CONNECTING CITIES, CONNECTING CITIZENS: TOWARDS A SHARED SUSTAINABILITY
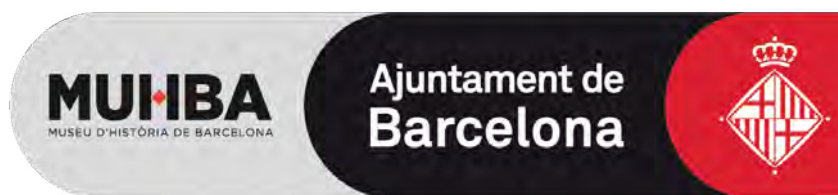
CAMOC ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2021

Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

BOOK OF PROCEEDINGS

ICOM international council of museums

CAMOC

ICOM international committee for the collections and activities of museums of cities

MUHBA

Ajuntament de Barcelona

CONFERENCE ORGANISERS:

ICOM
international committee
for the collections and activities
of museums of cities

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Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain
1-4 December, 2021

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CAMOC

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE COLLECTIONS AND ACTIVITIES OF MUSEUMS OF CITIES

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Connecting cities, connecting citizens: Towards a shared sustainability

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C O N T E N T S

FABRA I COATS FACTORY, BARCELONA. PHOTO: MANUEL COHEN

CAMOC
ICOM
international committee
for the collections and activities
of museums of cities

JOANA SOUSA MONTEIRO

CAMOC Chair,
2016-2019 and 2019-2022

FROM THE CAMOC CHAIR

CAMOC reflects the growing focus on cities all over the world, namely, their cultural and social diversity, their economic development, their spectacular growth, the challenges and pitfalls caused by pollution, natural resources management, and the disparities between overpopulation vs. ageing population, among many other complex and fascinating issues. The Committee has been supporting and encouraging city museums in their work of collecting, preserving and presenting original material on the cities' past, present and future, a work which can only strengthen the cities' identities and contribute to their development.

This publication illustrates a large extent and the richness of one of CAMOC's latest annual conferences, the one held in Barcelona in December 2021, which was the last stand-alone CAMOC conference of the previous Board, prior to the CAMOC sessions organised in tandem with ICOM General Conference in Prague, in August 2022.

CAMOC conferences follow the consistent evolution of city museums worldwide and the increased need for urban networks at all levels. Across all continents, the number and relevance of city museums are increasing and models and ways of engaging with citizens are changing in step with the rapid growth of cities themselves. A more sustainable and humanised urban life can be encouraged, from the micro-scale of the neighbourhood to the larger level of the city, with direct effects on people's life and the planet.

At the conference in Barcelona, we set the goal of moving from the idea of a "city museum" to a "citizens' museum", grounded in research-based work in urban history, heritage management and citizen participation. The three intense days of the conference unfolded across five different sessions: *Past, present and future of city museums; Organising the museum*; *Dealing with urban sustainability*; *Reporting the city*; *The hidden potential of city museums*; and *Building citizenship*.

The *Past, present and future of city museums* session integrated a very important panel with three key CAMOC people who took part in the creation and the successful development of the committee: Suay Aksoy, Ian Jones and Chet Orloff, who reflected on the results, challenges and accomplishments of CAMOC since its beginning as one of the younger international committees in ICOM. Chet Orloff stated in the text for this book, which resonated with his intervention at the conference, that "CAMOC and its organising and collaborative potential can help bring several city museums together to share the solutions being tried in cities worldwide." City museums are indeed key elements in the social and cultural infrastructure of their cities. He added: "In facilitating and helping develop even more ways of collaborating, CAMOC will continue to further its purpose as a forum for museums of cities."

The comprehensive presentation of this book by Jelena Savic, the former CAMOC Secretary, fully explains its main themes and takeaways, as a relevant record and memory of the Barcelona conference. I would like, however, to refer to some of the city museum projects presented here, namely the cases of Milan, São Paulo, Cairo, Sarajevo and Tokyo, confronting different challenges, issues and models of work.

Sustainability and food were other key topics of the conference. Here you may find the contents of the MUHBA's *Feeding Barcelona*, and the Museum of Lisbon's *Vegetable Gardens* research and exhibition projects. Global perspectives can be locally rooted towards the building of citizenship and the reduction of inequalities in many different ways, led by city museum projects like the ones presented by colleagues from Mumbai, Greensboro, Paris and Barcelona.

Now, it's time to further develop the CAMOC city museums global mapping project with the help of colleagues from across the world, and to focus on the next CAMOC conference in New York, in October 2023!

JOAN ROCA I ALBERT

*Director, MUHBA / City History Museums
and Research Network of Europe*

CAMOC BARCELONA 2021: FOUR INTENSE DAYS

From the very start, since CAMOC was created as a committee of ICOM in 2005, city museums have spread out to places where none existed and have been reformed in many places that had them. In Barcelona, as hosts, we had the pleasure of receiving some of the individuals who have followed this process close at hand, especially at a round table with Ian Jones, Chet Orloff and Suay Aksoy. The discussion was led by Joana Sousa Monteiro, who, in recent years, as chair of ICOM-CAMOC, has – quite excellently, in our opinion – overseen a series of theoretical debates which found their point of convergence at the Barcelona Conference.

As stated in the introduction to the *Book of Abstracts*, "When focusing on the programme for CAMOC Barcelona 2021, the previous conferences were taken into account in order to attempt a leap forward. If controversial stories were raised in Mexico, it is now convenient to find a way to incorporate them without difficulty. If in Frankfurt the future of city museums was discussed, here the proposal is clear: the future will be for those who reliably display and explain the city. If in Kyoto the theme was city museums as cultural hubs, here they are spoken of as hubs of knowledge. Finally, if in Krakow the issue was the right to the city, Barcelona must take the next step: how city museums can contribute, methodically and in a direct way, to provide the cultural basis for exercising the right to the city, even with poor resources." There was also the intention of establishing dialogues with as many people as possible, from near and far, the reason why the working languages were English, Catalan, Spanish and French.

Barcelona promised to become an excellent venue for facilitating all these points of convergence. The city has a long history, from its Roman origins to its later position as the capital of Catalonia and as a European metropolis. Moreover, it boasts an outstanding trajectory in the field of municipal research into urban history and other city studies. All this has favoured the formulation of new ideas about the role of city museums as centres of research, heritage and citizenship. The Barcelona History Museum was one of the founders of the International Association of City Museums, set up in London, which met in our city in 1995. More recently, since 2010, MUHBA has promoted the City History Museums and Research Network of Europe (Cityhist), which has a score of institutional members, including both academic centres and city museums. As noted in *European City Museums,* a recently published book by the network, several CAMOC museums are also Cityhist members.

We prepared the CAMOC Barcelona 2021 Conference in cooperation with Joana Sousa Monteiro and Jelena Savic: their suggestions were most valuable and we described a possible starting point for the event in an article published in *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review* 3/2021, *Connecting cities through city museums: Towards a global strategy*. Our initial premise was that a new urban museology should consider the museum as a process in time and space, historical and multi-scale. Moreover, it should bear in mind that without research there is no museum, just as without heritage there is no museum either. As importantly as this, or possibly more so, we observed that, if the museum does not take into account both the scale of proximity, that of community, and the scale of the city as a whole and beyond, it jeopardises its mission of cultural interpretation and its role may be reduced to that of a creator of community conformity.

Nowadays, the urban condition is in a state of transformation, as are the concepts for describing it. See, for example, such controversial and thought-provoking essays as Neil Brenner's *New Urban Spaces: Urban Theory and the Scale Question*. The restructuring of cities and territorial networks is accelerating,

new forms of urbanisation are taking shape, and all this can only be explained from a historical, multi-scale perspective, while, at the same time, questioning everything. A city museum cannot ignore this in its research, in the creation of new collections and in the interaction with citizens. City museums, which are conceived as institutions that describe and show the urban ensemble, both at their sites and through carefully-planned urban routes, can expand the public sphere in the debate on cities in the twenty-first century: in the CAMOC Barcelona Conference, we paid particular attention to Latin America and Africa.

Even as we prepared the conference, the pandemic was still raging. The situation was uncertain. In Krakow, once it was decided that the conference would only take place online, the programme focused on two afternoons and one morning in order to reduce the problem of intercontinental time zone differences. In Barcelona, if most registrations were for online attendance, as expected, it would have been wise to do the same, but as on-site registration was also opened, it was vital to prepare an intense programme of activities *in situ* that would justify the trip for those who risked attending in person. Events were planned in multiple formats related both to urban heritage, food and drink, music and dance as well as urban history, based on routes with methodological content, some of them designed as urban trekking experiences.

This complementing programme was designed with just a few in-person attendees in mind, people who would be faced with many empty hours if, as it had happened in Krakow, the same time restrictions were applied, despite things working out very well there. However, the number of attendees registering to come to Barcelona in person sharply rose, making it necessary to rethink the strategy. Accordingly, the workshop on *The Hidden Potential of City museums* and several different events were added to the general programme, among them the urban trekking in the Poblenou district on Friday morning.

So, it was that the conference unexpectedly took on a marked "Barcelonian" tone. All this required a considerable additional effort. It was no easy task to adapt what had been planned for a minority to a large on-site group, while also broadcasting everything online. Here, I should like to highlight the work of the entire MUHBA team, whose members really threw themselves into action. But, in the end, it was all well worthwhile: those attending were extremely enthusiastic and I would also like to leave a word of praise for the quality of the presentations, nearly all the messages received afterwards noted that the immersion in the museum and its urban environment was a highly satisfactory aspect of the Barcelona conference.

The case of Barcelona may end up being nothing special: in times of efficient teleconferences, strict environmental requirements and high transport costs, face-to-face meetings – necessary as they are – will perhaps in future give more prominence to the museum and the city that organises them, in order to justify the journey. Having said all this, I should now proceed to discuss the content of the Conference. In fact, that was the idea, of course, but on reading the superb report by the editor of the publication, Jelena Savic, on the following pages, it becomes completely unnecessary. So, good reading to you all, we all hold an excellent book in our hands!

JELENA SAVIC

Editor

CONNECTING CITIES, CONNECTING CITIZENS:
TOWARDS A SHARED SUSTAINABILITY:
CAMOC ANNUAL CONFERENCE 2021

About the conference and this publication

The year 2021 was a peculiar year in CAMOC's history: to mitigate the disruption caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, we held two annual meetings during that year. The first, in June 2021, was our conference on *The Right to the City*, planned to be held in Krakow in 2020, and converted to an entirely online event. The second meeting, which is the theme of this publication, was our regular, 2021 Annual Conference. The four-day event, entitled *Connecting Cities, Connecting Citizens: Towards a Shared Sustainability*, took place on 1-4 December 2021, in Barcelona, on site and also online - in a hybrid format.

Such flexible and technically demanding event concept, necessary due to the uncertainties around the pandemic, required exceptional organisational and financial efforts, both from CAMOC and our host, MUHBA – Barcelona History Museum. The results were also exceptional. We had 62 contributors from 31 countries: 18 presentations in three regular paper sessions, 13 presentations in two ignite sessions, two roundtables with seven contributors and one half-day workshop with 8 contributors and about 40 participants. Despite travel restrictions due to the pandemic, it was still possible to gather many participants on-site, although the number was somewhat reduced (around 60% of the usual attendance before the pandemic), and attract over 250 registrations to attend the event online. Online attendance was facilitated by waiving the registration fees. The conference could be followed in four languages: English, Catalan, Spanish and French. In total, 52 countries across six continents were represented.

The conference gathered city museum experts and other city researchers around the idea of moving forward from the "city museum" to the "citizens' museum", based on research and practice in the fields of urban history, heritage management and citizen participation. The programme consisted of three intense conference days with six sessions in diverse formats and included specialized guided visits to MUHBA's exhibitions, special events (a concert, a historical food tasting, a dance performance), and a post-conference tour day with five thematic guided tours through Barcelona. All conference sessions and debates and some of the special events were live streamed.

As it was the case for the previous books of proceedings, this volume is available as a digital publication, in English. In order to reach the highest possible number of researchers, experts and others interested in urban life, cities and their museums, it is available free of charge, and may be used and shared according to the CC BY-NC-ND license copyright conditions.[1]

The structure of the book

This Book of Proceedings contains 17 original articles, and its structure follows the thematic subdivision of the conference. As this is only a part of the contributions presented at our annual meeting, the book should be contemplated and used together with the audio-visual archive of the event, made possible by the MUHBA's technical team, and publicly available on both MUHBA's and CAMOC's YouTube channels.[2] The Book of Abstracts is also useful for a quick overview of all contributions.[3]

The conference programme was composed around six sub-themes: *Past, present and future of city museums, Organising the museum, Dealing with urban sustainability, Reporting the city, The hidden potential of city museums* and *Building citizenship*. Two of them, *Past, present and future of city museums* and *Dealing with urban*

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[2] https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLc_HTVN7--433GoJe8at792DnY3T2nwR3 and https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLNhaRZEo9KybIN5I4M02dK-psj91-GkMcl

[3] The Book of Abstracts is available at: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/conferences/barcelona-2021/

sustainability, were in form of roundtables, while the topics of *Organising the museum, Reporting the city* and *Building citizenship* were addressed through regular and "ignite" paper sessions. Finally, *The hidden potential of city museums* was explored through a workshop.

The book follows the same thematic subdivision, somewhat simplified due to the fact that not all of the conference speakers could submit their articles for this volume.

Past, present and future of city museums

The first conference day, taking place in MUHBA's main location at Plaça del Rei, began with the round table *entitled Past, present and future of city museums*. The discussion, moderated by Joana Sousa Monteiro, the CAMOC Chair (2016-2022), was among three key CAMOC developers: Suay Aksoy, Ian Jones and Chet Orloff, and was aimed at reflecting on more than 15 years of CAMOC's history and discussing ideas and paths for the future of the committee and of city museums. In this volume, we share Chet Orloff's text, On the Purpose and Roles of CAMOC. An experienced historian, a long-term committee member and a former CAMOC Board member, Chet Orloff shares his thoughts on how to guide CAMOC in the near future, structured around five main areas of action. The key message is about collaboration – at various levels, within CAMOC and with other individuals and institutions - as the key for the future of the committee and its membership.

Organising the museum

The first conference day was also dedicated to the sub-theme of *Organising the museum*, which was composed of a standard paper session (six speakers) and an ignite session with seven presentations. In the standard paper session, city museums of Krakow, Barcelona, São Paulo, Moscow and Havana were represented, as well as the strategy for civic museums of Milan. The ignite session gathered participants from different corners of the world, who joined us online: in just 75 minutes, we moved across four continents and travelled to Sarajevo, Cairo, Tokyo, Melbourne, Danang City, Xi'an or Córdoba. Out of thirteen session participants, eight have contributed to this book.

Elena Pérez Rubiales writes about MUHBA's multiscale vision of the city of Barcelona, sharpened through a recent restructuring of the Museum, at both physical and digital level, accelerated by the pandemic.

Two following texts, by Marco Eduardo Minoja and his team, from Civic Museums of Milan, and Paola Talib Assad and her team, from the City Museum of São Paulo, focus on strategic planning for museums, but from very different perspectives. The Milan case, which we have been following closely in recent years through presentations and written contributions for CAMOC conferences, is about linking museums (and diverse other cultural agents) *in* the city, on the territorial basis. While this is stimulating and worthwhile in terms of cultural connections and citizen involvement within Milan, the focus of these cultural agents is dispersed, and a lack of a cultural hub or network to provide systematic and comprehensive knowledge *about* the city is apparent. This is all the more striking when juxtaposed with other strategic approaches, such as the one of the City Museum of São Paulo, featured in this same chapter, or MUHBA, tackled through several contributions in this book. Both museums, while being network museums, have a clear focus – they are revealing *about* their respective cities, in all their complexity, while working for and with their communities.

The four remaining papers from this session were presented online, in an ignite session. Senka Ibrisimbegovic's article provides the theoretical background behind the future museum quarter of Sarajevo, highlighting the role of the future museum of contemporary art as a knowledge-generating institution and a space for social inclusion. The construction of the museum, according to the author, is to start already in 2023, but no further details are revealed about how and when this new cultural landmark of Sarajevo will be materialised.

Manar Mazhar from Cairo emphasises the need for a city museum in her city and proposes a possible model, based on her academic research and international experience.

The chapter ends with three Asian contributions: through a case study of local Katu culture, Ha Duong from Danang City (Vietnam) tackles the role of museum in preserving and sustaining cultural heritage of minority communities. Akiko Okatsuka's article Changing Tokyo is about a remarkable project to reconstruct the Nihonbashi Bridge, one of the key landmarks of historical city. No effort is spared in order to raise awareness of the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo and correct past mistakes. Finally, Cheng Yanni and Bo Chen from China present the case of Yan Hangling Museum, representative of an entire new type of museums, called National Archaeological Site Parks, emerging in China since very recently (2018).

Dealing with urban sustainability

Dealing with urban sustainability was the second roundtable of the first conference day, featuring three state-of-the-art city museum approaches in this area, those of the city museums of Frankfurt, Lisbon and Barcelona. Two of them are represented in this book.

The article by Daniela Araújo, from the Museum of Lisbon, presents the research and exhibition project about food sustainability, sovereignty and security in the city, which resulted in an exhibition *Lisbon Vegetable Gardens. From the Middle Ages to the 21st century* (2020-2021) and establishment of numerous partnerships with most diverse institutions, associations and communities.

The text by Ramon Pujades, from MUHBA, is about this museum's recent exhibition called *Feeding Barcelona*, the outcome of a decade-long preparation and research. The exhibition revealed the characteristics and boundaries of the food model of Barcelona, within a broad historical framework. Its dual narrative format may work as a model for other city museums which work on food sustainability and sovereignty projects.

Reporting the city

The second conference day was dedicated to the sub-theme of *Reporting the city*, which was tackled through a paper session with six presentations and a dialogue session entitled History, heritage and museum: without research, no city reporting!. Besides contributions from European speakers, from Barcelona, Jurmala (Latvia), Espoo, St. Petersburg and Graz, experiences focusing on reporting the city from Nairobi (Kenya), Mumbai (India), and Port Elizabeth (South Africa) were shared.

In this book, this sub-theme is represented by one paper - Curating Informalities: Syncretism of Social Innovation in the City, where a team of three researchers and architects from India discusses the representation of urban informalities, underresearched in the city museum context so far, on the case of Mumbai. The most valuable contribution of the article is a set of recommendations for city museums, at different scales, which intertwine museology strategies with urban social geography, covering an array of topics such as urban inequalities, the sense of place, cultural identities, or connection with citizens.

The hidden potential of city museums

The entire afternoon of the second conference was dedicated to the workshop entitled *The hidden potential of city museums*. The workshop consisted of four components: *Methods, Procedures, Patterns* and *Strategies*, and included an urban trekking experience on the third conference day - a walk from industrial to postmodern Poblenou.

Methods corresponded to a guided visit to the exhibition *Barcelona Flashback*, MUHBA's proposal of a historical interrogative method for reading the city. The visit was followed by the introduction on the key elements and a laboratory of ideas about the conception of 21st -century city museums, by Joan Roca, corresponding to *Procedures*. This was the base for an attempt to outline new city museum paradigms together (*Patterns*). A debate followed about city museums in fast-growing metropolises in all continents, where special focus was given to African cities (*Strategies*).

In this book, Joan Roca provides a detailed account of the workshop and its theoretical and conceptual background, arguing how even "minimal city museums" have capability to be decisive in building a strategic cultural policy for their cities, and simultaneously represent the city and attend and engage its communities.

Building citizenship

The third conference day was also dedicated to the sub-theme of *Building citizenship*, which was discussed through a dialogue on *City museums: global perspectives locally rooted and managed*, a standard paper session with six presentations and the second ignite session, also with six presentations. The standard paper session gathered presenters from Europe, North and South America, with colleagues coming from: Amsterdam, Paris, Ghent, Edmonton, Greensboro and Bogota. The ignite session gathered European speakers: all but one of the ignite presenters were able to join us on site.
In this book, four papers from this session are featured.

Carme Turégano from Barcelona reiterates the question of locally rooted global perspectives that the city museums can offer, based on her rich experience related to the musealisation of heritage and participative management models.[4]

Andrea Delaplace presents a recent project dedicated to social housing in Aubervilliers, a difficult neighbourhood northeast of Paris, which derived from an associative initiative led by AMuLoP and resulted in an exhibition *La vie HLM-Histoires d'habitant·e·s de logements populaires. Aubervilliers, 1950-2000* (October 2021 to June 2022). Andrea highlights the importance of this type of projects in French and Parisian context, where migration, marginalised communities and recent urban history in general have been underrepresented in the city museum.

Two final papers come from the Spanish museum context. Almudena Cruz Yábar from Madrid highlights the responsibility and potential of city museums to deal with difficult episodes of their cities' history and exemplifies this through a series of cases from her country. Ramon Graus from Barcelona uses a comparative approach to look beyond the façades in Lisbon, London and Barcelona in order to reveal the inner forces that made those cities and their societies. Such approach, interweaving the cities' social and urban history, may be useful for city museums to better understand their cities' identities.

Towards a shared sustainability

CAMOC has been focused on sustainability, one of the key words for the Barcelona conference, for a while now. Recently, we tackled urban sustainability as a key issue throughout and beyond the museum sector at our previous, Krakow conference, and a chapter of our previous book of proceedings is dedicated to this theme. Our Prague conference, which took place in August 2022, as a part of ICOM General Triennial Conference under the umbrella theme *The power of museums*, also involved discussion on all the more fundamental role and weight cities have in achieving sustainability goals. Our main research questions, discussed in the full-day session dedicated to *Museums, Citizens and Urban Sustainability,* were: how city museums and citizens can build a more sustainable society; how to establish city museums as local sustainable citizenship hubs, and how city museums can work as part of larger networks organised around urban sustainability and resilience goals. We hope to see a collection of innovative approaches and inspiring perspectives on those matters in our upcoming proceedings.

Meanwhile, we are looking forward to our next encounter, planned for October 2023 in New York, where we will be focusing on cities as generators of social, economic and political change and the challenges this represents for their museums, through the theme *Changing Cities, Changing Museums.*

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[4] It is to be contemplated together with Paul van der Laar's contribution to the dialogue, available aa a part of the audio-visual archive of the event.
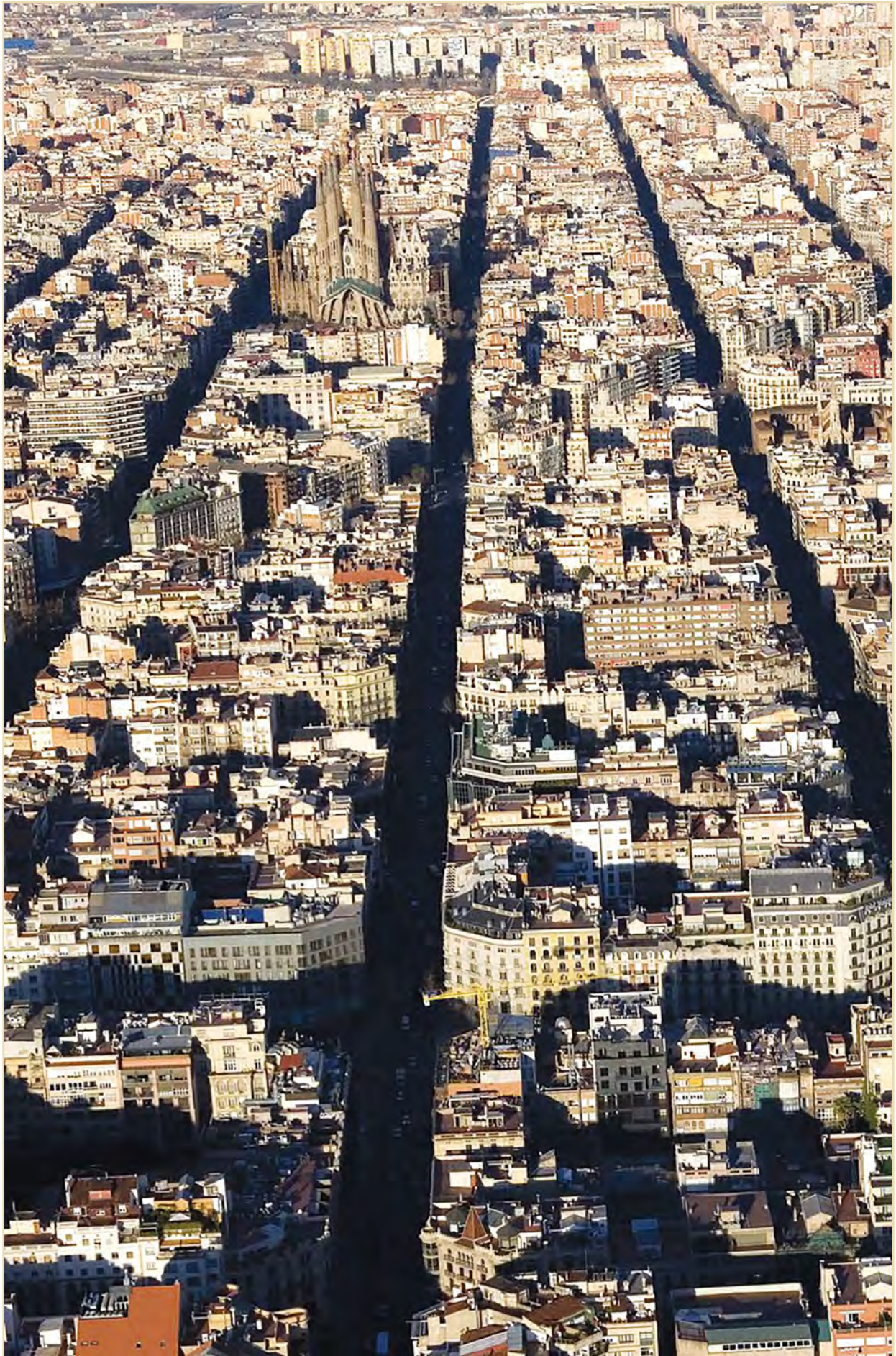
AERIAL VIEW OF THE EIXAMPLE, BARCELONA. PHOTO: PEPE NAVARRO

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE OF CITY MUSEUMS

CHET ORLOFF

*Historian and former CAMOC
Board member[1]
Portland, USA*

ON THE PURPOSE AND ROLES OF CAMOC

ABSTRACT

Former CAMOC Board member Chet Orloff asserts that collaboration - among CAMOC individual members, museums (city and other types of museums), organisations, universities, cities, and nations - is the key to the survival and growth of CAMOC and its constituents worldwide.

Key words: CAMOC, city museums, collaboration, future

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[1] Chet Orloff is a practicing historian who manages an international collection of art and history (https://pamplincollection.org). He is the founder of the Museum of the City.

Introduction

I have been asked to talk about CAMOC and its mission – past, present, and future.

I underscore, our committee is not a museum, but rather a gathering of people who work in museums.

It would be presumptuous of me to tell the professionals who work in museums and live in other cities what I think they should do. Yet, my role is to suggest what I think CAMOC can do.

CAMOC's primary mission is to be a forum for museums of cities, their citizens and for anyone interested in cities. That is a big job. I say "big" not just because our work is substantial but because the future of our museums, visitors and staffs is our most important concern. Not an exclusive one, just its most important.

My intention is to propose some functions, each of which might involve its own museums, programmes, and working groups – to help guide CAMOC in the immediate future.

The five areas for CAMOC to act

After nearly five decades of working as a historian and urban planner in several museums and cities, I want to suggest five areas to act, and continue to act, as an organisation of, and as a forum for museums of cities.

First, I believe it is essential for CAMOC to appreciate how the practice of city-museum work has changed over the past generation. We have evolved from primarily historically, archaeologically and curatorially based professionals to urbanists, city planners, and organisers. The museums of Lisbon, Barcelona, London, Paris, Copenhagen, New York, among other cities, have all demonstrated realistic approaches in this regard. Until quite recently, most city museums focused on the history of their city, with little discussion of the future and even less discussion about the many issues, the problems and opportunities their own city commonly shares with those of other cities. The "business" of cities, as we know, is far beyond history itself, and, increasingly, more about the present and future of the people who live in and visit our cities. City museum work differs from the work of other types of museums in many ways and it behoves CAMOC and its member museum staffs to continue to further develop the skills and knowledge to take on such issues as planning, community organising and urban repair. Many of us are already working in the fields of planning and helping recreate our communities. Look at the work of the Barcelona Museum, for instance. By holding this conference, bringing all the different professionals together, the Museum and CAMOC are doing exactly what hosting a conference is about.

Second, CAMOC and member museums have begun collaborating with many local, national, and international organisations of cities and museums to host conferences, exhibits, seminars, and workshops. Already, we have seen programmes on immigration, vegetable gardens, food, art, parks, neighbourhoods, just to list a few topics. As we all know, it takes incredible effort to work with partners; hence the value of sharing that workload, of collaborating. This is where CAMOC, with its combined strength and numbers, can continue to assist its member museums in conceiving, planning and organising future creative collaborations. A great

example of the potential for collaborations is what can happen at conferences like this, when our committee of city museums pulls dozens of us together to create, plan, and (that word, again) collaborate.

Third, building on the work of such museums as MUHBA as well as others, many cities' residents and visitors are working with city museum staff and programmes to design and plan their own neighbourhoods and cities. What an appropriate application of knowledge and expertise!

Those efforts and that expertise are rewarding. If we take the urban planning and design expertise and experience already among our fellow members, and multiply and focus them as CAMOC can do, imagine how much more we can contribute to our member museums, our cities and our citizens.

Fourth, how do individual city museums ask, and begin to answer, the larger-than-one-city questions as:

> "What have cities meant to the creation of civilization?"
> "What does civilization mean?"
> "How have cities governed and managed themselves?"
> "What is the role of a bureaucracy or, even, a centralized administration?"
> "What roles do cities, and their citizens, play in addressing the urban world's shared problems?"
> "Why do people live in cities today?"

These are big questions, and there are many more like them. It can be through meetings convened by CAMOC and through its member alliances that such questions can be more broadly and deeply answered. The answers apply to more cities and cultures than are represented by only one city museum. Strength in numbers can mean stronger answers.

Fifth, as we've seen recently in Glasgow at the climate conference, cities will play critical roles in addressing climate change. That meeting of nations illuminated the existential threat that climate change clearly poses. It will require unprecedented and cooperative efforts to solve, if that's even possible.

Here is where CAMOC and its organising and collaborative potential can help bring several city museums together to share the solutions being tried in cities worldwide.

We hear a lot about the infrastructure of cities nowadays. City museums are key elements in the social and cultural infrastructure of their cities. CAMOC can be the matchmaker (the liaison, the intermediary) that brings those museums together. CAMOC has already begun to establish itself as that matchmaker, that intermediary. In facilitating and helping develop even more ways of collaborating, CAMOC will continue to further its purpose as a forum for museums of cities.

FINAL REMARKS

CAMOC is perhaps ICOM's most energetic committee. We should continue to be its most creative and most collaborative. This will happen as our Board continues to encourage collaboration and we, the members, continue to cooperate among ourselves and our museums.

Finally, let me give you a quick report on the Museum of the City, the online virtual museum that I created in 2002. The word "city" in its title suggests the same topic as does the word "cities" in CAMOC's title – citizens and their places in more than one city.

After directing the Museum for nearly 20 years, I handed its programmes over to Dr Jamila Moore-Pewu of California State University, a professor of digital history. With major funding from the Mellon Foundation, Dr Moore-Pewu, her students and consultants are redesigning the Museum's digital platform and user interface to work alongside community partners, urban residents and institutional affiliates. We look forward to continuing to collaborate with you all.

By the way, I used the word "collaborate" nine times in my article.

BIOGRAPHY

Chet Orloff, Executive Director of the Oregon Historical Society from 1991 to 2001, is Manager of the Pamplin International Collection of Art and History and founding president/director of the Museum of the City. He taught urban studies and history at Portland State University and the University of Oregon from 2001 until 2016. Orloff serves on numerous local, state, national and international committees and commissions relating to history, museums and urban planning. He practices history in Portland, Oregon, focusing on research, writing and exhibit projects. He has served the American and international museum field since before his return from his Peace Corps service in Afghanistan in 1975. Orloff has been a member of CAMOC since 2006.

MONTJUIC, BARCELONA © VALDEMARAS D. / UNSPLASH

ORGANISING THE MUSEUM

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THE 55 URBAN ROOMS OF MUHBA:
A SINGLE FRAME FOR A NETWORK CITY MUSEUM

ABSTRACT

The configuration of the Barcelona History Museum (MUHBA) as a polycentric network museum, with the rooms distributed throughout the city, allows for weaving cross-sectional views between heritage spaces and diverse territories to establish conceptual relationships set in a multiscale vision of the city.

A model for a sustainable polycentric museum does not equate to a set of autonomous micro-museums but, on the contrary, to a set of interconnected and conceptually complementary spaces capable of generating a cohesive, transversal and plural narrative of the city's history.

One of the latest projects at MUHBA has consisted of the conceptual restructuring of the Museum, both physical and digital, based on the conception and numbered arrangement of the exhibition rooms of all its heritage spaces spread across the city in a single set. The resulting numbered list consists of 55 rooms in 19 locations, some of them still under construction, which chronologically and thematically revisit the city, from the foundation of Barcino to the metropolitan city of the 21st century, in order to report the historical trajectory of Barcelona to its citizens and visitors.

The articulation of the Museum and the heritage spaces, which consists of sequentially numbered rooms, highlights both the singular nature of the spaces and the unitary character of the polycentric network, just like the links in a chain, where each and every one is necessary to explain the whole.

The capacity of each space and its rooms to provide a point of view on the history of the city, with the objects acting as legitimising witnesses of the narrative, allows the museum to report on the city from multiple perspectives. Among the many examples, we speak of the power of the elites and the urban majorities through history, the city minorities (for example, with the Jewish quarter), the city stressed by war and the post-war period, the contemporary metropolis with its centres and peripheries, etc. In short, it is an urban history filled with the verbs that portray human action in the city over time (to inhabit, to work, to provide, to feed, to urbanise, to prevent, to defend, etc). MUHBA works with a rigorous research programme on these human actions as significant conceptual categories, bringing a historical perspective to bridge the gap, both museologically and museographically, between urban history and citizenship.

Key words: City museum, urban history, network museum, heritage, narratives

New opportunities. Reorganising the Museum

The city is a stage subjected to constant change, physical growth and reorganisation of spaces, demographic and economic changes, social negotiations and transformations, balancing acts, improvements and recessions, accelerations and slowdowns. The 2020 pandemic caused by COVID-19 had a severe impact on cities and citizens and called established urban dynamics, processes and actions into question. We experienced a generalised stoppage, a shared uncertainty, a need to reconsider how things function and a need to reinforce the innovative capacity of the city that would once again accelerate the urban biorhythms.

In the face of this situation, initially marked by isolation and disconnection at the small and large scales, came the countering response: ingenuity, research and work to strengthen and generate new ways of interaction in a diffuse context, between the physical world and a growing virtual world that was ceasing to be an option and becoming a necessity. The digital revolution, however, not only entailed a technological change but it has also overturned procedures, habits and ways of doing things – it became a social revolution as well.[1]

Connecting cities, connecting citizens. Towards a shared sustainability is the title of the latest conference organised by CAMOC and the Barcelona History Museum in December 2021 in Barcelona, which highlights the importance of the shared work of cities and urban networks for the social construction of a more equal, just and democratic future in a complex global context.[2] City museums, within this mesh of multiscale, inter- and intra-urban connections, can play a vital role as strategic institutions of urban cohesion that contribute to cultural dialogue, social inclusion and the economic promotion of the city in a sustainable and diversified manner.

Building Citizenship - the laboratory space of MUHBA Oliva Artés hosted the third day of the CAMOC 2021 conference in Barcelona. © MUHBA - Mercè Martínez.

The first pandemic lockdown allowed MUHBA to reflect on its connections, which quickly led to a comprehensive shake-up of its organisation. It went from rethinking working methods and changing ways of organising and communicating internally, to reformulating museum formats by holding seminars, conversations and creating virtual visits of the spaces and exhibitions of the museum, thus bringing into question the notion of temporality of these concepts, which fully entered into a less ephemeral and more flexible dimension of time, as well as opened up new routes of access to knowledge, with a greater reach in terms of citizens and territory. It was a time to experiment, to change the conventional order of things (why not inaugurate an exhibition in the virtual world first and materialise it physically later?[3]), to turn the museum into a genuine laboratory of ideas, and, finally, it was an exceptional time for organising, consolidating and strengthening accumulated knowledge.

The pandemic made possible to approach long-term strategic matters internally, to bring together transversal teams and to promote projects included and channelled

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[1] Please refer to the article by Joan Roca, Innovating in times of Pandemic: Decalogue for a Citizens' Museum. *MUHBA Butlletí* 36. 2-3. [online] Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/butlleti-muhba-numero-36

[2] Recordings of all three days of the CAMOC conference in Barcelona are available on the CAMOC YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLNhaRZEo9KybIN5I4M02dKpsj91-GkMcl) and on MUHBA YouTube channel (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLc_HTVN7--433GoJe8at792DnY3T2nwR3).

[3] Please refer to the article by D. Alcubierre and M. Iglesias: Beginning with the virtual exhibition: change of method. *MUHBA Butlletí* 36. 6. [online] Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/butlleti-muhba-numero-36

in the latest strategic plans of the museum. Of these projects, it is worth highlighting two that share a common goal: the conceptual reorganisation of the museum with both physical and virtual materialisation. The first is the renovation of the website, a project that goes beyond the formal aspects of practicality and aesthetics to touch on a much more basic aspect – the thorough cognitive systematisation of the museum.[4] It was about rethinking the website as a portal of knowledge of the city, a tool for dissemination that can bring the history and heritage of Barcelona to the citizens, with a large repository of all the knowledge accumulated by MUHBA throughout its existence.

The second project will be presented in more detail in the following pages and it refers to the conceptual structuring of the museum's spaces and rooms, both in its physical and digital versions. In other words, it refers to the theoretical and practical consolidation of what, for some years, we have been calling the *Network Museum*.

From the concentrated museum to the network museum.
Integrating the peripheries.

A network is an intertwined fabric, made up by threads that spread out, cross each other and form knots to provide consistency. MUHBA has taken on this model and, in recent years, it has configured itself as a network museum – a mesh of nodes or heritage spaces and objects that are disseminated and rooted in the territory, linked by many threads of cognitive relationships that weave a plural and yet unitary narrative of the history of the city. It is a polycentric museum, then, that rolls out its rooms throughout the city to weave a narrative-heritage network. Moreover, its configuration came to be from the multidisciplinary confluence of diverse knowledge and varied perspectives and paradigms.

Over the course of its almost 80 years of existence, the Barcelona History Museum has not always been a network museum, although it was always showing a certain tendency towards this direction. Its foundation in 1943, under the direction of Agustí Duran i Sanpere, situated the museum in the heritage site of Plaça del Rei, an enclave of high historical and symbolic value within the old centre of the city, as part of an urbanistic operation of historicist monumentalism to create a "Gothic quarter". The location of the museum's headquarters in Casa Padellàs (transported stone by stone to the Plaça del Rei on the occasion of the opening of Via Laietana) also showcased the value of the archaeological remains of the Roman city, excavated in 1931, while the way to make them visible was being studied. It was a finding that, from the beginning, has marked the museological dialogue between archaeology and history.

Soon, this foundational core at the heart of the city would be supplemented with the adhesion of other nearby heritage spaces, such as the Temple of Augustus, to the museum. However, this model of museum, with different polarities, responded to a criterion of aggregating singular spaces rather than to the idea of a systematised network museum capable of weaving a narrative or consistent set of narratives rooted in the city. The last decade of the 20th century saw a new impulse in the adhesion of spaces to the museum, such as Casa Verdaguer (linked to the museum

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[4] You can visit the MUHBA website at https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en and see the article by M. Blasco and E. Straehle: The seven doors of MUHBA. From website to knowledge hub. *MUHBA Butlletí* 36. 17. [online] Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/butlleti-muhba-numero-36

since 1962), the Monastery of Pedralbes, which later dissociated itself, or in the 21st century, the Park Güell Guard House or Refuge 307.

This latest wave of spaces incorporated into the museum, which came, in part, as a response to a policy of compacting municipal facilities, derived from the plan of the Barcelona Cultural Institute of 1997 for municipal museums, has led towards configuring what was defined, at different times and in an evolving manner, as *the deconcentrated museum, the museum dispersed through the city,* or *the museum of museums.* Then, in the second decade of the 21st century, with the selection and strategic incorporation of heritage spaces from the industrial Barcelona, especially in the city's periphery, such as Oliva Artés, Fabra i Coats, and Bon Pastor, the museum has aimed to move from a process of adhering spaces to a methodical multinodal system, *the Network Museum,* which can provide a holistic and multiscale vision of the historical trajectory of the city.

