture, urban fabric and community living, which is obviously not part of a history book, nor is it very common in our 21st-century impression of the city. The majority of his audience grew up in high-rise apartment buildings where community identity and emotional bonds among residents are relatively weak. However, seeing the hutong history and culture helps them to better understand the traditional Chinese family values, and how a resident advisory board and a community-wide collaboration can still work out today. The museum provides a valuable knowledge base of the city's material culture, and also a kind of emotional support to people who are usually overwhelmed by the quick patterns of urban life. This is also the reason why the tour operator chooses to do hutong tourism instead of competing in the major market by taking people to the more recognisable tourist sites in Beijing. "The cultural experience that our tourist product or service could offer is the highlight that is being emphasised throughout our walk. We not only encourage people to take pictures and post them online but also challenge them to reflect on their own neighbourhood and community life after visiting the Shijia Hutong Museum", he stated. When asked if the museum could be improved in any aspect in the future, the tour operator suggests: "They need to offer more interactions between residents and tourists; given that the exhibition shows rich information, our visitors would like to know more about hutongs by talking to the locals in person". Regarding the tourism impacts, he mentions that the scale of the museum keeps the number of outsiders down, which lowers the risk of noise and safety problems for the Shijia Hutong community. The final point he makes clear is that, in order to keep a relatively authentic experience and to create a sustainable environment for the community, the museum should not expand its marketing scale and should remain a small institution to serve a really interested audience and the local residents.

The second correspondent is an urban planner and preservationist working in Beijing. In his opinion, the museum is well established as a community centre, but it lacks two of the core functions of a museum, which are education and

research. He says: "The exhibition is organised to educate people about hutongs in Beijing, but without proper educational programmes initiated by the community people themselves, many visitors may have a hard time interpreting the imagery and narrative, and the Shijia Hutong's stories would not be told accurately if we leave this job to the tourism industry". On the research function, the urban planner is concerned with the absence of scholarly resources at the museum, for example, the lack of a library, archive, or any form of database. Therefore, the situation also leads to many difficulties for scholars to conduct meaningful research on this valuable site. "The municipal and district archives are useful, and you can also find many visual materials about the Shijia Hutong at the city's urban planning commission. However, it would really help if the museum could keep a small archive and database for anything relating to this institution and its surrounding community. That could be a valuable set of resources in the future that not only the researchers but also the interested general public could access", he said. Reflecting on the tourism impacts, the preservation professional believes that Shijia Hutong Museum has yet to fulfill its role as the number one go-to place for hutong culture. "It has to publicise itself more. The Shijia Hutong Museum is a well-known destination only in our little intellectual circle, and the vast majority of the public and tourists, who visit Beijing in billions every year, does not know it". He is positive that tourism-related activities can help publicise the preservation efforts in this area, and can make more people realise that old neighbourhoods can be both attractive and worth preserving. The Shijia Hutong case, illustrated in the museum, stands as a strong evidence against urban renewal and the mass demolition of historical neighbourhoods. "It shows that locals are united to defend their homes successfully, and we need more people, especially the outsiders, to know this fact", the expert said.

- **Written information sources**

So far (2017), there is no formal publication in Chinese language that solely focuses on the Shijia Hutong or the Shijia Hutong Museum. However, despite the short history of the museum, a large amount of information was circulating around in news media and social network posts. A local newspaper article written in 2013 (Liu, 2013) depicted a very special feature at the Shijia Hutong Museum that could be particularly interesting for the visitors: its collection of the peddling sounds of Old Beijing. As a representative type of intangible heritage, "Old Beijing peddling" (the sound made by street peddlers while walking through the hutongs trying to sell goods, services, food and even meals to the residents) faced the threat of disappearance in recent years, as the hutong neighbourhoods declined in number, and people had more and more places to go for shopping rather than buying from street peddlers. Devoting a specific part of its permanent exhibition to the sound of the hutongs, the museum collected peddling sounds of various types (for example, the shoemakers used a different voice than goldsmiths and hairdressers and, in fact, there were thousands of types of peddling sounds in the past, because of the number of goods and services people could get without leaving their hutong residence). Although it was impossible to collect and show every sound as it became much difficult to find the senior members in hutong communities who knew and could recall the sound, the museum did have a relatively comprehensive collection after all. The preservation of peddling sounds in hutongs as a kind of performing art with practical functions adds to the intangible aspect of heritage protection, because sound is essential to local culture and identity, and it is a quite impressive part of the exhibition in addition to all the texts and visual materials.

Sound of Shijia Hutong, the Songs of Old Beijing Peddlers. © M. Liu

On the 21st of May, 2016, a story-sharing seminar was held at the Shijia Hutong Museum (Sissistudio, 2016), during which the founding community leaders of this museum talked to the public about their vision of historic preservation and

old neighbourhood revitalisation. Mr. Hu Xinyu, who was in charge of the Shijia Hutong Museum project, while working for the Prince's Charities Foundation, described the project as a "grassroots effort" (Hu, 2016):

> "*If you look at the founding members and later participants of this project, as well as our honorary guest Prince William, who came to this museum during his state visit to China, you can hardly tell why this is a grassroots project. However, the entire courtyard house was reconstructed and repaired based on Madam Ling Shuhua's manuscripts and memoirs; all the craftsmanship was locally produced; and, in order to achieve accurate details, we collected pieces of bricks and decorative panels from the community member. … It is easily understandable that these were joint grassroots efforts.*"

Mr. Hu also demonstrated the authenticity, sustainability, and energy efficiency aspects of the museum, made it clear that community involvement was essential for preservation projects, and that the social value of the Shijia Hutong Museum's successful experience was that it could help educate the visitors on why community revitalisation is still important today.

On the 24th September, 2016, the Shijia Hutong Museum served as the venue for the Beijing Design Week, and hosted an exhibition for the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design, with themes on transportation system studies for Beijing's Old Town area, public space studies, as well as design for the people project. Student and adult tours were led by professional urban planners during the week, with the aim to let more and more citizens get to know and participate in urban planning, appreciate the beauty of traditional Beijing courtyard homes, and support the protection of historic neighbourhoods (Shijia Hutong Museum, 2016).

Literature review of academic research

The social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts of heritage tourism and historic preservation in Beijing have been discussed by scholars around the world. Their argument, analysis and critiques can be well applied to the case of the Shijia Hutong Museum.

- **Social and cultural impacts**

Hutong tourism and courtyard houses as tourist attractions have a history in China dating back to the 1990s. It was after the Reform and the Open-up Policies that people started to realise the tourism values behind cultural heritage as being representative assets of the society. Ning Wang wrote an early article about hutong tourism in Beijing, arguing that the vernacular house is an important cultural resource for the city's tourism development, because vernacular house tourism helps to communicate local cultural identity to visitors, to reduce the negative impact of modernisation upon local traditions and traditional styles of houses, and to satisfy tourists' demands for greater authenticity (Wang, 1997). The article also points out that vernacular house tourism is a highly fragile type of tourism, which means sound and careful planning and management are needed to make it sustainable. Problems like the growing tensions between tourism activities and the daily life of local residents, space encroachment by tourism-related infrastructures in residential neighbourhoods, and the gentrification effects brought by tourism development are among the many issues that continue to exist since the publication of the article. In this sense, the case of the Shijia Hutong Museum can be seen as an experiment to ease the growing tensions and achieve a relative balance and cooperation between community sustainability and tourism development.

Tourists often express their very first goal in participating in heritage tours is "the search for authenticity". However, authenticity is too complicated a concept to

define. Ning Wang explains the construction of authenticity in tourism experience as object-related authenticity has its limits, and argues that regardless of being successful or not, it does not influence the authenticity-seeking motions of the tourists (Wang, 1999). In other words, potentials and possibilities lay more in the tourism product or service providers' ability to construct a cohesive and persuasive set of narratives, and this ability is more important than the endless pursuit of authenticity. This argument speaks to the debate if community museum-building is a good idea for the residents and the tourists. On the one hand, as previously discussed in this report, many people believe that the Shijia Hutong Museum, as the first of its kind in Beijing, provides a focal point for preserving and showcasing hutong culture and lifestyle. On the other hand, some may criticise this museum as being too crystalised and not dynamic enough to provide an authentic experience of hutong life for the visitors, possibly preventing visitors from spending more time actually walking through the neighbourhoods to see things with their own eyes. As Wang believes, tourists often learn through object-related means (seeing tangible remains in a short period of time instead of spending a portion of their lives actually living in a culture), and the limitation of such means is unavoidable, if the goal is to learn about a social and cultural environment. The point is that authenticity-seeking by itself has a power, no matter in what means. Therefore, the impact of the community museum is that it provides an open and friendly environment in a physical space for the on-site interpretation of social and cultural diversity.

- **Political impacts**

Political scientists are writing about the political motivations behind historic preservation and joint community efforts for revitalisation projects. Qin Shao, in her recent book on traditional neighbourhoods in Shanghai (Shao, 2013), traces the history of residents' struggle to sustain their homes against bulldozers for the past few decades. One of their tactics is going out and publicising their stories to the outside media and visitors, in order to actively voice out their living conditions and the causes behind their efforts. The significance of such cases, as Shao emphasises, is that the residents are mobilising and protesting within the boundary of the law (therefore avoiding any type of rioting and social unrest), so that they can claim legitimacy to their property rights and urge the government to put more regulations on real estate industries' encroachment into Shanghai's historical neighbourhoods. This kind of logic and rhetoric is also used by Shijia Hutong residents. The existence of community organisations and institutions, like the museum and the tourism activities that can attract outside attention, stand as the symbol of lawful community efforts against demolition and gentrification. It makes the residents' concerns and expectations more likely to be met by the local administrative agencies.

Another type of political impact being discussed by scholars is the museum as a collector of an all-inclusive community identity. Saphinax-Amal Naguib uses the cases of European cultural history museums to show how their methods and scope in collecting migration narratives are contributing to a policy of integration and recognition (Naguib, 2013). Given that both the physical existence of museum architecture and the progress being made through publicity and education are part of the heritage of migration and diaspora, museums can act as active agents of social cohesion and mediators of transcultural knowledge. Applying this theory to the Shijia Hutong Museum, the role of this institution can be seen as introducing the previously undermined values of historical neighbourhoods and adding the local residents' experience as part of the metropolitan identity of the capital. It also helps to promote mutual understanding and respect between the natives and newcomers to Beijing, encouraging meaningful interactions and appreciation of different ethnic values through hosting and visiting.

From the governmental perspective, public museums not only portray the politics of identity but also stand as an intentional representation of China's past. As Marzia Varutti argues, museums in China are assigned the function of shaping the image of the nation and its past (Varutti, 2014). Although the regime has a history of mass demolishment of urban architectural heritage and serious violation of property ownership rights, dating back to the 1960s, the Shijia Hutong Museum, as a public institution partially sponsored by the local administrative office, does not communicate these dark episodes in the near-distance history. Instead, the focus of its permanent exhibition is on two things: the great achievement of ancient Chinese civilisation that produced the hutongs and courtyard houses, and the more recent preservation efforts by the government and the community to build a much improved, well-equipped 21st-century life inside this traditional setting. The local administration is very optimistic that through tourism development, the government's responsible attitudes toward historic preservation can be further publicised and even reach a global audience. Concerns remain how historic preservation is carried out elsewhere, especially in the underdeveloped traditional neighbourhoods outside of Beijing, where residential enthusiasm, preservation expertise and financial resources are rare.

- **Economic impacts**

Tourism has long been perceived as a growth industry, and many urban planners and preservationists in China are advocating a tourism- and culture-led conservation, in order to subsidise local economy and offset the cost of preservation projects. Zhu Qian, in his article assessing historical district conservation in China (Qian, 2007), demonstrates that heritage tourism has an economic ripple effect, because tourist spending includes transportation, supporting facilities and related services, even though the image and attractiveness of heritage is the original motivation for tourists to visit a particular place. Local officials are well aware of this, as ancillary spending can have a greater economic impact than the spending on historic sites themselves.

As an effective strategy for economic development, hutong tourism also empowers local ownership. Donghai Su holds the idea that, by taking part in the formation of community museums and the planning of related facilities and businesses, locals have more power in the decision-making process, which leads to more control of the local economic trajectory (Su, 2008). These claims are true in the Shijia Hutong, as tourism-related activities have promoted cultural exchange while generating income for residents who are also practicising artists and craftsmen as well as restaurant and shop owners. Although the Shijia Hutong Museum offers free admission and does not generate income and revenue, the surrounding tourism industries are benefitting from it, by keeping the money circulated within the community and contributing to the sustainable goal of local development. In the Chinese situation where service industry is strongly encouraged in the 21st century, hutong tourism has had quite positive impacts on the economy.

- **Environmental impacts**

Although hutongs and courtyard houses are part of the urban fabric in the middle of the city, they are closely related to the natural environment and actually are very environmentally sustainable in terms of construction materials and space arrangement (Chan and Xiong, 2007). Because the Shijia Hutong Museum occupies a reconstructed courtyard house complex, it also benefits from the environmentally-friendly features. For example, large windows facing south allow cool and humid air to come in during summer and maximum sunlight in winter; wooden structural frames and clay roof tiles make the rooms more adaptable to weather changes; and the common use of vegetation in the middle of the courtyard also adds some green to the overall environment. All these features are vital to the

sustainability of courtyard houses. The museum intentionally uses energy-efficient window glasses and minimises its dependency on modern appliances such as air-conditioning units (Foyle, 2015). These efforts set good examples for preservation and reconstruction projects alike, in terms of the institution's care for environment.

Apart from the energy-saving features, community-based education is another way that museums can contribute to sustainability. A case study on an initiative in the Chinese city of Kunming shows how primary school students are trained and placed in local community museums as volunteer docents, where they interpret exhibits on environmental themes and local history for the visitors (Efird, 2015). By participating in such programmes, museums can collaborate with local schools to promote environmental education in an urban setting. The Shijia Hutong Museum has yet to achieve this goal, but the Kunming case study shows the possibilities of a community institution in creating positive environmental impacts.

Conclusion: case study results

The Shijia Hutong Museum is a community museum dedicated to the preservation and presentation of hutongs and courtyard houses, the central elements of Old Beijing's historic neighbourhoods. Shijia Hutong, the alleyway in which the museum is located, is full of history and cultural heritage, as it has been home to many famous figures in Chinese history, and the backdrop to many events that significantly changed Chinese society. Along with the recent conservation plan and community revitalisation project, co-sponsored by British charities and the sub-district level government, the courtyard house complex was reconstructed and transformed into the museum. Its goal is to serve as both a community centre and a window opened to outside visitors who are interested in hutong culture and lifestyle.

The permanent exhibition and activities held at the Shijia Hutong Museum have raised awareness for historic preservation and urban heritage revitalisation. Although different stakeholders disagree on the scale in which the community museum should publicise itself and take more roles in tourism development and public education, the administration and operation of the museum are still largely in the hands of the local residents. In terms of the various aspects of tourism impacts, heritage tourism through community museum visiting helps sustain the cultural identity of people living in such neighbourhoods, reinforces the legitimacy of their struggle against gentrification and demolition, enables the locals to take active control of economic development, showcases the environmentally sustainable features of historic housing and orients people toward local issues and solutions.

As the first of its kind, the Shijia Hutong Museum is a forerunner illustrating the role a community institution can play in historic preservation and tourism development. It preserves local memories, and yet communicates universal values. It comes out of Beijing's hutong culture, but it speaks to visitors around the world who see themselves as community dwellers.

- **Recommendations**

Based on the information gathered and the research conducted, the author would like to make the following recommendations to the Shijia Hutong Museum:

- The object display section of the museum's permanent exhibition needs interactive features. Right now the wall-tags are clear but communicate minimal information. Without audio or visual explanations, non-Beijingers and younger generations may not understand the background and purpose of each object on display.
- The museum needs to carry out a systematic evaluation of its visitors as

most large-scale museums do on a regular basis. Without an accurate headcount and detailed information of the audience, it will be really difficult for the administrators to identify target groups and plan any visitor-related future development.

- With the rich cultural assets of hutong living and courtyard house architecture, the museum could do a better job in the creative industry, not only by participating in the Design Week but also by forming its own brand of artistic design and tourism merchandise. The income generated by museum brands has the potential to largely offset administrative and operational costs.
- If the museum is not satisfied with only being an event hosting venue, it should start designing its own educational programmes focused on hutong culture in general, and the Shijia Hutong's stories in particular. Heritage tourism is a huge market in a city like Beijing, and, by carefully monitoring the number of tourists and evaluating their feedback, the museum could remain at its current scale while expanding its fan base.
- Inter-museum collaboration is key for small-scale institutions to break the limitations on collection size, exhibition space, opening times, curatorial expertise and hosting capacities. An important outreach strategy for the community museum is to seek out possibilities for jointly held exhibitions at higher-level institutions, like municipal or even national level museums. Both sides could benefit from each other's collection strengths and tourism population.
- For the sake of academic research and completeness of its museum functions (research being one of the three, the other two being exhibition and education), the museum should keep a categorised archive, document daily events and make them accessible for scholarly use in related fields, such as anthropology, museum studies, urban planning, historic preservation, public administration and social work, as well as business development and tourism sciences.

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REFRAMING NORTHERN IRELAND'S 1968 IN A "POST-CONFLICT" CONTEXT

LA REFORMULACIÓN DE 1968 DE IRLANDA DEL NORTE EN EL CONTEXTO "POSCONFLICTO"

ABSTRACT

A fundamental challenge facing modern academics is how to translate new research perspectives into public impact. This paper will discuss a creative collaboration that bridges academic research and museum practice in areas of interpretative and public engagement. Focused on the Ulster Museum in Belfast, a new exhibition "Northern Ireland's 1968" provides a critical new dimension to the visitors' experience of contemporary history. The project has involved producing filmed testimonies that widen the framework of public memory, supported by contemporary collecting, public programming and the development of new learning resources. Dealing with the legacy of the past is the principal challenge facing Northern Irish society, and the cause of the conflict remains a highly contested political issue. Revisiting 1968 challenges assumptions about the inevitability of conflict and opens opportunities for creative dialogue around issues of human rights and political reform that continue to resonate with contemporary relevance. This paper seeks to reflect on the encounter between the academic and the museum and what lessons are to be taken from dealing with what remains of such a contested and divisive past.

Key words
Northern Ireland, 1968, memory, Troubles, commemoration

RESUMEN

Un desafío fundamental que enfrentan los especialistas en la actualidad es cómo traducir las nuevas perspectivas de investigación en un impacto público. Este texto tratará una colaboración creativa que une la investigación académica y la práctica museística en áreas de participación interpretativa y pública. Se centra en el Museo del Ulster en Belfast, la exposición "La Irlanda del Norte de 1968" proporciona una nueva dimensión crítica de la experiencia de los visitantes sobre la historia contemporánea. El proyecto ha involucrado testimonios filmados que amplían el marco de la memoria pública, basados por las colecciones contemporáneas, los programas públicos y el desarrollo de nuevos recursos de aprendizaje. El enfrentamiento sobre el legado del pasado es el reto principal que enfrenta la
sociedad de Irlanda del Norte y la causa de que el conflicto permanezca como un problema político. Retomando los desafíos de 1968, sobre la inevitabilidad del conflicto y la apertura de un diálogo creativo sobre los problemas de los derechos humanos y las reformas políticas continúan siendo de actual relevancia. Esta investigación busca reflejar la relación entre la academia y el museo y las lecciones aprendidas del enfrentamiento entre lo que permanece como un pasado dividido e impugnado.