Times and spaces over the city

Each knot in the net or node in the network, each heritage space of the museum, has been strategically chosen; it is not just a matter of having heritage spaces spread throughout the city but of presenting the ones that are necessary to show a comprehensive and transversal narrative of the urban history of Barcelona. Furthermore, this has been done in a sustainable manner, i.e., managed in a way that optimises the efficiency of the resources, valuing each node independently. These are not micro-museums but rather a set of interconnected and conceptually complementary spaces that have a "prime node", a supporting core in the foundational headquarter, Casa Padellàs, which acts as a meeting point, a space that both synthesises and articulates the narrative of the whole, somewhat like the central rope of a throw net.

At present, MUHBA is renovating Casa Padellàs as the House of the History of Barcelona, a project with many formats that includes an Agora museum, a space that acts as a citizen meeting point, a School museum, which blurs the boundary between education and culture, a Research and Debate Centre with broad public programming and a synthesis exhibition of the history of the city, proposed as a historical urban reading in an interrogative form, which has been tested for two years in a smaller, experimental format with *Barcelona Flashback*.[5] Overall, it forms part of the configuration of the museum as a centre of urban knowledge, from a historical perspective, resting on the movable and immovable material heritage of the city and shared with the citizens.

The other spaces provide us multiple, overlapping views of the city, a narrative of the history at different levels, rooted in the neighbourhoods albeit with a wider urban perspective. It is a fabric of centres and peripheries, of urban minorities and majorities, of history and of memories, which merge different spaces and times in a unified, transversal and coherent narrative.

This is how the museum can provide such different narratives, namely, talk about the places of power and the elites of the city over time, with spaces such as the Temple of Augustus, the Palau Major or Major Royal Palace or Park Güell, as well

The construction of images such as this rendering has often been essential in institutional and citizen negotiation for the configuration of the MUHBA spaces. The image shows the courtyard of Casa Padellàs, inaugurated in 2021 in the presence of CAMOC and currently under construction as part of the future Agora Museum. Designed by Arderiu + Morató Arquitectes. © MUHBA

[5] A summary video of the experimental exhibition *Barcelona Flashback* is available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7lnPjExfdW8

as bear testimony to ancient, medieval and contemporary life, respectively; or provide the narrative of an *urbs* stretched to the limit by the Spanish Civil War and the post-war period with Refuge 307 and Turó de la Rovira, an anti-aircraft battery occupied by shanty dwellings after the war; or deal with the contemporary metropolis seen from the periphery, with spaces such as Oliva Artés, Bon Pastor, Fabra i Coats, and Casa de l'Aigua.

A large number of these heritage spaces, 19 in total, including the Collections Centre, is already fully functioning and consolidated, whereas others, such as Casa Padellàs – House of the History of Barcelona, Bon Pastor, and Fabra i Coats are still being created, with a view to present them in the spring of 2023, at the celebration of the museum's 80th anniversary. The heterogeneity of these spaces, of very different dimensions (there are large, small and very small spaces), justifies their individual treatment in order to ensure they are used and managed sustainably, with timetables and public programming adapted to each one of them.

The city history in 55 rooms

The latest challenge set by MUHBA, as a network museum, has been the one of consolidating this network by tying narratives together and systematising spaces. It was necessary to provide all the nodes with a certain order and to reinforce their relationships and conceptual and territorial complementarity, to impart a narrative that is both specific and global, which would make it possible to think of the city in all its potential from the perspective of urban history. With this goal in sight, the museum has proposed rolling out all its rooms in a single, sequentially numbered list capable of structuring the museum both physically and conceptually. The result is the definition of a total of 55 rooms spread throughout the city, distributed through its different locations, through which MUHBA can explain the historical trajectory of Barcelona, from the founding of Barcino to the metropolitan city of the 21st century.

By articulating the museum in rooms sequentially numbered (from 1 to 55), it underlines the unitary nature of this multinodal network, with all the spaces acting as links in a chain where all are necessary to explain the whole. What's more, by assigning a specific colour to each node, it reinforces the uniqueness of each heritage space and provides the rooms with an internal order, compatible

The heterogeneity of spaces allows the museum to explain the history of Barcelona from different landings. From left to right and from top to bottom, the Temple of Augustus, Plaça del Rei, Park Güell, Refuge 307 and Turó de la Rovira.
© Enric Gràcia and Manuel Cohen / MUHBA

BARCELONA

A museum with 55 urban rooms

MUHBA
MUSEU D'HISTÒRIA DE BARCELONA

Site	#	Room
MUHBA Padellàs - House of Barcelonian History	1	Barcelona flashback. A history kit in 100 objects
MUHBA Plaça del Rei - Barcino / Ancient city	2	Before the foundation of the city
	3	Iberian *Barkeno*
	4	The foundation of the Roman colony
	5	Barcino society To learn more → 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
	6	*Forma Urbis*. The urban structure of Barcino
	7	Christianity, the Visigoths and the city
MUHBA Temple d'August / Power and religious power in Barcino	8	Political and religious power in Barcino
	9	The forum and public space in the Roman city
MUHBA Porta de Mar / Defence and hygiene in Barcino	10	The thermal baths and the culture of water
	11	Defending the Roman city: Barcino's walls
MUHBA Via Sepulcral Romana / Barcino, territory and necropolis	12	Barcino's roads and territory
	13	Funerary rituals in the Roman city
MUHBA Domus Avinyó / Social representation in Barcino	14	The domus, a distinguished residence
	15	Domestic décor
MUHBA Domus Sant Honorat / Domestic architecture in Barcino	16	A house near the forum
	17	The silos of the Jewish quarter
MUHBA Plaça del Rei - Palau Major / Medieval capital	18	Borderland between Muslims and Carolingians
	19	The Barcelona of the Counts To learn more → 27 28
	20	New citizen elite
	21	From beach to port
	22	Barcelona's Gothic splendour
	23	Royal city and Mediterranean capital To learn more → 29
	24	The Barcelona of the guilds (Under Construction)
	25	A Catholic city (Under Construction)
	26	Barcelona, provincial capital in the Spanish Empire (Under Construction)
MUHBA El Call / The Jews of medieval Barcelona	27	*El Call*, the Jewish quarter of the city
	28	The cultural legacy of the *aljama*
MUHBA Santa Caterina - Monasteries turned into squares and markets	29	Crisis of monasticism and urban change
MUHBA Oliva Artés / Contemporary metropolis and urban laboratory	30	The human and material foundations
	31	Cultural and political outreach
	32	The making of a metropolis
	33	Laboratory of urban codes, the game of the city
MUHBA Bon Pastor / Living in and inhabiting the contemporary city	34	Inhabiting Barcelona. 20th century housing challenges (Under Construction)
	35	Living in Bon Pastor. House, neighbourhood and working-class world (Under Constr.)
MUHBA Fabra i Coats / Barcelona, city and work	36	Working in the city (Under Construction)
	37	Kinds of work (Under Construction)
	38	Manufacturing Barcelona: Sant Andreu and Fabra i Coats (Under Construction)
	39	The power system: the Sala de Calderes at Can Fabra
MUHBA Casa de l'Aigua / Supply and sustainability	40	Supplying the city: water distribution and use
	41	The water revolution in the contemporary city
	42	Locally-sourced water
MUHBA Vil·la Joana / Barcelona and literary narratives	43	From farmhouse to school. Educating in Barcelona
	44	Literatures
	45	Verdaguer and Barcelona
	46	Literary portraits of the city
MUHBA Park Güell / Barcelona, European capital	47	Metropolis and Catalan Art Nouveau
	48	Gaudí, Park Güell and Barcelona: urban planning and nature
	49	The Casa del Guarda and Gaudí's architecture
MUHBA Refugi 307 - Citizen self-defence	50	Passive defence in the Civil War: the air-raid shelter
MUHBA Turó de la Rovira / The city at the limit	51	Active defence in the Civil War: the anti-aircraft battery
	52	The informal Barcelona of shantytowns
	53	Barcelona from a bird's eye view: the metropolitan city
MUHBA Centre de Col·leccions / Heritage conservation, documentation and restoration	54	Àrxiu Arqueològic de Barcelona
	55	Depository for objects and depictions of the city

Synthetic image of MUHBA as a "museum with rooms distributed throughout the city". Designed by Andrea Manenti. © MUHBA

with the general vision, which facilitates a comprehensive reading. It is, then, a reading on two different but complementary levels.

A narrative of urban history rooted in the territory

The definition of this structure is guided by three criteria: territorial, which aims to make the tour of the rooms possible in the proposed order with an appropriate itinerary (although it is not necessary to start with room 1 nor to visit all of the rooms in one day) and, at the same time, creates urban axes with conceptual content; the criterion of historical periodization, which aims to provide a sequential numbering that is able to explain the historical trajectory of the city from its founding; and thematic criterion, which is based on sectoral histories of significant topics for the historical-urban narrative of the city.

In recent times, and as a specific example of the materialisation of the territorial criterion in the structuring of the museum, MUHBA has intensified the narrative of the periphery with the incorporation and consolidation of new heritage spaces. In this way, the narrative of the museum on urban majorities is integrated into the

territory itself, considering that urban growth in Barcelona has placed a large part of the popular classes on the periphery.

The ideation of the *Besòs Heritage and Museum Trail* in the eastern part of the city, along the river Besòs, has allowed to bring together, in a single axis, four different heritage spaces that provide four strategic approaches to the metropolis: Oliva Artés, which serves as a laboratory and citizen space for explaining the formation of the metropolis, the Bon Pastor cheap houses, to talk about housing in the 20th century, the Fabra i Coats factory, to represent the world of work in the city, and Casa de l'Aigua, to introduce the narrative of the supply and uses of water. This is a project that links different urban perspectives, with solid roots in the territory, conducted through joint management with other municipal departments and citizen associations that take part in the activity of MUHBA. We speak of a proximity museum that has not lost its character of city museum.

The criterion of historical periodization has been essential in the systematisation of the 55 rooms, allowing for a historical narrative with a temporal sequence that is as accurate as possible, from the founding of the city in Roman times, even before the Iberian presence in the region, through the splendour of the medieval epoch as a Mediterranean capital and the industrial drive that turned Barcelona into a metropolis and, thence, to the global city of today. It is a complete journey through the periods of general urban history that chronologically integrates the explanatory elements necessary to show the process of evolution of the city.

Finally, we come up to theme, the third criterion. In order to be able to tie this network museum together and find the way to provide a clear narrative that is comprehensible to the citizens, it was essential to build the narrative from sectoral histories of the key themes of urban life that make it possible to explain the history

The Besòs Heritage and Museum Trail reconnects neighbourhoods of the periphery through the strategic articulation of 4 MUHBA spaces to talk about the contemporary city. From left to right and from top to bottom, Oliva Artés, Fabra i Coats, Bon Pastor and Casa de l'Aigua. © Manuel Cohen / MUHBA

of the city. Cities need narratives. Lately, MUHBA has defined itself as a verbal museum that studies the history of Barcelona by paying attention to the human actions: working, living, schooling, struggling, caring for, supplying the city, etc.: actions that have built the city, because the history of the city is the history of its people. The relationship between these verbal categories and the heritage spaces of the museum has led to multiple narratives that converge in a single story. Thus, each space is accompanied by a motto, a general theme, which is developed in specific themes for each room.

With a rigorous historical research programme conducted by CRED (Centre for Research and Debate), the museum has worked on these human actions as important dimensions to museologically and museographically fill the space between urban history and the citizens. By studying and exhibiting not just the heritage, spaces and objects but also the actions and processes, we address the citizens. It is one step further toward the *Citizens' Museum*.

This vocation for research also bears relation to the latest rooms of the museum: room 54, dedicated to the Archaeological Archive, and room 55, dedicated to the reserve of objects and representations of the city, located in the MUHBA Collections Centre in the Zona Franca area. The Collections Centre is an active space for research and innovation in archaeology, restoration, conservation and documentation of pieces, which produces heritage, with technical and technological contributions, thus helping explain the history of Barcelona with collections of objects and all that they represent. The Collections Centre is undergoing conversion as a visible space for showing both how the objects are processed and their role in the construction of the narratives of the history of the city. It is, thus, a citizen space where it is possible to talk about the heritage, history and memory of Barcelona, which completes this numbering of the MUHBA rooms.

Looking at the synthetic image of the MUHBA spaces and rooms, the three criteria are visually represented in the map (*pg 29*): on the left, the territorial criterion; in the first column, with the name of the space and general motto, the theme criterion or criterion of sectoral histories; and, in the list on the right, with the names of the 55 rooms that can be read from top to bottom, the criterion of historical periodization, following a chronological order.[6]

The presential museum and the digital museum: a double approach

This identification and articulation of the museum's physical rooms is also necessary for the process of creating the virtual and digital MUHBA, a project that began a few years ago and which was recently accelerated in response to a world in convulsion that needed rethinking. For a time, the in-person museum disappeared and the museum only existed on the Internet, reversing the rates of presential and online attendance. The work of the museum became focused on achieving digital inclusion appropriate to current times, which would make use of all the potential for disseminating knowledge that the Internet provides. With the passage of time, the situation has come into balance, to form a hybrid reality of coexistence of both models.

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[6] Full details about each room and the information it includes, almost like an urban itinerary, is available in the booklet *A Short Guide to the MUHBA*, presented for the first time at the CAMOC 2021 Barcelona congress. Its second edition, including improvements arising from that meeting, is available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/formats-and-activities/llibrets-de-sala/short-guide-muhba-barcelona-history-museum

MUHBA is working amid this complementary duality to move forward in consolidating the presential and the physical urban network museum, while building the digital and virtual museum. The virtual spaces or rooms of the museum do not necessarily have to reproduce the physical rooms, but they do have to integrate into the same narrative, with their particular urban museological perspective. It is, therefore, necessary to move forward with the digital and virtual museum: never in detriment to the presential museum but as a complementary and amplifying agent of the physical museum, which legitimises its digital version; nor can we, even in the digital era, do away with the objects, documents, buildings, the heritage, because they are witnesses to the history of the city.

BIOGRAPHY

Elena Pérez Rubiales joined the Barcelona History Museum (MUHBA) in 2017 as a member of the Projects Department. She holds a degree in Art History and a PhD in Production and Consumption of Culture by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, where she has taught in the degree of Humanities.

FROM MUSEUM DISTRICTS TO CULTURAL DISTRICTS. LINKED OPEN MUSEUMS AS A CULTURAL STRATEGY

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ABSTRACT

Museums are but a single piece of a city's cultural network, made up by institutions such as libraries, schools, archives, cinemas, theatres, cultural and creative activities and associations.
Furthermore, civic museums need to be found and used, and, just like the data on the web, they need to be open, permeable, interconnected and interoperable with one another and all cultural activities of the district they belong to.

Organising museums according to territorial criteria certainly helps their management and allows the sharing of specialised professionals as well as of projects and goals related to citizenship. Milan City Council's programme goes beyond simply mapping a community or a neighbourhood. We know the location of monuments, cultural venues, cultural associations, and the contacts that exist in a given area. Now, the programme aims to create a civic structure that will be readily available to the city and capable of connecting both public and private institutions, as well as professionals and individual users, in a constant and stimulating relationship. This process is certainly complex and require time and effort. Therefore, we are constantly and carefully considering every aspect of the project by sharing, discussing and evaluating every proposal. The city's temporary offer, which involves museums, can significantly contribute to this process, in particular through the "City" and "Week" palimpsests: the *DesignWeek*, *FashionWeek* and *BookCity* can create synergies between the public and private sectors as well as identify stakeholders who do not directly produce cultural activities, but who draw attention to the city's cultural life.

During events, different areas of the city come alive in different ways. The configuration of the districts allows the use of different common spaces (squares and gardens). The civic museums themselves are included in the timetable of the main events, becoming cultural hubs and platforms where creativity is combined with knowledge, which visitors can interact and share with.

Recurring events can also connect users with cultural organisations and companies by addressing different audiences, fostering connections, ensuring more stable relationships and promoting a sense of belonging to the territory where they take place.

Key words: Citizenship, belonging, connections

Introduction

Milan is a great city of culture that provides a rich and diverse offer in this field. Its 1.3 million inhabitants have access to about a hundred public and private museums and exhibition spaces, over seventy theatres and performing art venues and almost two hundred and fifty cinema screens.

The city, known for the La Scala theatre, Leonardo Da Vinci's *The Last Supper*, for being the city of Giuseppe Verdi and Cesare Beccaria, has expanded enormously in terms of culture in the last 15 years, radically transforming its image and identity. The Municipality of Milan has been working on the study and application of an innovative model of cultural offer, based on bringing museums, cultural operators and local authorities together. Both cultural heritage sites and museums are an asset in terms of knowledge, which should be valued in the social context and with a view to participation.

The new relationship, connecting cultural heritage sites and museums to areas of social engagement and local cultural production, alongside creative cultural industries (CCI) and tourism, both global and local, can be developed by means of planning evolved cultural districts, based on an integrated management model.

The new interpretation of the museum system:
the strategic plan

Creating a new model to improve the cultural offer of the city
Milan has an articulated system of civic museums, made up by over twenty institutions, including permanent collections and temporary exhibition spaces. Its current organisation is based on the typically technical-scientific criteria of the nineteenth-century tradition, which divides the museums in four thematic areas: historical and archaeological museums, scientific museums, modern and contemporary art museums, and artists' houses and studio museums. This organisational model has no direct connection with the territorial distribution of the institutions.
Following the models set by numerous international examples, the city administration chose to reorganise its museums' offer according to management concepts and on a territorial basis, identifying the city districts characterised by the concentration of various institutions around places that are known landmarks.

By interpreting civic museums through a district approach, the Culture Sector of the City of Milan aims to create a new model for improving the cultural offer of the city. We found out that addressing the museums' organisation by taking into account their geographical location will improve their management of the economic resources and of skilled professionals. As it has been done for some years in Europe, these are now being identified in Italy, including cultural designers, museum mediators, web communicators for cultural institutions, scientific animators and territorial marketing experts.
Museums are an essential part of a city's cultural network and, like the data on the web, they must be linked, open, permeable, interconnected and interoperable with one another as well as with all the structures that make up the cultural heritage of the territory.

The relationship between museums and the city lies at the centre of the strategic plan, which seeks to activate connection processes between institutions and

culture, to create identification and exchange chains and to ignite participatory strategies by the city's communities. Museums have become the spine of the network that connects the four city poles and the other players of the cultural offer, thus multiplying the impact of the twenty civic museums. The application of the strategic plan has been a complex process that involves a large and qualified workgroup.

The experience gained during the pandemic has led to an important reflection and revision of the potential and expectations for an effective and sustainable development. Besides the local administration, a number of institutions has been involved, namely: the Fondazione Scuola dei beni e delle attività culturali, under the purview of the Ministry of Culture, the Luigi Bocconi Commercial University, through the Ask Bocconi cultural management research group, and the PTSClas, a company which has collected all the information in the preliminary research for laying down the plan.

About the strategic plan: the research
The first part of the research described how the system would be operated and the current relations of museums with the territory and the communities. In essence, the survey sought out to understand what city museums do, with whom they do it and how they activate exchange relationships with the city. This has led to the understanding of how the activity of museums, in line with an organisational model based on their technical-scientific peculiarities, is mainly devoted to projects on collections and the research and conservation related to them, while actions regarding relationships with the territory and the communities are far less developed. It is no coincidence, then, that the subjects with whom relationships are activated belong mainly to the scientific field, namely universities and other museums or cultural institutions.

The second part of the project involved the study of the conformation of the territory and the research on the identity of the new museum districts. In particular, each "district" was analysed in socioeconomic terms and its cultural infrastructure level was mapped; afterwards, the various active supply chains besides exhibition were evaluated, such as those related to entertainment, reading policies, cultural and creative industries. Subsequently, we proceeded to the identification of "proximity audiences" through the analysis of the characteristics of the neighbourhoods and communities made up by residents and users. The relationship between museums at a city level from the perspective of loyal museum-goers was also described. At the end, the research was presented to the museum professionals and then shared with the city.

The cultural infrastructure was mapped by first investigating the physical presence of public and private cultural institutions, such as museums, exhibition centres, libraries, archives, theatres, art galleries and project spaces. The activity carried out by cultural industries in the area was surveyed as well, in terms of production and distribution of cultural products and services. The activation capacity of museums was also analysed with regard to the offer of events organised in the city, such as design and fashion weeks, like the *ArtWeek*, a week devoted to contemporary art, or *Bookcity*, a festival dedicated to the world of books and reading, which are typical features of Milan's cultural life. On the other hand, an attempt was made to identify the features of the local communities, by investigating the educational, the economic and professional systems, as well as those linked to tourism and mobility. Finally, a study was conducted on the strategic choices of the strongest

consumers in terms of cultural habits, which were traced through the analysis of the data on ticketing and subscription systems for cultural consumption. It was possible to collect all the information present in the preliminary research for the development of a real strategic plan.

The plan defines strategic and operational guidelines for rethinking the cultural offer of city museums, and, more precisely, it provides a series of management, communication and policy tools that favour museum management offices, new ways of cultural participation and accessibility within the urban context. Museums' activities were planned by focusing on offer and demand: offer was understood as the urban, architectural, cultural and professional infrastructure put in place by the administration, whereas demand meant the participation of the public as a constitutive element of the very identity of the museum proposal.

**The details of the strategic plan**
The strategic plan consists of four pillars or axes. These are focused on projects that can improve the perception of the territory, the level of public participation, the creation of partnerships at a territorial level and the definition of useful organisational processes. For each of them, the strategic plan has focused on the goals to be achieved and the useful actions necessary to achieve them.

The first strategic axis concerns the public perception of the variety of territorial offers. It revolves around the creation of a specific identity, through the identification of a specific vocation and cultural proposal of each district, giving rise to a real product identity. The second strategic axis is that of participation. In addition to requiring specific communication and cultural planning policies, it implies incentive tools in the relationship with the public, ranging from targeted discounts to the offer of complimentary service packages. The third axis or pillar envisages the creation of partnerships at a territorial level, which can be activated to optimise the integrated offer of the area. Finally, the fourth pillar envisages organisational processes: it holds a very complex scale of actions, ranging from the simple increase of communication and marketing strategies, over activation of innovative management system models that integrate the existing structure and organisational base, up to the study and proposal of innovations at the governance level.

In the beginning of 2021, the strategic plan was approved by the administration of the city. Its contents will form the basis for the new cultural policy of Milan's museums and the new model of cultural participation for the city of tomorrow.

From museum districts to cultural districts

In 2021, the city administration launched two other important projects intertwined with the development of the strategic plan for city museums. On the one hand, an interactive map that georeferenced the entire system of the cultural "spaces" of the city has been created. This entails setting up a database of over four hundred places, starting with the topographical location of the offices open to the public throughout the city, which are able to offer access to cultural content. Once this content is definitely validated, it will be published on an information portal of the city services, and become available for online consultation by all users. It will be constantly updated and corrected with the collaboration of sector operators. The location of the cultural offer will be immediately perceivable, as it is divided into categories of offer and consumption, such as libraries and bookstores, archives,
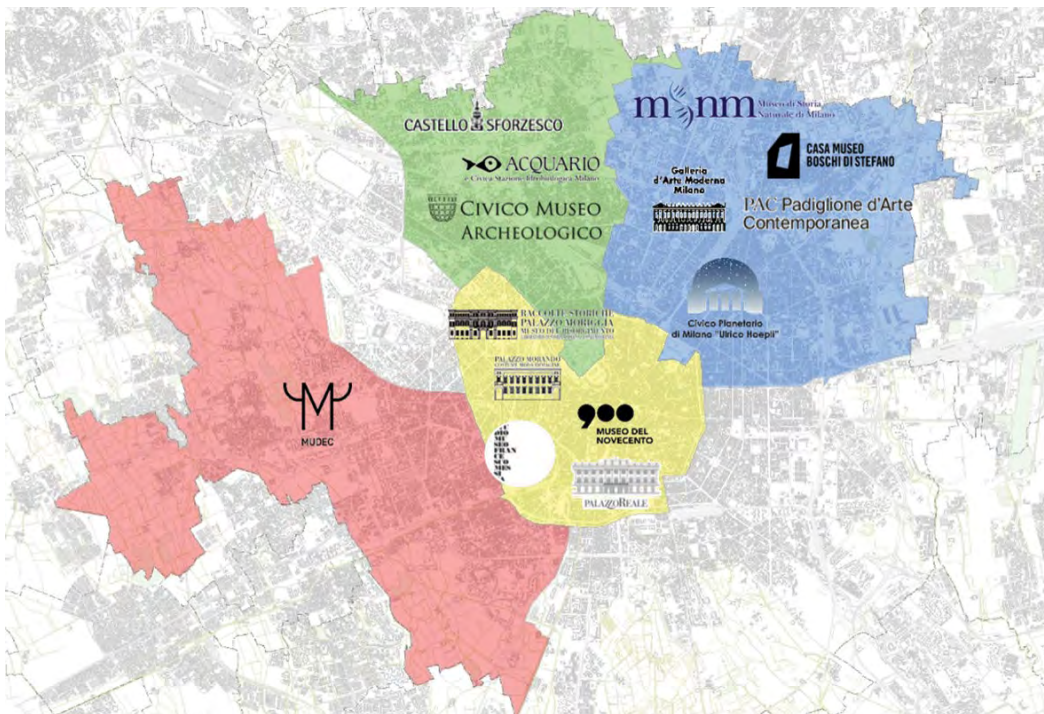
Cultural districts map.
© Fondazione Scuola
dei Beni e delle Attività
Culturali

cinemas, theatres, music and concert halls, museums and exhibition spaces, cultural centres and multidisciplinary spaces. On the other hand, the Banca Intesa study centre conducted an important research where it analysed data from over three hundred cultural operators, from the smallest association to the largest city theatre, which had applied for funding during 2020. This research offers an extraordinary cross-section view as it analyses the structure of the individual stakeholders in detail, considering the scope of their activity, their size, the organisational structure, their budget and territorial distribution.

These studies have provided a map of the cultural presence in the city, which shows how museums are at the centre of a web of relationships among cultural operators capable of participating in the construction of an integrated interdisciplinary and highly articulated offer. It also presents where there is an absence of contacts in the network and where they may be activated for specific projects aimed at increasing the operators' capacity for dialogue with the city communities and other stakeholders.

Moreover, the knowledge of these components has facilitated the implementation of participative activities in the context of *Distretto X*, a palimpsest of territorially-based projects in which the Municipality of Milan involved the city communities by setting up events for the interaction between them and the museum districts; this is the case of the project carried out in the district of the museums around the Public Gardens, which involved a large part of the LGBTQI+ community of Porta Venezia. More than twenty local LGBTQI+ associations have joined the project and all contributions have been collected in a catalogue. The action provided an opportunity for reflecting on gender identity by means of an artistic narration mediated through emotional cards. In 2021, a second edition took place through the action *Distretto X: Domani Ti Scrivo,* which envisaged a territorial awareness-raising action with the involvement of two different generations, joined together in a path of sharing and personal narration. This initiative for the museums of the Parco Sempione area proposed a project based on the written correspondence between citizens from the surrounding neighbourhoods under the age 18 and

A moment from a **Distretto X** *workshop.*
© Samuele Briatore

over 65. This project investigated the creative and narrative aspects of the letters. Through the letters, we wanted to establish a relationship between people of two different generations through the reflections on a work of art from the collection of the neighbourhood museums. Museums and collections are the inspiring engine of intergenerational knowledge.

In recent years, the Ansaldo district has developed a specific role in the construction of networks and forms of cooperation between the various cultural communities in the city, thanks to the Museo delle Culture, the project *Milano Città Mondo* and the international vocation of the district.

Currently, the third edition, dubbed *Distretto X - Time for a coffee* is underway. This is an action of involvement and territorial animation of the cultural district of Piazza Duomo. A group of professionals will be involved in workshops which, through mindfulness-derived techniques, will help understand how the cultural assets in the district can be the subject of a short break from work.

A moment from a **Distretto X** *workshop.*
© Samuele Briatore

BIOGRAPHIES

Marco Edoardo Minoja is a cultural manager with over ten years of management experience in public administration. Since 2018, he directs the Culture Sector of the Milan City Council, which all city's culture departments refer to, including the 20 museums. He previously ran the regional offices of the Ministry of Culture in Lombardy and in Sardinia, coordinating territorial offices, museum networks, autonomous museums, national archives and libraries. He graduated and specialised in archaeology at the University of Milan. Between 2009 and 2015, he directed various archaeological territorial offices of the Ministry of Culture. Before joining the Ministry of Culture, he worked for various local administrations as a museum curator and as an independent professional. His bibliography counts around 100 entries, including monographic studies, curatorship, catalogues of exhibitions, articles in collective works and specialised reviews.

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Antonella Andreotti works in managing public cultural services. For the last three years, she has collaborated with Marco Edoardo Minoja, Director of Culture at Milan City Council, in projects related to culture heritage promotion and management. She participated in the project of Milan's museums districts and in the first, second and third edition of *Distretto X*.

PAULA TALIB ASSAD, MARCOS CARTUM, NÁDIA BOSQUÊ FERREIRA, DANILO MONTINGELLI, JOSÉ HENRIQUE SIQUEIRA

City Museum of São Paulo Brazil

THE CITY AS A MUSEUM COLLECTION: MANAGEMENT PERSPECTIVES FROM THE CITY MUSEUM OF SÃO PAULO'S STRATEGIC PLAN

ABSTRACT

The present study intends to discuss the potentialities of the City Museum of São Paulo's strategic planning as a tool for amplifying its action in terms of preservation, research and communication, to include new publics and diversify the stories that have been told thus far.

In 1993, the City Museum of São Paulo (CMSP) was created in São Paulo, one of the most populated states in Brazil. Nowadays, the museum is composed of thirteen historical buildings dated between the 17th and 20th centuries, located in four different zones of the city, named after the cardinal points: north, south, east and west.

In 2021, the City Museum of São Paulo published its first strategic planning document, which established as its mission to create, order and democratise knowledge about the city, to encourage reflections and awareness of its inhabitants on behalf of development and the full exercise of citizenship. The Museum strives to close in on the edges and suburbs that are situated beyond the location of the historical buildings of CMSP, reinforcing a network that sprawls from multiple structures towards the entirety of the territory.

In this way, the article intends to discuss the main characteristics of the CMSP strategic plan as a management tool and its impacts on the performance of the curatorial, museological and educational departments, seeking the establishment of a solid operation for new interpretations of memories that still lie dormant in the urban mesh.

Key words: Sociomuseology, museum with multiple centres, territory development

The City Museum of São Paulo

The city of São Paulo, located in the southeast of Brazil, can be defined as a megacity of unique proportions within the Latin American context, governed by a diversity of institutions, landscapes and memories; however, this has not always been the case. During the colonial period, São Paulo was considered a small village, under the name of Captaincy of São Vicente, since it was not among the hubs responsible for the sugar cane monoculture, which represented the main economic force of the Portuguese colonial regime.

Yet, from the 19th century onwards, the expansion of São Paulo was fast-tracked, ruled by capital accumulation and economic growth driven by the coffee production as well as by the creation of a strong industrial park. Therefore, from a small village, bordered by small farms, the city evolved to an urban centre with various suburbs. Architectural and cultural layers overlap each other, and São Paulo has become the biggest metropolis of Brazil and an important cultural and economic focal point worldwide.

Currently, the city has 12.33 million inhabitants, distributed around four main zones and the many districts that surround it. São Paulo is marked by historical and social inequalities that have pushed the vulnerable population out of the big centre, contributing to widening the gaps in terms of the full use of civil liberties and the access to basic rights and services.

Nowadays, the state of São Paulo has more than 100 museums, one of them being the City Museum of São Paulo, which falls under the purview of the Municipal Culture Department. The establishment of the Museum dates back to 1993, but it is considered that its shaping results from memory, collection and preservation actions that had first taken place in the 1930s.[1] Among these initiatives, we highlight the creation of the Municipal Culture Department, headed by Mário de Andrade, a poet and writer from the modernist movement, in 1935.

Today, CMSP is composed of 13 historical buildings dated to the periods between the 17th and 20th century and distributed across the territory as a network. Therefore, we understand the Museum as a cultural complex of sociological, anthropological, geographical and historical nature. By resorting to these concepts, the Museum aims to become a space of reflection that has the permanent study of São Paulo as its object of interest, to understand present-day city from cultural and environmental perspectives. The institutional mission is to produce, organise and democratise knowledge about the city, as well as to encourage reflections and awareness of its inhabitants on behalf of development and the full exercise of citizenship.[2]

The City Museum of São Paulo develops actions of safeguarding, research and communication, concerning two main groups of collections: the institutional and the operational collections. The former is composed of six different types of supports and typologies, which we will present next.

The 13 historical buildings where the Museum holds activities also represent the architectural collection. Dating to diverse periods of construction and embodying diverse characteristics, the edifices offer an overview of the occupation process of

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[1] Decreto no. 33.400,15. (1993); Decreto no. 44.470 (2004).

[2] Plano Museológico do Museu da Cidade de São Paulo, 2021.

*Morumbi Chapel,
one of the 13 historical
houses of the City Museum
of São Paulo.
© Sylvia Masini,
2015 / CMSP*

the city of São Paulo. Furthermore, most of them, dated from the colonial period, are documents of constructive techniques, aesthetics and ways of living employed by the population.

Moreover, there is a collection of movable artefacts that was set up in the mid-20th century, when São Paulo celebrated the 400th anniversary of its foundation. The purpose was to place these households items and work tools, mainly from the rural areas, at the museological spaces represented by the historical buildings, to compound a scenario of a supposed way of living that was characteristic of São Paulo. These exhibitions aimed to establish an identity affirmation process. Years later, these scenarios were undone and nowadays the movable artefacts are treated as representative of ways of living in past times of São Paulo.

The third collection is the photographic one. It contains almost 80,000 items, dating back to the 19th century with urban images produced by Militão Augusto de Azevedo. In 1935, a photographer called Benedito Junqueira Duarte was hired by the Culture Department to organise and generate new city photos. Throughout the 20th century, this collection was enhanced and documented the city and its inhabitants. Today, the City Museum of São Paulo continues expanding this collection and diversifying the featured neighbourhoods and communities.

The archival and bibliographic items collected are oriented towards the preservation of the institutional history of the City Museum of São Paulo. There are records from

*São Paulo's downtown
in the early 20th century.
© Aurélio Becherini, 1916.
Photographic Collection
of the City Museum of
São Paulo.*

past exhibitions, restoration processes, educational actions, catalogues and several other types of documents that offer support for internal and external researchers.

Finally, CMSP maintains an oral history collection that is represented by 570 cassette tapes with individual and collective interviews with social movements from the 1980s until the early 2000s. In 2016, the contents of the tapes were digitised and since 2021 new interviews have been conducted to update and diversify the narratives preserved by the City Museum of São Paulo.

Based on the concept of the Brazilian author Ulpiano Toledo Bezerra de Meneses about the typology of city museums, the second axis of collection is known as the operational one.[3] It represents the largest and most diverse institutional heritage: the operational collection is the city itself as a matter of safeguard, research and communication process. To meet the challenge of working with all the potential heritages that cities can offer, Meneses has suggested three routes that can be taken up by city museums to handle their operational collections.

The first route looks at the city as an artefact - in other words, every natural aspect is socially appropriated and converted into objects: architectural structures, pathways, new topographies, among others, which give the city the mutating settings that it presents. The second aspect is the city as a force field, that is, understanding the urban mesh as the place of political, economic, cultural and social conflicts, tensions and disputes of interests. These movements are responsible for the construction of the city, so the *urbe* as an artefact can be understood as a product and representation of these social tensions. The third and final route that can be useful for city museums is the comprehension of the *urbe* through its social representations, which are created individually and collectively. These representations are made from ideologies and values that can be seen and will give significance to the artefacts that make up the city.

Therefore, these are the City Museum of São Paulo's collections that guide the daily work of the staff and create dialogues with our visitors in our historical houses, outdoor actions and online programmes.

A collective construction: The City Museum of São Paulo Strategic Plan

In 2020, beyond the normal activities that every museum continuously does, the team of the City Museum of São Paulo took the challenge to rethink its institutional mission and strategic planning for the future years.

In Brazil, the strategic plan in the museum field is normally called a museological plan. Such plan represents a value management tool, but it is also a legal requirement set by the Museum's Statute - a federal law that regulates the basic actions and responsibilities defining this type of institution in Brazil.[4]

The process started by carrying out a diagnosis of the institutional scenario at CMSP. From it, the major ascertainment was that, even though the institution itself was founded and named as a city museum, the actions developed were not in accord with the prerogatives that usefully mark this type of museum.

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[3] De Meneses, 2003; Lei no. 11.904. (2009); translated by the authors.

[4] Lei no. 11.904. (2009).

Furthermore, it was realised that the Museum still has a major difficulty to preserve and exhibit intangible heritage, composed of places, celebrations, cuisine and many other cultural elements that define São Paulo and its population's identity. Finally, the City Museum of São Paulo acknowledged that it is still a hard task to cover the vastness of São Paulo's urban mesh, even if there are 13 historical houses spread out across the city. The lack of the Museum's presence is felt more starkly as we move closer to the outskirts.

From the diagnosis and the considerations presented above, the Strategic Plan of the City Museum of São Paulo was collectively formulated by the museum staff. Over a year, meetings were held with the involvement of at least one person from each department, under the coordination of Mauricio Rafael, the museologist of the institution. Strategic planning for museums in Brazil is defined by law in the following terms:

> "Art. 45. The Museological Plan is understood as a basic tool of global and inclusive strategic planning, imperative for the identification of the museum mission in order to define, organise and prioritise the objectives and actions of each department of the institution."[5]

In addition, museums are compelled to integrate ten programmes: Institutional, People Management, Collections, Exhibitions, Research, Architectural-Urbanistic, Security, Funding, Communication and Accessibility. So, the basic body of strategic planning in Brazil is constituted by the definition of the mission, vision, values and objectives of the museum, beyond the programmes. Consequently, the programmes are engineered by goals that represent practical achievements and advances that will have to be developed as projects, ensuring that the museum will be closer to the objectives that were stipulated in the strategic planning.

It is necessary to reinforce the importance of the collaborative methodology that was employed to write the Strategic Plan of City Museum of São Paulo, which envisaged to guarantee a space of dialogue, conflict- and problem-solving, crucial for a more democratic, diverse and accurate result. Moreover, it increases the sense of collective responsibility for the goals that were devised at the time of its execution.

The Strategic Plan of the City Museum of São Paulo is compounded of twelve programmes, meaning that we added the Sustainability and the Digital Curatorship programmes to the ten basic ones already mentioned. All of these are organised by short, medium and long-term goals to be attained within five years.

In summary, the goals that define the programmes seek to create a more democratic, accessible and modern institution, which aims to overcome the shortcomings identified in the diagnosis, as well as to increase the Museum's relevance at the communities that it integrates.

Another aspect that was observed during process of writing up the strategic plan was the possibility of remembering the Museum's history, especially as we realised that many innovative programmes were already proposed in previous years and were abandoned under certain circumstances. So, many solutions for diversifying the voices that integrate our collections were based on reviewing past projects.

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[5] *Ibid.*

From the point of view of the theoretical foundations of the City Museum of São Paulo's Strategic Plan, it was based on the concepts of sociomuseology and actions of the social museology. Sociomuseology is a school of thought that emerged in the 1990s in Portugal. It is defined in the following terms by one of its founders, Mário Moutinho:

> "The Sociomuseology school of thinking is a subject area of teaching, research and practice that favours the connections between the museology and the social sciences, development studies and urban planning."[6]

Besides the cited concept, the sociomuseology school is identified by the adoption of an interdisciplinary method, which aims to establish museology as a tool for sustainable development and promotion of social and economic inclusion.[7]

An overview of the first year of The Strategic Plan of the City Museum of São Paulo

The first year since the publication of the City Museum of São Paulo's Strategic Plan has elapsed, reason why we find that some highlights are worth sharing in this article.

The first aspect is the implementation of a curatorial methodology called "systemic exhibitions". In the process of making the strategic plan, it was identified that the curatorial programme of the City Museum of São Paulo was by and large turned to visual arts and photography, which can be part of the list of matters used by city museums to talk about its objects, but not the main focus. Combined with this, the staff raised awareness about the fact that visitors did not perceive CMSP as an institution with thirteen different addresses, in other words, the Museum is not yet seen as a network.

In order to find answers to these questions, the Curatorial Department proposed the implementation of a new methodology to curate and produce exhibitions at the Museum. This new type of proposal, called "systemic exhibitions", has the prerogative to work with a central theme that is unfolded in other correlated topics, and that way four or five buildings of the Museum are chosen to receive these exhibitions.

This strategy aims to encourage visitors to go through our different units and create a sense of connection between the historical houses of the City Museum of São Paulo. In addition, it allows the formation of a number of educational activities and cultural programmes around the issues addressed. Since 2021, two exhibitions dealing with urgent subjects of the city have been created using this methodology: childhood and the history of the resistance movements that took the streets on behalf of the construction of democratic regime.