Palabras clave
Irlanda del Norte, 1968, memoria, "Troubles", conmemoración

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a case study on dealing with contested pasts. In particular, it explores a fruitful collaboration between an academic (Dr Chris Reynolds, Nottingham Trent University) and a curator (William Blair, Director of Collections, National Museums Northern Ireland) at Belfast's Ulster Museum. The specific project is focused on the events of 1968, in Northern Ireland, and aims to encourage a reconsideration of what was a pivotal moment in the troubled province's recent history. It will be argued that this ongoing collaborative venture provides a number of potential solutions for approaching the challenges of Northern Ireland's highly contested past. At its centre is the encounter between academic research and the museum sector. The lessons taken from this collaboration, it will be concluded, can be applied well beyond the case of 1968 and indeed beyond the specific circumstances of Northern Ireland. The paper begins by setting out the current-day context of Northern Ireland, with a particular focus on the widespread consensus around the need to deal with the past there and on examples of initiatives aimed at doing so. There then follows a brief overview of the research thesis on and around the topic of Northern Ireland's 1968, before an examination of the three-stage, multifaceted Ulster Museum project that aims to translate the research findings into viable, innovative and engaging exhibition content and related activities. The final section evaluates the success of this collaborative project and draws together lessons that can be learned both within the Northern Irish context and beyond.

Dealing with the legacy of Northern Ireland's past

After an almost 30-year period of violence and virtual civil war, commonly known as the Troubles, Northern Ireland today finds itself in what can be described as an era of peace.[1] The Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and the complex, and ongoing, peace process that has ensued, unquestionably put an end to the dark days of the 1969-1998 period. However, despite the undoubted progress that has been made, it would be wholly inaccurate to suggest that Northern Ireland's problems have been solved. Such was the bitterness and gravity of the conflict there that many scars remain today, evident in ongoing political and community divisions that underscore the magnitude of work that lies ahead (Reynolds, 2017: 641). There are many areas that provide grounds for the perpetuation of the divisions. One of the most challenging, which interests us here, is the challenge of how to deal with the difficult legacy of the past.

Such is the importance of this issue that it has become one of the most significant elements of the peace-building process and a top priority for political parties within Northern Ireland as well as for the London and Dublin governments.[2] This has resulted in the development of a range of initiatives, driven as part of the political process, on dealing with the past. A recent and potent example of such an initiative was the "Decade of Centenaries" project. As a part of this process, in 2010, the Community Relations Council and the Heritage Lottery Fund published four principles, based on the notion of an inclusive and accepting society, aimed at "helping us all to steer through the complexities and sensitivities of remembering this decade".[3] This was then backed up by the Northern Ireland Executive in its 15th of March 2012 statement that revealed agreement on bringing forward a programme for a "Decade of Centenaries" relating to the period 1912-1922. The principles of educational focus, reflection, inclusivity, tolerance, respect, responsibility and interdependence were to underpin this programme.[4] Underlying this approach is the concept of *ethical remembering*, emphasising flexibility and pluralism in narratives and hospitality towards the 'other'. As argued below, such an approach is a necessity if Northern Ireland is going to face up to the challenges of the past in order to build a brighter future.

> *"Ethical remembering is critical remembering. The succession of events in the period of 1912-1922 changed Ireland in a dramatic way. It was a decade of change, but it was also a decade of horrific violence. … Ethical remembering is not about going back to the past in condemnation, nor to indulge in a blame game. Neither has any contribution to make to a desired and shared future. … Uncritical remembering is a failure to learn from history. Ethical remembering acknowledges the destructiveness of violence and its destructive legacy, and builds a different, de-militarised political future. Ethical remembering also underlines the need for hospitality, a generous openness to each other, to dialogue, hear each other and be prepared to walk through contested histories together."* (McMaster and Hetherington, 2012: 7)

The following stage was the 2014 Stormont House Agreement in which the Northern Ireland political elite reiterated their commitment to dealing with the past.[5] An interesting departure from this latest initiative has been the move to bring academics into the process with the aim of building an Oral History Archive of the conflict as well as the creation of a historical timeline. This raises some very interesting issues and important challenges. Such an initiative highlights the gap that exists between academic work and public perceptions. It is true that much excellent research has been conducted into the Troubles that would unquestionably be useful in helping the peace-building process. However, the inability of such work to inflect feelings on the ground and challenge the partisan narratives held by the public, and in some cases encouraged by politicians, is clear. This is precisely where the role of museums becomes apparent.

Relatively recent developments in both academic history and within the museum sector underscore the potential for collaboration between the two with a view to making a difference in how the past is understood in the public domain. New directions in historical research have seen an opening up of a rich debate on the diversity of memory with new and innovative, blended methodological approaches revealing the possibilities of new and exciting ventures (Klein, 2000: 3; Pakier and Stråth, 2010; Wertsch, 2002: 30; Winter, 2000: 69-92). At the same time, expectations of the role of museums have been changing, with such institutions increasingly playing a role in the difficult process of dealing with complex and conflicted pasts (Blair, 2016: 192-93). Such developments have coincided with the onset of peace, which in itself is a central consideration. Walkowitz and Knauer (2004: 1-18) highlight how political transformations (such as the conclusion of the Troubles) serve as triggers or flashpoints for renewed struggles over the legacy of the past and how political shifts often necessitate multiple and varied interpretations of history to engage with a changed present. Such a convergence of factors has been evident in relation to how the Ulster Museum in Belfast has shifted its focus in recent times.

Prior to the conclusion of the Troubles, the Ulster Museum steered clear of any engagement with the contested past. However, since the onset of peace, there has been a steady shift in focus that has dovetailed with the emerging political and public consensus around the need to engage with the past in order to build a shared future. As a result, there has been a steady increase in the number of public-facing projects that have not shied away from dealing with potentially difficult and divisive debates. This was exemplified by the Museum's "Decade of Centenaries" programme, which sought to deepen the investigation of the collection to better reflect the diversity of experiences and broaden out perspectives to take on more critical and nuanced interpretations than those that typically dominate narratives (Blair, 2016: 181-204). Importantly, this shift has also involved close collaboration with academics who have advised on content and helped strengthen opportunities

for public engagement. Such an approach has become established and continues to inform interpretative planning within the Museum. This is demonstrated by the "Collecting the Troubles and Beyond" project, funded by the UK Heritage Lottery Fund,[6] that aims to widen the scope of the collection through greater academic and community engagement and ensure that the collection can be used to support a full and inclusive narrative (Kelly, 2017: 26-29). One sub-element of this extensive project has been focused on the question of Northern Ireland's 1968 and is indicative of how the application of such an approach can provide an effective response to the challenges facing Northern Ireland in confronting and overcoming the legacy of its difficult and contested past.

Northern Ireland's 1968

The year of 1968 has become a byword for a longer period of time stretching from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, when a wave of revolt swept the globe (Caute, 1988; Fraser, 1988; Jameson, 1984; Katsiaficas, 1987). From the USA to China, passing through the east and west of Europe, this was a time in which protest movements that shared striking commonalities took hold, posing serious difficulties for the regimes in place and marking significant turning points for each nation involved. Studies of this period have proliferated over the years as the significance of these events has become evident (Frei, 2008; Gassert and Klimke, 2009; Gildea, Mark, and Warring, 2013; Tismaneanu, 2011; Von der Goltz, 2011). There has been a real drive to try to make sense of what happened, why and what it all has meant. Initially, and logically, such studies focused on national paradigms as activists and academics fuelled a genuine attempt to make sense of what took place and as a result laid down strong foundations of how this period would go on to be remembered and discussed at national level. However, there has also been a recognition of the transnational nature of this period of protest. Even at the time, there was a sense amongst activists that they were part of something that extended well beyond their national borders. Interest in this transnationalism has been building slowly with increasing recognition that making sense of any national revolt is predicated on couching it within its rather exceptional international context. This trend came to a head in particular on the 40th anniversary of the events in 2008 with a marked increase in interest in the international aspect of this period (Crane and Muellner, 2008; De Groot, 2008; Førland, 2008). Since then, studies have continued to emerge where the international focus is pronounced and one can safely foresee a consolidation of this trend as we head towards the 50th-anniversary commemorations in 2018.

As the transnationalism of this period has become better understood, notable has been the marked increase in the number of countries that have joined the roster of those having experienced a "1968". Most recently, this widening of the optic has seen studies extend into what could be described as peripheral nations, as well as emerging work into the experience of 1968 in overseas territories and colonies of some of those nations that have dominated the narrative around 1968 (Dramé and Lamarre, 2009; Farik, 2008; Gildea, Mark, and Warring, 2013; Klimke and Scharloth, 2008; Zancarini-Fournel, 2016: 778-865). Whilst this consolidation and extension of the transnational narrative has become anchored in the way this period is remembered, the absence of one particularly interesting "1968" has continued to surprise. In the plethora of material examining this period from a transnational perspective, it is very rare to see any that include the story of Northern Ireland's 1968 (for example, see Cornilis and Waters, 2010; Dreyfus-Armand, 2008; Fink, Gassert and Junker, 1998; Caute, 1988). It would be no exaggeration to state that Northern Ireland has been absent or marginalised from the transnational narrative of this period. One could be forgiven for believing that such an absence is due to the fact that nothing of any significance took place. Alternatively, it could be assumed that, if anything did take place, it must have

been so different to what was experienced elsewhere that no case can be made for it to be included. In both instances, there are strong counter-arguments. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Northern Irish history will know that the period in question was hugely significant in determining the future of this troubled province. Furthermore, there is a very strong case for what did happen to be considered in the same breath as experiences elsewhere at this time.

In Northern Ireland, the year 1968 saw the beginning of a very important and serious period of protest that shared many similarities with experiences around the world at this time. As it has been argued in much greater detail elsewhere, whether it is in terms of the context, the make-up of protestors involved, the forms of action employed, the language of protest or the recognition of the international wave of revolt, one can quite easily make a case for Northern Ireland to be compared to, or considered part of, revolts experienced in the likes of Paris, Berlin or Rome (Reynolds, 2015). It is very true that Northern Ireland at this time could be considered as having a very particular set of circumstances which could strengthen the argument that it was a case apart. The Northern Irish context at this time, and in particular the tensions emanating from the long history of conflict between Britain and Ireland that had set up a very specific context there, by the 1960s, could lead one to suggest that we are dealing with something so different that in no way should what happened be considered as similar to elsewhere. It is argued here that such an analysis is incorrect and does not explain why Northern Ireland has been absent. One can take the example of any country having experienced a "1968" and quite easily draw out national specificities that could arguably set them apart. However, this is missing the point about how the transnational nature of 1968 should be understood. This period opened up the possibility for all nations to tap into the particular context or zeitgeist to challenge their particular status quos (Prince, 2013: 162; Reynolds, 2017: 638). Each nation had its own issues to be dealt with, and their various demands for change were different. However, that does not prevent them from being compared to one another and certainly does not inhibit the identification of commonalities that has allowed for the emergence of a consensus that this was indeed a period of transnational revolt. Other countries had their particular set of circumstances, and yet they are included on the growing list of nations considered as having been part of the wave of international revolt. That Northern Ireland has been absent is not due to the fact that it did not experience a "1968". The explanation can be found in what took place in the ensuing years that has meant the memory of this period has become buried, thus marginalising it from the transnational narrative.

The onset of the Troubles in the aftermath of Northern Ireland's 1968 saw the beginning of a period of terrible, sectarian violence that would last for 30 years and result in the death of over 3,000 people (Thornton, Kelters, Feeney and McKittrick, 2004). As a result, the post-68 trajectory of Northern Ireland was so very different from elsewhere that its story was understandably marginalised from the way in which this period was and is considered from an international perspective. Generally speaking, a certain degree of consensus has emerged over the years around the notion that 1968 marked a positive turning point for those nations having experienced such a revolt. It has become recognised as a progressive, watershed moment when nations took a positive step forward. This has resulted in this period, almost immediately, being one that has been celebrated, feted with a sense of pride for anyone involved. This was not the case in Northern Ireland, where, for two specific reasons, those involved did not become involved in laying down the foundations of how this period should be remembered. Firstly, with the onset of violence in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s and early 1970s, there were no grounds for anyone to celebrate what had happened in 1968. In fact, it even became dangerous for those involved to associate themselves with this period of

protest. Furthermore, as the Troubles endured and worsened with the death toll spiralling, there even emerged a certain sense of guilt on behalf of some elements of those involved. It is, without a doubt, true that no one who participated in Northern Ireland's 1968 set out to trigger the nightmare that was the Troubles. However, the fact that violence did take hold in its aftermath left many wondering whether or not their approach was the right thing (Reynolds, 2015: 172-76). This has been key in setting the memory of Northern Ireland's 1968 on a different path. Northern Ireland had a "1968". However, its very divergent post-68 trajectory has meant that it has been marginalised and even forgotten, from both within and without (Reynolds, forthcoming).

The good news is that *The Times They Are a-Changin*'. With the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and the ensuing peace process, it is the case that the context in Northern Ireland today is very different. One of the consequences of this context of peace is that perspectives on the past, as explained above, not only are an extremely important part of securing Northern Ireland's future but also opportunities to revisit important periods in the recent history with a view to offering alternative interpretations and understandings.

Northern Ireland's 1968 at the Ulster Museum

Following the publication of Reynolds' *Sous les pavés… The Troubles: Northern Ireland, France and the European Collective Memory of 1968* in 2015, a study which develops in detail the thesis outlined in the section above, a collaboration was initiated between the author and William Blair of the Ulster Museum in Belfast. Initial contact was made with a view to discussing the Museum's then very insular and minimal coverage of the period comprised by the study. As part of the new approach outlined above, and in particular the "Collecting the Troubles and Beyond" project, there was both an opportunity and a desire to reconsider the Museum's approach to this period. In particular, the more general shift towards broadening perspectives being employed throughout the Museum met with the objectives of the study. As a result, a three-stage and ongoing project began that offers a potent insight into the encounter between the academic and the Museum, the potential for Museums to make a difference in handling contested/difficult pasts and the role of institutions, such as the Ulster Museum, in contributing to the ongoing peace process in Northern Ireland.

Stage one of the project entailed an initial intervention to make minor changes to the existing material that covered the period of Northern Ireland's 1968. Following a number of meetings and discussions between Reynolds and Blair, a series of subtle adjustments were made to the section pertaining to this period. In particular, a number of quotations and new additions sought to emphasise the international aspect that had been so absent until this point. Such minimal adjustments successfully opened up the perspective and, as a minimum, encouraged visitor to consider more directly the influence of the international context on the events that took place in Northern Ireland at this time. The success of this initial collaboration led to stage two of the project, linked to much more substantial changes and an innovative approach to how this period would be handled.

This second stage would see a more extensive reconsideration of the section of the permanent gallery dedicated to the period of Northern Ireland's 1968. Alongside the sourcing of new objects that enriched the story of this period and helped underscore the international aspect, so central to the thesis underpinning the project, it was decided that some emphasis should be placed on capturing the stories of the major protagonists of the time. The centrality of oral history to the initial study met with the emerging emphasis on establishing an Oral History Archive as part of the Stormont House Agreement of 2014, and led to

such testimonies becoming the centrepiece of the newly-developed display. A number of protagonists from the period were interviewed in a recording studio. Their testimonies were video-recorded, edited and compiled together based on a number of key themes related to the objects in the exhibition. An interactive touch table now sits in the gallery and allows visitors to learn more about the objects via contextual information provided by Reynolds and then personal reflections from protagonists from the time. Extended versions of the videos are also to be made available on the Museum's YouTube channel for those wishing to extend their investigations. Before the opening of this next section of the gallery, the material was subject to a rigorous external evaluation that provided valuable feedback on issues such as balance, context and improvements required. The published report of this evaluation offers up a very rich insight into the challenges of dealing with such difficult moments in the past.[7] One further, and very important, aspect of this second stage has been the hosting of a number of study days with local school students. As the period in question is now studied as part of the GCSE curriculum [General Certificate of Secondary Education] in Northern Ireland, we were approached and conceived a study day that would help encourage students of GCSE history, from a range of schools, to engage with the Museum's coverage of this period. Schools were sent the videos of protagonists' testimonies in advance of the study day when they would visit the galleries, have a number of lectures and take part in a Q&A session with a selection of those interviewed for the project. Students and teachers were then asked to provide feedback, which, like the evaluation, has been extremely useful in looking forward to the third and final stage of the project.

The year 2018 will mark the 50th anniversary of 1968 and in Northern Ireland (like elsewhere) this will undoubtedly lead to a huge surge in interest in this period. Such commemorations have become increasingly important in the process of shaping collective memories and offer up opportunities to examine the development of dominant narratives (*cf*. for example, Bodnar, 1992: 13; Gildea, 1994: 10; Gills, 1996: 5; Nora, 1998: 611). However, instead of simply observing this process from without, the third stage of our project aims, in fact, to contribute to it via a multifaceted, national programme of events to mark this 50th anniversary. The programme will be built around an extended exhibition that will draw further on protagonists' testimonies and objects from the period. This exhibition will be launched in a temporary space at the Ulster Museum, before travelling to other museums, cultural centres and libraries around Northern Ireland. Alongside the exhibition, we have commissioned a set of educational resources that will aim to formalise the approach to our study days through the provision of activities for before, during and after a museum visit. These resources will be provided to schools online and hard copies will be made available, with the aim of drawing together the Museum's approach to Northern Ireland's 1968 with the needs of the curriculum. One final aspect of the 50th-anniversary commemoration will be an academic conference that not only will bring together researchers to discuss this period but will also involve the participation of former activists.

The ongoing developments outlined above in relation to the Ulster Museum's approach to Northern Ireland's 1968 speak volumes about the success of the collaboration between Reynolds and Blair. The next section of the paper will evaluate the specific factors that have contributed to the success of the project and how the lessons learned from this case study can be applied elsewhere.

Why does it work?

The Ulster Museum project on 1968 is particularly interesting in the lessons it teaches about the specific challenges of Northern Ireland's difficult past. As the initiatives of the "Decade of Centenaries" and the Stormont House Agreement have demonstrated, there is clearly a will to tackle these challenges in a well thought-out and informed way. There has also been a recognition of a series of pre-requisites that must be met in order for this task to be a success. In 2016, a

group of historians met for a workshop on the Stormont House Agreement, where they compiled a response outlining what they felt was required in order for it to be a success.[8] Here we can see some particularly pertinent overlap with the 1968 project and the approach undertaken.

Firstly, the report discusses the importance of bridging the gap between scholarly research and the public. For example, it argues that the proposed Oral History Archive "**offers a potentially important means of bridging scholarly understanding and wider public engagement with history**." Such a closing of the gap is required as it is argued that there is a very important role to be played by academic research in engaging the public via the depth of research that already exists and will continue to be produced:

> **"It should be noted at the outset that many of the difficulties Northern Ireland faces in dealing with its past do not derive from deficiencies in academic understanding of the Troubles. The problem is rather the strength with which partisan narratives are held by the public and, in many cases, promoted by political actors invested in one-sided interpretations of the conflict**."

The 1968 project taps into two aspects of this. Firstly, the encounter between Blair and Reynolds is a fine example of how this gap can be bridged. The academic research underpinning Reynolds' work on this period has been taken on board, developed and translated into direct impact in the public sphere through the development of the galleries as explained above and the various projects connected with it. Secondly, the emphasis on oral history is particularly noteworthy in the workshop report. For example:

> "Storytelling and oral history initiatives have long been acknowledged as an important and distinctive element of peacebuilding and reconciliation. **In the absence of a formal truth and information recovery commission, academic and community oral history and 'storytelling' projects have provided an important outlet for victims and survivors**. [...] Providing opportunities to hear other voices can ultimately contribute to the complex work of reconciliation."

The methodological approach that underpins Reynolds' research focuses heavily on oral history. As outlined above, this has been an important consideration in the ongoing developments of the galleries, in particular via the use of filmed interviews and the interactive touch-table that allows for a range of voices to be heard.

The report also heavily emphasises the need for independence for those involved: "**This process is to be conducted with sensitivity and rigorous intellectual integrity, devoid of any political interference."** This is a particularly interesting and important point not only from a general perspective but also in relation to the specific Northern Irish context. It is clear that there exists a certain distrust towards politicians amongst the general public. Such distrust can be connected to a more general trend of disillusionment and apathy towards the world of elite politics. One of the logical consequences of this, of particular interest for us here, is the fact that such distrust extends towards the interference of politicians in how we should remember the past. If we then take this and map it into the Northern Irish context, it becomes obvious that this distrust is heightened even further. Given the difficulties of the past there, one can easily comprehend the continuation of divisions within Northern Irish society. As the workshop report outlines, politicians in some cases have been responsible for perpetuating such divisions. It is therefore without surprise that the general public in Northern Ireland has its reservations about projects on how to deal with the past that are driven by politicians. This is where the encounter between museums and academics, as exemplified by the 1968 project, fills a void through the creation of a space where the general public can and does have confidence in the integrity of the material being produced.[9]

The coming together of the academic rigour and independence of Reynolds' research into 1968 and the Ulster Museum's independence and drive for an inclusive representation of the past has led to the creation of a project that has evidently garnered trust from those that have come into contact with it. For example, the collaboration with those involved in curriculum design in order to host study days and commission educational resources is evidence of the museum's privileged position as an institution of authority that can be trusted to provide the balanced and objective view required for the world of education. Also, the desire on behalf of protagonists from the period to give up their time to be interviewed, donate objects and even participate in study days says something about the credibility they afford to the museum, the academic research and the subsequent project. One final example concerns the external evaluation carried out on the gallery material prior to its launch. The general feedback was extremely positive in terms of the content and the overall approach. This was underscored by the enthusiasm and interest that was in evidence in the manner with which the various workshops engaged with the material and the evaluation process. This was particularly true in the case of one participant who felt that his own story of the time was absent and then offered to be interviewed as part of the next iteration of the project.

Overall then, and as argued above, the Ulster Museum project on Northern Ireland's 1968 dovetails with the recommendations that have emanated from work around the 2014 Stormont House Agreement. By tapping into the need to bridge the gap between rigorous, independent academic research and the public-facing nature of the museum, this project demonstrates the success of such an encounter. The space that emerges helps fill the void created by the general distrust towards politicians having a role in determining how the past should be remembered. As a result, there is a certain degree of comfort for stakeholders and the general public to engage with such a project, with all the benefits that ensue.

Conclusion

The lessons to be taken from the success of this project can be applied to the development of (new) approaches to dealing with the legacy of the past in the specific Northern Irish context. However, it is argued that there are also potentially useful lessons for other areas dealing with such contested and conflicting pasts. The characteristics that underpin the 1968 project, as detailed in the previous section, provide a blueprint for dealing with other such pivotal moments in Northern Ireland's recent past. The focus on translating independent scholarly research into engaging and innovative museum content evidently creates a potent space where the challenges of taking on Northern Ireland's difficult past can be met head-on. The encounter between academic and curator has, in this case, enabled a strong focus on the construction of an inclusive perspective that broadens the optic beyond the insularism that, all too often, has defined how the past is considered in Northern Ireland. The emphasis on oral history is particularly significant as it feeds into this 'widening' through the engagement of people from across the community and, importantly, the inclusion of hitherto untold stories. Finally, the connection to public outreach – through study days, educational resources, conferences and debates – consolidates and strengthens the potential for such projects to have an impact and actually make a difference. There are currently long-term plans in place to take the methodological blueprint of the 1968 project and apply it to how the Ulster Museum continues its development of the "Collecting the Troubles and Beyond" project. If such an approach can prove to be successful within the very challenging and difficult context of the current situation in Northern Ireland, there is certainly scope to argue that it could also be applied in other areas grappling with how to deal with such contested histories.

Notes

1 Too many studies of the troubled history of Northern Ireland exist to be all cited. Some particularly useful starting points would include Hennessey, 1997; McKittrick and McVea, 2001; Patterson, 2007; Wichert, 1991.

2 ***http://www.assemblyresearchmatters.org/2016/09/22/dealing-with-the-past-in-northern-ireland/***

3 ***http://www.community-relations.org.uk/programmes/marking-anniversaries/***

4 ***https://www.gov.uk/government/news/first-world-war-commemorations-and-the-decade-of-centenaries***

5 ***https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-stormont-house-agreement***

6 ***https://www.hlf.org.uk/looking-funding/our-grant-programmes/collecting-cultures***

7 "Evaluation of 1968 research and interpretation re Collecting the Troubles and Beyond at the Ulster Museum", carried out by Social Research Centre, 28th of December, 2016.

8 ***http://irishhistoriansinbritain.org/?p=321***

9 ***http://www.museumsassociation.org/download?id=954916*****;** ***http://www.museumsassociation.org/news/03042013-public-attitudes-research-published***

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CONTESTED URBAN HISTORIES: SOME EMERGING THEMES AND APPROACHES

HISTORIAS URBANAS IMPUGNADAS: ALGUNOS TEMAS Y ENFOQUES EMERGENTES

ELKA WEINSTEIN

Treasurer, ICOM Canada
Canada

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THE CITY OF TORONTO MUSEUM

EL MUSEO DE LA CIUDAD DE TORONTO

ABSTRACT

A Museum of the City of Toronto has been proposed, at least, since 1930. Mayors, city councillors and directors of various cultural organisations in Toronto have presented the idea as a necessity for a "world class" city, yet Toronto still does not have a museum that represents its citizenry. Presented as one of the most culturally diverse cities in the western world, Toronto is home to at least one person from every country around the globe. Why, then, are we seemingly unable to agree on a way of presenting that globalism and its history?

My investigation of the City of Toronto's Historic Site Museums, and of two museums that hope to become the City of Toronto's Civic Museum, will examine these questions and will look at how the official history of the city itself has impeded the creation of a City Museum for Toronto.

Key words

Toronto, civic museum, cultural diversity, multiculturalism

RESUMEN

Se ha propuesto un museo para la ciudad de Toronto desde 1930. Alcaldes, concejales, y directores de diversas organizaciones culturales han presentado la idea como una necesidad de una ciudad 'clase mundial', sin embargo, Toronto sigue sin tener un museo que represente a su ciudadanía. Nombrada como una de las ciudades con mayor diversidad cultural en Occidente, la ciudad alberga al menos una persona de cada país de todo el mundo. Entonces ¿por qué no nos ponemos de acuerdo para encontrar una forma de presentar su historia cosmopolita?

Dos nuevos museos se han creado recientemente en Toronto que podrían ser el inicio de la formación de un museo de ciudad.Mi investigación sobre los museos en marcha de la vieja ciudad de Toronto y los museos recientes podrán analizar estas preguntas cuestionarán cómo la historia oficial de la ciudad ha impedido la creación de un museo de ciudad en Toronto.

Palabras clave

Toronto, museo cívico, diversidad cultural, multiculturalismo

INTRODUCTION

A museum of the city of Toronto has been proposed, at least, since 1930. Mayors, city councillors and directors of various cultural organisations in Toronto have presented the idea as a necessity for a "world class" city, yet Toronto still does not have a museum that represents its citizenry. Presented as one of the most culturally diverse cities in the western world, Toronto is home to at least one person from every country around the globe. Why then, are we seemingly unable to agree on a way of presenting that globalism and its history?

The City of Toronto, 2017.
© Slava Zelenin

Teiaiagon was the original Mississauga Indian name for the village on the shores of Lake Ontario, but the Mohawk also called it Tkaronto, or *the place where the trees stand in the water.* In 1787, the British negotiated the purchase of more than a quarter million acres (about 1,000 km²) of land in the Toronto area with the Mississaugas. The site for the Town of York was chosen by Governor John Graves Simcoe on the 29th of July, 1793, as the new capital of the newly organised province of Upper Canada.

The story of the Museum of the City of Toronto started in 1930, when city officials began to think about how the new civic society, born out of the Great Depression, could be represented to its citizens. Toronto was rapidly industrialising, and those who constituted Toronto establishment (who were mainly of British origin) began to think of themselves as patrons of the arts, and also began to think about how their history should be represented to the growing population of the city.

Toronto's population in 2016 was of 3 million people, making it the most populous city in North America after New York City and Los Angeles. Toronto is the centre of the Greater Toronto Area (GTA), the most populous metropolitan area in Canada, and anchors an urbanised region that is home to 9.2 million people, or over 26% of the population of Canada. Toronto is one of the most multicultural cities in the world.

Toronto's historic sites

The city of Toronto has a number of historic sites, which have been preserved as museums. These are managed by the Culture Division of the City of Toronto, which is attached to the Division of Economic Development. The sites are scattered throughout the city of Toronto and its adjoining suburbs, and are somewhat isolated from the city's main thoroughfares. Most of the sites date from the mid-1800s and are a legacy of the early British settlement in the area.
Very few of the City of Toronto's historic sites are more than 200 years old. All of these places were created by the British settlers of Upper Canada, and have been preserved in their memory.

The suburban sites of the City of Toronto were included in the City of Toronto's Historic Sites mandate with the city's amalgamation in 1998.
The small historic sites in downtown Toronto are supported by the City of Toronto but they are not managed by the City. Campbell House is managed by a Law Society, Toronto's First Post Office by the Town of York Historical Society, and Casa Loma, one of Toronto's biggest tourist attractions, is currently operated by a private company. Casa Loma has also been proposed as a possible site for the Museum of the City of Toronto.

Possible sites for the Museum of the City of Toronto
The Canada Malting Silos at Harbourfront were proposed as a possible site for the Museum of the City of Toronto in the 1990s, but the idea was quickly rejected. The site would have required a great deal of renovation and clever architectural repurposing, all of which would have been expensive.

Old City Hall – site of the proposed City Museum of Toronto.

Staircase designed by Frank Gehry for the Art Gallery of Ontario. © Slava Zelenin, 2017

The two Toronto city halls, old and new, can be seen on two sides of the central plaza of Toronto – Nathan Phillips Square. The original Old City Hall, designed and built by Edward James Lennox in 1899, houses the Ontario Court of Justice, whose lease runs out in 2021. This is the building that has most recently been proposed as the new home for a City Museum of Toronto.

Nathan Phillips Square is small – only 12 acres, and was designed by Viljo Revell, the architect of New City Hall, in 1965. The square includes a large Toronto sign, a skating rink, a farmers market in the summer, and a few fountains and sculptures.

Unlike past proposals for a civic museum, which envisioned sites like the Old City Hall and the Canada Malting Silos as a permanent space, *Myseum* exists only as an online presence (including Facebook and Twitter) and through pop-up events. The Toronto Ward Museum is also a contender for a City Museum for Toronto. It is also a "museum without walls" but represents the downtown neighbourhood of Toronto in the area where the City Hall and Nathan Phillips Square now stand. The Ward was the home of refugees from all over the world – the Irish, the Underground Railroad, and from Russia and Eastern Europe. It was the centre of the city's Jewish community, and was also the home of the city's original Chinatown. Italian, Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and numerous other immigrants first established themselves in The Ward.

So why doesn't Toronto have a civic museum?
It is possible that the very Canadian idea of "multiculturalism" works against the proposition that a single museum can represent all of Toronto. Or perhaps the time for the idea of the "Museum of Toronto" has passed. Perhaps we now need museums that tell the stories of individuals who **live** in Toronto.

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WHOSE HISTORY IN THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY?

¿DE QUIÉN ES LA HISTORIA EN EL MUSEO DE HISTORIA?

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ABSTRACT

Taiwan is a multicultural country. The population of its capital city, Taipei, is the result of various immigration waves over time. In this article, I will begin to describe its complicated history, and discuss the exhibition at the National Museum of History (NMH), using it as an example. The recent exhibition is reasonably far from the cultural context and ordinary history but enkindles nostalgia for a specific Chinese class in Taiwan.

Not only should a curator interpret objects but also sustain the local cultural memory. In the following exhibition plan, a series of Taipei story exhibitions are proposed. Taipei may not be considerably geographically objective, but the city evokes personal interpretations and imaginations. Exhibitions, allowing people from different backgrounds to convey the concealed, unspoken and contested memories from their personal perspectives not only will help them discover their own identity but also help others understand those in the museum and in Taipei.

Key words

Taipei, local memory, empathy, audience participation, history museum

RESUMEN

Taiwán es un país multicultural. Su capital, Taipei, fue el punto de llegada de varias inmigantes que se convierteron en parte de la ciudad. En este texto, mostraré la historia compleja y luego pasaré a la discusión la exposición en el Museo Nacional de Historia (MNH) como un ejemplo. La muestra está bastante lejos del contexto cultural y la historia de la cotidianidad, aunque despierta la nostalgia de una clase china específica en Taiwán.

Un curador no sólo interpreta una pieza, sino que además mantiene la memoria cultural local. En el siguiente plan de exhibición, una muestra de cuentos de Taipei son mostrados. La ciudad puede no ser considerada de manera geográfica, pero ciertamente evoca la interpretación y la imaginación personal. Permite a las personas de diferentes contextos y orígenes expresar lo oculto, lo que no está dicho, así como las memorias impugnadas desde sus propias perspectivas, que no sólo les ayudará a descubrir su propia identidad sino también ayudará a otras personas a entender las memorias e identidades encontradas en el museo e Taipei.

Palabras clave

Taipei, memoria local, empatía, participación del público, museo de história

INTRODUCTION

History consists of objective facts that are also stories with personal interpretations and emotions. Sometimes, we may see a simple narrative in historical exhibitions at museums. However, does the context of the exhibition truly reflect the authenticity of the history, the place, or the people? This question is relevant to Taiwan, a small multicultural country. Its capital, Taipei, has been populated by various immigrant communities over time. Among these immigrants we find indigenous, the Han Chinese from the Guangzhou and Fujian provinces in China, the Spanish, Dutch, Japanese and a million inhabitants and soldiers who followed the Kuomintang (KMT) government from mainland China. Moreover, new residents are coming to Taiwan because of transnational marriages. The authentic history of the city is complicated. Cooperation, competition and sacrifice between different groups emerged with the development of the city.

In this article, I will begin to describe the complicated history and then discuss the exhibition at the National Museum of History (NMH) in Taiwan as an example. The NMH was established in 1955 by the KMT government. Under this political influence, the narrative in the exhibition seems to be simple and far from the current life in Taiwan. The museum mostly exhibits valuable artefacts, such as ceramics, bronze items and porcelains from China, which are used to illustrate Chinese history. The exhibition is reasonably far from the cultural context and ordinary history but enkindles nostalgia for a specific Chinese class in Taiwan.

In response to the shortage of facilities, all of them outdated, the museum will be refurbished in the next two years. By chance, a series of Taipei story exhibitions will be proposed. Taipei may not be considerably geographically objective but evokes personal interpretations, and relies on imagination to create a new exhibition, which may allow people from different backgrounds to convey the concealed, unspoken and contested memories from their personal perspectives. Doing so not only will help them discover their own identity but also help others understand their happiness, sorrow and nostalgia. By visiting the exhibition, museum guests can experience empathy, they are able to empathise with the same feelings and pass through the same historical period. A new exhibition that enables people to talk about their old Taipei experiences and understand each other's personalities can improve the Museum through local support and attract more visitors.

Brief history of Taipei

Taiwan is a country that is characterised by the coming together of multiple cultures in East Asia. The culture of this country is intertwined with the Chinese, Japanese and Southeastern Asian cultures because of its location and history. The population of the capital, Taipei, is the result of various immigration waves over time. Located in the northern part of Taiwan, Taipei is the basin of an ancient lakebed bound by the two relatively narrow valleys of the Keelung and Xindian rivers, which join to form the Tamsui River along the city's western border. Furthermore, the Tatun volcano group provides hot springs and sulfur resources in the northern part of Taipei. With its wealth of natural resources, Taipei is a great place where many people migrate to in order to find work. Taipei formerly known as Taipeh-fu during the Qing era and the Taihoku under Japanese rule, became the capital of the Taiwan Province within the Republic of China (ROC) in 1945, and then the capital of the ROC since the KMT lost the mainland to the communists after the Chinese Civil War. As of 2016, the city is home to an estimated population of 2.69 million people. Moreover, Taipei is now a modern and global city. However, to understand the city in depth and deal with the conflict, we should still look back to the path we have taken.

The recorded history of Taipei can be traced back to 1709 during, the Chinese Han settlement in the Taipei Basin. However, this does not mean that the history of Taipei is short. In fact, prehistoric archaeological heritage shows that, from early 5000 BC to 2700 BC, people had settled in this area to live by hunting and gathering stone tools. Approximately 4,800 years ago, the Yuanshan culture developed a primitive agriculture and livestock feeding. Way back, 2,000 years ago, the people who lived in Shihsanhang were already involved in iron-making and trade with other islanders. In the later period of Shihsanhang, people made simple clothes and their architectural structures were similar to the indigenous people's houses.

Prior to the significant influence of Han Chinese immigrants, the region of Taipei Basin was mostly inhabited by the indigenous Ketagalan people. In the past, they lived with their own tribe and followed their own cultural customs. However, when other immigrants and state apparatus came into the island, things changed. From the 15th to the 18th century, in a period known as the Age of Discovery, European countries came to Asia in search of new resources. In 1626, the Spaniards invaded Tamsui, which was already an important port in northern Taipei, and built a castle as a trade and missionary point. In 1642, the Dutch[1] defeated the Spanish, taking over all the strongholds and then conducted their own trade and missionary works. Around this time, many indigenous people interacted with these foreigners. Some exchanged sulfur, leather and various crops with them, and some changed their religion from the traditional one to Catholicism or Christianity. Sadly, some tribes were attacked and vanquished. In 1661, however, the Koxinga[2] defeated the Dutch and assigned soldiers to guard the Tamsui area.

The number of Han immigrants gradually increased in the early 18th century, mainly as a result of the migration from the Fujian and Guangdong provinces. At the time, due to the lack of resources in China, many Hokkien and Hakka people from these two provinces went to other places such as Singapore and Taiwan to survive. Under the Qing Dynasty, only single men could come to Taiwan for work; thus, many Han Chinese married local indigenous women, which influenced the cultural interaction and even resulted in assimilation.

Han Chinese paved the way to the development by building water reservoirs, extending agricultural works, establishing villages and developing overseas trade. Due to the booming overseas trade and development, many townships such as Bangka, Dalongdong, Twatutia, Shilin and Chengnei flourished and evolved with multiple cultures and left a precious cultural heritage. In other words, the history of Taipei can indicate that immigrants played more important roles in development than the government during the Qing Dynasty. Following their living habits in their hometown, most of them lived with people from the same county and worked in the same field such as business, agriculture and fishing, among others. They kept their homeland customs and religions. People helped only those who came from their village, and they defended one another. In those days, different groups fought for territory, resources, religion, benefit, or power. Battles occurred between the Chinese and the indigenous people, or between the Hakka and Hokkien people among the Han Chinese, or even the Tongan, Huian, and Sanyi among the Hokkien people. Every fight not only caused serious deaths and influenced the territory of each group but also developed Taipei. Meanwhile, they also helped or cooperated with others. The boundaries between groups were flexible and entangled.