To promote the debate about actions that were established in the context of COVID-19 pandemic, but considered as main concepts of Strategic Plan of the City Museum of São Paulo, the *Revealing Territory* award was set. In the context of the social distancing caused by the pandemic, it was urgent to strengthen the relations of the Museum with citizens, reinforcing the museological institution as a space of mediation.

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[6] Moutinho, 2014.

[7] Moutinho, 2014.

The competition *Revealing Territory* was an open call to professional and amateur photographers that carried out records in the city of São Paulo during the pandemic. The project aimed to provide financial assistance to these artists that were deeply affected by the health crisis and promote the inclusion of new visions of the city in our photography collection, as the winners were invited to donate their works to the City Museum of São Paulo.

Another communication and research strategy guideline established by the Museum was the creation of the periodic journal *Memoricidade*, which is both an online and printed journal based on interdisciplinary methodology, and aims to record and increase debates about the modern city. We invite writers, researchers and social movements to bring different perspectives around a number of common themes. This is another result of the reflection taken on the strategic plan highlighting the City Museum of São Paulo as a centre of knowledge and research about urban matters. The first volume brought the theme *Urban Invisibilities*, seeking memories and histories that are often erased.

Conclusion

The three initiatives presented are a sample of the results that have already been verified since the implementation of the Strategic Plan of the City Museum of São Paulo. From these experiences, it's important to emphasise the relevance of a strategic plan as a guiding document for organising museum projects. In the case of CMSP, the collective construction of this management tool has ensured the creation of an institutional commitment for its development.

At present, a new stage of the Strategic Plan was initiated - that of tracking of the goals and evaluation of its workability. Follow-ups have been developed to identify the stage of implementation of the targets that were foreseen by the Strategic Plan and it is possible to state that the staff is alert for the goals established in this document, and they are all seeking the same objective with programmes aligned across the different departments.

With the mission and goals internally aligned, the City Museum of São Paulo aims to discuss and create communication channels that enable full involvement of visitors and citizens in the institution's management instruments, alongside the staff.

Finally, the City Museum of São Paulo expects that, in the next four years, it will be able to bolster the identity of its network and expand its actions beyond its 13 historical buildings to the outer limits, discovering dormant memories of the city of São Paulo and working for and with its communities.

Picture awarded at the Revealing Territory contest, 2021. In process of incorporation in the Photographic Collection of the City Museum of São Paulo.
© Antônia Sousa / CMSP

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BIOGRAPHIES

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THE CITY'S CONTEMPORARY ART MUSEUM AS A DEVELOPMENT-GENERATING INSTITUTION: SARAJEVO'S FUTURE MUSEUM QUARTER

ABSTRACT

Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, is facing a number of phenomena as result of its transition process. The complex image of the city materialised not only from its diverse historical periods but also the geographical location, its often quickly changing socio-political organisation and cultural influences. This process is on a fast track and threatens the stable development of the city's cultural and spatial identity, including valuable examples of modern cultural heritage (1945-1992). One of the most significant cases among them is the Historical Museum, which can serve as a model of a building that creates cultural identity. The lot next to this building will soon receive the Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Art. The Ars Aevi collection is the most ambitious cultural and developmental project of contemporary art in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It was conceived as an international artistic response to the Siege of Sarajevo. The collection awaits the construction of the museum building, which will become a new space of social inclusion and a knowledge-generating institution. The space between both museums might become a new urban public space.

Key words: Museum, culture, urban development, social inclusion, education

Introduction

The contemporary urban transformations, as well as the pandemic we are witnessing, show a considerable degree of diversity, conditioned by the constant, turbulent, global changes which are accelerating the pace of life, often at odds with our ability to adapt and follow them. Thus, we are obliged, today, to evaluate our previous approaches and think about the future of urban space from these new positions: not only by taking into consideration the technological challenges but also various unpredictable situations that are becoming a reality.

In this sense, Sarajevo is an example of the extreme complexity, which, in addition to all of the above, has also arisen from intricate socio-political circumstances, whereupon transition processes have lost their essential meaning (transition: transformation; a temporary state). Such processes have become permanent; it can even be said that they are positioned as a specific "state of mind". At the same time, many cultural institutions are in a state of permanent uncertainty. Hence, there is a need to transform attitudes towards culture and, in that respect, renovate collective attitudes towards the museum as an institution - namely, by founding it both as a treasure trove of knowledge and a place where architecture is able to synchronise its significance and influence to create and build a cultural identity (Tschumi, 2004). Since this is a very sensitive issue, the thesis is that culture, architecture and art may play a key role in conceiving a more prosperous society, as well as driving up urban regeneration and development.

In this process, the museum – as a specific architectural concept – can and should take centre stage in answering the question of the ambiguous and complex human-culture-architecture-context relationship.

Towards a creative city

What can we learn from Europe, in the heels of the challenge presented by globalisation? Europe's international competitiveness and the well-being of citizens must increasingly be built upon knowledge and innovation, with strong social and environmental concerns. In this context, all cultural activities, and especially the so-called "creative industries", represent a powerful engine to drive Europe forward and help citizens meet the challenges of globalisation. They represent a relevant step towards a knowledge-based economy – both directly, as important knowledge activities in their own right, and indirectly, by establishing a "climate of creativity" that will generate innovation in other economic sectors. Most of the time, the knowledge base will clearly result not only from individuals but also from the collective creativity of the community. As such, it shows that the challenge has a strong social dimension and, therefore, that the social environment is crucial. If the cultural activities and the creative industries are to perform this role as a driver of innovation, they require certain types of infrastructure and intensive networks of human interactions, which will more easily flourish in what can be called a "creative milieu" (URBACT, 2006). These conditions can only be gathered in an urban environment, reason why cities are at the forefront of this struggle. It is in European cities that these conditions exist, and therefore the cities must be the main focus for the development of cultural activities and creative industries. Most European cities have already clearly understood the importance of cultural activities in their redevelopment. For more than a decade, a number of European cities have successfully "used" them as a decisive part of their urban regeneration initiatives (Bilbao, Frankfurt, Glasgow and many others). Nevertheless, the approach developed tended to be selective: the focus was too often made on either

the social, the economic or the physical dimensions, whereas the true challenge clearly lies in turning the local community from a productive city towards a creative city; however, doing this requires an integrated approach.

While promoting a global research on urban problems from the perspective of creative cities, we must be careful not to force a Western conception of the creative city ideal on the city of Sarajevo. Instead, we must rethink the concept of creative cities in light of the myriad of problems those cities are facing, in hope of creating a new urban society and a new urban theory based on culture, creativity and social inclusion that are appropriate to the local context (Sasaki, 2010). In these cases, the creativity inherent to art and culture was employed to create new spaces between the existing museums and the planned museum as a multifaceted attempt at urban development.

Museum architecture: culture-led urban regeneration

Cultural objects, especially museums, play an important role in promoting the values of a city but also does the architecture that represents and communicates them. Despite the question of how to reactivate these spaces is frequently discussed, the truth is that, at every occasion, it contributes to the planning of important development strategies that promote the importance of cultural and spatial identity. Therefore, we must bring into consideration the inevitable economic importance that follows up a correct approach in the design and construction of museums, by which they become active participants of the city's developmental processes. However, this time, the highlight goes to the role museum architecture plays in raising awareness about the importance of culture and the development of cultural identity of a specific area, in our case, a city. It is really simple to claim that, in accordance with the contemporary architectural discourse, museum architecture exists in the sphere of the "closed" relationship between the observer and the exhibit, and it opens up other phenomena. Such phenomena frequently lose their true sense under the pressure of the global processes, yet they can be rescued by applying correct strategies in valorisation, reconstruction and new construction of these chests of knowledge, history, tradition and memory. One of the approaches would certainly be through a culturally-aware architecture that does not necessarily entail a sensation in space. It rather becomes a space for contemplation of time, place and the traditional values embodied by the cultural identity (Ugljen-Ademović and Ibrišimbegović, 2018).

Among the different types of urban regeneration, we find that culture-led urban regeneration is the one to be employed by a city, which holds its own historical assets and local cultural potential that can be used to select the direction of the regeneration and development. We need to understand the concepts of culture and the historical and cultural resources to proceed with any culture-led urban regeneration. Culture, which can be defined as a generally recognised manner in a community, has two essences: one is the locality as a social place, the other is the generality of the common uses within the limit. As for the more detailed culture types, the overall culture is composed of the historical culture and the living culture of that given time, and it can also be divided into the artistic culture and spatial culture from an aesthetic point of view (HongHwang, 2014).

So, architecture, when used successfully, also takes into account participation in meaningful actions, by enabling the participants to understand their role in creating an urban identity. In other words, it opens up space for an individual to experience purpose through participation in cultural institutions. In this way,
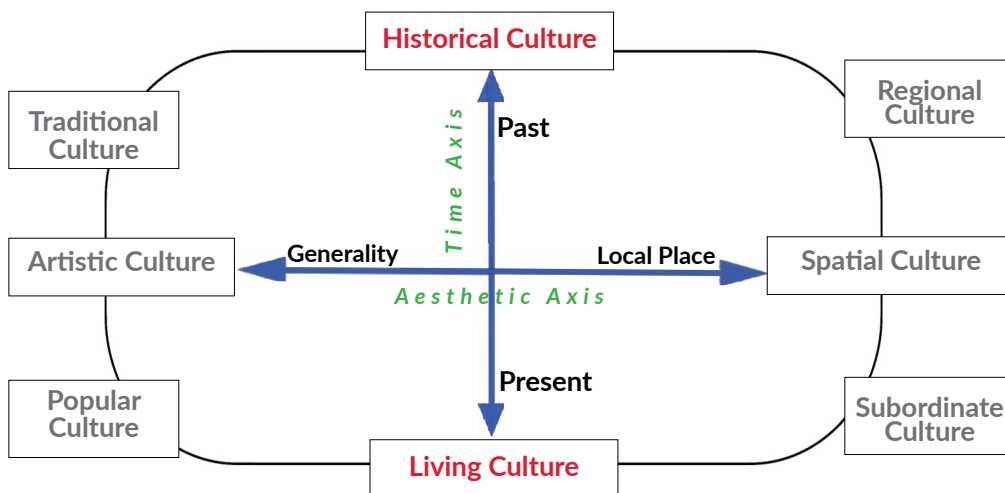
Diagram of the types of culture[1]

architecture offers societies a place for existential orientation in a time-related meaning (Perez-Gomez, 2009).

By proving that there is no architecture without events or programmes, but that it is characterised by the opposition of space and purpose and the inevitable disjunction of these two concepts, we are led to the fact that architecture is constantly unstable and on the brink of change. Foucault's discussion of architecture and power ultimately repeats Sullivan's "form follows function" – the disjunction between different factors of the architectural equation: space, programme and movement. To leave out the uncertainty of purpose, action and movement in the definition of architecture would simply mean denying the ability of architecture as a factor in social change (Tschumi, 2004). This means that architecture is neither a pure form, nor is it exclusively determined by socio-economic and functional constraints, but that the search for its definition should always take place within the urban dimensions and therefore within the spatial context. The complex social, economic and political mechanisms that govern the expansion or contraction of the modern city have not been left without an effect on architecture and its social role. If we ever wanted that, our society would not be able to get out of its space. Although society creates space, it is always its prisoner, because space is a common framework for all activities and often politically used to provide the illusion of coherence by concealing social contradictions. Our cities, our architecture, are characterised by such an assembled / disassembled state. The modern world is an unorganised space – "there is no architecture without everyday life, movement and action" (Tschumi, 2004).

Case study: Sarajevo's future Museum Quarter

The architectural heritage of modernism originated in the late 18th century and inherited the democratic ideas of the civil society of the time before acquiring its specific characteristics in the 20th century. It is represented by the Historical Museum – as an existing architectural value and an initiator of development on site in Sarajevo – and the National Museum – whose typology is still considered a point of reference, and which is actively promoting art within its public space. Added to these, the future Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Art, which we hope

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[1] Source: HongHwang, 2014.

Space between museums for the future Museum Quarter. © Ars Aevi

to see built from 2023, should initiate a thinking process about the new urban space between the museums: we speak of the future Sarajevo's Museum Quarter. This area should be a space for museums to promote art and knowledge to visitors and society at large. It should become a new city space for social inclusion and drive up the whole urban regeneration and development of this part of Sarajevo; moreover, it should initiate an improvement of the area's old urban plan.

Conclusion

Architecture, in a given environment, presupposes a creative relationship within its context, between all forms by which it is represented: spatial, natural, cultural, social, political, among others. Each culture is symbolised by a different concept of space, because the experience gained is different, and thus each culture is conditioned by a different sense of space. Functional, technical, aesthetic and visual identity of architecture are expressive identities, i.e. architectural language is transformed into an "architectural-artistic work" that has its own purpose and place in space (Ibrišimbegović, 2015).

The future Museum Quarter. © Ars Aevi

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BIOGRAPHY

Senka Ibrišimbegović was born in Travnik, BiH. She attended high school in Switzerland, graduated from the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Sarajevo and obtained the Master of Science degree from Università di Siena, Politecnico di Milano and IUAV di Venezia. Since 2008, she has taught at the Faculty of Architecture, University of Sarajevo. Senka has participated in several international scientific and professional conferences, as well as scientific and professional projects. Her PhD thesis, *Architecture of Museums of Contemporary Art as a Capsule of Time*, is the reflection of the engagement with the Ars Aevi Museum of Contemporary Art in Sarajevo, where she has worked, since 2004, on architectural designs proposed by the Italian architect Renzo Piano, and diverse exhibition set-ups, such as the one for the 53rd Venice Biennale in 2009. In 2019, she commissioned the exhibition of Bosnia and Herzegovina Pavilion for the 58th Venice Biennale on behalf of the public institution Ars Aevi Sarajevo as a director. She is a member of ICOM, CIMAM, AABH and ATINER.

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CAIRO CITY MUSEUM: THE ASSUMPTION FOR THE FIRST CITY MUSEUM IN EGYPT

ABSTRACT

Usually, Cairo is the destination for those visitors in search of Egypt's vast cultural heritage landmarks for various purposes. The capital of Egypt has a huge and spectacular narrative to be weaved, a narrative reflecting the values of tangible and intangible cultural heritage that ought to be presented in several perspectives, according to the diversity of the people of Cairo.

It is crucial to have a project that introduces the stories of people from the city, which is considered an interesting destination not only for local visitors but also for international visitors. Assuredly, the project has a distinctive vision and mission that entitles it to serve different communities and people from different backgrounds in such a big city like Cairo, particularly the Khedival district, which is the city's downtown. I speak of a vision compatible with the country's in demonstrating new types of museums that focus way more on the residents as a museum subject and that, at the same time, contribute and facilitate donations to acquire a collection for the museum, following selective criteria.

Meanwhile, the Egyptian government, along with real estate development companies, is focusing on an ongoing mission of reviving downtown Cairo, by preserving, upgrading and uplifting the architectural elements of the city, which can ensure an insight into the city's urban development and its sustainability. Among the top themes introduced in the project, that represent people in Cairo, there are: *Urban development, Cinema and theatres, Cafés and literature, Streets and memories.*

Key words: City Museum of Cairo, tangible heritage, intangible heritage, downtown Cairo, urban development

The first assumption for a city museum in Cairo

The time has come to develop an assumption for the creation of the first city museum in Egypt. The idea to introduce a new type of museum, mainly focused on the contemporary history of any specific city in the country, became a must, which is slightly different from the dominant themes of archaeology and Egyptology found all over the museums of Egypt. So, it is paramount to shed light on the importance of a city museum to be established in the ancient capital city, Cairo, to preserve its cultural heritage values and stories. The spectacular stories about the streets in Downtown Cairo have made this part of the city an attractive spot, not only for locals but also for visitors. Those stories have encouraged me to pay increased attention to the history of the contemporary district of Khedival in particular – a history that is so close and crucially bound up with migrations and influences on the city since its construction, specifically in the Downtown area. The history and memory of the people of Cairo have gradually generated many approaches in the research project, all valid for interpretation in the context of museology.

Khedival Cairo: A story of a fancy district

"More modernised, developed, expanded, energetic and urbanised" – these words would be the definition of Khedival Cairo in a nutshell, thanks to Khedive Ismail, the ruler of Egypt in the second half of the 19th century, who was determined to construct the city in unique architectural style. Significantly, under his leadership, westernisation took place in Khedival Cairo, as a result of his influence by Paris. The ruler of Egypt spent his reign focusing on the planning and construction of the city. He did everything possible to achieve his dream of making the new district a symbol of beautification, equivalent to its counterparts in Europe, Paris in particular. The drafts for the area initially focused on the new district and the suburbs respectively, as the extensions and development of the area of Khedival Cairo came into being. Only after the addition of public utilities came the plan for the wide streets. The outlook of the building façades had an architectural code to unify the chosen aesthetics. Among the remarkable sites established we find the famous Khedival Opera House, the National Theatre, the Royal Palace of Abdin and a number of shops and galleries.[1] The current official boundaries for Khedival Cairo are set by the Egyptian National Organisation of Urban Harmony and were released and approved in 2009 by Egypt's Supreme Council for Planning and Urban Development.[2]

Into the city museum of Cairo

Khedival Cairo is special and unique to its people. A city museum would provide an important approach to cultural talks to narrate their untold history, memories, ideas, victories, defeats, stories about streets and literally everything that relates to their existence. The people of Khedival Cairo need a platform to express and speak about their values towards cultural heritage. A city museum of Khedival Cairo would give everyone the right to the city if they are ready to build a narrative and have a memory to talk about; those who own the city are people with a huge diversity, different backgrounds and cultural aspects. They

The official and current boundaries of Khedival Cairo since 2008. The image shows three intersecting sections and the intervention of Khedival Cairo, dating back to the 1870s, alongside with the historical city that exists since 969 AD.
© Egyptian Organisation of Urban Harmony [3]

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[1] Source: Wali, T. (2019). The Mahrousa Cairo Journey from the era of the state to the era of national independence.
(طارق والي ، 2019، رحلة القاهرة المحروسة من عصر الوالية إلى عصر الاستقلال الوطني ، ص) 773

[2] Source: *** (2011). Limits and foundations for preserving the historic Cairo and Khedive regions of distinctive value.
The National Organization for Urban Harmony (2011، الجهاز القومي للتنسيق الحضاري، حدود و أسس الحفاظ على منطقتي القاهرة التاريخية و الخديوية ذات القيمة المميزة)

[3] http://urbanharmony.org/download/pdf/khdweic_cairo_boundries2020.pdf

diversify as follows: the resident who lives in it, the immigrant that one day found a new home on its streets, the visitor, who may be someone from another city and travels to Cairo for a number of purposes, the tourist who is keen on visiting the Egyptian capital and its most remarkable place, Khedival Cairo, and the passer-by who is interested in crossing Downtown Cairo. Unlike any other type of museum, the city museum of Khedival Cairo is where people would participate and engage with their stories, which, in turn, would reinforce the bond to their heritage and preserve it as a cultural value. In addition, the fact that the huge scope of cultural assets which lies within the boundaries of the place needs a huge city museum and intensive curatorial work to document the tangible and intangible cultural heritage aspects of Khedival Cairo. Immersive implementations of the cultural aspects are uncountable: for example, every building that represents tangible heritage contains a component of intangible heritage. Here, the city museum may play a vital role in introducing the people of Cairo, their thoughts and memories, as well as weaving the first narrative for the museum audience by giving them the right platform to express and narrate the stories relevant to what they think about their city. People would have a city museum where they easily could be positioned as co-creators along with the museum staff.

Themes and exhibits from Downtown Cairo

By going deeper into the project, I would like to name a few exhibition ideas – as an assumption – for the city museum of Khedival Cairo, starting with a kick-off showcase with a main and general conceptual frame to introduce what the visitor would be about to find inside the permanent exhibition. The general concept of this showcase is to give the visitor a fresh start and allow the mind to push boundaries of what might be expected to be presented about the city and the stories narrated by its people. It is designed to trigger the visitors' attention as a first insight into the museum tour. The display concepts according to each object are as follows:

- *Memories last or haunt*: do memories vanish in time or do they vanish by demolishing the place? Memories of people in Cairo do last as long as they live, and sometimes the stories became their only legacy. When the Khedival opera was destroyed by fire in a tragic event, the memory stuck in the minds and broke the hearts of those who witnessed it;
- *Khedival Cairo feels like home to all*: Um Kalthoum, the most iconic singer in the Arab world history, performed in many theatres across the city. She was not originally from the city, but her influence went viral everywhere and focused on Downtown Cairo;
- *What is Cairo but the people*: the people of Cairo are the main and vital element in developing the city. The Sustainable Development Goals are people-focused, especially the SDG 11, which is about sustaining the city and its communities, and demands steps and action plans toward creating a creative and smart city to be accessible and of benefit for the people of Cairo. So, why not going back to using wrapping paper instead of plastic to that effect and make Cairo a better place?
- *Glammed between the past and present*: The city is a favoured host for unique Egyptian events, not only the Cairo-related ones but also the national events. In 2021, a huge event was held at the heart of the city, when the mummies were transferred from the Egyptian Museum of Cairo to the new gallery at the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization. The Royal Mummies Parade kick-off demanded a campaign of renovation and upgrade of the Downtown buildings.

The permanent exhibition topics would be designed to bring exciting and memorable events of the city's history to life, as well as to present examples of people's varied interests. The limits and boundaries of Khedival Cairo would be taken into consideration to determine which topics would be appropriate for the area and would also serve its people. That is why the topic of the famous crafts as tangible and intangible heritage cannot be among the cultural heritage means of the area. Instead, other themes, mostly inspired by people, would be present, such as:

- *Urban development*: A display serving the idea of how buildings in the city have been upgraded due to their value. They are the vehicles of tangible heritage and, at the same time, they hold within the values of intangible heritage. Their evolution of having been repurposed through different times and the fact that stories of people are still connected with buildings cannot be disregarded. Historical cities like Cairo require institutional support from museums, and city museums can afford documentation and interpretation for tangible and intangible heritage, conservation and adaptive reuse for the unique architectural buildings, in addition to the enhancement of public open spaces and improvement of housing, infrastructure conditions and the implementation of the appropriate upgrading and uplifting technologies.
- *Cinema and theatre*: A display based on the cultural scene of Cairo, highlighting it as the place of the largest Mena Region Media producer in the last century.[4]
- *The living memory of streets*: How would cities have looked like without streets? The shortest answer is they might never have existed and functioned as we know them. Streets are the memory hung inside the sentiment of the people of Cairo, by means of stories and secrets attached to historical eras critical for different generations and one of the important components of the city's fabric; all of that has left mark in those streets. Regardless of the city's huge expansion, evolution and development, the streets stand gigantic, authentic, filled with the scent of the past, keeping up with the present and looking forward to the future. The streets stand as witnesses to all that the city has gone through, is currently going through and will witness future events, be them milestones, circumstances, proceedings, people, rulers and even the disasters that took place in their landmarks. In Cairo, our streets are the memory of our nation; they bear both victories and defeats, they endure the shedding of tears and smiles of joy, lasting if we still have the right to the city. What first attracts or repels any traveller to his/her destination are the roads and streets with all their reality, chaos and modernity. The streets formulate the first impression of the place that lasts forever in the memory of a person. When walking through the wide streets of Khedival Cairo, it feels like going inside a huge theatre.
- *Cafés and literature*: The concept of that display is to focus on the famous unique cafés, despite the changes in their purpose and usage. Cafés used to be cultural places for literature, the coming together of authors and for people who just went there for family and friends' gatherings. Nowadays, they still exist even if their role has been repurposed according to people's interests. The assumption is that they have a profound role in people's culture, being places of informal therapy, where residents go and discuss their problems and share moments of grief and joy.

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[4] Singerman, D., Amar, P., and Amar, P. E. (Eds.). (2006). *Cairo cosmopolitan: politics, culture, and urban space in the new globalized Middle Eas*t. American University in Cairo Press. 154.

Conclusion

Everyone is entitled to Khedival Cairo. One may contribute with a story or an object, which, when exhibited in an interpretive context, reinforces the feeling of belonging to the city. This project is the researcher's perspective, an assumption on how to create a city museum in Egypt. The city museum of Khedival Cairo may crucially contribute to weaving an immense narrative with the main goal of preserving the city's cultural heritage. The museum might play a vital role in introducing the people of Cairo, their thoughts and memories to the visitors, whether they be local or international. With a new city museum, people could engage in an experience of cultural heritage. The documentation process of the oral history of the city demands a concept based on non-selectivity, to ensure the creation of an appropriate platform for the diversity of the museum audiences, to end up giving everyone the right to the city. One of the important fundaments of the mission of reviving Khedival Cairo is to create a city museum that is mainly audience-based, where people are co-creators alongside the museum staff. The city museum of Khedival Cairo may provide an insight into the city's urban development and its future sustainability. If everyone in the city respects the diversity of others, one can have the right to be on the city museum's platform.

BIOGRAPHY

Manar Mazhar Ashour Hassan is a museum studies researcher and she holds a double MA in museum studies from the University of Würzburg in Germany and the University of Helwan in Egypt. She obtained a BA degree in egyptology in 2018. She has a substantial volunteering history in museum works and has participated in various projects in Egypt and Germany. In 2020, she obtained an internship at Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe in Germany.

In her thesis project, she worked on the first assumption of a city museum in Egypt and chose Downtown Cairo, which is officially named Khedival Cairo. The thesis title is *The Role of City Museums in Preserving the Values of Tangible and Intangible Heritage: A case study on Khedival Cairo.*

She participated as an ignite session speaker at the CAMOC Barcelona conference.

CITY MUSEUMS IN SUSTAINING CULTURAL HERITAGE OF MINORITY COMMUNITIES:
A CASE STUDY OF THE DA NANG CITY MUSEUM AND THE KATU ETHNIC CULTURE

HA DUONG

*Da Nang City Museum
Vietnam*

ABSTRACT

Preserving the nation's cultural diversity is not only a goal but also a big challenge in the context of globalisation, especially for multi-ethnic countries like Vietnam. Among the solutions offered, local museums are included as "cultural hubs", and they play a key role in the sustainability of cultural heritage, including preserving the cultural values of ethnic minorities. Using the Da Nang City Museum based in Da Nang, Vietnam, and the Katu people's culture as a case study, this research aims to identify the contributions of local museums in sustaining the cultural heritage values of a minority group in a fast-growing city. Another objective of the research is to explore the participation of the Katu people in museum operations. The importance of the museum in sustaining the cultural heritage of this minority group is examined through the museum's activities to promote the community culture as well as interviews with stakeholders.

Key words: City museum, minority culture, cultural diversity, community engagement, ethnographic collections

The exhibition space of the Katu culture in the DCM.
© Ha Duong

Introduction

Da Nang is a fast-growing coastal city located in the centre of Vietnam, with two main ethnic groups, the Kinh and the Katu. The Katu live in the Hoa Vang district, a mountainous district of the city. This indigenous community accounts for only 1% of the city's population but has a unique and rich cultural value. Throughout their history, the Katu have created and preserved rich and unique cultural values. They are well known for festivals and traditional dances, weaving and costumes and unique spiritual perspectives. However, at present, the culture of the Katu group is facing many challenges, which affect the preservation of traditional cultural elements. Preserving the culture of minority groups in the context of a developing city, such as that of the Katu community group in Da Nang, involves many stakeholders and cultural institutions, among which the Da Nang City Museum (DCM) plays an important and long-term role. The museum has implemented various solutions, including building and maintaining the connection with the source community.

Da Nang City Museum and the Katu collection

The Da Nang City Museum is located in Hai Chau District, the city centre of Da Nang, having been established in 1989. The museum owns 19,957 objects and documents of historical, cultural and social aspects of the land and people of Da Nang and its surrounding areas. This is the biggest museum in Da Nang, with an exhibition space about 3,000 m^2.

The Da Nang City Museum's strategy and policy toward the preservation of the cultural diversity of the communities living in the city and its surrounding areas were set in its early years. The museum devotes the third floor of its premises to ethnographic exhibitions, introducing the cultural life of five ethnic groups living in Da Nang and its vicinity. The general idea of this exhibition is to present varied and unique collections of different cultures, in which the Katu culture is the highlight, alongside the more preponderant Kinh culture.

The collection of Katu culture in the DCM comprises over 850 artefacts from different aspects of the Katu community, such as traditional costumes, traditional instruments, worship items, traditional handicrafts, ornaments and tools. This is the most varied and unique of the DCM's ethnographic collections.

The Katu's participation in the city museum's activities

In social contexts where cultural communities have learned to coexist, museums display their prominent role in reflecting the value of social progress through ethnographic collections coming from different source communities.[1] To fulfil that mission, museums must respect and collaborate with the communities, especially the source communities, where the museum collections are gathered.[2]

In case of the DCM, since 2013, activities with community participation have been priority and the programmes with the participation of the Katu community became successful public programmes. The first programme presenting the Katu culture was held in March 2016, with the participation of 36 Katu artisans from the province of Quang Nam and the city of Da Nang. The presentation of traditional

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[1] Janes and Conaty, 2005; Peers and Brown, 2003.

[2] ICOM, 2013.

The Katu people perform traditional dance in the DCM, 2016. © Da Nang City Museum

handicrafts and traditional dances of the Katu was the highlight of this programme. Artisans from the Katu villages conducted this activity and interacted with the museum audiences.

The process of working with the Katu community was primarily to consult artisans on the content of the show, arrange the time and agree on issues of cost and transportation. The event attracted more than 700 people, including local community and visitors to the museum.[3] Although the process of working with the Katu is mainly through the mediation of local researchers and cultural managers, the programme was the first step for the museum in building a strong relationship with the Katu community.

Motivated by the positive feedback from the public after the first programme of presenting the Katu culture in 2016, the city museum organised a second programme in March 2017. Basically, it largely matched the first one, exhibiting Katu culture and presenting traditional handicrafts and traditional art performances. Interestingly, this programme included 48 Katu participants from three areas where the Katu live: the provinces of Quang Nam and Thua Thien and the city of Da Nang. Although they have the same cultural roots, they live geographically far apart. The museum undertook the major effort of inviting artists representing all three regions of the Katu, to create an opportunity for Katu people from different regions to exchange and learn from each other. According to the DCM's report, this programme attracted nearly 1000 visitors, mainly students and locals.[4]

Furthermore, the Katu traditional weaving was one of the handicrafts presented in the Festival of Traditional Handicrafts in the museum (2017). A special feature of this activity was that the artisans themselves introduced the handicrafts, and visitors had the opportunity to experience the process of creating traditional handicraft products.

Whilst conservation and exhibitions have been undertaken since the early years of the museum, public programmes involving the Katu community have only been implemented in recent years.

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[3] DCM, 2016.

[4] DCM, 2017.

The collection and preservation of Katu cultural artefacts are core functions of the city museum but also is its responsibility to society. This last becomes more important and necessary as the culture of minority peoples is at an ever-increasing risk of fading due to social change. Programmes involving the Katu, although only recently implemented, are a start for further community projects in the future. These programmes will contribute to bringing greater power to minority community voices. They also situate the museum as a social contact zone, which stimulates exchange and mutual understanding between cultures, respects their differences and preserves cultural diversity.[5]

Stakeholders' views

To understand how the local museum plays its role in sustaining the cultural heritage of the Katu minority group in Da Nang, I conducted a field trip to interview stakeholders in the relationship between the DCM and the Katu community. The participants in my interviews included museum staff, Katu people, cultural researchers and museum visitors, which I will expand below.

Museum staff: Museum staff indicated that programmes involving the Katu people have received positive public feedback, especially from local people. One of the comments was that "these programmes bring to the public a genuine and impressive experience when they are in direct contact with the Katu artisans to learn more about the cultural characteristics of the Katu. It can be said that the museum has brought them practical experience". The museum staff agreed that the participation of the Katu people in the museum operations is significant. Such interaction enriches the records connected to the DCM collections with stories related to the objects, and they are "the soul of the event" in the museum's public programmes.

The Katu people: For the Katu people, participating in the museum programmes is an interesting experience and they feel comfortable. One interviewee said: "I think of the DCM programme as a good opportunity to promote our culture, so I accepted the invitation". Another interviewee emphasised that she was proud of the Katu culture: "I did not think there were so many people who were interested in our traditional culture. Their interest makes me feel proud. I would like to introduce our cultural values to museum audiences!" These participants also appreciated the exhibition of Katu material culture on the third floor of the museum. One of them commented: "it is amazing as I can see valuable items of our community stored and displayed in the museum. If these artefacts were not collected and preserved in the museum, we could not see them any more".

However, these people also expressed their concern about the challenges of preserving traditional culture, especially for the Katu people living in Da Nang. A Katu resident said that many aspects of their cultural customs have changed or disappeared. Conversations with them have also shown the advantages and disadvantages for the Katu community in preserving traditional culture. The prominent issues are the problem of cultural change, the awareness of young people about traditional culture and the low income from traditional handicrafts.

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[5] Clifford, 1997; Crooke, 2006; Schorch, 2013.

Cultural researchers: Discussing the role of the city museum in preserving the culture of minorities, cultural researchers have argued that the DCM is an important cultural institution that plays a significant role in the cultural life of the city. Accordingly, the Katu collection has been the basis for the DCM to develop community engagement programmes and become the place where ethnic groups meet and connect through the culture. However, the researchers expect that the museum will have a stronger voice in projects related to the preservation of Katu culture at a larger scale. "For the rapid cultural change of the Katu group in Da Nang, the DCM needs to take an active role in long-term projects", one researcher said.

Museum visitors: The interviewed visitors are those who visited the Katu cultural exhibition and participated in the programme presenting the Katu culture at the museum. Participants in the interview expressed their interest in the Katu culture through the exhibition and the activities of the museum, especially the traditional costumes and spiritual life of the Katu. For them, the cultural difference of this community from that of the dominant group, the Kinh, draws the attention. Moreover, the life of minority people living far from the city centre, where they are not easily reachable, made the visitors curious and eager to discover.

Visitors have also expressed their expectation that, in the future, the museum programmes will provide more interaction between museum audiences and the Katu people. They want to hear a stronger voice of the Katu community in culture-related activities at the DCM.

From my own observation as well as the interview results, most participants affirm that the local museum plays an important role in preserving the cultural heritage of the Katu. Accordingly, organising community programmes with the participation of the Katu people is a new and effective direction for the museum. This has made the Katu culture more popular, and contributed to sustaining the Katu cultural values. However, participants expressed higher expectations of the role of the museum in preserving and promoting Katu culture. In addition, interviewees also exhibited an optimistic view of the opportunities in developing the relationship between the DCM and the Katu group.

Conclusion

With the rich cultural heritage that is preserved and promoted in local museums, cultural diversity will always be maintained. It is also the role and responsibility of local museums to act as cultural bridges that hold and convey cultural values through generations. This way, the DCM, a local museum in a developing city, is constantly performing its role in creating closer ties with its source community. Furthermore, the DCM has significantly contributed to the preservation and promotion of Katu cultural values. However, we also see greater expectations from stakeholders for the role of DCM in future projects of cultural preservation of ethnic minorities. Especially, the museum needs to highlight the voice of the Katu community in its projects. Besides, the museum should link Katu traditional culture with the economic benefits for the Katu community, making culture a real motivation for community development.

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BIOGRAPHY

Ha Duong is the Vice-head of the Research, Collection and Exhibition Unit of the Da Nang City Museum. She has worked for the Museum for over 10 years, including 7 years as a museum curator, where she has curated exhibitions and organised workshops in collaboration with the local community. She has carried out research projects related to disadvantaged groups, such as ethnic minorities and fishing communities. Her research interests are museums, heritage and community development, minority cultures and museum education. She also cooperates with the Tourism Department of the Da Nang University of Architecture as a visiting lecturer.

CHANGING TOKYO

AKIKO OKATSUKA

*Tokyo Metropolitan
Edo-Tokyo Museum
Japan*

ABSTRACT

The Edo-Tokyo Museum was opened in 1993 as a facility to collect, store and exhibit materials related to Edo-Tokyo, as well as to provide a complete picture of the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo.

The Edo-Tokyo Museum houses a half-length reproduction of the Nihonbashi Bridge in the permanent exhibition gallery. The original wood bridge is said to have been built in 1603 and served as the starting point of Edo's main arterial road, whence the transport network spread across the country. The bridge once stood as a symbol of the centre of Japan. The reconstructed Nihonbashi Bridge that spans the large space of the gallery is a spectacular sight. Museum visitors, as they cross the bridge, feel as if going back in time to the city of Edo.

In Edo, one would also find a bustling fish market in the Nihonbashi area, teeming with seafood traders for Edo was "a city of water", crisscrossed by many rivers and moats.
Such aspect of the water city was lost when the Tokyo Olympic Games were held in 1964, drastically changing the landscape of the city. Elevated expressways were built over the canals and rivers, including the Nihonbashi Bridge, as such measure did not require the expropriation of land. Therefore, the image of Tokyo as "a city of water" disappeared without a trace, to be replaced by an urban landscape where expressways dominate and run in all directions over the city centre.

From July to September 2021, Tokyo hosted the Olympic Games for the second time: the 2020 Tokyo Olympic and Paralympic Games. This time around, the National Stadium, the main venue of the 1964 Olympics, was demolished to make way for the new National Stadium.

If, on the one hand, the development of the central part of Tokyo is in progress, replacing the old with new, on the other, there is a movement to restore the old Edo-Tokyo to its former glory. In May 2021, construction work began in earnest to remove the expressway that runs over the Nihonbashi area and place it underground, as a tunnel. It is an attempt to revitalise the "city of water". The tunnel is scheduled to open by 2035 and the works to remove the elevated section are already under way and expected to be completed by 2040.

Tokyo will continue to change, and the more it changes, the more nostalgic people will become about its past. The Edo-Tokyo Museum will continue to convey the appeal of Edo-Tokyo as an ever-changing city and to provide opportunities for all people to learn about its long history and culture.

Key words: Edo-Tokyo Museum, Nihonbashi Bridge, a water capital

Introduction

The Edo-Tokyo Museum was opened in 1993 as a facility to collect, store and exhibit materials related to Edo-Tokyo, as well as to provide a complete picture of the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo.
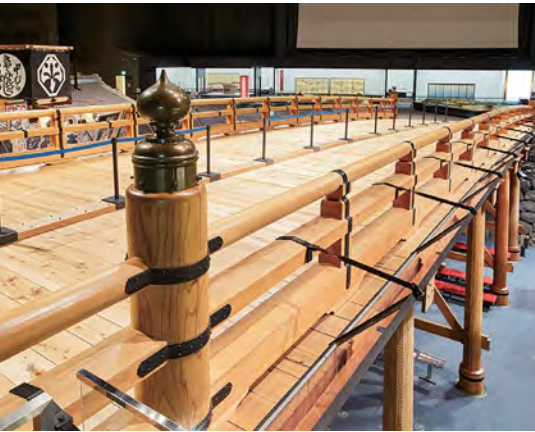
Tokyo, the capital of Japan, once known as Edo, is where Tokugawa Ieyasu established his shogunate government in 1603. The Tokugawa shogunate remained in power for over 260 years, ultimately collapsing and giving way to a new government – as a result of that transition, Edo became "Tokyo", in 1868. The Edo-Tokyo Museum ushers visitors into the capital's 400-year legacy, a captivating experience of the history and culture of both Edo and Tokyo. Greeting visitors, as soon as they enter the permanent exhibition area, stands a replica of the northern half of the Nihonbashi Bridge.

Believed to date back to 1603, the original Nihonbashi Bridge was entirely made of wood. The Nihonbashi Bridge was essentially the "centre" of Japan: the starting point for Edo's main roads, which formed the nexus of the country's transportation network. Today, just as during the Edo period, the Nihonbashi Bridge remains as the starting point for Japan's national routes.

The replica of the Nihonbashi Bridge, stretching across the expanse of the Museum's vast permanent exhibition area, is a sight to behold. As visitors make their way across the bridge, they travel back in time into an immersive experience of life in Edo.

Edo was once home to an extensive network of rivers and waterways for transporting a variety of cargo. Although being impossible to imagine it today, Tokyo was once a "city of water". In 1911, the wooden Nihonbashi Bridge was rebuilt as a Renaissance-style stone structure – and the new bridge became an enduring symbol of Tokyo.

The cityscape of Tokyo between tradition and change

Over the years, Tokyo has faced a number of major crises. The 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake, for example, devastated the area, levelling countless houses and sparking fires that devoured approximately 43% of central Tokyo. Around two decades later, the Tokyo air raids during World War II caused catastrophic damage across the metropolis.

Despite experiencing widespread destruction on multiple occasions, Tokyo recovered from every crisis, rebuilt itself, maintained its functions as Japan's capital city and made economic strides forward. A powerful testament to Tokyo's resilience came with the hosting of the 1964 Olympic Games, which gave the world a glimpse of how the city had managed to survive and thrive.