In 1880, the Qing government announced that the prefecture of Taipei would be set in the city. In the 19th century, a series of architectural elements were introduced by the Qing government such as the city wall, the Prefect's *yamen* and the Temple of Confucius. In addition, a portion of the land was reorganised for

official purposes. Furthermore, an electrical power system was developed, and a railway from Keelung to Taipei, which was the earliest railroad system in China, was built. At the time, Taipei was considered as the most modern city in China.
After the First Sino–Japanese War, Japan acquired Taiwan, in 1895, under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. Taiwan became a colony of the Empire of Japan. The Japanese governor had different plans and views on Taipei. In 1905, an urban plan was implemented with the aim to create a city that could contain 150,000 people. The Japanese government destroyed the old Taipei city gate and a traditional temple to extend the city's borders. They reorganized the road and water systems, which created the base of the modern city. Furthermore, they wiped out old customs, traditional villages and cultural heritage. From 1919, the Japanese governor requested children to go to school and learn Japanese. Until the 1930s, school attendance was approximately 70%. In other words, Taiwanese children started to learn Japanese and officially adopted Japanese culture. Furthermore, the Japanese governor started to promote official weights and measures, Western styles and Shinto beliefs. In less than a decade after the recession, Taipei was one of the few places in the island that had already gone from a thoroughly Chinese appearance to a thoroughly Japanese city in every respect.

The Japanese urban plan also seriously influenced the population distribution and development of Taipei. Different from the Qing dynasty, people lived within their own villages. Population distribution changed during the Japanese colonial period. In 1932, a major urban plan was announced, which aimed to accommodate 600,000 people in Taipei, making it a large city. However, this plan also caused the separation of the Japanese and Chinese residents. The area within the city walls where modern facilities, hospitals and schools were located was mainly occupied by Japanese officials and military personnel. For the distribution of industry, mainly in the district of Taiwan, for example, iron-based operations were located in the periphery of Twatutia, while the food industry, especially tea production, was located in centre of Twatutia and the chemical industry was located in the southern part of Monga.

The Second Sino-Japanese War was a military conflict between the Republic of China (ROC) and the Empire of Japan from 1937 to 1945. Although Taipei was not directly implicated, it was still affected by the war; all the infrastructures and ongoing constructions of Taipei City became stagnant. Furthermore, many Taiwanese were forced to fight as Japanese soldiers against the Chinese which caused serious identity harm.

Upon the Japanese defeat in the Pacific War, following the Japanese submission in 1945, the control of Taiwan was handed to the Republic of China. Subsequently, a temporary Office of the Taiwan Province Administrative Governor was established in Taipei City. As the Governor was unfamiliar with the Taiwanese, the office implemented many biased policies causing discrimination, inflation and serious unemployment problems. With high dissatisfaction, the Taiwanese conducted a revolution called the 28th of February Incident. Unfortunately, instead of rationally listening to the people's voice, the Executive Taiwan Province Administrative Governor massacred the protestors, causing widespread death, panic and anger. The number of Taiwanese deaths was estimated to be 10,000. The massacre marked the beginning of the White Terror, a period during which tens of thousands of Taiwanese went missing, died, or were imprisoned, causing confrontation and conflict between the local Taiwanese and the mainlanders (who came to Taiwan with the ROC government).

Two years later, after losing mainland China to the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War, the ruling KMT relocated the ROC government to Taiwan

and declared Taipei as the provisional capital of the ROC in December 1949. Simultaneously, millions of mainlanders migrated to Taiwan with the KMT. Most of them were soldiers or people who were forced to become soldiers. The government organised and built many dependent villages for these soldiers and their families. These people had different backgrounds and speech tones but had to live together in dependent villages.

These villages were usually crowded and simple. People from different provinces with various cultural habits lived together because they believed that these houses were only temporary and that they could return to mainland China soon after. However, nothing turned out as planned. The people did not have the chance to go home. Instead, they stayed in Taiwan. Some of them married Taiwanese women, and the interaction and acculturation resulted in a more colourful culture in Taiwan.

Taipei expanded greatly in the decades after 1949, in two aspects: population and territory. The city's population exceeded two million by the mid-1970s. Taipei became one of the world's most densely populated urban areas. After the 1990s, two decades after the construction of the urban underground railway traffic, fast roads and the early Taipei MRT network, such as bus lanes, had yet to be completed to a considerable extent, in order to relieve the pressure on traffic. A few years into the 21st century, though disasters and incidents and other major livelihood threatening events occurred, Taipei city was not greatly affected.

For the purposes of expansion and development, the eastern part of Taipei became its new central business district, instead of old districts such as Monga, Twatutia and Shilin. In addition, Taipei has continued to construct a more convenient environment that emphasises on humanities and education. Furthermore, in a more open public conceptualism, the city has gradually established services for the people and set diverse goals toward its development. On the other hand, while actively developing internationalisation, Taipei began to confer cognitive and cultural value to the traditional architecture. Most of the old buildings were destroyed or replaced as a result of modernisation and new developments. These old houses were destroyed and the local people were forced to move out to make room for development. Therefore, balancing between preserving the old cultural memory and developing the city rapidly became a serious task.

After the 1990s, more and more people, usually women, obtained Taiwanese nationality through transnational marriage or other reasons. After the indigenous, the Hokkien, the Hakka people and the mainland Chinese, these are called the new immigrants, belonging to a fifth group. For the record, the number of new immigrants is over 700,000 people, accounting for more than 3% of Taiwan's population. Most of them came from Southeast Asian countries such as Vietnam, Indonesia, Thailand and the Philippines. These people bring the customs and culture of their home countries. Everyone came to Taipei with their own story and language. However, the city has discriminated them. They cannot freely use their native language and culture because of the invisible pressure coming from family and society. They have worked hard to learn Mandarin or Taiwanese, but became silent in public.

The history of Taipei is complicated. Each culture influences the other. In daily life, development, cooperation, competition and sacrifice emerge everywhere. The history of the city is complicated and entangled. However, to develop the city quickly, people used to hide their voice.

After 2000, the culture of Taipei has started to be noticed by common people and traditional industries. However, curators of historical museums can do more to promote the culture.

National Museum of History

The NMH could be regarded as one of the national historical museums in Taipei. It was established by the KMT government in 1955 at the Nanhai Academy. The Academy is a collection of cultural and educational institutes. After the ROC government relocated to Taiwan, facing the lack of culture and education, President Chiang Kai-shek conducted this plan to divide part of the area of Taipei Botanical Garden to establish the Academy. Besides the NMH, many new institutes were set in the area, including the National Education Radio, the National Taiwan Arts Education Centre, the Forestry Museum, and the Confucius–Mencius Society of the ROC. Interestingly, these architectures are all characterised by Chinese features. One of them even imitated the Temple of Heaven in Beijing. It is not difficult to tell the consciousness of the government and the nostalgia for China. All of the institutes were also strongly connected with traditional Chinese culture, while local culture and history were underestimated and children were not allowed to speak Taiwanese in public. Only Chinese culture could be highlighted. Evidently, the government tried to strengthen its power and authority through cultural policy at that time.

The collections of the NMH could be classified into three groups of resources. The first represents the collection from the Henan Provincial Museum in China, which was relocated to Taiwan with the KMT government. The second consists of the Chinese artefacts that were robbed by the Japanese military during the Pacific War and returned after the Sino–Japanese War. The last one includes collections acquired from collectors and local artists. The arrival of allocated artefacts and donations from private collectors gradually enriched the museum's collection and enlarged its archives. The collection includes: the bronzes unearthed in Xinzheng, Hui and Anyang in the Henan province; pre-Qin pottery unearthed in Loyang; Han green-glazed pottery; dancer and musician figurines of the Six Dynasties; Tang tri-colored pottery and other treasures.

With these precious collections, the permanent exhibitions display and highlight the collection and history of China, from the Neolithic period and the ancient Chinese dynasties Shang, Zhou, Han, Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming and Qing to the contemporary era, with precious artefacts. Despite the exhibition being quite distant from the cultural context, ordinary history, local people and young generations, it caters for the nostalgia of a specific class with elegant taste and high-class atmosphere.

However, with the changes over time, the habit and values of visiting museums have changed. In the media era, people have new expectations for the exhibitions. The need for more multimedia and interaction equipment has gradually increased.

Considering its limited space, an overall restoration of the building will be conducted to be fit for the new exhibition facilities and requirements. This will be an opportunity for the NMH to renew its public image.

Your story, our history

In my opinion, the role of public museums today should be changed from the altar of art to a field of communication. How to attract people so they become involved in the museum, and how to catch their attention are the main task of curators. The curator not only is the interpreter of objects but also the guardian of local cultural memory.

History is a kind of story. However, viewing the historical writing and power transformation, we can argue that victory creates legitimacy. Traditionally, the official historians write and interpret the history set by the king or the government.

The Mandarin idiom "the victor takes all the rights, and the loser takes all the blame" can explain the phenomena. Therefore, in traditional history, ordinary people's voices seem unimportant and are ignored. However, in the media era, we can provide another interpretation. History makes people feel cold, remote, and distant, while stories attract them. However, the authentic history could be viewed as the collection of all daily stories. Hence, trying to set an exhibition with vivid stories rather than a cold historical narrative is the idea that I would like to materialise.

I intend to emphasise the role of the curator as a storyteller, a cultural and historical guard and a good partner of local people. The exhibition plans to cooperate with various communities in Taipei, to interact with the locals, to gather their personal artefacts, to interview them about their cultural memory and to tell stories of ordinary people. The stories are composed of every single part of life, ranging from different racial groups, villages, age groups and professions. By presenting various aspects of Taipei and the city's history, the exhibition can inspire the citizens to care about the place they live in, the people they live with and the space they have occupied.

The stories of Taipei, despite not being geographically objective, are important as they contain personal interpretation and imagination. The history of the city is not a simple storyline but can be traced from various perspectives. Development is to be broken at the same time. A city may sacrifice old memory and people's rights, especially when it pursues rapid development. In the past, the sacrifices, conflicts, and dark sides were hidden. However, most of the time, people face conflicts because they do not understand one another. Instead of using power to suppress the misunderstandings, we have to open a space for people to talk. We have to let people with different backgrounds express their unspoken, hidden memories. In the past, museums only preserved physical objects, but today, with advanced equipment, museums can also preserve first-hand stories and memories.

When an artefact connects with people's memory and emotions, it is no longer a dead object but instead is a vivid evidence of history. Listening to others not only helps us holistically understand the culture but also enables others to understand their first-hand happiness, sorrow and nostalgia. By visiting the exhibition, we can put ourselves in other people's shoes and feel the same feelings as we pass through the same historical period.

In the past, the NMH was a high and fine palace that people hesitated to visit. Today, with the aim of reducing the distance between people and the museum, a friendly environment is created through the exhibition. People can speak with each other and be involved in the museum, regardless of their social class, racial group, nationality or even disability, using assistance, such as Braille, voice guides, and multilingual illustrations to increase the museum accessibility.

Taipei is a multicultural city where a museum could be placed to cultivate an understanding of culture and empathy toward others. Let us listen to others, put ourselves in someone else's shoes, share, and face the current reality of city together. Let people talk about their old Taipei and understand each other, all of which in order to create a better Taipei and museum with local people's participation. In addition, we can empower the museum and attract more visitors.

Notes

[1] Dutch East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* in Dutch).

[2] Koxinga was a Chinese Ming loyalist who resisted the Qing conquest of China in the 17th century, fighting them on China's southeastern coast. In 1661, Koxinga defeated the Dutch outposts in Taiwan and established a dynasty, which ruled Taiwan from 1661 to 1683.

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CITY MUSEUMS IN EGYPT AS PLACES OF HUMAN RESPECT

LOS MUSEOS DE LAS CIUDADES EN EGIPTO COMO LUGARES DEL RESPETO HUMANO

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ABSTRACT

The impact of city museums in Egypt is a controversial issue. These museums are shaped by evolving community values and the sense of Egyptian history. They cover the local history where their collections include objects with a local connection. The mission of any museum is to enrich community life and, in the case of city museums in Egypt, to enrich local community life. They try to link the past to the future by several procedures. The objective of this paper is to identify the impact of Egyptian city museums on their communities. The paper considers the value of city museums in Egypt by identifying the heritage that is presented therein. Also, the study will allow for better evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses inherent to the purpose. The topic is related to cultural heritage studies and management since city museums operate within cultural heritage management, which shares some of the same basic ideology. The topic is relevant to the recent trends within the field of museum studies and therefore of current interest. It touches several fundamental museological issues, for instance, questions related to the basic role of city museums, their social value and the intercultural perspective. The paper considers the cultural assets of city museums in Egypt as one of the main factors of community development; local communities in Egypt have different understandings of history, based on their background and experience. In Egypt, there are over 26 city museums, administrated by the Ministry of Antiquities. The paper analyses the city museums of northern Egypt, their nature, activities and tasks linked to their important role in helping meet not only the preservation and educational needs of a community but also its wider needs.

Key words
local history, community development, heritage, city museums, cultural assets

RESUMEN

El impacto de los museos de ciudad en Egipto es un tema polémico. Estos museos están formados a partir del cambio en los valores comunitarios y del sentido de la historia egipcia. Ellos están conformados por la evocación de piezas de origen local. La misión de los museos de ciudad en Egipto es enriquecer la vida comunitaria, tratan de vincular el pasado y el futuro por medio de distintas herramientas, el objetivo de este artículo es identificar el impacto de los museos de ciudad en Egipto con sus comunidades, este texto considera el valor de los museos de ciudad identificando el patrimonio que se presenta en estos espacios. Además, esta investigación permitirá una mejor evaluación de las fuerzas y debilidades del mismo. El tema está relacionado con el los estudios y gestión del patrimonio cultural, desde la operación del museo como parte de la gestión del patrimonio cultural que comparte elementos algunos elementos básicos de la ideología También se abordan muchos problemas básicos museológicos, por ejemplo, cuestiones relacionadas con el papel fundamental de los museos de ciudad, su valor social y la perspectiva intercultural. Asimismo, se considera que los recursos culturales de los museos de ciudad en Egipto son uno de los principales factores del desarrollo de la comunidad, además las comunidades tienen una comprensión diferente de su historia a partir de sus antecedentes personales y experiencia. En Egipto, hay más de 26 museos de ciudad que son administrados por el Ministerio de Antigüedades. También se analizan aquellos ubicados en el norte de la ciudad, debido a su naturaleza, actividades y tareas, pues no sólo satisfacen las necesidades de preservación y educación de una comunidad, sino también necesidades más amplias de la comunidad.

Palabras clave
historia local, desarrollo de la comunidad, patrimonio, museos de la ciudad, bienes culturales

INTRODUCTION

City museums are critical in the modern world; walking through their halls is walking through the history of humanity, where "visitors could gain knowledge about some aspect of the past or some specific objects, which are tangible evidence of their history" (Tohmo, 2004). At the beginning of the 19th century, museums were developed and used for educating the general public in order to civilise people and make the societies better (Bennett, 1995). Moreover, the term *museum* has come to mean "a building used for the storage and exhibition of objects relating to cultural heritage rather than the collection itself" (Woodhead, Stanfield, 1989). According to Hooper-Greenhill (2001), "the number of museums all around the globe has grown drastically during the 20th century". The same author claims that "almost every aspect of museum operation has developed, as is the case with professionalism and different specialisation within the field" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991). A museum's prime responsibility was to its collections rather than to the visitors in the early decades of the 20th century; the focus has shifted from collections care to visitor service during the last years. They should not be a storehouse but more like a workshop, and their "main function is to provide appeal and memorable museum experiences" (Kotler, 1998). The change of the museum role has been described as "a shift of focus from the collections towards the people" (Hooper-Greenhill, 1991); therefore, the educational role of museums must be considered, as education became "one of the museum's primary purposes" (Weil, 2002). In Egypt, there are several types of city museums with special nature. The city museums in Egypt are presenting the history of the Egyptian governorates, and they are extremely significant for social and economic development. These museums cover local history, and their collections normally include objects with a local connection that links visitors to a time, a place, or a phenomenon presented by the artefacts inside; they have a high potential in terms of heritage tourist attraction and are potential cultural resources. This paper explores the perception of emotional value and community engagement of city museums in Egypt, particularly the ones in the north. Evaluating the museums' overall role is not easy, especially in the case of city museums, as most of these museums are important centres of information and knowledge. However, for the communities, museums have been defined as cultural institutions for culture and enjoyment (Weil, 2002).

The impact of city museums on their communities is a controversial issue: "identifying the social impact of these museums has been one way to shift the focus from economics to the capture of a more holistic understanding of how arts and culture contribute to communities" (Reeves, 2002). According to Stone (2001), "it may be difficult to prove that a causal relationship exists between museums and the social impact they generate". At the same time, museums do have "a lot of complicated obligations facing all kind of challenges and difficulties; such challenges are related to financial issues and funding". Today, most museums are under pressure, they are required to prove their social value and the importance of their existence. There is also an increased demand for them to "apply ways of measuring their performance, which are more appropriate to the commercial world" (Runyard, French, 1999). According to the *Code of Ethics for Museums* (AAM, 2000), "the museum can also play a vital role in the development of the Society, and could help in protecting certain ideas and values". Kercher and Du Cros (2002) argue that "museums are also effective political tools since they can be used to manage, confirm or challenge ideas and beliefs. Museums can even be tools for self-expression and self-recognition, and they are used to creating and

representing identity". The missions of museums, their civic, social responsibilities and their modes of engagement with communities "are in a constant process of transformation, in response to social and economic imperatives at local, national and global levels" (Kelly, 2006). In his book *Making Museums Matter*, Stephen E. Weil argues that museums are to be "open workshops of delight and learning"; he stresses that "museums have to get a close connection to its user; they have to be in a direct and useful service to the public", adding that "museums are also effective political instruments since they can be used to control, confirm or challenge ideas and beliefs" (Weil, 2002).

City museums in northern Egypt can increase the Egyptian sense of wellbeing, help people feel proud of their origins, they can inspire, challenge and stimulate people. The Suez Museum is one the museums that is presenting the Egyptian people experiences in this field. Suez is one of the major cities in northern Egypt, where the Egyptian Suez Canal, one of the major artificial sea-level waterways in Egypt, that connects the Red Sea to the Mediterranean Sea, is located. The Suez Canal has had a significant impact on world trade as goods were moved around the globe in record time. Today, the Suez Canal is operated by the Suez Canal Authority. The canal itself is 101 miles (163 km) long and 984 feet (300 m) wide. It begins in Port Said, on the Mediterranean coast, then flows through Ismailia in Egypt and ends at Suez in the Gulf of Suez. It also has a railroad running along its entire length parallel to its west bank. The Suez Canal is one of the world's most significant waterways, as it supports 8% of the world's shipping traffic and, daily, almost 50 ships pass through the canal. The images[1] 1 and 2 show the artificial waterway and the place of Suez on the map of Egypt. The port of Suez was an important trade centre throughout the Pharaonic period and continued to grow in importance all the way up history into the modern era. After completion of the Suez Canal, the city became the most important navigational link between East and West (El-Aref, 2011). The original Suez Museum was destroyed in the 1967 war with Israel, but its contents were transported to Cairo in a few runs and returned to the city in 2005. The Prime Minister and the Minister of State for Antiquities officially inaugurated the Suez Museum in 2012. The museum was then closed and officially reopened, at the end of 2014. The museum is located on the banks of the Suez Canal and consists of the main building, a garden and a parking lot to accommodate visitors. Image 3 shows the museum's design. City museums of northern Egypt use their experience to construct individual and social identities; issues of national identity are the subject of much discussion and debate.

The artificial waterway.

The museum's design
© Dr. Mohamed Mabrouk

The Suez Museum, covering an area of 5950 m^2, is one of the city museums in Egypt that presents the history of the canal. This museum exhibits about 1500 artefacts that display the history of the Suez Canal and the Suez governorate from prehistoric to modern times. According to Nevine El-Aref (2011), "the museum is not specific to Suez, except when it comes to showcasing the history of the Suez Canal from the ancient times to this day as well as certain key periods in Egyptian history. The other showrooms display Islamic, Pharaonic and Greco-Roman periods". The halls of the museum portray the history of the Suez Canal. One of the halls is the Sesostris Hall, which displays artefacts belonging to ancient Egyptian kings, who achieved great progress in the ancient canal, such as Middle Kingdom king Senosert III and the Persian king Darius III. In this hall, many painted stones from the temple of Habbi, an ancient Egyptian god in charge of the Nile, were displayed. The Navigation and Trade Hall is the second hall. Different boats and ships dating back to the Middle Kingdom of ancient Egypt are displayed

The Sesostris Hall.