Prior to hosting the Olympic Games, Tokyo had an underdeveloped infrastructure of roads, rail lines and other transportation elements. One initiative to enhance the transportation network was the construction of the Tokaido Shinkansen, the world's first-ever high-speed railway, whose opening coincided with the Tokyo Olympics. The years leading up to the Games also saw the creation of the Metropolitan Expressway, which served to alleviate the traffic congestion problems that had been escalating in central Tokyo due to the growing numbers of

Nihonbashi Bridge at the permanent exhibition gallery. Drawing on historical records, the Museum reproduced the bridge as faithfully as possible.
© Edo-Tokyo Museum

Nihonbashi Dawn by Kawase Hasui,1940, woodblock print.
© Edo-Tokyo Museum

The present Nihonbashi Bridge with the expressway over it. © Metropolitan Expressway Company Limited

cars on the roads. Due to the very pressing deadlines facing the construction of the expressway, planners opted for a route that would go over the existing canals and rivers in order to circumvent the need to expropriate land. The choice came with a cost, though: the new expressway went directly over the Nihonbashi Bridge, a long-treasured symbol of Tokyo.

Although the expressway project met opposition, economic interests took priority. While the Metropolitan Expressway significantly enhanced the convenience of Tokyo's transportation network and dramatically propelled logistical improvements, it has also erased all vestiges of Tokyo's historical identity as a water city. The cityscape went from an intricate arrangement of waterways to a tangled web of expressway routes careening and crisscrossing in the air.

Tokyo's next major turning point came in the mid-1980s. As big companies converged towards tight clusters in the capital's urban core, Tokyo's working population ballooned. Throngs of people poured into the metropolis, fuelling overconcentration that sent land values in Tokyo through the roof. Developers wanted to adapt Tokyo to the climbing land prices. A wave of projects set out to demolish old buildings and replace them with new structures that would be more economically efficient. In that process, many buildings with perceptible cultural value swiftly vanished from the urban landscape.

A look back through urban history reveals the vital roles that buildings play in fostering a community's cultural dimension. Conventionally, the ideal approach to preserving buildings with cultural value has been to keep the structures on their original sites. Tokyo is, however, an exceptional case; land values in the capital have risen steadily, towering over prices in other areas of the country. With culturally important buildings in Tokyo all but destined for demolition due to economic circumstances, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government created a plan to preserve the structures for future generations through relocation and reconstruction. In 1993, the Edo-Tokyo Open Air Architectural Museum opened as a branch of the Edo-Tokyo Museum. The grounds of the Edo-Tokyo Open Air Architectural Museum are currently home to a total of thirty houses, shops and other buildings that once occupied locations in central Tokyo. Together, the structures vividly recreate the old townscapes in real, full scale.

Inside the relocated historical buildings, exhibits of day-to-day artefacts and folk items help immerse visitors in the lifestyles of the past.

The latest developments

Tokyo hosted its second Olympic event with the 2020 Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics, which ran from July to September 2021. After successfully landing its host city bid in 2013, Tokyo launched urban development efforts with the hope of maximizing the benefits of increased inbound tourism as well as taking measures to sharpen its competitive edge in the international arena. The organisation saw to the dismantling of the National Olympic Stadium, which had served as the primary venue for the 1964 Games, and built the new Japan National Stadium on the same site.

As development presses on in central Tokyo, the cityscape continues to evolve into new forms. Nevertheless, the efforts to restore the old vestiges of Edo and Tokyo also continue to gain momentum. The section of the expressway covering the Nihonbashi Bridge, for example, will soon be a thing of the past as the works to move the stretch of thoroughfare underground, which had begun in May 2021, are under way. The plan is to open the new tunnel by 2035 and complete the removal of the elevated road structure by 2040.

The city of water is coming back to life. By 2040, seventy-six years after the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games, the Nihonbashi Bridge will have reclaimed its classic aesthetic.

Tokyo will continue to change into the future – and the more it evolves, more people will look back to the history and culture of Edo-Tokyo with a nostalgic yearning, a hope that the heritage of years gone by will endure. The Edo-Tokyo Museum will continue to showcase Edo-Tokyo's captivating urban environment and give audiences of all kinds valuable opportunities to learn about what makes the city such a special place.

Edo-Tokyo Museum entrance.
© Edo-Tokyo Museum

BIOGRAPHY

Akiko Okatsuka is a doctor of Art and Design. She holds a degree from the Graduate School of Comprehensive Human Sciences, University of Tsukuba, and she is a specialist in History of Photography.

After serving at Tokyo Photographic Art Museum and Tokyo Metropolitan Teien Art Museum, Akiko Oktsuka has assumed a post of a Director of Research Centre of Edo-Tokyo Urban History, Tokyo Metropolitan Edo-Tokyo Museum.

YANNI CHENG AND BO CHEN

Han Yangling Museum China

HOW MUSEUMS MAY PLAY A ROLE IN RURAL-URBAN INTEGRATION: THE EXAMPLE OF THE HAN YANGLING MUSEUM

ABSTRACT

The Han Yangling Museum has been built on the site of a royal mausoleum that goes back 2148 years, and is located at the conjunction area between the cities of Xi'an and Xian'yang, in the Shaanxi Province, China. Thanks to its position, rich cultural remains and a beautiful scenery, the museum plays an important part in the integration of rural and urban areas for a number of reasons. First, museum employees mostly originate from three areas, meaning they are either residents of Xi'an and Xian'yang or country dwellers from the villages around the museum. They interact with one another during working hours. Second, the museum has a huge park which is well-forested, rendering different sceneries in different seasons, acting as a public amusement area for urban and village dwellers to enjoy. Third, as an informal education institution, the museum has conceived many educational activities and maintained sister relations with both rural and urban schools, giving rural children an equal chance to visit it. Fourth, as an important cultural facility in the community, the museum shoulders the responsibilities of being cultural recorder, protector and transmitter of the local culture. In such manner, the Han Yangling Museum can boost local economy, attract rural dwellers to its premises and deepen the understanding of urban dwellers to their rural counterparts, thus contributing to the rural-urban integration.

Key words: Han Yangling Museum, cultural organisation, urbanisation, rural-urban integration

Introduction

In China, there is a special kind of museums, which not only hold exhibitions but also serve both as a cultural heritage sites and public parks. These museums are called National Archaeological Site Parks, a category established in 2018. Altogether, 36 museums have received this title. The majority, 4/5 of these museums, is situated at the hinge point between rural and urban areas; among them, we find The Han Yangling Museum. The Han Yangling Museum is built on the site of the mausoleum complex of an ancient emperor, dating back more than 2000 years. The Museum has three on-site halls and a gallery. The three on-site halls are the South Gate Tower of the Emperor's mausoleum, the Secondary Burial Pits of the Emperor and the Site of Ritual Construction. The gallery showcases more than 2000 pieces of artefacts unearthed from the Emperor's Mausoleum Complex.[1] The Han Yangling Museum is located between the cities of Xi'an and Xian'yang with a few surrounding villages. Thanks to its location, the museum plays an important role in rural-urban integration.

Cross-influence between the staff

Staff from both rural and urban areas finds a chance to interact and influence each other at the museum.

The museum has 185 employees: 28 of them from Xian'yang, 95 from Xi'an, 42 from nearby villages and 20 from other regions, that is to say, 24% of the employees are from the countryside. Concerning their duties, 70 of them work as security guards, 46 in the professional fields (like exhibitions, research, archaeology and education), 20 in the front-line service (like ticket service, tour guide, information desk) and 49 are assigned to logistics. Generally speaking, those in the professional fields are mainly from the urban areas and possess a well-educated background, while those in the logistic, safeguard and front-line part come mainly from rural areas. Around the museum, there is a dozen villages, whose dwellers used to have little farming work to deal with and spent the day idly. By recruiting staff among that particular population, the museum has created a more efficient budget, because the rural workers' pay is much lower than their urban counterparts, and, more importantly, it gave the local job market a big push. The museum also provides a platform for rural and urban dwellers to interact. During the process, rural dwellers' life became more enriched, their urbanity improved, knowledge expanded, thus carrying active influence in the building a harmonious society.

The Museum as an attraction site

The Museum provides a public amusement area for both urban and rural dwellers. As mentioned above, in addition to the exhibition area, the museum has a huge park, covering an area of two square kilometres with more than thirty types of flora. Different seasons bring different sceneries and activities. For example, on 12 March, also known as the Chinese Tree-Planting Day, many schools, companies and institutes book tree-planting activities, in which the museum staff from local villages play an important role because of their rich experience in plantation. The activities provide the public with a unique experience, while the help from the museum staff has contributed by large to the survival rate of the trees. In addition,

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[1] Wang, Pizhong, 1980: 15-18.

the museum resembles a botanical garden because of its beautiful forestation and seasonal scenery, changing every month, like the plum blossom in February, peach blossom in March, cherry blossom and Chinese redbud in April, Chinese rose in May and September, the maples in October, the gingko in November. The beautiful scenery attracts lots of frequent visitors from the two cities and surrounding villages. Thanks to the short distance, rural dwellers visit the park almost every day after supper to walk their dogs, fly a kite or just have fun. In this sense, the museum also provides a public amusement area for both urban and rural dwellers.

An egalitarian museum

The museum provides equal chances to rural students to visit it. In recent years, the Chinese government has paid more and more attention to the role of museums in school education and several governmental documents have been issued to guide such practices. As a state-owned non-profit organisation, the Han Yangling Museum has established partner relations with both urban and rural schools within a 15-kilometer radius from the museum, and designed several museum-themed activities focused on its collections and cultural resources. Some examples can be found in combining endangered sports games with school physical education classes, implementing the dual-teacher classes, made up by the teacher from the school and the educator from the museum, as well as holding traditional sports games to let students know more about their heritage in terms of sports culture. As far as art lessons are concerned, we have designed a lot of interactive programmes, like colour painting, jigsaws, paper folding, tile-end rubbing and traditional paper-making, to foster children's observation skills, imagination and creativity abilities. History lessons are another type of activity closely connected with the museum. For instance, to help children understand historical events and heroes more easily, the museum adapted some famous historical events and heroes' biographies into short comic plays for children to perform, to let them strengthen the related knowledge while playing. We have also invited students to come the museum dressed up in Han costumes so they learn traditional etiquette, to practice excavation in a simulated archaeological site, to learn how to make pottery animals, utensils or tile-ends. In this way, rural students can enjoy the same museum resources alongside urban students. To most urban children, museums are familiar places, where parents will bring them for a visit during holidays, and to where sometimes their schools

The grounds of the museum with luxuriant vegetation.
© Han Yangling Museum

Children attending an activity at the simulated archaeological site.
© Han Yangling Museum

will organise group visits. However, rural children seldom have the chance to visit museums, even if there is one in the neighbourhood. An investigation led by the Museum has shown that every rural dweller from the vicinity knew about the Han Yangling Museum, and 98% have been to its park; among them, 80% are frequent visitors, however, only less than 10% have visited a museum exhibition. So, the Han Yangling maintains good relations with the surrounding schools and takes mobile exhibitions or interactive activities to the children, managing to cultivate the habit of museum visiting in rural students, in hope that they can gradually influence their parents and, in the end, change the entertainment preference of a typical rural dweller.

The museum as a bastion for culture

The museum shoulders the responsibilities of being a cultural recorder, protector and transmitter of the local culture. Han Yangling is the name of the eternal resting place of Emperor Wendi. In ancient times, the place was a large complex with the mausoleum of the emperor and the empress, tens of thousands of burial pits with valuable artefacts, thousands of tombs of high officials, lots of ritual constructions and the Yangling town itself. In the early period of the Han Dynasty, it was customary to build a town near a royal mausoleum as a barricade to an ancient capital; in step, a number of nobles and rich merchants migrated to the area to safeguard the mausoleum and boost the local economy. As far as the Han Yangling town is concerned, the population in the area reached 10,000 and since 141 BC it became a medium-sized town.[2] In the social development process, the town was divided into several smaller ones and a number of new towns were established around it as well. Two-thousand odd years of historical residues and cultural origin bestowed them with unique folk-culture customs and cultural recognition. Most of the locals are believed to be descended from military or civil officials who were buried in the satellite graveyard of the Han Yangling Mausoleum, and were arranged to live here for generations to guard their ancestors. So, at several important Chinese festivals, they held folk activities with local characteristics to pay homage to their ancestors and create a festive atmosphere. Among them, the

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[2] Si Maqian, Han Zhaoqi, 2012: 120-121

most famous one is the military Drum Show of the Qin and the Han Dynasty (221 BC to 4 AD). The legend spread among the surrounding villages that most of local dwellers are descendants of generals, warriors or soldiers of Emperor Qin Shihuang of the Qin Dynasty or Emperor Gaozu of the Han Dynasty. For example, there is a nearby village named Zhangguan (which literally means "control"); it is said that their ancestors were the order-transmitting officials of the military, who passed on military orders from the general by waving the special flags and beating drums or gongs during the war.[3] After the war, they returned to their villages and taught the technique to their neighbours. Gradually, this special and unique activity developed into the Drum Show of the Qin and the Han Dynasties, spreading for more than 2,000 years. Since 2009, the Han Yangling Museum has invited the locals to give folk culture presentation in the museum park. During Chinese festivals like the Spring and the Lantern Festival, which coincide with the slack farming season, such presentations of regional features – like the Drum Show of the Qin and the Han Dynasty or the Lion Dance, dancing with a silk fan, rural folk dance of Shaanxi – attracted a large audience from both local villages and cities. The Museum also invited some media to broadcast or report on the activities, drawing in a vast online audience. Data shows that, since 2009, media coverage of the folk culture presentation has expanded 50,000 times. The Han Yangling Museum became a platform for the locals to present their culture to the urban people, to give both urban and rural dwellers more alternatives to celebrate the festival and to deepen mutual understanding.

The Han Yangling Museum, as both a museum and a national archaeological site park, plays an important role in the development of urban-rural integration by providing working posts, beautifying regional environment, implementing educational activities, reserving and transmitting regional culture. Facing the accelerating speed of urbanisation in China, the rural-urban boundary has become increasingly vague. In 1999, when the Han Yangling Museum was established, it geographically belonged to the rural area governed by the Gaoling County. In 2011, when the Xi'an Municipal Government moved to the northern suburb of Xi'an, the city centre developed northwards and the Han Yangling Museum was included in the Xi'an city planning scheme. As an important cultural heritage site and scenic spot in the Future Planning Scheme of the City of Xi'an, the Han Yangling Museum has endeavoured to give the urbanisation a big boost.[4] In line with the Future Construction Scheme of the Han Yangling Archaeological Site Park, the museum plans to improve the environment and eco-environment of the park, by conducting active research and showcasing the cultural significance of the sites, and to gradually develop the museum into a public cultural base that combines archaeological research, heritage protection and cultural exhibition. The Museum has also paid great attention to the protection and transmission of the traditional local culture, by maintaining the customs, language and religious beliefs that otherwise could vanish during the urbanisation process.

Poverty relief work was initiated in 1986 in China. Now, after more than 30 years of unremitting endeavour, the battle against poverty has completely succeeded. With the arrival of the strategy of rural revitalisation, and during the process of urbanisation, the living standard of the rural dwellers has been greatly improved. Moreover, when material needs have been satisfied, the needs of spiritual and cultural life increase by the day; the needs of rural dwellers are especially urgent.

Performance at the traditional drum show festival.
© *Han Yangling Museum*

[3] Wu, Xiaohua, 2017: 20-21.

[4] Xu, Li, 2011: 5-6.

However, such facilities in the rural areas are few and not in sufficient use.[5] The Han Yangling Museum, as one of those existing facilities, should be able to probe into the potential by beautifying the environment, diversifying the curation techniques, organising various cultural activities to attract rural dwellers to the museum, to influence their amusement habits and improve social behaviours. Cultural rights are the basic privilege of people, and museums as important cultural facilities should play an active role in satisfying the cultural needs of the public. By pushing forward the urban-rural integration and promoting a lasting political stability, they can give the realisation of the Chinese dream a big push.

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5 Zheng, Yuchun, 2019: 1-3.

BIOGRAPHIES

Yanni Cheng is the head of the Education Department in the Han Yangling Museum. She works as an assistant research fellow and deputy head of the Education Committee of Shaanxi Museum Association. She holds a master degree in museology and cultural heritage. She has been working in the museum education field for two decades, published dozens of articles and a number of books. She has taken part in the international cooperation projects, like Cultural Management in Berlin, or the Han-Pisa Museum Project.

Bo Chen has graduated from the Northwest University as an archaeology major in 2006 and began working at the Han Yangling Museum in that same year. He is the deputy head of the Exhibition, Preservation and Research Department. He has participated in the archaeological excavation works of important ruins, such as the Eastern Gate Tower of the Emperor's Graveyard or Secondary Burial pits in the Eastern Satellite Graveyard. He has published more than ten articles and edited three books.

CITY MUSEUMS: DEALING WITH URBAN SUSTAINABILITY

DANIELA ARAÚJO

*Museum of Lisbon
Portugal*

LISBON VEGETABLE GARDENS:
FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE 21ST CENTURY

ABSTRACT

The temporary exhibition *Lisbon Vegetable Gardens. From the Middle Ages to the 21st century* (2020-2021) was a remarkable opportunity for the Museum of Lisbon to take the lead on the reflection process regarding food sustainability, sovereignty and security in the city. The research and exhibition project also provided a framework for a multidisciplinary approach, which resulted in an enriched perspective of Lisbon's vegetable gardens through the ages.

The establishment of multiple partnerships and synergies – with universities, research centres, community projects, private Portuguese companies, associations and the Municipal Council, among others – allowed the creation of a more representative approach to the city, and it was considered one of the most valuable aspects of this project.

For more than a year, a productive agenda linked to the exhibition brought in an array of entities and specialists who participated in workshops, conferences, routes and guided tours.

Key words: Food, sustainability, sovereignty, vegetable gardens, Lisbon

Introduction

The temporary exhibition *Lisbon Vegetable Gardens: From the Middle Ages to the 21st century* (2020-2021) was the first project exclusively focused on city sustainability organised by the Museum of Lisbon. It encouraged a reflection on food sustainability, sovereignty and safety in Lisbon, when the city celebrated the European award, *Lisbon Green Capital 2020*, which was bestowed for the excellent work conducted in this field.

The project for the exhibition dates back to late 2016, when the team started to create a framework for the ethnographic and historical research, which established theoretical foundations of the project. First, we listed and analysed the related exhibitions that had taken place in a number of European countries, then we identified the different urban vegetable gardens typologies in Lisbon. This allowed the definition of the main themes for the exhibition and the setting up of the ethnographic interview topics, as well as the creation of parallel initiatives to be developed when the exhibition was opened.

In those early days, we started a partnership with the project called *Muita Fruta* (literally *Lots of Fruit*), launched by Mouraria Community Kitchen in that same year. Mouraria Community Kitchen has as its mission to promote the quality of life of the residents of Mouraria, one of Lisbon's most cosmopolitan neighbourhoods, by sharing culinary and cultural experiences and skills, consisting of learning, eating and sharing, in a context that is simultaneously convivial and community-building. This project aims to pick fruit, as well as to look after the trees (for instance, by pruning and treating diseases), both in public spaces and private backyards. The project not only reduces food waste (usually, a considerable amount of fruit from those trees is not picked), but also distributes fresh or processed fruits – like jams – among the communities most in need. At Palácio Pimenta – the headquarters of the Museum of Lisbon – we have more than twenty lemon and bitter orange trees, and since we have established the partnership, we have embraced this asset in our cultural mediation activities, by preparing jams with children, senior groups and communities from social neighbourhoods, giving the surplus to *Muita Fruta* project.

Confection of jams
© Museum of Lisbon

Permaculture model.
© Museum of Lisbon

In 2018, we organised a pruning workshop aimed at our citrus trees. This action was encouraged by *Muita Fruta* and it was carried out in partnership with Hortas Ecológicas (Organic Vegetable Gardens), a family business that develops agroecological projects in schools and private companies. The picked fruit was given to *Muita Fruta,* whose chefs used it to prepare delicious jams.

Also in 2018, we became aware that we have different kinds of invasive plants in our garden - that is, non-native plants that have negative environmental effects and economic impacts. Despite the number of these plants at the grounds of the Palácio Pimenta being scarce, we decided to promote a workshop about invasive plants, as a strategy to bring the attention to the problem not only to the Museum team but the public as well. The workshop was managed by a Portuguese platform whose goal is to raise awareness about biological invasions, make known the different invasive plants in Portugal and stimulate public participation in the mapping of species, the control of plant populations and education initiatives. The platform is backed by European funds and benefits from a long-time partnership with researchers from the University of Coimbra.

Now, we are in the position to say that these three initiatives and partnerships led to more conscious environmental practices at the Museum of Lisbon. In heels of these actions, the Museum began implementing sustainable projects in the gardens.

A multidisciplinary approach to the exhibition

The exhibition project followed a multidisciplinary approach, calling for new historical and contemporary perspectives of the city vegetable gardens, which have featured in Lisbon's landscape since ancient times.

This multidisciplinary approach was materialised by creating positive partnerships and synergies, namely the collaboration with Lisbon's Municipal Council Department for the Environment, especially with the Working Group for Development and Promotion of Urban Agriculture, which is responsible for the management of the city's 21 municipal horticultural parks. We have also established contacts with an academic organisation called F3 - Food, Farming & Forestry, a transdisciplinary platform developing studies in food, agriculture and forests, which has great impact on public policies, especially taking into consideration it brings together twelve faculties from the University of Lisbon. Some of the exhibition's scientific consultants are members of this organisation and their various, sometimes contradictory, perspectives on Lisbon vegetable gardens greatly enriched not only the exhibition but also the catalogue.

Another key partnership was established with 2Adapt, a start-up from the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon. 2Adapt has been providing climate adaptation services since 2017, and its members, mainly biologists, are also responsible for the management of a community vegetable garden at the faculty campus, HortaFCUL, which is a local and international reference in permaculture. They were in charge of the development of the contents for one of the exhibition rooms: *Tools for a city vegetable garden,* which included, among other elements, the design of a permaculture model for vegetable gardens in a balcony and a backyard – one of the most praised devices of the exhibition – as well as several illustrations related to the natural cycles in urban vegetable gardens and the mutual assistance relationship between plants.

The collaboration with Colher para Semear, a Portuguese seed variety association,

responsible for the collection and preservation of regional varieties (not only Portuguese, but also from other countries) at the municipal horticultural parks, enabled the development of a modular structure that presented the data derived from a sample of 75 types of seeds and 25 gardeners/seed keepers, gathered across seven of those parks; this structure was later integrated in the exhibition. The structure included information about the geographic origins of the gardeners, their preferred plants, and, most importantly, their preferred seeds.

We have always considered that the project was a unique opportunity to establish partnerships, both with universities, national and municipal public institutions and private Portuguese companies that have been developing sustainable solutions for urban horticulture.

We found IHT – Innovative Home Technology, a company that produces innovative solutions for construction – through the social media. One of the products that they have been developing is an urban vegetable garden structure accessible to disabled and senior people. The CGarden concept is based on nature's cycles, integrating water collection and storage features, an automatic irrigation system, using solar energy and a composting compartment. The company was invited to install the CGarden at the lawn of Palácio Pimenta and, by resorting to parachute cords, they created a structure safe from the peacocks that roam the Museum's grounds. The visitors were delighted with the device, and during the exhibition period they enthusiastically interacted with it, discovering the potentialities of this technology.

Another Portuguese company, Groho Hidroponics, which sells a variety of aeroponic and hydroponic gardens and also provides training through consulting and online courses, lent us two smart indoor vegetable gardens; they are self-sufficient and equipped with lighting technology that automatically adjusts the LED light intensity to the surrounding natural light. Those devices were placed in the exhibition room where the visitors could learn how to establish and maintain a vegetable garden through different methodologies.

We also invited Parto – a Lisbon-based architecture studio founded in 2016, that has been developing community projects focused on ecology, horticulture, and sustainability in an urban context – to create a device able to illustrate the most recent possibilities for growing vegetables within the urban territories and rethinking the food chain in Lisbon. They created a model, called *Edible Lisbon*, where eight case studies, related to different morphological and social contexts, were presented based on the implementation of vertical gardens in unused spaces. Thanks to this curatorship, the studio managed to bring a rotating vertical farming structure, an Upfarm, from Singapore, and had it installed at Palácio Pimenta's lawn. Each Upfarm holds the capacity for 900 plants and can feed up to 40 people a day. The concept is that the food is grown within a walking distance of where it will be consumed. Such approach reduces transport and packaging, limits the carbon footprint and promotes short food supply chains. The Upfarm was presented at the exhibition, and it can be installed, among others, at schools, hospitals, museums, social neighbourhoods and military facilities.

Cgarden. © Museum of Lisbon

Parto Studio, in partnership with 2Adapt, was also responsible for the installation of a composting station at Palácio Pimenta. The composting system has allowed for a more efficient and sustainable management of the organic waste produced by the Museum. Residues from the garden, trees and lawn are placed in the composter, and food residues, such as fruit and vegetable scraps, are placed in the

The composting station.
© Museum of Lisbon

vermicompost. By reducing the export of residues and the dependence on external sources of fertilizers, the Museum of Lisbon has decreased its ecological footprint. Part of the Museum team has received training on how to use the system and it is now teaching other members about the advantages of composting.

When the exhibition came to an end, the Museum placed an insect hotel in the garden – it was one of the devices used in the exhibition to highlight the importance of a wide variety of invertebrates, which play important ecological roles in pollination, pest control and nutrient recycling. In cities, insect shelters are scarce, and it is crucial to provide them with refuges, so they might occupy them for hibernating, during the winter, and reproducing, during the summer. Pollinators, such as bees, enjoy wooden holes or hollow canes, butterflies prefer vertical slits, whereas ladybugs and lacewings, which control pests, choose branches, twigs, hollow bamboo canes and rolled-up corrugated cardboard structures.

The exhibition-related activities

During the exhibition period, we have developed a number of related activities and initiatives in partnership with different institutions. From among the different examples of food sovereignty, we return to the case of Mouraria Community Kitchen, which manages a vegetable garden in one of the horticultural municipal parks and had the original idea to supply its kitchen restaurant with the vegetables, herbs and fruits grown in their vegetable garden. However, it soon came to the attention that the amount of produce was not enough for that purpose. It was necessary to find another mission and it was decided to share seeds, plants and knowledge among other neighbourhoods, be it with residents, the school population or tourists. We organised a tour around the vegetable garden and allowed the public not only to learn of the cultivation methods that can be used within an urban territory – mostly influenced by permaculture guidelines – but also to enjoy a meal entirely prepared with the products gathered at the vegetable garden.

The Museum of Lisbon also organised a seed workshop in partnership with the Portuguese network of traditional varieties, the association Colher para Semear. In this workshop, more than twenty participants learnt a significant array of seed preservation techniques that can be applied to different horticultural varieties.

The Producers' Open Day.
© Museum of Lisbon

Another activity was organised in partnership with the AgroEcological Caravan, a participatory project facilitated by a research group from the Centre for Ecology, Evolution and Environment Changes, located at the Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon, whose main goal is to strengthen the relationships between farmers, consumers and researchers through agroecology. The AgroEcological Caravan promotes the so-called *Routes,* to encourage connections between different agroecological communities in Portugal, allowing representatives from different fields of society (legislators, local authorities, researchers, media, consumers, etc.) to visit agroecological sites across the national territory. The route organised within the scope of the exhibition included a visit to a school vegetable garden, a horticultural park and the Upfarm located at Palácio Pimenta. The activity ended with a delicious vegan lunch served at HortaFCUL at the Faculty of Sciences.

Finally, I must mention the Producers' Open Days, also an initiative by the AgroEcological Caravan, which seeks to promote the connection between producers and consumers by enhancing short food supply chains, as well as the relocalisation of the food system. On the last day of the exhibition, the Museum of Lisbon hosted this event, which brought not only producers from Lisbon metropolitan area, but also culinary arts students from the Hotel and Tourism School of Lisbon, who prepared a tasting menu with the products sold by the producers.

A year after

One year after its conclusion, *Lisbon Vegetable Gardens. From the Middle Ages to the 21st century* strengthened one of the main approaches that the Museum of Lisbon has been building up in the last couple of years, which is the establishment of multiple partnerships and synergies with diversified institutions, associations and communities located in Lisbon, in order to create a more representative approach to the city.

BIOGRAPHY

Daniela Araújo has been working as an anthropologist at the Museum of Lisbon since 2016, where she has taken part in several research projects and exhibitions. She has also curated the exhibition *Lisbon Vegetable Gardens – From the Middle Ages to the 21st Century* (2020-21), which won the prize for Best Temporary Exhibition given by the Portuguese Association of Museology (APOM).

Previously, she worked as a researcher and curator in other national and local museums, namely, the Popular Art Museum, the Convent of Christ and the Barroso Ecomuseum.

Holding a PhD in Development Studies (University of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro), she taught at Institute of Social and Political Sciences – University of Lisbon for 14 years and carried out fieldwork in various regions of Portugal, collecting data related to local intangible heritage, namely in Lisbon, Figueira da Foz, Tomar, Montalegre and Chaves.

Her research interests include food sustainability and sovereignty, foodscapes, racial issues, Portuguese colonialism and participatory methodologies.

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FEEDING BARCELONA: PAST AND PRESENT OF AN URBAN FOOD MODEL THAT LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

ABSTRACT

In the years 2021 and 2022, the Museum of History of Barcelona (MUHBA) has been hosting a major exhibition focused on the characteristics and boundaries of the food model of Barcelona, a notably important western Mediterranean city, explained within a historical framework – the exhibition is the end result of a decade of preparation activities. This article comments on its conception, development, historical narrative and exhibition structure, so that it can serve as a model to inspire other cities that may be considering developing exhibition projects around the subjects of food sustainability and sovereignty.

Key words: Food, sustainability, Barcelona, sovereignty

Why an exhibition on urban diet and food supply?

Among the aspects that could contribute the most to stabilising or improving the sustainability indexes of a determined urban society, we find, undoubtedly, the food model. To remain alive and healthy, whatever the population size may be, all of its citizens have to consume significant amounts of food several times per day. Thus, eating constitutes the most basic right of humans after life itself, and effective food sovereignty is one of the most inalienable aspirations for any healthy democratic society.

Of course, the challenge represented by securing and distributing food multiplies exponentially as the number of people concentrated in a small geographic area, such as a city, increases. Therefore, the types, source, characteristics, preparation, distribution and serving of food that citizens must consume condition all the production and socialisation relationships that define each urban society and force the public powers that govern it to act upon them to a greater or lesser degree, according to their competencies and capacities, because social peace directly depends on this.

The city's food model and its ecological footprint have become a set of inextricably related variables, with the added difficulty that, since the quantity, type and quality of food consumed constantly change according to the number of citizens and their habits, the ecological footprint can never be maintained at stable values. This dynamic relationship becomes more understandable when its study is approached from a long-term perspective, because this approach allows the perception of the combination of evolutive dynamics and revolutionary fractures that have led each city to where it stands today and which, because of this same dynamic, will keep changing.

Aware of this reality, MUHBA decided, many years ago, to include *to feed* among the decisive verbs to be closely followed in order to understand a major city like Barcelona. We prefer verbs to concepts when working, because verbs identify human action in history and, therefore, highlight the social capacity to change things through individual actions and opportune policies. In this way, the verb *to feed* encompasses all the individual and collective actions that Barcelona's society has developed over time in its constant effort to provide itself with food that is as abundant, varied and pleasant as possible, so that physical and emotional health can also be maintained within sound parameters.

Given the very strong political connotations that the problem of urban feeding and food hygiene implies, it made sense to coincide the starting point with the date of creation of the municipality of Barcelona, because the municipal government has been, and still is, the public power that manages the most basic and everyday needs of its citizens. For that same reason, it is the one which has been under pressure in a quicker and more direct way by the social malaise caused by shortages. Consequently, from the very creation of its first municipal regime, in 1249, the city of Barcelona gradually achieved a capacity for self-management in these areas that was incomparably greater than during its previous twelve centuries of history. With appropriate adaptations in line with historical changes, the city has been capable of maintaining this capacity right up to the present day.

The baseline and the trigger

As always, our project began with the revision and rallying of historical research in matters of food supply, diet and health in the city of Barcelona, given that

without solid research at the baseline, dissemination becomes a reiteration of commonplaces that does little to help the social communication of knowledge. The results of the first two seminars, promoted by the Museum in collaboration with the City Historical Archive and focused on the question of food supply, were published in 2016, in the form of a book and a preparatory exhibition handbook.[1] Afterwards, the museum promoted two further seminars, which, under the title of *Barcelona Hospitalària*, put the focus on the aspect of policies and citizen actions in matters of social and health care between the 14th and 20th centuries. Already accessible online, these will be soon published in book format as well.

Simultaneously, and in coordination with the Fundació Alícia (a Catalan institution researching into food sustainability and heritage and the relationships between cooking and health), MUHBA has also developed a line of research to restore food heritage, which has produced and commercialised various sauces and drinks characteristic of Barcelona's medieval and modern cuisine, while it continues generating lectures on specific themes related to food supply, diet and health in the city.

After more than a decade in the making, the declaration of Barcelona as the world capital of sustainable food for the year 2021 offered the appropriate socio-political context for producing the major exhibition envisaged to culminate the project. MUHBA was in optimal conditions for reacting, as it could offer a global historical overview that went far beyond the sectorial or thematic views proposed by other urban institutions.

A simple architecture for an intense story

Thus, within a few months, MUHBA conceived an exhibition, which covered some 700 m² spread out in three adjacent spaces: two larger ones containing the specific temporary installations and a smaller one equipped with a permanent installation (that had been created a few months earlier). The latter functioned as a hinge pin linking the two main spaces.

The boundaries of the food model

*From the exhibition **Alimentar Barcelona [Feeding Barcelona]**.*
© Enric Gràcia / MUHBA

The first part, intentionally set in the Royal Chapel of the Palau Reial Major of Barcelona, a space that has always been reserved for ethical and moral meditation of power, consists of an installation that aims to stimulate reflection on the boundaries of today's food model. In surprising contrast with the austerity of chapel's gothic lines, a set of backlit totems, with a triangular footprint and over two metres tall, present ten fundamental concepts to the public: food sustainability, innovation, supply, health, production, impact, governance, health and safety, proximity and wastage.

The treatment of each concept includes, besides the corresponding illustration, a short introductory text with objective data, such as the fact that Barcelona's first rubbish tip did not open until 1970, because prior to that nearly all domestic refuse was organic or was reused. We also leave some questions hanging in the air without any answer, for instance: is it enough to select waste for recycling? What does zero-kilometre food really mean?

[1] Renom, M. (Ed.). (2016). *Proveir Barcelona: el municipi i l'alimentació de la ciutat, 1329-1930*. Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona (MUHBA-AHCB) and *** (2013). *Alimentar la ciutat. El proveïment de Barcelona del segle XIII al segle XX. Barcelona*: MUHBA, 2013. [online] Available at: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/ca/formats/llibrets-de-sala/alimentar-la-ciutat-el-proveiment-de-barcelona-del-segle-xiii-al-segle-xx

A port city

Having presented the data and raised questions designed to seed doubt among visitors on the apparent solidity of the food model practised, the intermediate hinge highlights Barcelona's condition as a port city. The presence of a medieval shipwreck, its diorama and images obtained during the excavation of the city's medieval breakwater proclaim that, since the 12th century, Barcelona has always been one of the most important commercial ports of the entire Mediterranean. We decided it was best to integrate this part of MUHBA's stable narrative into the temporary exhibition on food because, while having a port or a landlocked city still drastically conditions strategies for its food supply today, it did even more so in times when land transport had no way of competing with maritime transport in volume and speed.

Diet and food supply in Barcelona

The third part, located in the grand throne room of the Palau Reial Major, presents a historical overview of the city's diet and food supply, which starts in the Late Middle Ages to reach the very beginnings of the 21st century, exhibiting over 300 original pieces of a very diverse nature. It is preceded by a display case that contains a late medieval coal stove and ceramic pot next to a modern-day steel pressure cooker and an electric induction hob. This constitutes an initial metaphoric image that we could title *772 years making the pot boil in Barcelona,* which enables us to highlight that, despite things appearing to have changed greatly with the passing of the centuries, in fact, they have not changed that much. The essence of the problem that we face has always been the same: how to feed the large number of people inhabiting the city, with the technological limitations of each era and without destroying the possibility of continuing to do so in the future.

Following this initial metaphor of changing forms over the persistence of the problem, the exhibition opens out, structured around two parallel narratives that visitors set in dialogue as they follow the itinerary.

Feeding a Mediterranean city

The first narrative, arranged over an immense central table, summarises the history of food in Barcelona: what the most consumed staples were; where, how and with what measurement units they were purchased; how they were transformed into digestible foods that were agreeable to the palate employing determined culinary techniques; how quality, cuisine and table service have always constituted a direct indicator of social position; how the liberalisation of trade with the American continent introduced food products never eaten before; how the mass incorporation of women into the industrial labour force multiplied the consumption and sale of cooked legumes, salted fish and bacon due to them lacking time to cook; how restaurant networks appeared and became consolidated for wealthy elites and for the popular classes who started eating out; and how the consumption of milk and fresh dairy products was introduced thanks to the discovery of sterilisation and pasteurisation in the second half of the 19th century.

On this first narrative, attention is also drawn to the formation and expansion of a local food industry that facilitated the consumption of canned foods, which were popularised through powerful advertising campaigns, and the proliferation of new forms of retail and commercial distribution that made them more accessible, until the spread-out of cold storage modified food purchasing and consumption habits, which gave rise to the expansion of the supermarket and hypermarket networks, so predominant today.

*From the exhibition **Alimentar Barcelona [Feeding Barcelona]**.*
© Enric Gràcia / MUHBA

We see items from old measurement tools used in the city, cookbooks and the contrast between the tableware used by the wealthy and the one used by the humble, to the tins of the first canned foods produced in Barcelona and the photographs, posters, menus and leaflets that renowned authors produced to advertise them. Thus, the large quantity and diversity of objects arranged on the table provide a specific image of each of the processes listed. Added to these, we find three spectacular videos produced by Fundació Alícia to introduce the perception of the culinary and catering practices that prevailed in the city according to different periods and population sectors, to compensate the material absences imposed by the demands of conservation of the heritage pieces exhibited.

The central table ends with the installation of a typical modern-day supermarket trolley, filled to the brim with food products industrially processed and packaged by a local private brand, constituting another metaphorical image. In this case, we could title it *A precarious conquest with a future in jeopardy*. A conquest because, until the 1960s, access to an abundant and varied diet had been an unachievable dream for a large part of Barcelona's popular classes; precarious because the economic crises of the 21st century, which have decimated the purchasing power of salaried workers and generated large pockets of long-term unemployed, are making it wobble, being calculated that 14% of the Barcelona metropolitan area's population already has to resort to, at some point, food banks or other social and charity institutions to be able to fill the trolley of food that they need.

Added to the precariousness of the conquest is, as we said, a dramatic jeopardising of the future, because it is a victory achieved through a crooked route of increasingly delocalised production and processing, which consumes enormous amounts of fossil fuels, destroys essential ecological reserves and generates immense masses of waste and pollutant gases, in such a way that humanity is starting to exceed the limits of what planet Earth is capable of supporting or regenerating.

Public powers and food supply

The second narrative makes up a perimeter installation around the table and explains, in parallel to that already described, the role of the municipal

From the exhibition
Alimentar Barcelona
[Feeding Barcelona].
© Enric Gràcia / MUHBA

government and other authorities in matters of food supply and hygiene in the city, from shortly after the municipality's creation until the early years of this century. This historical tour is structured around four major areas, which essentially correspond to the different municipal regimes that the city encountered over nearly eight centuries of history: 1. The *Consell de Cent* (1249-1714); 2. The Bourbonic municipality (1715-1820); 3. The modern municipality in the context of construction and consolidation of the liberal capitalist state (1821-1966); 4. The most recent phase (1967-21st century).

1. The area devoted to the *Consell de Cent* phase explains how the medieval municipal government started to acquire competencies over food supply and hygiene precisely during a climate change similar to that we are experiencing today, but in the opposite direction: the start of the *Little Ice Age*. In a society where bread constituted up to 70% of poor people's diet, a series of harsh winters caused very scant wheat harvests and gave rise to severe shortages from 1328 onwards. This reality forced municipal authorities to negotiate competencies with the monarchy, to always favour and, when convenient, subsidise the importing of bread wheat.

Soon afterwards, the supervision of a sufficient supply of other basic foodstuffs, such as meat, fresh and salted fish and cheeses, was added, to ensure prices were kept as stable as possible. This was done by controlling commercial shipping routes, building all the necessary infrastructures and creating municipal offices that took care of supervising distribution and commercialisation, while also having to take charge of controlling food hygiene and spaces for the supply and management of the scant waste generated by the city.

In the 15th century, the municipality took a more assertive initiative in care, by promoting and funding the creation of the Hospital General de la Santa Creu, an exceptional institution that, to this day, provides services to the citizens of Barcelona under municipal auspices. The area closes with a kind of truth test that aims to determine the lights and shadows of that food and supply management model. Thanks to advanced osteopathological analysis of the rich collections of human remains originating from archaeological excavations preserved by MUHBA, conducted in coordination with a specialised university team, it was possible to document the consequences of the dietary deficiencies of the popular classes (rickets, tuberculosis, dental hypoplasia, etc.) and of the dietary excesses of the elites (tooth decay, skeletal hyperostosis, etc.).

2. The area focusing on the phase of the aristocratic-type Bourbonic municipality, imposed on the city following the defeat of 1714, explains how the municipality had to fight on to guarantee adequate supply despite having lost the fiscal resources and infrastructures that had enabled it to do so in the preceding centuries, due to expropriation carried out by the monarchy. The result was the municipality's economic failure and a rise in food prices that generated major riots, a few months before the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789.

Meanwhile, private business initiatives found an alternative in the exporting of spirits and the printing of calicoes, and that gradually returned economic prosperity to the city, making it the only industrial metropolis of all Spain. From the viewpoint of food supply, this meant an extraordinary worsening of the situation, because the centuries-old stagnation of the number of inhabitants

of Barcelona was suddenly broken by strong demographic growth due to immigration that was drawn by the offer of work at the factories, to the point that Barcelona's population began doubling every few decades.

3. The third section starts off by showing the dysfunctions added to those traditional supply mechanisms – already manifestly incapable of tackling the demographic growth of Barcelona – by policies tending towards the creation of a national capitalist market that the new liberal state tried to impose, to the detriment of the strong municipal autonomy enjoyed under the Old Regime. The consequence was, once more, the outbreak of major working-class riots, on this occasion also spurred by fear of a lack of work due to the introduction of the first steam engines in Barcelona's factories. Nevertheless, the liberal sectors ably managed to redirect this popular malaise against the monasteries, which were assaulted and set on fire, coinciding with publication of the decrees of exclaustration and confiscation of their assets by the central government. The municipality then saw an important reserve of urban land freed up, which turned out to be vital for a city still choked by the belt of city walls.

The City Council was able to assign the land to improve urban development through the creation of new market squares and, above all, the construction the municipal markets: a modern service essential for supplying food to a population that continued growing at such a strong rate that it multiplied by four in just half a century. Technical advances soon allowed these to be equipped with metallic roofs that proclaimed the aspirations of European modernity of the local elites, while the rental and regulation of the stalls brought to the municipality both resources and the capacity to intervene in the supply of staple foods, despite the state regulations.

Shortly afterwards, the hygienist currents that were fighting against urban decay managed to gain authorisation to demolish the walls and design the visionary Eixample of Ildefons Cerdà, father of European hygienism, with which the city multiplied its previous surface area tenfold and was endowed with wide streets that facilitated the development of public transport. Despite this, it was still necessary to wait until the last decade of the century, with the associated hygiene problems, for the Eixample to start being equipped with a first sewerage network.

Furthermore, the fight against epidemics led the municipality to create the city's first microbiology laboratory and to centralise the slaughter and distribution of meat at a new and modern municipal slaughterhouse supervised by a municipal body of veterinary surgeons, also newly created. In the following decades, its success helped the municipality realise that it would be a good idea to also centralise, under its control, the wholesale distribution of fruits and vegetables, poultry and fresh fish, while expanding the network of municipal markets.

Irrespectively, hunger and malnutrition continued to be omnipresent realities for the popular classes, despite the additional public efforts to bolster agricultural and livestock production with the spread of modern technologies and the use of new chemical fertilisers. The situation worsened within the context of the First World War and during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) that came with a terrible post-war period lasting two decades: strict food rationing, and the black market that it generated, lasted in Barcelona until 1952.

As in the case of the large central table, all of this perimeter narrative is also presented through the arrangement of a large variety of pieces that range from a medieval mill wheel, over painted miniature nautical map, to the plans for the new railway lines and sewerage network, or from 19th-century oil paintings to ration books and food coupons of the 20th century, including the surprising display case devoted to the teratological collection and the analytical instrumentation used by veterinarians and the municipal slaughterhouse. In addition, another video devoted to the municipal markets completes the section, with a combined explanation of the different types of iron architecture in which they were erected and the political positions that lay behind the option adopted in each case.

4. Finally, the area devoted to the recent municipality highlights how those prior bases of municipal control over food distribution allowed the creation, in 1967, of Mercabarna – today's largest wholesale food market. Besides supplying the metropolitan area and a set of nearby towns that amount to over five million mouths, Mercabarna has become the largest food distribution hub of the Western Mediterranean, always under the auspices of the Barcelona City Council (51% municipal capital). Later on, in the mid-1990s, the Barcelona City Council carried out a comprehensive renovation of the network of municipal markets made up of 41 centres scattered around the entire city and managed by the Municipal Markets Institute, despite many other western metropolises having opted to eliminate them in previous years.

The result of both lines of action was the survival of a strong position of the municipal public authority in Barcelona with regard to the control of the urban food supply, a fortunate exception in today's world that is explained by this long tradition, which began in the Late Middle Ages, that the visitor has just explored and that situates Barcelona in a better starting position than other cities on the pathway towards food sovereignty.

The exhibition ends by, once more, inviting individual reflection on the future of food, now that the public has much more detailed and reliable information to be able to answer the questions posed in the first part. It does so in the presence of a large satellite image of the metropolitan area of Barcelona. On it, one can easily observe the small surface area represented today by the peri-urban market gardens and the Llobregat Natural Park, in comparison with the entire area densely occupied by tall apartment buildings and industrial estates. It acts as a final summary and conclusion of the two parallel narratives, while making evident the immensity of the future challenges that we are facing.

As it always happens with MUHBA exhibitions, all of this detailed historical narrative and the heritage selection that simultaneously ensures it is scientifically legitimate and aesthetically attractive are reflected in an exhibition booklet.[2]

The city museum as a political agent

With this exhibition, MUHBA has tried to act politically without exceeding the boundaries that define it as a public heritage institution that generates and

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[2] The booklet number 35 is in a quarto format with 66 profusely illustrated pages. The public can purchase it in printed format for just €5 or download free of charge in PDF format from the museum's website:
https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/formats/llibrets-de-sala/feeding-barcelona-city-food-supply-and-health

communicates historical knowledge, that is to say, the exhibition stops just short of entering the immediate past, the last decade, to be able to maintain the historical perspective that is its remit. Likewise, it places the focus on an objective problem recognised to a greater or lesser measure by the immense majority of today's society, to reinforce awareness and facilitate a better understanding of the serious current situation based on quality information and heritage content. It leaves the answers open to the freedom of individual decision stimulated by this knowledge and awareness, because taking direct sides in favour or against the different possibilities for action would imply losing the image of impartiality that is basic for being able to maintain an arbitral function within the heated public debate. It is each citizen who must ultimately evaluate which individual and political measures may turn out to be truly effective when improving food sustainability and sovereignty and which ones are simply anecdotal red herrings that only serve to give the appearance that something is being done.

An easily extrapolated design

Naturally, this entire story thread, which weaves the complex set of interrelated processes that have led the city of Barcelona to its current food and supply management model into an understandable narrative, cannot be automatically extrapolated to any other city in the world, because each one presents its own singularities. What is applicable to any other city, however, independently of its dimensions, socioeconomic situation and geographical position, is the parallel dual narrative format that structures this exhibition. All cities follow a determined food model that has evolved to a greater or lesser extent over the course of history and that has contributed to taking the planet to the alarming current situation; also, in all of them, the different public powers that have governed them over time have had to intervene with more or less intensity to favour food supply and food hygiene in order to maintain social peace.

Despite the narratives have their individual personality and internal coherence, exhibiting them jointly incites visitors to constantly put them into dialogue with each other, thus offering them a global perspective of the situation with regard to food sustainability and sovereignty in their city, which would be difficult to provide through the fragmentation of discourse in a multitude of sectorial approaches. This is no small thing, because without the understanding and awareness of the current situation, which can only come from a global historical overview, it would be much more difficult to make criteria-based decisions, as citizens, regarding how the city that we live in should advance in terms of food sustainability and sovereignty.

BIOGRAPHY

Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller was born in València, in 1972. He is currently Head of Research of the Museum of History of Barcelona. Prior to that, he was appointed Head of the Sections of Royal Audience and Royal Heritage of the Archives of the Crown of Aragon (Barcelona, 2001-2014) and senior researcher and associate professor at University of Valencia (1998). He is member, since 2001, of the Professional Body of State Archivists, Librarians and Archaeologists.
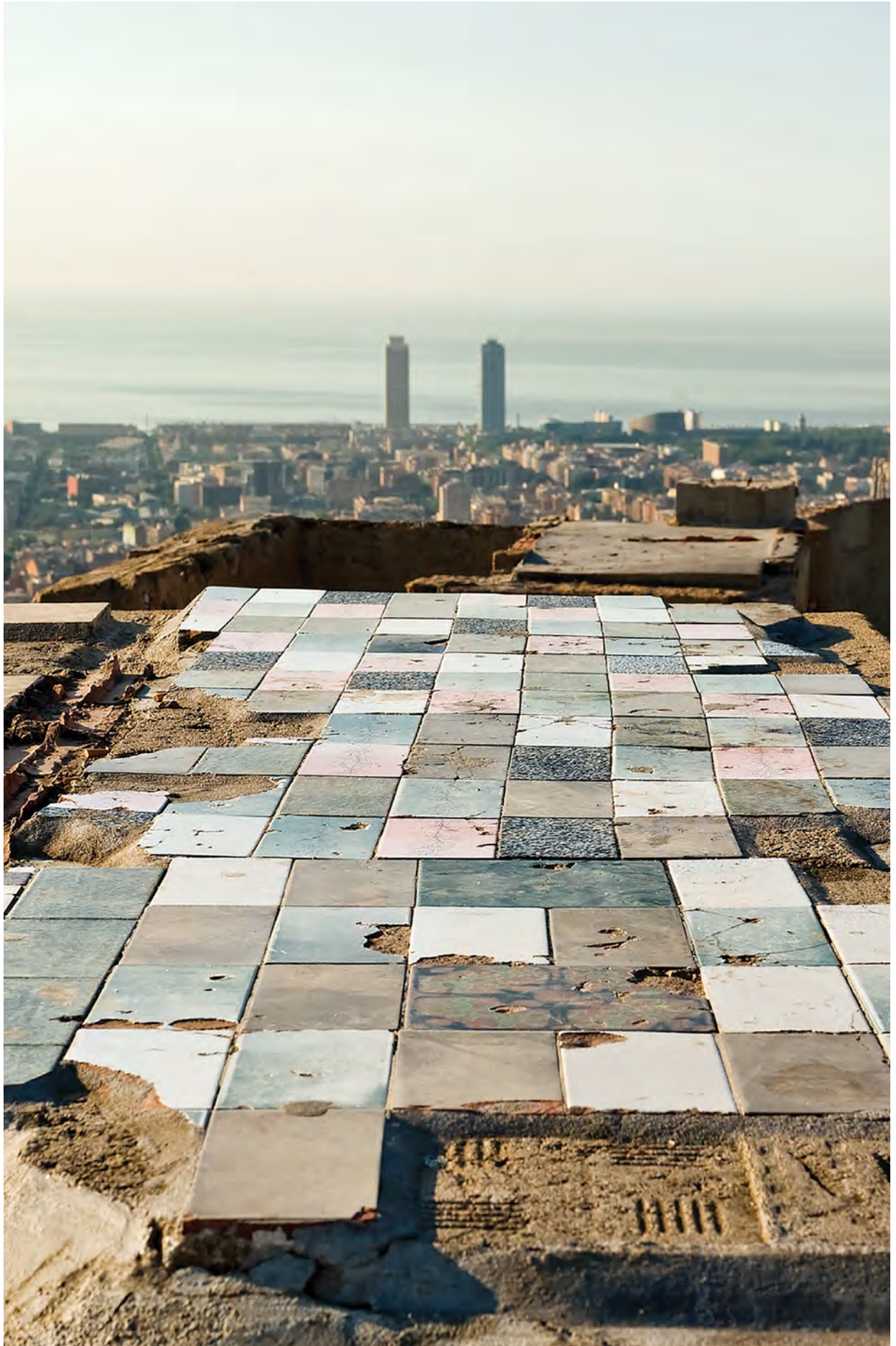
REPORTING THE CITY

**SHRUTHI RAMESH,
BHAGYASSHREE
RAMAKRISHNA AND
SHRIYA DHIR**

India

CURATING INFORMALITIES: SYNCRETISM OF SOCIAL INNOVATION IN THE CITY MUSEUM

ABSTRACT

Mumbai's identity is set within a complex multicultural, plural landscape, despite its spatial inequities. These inequities, juxtaposed with the city's built heritage, evolved unique avenues of informal creative economies. Distinct systems of functioning within the robust workings of informality allow for social innovation to subsist within and sustain the "creative economy". The subaltern system of knowledge-sharing facilitates creative and scholastic needs of lower-income groups through mechanisms of innovation systems. Though this production shares ideological similarities with knowledge-sharing institutions, they are discredited as "informal" or even "illegal" enterprises. "Public streets" are central to the visibility of informal economies.

This paper establishes that systems of exclusion through "formal", "sanitised" enclaves dilute the idea that museums can reach a wide spectrum of society. An integral part of Mumbai's cultural landscape, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS), in Kala Ghoda precinct, is a "city museum" chronicling historical narratives. The museum precinct's heritage value holds cultural and built associations. The precinct's spatiality is a binary of "institutional" and "informal" modalities of cultural commons. As evolved from colonial constructs, CSMVS looks at informality from the purview of social justice, placing the informal art vendors and street artists as external entities. The ICOM Webinar on Local Communities Strengthening Museums (2020) discusses garnering community support through representation of personal histories and cultural identities. The paper explores possibilities of a symbiotic relationship between the Museum and these informal modalities in Kala Ghoda precinct. Can decentralisation of museums in a complex city like Mumbai enable agency in a micro-urban context?

We attempt to critically examine existing interdependencies by interlinking museology strategies with urban social geography. By way of mapping and ethnography studies, we question: can restructuring the public space create engaging museums? Can establishing interdependency of museums with the street vendor communities create "citizen's museums"? Could street artists participate in decision-making processes to better represent their cultural identities? By indulging the local vendor community, museums could benefit through increased engagement of informal citizens and advance their economic and tourism agendas. Through spatial and policy development, the networks achieve uncontested access, extension of legitimacy, representation of historical and cultural identities and knowledge repository for their children's futures.

Key words: Social innovation, museums, informality, Mumbai, street artists
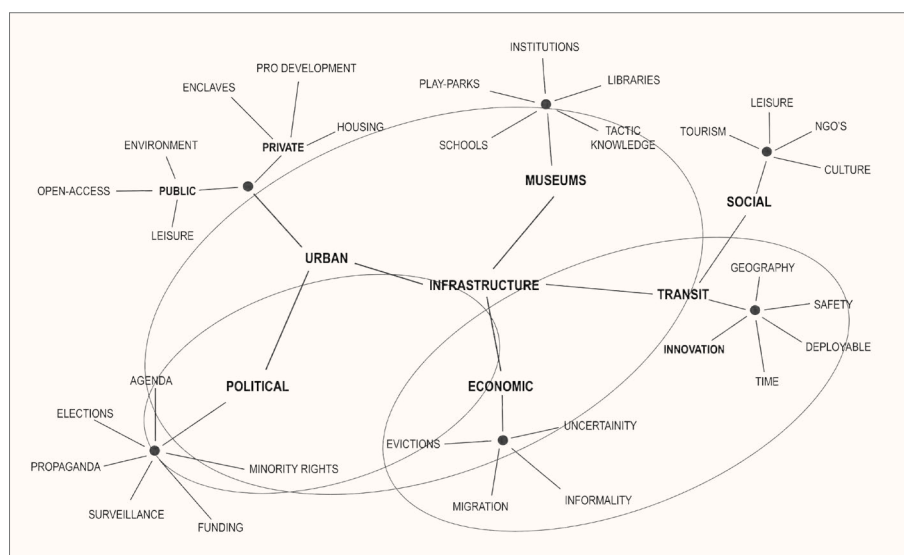
Urban ecology

The city of Mumbai is an urban tapestry where towering high-rises juxtaposition against layers of additive historic urban fabric. As an intensely urbanising metropolis in the Global South, the Mumbai Metropolitan Region has an area of 6355 square kilometres (2454 square miles) and a population of 22 million people.[1] Within the older heritage core of the Mumbai Island, there exist public buildings of colonial construction, gated communities, heritage buildings, business districts, *koliwadas* (fisher folk villages), ghettos, working-class neighbourhoods and informal settlements (slums). The city's socio-spatial landscape is composed of a mosaic of culturally vibrant indigenous communities, circular migrants and a broad spectrum of income groups.

The diversity in communities has created a unique built environment representing the city's estranged colonial past and revanchist of indigenous identities contrasted by parcels of growing real estate. In this contemporary city, land is often highly monopolised by private construction developers, widening the gap between formal and informal settlements (Roy, 2005). The land and housing monopoly has led to informal settlements whose reliance on the urban commons is greater. The inequity of the city's social landscape manifests as disproportionate. Their access to knowledge and creative urban commons works outside the formal sector. The informal mechanisms are at a disadvantage, as access to institutions is posed with mitigating issues of transit, cost of public transport, time and economy. They are further restricted by boundaries of physical surveillance, cost of ticketed entries and social access. A diverse group of social institutions entrusts formal institutional mechanisms to seek access to knowledge systems.

The idea of citizenship and its associations with the institutions works within an ecosystem of exclusion and inclusion. To mitigate this boundary, it is crucial to examine the physical, social and policy setting of knowledge-sharing institutions. Urban knowledge commons, such as museums as publicly accessible spaces, act as a platform to disseminate knowledge exchange within the city. Hence, to examine the "publicness" of a museum is to examine the complex urban dynamics that the museum sits within. In order to attain knowledge exchange between the museum and the people living within informal settlements and migrant

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[1] https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities

Mumbai's urban ecology. Elaborated by the author, Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna, inspired by Mumbai Service Ecology diagram in the book **Landscape Urbanism** *(Alan Berger and Rahul Mehrotra)*

communities, aspects of ease of transit, time, geography, factors of safety, mobility and deployability take precedence. We read the city through a diagram of an urban ecological web.[2] Museums work within this highly influenced setting. The access of museum infrastructure by informality is often highly dependent on, or restricted by economic processes – the uncertainty linked to land, labour and right to the city (Roy, 2005). Informality is a complex reality for the informal citizens as much as it is for the city. Around 52 % (as of 2018) of the Indian population rely on informal economic practices for employment.[3] Further, over 41% of the population in Mumbai reside in informal settlements called slums.[4]

Informality is closely interconnected with, and produced by, the global market system. We use the term "informality" to refer to informal sites, which operate a creative economy, wherein tacit knowledge and social innovation are cultivated. Access (physical as well as social access) to a dedicated space for knowledge exchange, such as conventional spaces of museum institutions, is therefore limited by exclusions of lack of time and increased travel distance. Museums are often present within "sanitised" enclaves or within spaces of higher economic processes. The spatiality of the museum and its precinct greatly impacts accessing museum infrastructure by all. Therefore, we enquire into this threshold of the city museum and the citizen's museum that lies within the aspects of macro- and micro- urban spatial systems.

Research framework

We analyse the notion of "inequity" within access to knowledge-sharing institutions based on the hypothesis that formal institutions like museums sit within sanitised enclaves. We posit that the nature of enclaves potentially widened the gap between users of the formal and informal urban systems. The paper argues that systems of exclusion through "formal", "sanitised" art enclaves dilute the idea that museums can reach a wide spectrum of society. The syncretism of this binary between informal and formal creative urban processes can bring transformative change to the urban geography and economy in Mumbai.

The key questions addressed are:

> "Can placemaking advocate towards a "citizen's museum" to integrate informal processes within its urban framework?"
> "How can the museum connect with the informal city and citizens?"
> "What is the new role of museums that are perceived as contextual to the city of Mumbai?"

The paper extends on the value of knowledge networks within its urban environment, by exploring the relationship and linkages between formal knowledge systems and informality, specifically the tacit knowledge and social innovation situated in informal environments. The city's urban spatiality, when interspersed with the museum network, enables us to perceive its spatial relations with the city, for instance, how the urban composition could impose limiting effects on inclusive access. The research explores existing informal knowledge-

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[2] As depicted on p. 97

[3] Source: SBI Report [online] Retrieved from:
https://sbi.co.in/documents/13958/10990811/281021-Ecowrap_20211029.pdf/b0625dda-46bf-1f1e-2998-3c58c94d-d156?t=1635409920832

[4] https://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/mumbai-population

sharing processes, through the lens of "social innovation" systems, and explores the possibilities of presenting a city-wide, deployable and interdependent museum network within its urban framework. In order to forge connections between the museum and informal knowledge systems, employing social innovation systems could offer citizenship to the informal population. This would, therefore, interlink aspects of informal networks, the museum and the city's urban geography, pushing the museum into a central role with respect to the city's geography and citizenry.

The study was carried out using qualitative research methods. Site studies were undertaken via on-site ethnography, spatial analysis, mapping behavioural patterns, in-person interviews and online social survey. Mapping urban forms was done and recent and historical transformations were analysed by literature studies, study of external sources and documentation on informal economies.

The institution under consideration is Mumbai's key city museum, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS). The museum is located in Kala Ghoda, a prestigious, colonial art district in South Mumbai, where several informal mechanisms are now interspersed within the streetscape of the planned, heritage quarters. We enquire into the presence of informal activities and ways in which it contributes towards a collective-collaborative museum environment, through the lens of social innovation, local communities and open-access infrastructure. The goal of the paper is to research the mechanisms that the CSMVS can use to extend the connectivity to informal citizens and dismantle its isolated existence.

The socio-spatial relationship of the CSMVS and the city is analysed at three scales:

1) Urban scale: the locational aspect, development of the precinct cluster, interdependencies, networks linking formal and informal;
2) Precinct scale: the built form, gated bounded development, security checks, porosity;
3) Museum scale: perceiving a new role of the museum to facilitate integration with existing social innovation processes.

Spatial relationship between museums and informal areas in Mumbai

"Museums have been active in shaping knowledge over (at least) the last 600 years."
(Greenhill, 1992)

City-level public spaces extend citizenship by disseminating knowledge. We analyse museums as part of a network of knowledge dissemination to establish urban citizenship. The museums within the Greater Mumbai part of the city were mapped. As conventional to the idea of cultural institutions, a higher concentration of museums was located in former European colonies and present-day elitist enclaves like South Mumbai and the western coast of the city. The museum layer, when interlinked with clusters of potential knowledge-sharing institutions (identified as libraries, schools, cultural centres, exhibition spaces, playgrounds and other spaces of creative-exchange), improves the creative interdependency and collaboration.

A layer of libraries (city libraries as well as micro-libraries) was mapped along with the museums. The greater density of creative clusters and closer proximity to a wide spectrum of neighbourhoods, the higher the value of connections established. The third layer maps the creative clusters with layers of transit lines and key informal
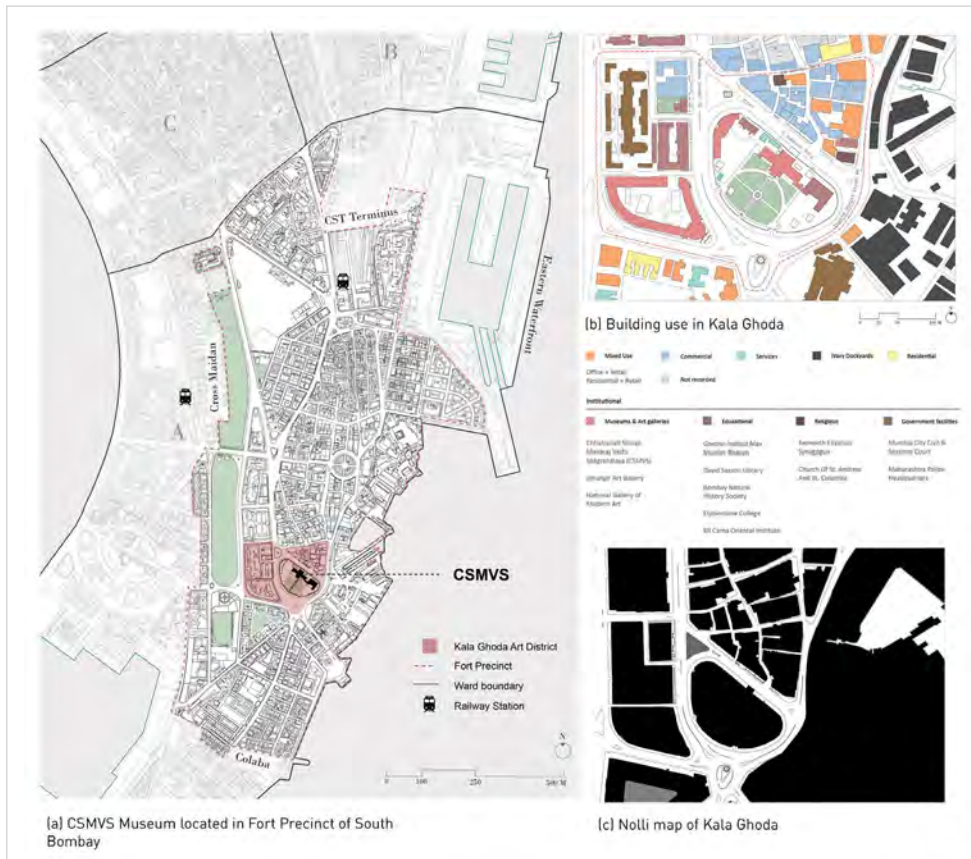
settlement pockets of the city.[5] Distance, time and mobility to urban enclaves make formal knowledge centres inaccessible to marginalised communities, who form over 40% of the city's population. Museums concentrated in elitist enclaves of South Mumbai and Airport delimit access to urban poor and informal citizens.

Museums typically function in a "long-established practice of exhibiting "the facts", "truth", "national history" or unproblematic conceptions of "other" places" (Cameron, 2005). In Mumbai, they are mostly government-run enterprises that operate through traditional modalities. Contemporary museums document the city's art, history, heritage, natural history, sciences, cinema and transport. Yet, Mumbai's multiculturalism remains vastly underrepresented. Museums such as the RBI [Coin Museum Mumbai], located within existing government institutional buildings, are highly secure, and, thereby, the additional social scrutiny that the spatial context creates discourages a vast section of communities to enter the

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[5] As shown on the maps below
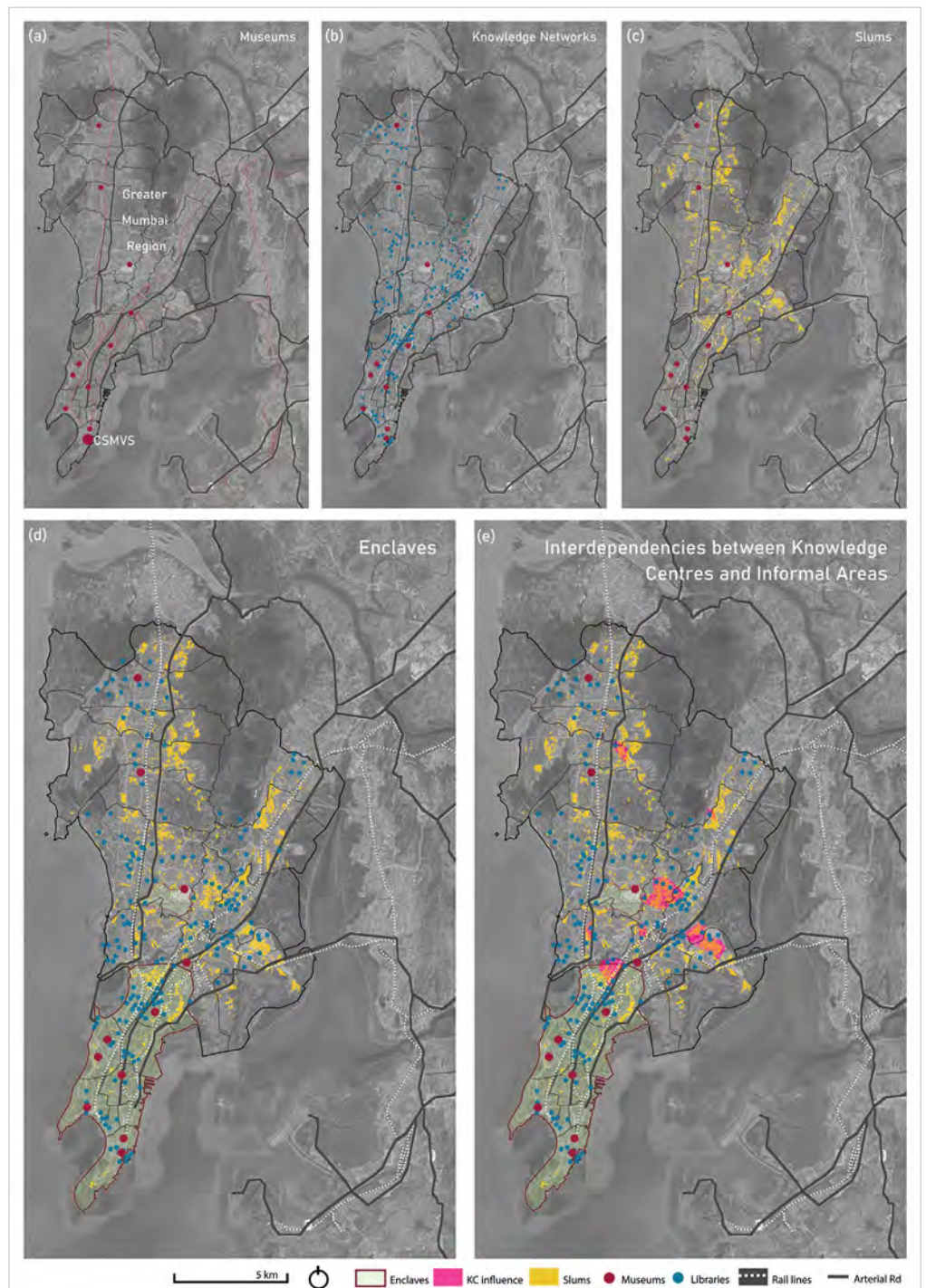
Spatial relationship between knowledge networks and informal areas in Mumbai. Elaborated by author Shruthi Ramesh, based on Login Mumbai and Google Earth.

Setting the locational and functional context of the Museum. Analysing access by use of Nolli Map. Elaborated by Shriya Dhir, based on the survey and Fort Management Plan 2007-2010 UDRI

(a) CSMVS Museum located in Fort Precinct of South Bombay

(b) Building use in Kala Ghoda

(c) Nolli map of Kala Ghoda

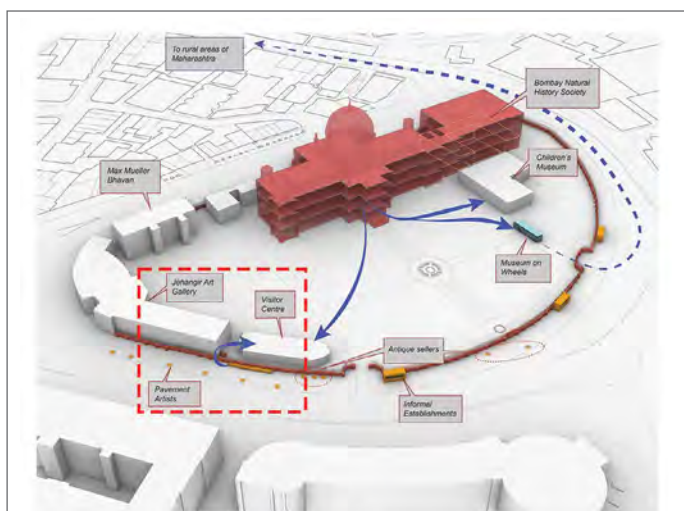museum. The Gandhi Museum (Borivali), on the other hand, offers a lacklustre spatial urban context.

Smaller knowledge centres are interspersed in various parts of the city. The museums located near a slum pocket, or smaller knowledge centres, such as one-room libraries in the vicinity of informal areas, become sites of transformation through empowerment and uplift. Specific factors such as visibility in social indices or adjacency to institutional catalysts determine their placement there. Knowledge centres located near slums, such as the "infamous" Dharavi settlement, or in those that have the lowest social indices, like M Ward, are catalysed by institutions, as in the case of TISS [Tate Institute of Social Sciences], in the vicinity of M Ward). The linking of informality and these institutions allows for open and equitable access, which is desired by the institutes and beneficial to urban poor.
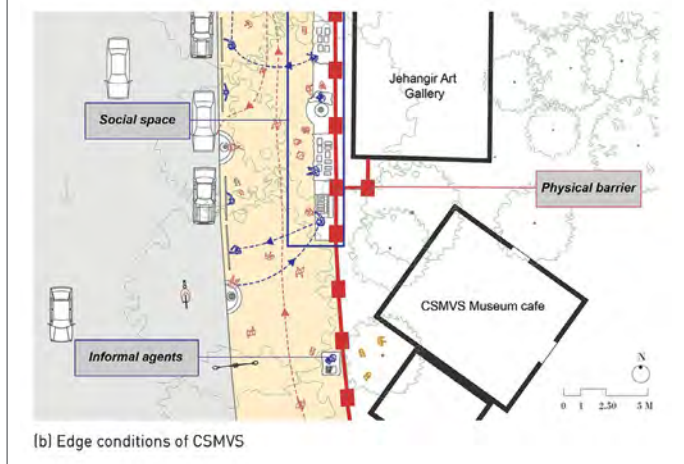
Analysing the CSMVS as urban cultural commons

Originally named the Prince of Wales Museum, the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya (CSMVS) was built in the early 20th century during British colonial rule. It exhibits around 50,000 artefacts of Indian ancient history from the times of Indus Valley civilization. The heritage grade I museum building was designed by Scottish architect George Wittet in the Indo-Saracenic architectural style, and surrounding ensemble of historical buildings was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2018. Having received several grants from federal funds and philanthropists, the museum is furthering its outreach to include the rural hinterlands through its *Museum on Wheels* initiative. Over the years, it has expanded to include numismatic and natural history sections, a children's museum, a library, a research wing, and it also houses several museology workshops.

Amongst all the museums in Mumbai, the CSMVS is the central city museum, which assumes social responsibility of connecting, representing and sharing

knowledge with the city and its citizens. The oldest part of the city, South Mumbai, houses multiple museographic edifices with "protected" identities. The city fabric is composed of a complex mosaic of sanitised elitist enclaves, groupings of public buildings of colonial construct and Art Deco built heritage, enmeshed with informal settlements. The locational, physical and political aspect of the Museum presents boundaries of formality, antiquity and elitism. Its formal environments form an interconnected network, hosting conferences, exhibitions and cultural events, most notably the Kala Ghoda Art Festival (KGAF) in the Kala Ghoda Area in Fort. The Kala Ghoda is a newly formalised urban district in South Mumbai surrounded with historically, politically, and culturally important buildings.[6] The district gained importance in the international art scene due to the concentration of art galleries, auction houses and historic museums. Access to the CSMVS, located at the heart of all, is through ticketed entry and security checks.

The periphery of the CSMVS includes two open art galleries: first, a "formalised, government-sanctioned" public gallery, commissioned by BMC [Brihanmumbai Municipal Corporation] with support of Camlin, where artists from all over the region can rent out spaces for exhibiting their art, and second, where "informal" pavement artists can put up their work for the visitors to engage.[7] There lies a huge contrast between inside and outside of the CSMVS, which is separated by the boundary wall. The outside overtly connects to the urban commons. Therefore, the informal sector plays a significant role in contributing towards the knowledge and creative economy in India.

Through the collaboration between public and private agencies, formal and informal actors come together to enhance the functioning of those areas and simultaneously contribute to economic growth. Due to the growing economic inequalities in India, the informal sector finds its way into the gateways of these formal spaces, which result in them being more visible and accessible to large parts of the society than the public institutions. For example, artists commute 2-3 hours daily to work on the pavements outside the Jehangir Art Gallery (located along the north-eastern edge of the crescent-shaped land parcel housing the CSMVS), a prestigious art exhibition space linked with the renaissance of Indian art. These forms of knowledge-sharing systems facilitate creative needs of lower income groups, but are often overlooked. These informal creative economies and the formal creative economy (museum, art galleries) exist in the same precinct with no intermingling. Negotiations help in order to expand the outreach and visibility of the institutions, to reinvigorate their associations with the city, to establish forms of social innovation and justice and to transform CSMVS into a connected citizen's museum.

(a) CSMVS context and informal associations

(b) Edge conditions of CSMVS

Edge conditions of the museum. Elaborated by Shriya Dhir.

Social innovation theory

Formal knowledge systems habitually exclude tacit knowledge situated in informal sites. Tacit knowledge in informal sites manifests as "social innovation".

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[6] As depicted on p. 101

[7] As depicted on the images on this page

Social innovation (SI) reflects pragmatic, intelligent and creative ideas borne out of necessity. "Jugaad" and "grassroot innovations" as two common forms of SI in the informal sector (Kumar and Bhaduri, 2014). We perceive the syncretism of informality and the formal space of a museum as mutually beneficial.

The Stanford Social Innovation Review describes social innovation as the "free flow of ideas, values, roles, relationships, and money across sectors as central to driving social capital and enduring social change" (Phills *et al.*, 2008). This has been a convoluted subject to define, owing to its skewed boundaries among disciplines. In essence, it refers to the proliferation of new ideas that meet the needs of today and improve things for tomorrow. In spatial terms, the ability of cities to provide for knowledge production and creative exchange results in reinforcing SI in the long run. SI is a cross-disciplinary mechanism, which empowers individuals, irrespective of their fields, to innovate by tapping into the power-based and socio-economic structures of cities. It also promotes forms of social justice and inclusivity through inclusion of marginalised groups within social and political governance institutions and processes (MacCallum, 2009). The challenges faced by local communities vary across a wide gamut of possibilities that need the intervention of the state in order to mitigate the problem. With the increased stakes in financial needs and capital, there comes the greater role of the state.

SI has an entangled history, which crosses paths across fields of management sciences and economics, arts and creativity, political science and administration and territorial development (Moulaert, 2013). Since the 19th century, the growing importance of SI reflects profound dissatisfaction with the traditional forms of policies, which translates into spatial domains, and, as a result, provokes the need of "new ways of doing things". The theories recognise the individuals as independent entities networking with institutions, as opposed to being reliant on large corporations.

Informality and interdependencies

In our discourse on informality, we digress from the limiting viewpoint of informal sites as places of poverty, perceiving them as sites of social innovation. As Ananya Roy argued, informal economies of the city contribute to the global market, but outside of the formal binary (Roy, 2005). Chouguley elucidates that the "limited understanding and negative value judgement of informality does not do justice to the multi-faceted role that informality plays within contemporary cities" (Chouguley, 2019). In Mumbai, social innovation systems have set up their own network that works within the blurred boundaries of legality. Three informal sites in Mumbai have been examined: Chor Bazaar, Dhobi Ghat and Dharavi.

Chor Bazaar

Chor Bazaar is a ghetto and working-class neighbourhood with a dense, fine-grain urban fabric. The informal bazaar built during the time of British colonisation has ever since been functioning as an open market for old and used items, accessible to all income groups. As a historic, centrally located flea market where artefacts, antiquities, craft and craftsmanship are localised, Chor Bazaar has become an important site of social innovation operated by the informal economy. This urban process functions not only as a system of collection, adaptive reuse or recycling, but also as a repository of histories and knowledge of disappearing craft and art traditions – a correlation it shares with museum activities and the design industry.