The Navigation and Trade Hall.

The Mining Hall.

Copper objects in the Mining Hall.
© Dr. Mohamed Mabrouk

in this hall, as well as boats dating back to other periods of ancient Egypt. Pottery jars excavated in the ancient canal area are displayed too. The Mining Hall displays unique artefacts, and sheds light on ancient Egyptian mining. Copper objects extracted from different parts of Egypt, especially from the canal area, are displayed in this hall. Since copper was a very important material in the canal area, these unique copper collections were selected to be displayed here as well. Mahmal Hall sheds light on Suez's important role in the transportation of the Kaaba cover from Cairo to Mecca (El-Aref, 2011).

Photos of this hall explain the shape of Al Mahmal and other golden material dating back to the Islamic period in Egypt, when Suez was one of the major cities. One of the Suez's Museum halls is the Hall of Suez Canal, where documents and paintings of Khedive Saeed are displayed. Khedive Saeed was the one who issued the decree to dig the canal. On a wall of the hall, a medallion is displayed with the face of Ferdinand Delyecebs on the one side and the royal vehicle used during the canal's inauguration on the other. Bronze and gold medallions issued for the occasion and a set of decorations and awards distributed are also shown" (El-Aref, 2011).

The Suez Museum is one of the city museums in Egypt whose key concepts are emotional value, social capital and community engagement as well as an interest in understanding the cultural consumers' emotional values and ways of communication. The definition of museum communication is based on three elements: communication, object interpretation and education as a communicative element. Who are we communicating with and how? The essence of the word "communication" is having two parties that communicate through a medium. The medium lies between museums and their visitors, collections and activities. It has to be understandable and enable clear communication and interpretation. The museum acts as a communication system and, as a consequence, museum education is reflected in museum exhibitions as communication media to convey ideas (Falk and Dierking, 1992). Museums have become the voice of societies and are in their service. Museums should encourage and facilitate dialogue as well as build relationships between themselves and societies, and between the different communities (Blankenberg and Lord, 2010).

The analysis of the current activities of the Suez Museum shows that the perception of emotional value and sense of belonging influence the way the Suez community has decided to invest its time, energy and membership into the museum, while the museum presents a series of programmes focusing on the history of the canal and the Suez governorate. Among the many activities, there is the educational programme of simulation of excavations, annually prepared for the Suez schools. This practical programme enables children to understand how to excavate the objects in an organised way. Participants have tested the major operating phases of modern archaeological research to understand its role in the reconstruction of the historical eras of Egypt. Participants are trained to measure and clean the objects. The replicas used in this workshop were brought in by the Future Language School in Suez, an institution that has supported the museum with all the required materials. Children are able to measure and clean the objects by applying the rules they were taught by Suez Museum curators, who explained the processes of formation of an archaeological deposit and the methods of its correct reading.

It should be noted that all the Suez Museum staff is cooperating on every educational programme presented; such programmes shed light on the Suez heritage and the

objects of the museum. The curators of the Suez Museum have held free sessions that target school children at school libraries in Suez. These sessions aim to engage them with the museum's message, prepare them for upcoming visits to the Museum and provide them with background information about the museum. The Suez Museum staff members try to identify the target audience of the museum and then take useful steps to serve their needs. In spite of performing all these activities that aim to attract the local community at Suez, only small groups come to the museum. Museum staff tries, firstly, to ensure that the Suez Museum's collections act as a learning resource for the school children who participated in the museum's activities, and, secondly, to deliver dynamic programmes of learning and participation. Both through the official page of Suez Museum, started in 2015[2] and direct contact, the staff of Suez Museum tries to market the museum activities; publications that act as a formal announcement of a certain activity are printed as well. Officials from the Suez Museum have held several conferences to market the museum's activities and to enhance cooperation with the representative of the Canal's electronic websites.

ICOM, the International Committee of Museums, through its national branch, ICOM Egypt, honoured Suez Museum by declaring it as a city museum that presents different activities to serve the Egyptian community. The work of the Suez Museum staff reveals that one of the museum's primary responsibilities is working with different communities and using collections to encourage people to learn about their own histories.

The educational programme of simulation of excavations.

Children taught by Suez Museum curators.

The Suez Museum staff is cooperating on every educational programme. © Suez National Museum

Education is one of the key activities of museums, together with preservation, research and presentation of museum objects (*Role of Museums...*, 2012). Education is defined as the process of experience, generally called learning, which brings in desirable changes in human behaviour, with respect to knowledge, outstanding skill and attitude. A museum is not an educational institution in the formal sense of the word. Museum education is education in its broader sense. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1988) considers that a museum, in the context of education, is an institution that can offer an educational experience across a wide range of variables and about a wide range of institutions and organisations. The meaning of museum education is that museums provide a learning situation in which the visitors experience learning. A learning situation is a condition or environment in which all the elements necessary for promoting learning are present. A learning experience is the mental or physical reaction or makes through seeing, hearing or doing the things to be learnt, through which one gains meanings and understanding of the materials to be learnt (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). In case of the city museums, with a permanent growing flow of information, society needs, more than ever before, targeted, verified and comprehensible information. Museums, which have been accumulating human civilisation experience for centuries, along with universities and scientific and research institutions, represent valuable sources of such information. They are unique intermediaries between the objects of historical and cultural heritage and recipients of cultural codes – the visitors; museums offer almost unlimited possibilities in the area of education (*Role of Museums...*, 2012).

The social mission of museums in the educational sphere can be defined as follows: preserving and transferring to the following generations the cultural experience and humanitarian traditions of humankind, developing axiological, moral and philosophical principles regarding tolerance for natural, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, as well as developing the creative potential

The learning process in museums.
© George E. Hein

of personality (including communication skills), through specific forms of educational work and the use of museums as a unique carrier of historical and cultural memory of the humankind coded in authentic objects of its heritage (*Role of Museums...*, 2012). The information a visitor receives during a museum visit tends to bear a "contextual map". The museum visit represents a collection of experiences rather than a single unitary phenomenon. Any information obtained during the museum visit is likely to include society-related, attitude-related, cognitive-related and sensory-related associations. These associations will become embedded in one's memory; also, any single facet of these experiences can facilitate the recall of the entire experience (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). Image on the left shows the learning process in museums.

Conclusion

To sum up, city museums should revive educational and communicational roles; they should attempt to understand their audiences and test their visitors to explore their needs and responses. City museums should organise structures and management approaches to deal with new and dynamically functional relationships. City museums should set up new ways to evaluate productivity, determine new communication patterns and new approaches to information management and utilisation. Moreover, understanding the learning process and meaning-making are the core values of the new type of communication that city museums staff should be aware. City museums' staff should consider that education is at the core of all museums. Every city museum should provide a multi-layered, diverse and unique opportunity for lifelong learning to all visitors; the fundamental educational function of a city museum should encourage and make provisions for all visitors to engage, interact and respond to its heritage. Finally, city museums should understand the importance of fixing and developing a positive image of the role of museums in the modern social environment. The modern vision of museums is that of full-scope scientific, cultural and educational centres; museums generally focus on creating opportunities for visitors to develop and realise their creative potential, as well as easy and entertaining ways for them to gain new knowledge and skills (*Role of Museums...*, 2012). Museums could contribute to school education in many ways, the most important being visual communication through objects and materials. Subjects like History, Geography, Art, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Health and Hygiene, Natural Sciences and even Mathematics could come alive more vividly and effectively through exhibits in museums representing these disciplines. Educational experiences that museums can provide to school children may fall into two categories: experiences directly relevant to the school curriculum and experiences that provide a broader perspective for improving the general knowledge of students in different areas of humanities and sciences.

To achieve these objectives of museum education relevant to school children, museum authorities should make conscious efforts in providing required mediums of communication (Molly, 1960). City museums have to serve as an instrument for education and cultural development for the whole community, from the illiterate masses to the enlightened class. City museum philosophy and ethics have to be established to create an awareness and sensitivity and to attract more people.

In a developing country like Egypt, the educational programmes, events and activities in a city museum are new tools to be exploited for the all-round growth and understanding of the people. The city museum should provide a quick, effective and economical way of building a nation, its background, resources, history, culture, crafts and arts. Therefore, if city museums are to continue and progress, they cannot avoid serving the cause of education.

Notes

[1] Images 1-8 were retrieved from Dr. Mohamed Mabrouk's presentation's at French University in Cairo, Management of Cultural Heritage Master Program. Images 9-11 were retrieved from the official Facebook page of Suez Museum: ***https://www.facebook.com/pages/Suez-National-Museum/381390275371818?fref=ts***

Image 'The learning process in museums' originates from: Hein, G. E. (1998). *Learning in the Museum.* London: Routledge. [online] Retrieved from: ***http://www.lesley.edu/faculty/ghein/default.html***

[2] ***https://ar-ar.facebook.com/Suez-National-Museum-381390275371818/***

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WHOSE HISTORY IS THE MUSEUM TALKING ABOUT? THE CASE OF THE MUSEUM OF KYOTO

¿DE QUÉ HISTORIA HABLA EL MUSEO? EL CASO DEL MUSEO DE KYOTO

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ABSTRACT

The author proposes the idea of "school museums". This is a unique type of museum set up in schools – elementary, junior high and high schools. This is not a hypothetical model but something that already exists in Japan. In many cases, it is managed not only by teachers but also by the local community. The collections are also being built with items that tell the history and memories of the school and the local community. Here one can hear the voices of the people inside, which are different from those of outsiders, such as of tourist guides, who prefer to use the stereotypical image of Kyoto. The Museum of Kyoto has launched a project to grasp and introduce the various voices and the diversified perspectives of these school museums and their collections. This project may be a key to turning museums into cultural hubs.

Key words

school museum, collection, voices from the inside, memories of local communities, cultural hub

RESUMEN

El autor propone la idea de "museos de escuelas". Este es un tipo único de museo que se establece en las escuelas elementales e secundarias. Esto no es un método hipotético sino algo que ya existe en Japón. En muchos casos, se administra no sólo por maestros, sino también por la comunidad local. Las colecciones también incluyen elementos que cuentan la historia y las memorias de la escuela y la comunidad local. Las personas pueden ser escuchadas que no sólo tenga un punto de vista desde el turismo comercial, un "punto de vista externo", sino también las que tengan un "punto de vista desde adentro", desde la comunidad local. El Museo de Kyoto ha lanzado un proyecto para grabar e introducir las diversas voces y las diversas perspectivas de estas escuelas y sus colecciones. Este proyecto puede ser una clave para convertir los museos en centros culturales.

Palabras clave

museo de la escuela, colección, voces de los habitantes, recuerdos de las comunidades locales, núcleo cultural

INTRODUCTION

The Museum of Kyoto, like other city museums, is close to one of the city's most renowned tourist areas, so we are often required to explain such areas. We, however, are always trying to figure out ways to present a more diversified picture of the history and culture of Kyoto.

In this paper, the author proposes a collaboration between city museums and "school museums" in order to grasp the voices behind the well-known image of Kyoto. This is a unique museum system set up in schools – elementary, junior high and high schools. The university museums are not included in the "school museums". In many cases, these school museums are managed not only by teachers but also by people from the local community. The collections are also being built with items that tell the history and memories of the school and the local community. Here one can hear the voices of people inside, which are different from those of outsiders such as tourist guides, web and media, who prefer to use the stereotypical image of Kyoto.

Meirin School, established in 1908. © Kyoto Municipal Museum of School History

The Museum of Kyoto has launched a project to grasp and introduce the various voices and diversified perspectives of these school museums and their collections. This paper presents that project.

Kyoto's aura

Kyoto is one of Japan's leading tourist cities, as it is annually visited by more than 50 million people. This city was the capital of Japan for about a thousand years, and, even after the move of the government to Tokyo, in the 19th century, it still retains its charm and continues to draw throngs of visitors. The principal attractions of Kyoto are its culture and history. One can visit various cultural heritage sites denominated as World Heritage, National Treasures, Important Cultural Properties, etc. According to a study that compared the "auras" of cities, Tokyo is seen as the driving force behind Japan's technological prowess and economy, whereas Kyoto is a city where culture, history and the pride of the Japanese people are felt (Hayashi, 2006). People perceive cultural aura in Kyoto.

But, despite this esteem, it is easy to forget the people who live in Kyoto, when the celebrated entertainment and tourist spots are all that grab one's attention. Without preserving the way of life and identity that residents and communities have long cherished, Kyoto's proud culture and history are doomed by consumerism.

Task of the Museum of Kyoto: grasp the voices on the inside

The Museum of Kyoto holds regular monthly meetings with local communities to discuss their issues. As a part of that, people from the local community are more and more often asked to recount the memory and history of the local area at museum exhibitions. Behind this trend is an understanding that people, as it is typical of sightseeing guides and media, have ignored an important part of the history and culture of these communities. To be fair, however, we do not exclude guides and media from partaking the meetings as we understand that we also benefit from their work. Moreover, the present discourse lacks balance without them. Therefore, the task to be taken by the museum is to properly grasp the history, culture and memories of the local communities, to value them, safeguard them, and make them public.

School and Kyoto

Considering the above discussion, the Museum of Kyoto has launched a museum-community-school collaborative project. The project has various components. This paper especially focuses on schools. Generally speaking, the impact schools have on people can last a lifetime, which has coincidentally earned them the blame by Ivan Illich for "society's institutionalisation" (Illich, 1970). However, in the case of the schools in Kyoto, that can be taken in a good light, as they have long been the centrepiece of local communities.

During the modernisation of the 19th century, Kyoto was intricately divided into sixty-four districts with schools built in each one. These schools were established through financial and administrative collaboration with the local community. Besides being where children were educated, schools played a central role in the community, as they also operated as community centres and fire departments. On the photos of Kyoto schools in the modern era (images 1 and 2), one can see a tower in image 2. It is a five-storey building with a public office on the first floor and a lookout post with a bell for sounding out fire alarms on the top floor. Because they operated as community centres, these schools have accumulated many articles that celebrate the history and culture of the local area.

This is the reason why schools in Kyoto have collections of items that tell the history and memories of the school and the local community. Those collections

are on par with history museums. For example, they contain a wide variety of items such as public documents concerning community administration, tools from the local area, everyday goods, textbooks and teaching aids used by the school, and archaeological materials unearthed in the area, such as roof tiles, pottery, ancient ornaments, etc. These items have worked as good teaching materials for learning about the history and culture of the area at school. The history and culture told here have become a voice on the inside, so the museum is worth listening to as a local voice.

Issues to be solved

Nonetheless, national educational curriculums have changed today, and both teachers and students have become incredibly busy because of societal changes. As a result, schools rarely use these community heirlooms. Furthermore, in recent years, due to the declining population of Japan, roughly 400-500 schools are closed every year, so their collections are also losing their exhibition space. Even for residents, given that materials were donated to schools decades ago, the descendants of donors sometimes forget about their existence. Also, researchers like historians or archaeologists are not dealing much with these materials. Because, unlike the materials excavated scientifically, the information in the materials owned by schools is not very clear. For various other reasons, though each item deserves careful consideration, the complicated situation leaves the collection vulnerable to loss.

However, the author believes that they still have the potential to tell not only the history of the school but also the power to evoke the memories of the local community.

Nissho School, established in 1872. © Kyoto Municipal Museum of School History

Attempts to re-value the school collections

To improve the situation, some museums, local associations and teachers started to re-value the collection of the schools (Murano, 2017). These attempts aim not only to investigate and catalogue the materials but also to utilise them in modern ways.

For example, at schools, there are efforts to deal with materials in extracurricular activities, by having students research them and make presentations about their findings at schools' cultural festivals. Museums, such as the Kyushu National Museum, and universities have responded to this trend and established a nationwide forum where schools across the country may participate and present their achievements to the public, researchers and other school members (Ichimoto and Ikeuchi, 2015). Recently, even academic associations, such as the Japanese Archaeological Association, opened their doors to high school students and set up opportunities for them to present their research to the archaeologists belonging to the Association (Okayama, n.d.).

At museums, there are further efforts to stimulate the students' learning and to make new discoveries by collaborating with schools. For example, the Museum of Kyoto began a collaborative project to work with teachers and students to catalogue, organise and exhibit their collection. Concerned residents from the community are also involved. As part of the project, in 2015 and 2016, a collaborative learning programme for students was carried out, in which the Museum of Kyoto and the Kyoto Prefectural Ohki Senior High School prepared together the "Exhibition on Archaeology and Schools in Kyoto" as a part of the events of the World Archeological Congress (WAC-8; Murano *et al.*, 2017). For a year or more, the students themselves reflected upon the value of the archeological and historical materials that had been stored in their school for many years. The learning outcome was reported via explanatory panels at the museum exhibition. Then,

the students conducted gallery talks and tours for visitors to the exhibition (Photo 3). Some students were not interested when seeing the archaeology materials for the first time, but, after the collaborative programme and their exhibition work, they began to feel that the materials were valuable and that the lessons were also important for their future.

There are other interesting efforts, but the "school museums" are expected to have the most potential for future development.

"School museums"

The "school museum" is a unique museum system. Museums have already been set up in several elementary, junior high and high schools. In quite a lot of cases, the school museums are established in one of the school classrooms. Due to the recent decline of the population, vacant classrooms tend to appear in schools, so they are effectively utilised for school museums. Here, school collections are preserved and utilised mainly by teachers and students as educational materials in social studies and history classes, extracurricular activities, etc. There are also cases, for example, where a showcase is set up in front of the staff room to exhibit articles. Rooms for extracurricular activities or even parts of the principal's office are used to store articles.

The Museum of Kyoto's collaborative project with the Kyoto Prefectural Ohki Senior High School. © Museum of Kyoto

Interestingly, in many cases, not only teachers but also local communities and local associations participated in establishing the museums and they still continue to manage them. Exhibitions conducted by the local associations are sometimes held there. The residents and associations of the local communities are relatively familiar with the local history and traditional culture. Therefore, one can easily find out what kind of history the city has, what has happened there, what kind of customs existed, among other things one can only learn now from these school museums. These museums are a kind of archives of information and local memories.

The concept of school museums is not new. It already existed as early as the 1950s. But, for the same reason mentioned above (lost collections), the school museums established in that period are in decline now. So, it can be said that the school museum movement in recent years is about reviving school museums in modern ways.

Nowadays, there are various types of school museums, and they are managed and operated in diverse ways. In one of the school museums, the key to the room is kept and managed by the school, but the residents arrange the items and the teachers and students use it. In another case, the key to the room is kept and managed by the local association, and the items are also arranged by the same local association. In yet another case, the teachers are entirely responsible for the key management, and the preservation and utilisation of items, and local residents are occasionally invited as guest speakers.

In Kyoto, Fushimi Itahashi Elementary School is worthy of attention as one of the good examples. On its 130th anniversary celebration, in 2002, the vacant classrooms in the school were renovated, and the school museum called "Itahashikura" (Imaru, 2002) was opened. Its purpose is to consciously understand the tools that tell of life in former times, the stories that recount the history of the school, and the items that speak to the way people have lived over the ages. These valuable articles, such as daily utensils and photographs, tend to disappear. So, this school asked local residents, if they moved away or found something from the past, to bring items that tell something about Itabashi to the school museum, in order to enrich the museum and use it for learning. The principal of the school said that they are still

in the process of establishing their "Itahashikura" school museum. The contents and items of the museum exhibition are changing little by little. Even so, when one visits this museum, one is firstly captivated by its appearance. On the outside, it looks like a townhouse (Image 4), whereas inside is looks like a part of a traditional shop. Secondly, one may be impressed by the fact that the items on display are also introduced with commentaries. The museum is open to the public, mainly during working hours and local festivals. It is noteworthy that local residents spearheaded the establishment of this museum and, even now, they manage the collection as a part of the works of the School Management Council, consisting of teachers and local residents. The local residents have a subjective role here.