Social innovation within informality - Dhobi Ghat. Elaborated by Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna.
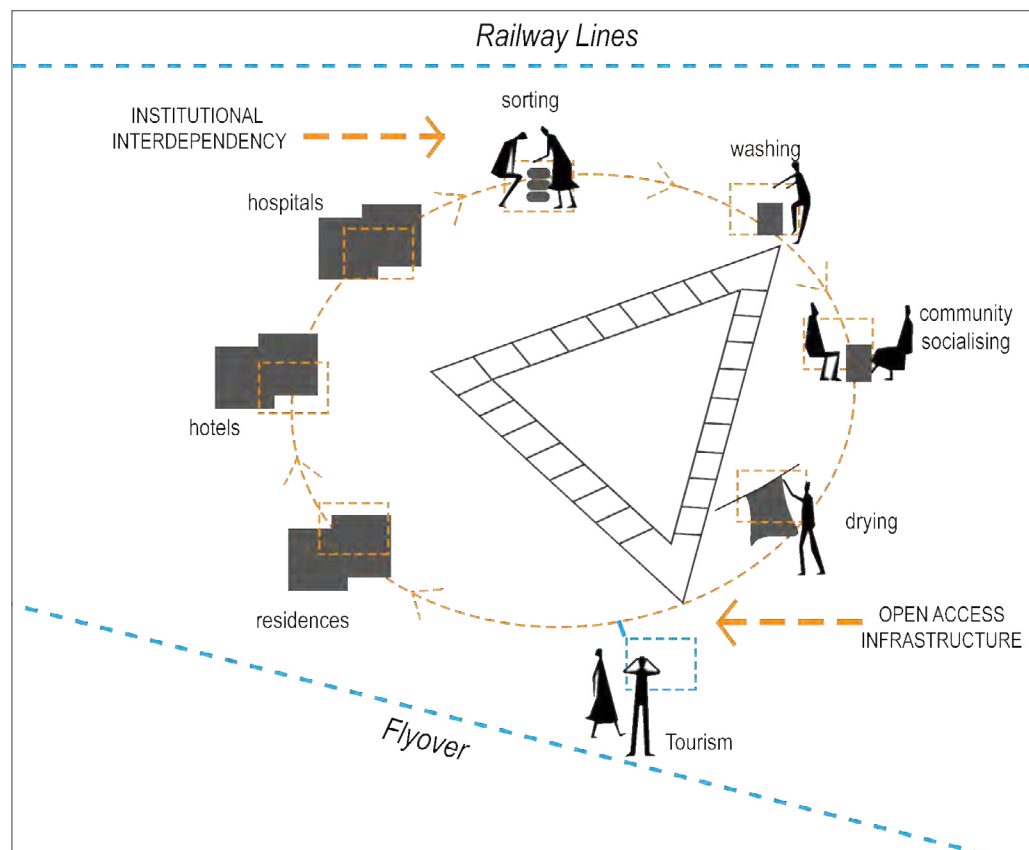
Dhobi Ghat

The second urban process we analyse here is in the informal site of Dhobi Ghat, or the "community laundromat". It is a fragment of historical infrastructure that emerged during the British era and has evolved into an innovative public laundromat system that services Mumbai. The deeply contested space, encased in tightly knit houses of the laundry workers, is a network of open-ground and terraced planes, which hosts the laundromats and drying area for washed clothes. In 2019, the government built an elevated viewing point meant for tourists. This allows the tourist to gaze, while catering to the established institutional interdependencies. To summarise, the adjacent formal institutions rely on the ingenious and innovative informal systems of the Dhobi Ghat to support formal entities.[8]

Dharavi

Lastly, we analysed urban processes in the three-square kilometre informal settlement of Dharavi, housing one million people. It is a site of creative industry, artistry and enterprise embedded in the informal sector, with prominent industries such as pottery, leather, embroidery and recycling. The craft and trade origin of the "Khumbarwaada" or "Potter's village" dates back to the 1930s. These informal systems have intrinsic network links throughout the city, nationally and internationally. They harbour a unique and creative spatial system of mixed living and workspaces, akin to any "artistic village" formally promoted by the government.[9]

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[8] As depicted on the image above

[9] https://urbz.net/index.php/articles/art-kumbharwada; https://urbz.net/articles/supply-chain-networks; https://issuu.com/kachumpa/docs/tanya-mathew_potterycraftofmumbai

Informal sites and their relevance to city museums

As repositories of embedded cultural knowledge, offering a rich palimpsest of art, craft and social innovation, these sites offer valuable insights into the production of the city of Mumbai. Negative connotations associated with informality restrict their perception as "urban cultural commons" of the city, unlike formal spaces such as museums, libraries and art galleries. While the informal sector is mostly unrecognised in formalised spaces, there are some exceptions.

Case example: Mehnat Manzil
Mehnat Manzil is a participatory museum set up in Ahmedabad to represent informal sector workers. It has been designed in collaboration with Conflictorium (a museum that addresses the theme of conflict through artistic dialogue). The museum displays the existing class differences in the society and encourages realistic representation of migration and livelihood in creative ways.[10]

Case example: The Dharavi Design Museum (DDM)

While large museums which double up as city-level public spaces openly exclude the informal sector, there is a smaller museum in Mumbai which collaborates with the informal sector. The Dharavi Design Museum is a case of a nomadic museum within the Dharavi slum, created by Jorge Mañes Rubio and Amanda Pinatih. It works at the grassroots level, exhibiting the design and craft of local potters, broom makers, contractors, embroiderers and carpenters residing in Dharavi. It, however, is a micro-scale enterprise and does not supplement city-level infrastructure. It adds "artistic" and "creative value" to everyday craft of local craftsmen. The foreign lens creates non-contextual and contrasting "high culture". While it is recognised on international platforms, many citizens are unaware of its existence.

Recommendations

In an attempt to counter the isolated existence of CSMVS, we examined prospects of creating a paradigm shift in the way it connects with the citizens. We came up with proposed interventions at three different scales: the museum scale, the precinct scale and the city scale. The museum scale concerns changes within the internal structure of the museum. In the globalising context, the precinct scale and the city scale gain relevance.

The museum scale

Changing role of museums

Some criteria paramount to defining the new role of CSMVS are to:

- Reiterate social responsibility towards citizens from all backgrounds;

- Reconfigure publicness of the museum;

- Transcend formal notions and boundaries;

- Extend its learning environments to the informal sector;

- Empower through education.

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[10] https://www.ihf.in/engagement-reportage/mehnat-manzil-a-tribute-to-the-lives-of-informal-sector-workers

The new spatiality of museums – clustering and city networks. Elaborated by the authors: diagrams by Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna and Shriya Dhir, map by Shruthi Ramesh

(a) formal boundaries and informal linkages

(b) urban clustering of museum

(c) creative clusters and interdependancies

(d) decentralisation: deployable solution within informal areas
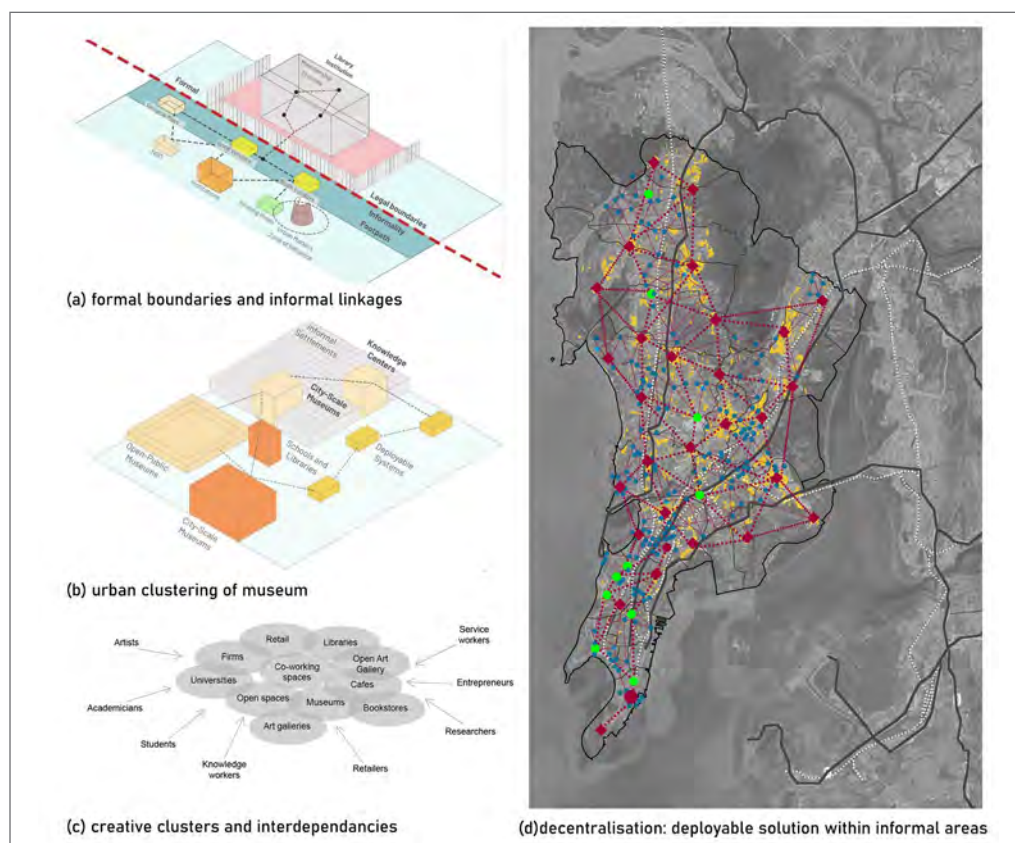
Museum hierarchy

Collaborative arenas in the existing museum structure indicate areas for direct intervention in the future. The shift from a top-down leadership to a multi-stakeholder leadership, involving artists and art associations, heritage committees, architects and urban designers, board members, as well as informal and unrecognised stakeholders, such as the street artists, should be envisioned. The cultural urban commons can be perceived as a collective whole and new systems to connect them can be operationalised. Tzortzi visualises museums as part of the urban space of the city, connected through the concept of urban sociability (Tzortzi, 2018).

The precinct scale

Clustering policies can attract specific user groups, establishing interdependencies. Many cities across the globe have implemented city policies of clustering specific uses to attract specific kinds of user groups. This establishes interdependencies between institutions with similar agenda as a mechanism for collective economic sustenance and growth. These creative clusters, "art districts", "innovation districts", etc., forged through city policies, often recognise only formal institutions under their aegis. In the context of Mumbai, clustering should also include the informal domain. A participatory process towards inclusive action will enable fulfilment of the needs of the informal economy. Common phenomena in newly forged artistic and creative enclaves in the western world are gentrification and displacement of marginalised citizenry. Creative city policies often cause gentrification (Dovey, 2016). Community involvement and consultation of multiple stakeholders can become tools to ameliorate this inequity.

Shifting notions of territoriality and publicness

"Removing boundaries between words and deeds, inside and outside, is the essence of true publicness in its richest sense of bridging, dialogue and democratic encounter".
(Ashley, 2019)

A study of existing premises revealed that the museum exists as a "private", "public space". The museum lawns are a "quasi-public space", opened out to the public in the rare occasion of events like the KGAF. The existing physical and systemic walls created over the centuries dilute the notion of publicness. Porosity in physical boundaries will reduce the existing disconnection with the immediate environment. Physical interventions on these walls face challenges, as the CSMVS is part of an UNESCO World Heritage Site, composed of an ensemble of buildings, and a grade I heritage building. Many museums store artefacts of value and antiquity and physical boundaries offer mechanisms to safeguard this heritage. The formalist architectural language of the built environment creates barriers for the informal populace.

Urban cluster of the museum

We envisage a proposal where the museum is an urban system sited within informal settlements. Its collaboration with deployable, open and formal systems enables connectivity to the informal sector.[11]

The city scale

Incorporating informality

Informal sites are complex urban ecologies shaped by various socio-economic and political processes. Informal citizens' access to the museum is operationalised under "social justice" schemes, which do not neutralise other barriers like ticketed entry, transit expenses etc. The earlier discussion on informal sites of Chor Bazaar and Dharavi presents them as sites with continuing processes of SI, with historical origins dating back to the 1900s. As informality is devalued, their merit as sites of urban history and social and innovative value is discarded. Museums remain largely apolitical, favouring knowledge and culture over politics and bureaucracy. Informal settlements and marketplaces are majorly sites of political action, and the syncretism of the informal with museum networks warrants sensitive action. The museum gets the opportunity to connect with informal citizens, learning and representing their histories. The tacit knowledge situated in the informal domains can slowly be infused into the public realm. Simultaneosly, an opportunity to connect the urban history and spatiality of informal spaces and citizens to the museum is also presented. As a learning environment, CSMVS can uplift citizenry through various educational policies. Further, it can combat the geography of segregation and enclaves unbridled in Mumbai and transform into city-level public space.

Decentralisation

Given the time and mobility constraints faced by the informal populace, it is sensible to bring the museum to a spatial proximity. This brings us to the idea of decentralising the museum to a location near or within informal areas. While the earlier case example of the DDM looks at a micro-level museum in a slum, we envision a city-level enterprise where informal sites are physically or digitally connected to a larger museum network.

Case study: library parks in informal areas, Medellin, Colombia

In the Colombian city of Medellin, city-level knowledge-sharing institutions, library parks, are placed in peripheral informal areas (*comunas*). The idea of urban transformation through introduction of knowledge-centric public spaces in

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[11] As shown on the image on p. 106

informal areas is noteworthy. The introduction of "social infrastructure" resulted in visible changes in human development indices and reduced crime. They verify the hypothesis of spatial proximity critically affecting use by the informal sector. Beyond the provision of "social infrastructure", it was backed with policy changes to reduce violence and uplift through education (Maclean, 2015). As a contested site, it underwent a complex contextual and politics-centric process through public participation, prioritising citizens' needs before political agendas. The city and general citizenry begin to perceive informal areas as safer public spaces in the city. The larger infrastructure, however, means heavier maintenance costs in the long run. The Biblioteca De España Library Park was indefinitely closed due to structural defects, which puts forth the question: "how can social infrastructure be made to last?"

Redefining the participatory process

While museums can give informal settlements the opportunity to connect and collaborate with them, decision-making capacities should be situated in the hands of informal citizenry as well. "User-designed city", proposed by Urbz, places agency and decisions on level of interventions in the hands of the local community. Informal sites should be armed with physical and digital means to collaborate and be part of the creative/knowledge network.

Conclusion: way forward

When museums exist in isolation, as formal elitist enclaves, they are alienated from the informal populace. Over the course of this paper, we have established the criticality of connecting museums and the informal sector, as beneficial to both the museum and informal citizenry. Concurring with the theme, *Connecting Cities, Connecting Citizens*, the paper looked at the city as a platform to link CSMVS with the citizens of Mumbai. The socio-economic divide significantly disconnects informal citizens from the city and city museum. In Mumbai, where a large section of the population lives and works in the informal sector, there is an urgency to mitigate this spatial divide.

As next steps, museums could work closely with urban planning and policy schemes to create an "equitable" city. Mumbai's Draft Development Plan prioritises creating more open spaces for the city, a slow shift from real estate development. The newer developing areas could incorporate intervening strategies potential for knowledge exchange. From the point of view of social activism, we intend to intervene by working on a grassroots scale with the deployable systems, collaborating with the city museum. Through our paper, we insist on creating a new centrality for museums, wherein they work with both formal and informal creative networks in the city to catalyse social change.

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BIOGRAPHIES

Shruthi Ramesh is an architect and urban designer, currently running her independent practice based in Kannur, Kerala. She received her master degree in architecture (2016-18) with a major in urban design and minor in HTC from CEPT University, and completed her undergraduate studies from GEC Thrissur. She is engaged in research centred around critical explorations of urban studies vested in intersectional feminist and subaltern geographies.

Bhagyasshree Ramakrishna is an architect and urban designer and is currently engaged with research on open-source urbanism. She holds a master degree in architecture from CEPT University in urban design and urban conservation (minor, 2016-18). She also received a grant (2022-23) to examine the socio-cultural associations of communities with heritage water bodies in Panvel Municipality.

Shriya Dhir is currently a town planning and urban design intern at Dover, Kohl & Partners based in Coral Gables, where she is actively engaged in projects across the United States. During her final year research semester at CEPT (Monsoon 2021), she pursued her DRP research on the topic Cities as a Platform for Social Innovation, where she focused on creative exchange and knowledge-sharing districts in the historical context of South Mumbai.

THE HIDDEN POTENTIAL
OF CITY MUSEUMS

JOAN ROCA I ALBERT

*MUHBA - Barcelona History Museum
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THE HIDDEN POTENTIAL OF CITY MUSEUMS.
A TRANSCONTINENTAL WORKSHOP

ABSTRACT

The workshop was originally designed to be a complement to the conference, with the idea that it would be held mostly online due to COVID-19. However, in the end, a lot of people registered to come to Barcelona, so it was incorporated into the general programme of the meeting. This article explains, reordered, the arguments spelled out over the course of the workshop by the author, including those voices invited to the last part of the seminar: Edia Lesage, David Llistar, Flora Mutere-Okuku, Oriol Nel·lo, Ciraj Rassool, Emili Revilla, Rodrigo Sala and Patrícia Tamayo. The session was moderated by Jordi Pascual, the coordinator for Culture at UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments), an organisation that helped to set up the workshop.

The workshop was structured in four parts: (1) *Methods*, with a visit to the exhibition *Barcelona Flashback*, MUHBA's attempt at a historical interrogative method for "reading the city", complemented with an experimental urban trekking activity on the following morning in Poblenou; (2) *Procedures*, with the suggestion of some guidelines for "assembling" city museums within the context of a new urban museology for the 21st century; (3) *Models*, a short laboratory of ideas around the conceptualisation of "the minimum city museum", and (4*) Strategies*, with a discussion on the implementation of city museums in fast-growing metropolises: at the end, a special focus was given to Africa, in the debate on *The 4 Meridians Proposal*.

Key words: City museum potential, museum reform, minimum city museum, expansive cities, African city museums, European city museums

Introduction

In the midst of the digital revolution, in the midst of a climate change that is reshaping the world, in the midst of economic and geopolitical mutations due to the return to confrontation between major powers, in short, in the midst of just about everything, cities play a fundamental role. They bring together innovations and inequalities alike, and are transformed by technological, social and territorial mutations, such as those being caused at present by the expansion of the number of people working from home.

Cities will be even more relevant in the midst of the crisis of the states and the risk of a shrinking democracy. Municipal governments are closer to citizens than national governments. The urban public space is decisive in both the world of practical life and the world of symbols and culture. Cities may hold a potential that cannot be singly achieved either by their neighbourhoods or by the states they are part of.

However, despite all this, the specific city where one lives or to where one travels is rarely explained. At school, cities in general are discussed, at most, but there is no study of urban history and the contemporary geographical realities of the students' own city. This was already seen by Patrick Geddes over a century ago, when he thought up and disseminated mechanisms for showing and explaining the city.[1]

As explained in the article introducing the Barcelona conference in the *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review*, the reinvention of city museums as heritage organisations for urban knowledge and building citizenship may be fundamental for updating the motto of the Enlightenment: *sapere aude*, dare to know, by forming an intercontinental explanatory network, obviously, distant from any colonialist connotations.[2] To give impetus to a system of city museums that weaves and links all the continents may turn out to be a question of global justice of the first order.

The article corresponds to the workshop that took place on 2 December 2021 during the afternoon, and prolonged to the following morning, with a note on new formats of urban itineraries: an urban trekking excursion. The conception and interventions in the workshop were based – it could be no other way – on previous articles on the subject in the *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review* and in the books of proceedings from the previous CAMOC conferences.[3,4]

Methods. Towards a new urban museology

The workshop began with a visit to the exhibition *Barcelona Flashback. A History Kit in 100 Objects*, and it was completed on the following morning with the urban trekking route in Poblenou. Both visits had the aim of situating, within the context of practical experiences, the methodological reflection on the potential

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[1] Geddes, P. (1906). A Suggested Plan for a Civic Museum (or Civic Exhibition) and its Associated Studies. Sociological Papers, 3. 197–240.

[2] Roca i Albert, J., & Pérez Rubiales, E. (2021). Connecting Cities through City Museums: Towards a Global Strategy. *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review*, 3-2021. 4-8.

[3] I would like to thank Daniel Alcubierre Gómez and Elena Pérez Rubiales, of the MUHBA, for their critical contributions to this article.

[4] On a previous note, the publication editor requested two articles to cover the different parts of the workshop, but I felt it was preferable to resolve it all in a single article, even if it would be a longer piece. I would like to thank the editor for accepting it.

of city museums as spaces of knowledge on urban life in a historical key, between narrative, objects and urban space.

The visit to *Barcelona Flashback* aimed to address the question of how to configure a *city historical reading method* tested on an exhibition of synthesis that aimed at training the visitors in the art of exploring the city and building a consistent narrative about it. The exhibition was conceived as a trial for questioning Barcelona in little over an hour – if the visitor opted for the quick visit – with around a hundred objects in 180 m^2 on the first floor of Casa Padellàs, the MUHBA's epicentre.[5]

The pace of the exhibition was marked by questions, one for each object, presented like the speech bubbles from comics. Under the questions and associated objects, in a long strip, short notes, with an extension of 35 to maximum 50 words, appeared to help search for answers: the people visiting the exhibition, ultimately, had to construct their own narrative of the city.

From the outset, *Barcelona Flashback. A History Kit in 100 Objects* placed visitors in front of a mirror that returned their own figure on a background of changing images of urban life over the course of the 20th century, sequenced in 11 verbs (to begin, to work, to fight, to love, to learn, etc.) and having a heartbeat as a faint background sound. The situation thus created visitors immersed in the recent past, and immediately gave them the option of crossing – or not – a very thick black curtain, which would, as in *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* by Lewis Carroll, allow them to continue their historical wanderings around Barcelona if they dared to pass through it.

On the other side of the curtain, the exhibition proposed getting to know and appropriating the city in five phases, in a way similar to scientific knowledge or a judicial process:

1) The *evidence*: training in the analysis of evidence or the foundations of the methods to undertake the critical analysis of documents and objects, which are meaningless unless one does not ask relevant questions;

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[5] See an outline of the project in Roca i Albert, J. (2022). City Museums and Urban Strategies. In: Savic, J. (Ed.). *The Right to the City. CAMOC Annual Conference 2020 (2021). Book of Proceedings*. ICOM-CAMOC. 29-30. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2022/06/KRAKOW-CONFERENCE-BOOK-OF-PROCEEDINGS-for-website.pdf

Barcelona Flashback. A History Kit in 100 Objects; room dedicated to questioning witnesses, 2019.
© Enric Gràcia / MUHBA

2) The *background*, or how to address the long-term historical trajectory by correlating the city and the urban worlds that it contains with the major geopolitical challenges of each moment: the narrative-wavers between urban evidence and the maps projected on the wall;

3) The *events* of the time one is interested in learning about, or how to order data to advance from empirical documentation to the construction of historical knowledge: to define, even if intuitively, relevant periods and avoid insubstantial timelines;

4) The *context*, or how to situate oneself in the economic, social and political urban geography of the period that we are interested in learning about, and how to historically read the forms of landscape, systematised in the style of Kevin Lynch or of Maurice Cerasi.[6]

5) The *comparison*, or how to establish points of comparison between what one knows about one's daily world and what, during the visit, one discovers about another city or neighbourhood; it is a fundamental step for incorporating knowledge into everyday life. The comparison between situations would be the equivalent of "jurisprudence" in a judicial process.

In addition, at the end, there was a last space with the succinct explanation of the museum itself, to address to the fundamental question of "who are we?" so that visitors can situate, in the style of Bourdieu, the perspective from which they are being talked to, *i.e.,* the concrete relationship between knowledge and power in the Museum's case.

After the visit to *Barcelona Flashback*, the work session continued until the evening, and on the following morning the workshop culminated in another format that is essential for a city museum: the urban itinerary, with a guided tour. A good guide is not a mediator, nor a walking dispenser of information, but rather a builder of knowledge in a format that, as if it were a musical or operatic composition, must have the questions of rhythm, order, intensity and contrasts carefully calculated.[7]

We conducted a trial – limited to the time available – of the king-size form of itineraries, the urban trekking, in a tour around the old industrial neighbourhood of Poblenou, now undergoing an intense metamorphosis.[8] The goal: to investigate new methods and new forms of metropolitan tours in the digital era. If a tour is defined as trekking, a formula usually reserved for routes around the mountains, then the challenge lies in the duration, the unequal distribution of stimuli over the course of the route, and the variety of elements that are incorporated into the visit.

The urban trekker, when compared with the *flâneur* of Balzac, Baudelaire or Walter Benjamin, changes the scale of the route and incorporates the peripheries, the extensive city. These are two very different and yet complementary styles of the art of wandering and appropriating the city: both are based on the desire to know and the pleasure of examining the discoveries made and interweaving all the elements of the itinerary, appealing to different categories of thought.

At the end, guided urban trekkings led to a discussion around a series of previously taken images of what the participants have seen during the tour and in the same order

[6] Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press. Another classic work, from a different perspective: Cerasi, M. M. (1973). *La lettura dell'ambiente*. Turin: CLUP.

[7] Roca i Albert, J. (2004). Itinerary as Art Form, Cities and Citizenship. In: *Tour-isms. The Defeat of Dissent*. Critical Itineraries Barcelona: Fundació Antoni Tàpies. 100-113.

[8] See the video of the third day of the conference, 3 December 2021, available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7gNqvbKGDFs.

Urban trekking around Poblenou, 3 December 2021. © Teresa Macià / MUHBA

(large photos printed in a notebook are helpful). In this second reflexive look, to the surprise of the urban trekking participants, unexpected perceptions and connections between different themes appear.

Procedures. **Forming and reforming city museums**

If we reflect on the guidelines for creating or reorienting a city museum, the first thing worth saying is that, in the concept of "city museum", the word *city* carries as much weight as the word *museum,* if not even more. The controversy over the definition of what a museum is in the 21st century has a singular scope in the case of city museums. The mapping that is now promoted by the CAMOC to conduct a census of museums that consider themselves to be city museums will help establish what the current situation is.

City museums, if we understand as such those museums that explain and represent metropolises and their citizens, can be the prime source of cultural and democratic energy. For this reason, it is very important to specify their profile in greater detail, and to remove the ambiguity that exists today between "city museums" and other very different categories, such as "civic museums", "community museums", or the even less well-defined "museums in the city".

The basis for the right to the city is the right to the knowledge of the city.[9] This has been the foundation of a considerable number of municipalist movements, such as the International Association of Educating Cities.[10] The city museum, conceptualised as a "heritage institution for urban knowledge and building citizenship", can offer great potential thanks to the production of historical urban narratives that challenge and are critical. This is especially important when dealing with young people of school age: urban representations are built alongside personal and political representations.[11]

It is true that museums are not neutral, as proclaimed in the campaign launched in 2017 by Mike Murawski and La Tanya Autry against the fallacious pretension of corporate objectivity.[12] However, schools or other institutions from the cultural world are not neutral either, and neither are communities. "Museums do not need to be neutral; they need to be independent", said Suay Aksoy when she spoke as ICOM president at the CIMAM conference in Sidney in 2019.[13]

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[9] Pérez Rubiales, E. (2020). Right to the City, Right of the Citizens: For a New Generation of City Museums. In: Savic, J. and Chiu, C. (Eds.). *City Museums as Knowledge Hubs. Past, Present and Future.* Book of Proceedings, CAMOC Kyoto 2019. ICOM – CAMOC. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/09/KYOTO-CONFERENCE-BOOK-OF-PROCEEDINGS-fs0915-web.pdf

[10] International Association of Educating Cities, https://www.edcities.org/en/

[11] Roca i Albert, J. (2007). La connaissance de la ville. In: Vilarrasa, A., Bier, B., & Richez, J. C. (Coord.), *Villes éducatrices. L'expérience du projet de Barcelone.* Merly-le-Roi: Institut National de la Jeunesse et de l'Éducation Populaire. 42-50. [online] Retrieved from: https://injep.fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/ca17.pdf

[12] The debate on knowledge at museums started decades earlier by Foucault, Bourdieu and many others, beginning with the universities. See Bourdieu, P. (1984). Homo academicus. Paris: Minuit [English translation by Peter Collier: Bourdieu, P. (1988). *Homo Academicus*. Stanford: Stanford University Press].

[13] Suay Aksoy, in her keynote speech at the CIMAM Annual Conference of 2019, Museum of Contemporary Art Australia, Sydney. Review in ICOM News (2019). [online] Retrieved from: https://icom.museum/en/news/museums-do-not-need-to-be-neutral-they-need-to-be-independent/

Stating that neutrality is not possible does not imply renouncing the search for the truth; even if we largely fail to achieve it. The desire to know is the aspiration to the maximum degree of truth possible, to the building of knowledge through method and rigour. The relationship between power and knowledge cannot be avoided, but it can be tempered if there is awareness of it.[14]

A minimum epistemology of the museum narrative is required, which is none other than the rules of rigorous research in historiography and other sciences of society and culture, in order to construct social knowledge in a questioning and open way.

Profiling the city museum as a knowledge centre is paramount if one does not want to become a mere exhibitor of proposals that undoubtedly make an impact but have no line of continuity. By involving study centres and academic institutions to collaborate, the construction of new knowledge is simpler in the digital era. Furthermore, making the museum a point of reference, a centre for research and debate on urban history, spaces and narratives requires very few resources if collaboration agreements with the participating organisations are present.

Perhaps, as an "assembly guide" for city museums, it would be a good idea to think about the following principles:[15]

1. *Knowledge hub* – resorting to urban history as the basis for the narratives and collections and as the knowledge reference for an interpretation of landscapes and of contemporary social geographies. If the museum cannot promote its own studies, it can stimulate and use those of other institutions, by mutual agreement;

2. *Museum agora and museum school* – with the participation of citizens and of schools. This includes definition of a welcoming area at the premises as a meeting place and as an open *agora* for people who want to deepen their view of the city, but without a formal visit to the museum. On the other hand, it is about the conversion into a museum school, with the addition of classrooms to accomodate schools;[16]

3. *Urban laboratory* – apart from its own programming, the museum can operate as a base for proposals shared with other institutions and organisations, in diverse formats, thus exchanging stimuli and proposals. Nevertheless, it must be equipped with the understanding that the laboratory has to be able to maintain coherence in its programming and operate at a reduced cost;

4. *Public reference* – if the museum provides elements for historical and geographical reflection, it can set out sound basis for any personal reflection on the present and future of the city. However, to maintain its position as a space of legitimate knowledge, it cannot be both judge and jury in the controversies about the present. To conserve efficacy in the democratic public domain, it has to restrict its field of action;

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[14] This question also refers us to the *Méditations pascaliennes* regarding knowledge, by Pierre Bourdieu, and the distinction between "strategic action" and "communicative action" in the Theory of Communicative Action by Jürgen Habermas. See Roca i Albert, J. (2022). City Museums and Urban Strategies. Op. cit. 24-25.

[15] See a previous work on this subject: Roca i Albert, J. (2019). At the Crossroad of Cultural and Urban Policies. Rethinking the City and the City Museum. In: Savic, J. (Ed.), *The Future of Museums of Cities. CAMOC Annual Conference Frankfurt 2018*. ICOM – CAMOC. 25. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/04/FRANKFURT_CONFERENCE_-_BOOK_OF_PROCEEDINGS_Final_LR__2_.pdf

[16] On museum school models, see the National Association of Museum Schools, United States (https://www.museumschools.org/history/), and the museum classroom project of the Office of the Historian of the City of Havana, Cuba, which has subsequently spread throughout the country (https://www.ecured.cu/Aulas-Museo).

5. *Strategic collector* – with the stimulus for citizen participation in the construction of contemporary collections. The objective is the constitution of significant series of objects and documents that are adapted as much to the city narratives to be substantiated as to the cost of storage and conservation. If the museum has a good collection from previous periods and is the depository of archaeological artefacts from digs in the city, the synthesis can be perfect!

6. *Multi-centre heritage network* – the museum can interweave different branches spread around the city in a single network, so that, together, they make up one single museum. A multi-centre or network museum, with sites both in the old urban core and in the neighborhoods created by contemporary urban sprawl, can be profiled as an ordinary public facility on a dual scale, because it is a "city" and a "community" museum at the same time;

7. *Shared management* – the backing of the local authorities and the support of the surrounding community and of academia can generate stable models of shared management for the museum. In the case of MUHBA, a trial is about to be conducted in this sense, focused on the social housing branch of the museum, at the Cases Barates in Bon Pastor;[17]

8. *Variable cost organisation* – city museums can have great budgetary and organisational flexibility. Some are very large, of course, but, on the other extreme, it is important that minimum city museums can multiply, with a tiny budget, a reduced workforce and a participation of citizens that enables diverse formulas for action;[18]

9. *Professional technological stimulus* – any museum, large and small, lies at the apex of a pyramid of specialized activities in most diverse sectors, and the need to take care of the heritage and to succeed in the different formats of public programming is an incentive for innovation and the improvement of productivity in many sectors of the cultural industry;[19]

10. *Boost to the urban economy* – museums create wealth, even with account deficits. Evaluating them according to visitor figures is an error in terms of urban economy, because it does not take into account the impact on business and industrial activities. For multi-centre or network city museums, it is important to add the value of social representation in the districts where their branches are situated;

As we have considered it, the city museum can have an important impact on the formation of a shared and shareable urban consciousness of the neighbourhood and the city, and of the territories beyond on a global scale, at the same time. Furthermore, it can have a relevant role in the definition of public spaces, as the symbolic expression of the surrounding territory and of the city as a whole: the question of scales is fundamental. In this area, MUHBA is in the midst of a process of being transformed from a "city museum" to a "citizens' museum". Moreover, the city museum can be a powerful enabler of the urban economy by, above all, taking into account its indirect impact.

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[17] Roca i Albert, J., Turégano López, C. (2020). La gestió participativa i el museu de la ciutat. Patrimoni, ciutadania i nodes culturals als barris de Barcelona. *Diferents. Revista De Museus, 5. 18-35.* [online] Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.6035/Diferents.2020.5.2; Sustersic, P., Roca, J., Alcubierre, D., Cazalla, C., (2021). Habitar Barcelona. La restitución y museización de las Cases Barates del Bon Pastor [Living in Barcelona. The Restitution and Musealization of the Cases del Bon Pastor]. *Res Mobilis*, 10-13-2. 328-361. [online] Retrieved from: https://doi.org/10.17811/rm.10.13-2.2021.328-361

[18] A very interesting case in the metropolis of Barcelona is the experience of the Museu d'Història de la Immigració (Museum of the History of Immigration) in Sant Adrià de Besòs, of a very modest size but with great effectiveness. The Museum is managed by just three permanent staff members. Source: https://visitmuseum.gencat.cat/en/mhic-museu-dhistoria-de-la-immigracio-de-catalunya

[19] OCDE and ICOM webinar (2020, 10 April). *Coronavirus (COVID-19) and museums: impact, innovations and planning for post-crisis.* [online] Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PIo_8VWMU6o. Text for the intervention by Joan Roca i Albert available at: https://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/WebinarCovid19museums.pdf

Models. **In search of the minimum city museum**

Based on the aspects addressed in the previous section for designing a city museum, the question lies in defining what its basic module should be: what is the *minimum city museum*? The third part of the workshop focused on this, with the participation of Patricia Tamayo (minimum space for a city museum or City Museum Kit) and Emili Revilla (minimum heritage management system). The hypothesis for the minimum city museum was formulated in the following terms:

a) A minimum city museum needs only a minimal space or set of spaces for exhibiting, storage and an office, plus a classroom for shared work with schools, scholars and citizens. Based on her study of other comparable situations, architect Patrícia Tamayo explained a *City Museum Kit* layout, materialised in just 200 m², as shown on the image below;

b) The minimum city museum may have its own site or it can be housed inside another institution. It can be in a municipal room (the Museum of Copenhagen was established at first in the City Council) or in a school, but it could also take up a space at a market, a train or bus station or a similar site;

c) A minimum city museum can take shape as much in the centre as in the areas of contemporary urban sprawl. The initial space in the urban epicentre means that advantage can be taken of the good accessibility, but there is nothing to prevent it from starting out in the periphery: the perspective regarding the urban complex from the outskirts to the city core is no less significant than the one which follows growth from the old centre to the suburbs or even beyond, in the diffuse city;
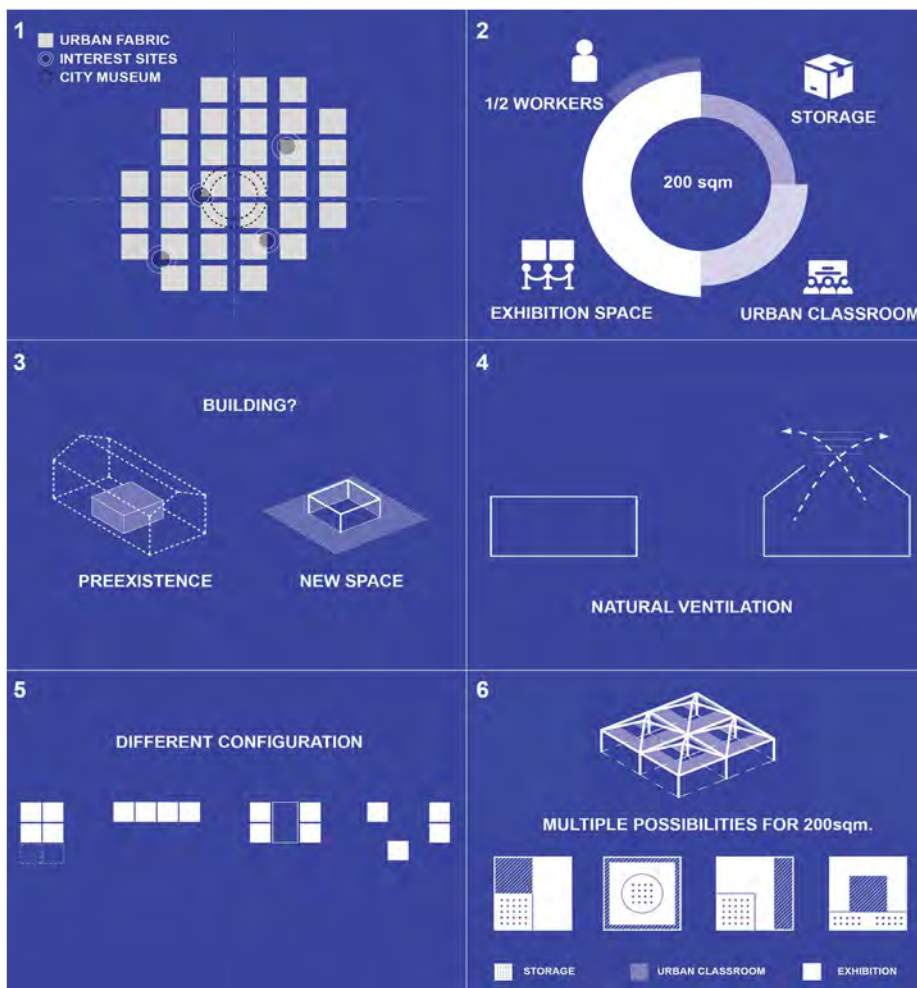
City Museum Kit. Basic design of a minimum city museum according to Patrícia Tamayo, within a surface area of 200 m². © Patrícia Tamayo

d) Like a large city museum, a minimum city museum is qualified by the rigour of its narratives when it comes to showcasing and explaining the city. The relevance of a city museum is not measured only by the exceptional nature of its objects and exhibits;

e) The interest in forming a minimum collection that is able to document and foster the narratives. One should be able to touch off process with a minimum "kit of objects" on the basic variables of urban life and the major periods of history of the city. Both citizen and institutional donations increase if the museum showcases their work. The museum becomes an ongoing process;[20]

f) When it comes to processing objects, cooperation between museums can greatly facilitate this task. At this point, Emili Revilla, head of the Archaeological Archive at the MUHBA Collections Centre, explained the new system called IAB (Barcelona Archaeology Inventories), commissioned by the Museum together with the Servei d'Arqueologia de Barcelona (Barcelona Archaeology Service). The aim is to optimise and simplify the control, management, maintenance and public consultation of archaeological materials. The system is adaptable to other types of collections;

g) A minimum city museum can emerge from a municipal, community or academic initiative, or a combination of all three, with the understanding that the most important point is to simultaneously maintain the view of proximity and of the whole of the city. A museum focusing on only one community or neighbourhood is not a city museum, and vice versa. A city museum has to be able to show and explain urban areas by way of questioning on multiple scales;

h) Finally, a minimum, low-cost city museum might be more innovative and socially effective than many established museums, if it imaginatively combines multiple formats of work and programming inside and outside its premises: research and debates provided by allied institutions, participatory construction of the collection, minimum stable exhibition, homemade audio-visuals, new types of urban tours, informal but permanent contact with schools, basic strategic combination of web and printed material, etc. By contrast, temporary exhibitions may sometimes be inadvisable due to the many extra energies and resources they absorb.