Appearance of the school museum of the Fushimi Itahashi Elementary School.
© Museum of Kyoto.

As this case shows, the strong point of the school museum concept is in the participation of local residents. Here, teachers and community residents prepare the exhibits and explain the history. It is not a history pushed by historians or tour companies; it comes from the inside.

"School Museums" and the role of ordinary museums

There is, however, a limit to what local residents and school teachers can do when it comes to arranging items and extracting their information. It is often necessary for them to collaborate with specialists, especially about the methods for managing items. If a curator were assigned to the school museum, this problem would not occur, but it seems that there is no such case so far. Here is a place where museum curators can contribute.

In this regard, the "Museum Debut Support Project" commenced in 2013 by the Yokohama History Museum has been highly evaluated (Haketa, 2016). In Yokohama City, a number of school museums established a decade ago are no longer being used, so the Yokohama History Museum dispatched a curator and educator with some staff to the schools, to catalog and exhibit the collections in good order using the curatorial method that is common in ordinary museums and provide academic knowledge about unknown items.

The staff mentioned above includes local residents. They have knowledge of and can experiment using some of the items such as farming tools, objects for everyday use, etc. Generally speaking, their experiments can prove more fruitful than what a curator can do. And, they can tell importance of the tool or history of the local area in their own words. Those descriptions are reflected in the contents and make the exhibitions better. Here, we can find the ideal model of museum-community-school collaborative activities.

The need for ordinary museums to be involved in the school museums is not limited to providing expert knowledge. Ordinary museums also help to pass along the information of the school museum. The teachers who are in charge of the school museum and the collection are regularly transferred as a part of personal shuffles, and the students who use them graduate and move on. Therefore, it may sometimes be difficult to pass down information. In that case, if the museum builds a database of the articles contained, school teachers and students can refer to it at any time and retrieve the necessary information. With this kind of setup, the stories of the community will be collected by both school museums and ordinary museums in the future.

With this in mind, the Museum of Kyoto aims to construct such a database. Currently, we are surveying and researching materials in the school collections in Kyoto Prefecture (Murano, 2015); we are studying what kind of database will be useful to the schools, what kind of information should be collected and how to make it easier for teachers and students to use the database. Digital technology is

changing at a great speed, so ingenuity is necessary to make it possible for wider group people to use the database. In addition, some school materials may contain private information, and it is necessary to pay attention to that.

Conclusion: museums as cultural hubs

As already mentioned above, museums have always been required not to show bias towards views from the outside. The author supposes that there are many approaches to resolve this issue. The best approach may be to provide more opportunities for encountering and discovering history and the stories behind it. So, how can that be done? Some may propose increasing the number of museums. If there were lots of wonderful museums in the city, anybody could easily learn about and be moved by what is important. Is that too much to ask? We may have found one possible answer: creating museums inside schools. Every city has lots of schools. In Kyoto, at every kilometer one finds another school. This is where opportunity lies.

In a school museum, various articles are accumulated and preserved, and the history and memories of the local community are told. That's exactly what is meant by an inside voice. If a database of information can be established for the articles therein, a stock of inside voices will be created. That stock is of irreplaceable value to school museums and general museums like the Museum of Kyoto, and is also important to the city. Last year, we staged an exhibition to introduce these stories in cohort with teachers and students. This activity has fomented a dialog between us, local communities and schools, and made people newly aware of history and culture. These stories, collected and hatched by communities, are the stories that we believe history museums should be telling.

So, what is the next step? To discover further value in school collections. We believe that the number of voices we will learn about from the survey is still limited. There must be more inside voices, even among the inside voices we hear from. If more people get involved with the collections, the more voices will be discovered. New voices may help notice new values in local history and culture. And, noticing values one had not noticed until now is equivalent to creating value.

If museums can grasp such diverse values, they can be hubs for connecting cultures in the contemporary society, characterized by the diversity and complexity of values and opinions. That is our aim.

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MUSEUMS OF THE CITY AND THEIR INFLUENCE

MUSEOS DE LA CIUDAD Y SU INFLUENCIA

ABSTRACT

The Museum Association The Museum of Moscow is one of the largest museum associations in the capital of Russia. It includes several museums and each of them represents the history of Moscow in its own way. The museum displays the city in all its diversity, emphasising its uniqueness. The museum cooperates with versatile institutions, implementing the most daring and creative projects, which allows it to expand the boundaries of the museum to the whole city. Now we are implementing the strategy of a city museum with a 120-year history for a metropolitan capital without a permanent exhibition; in that case we not only see the complexity but also the prospects for development. The Museum of Moscow is located in provisional warehouses, a unique architectural complex on Zubovsky Boulevard. The Museum of Moscow organises exhibitions and lectures, festivals, concerts and holiday events that take place in the courtyard. The museum has an auditorium, the Children's Centre, the Centre of Documentary Cinema and the Bureau of Moscow City Tours.

Our objectives are:

- To tell about the unique experience of a city museum without a permanent exhibition, but rather with frequently changing exhibitions;
- To give examples of successful interaction between the museum and the citizens;
- To show a variety of exhibition projects and new formats.

Key words

Museum of Moscow, state-of-the-art, diversity, transformation

RESUMEN

Sa Asociación de Museos del Museo de Moscú es una de las organizaciones museísticas más grandes de la capital. Está integrada por numerosos museos y cada uno de ellos representa la historia de Moscú desde su particular punto de vista. El museo presenta a la ciudad con toda su diversidad, y remarcando sus especificidades. El museo colabora con varias instituciones implementando proyectos desafiantes y creativos, los cuales permiten extender los límites del museo hacia toda la ciudad. Actualmente, se está implementado una estrategia del museo de ciudad, que cuenta con 120 años de historia de la capital metropolitana, sin una exposición permanente; en el cual no sólo vemos la complejidad, sino también las perspectivas de desarrollo. El Museo de Moscú está ubicado en un antiguo depósito de alimentos, un complejo arquitectónico único en el Boulevard Zubovsky, presenta exposiciones y lecturas; en el patio se realizan conciertos y celebraciones. Además, cuenta con un auditorio, un espacio para niños, un centro de documentación de cinematografía y el departamento de Turismo de la ciudad de Moscú.

Los objetivos de lo texto son:

- *Hablar de la experiencia de un museo de ciudad que no cuenta con una exposición permanente sino con exposiciones temporales;*
- *Brindar ejemplos de relaciones exitosas entre el museo y los ciudadanos;*
- *Mostrar una gran variedad de proyectos de exposiciones con nuevos formatos.*

Palabras clave

Museo de Moscú, lo último, diversidad, transformación

INTRODUCTION

The Museum of Moscow not only presents relevant exhibitions but also an open social platform to discuss the future of the city. The city museum in the modern metropolis is transformed from a local historical museum with dominant archaeology themes into a universal multimedia museum complex that expands the exhibition possibilities for the entire city, allowing it to display many art objects. Exhibitions in official institutions, city tours, a children's centre, runways, food and flea markets, quests, lectures and screenings, the launch of themed trains in the metro – all this gives an opportunity to interact with citizens in a new way, to receive feedback and to constantly complement activities, based on current requests and current trends. The city and the museum influence each other – it is a constant interaction, enriching both sides.

It is generally believed that the city museum should necessarily become an object of comprehensive transformation in our days. Most experts suppose that this statement cannot even be thought as controversial. And, indeed, throughout the world, such transformations have been taking place for many years. In many cities around the world, former local history museums are becoming multifunctional museum centres, up-to-date and socially significant places.

In the course of the transformation process, the functions of museums are greatly expanded. The city museum not only becomes a museum in the classical sense but also a platform for intercultural interaction, a meeting point for various generations, social and ethnic groups, for the city and the citizens.

Regular visits to museums become the norm of family leisure activities on weekends. A significant part of the visitors is comprised by young parents with children.

In order to compete for an audience with television and shopping centres, museums need to constantly rethink their activities and organise different attractive events, such as modern, interactive and high-tech exhibitions, unusual excursions, lectures on various exciting topics and mass events.

City museums have become the locomotive of social, urban and historical themes. They discuss modern ideas and projects, cooperate with urban communities and move to other urban areas.

The Museum of Moscow

The Museum of Moscow has developed in this vein. The museum has the reputation of a modern cultural space, not only conserving the history of the Russian capital but also representing all the most important values of contemporary Moscow.

Culturally significant exhibitions on historical, artistic, even theatrical topics are organised here, and event days of different cultures and cities are held. Some exhibitions come out of the museum walls and descend into pedestrian crossings and the metro.

The city excursion bureau organises not only classical excursions around the city but also very unusual excursions in the Moscow metro or to Moscow skyscrapers.

For children, the museum arranges quests, investigations and entertaining games. The children of migrants from different countries learn Russian, mathematics and other subjects in the children's centre of the museum. From all over Moscow, children come to attend classes on architecture, design, typography, modern dance and enjoy the best children's performances in the city.

The museum also provides a platform for adult avant-garde performances, interesting lectures and even fashion shows.

The museum's *lectorium* has launched the programme "Street lecture. Courtyards of Moscow", where lectures are held in the very courtyards.

Other examples of museum transformation
Similar transformations have taken place in other Russian city museums.
One of the most striking examples is the *Museum of the History of Yekaterinburg*. The museum conducted one of the most interesting projects that have really influenced the life of the city – "Uralmash: Poduction of the future".

Uralmash is a machine-building complex from the Ural Company, once a powerful industrial giant facility and a comfortable socialist residential surrounding area, yet now a criminal district of Yekaterinburg. The developers of the museum project decided to change the image of the district. The project was simultaneously developed in two directions.

The first was to reveal the original spirit of place, *the code* of Uralmash. The organisers conducted numerous interviews with residents of the area. The collected memories formed the basis for five museum exhibitions and two documentary performances. The performative excursion "Bus 33" was especially popular. The bus travelled to ten landmark points of the district; at each of them there was a story pertaining to one resident of Uralmash. The feedback from the project participants and spectators showed that reliance on individual stories allowed to create a multifaceted, emotionally charged, bright image of the district, capable of competing with the image of the grey, criminal Uralmash.

The second direction of the project was the consolidation of creative people and the joint search for a new model. To this purpose it was created the project session "How to Create a Successful Festival in Uralmash" as well as the action "Draw Uralmash" and a fair of project ideas was held. All this resulted in the development of a project to transform Uralmash into a new urban cultural space.

Another vivid example is the *Krasnoyarsk Museum Centre*. The Museum Centre arranges biennale exhibitions and holds public lectures; it has established a contemporary open library, uses new museum technologies and unusual forms of museum work.

Several interactive museum cabinets have been arranged here. They are designed for individual visits with a full immersion in a certain atmosphere, changing the experience of perception of reality thanks to diverse shapes, sounds, light, smell and even taste. For example, one of the cabinets is devoted to shamanism, which is an essential part of the modern Tuvan culture.

In the *Primorsky State United Museum*, the internal space of the halls was reconstructed; the exposition is supplemented with multimedia services. In each room there is a Wi-Fi network and photography is allowed. The museum hosts experimental classes for children, topical lectures, and roundtables. This is the real cultural centre of Vladivostok, creating the appropriate cultural environment.

Conclusion
We can give other examples of changing museums in Russia, all of them very interesting. However, there are also many examples of the opposite situation, when museums are not being transformed for different reasons. Often this is not so much due to financing as to the principled position and reluctance to change their cosy and conservative status, as in the case of the Museum of Local Lore. As we see it, the position voiced at the beginning of the text is still subject of discussion and is connected to the society's common value system. The museum is able to influence the value system but, to a large extent, it also depends on it.

We have high hopes that, one day, most museums in Russian cities will realise that the need for transformation is obvious. In this regard, we believe that international and interregional cooperation are particularly important.

SOCIOMUSEOLOGY AND DECARCERATION: THE UNNAMED NORTH LAWNDALE COMMUNITY MUSEUM

SOCIOMUSEOLOGÍA Y DECARCERACIÓN: EL MUSEO COMUNITARIO SIN NOMBRE DE NORTH LAWNDALE

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ABSTRACT

North Lawndale, a neighbourhood on Chicago's west side, is a vivid example of crime and poverty existing alongside constructive community organisation. It is also home to one of the city's largest populations of formerly incarcerated people. Using sociomuseology principles, in collaboration with the National Alliance for the Empowerment of the Formerly Incarcerated and community partners, we are establishing a unique and inclusive museum of, by, and for North Lawndale and the greater West Side. This museum will be a space in which a diverse array of community members can come together to make, share, remember, envision, learn, and teach. This museum will be dedicated to supporting the formerly incarcerated population while also giving them a place to share their knowledge and experiences. We will also try to be a catalyst for equitable, sustainable community development, a force for challenging structural barriers to success, and a resource to help at-risk youth avoid repeating the cycle of incarceration.

Key words

Chicago, community museum, incarceration, community development, reentry

RESUMEN

El barrio North Lawndale en lado oeste de Chicago es uno de los mayores ejemplos de que el delito y la pobreza coexisten junto al arte y la organización comunitaria. También alberga a una de las poblaciones más grande de personas exconvictas. Usamos los principios de la sociomuseología en colaboración con Alianza Nacional de Empoderamiento de Exconvictos, e estamos en el camino hacia el establecimiento de un museo único e inclusivo para toda la comunidad. Este museo será un espacio en el cual las comunidades puedan convivir para hacer, compartir, recordar, aprender y enseñar. Nuestro museo está dedicado a ofrecer apoyo a la población exconvicta mientras se brinda un espacio para compartir los conocimientos y las experiencias. Intentaremos ser un catalizador para el desarrollo comunitario equitativo y sostenible, y también nos centramos en nuestros esfuerzos por mantener alejados a los jóvenes en riesgo de repetir el ciclo del encarcelamiento.

Palabras clave

Chicago, museo de la comunidad, encarcelamiento, desarrollo comunitario, reingreso

INTRODUCTION

The numbers are staggering: 2.2 million men, women, and children are currently incarcerated in the United States (The Sentencing Project).

They are incarcerated for all sorts of reasons – violent and non-violent offences, drugs and fraud, rape and arson. One thing most have in common is that they were born and raised on the lower end of the economic spectrum; many come from heavily policed and high-crime neighbourhoods. A massively disproportionate number are African American.

Nearly all of them will return into or near the communities they left.

When these people return to their communities, they often struggle to find good paying jobs, decent and affordable housing, health care, and a supportive social structure. This is exacerbated by the separation from their families resulting in isolation,[1] restrictive parole laws with increased surveillance, and the stigma of being a formerly incarcerated person and all the associated barriers. Rather than "corrected", they often experience increased and unaddressed trauma behind bars, thanks to sanctioned violence, solitary confinement, and lack of support that could address the underlying issues of why they were incarcerated in the first place. And well over half of them return (or, more precisely, are returned) to prison (Durose, Cooper, & Snyder, 2004).

Of course, returning prisoners are not the only people in these communities who struggle to find good paying jobs, decent and affordable housing, health care, and a supportive social structure. Poor communities, particularly poor communities of colour, have long understood that a holistic approach is needed to issues of crime, hyper-incarceration, and re-entry. Hyper-incarceration affects more than just the people incarcerated, it affects their families, friends, and the community that has experienced the trauma related to the crime committed, the resultant removal of a community member, and the additionally traumatised and difficult to employ re-entering person.

Benneth Lee and NAEFI

Benneth (Benny) Lee is the director of the National Alliance for the Empowerment of the Formerly Incarcerated (NAEFI), a grassroots organisation that provides support and training for re-entering individuals, advocates for their rights, and works to build healthy communities in the areas of Chicago most impacted by hyper-incarceration. A former leader of the Vice Lords gang and substance abuser, he spent many years in prison, including three years on death row. After his release, he earned his Master's Degree and is now a professor at Northeastern Illinois University and the University of Illinois at Chicago. Lee's work takes him into Illinois prisons, where he helps to prepare incarcerated adults for life after prison, as well as into treatment centres and halfway houses, where he counsels and mentors adults to help them try to avoid returning into prison.

Lee has a bit of a dilemma: a few years ago, his organization was gifted a building on 16th Street in North Lawndale – a run-down building on a troubled street in a disinvested neighbourhood on Chicago's west side. He wanted to turn it into the headquarters for NAEFI which would also serve as a public space for the community in which it is situated, and finally a site for displaying an exhibit he helped to develop in coordination with the Jane Addams Hull House Museum and the University of Illinois at Chicago. However, the building's poor condition, his many obligations, and limited resources made the task seem like something of a pipe dream.

During our first semester in graduate school last autumn, in a class called "Decarceration in Theory and Practice", our professor presented as a possible group project the goal of helping rehabilitate this building. In doing so, we would help NAEFI significantly expand its reach and ability to do its work. We agreed and started figuring out where to start.

In that class, we studied the history of and policy involving hyper-incarceration, decarceration, and re-entry. We took a tour of Stateville Correctional Center, visited NAEFI's re-entry circles, sat in on a meeting of the governor's incarceration reduction commission, and talked to correctional officers, currently and formerly incarcerated people, activists and advocates. The professor, Laurie Jo Reynolds, is an artist whose "legislative art" efforts helped lead to a high profile closure of the "Supermax" prison in Tamms, Illinois. Her use of socially engaged art, of her creativity and credentials and commitment, has proved essential to the foundations of this project.

It quickly became apparent to us that the issues that formerly incarcerated people face are inextricably linked with the overall issues in particular neighbourhoods, particularly in Chicago.

North Lawndale

How things are now – it's not sustainable.

North Lawndale community leader

We knew from the start that we had a lot to learn. Neither of us has ever lived on the West Side, although Chelsea has worked there as staff with a citywide nonprofit. The last twelve months for us has been a period of learning about history, community assets, and challenges, of sitting down with people and attending events. And of walking 16th Street – for decades a bustling commercial corridor, now mostly lined with empty lots and shuttered storefronts, and meeting some of the neighbours.

We have talked to organisers, businesses, activists, seniors, young people, teachers, and artists. We have explored the relationship between UIC and North Lawndale, in order to build on existing connections (including an unsuccessful joint proposal to co-locate the Obama Presidential Library) and to be aware of negative feelings (including that many African Americans were displaced by UIC when it was constructed, using primarily white contractors, in the 1960s).

North Lawndale is in the middle of a multi-year planning process to try to create sustainable development in the neighbourhood. The effort is viewed by most in the neighbourhood as much-needed. North Lawndale's population has dropped precipitously in the last few decades, to less than a third of its 1960 peak. Poverty figures are among the worst in the city, and crime and policing are facts of life. Two studies from 2003 and 2005 indicated that North Lawndale ranked in the top three among neighbourhoods in Illinois in terms of number of returning prisoners (La Vigne, Mamalian, Travers, & Visher, 2003; Visher, 2005).

In short, it is a neighbourhood that is at the epicentre of the intersecting poverty, violence, incarceration and re-entry crises in Chicago.

At the same time, there is an enormous amount of passion and pride amongst current and former residents about North Lawndale's remarkable history, existing strengths, and future prospects. This occurs even when most representations of the neighbourhood in the media are of the bad things that happen, to the residents' great consternation.

North Lawndale was annexed to Chicago from neighbouring Cicero in 1869, and started its growth following the Great Chicago Fire of 1871. For most of the first half of the 20th century, it was a predominantly Jewish neighbourhood (buildings that were once synagogues and Jewish community centres still dot the landscape). Benny Goodman is from there, Golda Meir lived there, and the retailer Sears Roebuck had its international headquarters there before moving to the tallest building in the world. After World War II, a few African American families began to move there, and a relatively rapid process of "white flight" to the Chicago suburbs soon followed. By the early 1960s, the neighbourhood was bustling with industry, retail establishments, and well over 100,000 residents – many of whom lived in substandard rental housing.

In 1966, as part of his "Chicago Freedom Campaign", Martin Luther King lived in North Lawndale with his family, to advocate for better housing and working opportunities for poor African Americans. The neighbourhood was also the home of the Contract Buyers League, a community organising effort that helped people being hurt by predatory real estate practices (Coates, 2014).

With regard to gangs, North Lawndale was (and is) known as the home of the Vice Lords – and, for a time, the Conservative Vice Lords.

The Conservative Vice Lords

In 2012, Benny Lee and Bobby Gore, another former Vice Lords leader, collaborated with the Jane Addams Hull House Museum to create the exhibit "Report to the Public: The Untold Story of the Conservative Vice Lords". The exhibit used photos, oral history, and other documentation to tell the story of the Conservative Vice Lords (CVL), an effort in the late 1960s by some Vice Lord leaders to go mainstream and make a positive impact on North Lawndale.

Focused on 16th St. (about a mile from where Benny Lee's building sits), CVL worked with the police, public officials, and major foundations to form a nonprofit corporation and create businesses and organisations in service of the community. The endeavour included the African Lion store, which sold African-inspired clothing and jewellery, Teen Town, an ice cream parlor, and House of Lords, the organisational headquarters that also served as a centre for young people to do homework after school. It also included Art and Soul, collaboration with the Museum of Contemporary Art that was a space for local artists and exhibitions. Unfortunately, the CVL experiment lasted only a few years, as it became, in part, a victim in the "war on gangs" by the City of Chicago that led to the arrest of CVL leader Bobby Gore on murder charges – charges that, as he maintained until his death in 2013, were trumped up. The 1970s and 1980s saw North Lawndale become an increasingly isolated, disinvested, and violent place (Chicago Tribune, 1986).

The "Report to the Public" exhibit was named after a report issued in 1968 by CVL, using photos, text, and charts to show how they used their funds, and talking about their successes and plans. The panels created for the exhibit were posted at *In These Times* magazine headquarters, and are now on display in various locations on the West Side. Part of Lee's dream for this space is to permanently exhibit the panels.

Why a "museum"?

Better than any other institution, a museum can inform, inspire and invoke responses from people that can enhance their existence, challenge their intellect, and give direction to their creative energies.

John Kinard, founding director, Anacostia Community Museum

The re-entry work Lee is doing with NAEFI is remarkable and critical. But it cannot happen in a vacuum. In order to succeed at a mass level, re-entry requires concomitant work to help build up the economic and cultural capacity of neighbourhoods like North Lawndale. This will take a multi-pronged approach, which, as mentioned above, is well underway in the neighbourhood.

The questions we ask ourselves are: what actual, material impact can this effort have? What are the ethics of having people who are from outside the community in question help lead the effort to create and sustain this institution?

And at a fundamental level: why call this a museum at all, rather than, say, a community centre?

The first answer to "why to call this a museum" involves Lee's interest in exhibition as education and our own academic and professional interests. Among the first texts we read in our graduate program was Elaine Gurian's Museum as Soup Kitchen, which encouraged existing cultural institutions to help people in need, particularly in a time of economic distress (Gurian, 2010).

As Gurian writes, "unlike community centres, museums have intellectual characteristics, and are, at their core, 'about something'. They have a mission, a point of view, a three-dimensional evidence, and an instructional mandate".

Among the other sources of inspiration are the favela museums of Rio, which focus on community curation and treasuring and honouring the art and culture of that city's slums. The idea of museums springing from and centering on disinvested and distressed communities in which they are situated is intriguing and a relatively rare model for American museums.

We have also looked into two of the premier community museums in the United States. One is the Anacostia Community Museum in Washington, DC. A Smithsonian institution, the Anacostia Museum's founding focus was the culture of the Anacostia neighbourhood, which is made up mostly of African Americans. Now celebrating its 50th anniversary, the Anacostia's social impact statement says it is "of, for, and by the people".

Similarly, the Wing Luke Museum, with its focus on Seattle's Asian American communities, thrives on its community model, which includes community input at every level of exhibition making. They recently published a list of ten principles that guide their work, including "community-based work must be rooted in relationships of **trust and respect**" and "**community empowerment** results from bringing together diverse people within communities who might not otherwise connect and collaborate together, increased community pride through increased visibility, development of professional skills and resources within the community from grant writing to educating to publishing and more" (Wing Luke Museum of the Asian Pacific Experience).

Part of what draws the two of us to museums is that, despite the negative associations and experiences so many have had and will continue to have with capital-M "museums" – elitism, colonialism, didacticism, authoritarianism, fancyism – we've both had enough "wow" experiences to understand that there can be something almost mystical about a great, well-done museum.

It can be the design. It can be the sense of place. It can be that artefact. Or that art piece. The juxtaposition of things, the lighting, the wall texts, the lack of wall texts, the opening event, the surprisingly feisty panel discussion. More often

the fondness we have toward a particular museum is a combination of those things. We like it because it is beautiful and safe and complex and evocative. Why can a neighbourhood like North Lawndale not have that? Why can a formerly incarcerated person not have that? Why can a teenage gang member not have that?

Which leads to another question: why can't a neighbourhood like North Lawndale *curate* that? And then – why can't a neighborhood like North Lawndale also have a live theater spot in which cutting edge, activist theatre thrives? And a place to reliably grab fresh, affordable, locally grown vegetables for dinner? And why can't North Lawndale have a spot – ideally, multiple spots – where you can listen to some live music or watch the game after your museum visit?

And why can all this not happen on a stretch of blocks that are walkable, well lit, green, vibrant, and growing? And predominantly black, and affordable to a range of working and even non-working people? All in a neighbourhood in which mass incarceration and endemic violence are increasingly distant memories?

A museum cannot do all that, of course. But can a museum be part of the conversation that leads to that, in ways that are unique.[2]

Conclusion

There's much talk today about creative placemaking – developing spaces for the public, for serendipitous engagement, for chilling, perhaps even for activism. The excitement around building a new, constantly regenerating place is intoxicating.

We hope people will think of our museum as a dynamic, sustainable, accessible place of the people – of *all* the people – that acknowledges and explores trauma and the forces of dispossession, that works to build a community and encourage healing and creating and teaching and learning. Dynamic in that exhibitions and programs will change on a regular basis, so that you do not feel like you have seen it all after the first visit. A museum that is sustainable so that when its founders leave, there are others waiting for their chance to take it to the next level and sustainable in the greenways we all seem to agree on but do not always put into practice. A museum that is accessible both in terms of disability (which intersects both with poverty and racial stratification in important ways) and in terms of affordability, openness, and relatability.

To date, we have been able to parlay our academic status and community connections into creating a mural posted on the side of the building (designed by two men incarcerated at Stateville, through a program run by the Prison + Neighborhood Art Project) and are in the middle of helping teach a class of graduate and undergraduate students called "Building a Community Museum in North Lawndale". With our community partners, we are at the beginning stages of the building design process and embarking on fundraising and strategic plans. And we're constantly meeting new people and gaining additional community partners.

This North Lawndale community museum won't solve the negative effects of capitalism or disinvestment or gentrification or gun violence or hyper-incarceration. It certainly won't solve the effects of generations of ongoing racism. But we can and will investigate these things in partnership with those most affected by those forces. And we can and will do that in creative, immersive, stimulating, authentic, inclusive, and justice-driven ways.

Notes

[1] In Illinois, most of the state penitentiaries are located in the central and southern parts of the state, while the majority of the people incarcerated in the state come from Chicago, in the northeast corner. Due to the vast geographic divide between where incarcerated people are from and where they are incarcerated, families are often unable to visit and provide truly needed support.

[2] The Institute of Museum and Library Services has a "community catalyst initiative" arguing that museums can play a major role in community revitalisation efforts. See: ***https://www.imls.gov/issues/national-initiatives/community-catalyst-initiative***

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BIOGRAPHIES
BIOGRAFÍAS

ACCETTA, LAURA

Director of the Museum of the City of Totoras, since 2013. Cultural Manager of the ARTEFE Virtual Museum (2011-2015). Studied Anthropology with a focus on Archeology at U.N.R. (National University of Rosario), Argentina. Scholarship to study Cultural Heritage Legislation, History of Ancient Art and Classical Archeology at Universitá della Calabria (University of Calabria), Italy (2009). Scholarship from Santa Fe Bank Foundation to participate in the *Laboratorio TyPA de Gestión en Museos* (Workshop on Museum Management), Buenos Aires (2014). Professional Training Course: Museums, Heritage and Community, U.N.L. (National Museum of the Littoral) (2016).

Directora del Museo de la Ciudad de Totoras desde 2013. Gestora Cultural del Museo Virtual ARTEFE (2011-2015). Estudios: Antropología con orientación en Arqueología, U.N.R., Argentina. Beca de estudio en Legislación de Bienes Culturales, Historia del Arte antiguo y Arqueología clásica en la Universitá della Calabria, Italia (2009). Beca Fundación Banco Santa Fe para cursar el **Laboratorio TyPA de Gestión en Museos***, Buenos Aires (2014). Curso de Formación Profesional: Museos, Patrimonio y Comunidad, U.N.L. (2016).*

AMIN, SHREEN M.

Shreen M. Amin is currently the director of the Children's Museum of the Egyptian Museum. She began her museum career at the Egyptian Museum where she was the curator of the Middle Kingdom Department from 2012 till 2015. She received an MA degree in Cultural Heritage Management and Tourism Studies from the University of Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne, a BA in Egyptology from the Faculty of Archaeology, Cairo University in 2004 and a BA in Translation from the Faculty of Arts & Translation, Open Cairo University, in 2012. She has two Professional Diplomas in heritage and tourism studies from the French University in Egypt and the Sinai High Institute for Tourism & Hotels. She is a heritage professional, Egyptologist and also a translator. She participated in several international conferences in Egypt and abroad.

Shreen M. Amin es actualmente directora del Museo del Niño Egipcio. Comenzó su carrera museística en el Museo Egipcio en donde fue curadora de la sala de la Edad Medieval de 2012 a 2015. Obtuvo una maestría en Gestión del Patrimonio Cultural y en Estudios Turísticos en la Universidad de París, sede Panteón-Sorbona, tiene un grado en Egiptología de la Facultad de Arqueología de la Universidad del Cairo, en 2004 y otro como Intérprete en la Facultad de Arte y Traducción, en la Universidad Abierta del Cairo en 2012. Cuenta con formación en Estudios Turísticos y del Patrimonio en la Universidad Francesa en Egipto en el Instituto Sinaí para Turismo y Hotelería. Es una profesional del patrimonio, egiptóloga y también traductora. Participó en varias conferencias internacionales en Egipto y en el extranjero.

ARAÚJO, DANIELA

Daniela Araújo has been working as an anthropologist at the Museum of Lisbon since 2016. She taught at Lisbon University for 14 years and she holds a PhD in Development Studies. She also worked as a researcher and curator in other national and local museums. Her research interests include food cultures and food sovereignty, sustainable urban communities, mapping research methods and collaborative projects.

Daniela Araújo ha trabajado como antropóloga en el Museo de Lisboa desde 2016. Ha enseñado en la Universidad de Lisboa durante 14 años y tiene un doctorado en Estudios del Desarrollo. También trabajó como investigadora y curadora en otros museos nacionales y locales. Sus intereses de investigación incluyen cultivos alimentarios y soberanía alimentaria, comunidades urbanas sostenibles, métodos de investigación de mapeo y proyectos colaborativos.

BARDERAS, HORTENSIA

Hortensia Barderas (Madrid, 1968) holds a BA in Modern History from the Complutense University. She has directed the library of the Doñana Biological Station in Seville, various Municipal Libraries in Madrid and is currently the Director of the Museum of History of this city. She is a member of the *Memoria de los Barrios* (Memory of Neighbourhoods) project, which strives to recover the memories of residents through their photographs and testimonies.

Hortensia Barderas (Madrid 1968), es licenciada en Historia Moderna por la Universidad Complutense. Ha dirigido la biblioteca de la Estación Biológica de Doñana en Sevilla, diferentes Bibliotecas Municipales de Madrid y actualmente es la Directora del Museo de Historia de esta ciudad. Forma parte del proyecto **Memoria de los Barrios** *que pretende recuperar la memoria de los vecinos a través de sus fotografías y testimonios.*

BASSOLS, MARCO BARRERA

Marco Barrera Bassols is a museologist, museum and exhibition designer, and historian (ENAH, 88). He has 34 years of experience in cultural management, leadership, planning, design, production and installation of more than 160 museums and exhibitions in Mexico, and abroad at MoMA, Smithsonian, Workers' Palace-Forbidden City (China), White Cube (London), Musée de la civilisation (Québec). He served as Deputy Director of the National Museum of Popular Cultures (1996-1999) and Director of the Natural History Museum (1998-2002), and the National Museums and Exhibitions Coordinator at INAH (2013).

Marco Barrera Bassols es un museólogo, curador e historiador (egresado de la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia). Cuenta con 34 años de experiencia en la gestión cultural, liderazgo, planeación, diseño, producción e instalación de más de 60 museos y exhibiciones en México; en el extranjero ha trabajado en el MoMA, el Museo Smithsonian, el Palacio de los Trabajadores - ciudad Prohibida (Pekín), el Cubo Blanco (Londres), el Museo de la Civilización (Quebec). Ha fungido como Director Interino del Museo Nacional de las Culturas Populares (1996-1999), también ha sido Director del Museo de Historia Natural (1998-2002), y Coordinador de Museos y Exposiciones en el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (2013).

BLAIR, WILLIAM

William Blair has been the Director of Collections at National Museums Northern Ireland since March 2017. He joined National Museums NI in 2009 as Head of Human History. In that role, he curated the new Titanic exhibition at the Ulster Folk and Transport Museum (2011) and was the author of its companion book *Titanic: Behind the Legend*. More recently, he led the redevelopment of the Modern History gallery at the Ulster Museum (2014). William's areas of special interest include the First World War and the Troubles in Northern Ireland, as well as broad themes of material culture, interpretation, creativity, partnership, community engagement, conflict and identity. He has also performed a representational role on various professional and sectoral bodies and is currently the Chairman of the Irish Museums Association and a member of the Northern Ireland First World War Commemorative Committee. William was previously responsible for the development of the award-winning Mid-Antrim Museums Service in County Antrim (1998-2009).

William Blair ha sido director de las Colecciones en el Museo Nacional de Irlanda del Norte desde marzo de 2017. Se unió a la institución de Museos Nacionales de Irlanda del Norte en 2009 como coordinador de Historia Humana y en esa función fue el curador de la exposición Titanic en el Museo del Transporte y Folclor Ulster (2011) y es autor del libro Titanic: Detrás de la leyenda. *Recientemente, encabezó el proceso de remodelación de la sala de Historia Moderna en el Museo Ulster (2014). Los temas de investigación abarcan la Primera Guerra Mundial y los "Troubles" de Irlanda del Norte, además de amplios aspectos de la cultura material, interpretación, creatividad, colaboración, compromiso comunitario, conflicto e identidad. También ha fungido como representante nacional en varios organismos sectoriales y actualmente es el Presidente de la Asociación de Museos Irlandeses y miembro del Comité de Irlanda del Norte para la Conmemoración la Primera Guerra Mundial. Ha colaborado en el desarrollo del galardonado Servicios de los Museos de Mid-Antrim en el condado de Antrim (1998-2009).*

COELHO, RUI

Rui Coelho is an anthropologist at the Museum of Lisbon since 2012. He has been ethnographing practices and narratives associated to the popular city festivities and working on the collective memories in different areas of the city. He also develops research in collaborative projects and mapping methods.

Rui Coelho es antropólogo en el Museo de Lisboa desde 2012. Ha estado etnografando practicas y narrativas asociadas a las festividades populares urbanas y trabajando en la memoria colectiva en diferentes áreas de la ciudad. También desarrolla investigacion en proyectos colaborativos y métodos de mapeo.

CURLE, CLINT

Clint Curle is currently a Senior Advisor to the President at the Canadian Museum for Human Rights. He first joined the Museum in 2010 as a researcher and curator. Prior to entering the museum world, Clint was, in turns, a university professor, an executive director of an NGO, a parish pastor and a lawyer. His educational background includes a PhD in political theory, Masters degrees in law and theology, and a law degree.

Clint Curle es actualmente Asesor Principal del Presidente del Museo Canadiense de los Derechos Humanos. En un inicio, se integró al Museo como investigador y curador. Antes de entrar en el mundo de los museos, Clint fue catedrático universitario, por periodos, director ejecutivo de una organización de la sociedad civil, pastor y abogado. Su formación incluye un doctorado en Teoría Política, una maestría en Derecho y Teología, y un grado en Derecho.

DE WILDT, ANNEMARIE

Annemarie de Wildt is a historian and curator at the Amsterdam Museum. She has (co) curated many exhibitions, with a variety of objects, often a mix of 'high' and 'low' culture and with a strong input of human stories and a focus on difficult and uneasy subjects. She has presented and written about city museums, practices and dilemmas of curating and (contemporary) collecting, prostitution, and Amsterdam's connection to slavery, as well as protest movements.

Annemarie de Wildt es historiadora y curadora del Museo de Ámsterdam. También ha colaborado en la curaduría de muchas exposiciones con gran variedad de piezas exhibidas, muchas veces ha mezclado la "alta" y "baja" cultura y con fuerte inclinación a las historias de vida, además se ha centrado en piezas difíciles o complejas. También, ha presentado y escrito sobre los museos de ciudad, las prácticas y las problemáticas de la curaduría y exposición (contemporánea), prostitución, y la relación de Ámsterdam con la esclavitud, así como los movimientos de protesta.

GOMES, ANA LÚCIA

Ana Lúcia Gomes is a professor and researcher in the Information Science Programme at the University of Brasília, where she leads the research group Museology, Heritage and Memory. She holds a PhD in Cultural History, from University of Brasília, a Master in History, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, and a Bachelor degree in History from Federal Fluminense University.

Ana Lúcia Gomes es profesora e investigadora en la Facultad de Ciencias de la Información de la Universidad de Brasilia, donde coordina el grupo de investigación en Museología, Patrimonio y Memoria. Tiene un doctorado en Historia de la Universidad de Brasilia, y un grado en Historia por la Universidad Federal Fluminense.

HENRY, SARAH

Sarah Henry has served the Museum of the City of New York since 2001, overseeing all of MCNY's exhibitions, public programmes and publications. She received a PhD in American History with honours from Columbia University and a BA *summa cum laude* in History and Mathematics/Philosophy from Yale. She is the recipient of the Manhattan Borough President's History Visionary Award and was elected a member of the New York Academy of History.

Sarah Henry ha trabajado en el Museo de la Ciudad de Nueva York desde el año 2001. Ha supervisado todos los programas del museo, incluyendo las exposiciones, programas públicos y publicaciones, y programas escolares. Obtuvo un doctorado en Historia de Estados Unidos con honores de la Universidad de Columbia y una licenciatura **summa cum laude** *en Historia y Matemática / Filosofía de Yale. Recibió el premio* **Manhattan Borough President's History Visionary Award** *y fue elegida miembro de la Academia de Historia de Nueva York.*

JAROSZ, KATARZYNA

Katarzyna Jarosz holds a Master degree in French and Spanish linguistics and a PhD in archaeology. Her research interests cover the issue of relationships between science and society, archaeology and politics and mechanisms of cultural heritage protection. Currently, she is working on a project which aims to analyse the process and the elements of shaping the national identity in post-Soviet countries, the former republics of the USSR.