With a view to sharing these reflections, an online questionnaire was given out during the session. On the heading, one could read: "Think of a city that does not have a city museum, ideal or real, and imagine how a minimum city museum could be set up, with a consistent and open narrative for presenting it to inhabitants and visitors". The questionnaire had seven questions, each with five answer options. Two could be chosen. The aim was to conduct a short exchange of impressions rather than an express survey. Twenty-five people from among those following the session answered it.[21]

The answers seemed to largely reaffirm the proposal that had been put forward. In the "identikit picture" produced from the answers, the following were prominent: the option of obtaining knowledge through the route of agreements with academic

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[20] In the case of MUHBA, citizens' contributions have grown in a sustained way since the launch, in 2011, of the project *MUHBA Laboratory. Let's Collect the City*. https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/en/anteriors/muhba-laboratory-project-lets-collect-city

[21] Survey for the Workshop on The Hidden Potential of City Museums. See the results commented at https://www.bcn.cat/museuhistoriaciutat/docs/surveycamoc.pdf

CONNECTING CITIES,
CONNECTING CITIZENS
Towards a shared sustainability
Barcelona, 1-3 December 2022
ICOM CAMOC MUHBA

THE MINIMUM CITY MUSEUM

In search of the minimum set-up for establishing a city museum. Think of a city that does not have a city museum, ideal or real, and imagine how a minimum "city museum" could be set up, with a consistent and open narrative for showing it to inhabitants and visitors. Only 1 or maximum 2 answers can be chosen for each question, seeking to approach desirable solutions.
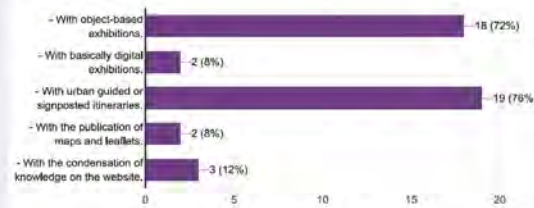
25 answers

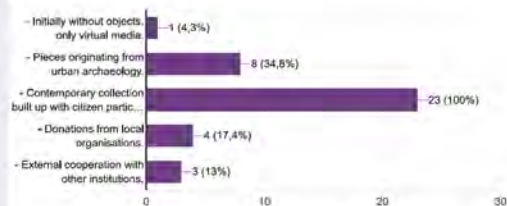**1 How to make up a solid yet plural narrative to explain the city?**
25 respostes

- With the museum's own means. — 4 (16%)
- With schools and universities in the city itself. — 14 (56%)
- With specialists in urban history from other origins. — 10 (40%)
- With other museums associated with the project. — 2 (8%)
- With cooperating institutions. — 13 (52%)

2 In what format should this urban narrative be fundamentally expressed?
25 respostes

- With object-based exhibitions. — 18 (72%)
- With basically digital exhibitions. — 2 (8%)
- With urban guided or signposted itineraries. — 19 (76%)
- With the publication of maps and leaflets. — 2 (8%)
- With the condensation of knowledge on the website. — 3 (12%)

3 If the decision is made to have objects, how are the first 100 obtained?
23 respostes

- Initially without objects, only virtual media. — 1 (4,3%)
- Pieces originating from urban archaeology. — 8 (34,8%)
- Contemporary collection built up with citizen partic... — 23 (100%)
- Donations from local organisations. — 4 (17,4%)
- External cooperation with other institutions. — 3 (13%)

4 How should museum's future presence in the city be conceived?
25 respostes

- As a single stable building that concentrates heritag... — 4 (16%)
- With various heritage buildings in the form of a... — 20 (80%)
- With the incorporation of spaces from other associ... — 7 (28%)
- As a museum without a main building that explain... — 4 (16%)
- As a virtual museum that explains and shows the c... — 5 (20%)
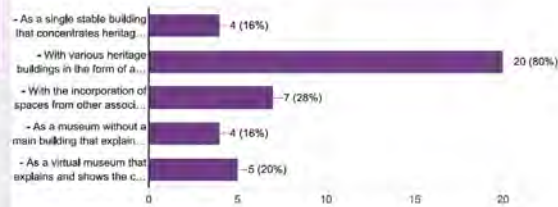
5 If the museum seeks an affordable physical home, what are the best initial options?
25 respostes

- Own independent building as essential. — 11 (44%)
- Home within an institutional building, suc... — 11 (44%)
- Home within a school or library. — 9 (36%)
- Home within a bus or train station, port or airport. — 5 (20%)
- Home within a shopping centre. — 2 (8%)
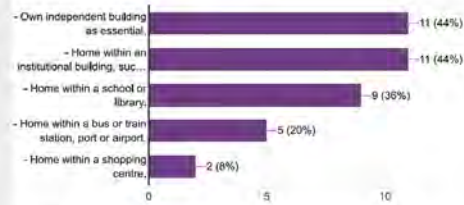
6 What would be the essential initial basic facility format?
24 respostes

- A multi-use public hall. — 21 (87,5%)
- A classroom for school stays of half a day or one... — 3 (12,5%)
- A hall devoted to presenting the exhibition. — 8 (33,3%)
- A reserve room for conservation of exhibits. — 1 (4,2%)
- A work office for managing the centre... — 3 (12,5%)
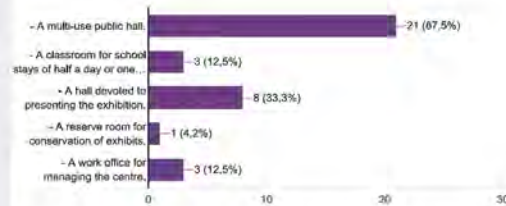
7 What would be the minimum essential staff needed to begin with?
25 respostes

- 1 person employed. — 2 (8%)
- 1 person employed and local volunteers. — 13 (52%)
- 1 person employed and outside volunteers. — 2 (8%)
- 2 or more people employed. — 12 (48%)
- All volunteers. — 1 (4%)

Results of the questionnaire on the minimum city museum, 2 December 2021. © MUHBA

institutions and cooperation; the interest in the museum's narratives with objects as much as in narratives outside of the museum, around the city; the need to create a contemporary collection; the interest in a multi-centre museum spread around the city; the preference for a museum having its own building, and using an institutional or school building where this is not possible; and the possibility of starting up with one or two employees, with the need to define the issue of volunteers.

Yvonne Mazurek, Chet Orloff and Luis Carlos Manjarrés intervened in the debate that followed, by introducing nuances. Mazurek warned of the risk of jeopardising museum staff if the functions of volunteer workers are not properly defined. Orloff referred to the importance of making use of already existing buildings and facilities to create new city museums. Manjarrés addressed the question of how to achieve an optimal balance between city museum and community museum at those museum sites or branches where the project has been driven by a community initiative.[22]

The minimum museum just sketched is an idealised abstraction, but it may be useful to stimulate new, accessible and innovative city museum formulas. In addition to the peculiarities of each city, situations will vary based on urban technologies – see the rise of working from home – and the evolution of forms of representation of the city. Nevertheless, it does not appear that the relevance of city museums is going to diminish, foremost in metropolises where, due to the rate and dispersion of growth, a shareable urban personality has not yet taken shape.

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[22] Interventions included in: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FKFfXGEEuD0&t=20144s

Strategies. **Cities and citizens in search of their museum, and vice versa**

The final and most extensive point of the workshop, dedicated to strategies, began with the intervention by David Llistar on behalf of Barcelona City Council and by Oriol Nel·lo Colom, urban geographer and president of the Advisory Council of the Barcelona's Pla de barris (Neighbourhood Plan).

"The city is the people who live in it", Oriol Nel·lo began, "with diverse interests that may generate conflicts. We have to be capable of explaining that the history of the city is, in many aspects, the result of the tensions between the powerful and those who have tried to change things. Therefore, we have to be able to explain the influence of ordinary people and how their projects can also give form to the city of the future", he concluded. And here is where city museums can play an important role.

The role of city museums can be especially significant in conurbations that experienced dizzying rates of growth and urban sprawl during the second half of the 20th century. Added to the economic, urbanistic and facilities difficulties, these conurbations have the problems of a lack of urban identity and of difficult governance. In these metropolises, inhabitants often do not have the perception of being members of an extended urban collectivity with its interlinked parts.[23]

The issue was debated by initially focusing on the tandem of La Paz and El Alto, in Bolivia (a), to then address an overview of African cities, with the *The 4 Meridians Proposal* (b). The pages that follow rework the materials that emerged from the session.

a) City museums and the fast-expanding metropolis: **La Paz and El Alto**

During the workshop, we concentrated on commenting the hypothetical case of a city museum shared by La Paz and El Alto, the two main municipalities of the capital metropolis of Bolivia. In other sessions of the CAMOC Barcelona 2021 conference, papers that addressed, by and large, the same issue were presented, above all those dedicated to Moscow, Havana, Bogota, São Paulo and Mumbai.

In La Paz, the subject of possible proposals for city museums has, since long, held the interest of the Faculty of Architecture of UMSA (Universidad Mayor de San Andrés), which has promoted dissertations on the subject by final-year students. Thus, in 2003, Heidi Gaillard presented a pioneering project: a *Museum of History of La Paz, the city and its region*, underlining that "La Paz needs to make known its history, in a more comprehensive way and through a coherent sequence". In the proposal, the author said: "The museum has been designed, both in its museographic and morphological aspects around the 4 periods of the history of Bolivia, and therefore of La Paz." Thus, the trajectory of La Paz was seen by Gaillard as a direct symbolic embodiment of the national history.[24]

In the case of El Alto, a suburb and a municipality located over 4,000 m above sea level, Carlos López presented, in 2018, his design for a "city museum" defined as a

[23] Roca i Albert, J. (2012). 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. [online] Retrieved from: https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/llibres/2012/190700/reppolurb_a2012iSPA.pdf

[24] Gaillard Rocabado, H. C. (2003). *Museo de historia de La Paz (Museo de La Paz y su región)*. La Paz: UMSA. [online] Retrieved from: https://repositorio.umsa.bo/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/12241/PG-3822.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y

*New Andean architecture. Buildings
by Freddy Mamani, El Alto, 2014.
© Hugh Threlfall / Alamy*

hub of artistic and ethnographic projection: "There is an imperious need for El Alto citizens to know about all aspects of their past and the importance and value of our cultural wealth. Cultural wealth also encompasses their traditions and their crafts".[25]

The proposal did not contain, however, any reference to El Alto's urban trajectory, not even to underline that, in the field of collective representation, El Alto has acknowledged the emergence of the *new Andean architecture* by Freddy Mamani, promoted by the new Aymara middle class.

The background of the two studies is revealing of a widespread intellectual climate: city museums are conceptualised as the depository of a "great past" or of "artistic processes", but they contain few references to the urban process. In these circumstances, if the aim is to promote a museum that showcases and explains the city, the questions could be: first, is it better to have two local museums or a single metropolitan city museum?; second: what would the location and contents be?

Today, the metropolitan region of La Paz and El Alto accounts for 1.8 million inhabitants. El Alto alone is close to a million, even though the city only started to take shape in the 1940s. Its growth pace boomed after 1985, when neoliberal policies led to soaring unemployment and accelerated migration to the big cities in Bolivia.

La Paz and El Alto constitute, *de facto,* one single urban entity, a unique metropolitan region, yet one that is socially divided, to the point that that, as Adolfo Barrientos says, "besides the characteristic problems of Latin American metropolises, the La Paz – El Alto metropolitan region adds another one conditioned by its conformation: the lack of a [metropolitan] regional identity". Barrientos also underlines that "regional identity is the engine that can drive the metropolitan region both institutionally and socially; it constitutes the consciousness that unites the territory."[26]

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[25] López Condori, C. A. (2018). *Museo de la ciudad - El Alto*. La Paz: UMSA. [online] Retrieved from: https://repositorio. umsa.bo/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/22609/PG-4211.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[26] Barrientos Zapata, A. D. (2012). La región metropolitana boliviana de La Paz-El Alto. *Cuaderno urbano. Espacio, cultura, sociedad*, 13. 201. [online] Retrieved from: https://www.redalyc.org/journal/3692/369236774009/movil/

Mi Teleférico, the aerial cable car transport network of La Paz and El Alto. The Yellow Line opened in 2014. © Oksana Belikova, 2015 / Shutterstock

The fracture between the two halves of the metropolis experienced a substantial change with the construction of the aerial cable car transport system, Mi Teleférico, which today operates 10 lines and 72 stops that weave together El Alto and La Paz, within the Metropolitan Integration Network.[27] The system was already present in other South American cities. Medellín was the first city to create such an integrated network with cable car transport, but in the case of La Paz and El Alto it has become the most extensive cable car urban transport system in the world. This state-managed transport network, largely created between 2014 and 2019, during the presidency of Evo Morales, also aspires to promote a number of cohesive cultural initiatives. Might perhaps a minimum metropolitan city museum be among the most effective ones? Would it be best to incorporate the two local corporations into the project? It is not within our remit to propose it.

Subsequent to the workshop, on the last day of the CAMOC Barcelona 2021 conference, Luis Carlos Manjarrés presented the paper "Our MeCA is as we paint it: Museum of the Self-Built City, community museology as resistance". In his intervention, Manjarrés detailed some relevant reflections in the same direction as those put forward here, referring to the urban reality of Bogota and the incorporation of the Self-Built City Museum in Ciudad Bolívar, dedicated to the self-built or informal city, into the Bogota Museum, as a new branch.[28] It is worth underlining that the initiative of creating the MeCA was a direct derivation of the construction of TransMiCable, the cable car that connects the great periphery of Ciudad Bolívar with the lower part of Bogota, inaugurated in 2018. The museum, result of negotiations with the inhabitants of the area when it came to building the new transport system, is located in the terminal building of TransMiCable at Mirador del Paraíso.[29]

b) *The 4 Meridians Proposal:* between Africa and Europe

When MUHBA began promoting CITYHIST (City History Museums and Research Network of Europe) in 2010, bringing a score of city museums and urban history study centres together into a single forum for meeting and shared work, it was based on the consideration that the network of cities was the basic structure for a continental understanding, and this was reflected by the Barcelona Declaration on European City Museums.[30] Years later, the aggravation of state policy crises only served to confirm the hypothesis.

Based on this experience, the designing of a transcontinental axis of interurban cooperation between Africa and Europe focused on city museums is not revealing itself to be easy, but it seems especially pertinent with the current geopolitical situation, starting with its human component: migrations.

[27] The website of Mi Teleférico, with images and maps of the Metropolitan Integration Network: https://www.miteleferico.bo/mapa-rim

[28] Museo de Bogotá, https://idpc.gov.co/museo-de-bogota.

[29] *** Transmicable inició la transformación cultural de Ciudad Bolívar. *El Nuevo siglo*. (2021, 26 November). [online] Retrieved from: https://www.elnuevosiglo.com.co/articulos/11-25-2021-el-transmicable-donde-la-transformacion-cultural-de-ciudad-bolivar-comenzo

[30] CITYHIST. (2015). The Barcelona Declaration on European City Museums. *CAMOC News*, 3-2015. 38-39. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/12/CAMOCNewsletter2015_3_Corrected8.15.2015.pdf

The links between Africa and Europe were already intense in ancient and medieval times and have continued in modern and contemporary times, marked by slavery and colonialism.[31] Today, the migratory flow of young men and women from Africa towards Europe is occurring in a climate of injustice and pain, putting their lives at risk. This excruciating tragedy is spurring debate on the deep wounds of colonialism in the field of collective representations. The debate on statues and memorials in public space commemorating historical figures related with slavery and colonial domination is added to the question of the restitution of African objects warehoused or presented at European museums.

The idea of *The 4 Meridians Proposal* is to establish relationships through the urban network, from Africa to Europe and from Europe to Africa, from south to north or from north to south, from a radically non-colonial and decentered perspective. It would have to be a network of mutual cooperation, based on the direct contact between cities and between citizens, that circulates through the local and civic institutions. The proposed name alludes metaphorically to the fact that the larger part of Africa and Europe figures on maps connected by the four meridians that indicate the time zones.

Numerous institutional routes of contact between museums of both continents already exist, but the majority do not contemplate city museums, in part due to the fact that, at present, there are very few in Africa.

What we are proposing has precedents. In August 2010, the Amsterdam Museum promoted the symposium *City Museums on the Move*, with the purpose of incentivising links between African and European museums. Among the speakers originating from Africa, there were people from seven locations: Meknes (Morocco), Nairobi, Mombasa and Mfangano Island (Kenya), Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Maputo (Mozambique) and Cape Town (South Africa).[32]

At the symposium, George H. Okello Abungu explained, in synthesis, the steps for overcoming the colonial past in the field concerning us here: "In many, if not nearly all parts of the African continent, the concept of the museum – including what we can today refer to as a *city museum* – was introduced together with the colonial occupation. However, the museums created in these periods were meant for white audience. [...] The interests of the colonial audience were therefore crucial in shaping museums. Those of the largely ethnographic type presented colonial collections. Here, exhibits often presented the local, indigenous peoples as being "exotic" in order to satisfy the 'civilising agenda' of the colonial authority."[33]

[31] MUHBA organised a seminar regarding these questions referring to the city of Barcelona in 2011. The results were published in the following year: Rodrigo Alharilla, M. (Ed.) (2012). *Les bases colonials de Barcelona, 1765-1968 [The Colonial Basis of Barcelona, 1765-1968]*. Barcelona: MUHBA. [online] Retrieved from: https://www.barcelona.cat/museuhistoria/sites/default/files/basescolonials.pdf

[32] *** (2012). *City Museums on the Move. A Dialogue between Professionals from African Countries, the Netherlands and Belgium* (2012). Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum. [online] Retrieved from: https://hart.amsterdam/image/2015/8/12/city_museum_on_the_move.pdf

[33] Abungu, G.O. (2012). The city museum or community museum as instrument of empowerment and emancipation: the African example. In: *** (2012). City Museums on the Move … 63.

The African urban network is ancient and complex, far more than usually described. At present, small urban agglomerations are essential for an inclusive and sustainable Africa. In contrast to the appearance on greatly synthesised maps, Africa has some very large cities but many more small towns. There are 11 urban areas of over five million inhabitants, which have a combined population of 95 million people, but the continent has 6,740 urban agglomerations between 10,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, which account for 180 million people.[34]

The urban reality of Africa has greatly changed in the last few decades and so has the role of museums. Here I turn to the aforementioned intervention by George H. Okello Abungu: "Museums are no longer seen as foreign to the African continent [...]. In the present-day African setting, museums are becoming diversified institutions that are no longer the preserve of the elite and school children as national museums and museums of natural history once were, nor are they places meant for foreign tourists only. [...] Concepts such as *city museum* or *community museum* are becoming part of the daily museological language in Africa, just as they are internationally."[35]

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[34] See: *Africapolis. Visualise Urbanization in Africa*, https://africapolis.org/en, and especially the research done by the mathematician Rafael Prieto Curiel (2021). Urban agglomeration network. Source: *Africapolis*, https://africapolis.org/en/research/urban-agglomeration-network

[35] Abungu, G. O. (2012). The city museum or community museum... 62.

Interconnections between cities and African urban clusters, according to Rafael Prieto Curiel.
© Africapolis, 2021
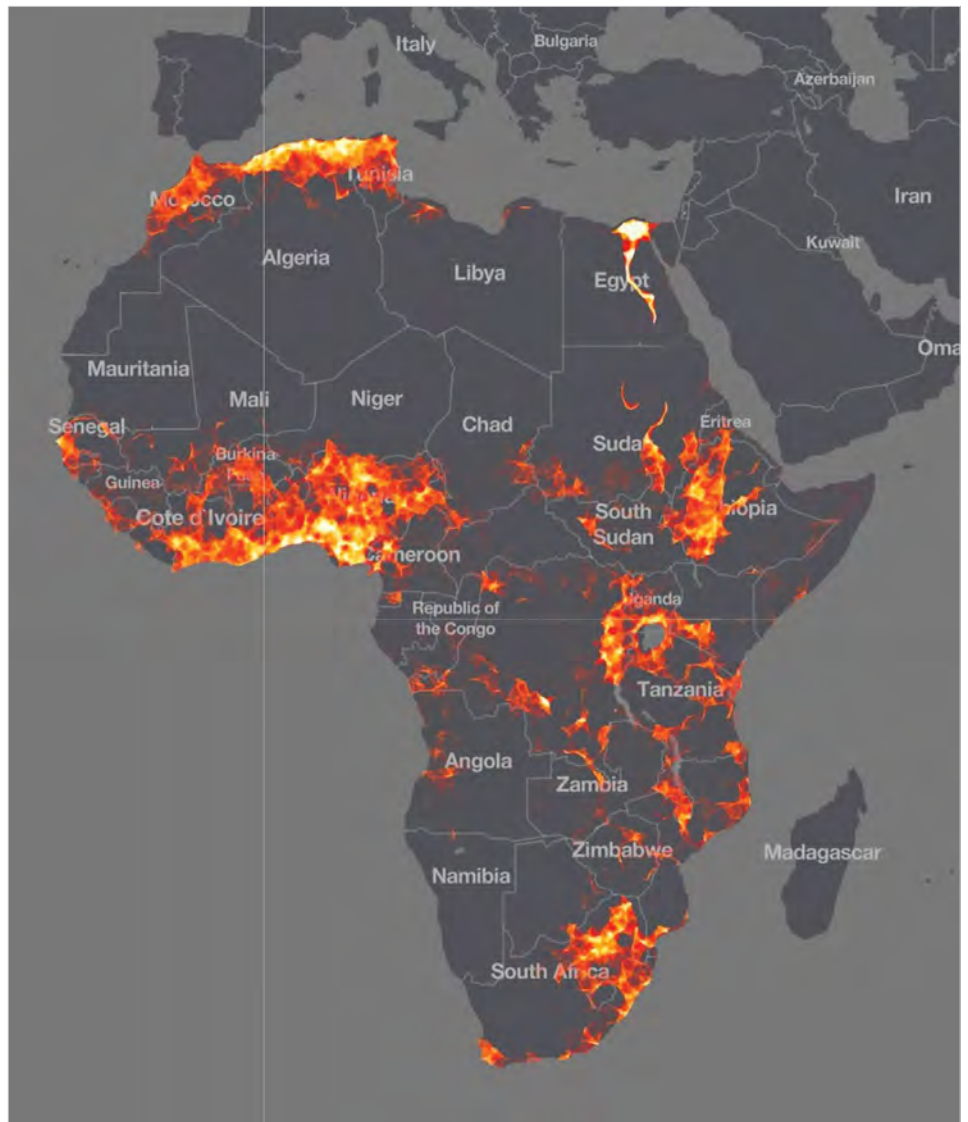
However, in recent decades, there has been more dissemination of *community museums* – focused on local communities or neighbourhoods – than *city museums*. If it has to contribute to strengthening the right to the city, the city museum cannot limit itself to the neighbourhood scale of the small community. It is worth saying that the question is not a simple one, because the dividing line between *city museum* and *community museum* is often confusing, above all in the Anglo-American museological tradition.

A reflection on six cities

During the workshop, there was a discussion on six hypothetical cases of African cities, each with a trajectory and current reality completely different from the rest. The six cities were: Tunis (Tunisia), Nairobi (Kenya), Onitsha (Nigeria), Aksum (Ethiopia), Cape Town (South Africa) and Maputo (Mozambique). There were interventions from Edia Lesage, Flora Mutere-Okuku, Ciraj Rassool and Rodrigo Sala, as well as from David Llistar, who encouraged *The 4 Meridians Proposal* on behalf of the Barcelona City Council, and the moderator, Jordi Pascual, who did the same in the name of UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments).

The case of Tunis was addressed via teleconference by Edia Lesage, teacher and writer. In an article for general circulation, she called for the city to be explained to inhabitants and visitors alike, based on the confirmation that the city museum does not explain the city: "I fail to understand that there is no place to "see" Tunis as, obviously, everyone eagerly desires. And for a long time, I ask naively: is there a museum of the City of Tunis? Looks like there is one, right? I am told: 'Yes, in the medina, it is the Kheireddine palace, but it is not dedicated to the City of Tunis, we organise exhibitions there.'"[36]

Lesage compared the situation in Tunis with that of Frankfurt, where she considers that the Historisches Museum Frankfurt, to a large extent, achieves this mission of making the city visible to its own citizens. The author has commented on this in her texts on two exhibitions about the city that were organised in Tunis, in 1992 and in 2021, while calling for a city museum so that it is not necessary to wait for so long to tell the story of the city as a whole. She put it in a poetic phrase: "Tunis, invisible city, is it destined for the eyes of the blind who can glimpse it every thirty years?"

On the same day, during the morning session of the Conference, the paper presented by Lydia Muthuma and Flora Mutere-Okuku focused on the case of Nairobi. It was entitled "Re-fashioning the city museum: Nairobi walking tours". Flora Mutere-Okuku was attending the workshop in Barcelona on-site. She alerted to the importance of being careful not to confuse European and African cities' realities, a very sensitive issue for any initiative, to avoid a neo-colonial air. Flora Mutere-Okuku also raised the idea of designing city museums with hardly any physical infrastructure and with the social media networks playing a very important role, as spaces where contents are generated around the memory and heritage of the city.

Surely, in Nairobi, a city museum conceived in the terms proposed here, already has fertile grounds for weaving conceptual and human relations between the historical heart of the city and the area that makes up its extensive outskirts, introducing

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[36] Lesage, E. (2021, 21 May). Tunis ville invisible. *La Presse de Tunisie*. [online] Retrieved from: https://lapresse.tn/97629/on-nous-ecrit-tunis-ville-invisible/.

territories such as Kibera, the largest informal suburb on the continent. Nairobi-born Caroline Wanjiku Kihato, promoter of the *Frame45* project, presents Kibera as "a large informal settlement located five kilometres from Nairobi's city centre. Its urban form is familiar across Africa, but Kibera's history is culturally particular and personal to Kenya": according to this professor in Johannesburg and Oxford, community, city and globality all meet there.[37]

The case of Onitsha, Nigeria, was also discussed at the workshop. Onitsha is a river port founded in the 16th century next to the river Niger, which has undergone exponential migratory growth and urban sprawl in recent decades. In Onitsha, a city museum could play a prime role in explaining and creating shared and shareable identities between the centres and peripheries of a vast, diffuse metropolis. The networked market of Onitsha, formed by a set of spaces scattered around the city, is the largest in western Africa, with an extensive area of relations around the continent and with links across the whole world. Would the environs of the main market be a good place for a city museum?

Onitsha main market, Sokoto Street, 2017. © Nonso Wesley / Wikimedia Commons

The conurbation, which continues expanding at an accelerated pace, lacks any metropolitan structure, except for its traditional monarchy, headed by the Obi of Onitsha. It is a port city with a very complex political history, as is, for example, the one of the city state of Hamburg and its port in relation with the formation of Germany, as explained by its city museum (Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte).

A completely different set of questions would arise if a city museum were to be created in Aksum, in the Tigray territory (Ethiopia), currently embroiled in a bloody armed conflict. Aksum, an imperial capital in ancient times and a powerful centre of orthodox Christianity, is a hub for religious and touristic pilgrimage, declared a World Heritage Site. The city, with some 60,000 inhabitants, has been bloodied since November 2020 by the massacres perpetrated during the war of Tigray, as denounced by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

In view of the situation, the question is whether a city museum would be useful in the future, when the time comes for Aksum to include in its self-representation the terrible episodes of its recent history together with its rich heritage legacy. There are cases that seem to indicate that, perhaps, the incorporation of terrible situations like these is easier for a city museum than for other agencies. In the Museum of Krakow, the Oskar Schindler Factory and the Memory Trail follow the situation of the Jews in times of Nazism.[38] Nonetheless, in the case of Aksum, a specific museological model along the lines of the Museo Casa de la Memoria in Medellín, Colombia, may be more suitable. This museum works on urban reconciliation after years of armed conflict, and it considers itself to be a particular kind of city museum.[39]

Heading towards the south of the African continent, Ciraj Rassool, a professor at the University of Western Cape and director of the African Programme in Museum and Heritage Studies, addressed the CAMOC Conference in Barcelona

[37] Kihato, C. W. (2013). Kibera, Nairobi's Other City. *Cityscapes. Urban beyond Geography*, 3. [online] Retrieved from: https://cityscapesmagazine.com/articles/kibera-nairobis-other-city

[38] Muzeum Krakowa, Oskar Schindler's Enamel Factory. Source: https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/en/branches/oskar-schindlers-enamel-factory and https://muzeumkrakowa.pl/en/museum-routes/memory-trail

[39] Museo Casa de la Memoria, Medellín, https://www.museocasadelamemoria.gov.co/en/

by teleconference from Cape Town and referred to the way of doing things at the District Six Museum, to which he has devoted many texts:

> "Since its inception as a museum of the city of Cape Town, the District Six Museum has been an independent, secular site of engagement and a space of questioning and interrogating South African society and its discourses. Far from being a site of museum services, it has operated as a hybrid space of research, representation and pedagogy, which has brokered and mediated relations of knowledge and varied kinds of intellectual and cultural practice between different sites, institutions and sociological domains. Annunciation, conversation and debate formed the lifeblood of its creative and curatorial process and memory politics".[40]

The District Six Museum, dedicated to showing the combat of the inhabitants of a central area when the government of Apartheid decided to expel the black population, comes close, in many respects, to the city museum model we have addressed here, because of its multi-scale design; as an echo of, simultaneously, neighbourhood struggles, urban policies, state regulations and global dilemmas.[41]

In his intervention online during the workshop, Rassool considered that, in contrast to the museum designed as a captive tool for the goals of mere economic promotion, museums have to be institutions that question the past and the present in order to participate in projects of knowledge production, in collaboration with academics and artists, which can then be materialised in exhibitions or collections. He also addressed the need for visitors to be participating actors, who ask for answers and who do not simply access the established truths without questioning.[42]

At the end of this part of the workshop, we had the chance to listen, via teleconference, to Rodrigo Sala, director of the Municipal Culture Service of the Municipal Council of Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. He explained how, at the Council, they take care of archives, monuments and historical buildings, but how they still play a very limited role in the museums. Sala commented on the tangible and intangible heritage project of Maputo. Since 2010, with the new museum legislation, the commitment of improving the city's museums from the municipal perspective emerged. Rodrigo Sala also underlined intermunicipal collaboration. It must be said that Barcelona and Maputo have had a relationship for some time and that the cooperation agreements have spread to their respective university schools of architecture and urban planning.[43]

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[40] Rassool, C. (2012). The District Six Museum and community. In: *City museums on the move. A dialogue between professionals from African countries, the Netherlands and Belgium*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Museum. 68-75.

[41] The District Six Museum, https://www.districtsix.co.za/

[42] In the case of Barcelona, the actions of MUHBA in the informal settlement of Turó de la Rovira and at the social housing known as Cases Barates del Bon Pastor are not far removed from the model explained by Rassool, as we explained at the CAMOC conferences in Mexico City 2017 and in Frankfurt in 2018. See: Roca i Albert, J. (2018). The Informal City in the City Museum. In: Savic, J. (Ed.). *Museums of Cities and Contested Urban Histories. CAMOC Annual Conference 2017*. ICOM – CAMOC. 26-49. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/08/MEXICO_Conf._Pro._BOOKLET_Final4r.pdf
See also: Pérez Rubiales, E. & and the MUHBA Team (2019). At Home. Worker Housing as a Participative New Branch of Barcelona City Museum. In: Savic, J. (Ed.). *The Future of Museums of Cities. CAMOC Annual Conference Frankfurt 2018*. ICOM – CAMOC. 106-115. [online] Retrieved from: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2020/04/FRANKFURT_CONFERENCE_-_BOOK_OF_PROCEEDINGS_Final_LR__2_.pdf

[43] Collaboration between the architecture and urban planning courses of the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane in Maputo and the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya in Barcelona, https://urbanmaputo.upc.edu/en/about/our-team

In Maputo, the majority of museums are state-owned; some are private. Among them, rooted as a cultural and social project in his neighborhood and throughout the city, is the Mafalala Museum. The Mafalala Museum opened its doors in 2019, in the historic neighbourhood of the same name, a strong place in defining the personality of Mozambique in the late colonial period.[44] With a view to covering costs, the Museum's top floor is assigned to visitor accommodation, in bed-and-breakfast style.

According to its director, the Mafalala Museum (not the Museum *of* Mafalala) is based on the principles of social museology. It proposes "to take a look at the city of Maputo from the periphery", situating the city within the context of Mozambique and the world, questioning the present from its history, and taking into consideration both the urban centre and the outskirts. "We aim to bring this debate to the forefront, explaining how Maputo, politically, economically, socially, culturally and artistically, has developped over the course of time", says Ivan Laranjeira, approaching at the same time "the urban viewpoint, how Maputo includes the informal settlements in its day-to-day activity, and how it discusses the challenges faced by the community with regard to infrastructures".[45]

Cooperation as mutual learning

Under no circumstances can it be considered that the European-style city museum is a proposal suitable for African cities, nor its opposite. This is why mutual learning can be so profitable, coming to understanding that cooperation and knowledge have to flow in both directions. Perhaps this is a way of being in step with Abungu's conclusion in the aforementioned article: "African museums, including city or community museums, have opened up new horizons to include elements that are uncommon in the Western museological practice. As people-oriented institutions that speak many languages, listen to many voices, and are not divorced from but in synchrony with their audience, they have indeed a lot to offer to the world".[46]

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[44] Museu Mafalala, Maputo, https://museumafalala.org.mz/. The project is linked to the Associação Iverca - Turismo, Cultura e Meio Ambiente (Iverca Association - Tourism, Culture and Environment).

[45] *** (2019). Museu Mafalala: o coração de um bairro que ainda tem muito por contar. *O Economico*. [online] Retrieved from: https://www.oeconomico.com/museu-mafalala-o-coracao-de-um-bairro-que-ainda-tem-muito-por-contar/

[46] Abungu, G. O. (2012). The city museum or community museum... 67.

The Mafalala Museum in Maputo, Mozambique, 2020. © Museu Mafalala

It would be necessary, therefore, to find the most suitable format for putting the idea into action. In Barcelona, we have been working on it for some time. As expressed by David Llistar in his opening speech greeting the attendants at the workshop, the project has the support of the City Council, and the collaboration of UCLG (United Cities and Local Governments) organisation, which brings together over 1,000 cities in 85 countries.[47]

The aim is to share and discuss the proposal with ICOM, CAMOC and other organisations. There have also been talks with the OECD and with the network of European city museums, CITYHIST, and further sharing is expected in Africa and Europe alike, always bearing in mind future complicities and common proposals. It may be worth it, even if it is not easy.

Coda

To sum up, very few cultural institutions, in any city, can be as socially and culturally profitable as a museum that showcases and explains the city! Even city museums of a minimal size can be a decisive piece in *a strategic cultural policy*, capable of attending, at the same time, communities, the city, and outside representation. The city museum becomes a portal and a mirror, even if the museum is of minimum dimensions.

After the workshop, in the evening, attendees were invited to a musical session, following the same format tested at *Barcelona Flashback*, with respect to links between history, heritage and the city. The event was presented as follows: "Cosmopolitan cities generating national heritage. We will discover how American Jazz, with its African roots, became, in 20th century Barcelona, a Catalan national tradition. The experience will take place at the Museum." In other words: Africa, America, Europe, Catalonia, Barcelona and the city museum, all recast into one single jazz rhythm.

Cities generating local, national and global heritage all together. Musical audition at the end of the workshop session, 2 December 2021: Barcelona jazz concert, by the Quatre Cordes Ensemble. © Teresa Macià / MUHBA

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[47] United Cities and Local Governments, https://www.uclg.org/en. I would like to express my thanks to its coordinator for Culture, Jordi Pascual, for his contribution as moderator at the workshop.

BIOGRAPHY

Joan Roca i Albert has been trained as an urban geographer at the University of Barcelona and is a researcher in the areas of urban history, heritage and education. He taught at Institut Barri Besòs (a secondary school in the suburbs of Barcelona), at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, at the Hochschule für Gestaltung und Kunst of Zurich and at MACBA (Museum of Contemporary Art of Barcelona). He was the director of Aula Barcelona and the Urban Majorities Project at Fundació Tàpies. He is the director of MUHBA (Barcelona History Museum) since November 2007.

BUILDING CITIZENSHIP

CARME TURÉGANO

Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain

CITY MUSEUMS: LOCALLY ROOTED AND MANAGED GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES

ABSTRACT

City museums are, today, open windows to a universal awareness on the importance of facts. Therefore, new interventions are necessary for citizens to take ownership of public spaces and reformulate the times and spaces of the city, thus opening pathways in the hegemonic discourse and making these fragments, built by different social agents, part of the historical reality.

This has led me to ask three questions: firstly, what is the objective of the territorial actions of city museums? Secondly, in what type of social fabric does one seek to root the actions? That is to say, do we leave our comfort zone and enter the urban space in search of realities? And, finally, have we moved from a static product as a history museum to a dynamic product, where each action is aimed at discovery?

The short answer to the first question is that each citizen is an active agent. Residents set out to search for the historical memory of their neighbourhood, interconnected life stories, as well as to carry out spontaneous initiatives of recovery of furniture and other objects, driven by their neighbourhood association and the historical memory committee with a powerful and strongly radical movement. The baton is taken up from the district and MUHBA, and the future heritage element is defined with the participation of all those involved.

The answer to the second question is that a new paradigm is defined. We need to listen, define and redefine, discuss, disagree and agree, seek university research as a guarantee, find the complicity of the innovation agents in the environment and link them, convince the institution and find the resources.

This requires social agents with the capacity to reach an agreement or lead neighbourhood spheres. Moreover, it requires competent public workers at the community level and with the appropriate allotment of time for the task. The laboratory is the street, the meetings, the recovery workshop, the persistent visits to the project area and the surprise of the discovery.

I am partial to the concept of actions aimed at discovery, which answers the third question, and will present a number of examples to uphold the change from functionalism to the nodal city, based on creating a shared reference from urban history itself.

Key words: World consciousness, public space approval, heritage participation, nodal city, discovery

Introduction

Today, city museums are windows to a universal awareness on the importance of facts. Therefore, new interventions are needed for citizens to take ownership of public spaces and reformulate the times and spaces of the city, thus opening pathways in the hegemonic discourse, breaking off partial or partisan visions, to make these fragments part of the historical reality built from freedom and with different social agents. To paraphrase Nucció Ordine, only from freedom and a plurality of agents is it possible for which is not useful to be revalued by and for the community and to be considered part of its social capital.[1]

I speak of proposals rooted in the territory and the changes that resist the absolute disappearance of heritage, and, in turn, aim to show everyone the maximum number of elements that might be erased by the action of economic powers. The Oliva Artés industrial warehouse carries such a story; this is why I am bringing up the most interesting part of the rooting of this space here. I held the position of director of services between 2002 and 2003, when the city council of Barcelona bought the site to incorporate it into its industrial heritage. The neighbourhood associations, alongside the Historical Archive of Poblenou, had shared a firm demand for the old factory building to be incorporated into the industrial heritage of the neighbourhood through municipal acquisition. The building, opened in 1888, maintained its activity in metal repairs almost up the year 2000.

Then, Poblenou started being transformed by 22@, while, at the same time, the first facility plan for an entire neighbourhood was being drawn up in Barcelona, so that the transformation of the productive fabric could coexist with housing and the necessary services for the population. In that facility plan, the culture section would now include the Oliva Artés building, next to the Can Felipa factory, which was already in operation as a civic centre and gymnasium, and Can Saladrigas, which had been opened as a library. Imagine the power of a demand, which had already presented itself as an asset of working memory before the purchase. MUHBA and the district clearly had the ability to act as a force multiplier for the proposal made by the neighbourhood. The project emerged in connection with other cultural innovation institutions of the Pere IV axis, in the 22@bcn area, such as La Escocesa and, currently, Can Ricart. If innovation is to be found in any area, it is by means of these proximity policies.

This articulated and articulating heritage value in the Pere IV axis had already been incorporated into the scientific syllabus of students back in those years; we must never lose sight of the importance of institutes and schools in recovering this social value, since they teach the ability to distinguish by their own action and what exists against other operating or consumer values in their environment.

Global perspectives locally rooted and managed: the key questions

The dialogue approach and the situation that I have described led me to ask myself three questions when examining global perspectives that are locally rooted and managed**.**

1. What is the objective of the territorial actions of city museums?
2. In what type of social fabric does one seek to root the actions? That is to say, do we leave our comfort zone and enter the urban space in search of realities? Furthermore, are the agents of its complex network accepted?

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[1] Ordine, 2015: 28-29.

3. Have we moved from a static product as a history museum to a dynamic product, where each action is aimed at discovery?

To answer each of the questions, one needs to more thoroughly examine the significant alliances that allow ensuring the participation of the most important social agents in the management.

Determining the objectives of the territorial actions

With regard to the first question, on determining the objectives of the territorial actions, I believe that the objective that each city museum defines for itself, in each of the actions, will allow it to transcend the local level, reaching to other pre-existing levels, even superstructural ones, such as cities, national networks, international networks, among others.

As an example of this transcending movement, I briefly refer to the *Casas del Bon Pastor* museum project, linked to the innovative lines of action conducted by MUHBA and the Sant Andreu district.

To the effect, I would like to quote the article entitled Participatory Management and the City Museum Heritage, Citizenship and Cultural Nodes in Barcelona Towns, which I published together with Joan Roca in the magazine *Diferents*:

> "The purpose of these actions is to link a set of heritage spaces to weave an articulated vision of the metropolis, which was intensified with the Strategic Plan of the museum presented in 2008, when the acronym MUHBA was also adopted, in which a museum already advocated the "rooms scattered around the city" approach."[2]

Some houses, like those in Bon Pastor, given their structural situation and consequent urban planning, are giving way to new neighbourhood profiles, which encompass flats, vaster green areas and new services. However, they are of social value and must be kept in the working memory of the neighbourhood and of the people who inhabit them.