Katarzyna Jarosz tiene una maestría en Lenguas francesas y españolas y un doctorado en Arqueología. Sus temas de investigación abordan las relaciones entre ciencia y sociedad, herramientas arqueológicas y políticas para la preservación del patrimonio cultural. Actualmente, está trabajando en proyecto que busca analizar el proceso y los elementos de la identidad nacional en los países exsoviéticos.

KARAKOSE, NAYAT

Nayat Karaköse received her BA in Sociology from Galatasaray University. She completed her MA in Theory and Practice of Human Rights at the University of Essex. In autumn of 2014, she became one of the fellows of the Alliance for Historical Dialogue and Accountability fellowship programme of the Institute for the Study of Human Rights at Columbia University. She has worked for the Hrant Dink Foundation since January 2015 where she coordinates the Hrant Dink Site of Memory project.

Nayat Karaköse es licenciada en Sociología por la Universidad de Galatasaray. Obtuvo su maestría en Teoría y Práctica de los Derechos Humanos en la Univesidad de Essex. En el otoño de 2014, se convirtió en amiga de la Alianza para el Diálogo Histórico y del Programa de Vinculación de Contabilidad del Instituto para el Estudio de los Derechos Humanos en la Universidad de Columbia. Ha trabajado para la fundación Hrant Dink desde enero de 2015, en donde coordina el Proyecto del Sitio de Memoria de Hrant Dink.

KELLEY, JONATHAN

Jonathan Kelley is a second-year graduate student in Museum and Exhibition Studies at the University of Illinois in Chicago.

Jonathan Kelley es estudiante de segundo año de posgrado en Estudios de los Museos y las Exposiciones de la Universidad de Illinois en Chicago.

KRYSINA, LILIA

Lilia Krysina has been the Senior Deputy CEO, Museum Group 'Museum of Moscow' since 2013. She graduated from Moscow State University in the Faculty of Philosophy and Faculty of Law and has an MBA from the National Research University Higher School of Economics. Lilia manages the law and finance departments of the museum group and is the author of the conception of the museum group's development.

Lilia Krysina ha sido Asistente Principal de la Secretaría General del Museo de Moscú, desde 2013. Obtuvo su grado en la Facultad de Filosofía y de Derecho de la Universidad Estatal de Moscú, tiene una maestría de la Universidad Nacional de Estudios Superiores de Economía. También administra los departamentos de Finanzas y Derecho del museo, e es autora de la creación del desarrollo del equipo del museo.

LIU, MINGQIAN

Mingqian Liu is a native of Beijing, China. She is currently a PhD student at the Department of Architecture, Texas A&M University. Her research interests include art, architectural and urban history, historic preservation, heritage tourism and public education in museums. She received an MA in History of Art and Architecture from Boston University, and a BA in International Studies from The University of Iowa.

Mingqian Liu es originaria de Beijing, China. Es estudiante del doctorado de Historia de la Arquitectura y Preservación Histórica en la Universidad A&M en Texas, Estados Unidos. Sus temas de investigación abarcan desde la historia urbana, teorías y prácticas de la preservación, así como educación pública para la protección del patrimonio cultural. Obtuvo una maestría en Historia del Arte y Arquitectura de la Universidad de Boston, y una Licenciatura en Estudios Internacionales de la Universidad de Iowa.

MARRONI, CINTIA

Doctor in Museum Studies by the University of Leicester, United Kingdom. BA in History from the UNAM (National Autonomous University of Mexico) and MD in Museology from the ENCRyM (National School of Conservation, Restoration and Museology), where she has also worked as a professor. Responsible for the area of Education and Community Links of the *Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco* (University Cultural Centre in Tlatelolco). She has published in reviews such as *Museum Management and Curatorship and Intervención*. In 2011 and 2016 she obtained the Miguel Covarrubias national prize for the best thesis in museum research, in the categories of Masters and PhD.

Doctora en Estudios de Museos por la Universidad de Leicester, Reino Unido. Egresada de Historia (UNAM) y Museología (ENCRyM), en donde también se ha desempeñado como docente. Fue responsable del área de educación y vinculación comunitaria en el Centro Cultural Universitario Tlatelolco. Ha publicado en revistas como Museum Management and Curatorship e Intervención. *En 2011 y 2016 obtuvo el premio nacional Miguel Covarrubias a la mejor tesis en investigación de museos, categorías maestría y doctorado.*

MIEDICO, CRISTINA

Cristina Miedico has a research degree in classical archaeology, and is conservator of Angera's Civic Archaeology Museum and Open-Air Museum, and an ambassador of GARIWO. In recent years she has worked on the archaeology of migration, artworks as expressions of memory, and developed the three-year project The Museum and the 'Others' which considers' foreign' cultures in the museum's hinterland by means of an original approach to the objects on display.

Cristina Miedico tiene un grado en Arqueología Clásica, es conservadora del Museo de Arqueología de la Civilización de Angera y del Museos al Aire Libre, también es embajadora de GARIWO. En los últimos años, ha trabajado en la arqueología de la migración, obras de arte como expresiones de la memoria, y ha desarrollado el Proyecto El Museo y los "Otros", el cual considera a las culturas "extranjeras" dentro del museo por medio de un enfoque original de las piezas en exhibición.

MONTEIRO, JOANA SOUSA

Joana Sousa Monteiro is a museologist working as director of the Museum of Lisbon since 2015. Formerly, she co-coordinated the Portuguese Network of Museums. She studied art history, museology and art management. She has taught museums management at the Nova University of Lisbon in the Museology Master course. She has served ICOM both as ICOM Portugal Secretary and as a CAMOC board member. She is CAMOC's Chair since 2016.

Joana Sousa Monteiro es museóloga, e directora del Museo de Lisboa desde 2015. Anteriormente, fue co-coordinadora de la Red Portuguesa de Museos. Estudió historia del arte, museología y gestión del arte. Ha enseñado gestión de museos en la Universidad Nova de Lisboa en el curso de Maestría de Museología. Ha servido al ICOM como Secretaria de ICOM Portugal y como miembro de la junta de CAMOC. Es presidenta de CAMOC desde 2016.

MOULIOU, MARLEN

Full-time Lecturer of Museology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens – NKUA and Scientific Coordinator of the Postgraduate Programme in Museums Studies, NKUA. She has served as Secretary and Chair of CAMOC (2010-2016) and currently she is one of the Co-Coordinators of the project *Migration:Cities / (im)migration and arrival cities*. Since 2016, she has been Member of the Panel of Judges for the European Museum of the Year Award and Vice-Chair of the European Academic Heritage Network (UNIVERSEUM). For 16 years, she has worked as an archaeologist-museologist at the Hellenic Ministry of Culture. She studied Archaeology and History of Art at NKUA and Museology (MA, PhD) at the School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester. She is a founding member of the first scientific journal of museology in Greece and of the online journal *CAMOCnews*. Her research focuses on museum archaeology and interpretation, urban museology, public archaeology, public participation in culture, systems thinking in museology and heritage management, museum careers and professionalism.

Marlen Mouliou es profesora de tiempo completo de Museología en la Universidad Nacional y Kapodistríaca de Atenas (Facultad de Historia y Arqueología) y Coordinadora del Programa de Posgrado de Estudios de Museos, NKUA. De 2010 a 2016, ella ha fungido como Secretaria y Presidenta del Comité internacional para colecciones y actividades de museos de ciudades (ICOM –CAMOC); actualmente es co-coordinadora de proyecto **Migración: ciudades – (in)migración y ciudades de llegada**. *Desde 2016, ha sido Miembro del Panel de Jurados del Premio Anual de Museos Europeos y Vicepresidenta de la Red Europea del Patrimonio Académico (UNIVERSEUM). Durante 16 años, trabajó como arqueóloga-museóloga en el Ministerio de Cultura de Grecia. Estudió Arqueología e Historia del Arte en NKUA y Museología (MA, PhD) en la Escuela de Estudios de Museos de la Universidad de Leicester. Es miembro fundador de la primera revista científica de museología en Grecia y de la revista en línea* CAMOCnews. *Su investigación se centra en la arqueología e interpretación de museos, la museología urbana, la arqueología pública, la participación pública en la cultura, el pensamiento sistémico en museología y gestión del patrimonio, las carreras museísticas y el profesionalismo.*

MURANO, MASAKAGE

The author is a curator in Archaeology and is a member of Education and Outreach Section at the Museum of Kyoto. The author is engaged with various projects related with public archaeology and museology implemented in Kyoto, Japan and El Salvador. The author worked at the Department of Archaeology, CONCULTURA (actual Secretaría de Cultura), El Salvador, as JOCV/JICA in 2006-2009 and at the Kyushu University, Japan, as assistant professor in 2009-2010, among other positions.

El autor es curador en Arqueología y miembro de Área de Difusión Comunitaria y Educativa en el Museo de Kyoto. Está a cargo de varios proyectos relacionados con la arqueología y museología públicas realizados en Kyoto, Japón y en El Salvador. Ha trabajado en el Departamento de Arqueología de CONCULTURA, en El Salvador, a través del Programa de Voluntarios Extranjeros de Japón de la Agencia de Cooperación Internacional de Japón JOCV/JICA) de 2006 a 2009 y en la Universidad de Kyushu como profesor adjunto de 2009 a 2010, entre otros cargos.

NEPINAK, JENNEFER

Jennefer Nepinak is currently a Senior Advisor with the Canadian Museum for Human Rights, where she is responsible for developing strategies for Indigenous engagement in the museum. Nepinak is a former executive director of the Treaty Relations Commission of Manitoba, where she served in the role from 2005 to 2013.

Jennefer Nepinak es actualmente Asesora Principal en el Museo Canadiense de los Derechos Humanos, donde ha sido responsable del desarrollo de estrategias para el compromiso indígena del museo. También ha fungido como directora ejecutiva del Tratado sobre las Relaciones de Manitoba, de 2005 a 2013.

OLIVEIRA, ÁGUEDA

Águeda Oliveira is a graduate student in the Information Science Programme at the University of Brasília, where she researches museum history and heritage policies. She is also Bachelor of Museology.

Águeda Oliveira es estudiante en el Programa de Ciencias de la Información de la Universidad de Brasília, donde investiga la historia del museo y las políticas del patrimonio. Ella también es Licenciada en Museología.

RAMÍREZ, JESÚS ANTONIO MACHUCA

Jesús Antonio Machuca Ramírez is a sociologist from UNAM, a researcher in the Ethnology and Social Anthropology Direction of the National Institute of Anthropology and History of Mexico (DEAS-INAH), and coordinator of several certificates delivered by the INAH on Cultural Analysis. He is the coordinator of several seminars such as Anthropology and Tourism (with Dr. Alicia Castellanos, UAM – Iztapalapa), Multidisciplinary Approach to the Study of Memory (with Dr. Anne Warren Johnson – UIA), and Cultural Heritage.

Sociólogo de la UNAM, investigador de la Dirección de Etnología y Antropología Social del INAH, coordinador académico de diplomados como Análisis de la Cultura del INAH. Coordinador de varios seminarios, entre los cuales se cuentan: Antropología y Turismo (con la Dra. Alicia Castellanos), Aproximaciones Multidisciplinarias al Estudio de la Memoria (con la Dra. Anne Warren Johnson) y Patrimonio Cultural de la DEAS-INAH.

REYNOLDS, CHRIS

Dr Reynolds' main research interests are in relation to the events of 1968. Having initially focused on the French events of Mai 68, he has widened his analysis to examine the period from a European perspective. He has published a number of articles on the French events and his first monograph on the subject, *Memories of May'68: France's Convenient Consensus* (University of Wales Press), was published in 2011. He has also been involved in research on the events of 1968 in Northern Ireland and in 2015 he published his second monograph entitled Sous les pavés… *The Troubles: Northern Ireland, France and the European Collective Memory of 1968* with Peter Lang.

Principales temas de investigación de Dr. Reynolds están relacionados con los eventos de 1968. En un inició se centró en lo sucedido en Francia, ahora ha ampliado su análisis a examinar el periodo desde una perspectiva europea. Ha publicado una serie de artículos sobre los eventos franceses y su primera monografía sobre el tema, **Memories of May'68: France's Convenient Consensus** *(University of Wales Press), se publicó en 2011. También ha participado en la investigación sobre los eventos de 1968 en Irlanda del Norte y en 2015 publicó su segunda monografía titulada Sous les pavés…* The Troubles: Northern Ireland, France and the European Collective Memory of 1968, *en colaboración con Peter Lang.*

RIDLEY, CHELSEA

Chelsea Ridley is a second-year graduate student in Museum and Exhibition Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Ridley is also Educational Services Manager at the Dusable Museum of African American History.

Chelsea Ridley es estudiante de segundo año de posgrado en Estudios de los Museos y las Exposiciones de la Universidad de Illinois en Chicago. Ridley también es Gerente de Servicios Educativos en el Museo Dusable de Historia Afroamericana.

ROCA I ALBERT, JOAN

Joan Roca i Albert was trained as an urban geographer at the University of Barcelona and is a researcher into urban history and heritage. He taught at Institut Barri Besòs (a secondary school in the suburbs of Barcelona), at the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst in Zurich. A former director of Aula Barcelona and the Urban Majorities Project at Fundació Tàpies, he was appointed as director of Barcelona History Museum (MUHBA) in 2007.

Joan Roca i Albert tiene la formación en Geografía Urbana en la Universidad de Barcelona e ha realizado investigaciones sobre historia y patrimonio urbanos. Ha sido profesor en el Instituto Barri Besòs (una escuela secundaria en la periferia de Barcelona), en la Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona y en la Escuela Superior de las Artes de Zúrich. Después de su periodo como director de la aula de Barcelona y del Proyecto de Mayorías Urbanas en la fundación Tàpies, fue elegido como director del Museo de Historia de Barcelona (MUHBA), en 2007.

SALACH, ALEKSANDRA

Aleksandra Salach holds a Master degree in Polish philology. Currently, she is working on her doctoral dissertation entitled "City cultural identity through the lens of diasporas and

ethnic minorities, in conflict and post-conflict cities". Her professional interest covers the issue of national identity and the mechanisms of its creation.

Aleksandra Salach tiene una Maestría en Filología Polaca. Actualmente, está trabajando en su disertación de doctorado titulada "Identidad cultural de la ciudad a través de la lente de las diásporas y las minorías étnicas, en las ciudades en conflicto y post-conflicto". Su interés profesional abarca el tema de la identidad nacional y los mecanismos de su creación.

SANDAHL, JETTE

Jette Sandahl was the founding director of two new museums, the Women's Museum in Denmark and the Museum of World Cultures in Sweden. She served as Director of Exhibitions and Public Programs at the National Museum of Denmark and as Director Experience at Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand. Most recently she was Director of the Museum of Copenhagen. She chairs the European Museum Forum and ICOM's Committee of Museum Definition, Prospects and Potentials, and publishes in the broad museological field.

Jette Sandahl fue fundadora de dos nuevos museos: el Museo de las Mujeres, en Dinamarca y el Museo de las Culturas del Mundo, en Suecia. Ha fungido como directora de las Exhibiciones y Programas Públicos en el Museo Nacional de Dinamarca y como directora experta en el Museo Te Papa Tongarewa de Nueva Zelanda. Recientemente, fue directora del Museo de Copenhague. Ella preside el Foro de los Museos Europeos y el Comité sobre la Definición de Museo, Perspectivas y Posibilidades de ICOM, cuenta con varias publicaciones en el campo de la museología.

SAPRYKINA, ALINA

Alina Saprykina has been CEO, Museum Group 'Museum of Moscow since 2013. She graduated from Moscow State University, Faculty of Philosophy and is the author of scientific publications and a lecturer in the Faculty of Arts at The Moscow State University, RMA School and the British Higher School of Art and Design, Moscow. She has more than 10 years' experience in the sphere of culture and has organised more than hundred exhibitions and cultural events.

Alina Saprykina es Secretaria General del Museo de Moscú desde 2013. Es egresada de la Facultad de Filosofía de la Universidad Estatal de Moscú, es autora de numerosas publicaciones científicas y conferencista en la Facultad de Artes en la Universidad Estatal de Moscú, en la Escuela de Negocios y en la Escuela Superior de Arte y Diseño, en Moscú. Cuenta con más de diez años de experiencia en al área cultural y ha organizado más de cien exposiciones y eventos culturales.

SARMA, INGA

Born in 1959, in Jurmala, Latvia. Graduated from the University of Latvia in Riga in 1985, a historian, Mg. Hist., Mg. Phil. Works at the Jurmala City Museum since 1981. She is the author of the permanent exhibitions "History of the Resort" and "Child at Resort". She also participates in the development of educational TV shows. She is the author of several books and many publications and has participated in scientific conferences in the USA, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and Germany.

Nació en 1959, en Jurmala, Letonia. Se graduó de la Universidad de Latvia, Riga, en 1985, cuenta con una maestría en Historia y otra en Filosofía. Ha trabajado en el Museo de la ciudad de Jurmala desde 1981. Es autora de las exposiciones permanentes "Historia de Lugar de Veraneo" y " Niño no Lugar de Veraneo". También participa en el desarrollo de programas educativos de televisión. Es autora de varios libros y numerosas publicaciones y ha participado en conferencias científicas en los Estados Unidos, Grecia, Letonia, Lituania, Rusia y Alemania.

WEINSTEIN, ELKA

Elka Weinstein is the Treasurer for ICOM Canada and a Senior Programs Advisor at Canadian Heritage. Prior to this, she was the Museum Advisor for the Province of Ontario. She has a Master of Museum Studies and a PhD in Archaeology from the University of Toronto. She also teaches in the Museum Studies Program at the University of Toronto, and has been a guest-lecturer since 2011 in the Programa Master en Museos at the University of Zaragoza, Spain.

Elka Weinstein es la tesorera de ICOM Canadá y Asesora Principal del Programa del Patrimonio Canadiense. Antes de esto, era la Asesora del Museo de la Provincia de Ontario. Es conferencista en el Programa de Estudios de Museos en la Universidad de Toronto. Tiene un Master of Museum Studies y un doctorado en Arqueología de la Universidad de *Toronto.*

También enseña en el Programa de Estudios de Museos en la Universidad de Toronto, y ha sido profesora invitada desde 2011 en el Programa Master en Museos de la Universidad de Zaragoza, España.

WU, CHAO-CHIEH

Chao-Chieh Wu is a curator of the National Museum of History, Taiwan. She has a great interest in ethnographic collections and material culture, has worked in museums and storages for years, and developed further interest in the cultural memory behind the objects and the connection with cultural heritage. Her recent research is about an old historical district in Taipei, mainly dealing with the local memory and the entanglements through the city development context.

Chao-Chieh Wu es curadora del Museo Nacional de Historia en Taiwán. Se ha interesado principalmente en colecciones de etnografía y en la cultura material, ha trabajado con piezas y su relación con el patrimonio cultural. Su investigación más reciente trata acerca de un distrito histórico de Taipei, principalmente como la memoria local ha lidiado con los problemas a través de un contexto de desarrollo urbano.

ZUMA, BONGINKOSI "ROCK"

Zuma is a researcher within the Durban Local History Museums, an institution that preserves the history and heritage of the city of Durban. He participates in curatorial discussions that involve both permanent and temporary exhibitions, making museum collections available to the public. He is affiliated with the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and has presented internationally at ICOM conferences and nationally at South African Museums Association (SAMA) conferences.

Zuma es investigador en el Museo Histórico de Durban, que preserva la historia y el patrimonio de la ciudad de Durban. Ha participado en discusiones sobre curadoría que involucran exhibiciones temporales y permanentes, haciendo las colecciones de los museos accesibles para todo público. También, está conectado a Consejo Internacional de Museos e ha presentado internacionalmente en conferencias del ICOM y a nivel nacional, en las Conferencias Anuales de la Asociación de Museos Sudafricanos (SAMMA).

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