Therefore, we find residents in search of the historical memory of their neighbourhood, interconnected life stories, spontaneous recovery of furniture and other objects, driven by the neighbourhood association and the voice of historical memory with a powerful and strongly radical movement. The baton is taken up from the district and MUHBA, being the future heritage element defined with the participation of those involved, spanning from what this new cultural node of the neighbourhood and of the city will be like and the links to other industrial cities and their inhabitants, to the activities it will host and the management model. Agreements are reached to ensure that the management of the new space will be shared, because deinstitutionalizing a project is not about avoiding municipal responsibility, but rather investigating formulas that will allow the objectives to be achieved. Therefore, the answer can be completed by a key consideration quoted verbatim from the aforementioned article:

> "That reflection on the landscapes and heritage of the old industrial neighbourhoods and housing estates took hold in Barcelona from 2003

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[2] Roca and Turégano, 2020: 24.

as a driving force for the incorporation of the social majorities and the contemporary outskirts into the stories and representations of the city".

In what type of social fabric does one seek to root the actions?

In other words, if one leaves the comfort of the official headquarters in search of realities, or listens to those realities and to the agents that transmit them, then one will find part of the definition of the objective, making it a much more complex area than if it was individually addressed.

In a recent meeting in Italy between the city administrations of Barcelona and Trieste, it became clear that the interventions carried by them, in their diversity, require different ways of responding. Furthermore, if we revise the two examples referred here, the Oliva Artes and Casas del Bon Pastor, both have required the institution to root itself deeply in the agents of the territory, the city and the international agents.

One has to listen, define and redefine, discuss, disagree and agree, seek university research as a guarantee, find the complicity of the innovation agents in the environment and link them, convince the institution and find the resources.

This requires social agents with the capacity to reach an agreement or lead the neighbourhood spheres, because the claim will be reduced and translated into the agreed need to act. Moreover, it requires competent public workers at the community level and with the appropriate time to devote to the project. The laboratory is the street, the meeting, the recovery workshop, the continued visits to the project area and the surprise of the discovery. Nevertheless, the main skills will be the capacity for leadership and for mediation between all interested parties. The next step is to elevate the dialogue to learning and modelling, or, said otherwise, showing, teaching and sharing.

Therefore, the Bon Pastor workers' housing history project is an example of knowing how a musealisation process is resolved with the participation of the neighbourhood, which has made it possible to document the historical transformation of the area, alongside with universities and study centres; a project that has managed to transform shared memory into a social capital that enriches all the inhabitants and that reappraises them in the new city.

Have we moved from a static product as a history museum to a dynamic product, where every action is aimed at discovery?

I favour the concept of "actions aimed at discovery", which can be better explained by means of examples such as the *Casa de l'Aigua de Trinitat Vella i Trinitat Nova* project. This is a magnificent demonstration of how Barcelona's infrastructures have metropolitan roots and how one has to delve into the Montcada i Reixac to fully understand the city's geoeconomic map. It is also a discovery on finding the models of management and uses of heritage assets. It may be disruptive to say that Casa de l'Aigua allows the development of a school-garden with a social entity, while the districts of Sant Andreu and Nou Barris with MUHBA find the mixed management model as the most suitable. The discovery has allowed us to create a network of museum facilities that transforms the functional city of the 20th century into the nodal city of the 21st century.

As a final example, I bring the story of the Fabra i Coats site. The Fabra i Coats Association promotes the protection and storage of parts and machinery from the

factory; the acquisition of assets was made, and, for governance purposes, a model was defined between the Institute of Culture of Barcelona-ICUB and the District of Sant Andreu. A mixed committee was created between entities, MUHBA and the municipal administration, with the aim of agreeing on the services it houses and the model of public space within, not forgetting the lines of research that allow expanding other historical nodes in the representation of the city.

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BIOGRAPHY

Carme Turégano López was the manager of Territorial and Proximity Coordination Services at the City Council of Barcelona from late 2019 to December 2021. She has a degree in geography and history, specialising in anthropology. She holds a postgraduate degree from UPF in Quality and Project Management in Public Administration as well as a Master from EAPC in public administration. Prior to her current position, she has worked as manager of the district of Sant Andreu and has occupied other positions in the districts of Sant Martí and Nou Barris, with direct involvement in promoting projects related to the musealisation of heritage and participative management models.

In 2010, she received the award for innovation from the association 22@ Network. In her field, she has coordinated art spaces such as Sala Can Felipa in close collaboration with the creative centre Hangar and La Escocesa, the open workshops of El Poblenou, Piramidón, as well as the Fabra i Coats municipal complex (a cultural node and home to the CAC and the creative centre of the same name). She has supported the promotion of urban art and has maintained a direct relationship with cultural spaces such as Bostik and Canòdrom (also a municipal facility). She currently provides consulting and mentoring services in the private field.

NARRATIVES OF AN HLM - URBAN AND SOCIAL HISTORY CONNECTED

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ABSTRACT

This paper will focus on the unique case study of a popular housing museum project in Aubervilliers (a suburb of Paris), and on the proposal to analyse the institution to highlight the museological dynamics and principles related to the work of preserving the memory of that particular neighbourhood and its identity. I have selected this project not only because it emerges from an associative and participatory initiative but also because it has created a visit path that favours oral history (individual and shared memories), while forming axes of reflection, such as on the labour history and the history of immigration.

Key words: Social housing, urban transformation, HLM, community, exhibition

Introduction

Today, there are many heritage initiatives linked to social housing, immigration and labour history. Many local institutions set out to tell the story of a city or a particular neighbourhood through a material culture directly linked to the individual or collective memories of its inhabitants. These multiple, sometimes ambiguous and even paradoxical memory-related relationships established between people and objects are questioned and highlighted in these museums, either in permanent or temporary exhibitions. From micro-history to macro-history, city museums are bringing together different axes of reflection and perspectives of analysis of urban transformation, local history and memories.

The term "museum of society" has been used for about forty years. This category of museums, whose vague outlines seem to leave room for a fairly broad interpretation of the term, encompasses museums of popular arts and traditions, regional or extra-European ethnography as well as institutions dedicated to history, science and technology, ecology and sustainable development, among others.[1] In other words, all these are museums that deal with society or whose main objective is to highlight the social and development issues of a specific group. They also defend a social and civic role towards the communities represented. The broad range of such a museum category renders any attempt at a strict definition impossible.

Their mission aims to highlight communities, past and present periods, their contemporary identity, as well as social, political and economic issues. The representations of society (or of specific social groups) portrayed by the exhibitions of these museums are very often multidisciplinary, thus opening up to a wider perspective with different points of view.

This expression can also be used to distinguish a new museological approach, which differs from an approach considered too aesthetic, specific to fine art museums and focused on artistic masterpieces rather than on everyday objects. Therefore, social museums mark a transformation in museology regarding traditional institutions, whether by exploring subjects of contemporary life in our societies or by a renewed relationship with the public, such as collaborative and participatory practices. This leads to the following questions: how do city museums integrate this category? Or, do the museums dedicated to the history of a city present a new configuration of a museum of society?

These museums, which often present themselves under the label of history museums, given they often portray the "forgotten" stories of the Great History, have interdisciplinary collections, where archives, ethnographic objects and contemporary art are combined to present a polyphonic discourse on the subject.

Museums of cities introduce issues and topics that are specific to society museums, such as the work on enhancing community memory and identity. A multidisciplinary approach is therefore often favoured by these museums, thus bringing new perspectives that can call into question our own paradigms on the migratory phenomenon or the representation of a specific group.

The importance of recognising the contribution of the different migratory flows within a same urban area, on their diversity and the richness of the cultures of origin

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[1] Côté, 2011: 113-118.

as well as the right to a "double belonging" (cultural and national, for example), is one of the common missions of these museums. This first stage of historical recognition (and of identity plurality) would therefore allow to foster the feeling of belonging to the national "us" and, as such, to include and integrate individuals from other cultures into the national (or regional) identity.

The objective of this article is to show that museums of cities not only are responsible for establishing a discourse that values the contributions of local memories and heritage but they are also heirs of society museums because of the way they question society itself and by creating a participatory museology. Another important point is the duty to remember, which opens up the opportunity to discuss the theme of immigration in order to deconstruct the prejudices and preconceived ideas that mainstream media keep talking about.

La vie HLM Exhibition.
Source: www.laviehlm-expo.com

The article will focus on the unique case study of a popular housing museum project in Aubervilliers (a suburb of Paris) and on the proposal to analyse this associative project in order to highlight the museological dynamics and principles related to the work on local memory and local identity (that of a particular neighbourhood). I have selected this project because not only it comes from an associative and participatory initiative but also because it has created a visit path that favours oral history (individual and community memories), while forming axes of reflection, such as those related to labour history and the history of immigration.

THE AMULOP ASSOCIATION AND THE PROJECT FOR A POPULAR HOUSING MUSEUM EXHIBITION *EXHIBITION LA VIE HLM*

There is a new project in Aubervilliers, a popular and "difficult" neighbourhood northeast of Paris, dedicated to social housing and the different communities that live there (most of them from a migrant background). The project has been fully established as an associative initiative led by AMuLoP and had the first temporary exhibition, called *La vie HLM-Histoires d'habitant·e·s de logements populaires. Aubervilliers, 1950-2000*, running from October 2021 to June 2022.[2]

The famous HLM (*habitation à loyer modéré* or low-rent housing in English) is a type of housing built with the aid of the State under precise rules of construction, management and attributions. Rents are also regulated and access to housing is subject to a limitation of maximum resources. This is an exhibition dedicated to these buildings and communities, that are often connected to stereotypes such as social exclusion, poverty and criminality. The idea is to present the real lives and social interactions of its inhabitants that make up the *vie de quartier* (community life). This exhibition is also a project to foreshadow the creation popular housing museum.[3]

The exhibition retraces the daily life and journeys of several families who lived in the exhibition building between the 1950s and 2000s, having originated from a historical survey in the archives and in interviews with the inhabitants, carried out by researchers and scholars.

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[2] More information on the Association pour un Musée du Logement Populaire:
https://www.laviehlm-expo.com/découvrir-l-exposition

[3] The exhibition will take place in an HLM a few steps from a future Grand Paris Express station, in an area that will be profoundly transformed by the construction of 1800 housing units. In this context, putting the history of the neighbourhood and the daily life of its inhabitants into perspective is a crucial issue.

Starting with the history of these families, the aim is to show the changes experienced in Aubervilliers over the last decades and, more broadly, the working-class suburbs in the same period, under the effects of major economic and industrial changes. Some of the addressed themes range from housing and working conditions to social and political movements. Likewise, regional, provincial, colonial and international migrations make up another important theme that is at the centre of this exhibition, given that many of the residents of the building where the exhibition is presented come from a migrant background.

In its research, the association has also addressed topics like access to social rights, leisure and consumption, mobility, transformation of the territory, population health, gender, class and race relations. By bringing into light many different aspects of social housing and urban transformation, this important project aims to demystify stereotypes around popular housing in the *banlieue parisienne.*[4]

CHANGING THE OUTLOOK OF WORKING-CLASS NEIGHBOURHOODS

The focus for this museum project is to change the outlook of working-class neighbourhoods. The evocation of working-class neighbourhoods mostly refers to the question of discrimination and social and ethnic segregation in territories dominated by large housing estates. Long before mass-housing development and gentrification, the northeastern suburbs, in particular, were at the heart of the industrialisation process and the French labour movement.

Today, this territory remains as a place of social and cultural mixing, where the population profile regularly changes due to different fluxes of migration. One of the main goals of the AMuLoP project is to provide a new, in-depth perspective of the working class history in Aubervilliers to a wide audience. The idea of bringing an overview of the history of this neighbourhood from the early 20th century will allow deconstructing the disparaging representations that only reinforce the negative perception of this area of Paris (it is known to be a problematic and somewhat dangerous neighbourhood). By the same token, it aims to make its past and present singularity understood and to enhance its urban heritage as an important part of the history of Paris.

A history of the suburbs and migration
The exhibition *La Vie HLM* portrays the daily life of the inhabitants of the working-class districts and its evolution, according to the economic changes of the Parisian suburb. Aubervilliers was an industrial territory from the middle of the 18th century until the 1950s, when it went through a deindustrialisation process. Today, new dynamics linked to "metropolitanisation" are emerging. These transformations have had an impact on the urban fabric, in terms of housing and working conditions, social and political movements, but also on health and consumption patterns, solidarity and neighbourhood conflicts, among others. To understand the history of the Parisian suburbs, we have to look back on the long history of the successive migrations that have shaped the occupation of the Paris region, from the rural exodus of the 18th century to the contemporary transnational movements. From the second half of the 19th century, Paris, as a political and economic capital, attracted provincials from small towns and the countryside alike. Then, from the end of that century, not only the "foreigners" but

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[4] Especially in the midst of the presidential elections in France, when, more than ever, the theme of difficult neighbourhoods and migration is a sensitive subject.

also migrants from the French colonies started arriving. Beyond the economic and cultural contributions, migration is presented from the point of view of the logic of departure and installation, discrimination and the workers' movement.

IMMERSION IN THE LIFE OF THE INHABITANTS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS OF DOMESTIC INTERIORS

To bring these questions into life in a vibrant way, the AMuLoP project aims to tell the story of the successive inhabitants of an HLM building that is emblematic of the history of the northern suburbs of Paris, by showing the apartments in this building similar to the way the Tenement Museum does.[5] Far from the classic exhibition formula, such type of museum intends to offer its visitors an experience of immersing themselves in the lives of former inhabitants, allowing them to identify with the tenants and their experiences. Guided by an educator (that is an inhabitant of the building), the visitors enter each apartment. The apartments, that are now part of the museum exhibition, tell the different life stories of their previous inhabitants. Like in the Tenement Museum, each period of the twentieth century is articulated around a theme (such as consumer society or access to modern housing in the period 1950-1960, for example), and approached through the story of a family from the building, told within its reconstituted home.

I attended the two visits offered at the inauguration of the exhibition *La vie HLM* on 16 October 2021. The first visit, *History of a working family,* was dedicated to a Polish-French family: a Polish woman who settled in the *cité* Émile-Dubois in 1963, and married a Frenchman.[6] Based on interviews with the relatives, the museum team reconstructed their accommodation and offered to tell a story about a day in the life of each member of the family. The second visit, entitled *Three families, a history of working-class neighbourhoods,* recounts the story of three families who lived in the same housing estate between the 1960s and 1980s. The Marie family (originating from Normandy and chosen to illustrate interregional immigration flows in France) and the Soukouna family (with African origins) lived in the same apartment, but in different periods. In the exhibition the same apartment simultaneously shows the presence of these different families over time.

The desire to deconstruct the "ghetto imaginary", which is often linked to working-class cities (*villes populaires* in French), lies at the heart of the exhibition's discourse and themes. They unveil the reality of the inhabitants of these working-class circles in an "emotional" narrative that instils empathy with the visitors, who can identify it with their family history. It is important to highlight that each of the guided visits offered by the AMuLoP team aims to weave urbanistic transformations, working class and migration history into one and the same narrative, thus bringing the full picture of the history of Aubervilliers and the HLM buildings.

In addition to the reconstruction of the interiors, a mediation system encourages an active participation by visitors. The tour guides (neighbourhood residents and the inhabitants of the building) are capable of telling the story of individual and family trajectories of the former residents and of triggering discussions on different

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[5] The creators of the exhibition La vie HLM were directly inspired by the Tenement Museum in New York. This is an important migration museum in the United States that offers a multiple and polyphonic narrative on the different groups of immigrants that inhabited the building where the museum stands. For more information, please check the Tenement Museum website: https://www.tenement.org/

[6] The official name for the groups of HLM buildings built in Aubervilliers between 1952 and 1958. The first inhabitants moved to the building in 1959. For more information on these buildings and neighbourhood please review: https://patrimoine.seinesaintdenis.fr/Ensemble-de-logements-HLM-Cite-Emile-Dubois-ou-Cite-des-800.

themes, in addition to answering the visitors' questions. This type of visit can easily incorporate a sort of theatrical performance by the guide, as well as the use of digital media (for example, by providing access to archival documents) or an insight behind the scenes of the museum and its scientific conceptions.[7]

Promoting the history of the suburbs: a place of multidisciplinary research
The museum's development process involves both a work of historical investigation in the archives, interviews with former residents of the building and the development of a reflection on the contemporary city at the crossroads of historical, ethnological, sociological and even geographical disciplines. Since 2018, a research workshop entitled *Entering popular housing: crossed perspectives, social sciences, heritage, inhabitants*, open to all, has allowed us to reflect on the scientific, museographic, civic and educational conditions in which the museum can exist. The aim is to extend this process when the museum opens its doors, in particular to promote a regular renewal of questions, knowledge and collections. The museum will, therefore, host a research space around the contemporary working-class suburb in connection with research laboratories in social sciences.

Promoting the neighbourhood: a place for meetings and debates
As a place for the production and dissemination of knowledge, this new museum should also be a space for participation and citizen debate dedicated to housing and urban policies. Indeed, it is not a matter of taking a nostalgic look at the past, but of bringing history, memory and current urban issues into resonance. From this perspective, the associative structure supporting the project seem particularly suited to fostering the development of links and exchanges between researchers, teachers, residents, associative actors and activists, as well as research establishments and public institutions. Accordingly, inhabitants, local actors, schools and students of the territory will fully participate in the animation of the museum by organising debates, neighbourhood visits, developing research projects and creating temporary exhibitions about housing and working-class towns. The educational collaboration with the schools of the territory (primary and secondary) will be the moment for pupils and teachers to invest in the history of their district, by means of workshops and historical investigations aiming to collect objects, stories and archives. This popular housing museum should be carried out with the confidence and support of local communities. Funding for the museum will, however, be based on both public and private partnerships, favouring local economic players. The development of this project is therefore participatory, linked to social museology and within the framework of a museum of society.

A project aimed at a large and diverse audience
This new museum, going beyond the local or regional scope, will be of interest to a wide audience. For educational, memorial, cultural or professional reasons, this dimension of Parisian urban history (of which too little is still known) is likely to affect a large audience of schoolchildren, college students, researchers and national or international visitors. This museum project intends to be part of a broader approach of economic and territorial development. Beyond this development policy, the construction of the Greater Paris area (*le Grand Paris*) also corresponds to a territorial democratic issue. Faced with this challenge, the integration of citizens necessarily requires the appropriation of a complex collective memory, as

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[7] During the visit I attended, the guide was truly immersed in the stories of the inhabitants of the apartment we were seeing. She showed us a lot of archival documentation through a projector on the wall. We were also delighted to have members of one of the families portrayed during the visit among us. It was a deeply touching moment to see them crying over the accuracy of the reproduction of their old kitchen and also the accuracy of the narrative told by the guide.

result of successive migrations, in particular, in the outlying neighbourhoods and districts.

Along with memorial and historical initiatives such as the one presented in this article, the candidacy of the Seine-Saint-Denis department (a suburb in the northeast of Paris) for European capital 2028 is an example of the importance of the Grand Paris urbanisation project.[8] Such initiatives create an alliance between scientific knowledge and social knowledge (researchers and local members of the community worked together). This is a project that puts under the spotlight not only Aubervilliers and the Parisian suburbs, but also the history of migration and labour. After the discussions brought by the re-urbanisation projects of the area, gentrification has already deeply changed the 20 *arrondissements* (districts) of Paris. Neighbourhoods such as Belleville have been gentrified in a rapid pace over the last decade and the same is happening to nearby *banlieues* such as Montreuil, Pantin and now Aubervilliers.

The importance of "oral history" is also at the heart of this project. The former tenants of the *cité* tell their lives and their journeys over time.[9] AMuLoP and the city of Aubervillliers are carrying out a joint effort to create a space where a permanent exhibition can be hosted. Unfortunately, the exhibition *La vie HLM* was a temporary exhibition that closed to the public in June 2022. In addition, within the new real estate dynamics that is taking place in the suburban areas of Paris, the building where the exhibition is hosted is going to be demolished to give way to a more modern building. We should hope that the project for a permanent museum on social housing will see the light of the day and that this exhibition is definitely implemented as a long-term feature of this museum.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL HOUSING AND THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES[10]

The social history of working class and its living conditions is key not only for understanding the deep transformations of city living and urban environment but also for understanding how gentrification modifies cityscapes around the globe. Old working-class neighborhoods are becoming more and more hype, thus pushing the population which once lived there even further away in the city (and outside city limits).

What narratives, what objects, what spaces? Those are the main questions to focus on when analysing public housing and living conditions in working-class neighborhoods.[11]

In city museums, presenting the dynamics between migratory growth and urban development is also essential to understand transformations of any city.

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[8] For more information on the candidacy of Seine-Saint-Denis, please review: https://newsrnd.com/news/2021-12-19-european-capital-of-culture-2028--saint-denis-is-still-fighting-to-make-its-candidacy-known.r1uppn35t.html

[9] This is another way of referring to the HLM buildings in France.

[10] Editor's note:This section is based on the author's report entitled Immigration, Housing and The Right to the City: Life in the HLMs of Paris and in the Industrial Estates of Barcelona and their Presentation in the Museum, published in the *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review* 1/2022.

[11] In France, social housing is called *public housing*. In Europe, there are various traditions and national histories related to this type of housing, all of which aim to control rents and to expand the social housing offer. Contrary to the terms *public housing* in the United States, *council homes* in Great Britain or *habitation à rent moderate* in France, the term *Sozialwohnung* in Germany does not refer to the public or private status of the owner. More than 90% of *Sozialwohnungen* were built by private investors, blurring the boundary between public and private present around social housing in other countries.

Urbanisation is characterized by movement, flow, agitation - the politics of town planning are the politics of movement. Thus, urban planning initiatives are linked to migratory movements within the city and towards the city. So, what are the policies concerning migratory fluxes in the city? Studies that illustrate the relationship between forced migration and the city (in the discipline of geography) focus on the containment of asylum seekers and refugees in the cities in the Global North, like Paris, London, Berlin, New York. Geographers here have examined the nature of historical and contemporary processes of refugee resettlement and dispersal of asylum seekers.[12]

However, it is only recently that urban areas started to be considered as subject of study for social scientists concerned with the politics and geography of asylum seekers and refugees. It would be interesting to open a dialogue between studies on migratory movements and flows and works in urban geography which consider the city as a set of authorities, legalizations and claims. Being mindful of these relationships may help in critically questioning a nation-state-centric account of the geographies and routes of asylum seekers and refugees.

Inside the city museum, focusing on social housing and migrants is key to scientifically explaining connections or disconnections between urban transformations and population fluxes over time. It's interesting to compare, especially in the Parisian case, how urban development of social housing is presented in different museums: a migration museum (*Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration* - MNHI), a city museum (*Musée Carnavalet*) and associative projects on popular housing (like AMuLoP, for example).

Another important issue to be taken into account are initiatives to create a more sustainable environment, involving local communities and institutions. It is important to reflect on sustainability within the narratives on city history and urban development. Social justice and inclusion are also directly connected to the narratives concerning housing and fluxes of population in and out of any city.[13] It should be highlighted that sustainability comes with a sustainable community (that shares these values), through working intrinsically with the city council and urban developers. Can we reinvent our cities on a more sustainable basis that boosts us to live better? A healthier environment means a happier and stronger community. What is the dynamic that city museums can create with their communities to help foster this sustainable urban living mentality? Do exhibitions presented by local museums help open the debate and engage people to work towards a more sustainable community?

How can (different) museums work through these three main themes: popular housing, dynamics between suburbs and city center (urban history) and immigration history?

These themes need to be linked to the main narrative in city museums, not only to create a better understanding of the social and urban transformations over time but also to help face difficulties in finding affordable housing and other challenges present in many cities around the world.

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[12] Darling, 2016.

[13] The National Public Housing Museum in Chicago is an example of social reflection, public dialogue and education. For more information: https://www.nphm.org/

THE HIDDEN POTENTIAL OF CITY MUSEUMS AND LOCAL COMMUNITY PROJECTS[14]

In France, the museum sector is compartmentalised: there is one museum dedicated to the city and its collections, another museum dedicated to the history of migration and one museum project on popular housing, which simultaneously addresses migration history, urban transformation and popular housing – in addition, of course, to the history of labour / factory workers.[15]

In the Parisian case, the city museum – Musée Carnavalet, Musée National de l'histoire de l'immigration and AMuLoP are not working consonantly. What are the representations of the city and the transformations inside these museums and associative initiatives?

Musée Carnavalet is the oldest of the three museums presented here. Opened in 1880, Musée Carnavalet occupies two of the most famous Renaissance-era *hôtels*: the hôtel Carnavalet and the hôtel Le Peletier de Saint-Fargeau. These buildings, famous in part because of the big names that have crossed their doors – the sculptor Jean Goujon (c. 1510 – c. 1566), the architect François Mansart (1598–1666) and Marquise de Sévigné (1626–1696) – are listed as historical monuments and are home to an impressive collection; furthermore, their gardens attract not only tourists but Parisians as well.

After having been closed over four years for renovations, Musée Carnavalet reopened in May 2021 with a new permanent exhibition and new displays that tell the history of Paris through the centuries. How does Musée Carnavalet address the discussion of popular housing, sustainability and urbanistic transformations in the Paris of the 21st century? Is migration also being treated as a theme? A city is dynamic and in perpetual transformation given that it is the phenomenon of migration that creates important fluxes of movement inside specific areas.[16]

All three themes are deeply connected and the dynamics of population movements, housing and city history are undeniable. The power of museums, especially of museums of cities, relies on creating a platform for bringing awareness to contemporary issues that concern any inhabitant and citizen, thus creating a better environment for everyone involved. Telling the history of a city is very important to better understand the present; however, it should also focus on the challenges and open debates to seek solutions for the future.

The new Musée Carnvalet does not delve in the discussion of urbanistic transformations over the years and the dynamics between the *banlieue* and the city *intra muros*. The very last room of the permanent exhibition does briefly present the contemporary challenges that the city of Paris has been facing but it does not expand the discussions or analysis. Climate change and social tensions (regarding themes as migration, social exclusion and fracture between the *banlieue* and the *ville intra muros*, gentrification, etc.) are briefly mentioned but not developed in-depth. While Musée Carnavalet has a very rich collection and a very long timeline (from prehistoric times to the present), discussions and reflections on its

[14] Editor's note: This section is based on the two author's articles published in the *CAMOC Museums of Cities Review* 3/2021: Musée Carnavalet and Pavillon de l'Arsenal: History of Paris from two diff*erent points of view and Interview wit*h Valérie Guillaume, director of the Musée Carnavalet.

[15] For more information on the new Musée Carnavalet and the interview with its director, please review the mentioned articles: https://camoc.mini.icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2021/11/CAMOCReview-No.3-2021-web.pdf

[16] Darling, 2016.

contemporary challenges are lacking from this city museum dedicated to Paris. Musée National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, MNHI, which opened in October 2007, has a very "inconsistent story" and I had the impression that the museum was always trying to justify itself before the critics and even the public.[17] Nonetheless, it has the merit of bringing the history of migration into the museum landscape in France and it presented a long-term exhibition called *Repères* (from 2007 – 2020) that demonstrated social housing as being deeply connected with the lives of most migrants who moved to France between the 1950s and the 1970s. Through artworks of contemporary artists, archival documents and objects, the section of the exhibition called *Ici, làs-bas* put into perspective the importance of the *grands ensembles* in creating a better environment for everyone involved.[18]

Les grands ensembles is the title of a work by Mathieu Pernot presented as part of the former permanent exhibition of MNHI, thus highlighting the importance of these spaces when creating a discourse on immigration in France.[19] Many humanist photographers, such as Marc Riboud and Robert Doisneau, were also interested in the documentation of these spaces back in the 1950s and 1960s. This produced a lot of documentation on the buildings, and it is an important visual support that helps in the "representations" of the HLM inhabitants and the social life in these spaces over time.

The AMuLoP's project is innovative as it brings a more realistic approach than the Musée Carnavalet or even the MNHI. This associative initiative did a truly multivocal exhibition and worked in partnership with the local community. The project of a permanent museum dedicated to social housing in Aubervilliers is very promising in terms of bringing a fresher, polyphonic and participative approach to the creation of an exhibition, which speaks not only of the urban transformations of Aubervilliers but of migration and the social history of labour. It also brings to the table a decentralization of the perspective, by telling the story of social housing in a working-class peripheral area.

The tensions between the centre and the periphery of Paris are a reality (especially in the Seine-Saint-Denis department). The initiatives for transforming and revitalising neighbourhoods such as Aubervilliers are an important step not only for the Grand Paris project but also for creating more affordable living solutions in light of challenging housing situation inside the city.

If we take a wider view at the big cities around the world, we can see a similar tension between peripheral neighbourhoods and central and wealthy areas. These tensions are present in the Global North but also in the Global South.

As outlined by Robert Stam and Ella Sohat:

> "it has now become more difficult to deny the parallels and linkages between the racialized tensions in the diverse sites across the postcolonial Atlantic. Indeed, French, American and Brazilian cities all display social fractures shaped by interwoven histories of colonialism and race.
> Fanon's colonial "two cities" have morphed into the postcolonial divide between the *banlieue* and the city centre in France, between ghetto and white suburb in the United States, and between *favela* and *bairro nobre* (elegant neighbourhoods) in Brazil."[20]

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[17] I treated the creation of this museum and its several transformations over time more in-depth in my PhD thesis, and in the following article: https://journals.openedition.org/cel/296

[18] For more information on the exhibition *Repères*, please check the MNHI's website: https://www.palais-portedoree.fr/en/permanent-exhibition-reperes

[19] For more information on this artwork please check the MNHI's website: https://www.histoire-immigration.fr/collections/le-grand-ensemble-de-mathieu-pernot.

[20] Sohat and Stam, 2012.

In this context, what kind of inclusive practices can museums adopt to promote social sustainability in a crisis scenario where climate changes, forced migrations and health crisis (the pandemic) are shaping our realities? Citizen engagement at local level is becoming more and more important to face these critical issues and city museums can become hubs where the local gets connected to the global. Museum initiatives at a local level can open the discussions at a global level, where a network of actions towards a more just and sustainable society can be envisaged.

Initiatives like the one in Aubervilliers show the potential of a collaborative work between residents of social housing, researchers (and university) and museum professionals in creating an exhibition that not only tells the stories of the families which lived in the same building over different periods but also brings forward the reality of a huge multicultural community living in the peripheral areas of Paris.

In Aubervilliers, we can see a multicultural France where different religions and languages are to be found everywhere. That is one of the main assets of this area of *Grand Paris*. In Musée Carnavalet, this multicultural aspect of contemporary Paris and France is not highlighted or even discussed. That is why associative initiatives like the AMuLoP bring a more authentic narrative of the socio-economic reality in France.

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BIOGRAPHY

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HOW CITY MUSEUMS GROW BEYOND BORDERS

ABSTRACT

Spain has a contentious past that remains visible through sites, buildings, monuments and other types of cultural heritage. On the one hand, this past can be re-signified in order to be reconciled with a positive and mature contemporary identity and, in turn, brings peace to Spanish society. On the other, city museums have a limited amount of space to illustrate the whole history of the city. This article aims to describe how Spanish city museums are dealing, within the cultural realm, with this vast amount of heritage. Furthermore, it seeks to portray how a country with a divided history puts to use imaginative formulas that go beyond the museum´s walls, so it does not forget its past, preserves its cultural traces and fosters memory by resorting to heritage, to never again indulge in antidemocratic behaviours.

The Spanish Civil War and Franco´s dictatorship

Eighty-six years ago, in 1936, civil war broke out in Spain. Hundreds of thousands have died in this conflict waged between the elected Socialist-led government and general Francisco Franco's right-wing rebel forces, backed by Hitler and Mussolini. The war ended in 1939 and led to a four-decade long dictatorship under Franco, who ruled Spain until his death in 1975.

While the war was a tragedy unto itself, 20,000 Republican supporters died when the conflict was already over. The last executions signed by Franco took place on 27 September 1975, just two months before the dictator passed away. Then, forty years after the war, Spain transitioned into a democracy and the different political parties agreed to put the past and its bloody divisions behind them. In 1977, an amnesty law was approved and the crimes committed during the war and dictatorship were pardoned.

Thus, while this dark period in Spanish history is still a painful, open wound that has yet to heal, enough time has gone by for the country to be able to face this historic episode in our museums.

Valued and placed heritage

The past shapes our identity. Heritage represents all the traces, tangible and intangible, that link our present to our past and projects us into the future. Values placed on heritage and the interpretation given to monuments, objects, activities, habits, historic or cultural events that conform to it are dependent upon communal and individual perspectives. In this context, heritage is fought over, used and becomes the target of disputes / attacks. In divided societies, with complex and ongoing divided pasts, heritage is often contested.

However, heritage also carries a capacity for healing. In order to reinforce this faculty, we have to look for ways of mapping out alternative interpretations of the past. Heritage can help build open, inclusive and pluralist societies by interrogating the evidence of the past through inclusive practices and embedding heritage in conflict transformation. According to Sharon Macdonald, heritage born out of conflict can open a particular dimension of the public concern of societies to their past.[1]

For some, though, this heritage does not contribute to reconciliation with a positive, self-affirming and proud-of-itself contemporary identity. Not forgetting a troublesome past and opening up social divisions does lead to a type of heritage that is unsettling and awkward, as opposed to one that can be celebrated or, at least, comfortably acknowledged as part of a nation's valued history. In essence, the type of heritage that conflicts produce consists of elements that were once seen as a sign of a country's achievement, but later came to be understood as a reason for regret. Wartime episodes that were once regarded as military triumphs may become sources of embarrassment.

Against that background, the practices of selection, preservation, cultural witnessing and "resignification" of this heritage have to be chosen and treated extremely carefully. Furthermore, the closer the difficult events are to the present,

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[1] Macdonald, 2006.

the stronger the divisive effects will be felt and, as consequence, the more cautious we shall be. In this particular context, I will refer to this sort of heritage as "resignificable" rather than "difficult" (a term coined by Macdonald), since it more accurately reflects the constructive attitude towards heritage related to the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent dictatorship as well as the will to use it for reinforcing the democratic spirit, rather than merely condemning and/or erasing it.

Policy instruments such as the Council of Europe´s Ministerial Declaration on Intercultural Dialogue and Conflict Preservation (CoE, 2003) and the Framework Convention on the Value of Heritage for the Society, Faro Convention (CoE, 2005) have put forward that conflicts between nations, regions and communities embedded in contested interpretations of the past can be overcome through the awareness of a common heritage and the construction of narratives together by all the confronted stakeholders. From my point of view, museums can play a decisive role in how to confront the past to build a better future.

Tzvetan Todorov and *The uses of the memory*

At this point, let me recall some of Tzvetan Todorov's theories regarding the justification of bringing back memories through this "resignificable heritage", which is being addressed here.

In his essay *The uses of the memory*, published in 2013 by the Museum of the Memory and the Human Rights of Chile, Todorov speaks of the right to remind of the history, no matter how painful it is.[2] He fights against the ideas of those who defend forgetting the past and looking towards the future, as if it was impossible to do both things at the same time.

There is no such thing as a "duty of memory". However, there is a general acceptance among modern societies of the "duty of truth and justice", even though we know that justice and truth will never make up for all the injustice that might have happened in the past. The key point to establish new moral rules, new political ideals based on the notion of justice, is to not get stuck at individual cases of its violation. That would be a job for courts and judges.

When we evoke social memory, we have to avoid placing ourselves in the position of the hero who needs to protect the victim or in the very role of the victim, if we or our beloved ones have suffered injustice directly. We have to establish universal rules based on the legitimate quest for justice. The past may not be repeated, but it will carry an impact forward based on its exemplariness. The good remembrance will be the one which serves a cause of justice. This means that the use of the memory for revenge or other immoral purposes should be avoided. This approach matches the enormous efforts that have been implemented in Spain regarding heritage issues related to the Civil War and the post-war period.

MUHBA, an example to follow

City museums in Spain can play an important role presenting the history of the city during this period, in line with their educational duty and in order to avoid ever repeating antidemocratic behaviours of the past. Furthermore, museums will help new generations not only to become aware of their roots, but also to

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2 Todorov, 2013.

appreciate the rights they are currently enjoying and to recognise and pay tribute to the women and men who fought for the conquest of democracy and human rights. The nature of city museums, when compared to other types of cultural institutions, is in constant development; however, space is not unlimited. How can Spanish city museums consider the tragic episode of the Civil War or the struggles for democratic rights that have taken place through the entire 20th century?

Museums such as the Museu d´Història of Valencia devote a space to the resistance of their citizens during the war in the context of *Truncated Modernity (1917 - 1975)*. The city museum of Girona in Catalonia does the same, while others halt their narratives early enough in order to avoid facing the 20th century. Due to the lack of space, a number of Spanish city museums have found other ways to make amends with the past of the city, as in the case of MUHBA (History Museum of Barcelona). MUHBA has created what we could call "satellites", which connect the museum with certain spots in the city; one example is the *Refugi 307*, a shelter built in the Poble-sec district to defend the population from the air raids during the Civil War. This way, MUHBA has found a very effective way of expanding itself beyond its own museum walls.

A specific brochure elaborated by MUHBA on the Civil War includes a map of wartime Barcelona, showing the location of several airstrikes that hit the city. The areas most affected by the bombs were the nearby port and neighbourhoods such as Barceloneta, Poble-sec and the seafront of Poblenou. The precise number of deaths in Barcelona will never be known, although, according to reliable estimates, the direct bombings caused around 2,750 dead and 7,000 wounded. The number of attacks is also difficult to determine, although estimates are that Barcelona suffered around 200 of them.

The bombings radically disrupted the daily life of the people of Barcelona. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties, the lack of resources and inexperience, the population organised the defence of the city and tried to protect itself from the fascist air offensive by creating a surveillance network with boats and aircraft patrols in new airfields near the coast. Shelters were set up in the tunnels of the Gran Metro and the Metro Transversal in the Sarrià Railway. The streets of Barcelona began to resemble the Paris of World War I, with trade windows protected by sticky strips and lanterns painted blue.

On 30 January 1938, Barcelona suffered one of the most intense and bloody aerial bombardments of the war. Aviation bombed the port and the city centre. One bomb fell in the Plaza de Sant Felip Neri and caused the church basement to collapse, where 42 people died, most of them children. The effects of the shrapnel are still visible on the church façade, and a plaque has been placed in the square in memory of the victims and put on the map of the Museum´s Civil War route.

To deal with the bombings, the responsible authorities and the population worked on the construction of hundreds of shelters that saved thousands of lives. Many of these shelters, once part of the passive defence system, still remain in the city's subsoil. Nowadays, one can follow the Museum's route to visit three shelters that have been recovered and opened to the public to show the struggle for survival in the face of war disasters: *Shelter 307 of Poble-sec*, the *shelter in Plaça del Diamant*, in the district of Gràcia, and the *shelter in the Macià square*, in Sant Adrià del Besòs, all thanks to the municipality of Barcelona, as the entity responsible for MUHBA.

Another noteworthy location pointed out in this brochure is the *Montjuïc* castle. In the 17th century there was already a fortress there, although the current complex

was built by Bourbon military engineers in 1751. The castle acquired real strategic value between 1936 and 1939, when Republican naval and anti-aircraft defence devices were placed there.

Another important point in this cultural route is *La bateria del Turó de la Rovira*, which dominates the view of the city and the accesses from the sea. This natural viewpoint was the site chosen in mid-1937 to design one of the most important air defences of the city. The installed guns allowed the Republicans to cover the city in all directions and create a fire barrier to hinder access by the attackers.

This brochure and the related thematic route that complements the visit to the city museum cover an important episode in the city history, which, due to the lack of space, cannot be told in museum building itself.

City museums of Madrid, a digital expanding formula that works

The city museums of Madrid bring their narratives to a halt right before the Civil War. Both the city Museum of San Isidro and the city Museum of History of Madrid, installed in the Royal Hospice of San Fernando, are located in historical buildings that can no longer be expanded. However, the municipality has found another tool to go beyond the museum walls. It has opened a link to a page called *Memoria de los barrios*, where citizens can upload photographs of their neighbourhoods. There is another way of breaking out from its physical borders:

Through this digital tool, led by the municipal libraries and linked by the museum, several districts have shed light not only over the war period, but also important chapters of the city´s history; among these, we find neighbourhood movements during Franco's regime and the first years of transition into democracy, such as the one in the district of Aravaca, which has brought together many photographs that show civil society fighting for its rights. We speak of actions as simple as the demand for libraries or parks in their neighbourhood, or, as in the district of Hortaleza, claiming for a subway line. Others have created their own brochures that condense the history of their districts, which is also a very interesting initiative, given that the history of the city is the history of all neighbourhoods. For example, among other neighbourhoods, the area of Carabanchel discusses the penitentiary of Carabanchel, where many of Franco´s opponents were locked up, whereas Vallecas addresses the exile of many Republicans out of the district.

Nevertheless, and taking into account the lack of space, I believe that MUHBA´s example of physical expansion could be followed in Madrid by creating a specific route that would highlight places linked to the life of the city during the Civil War, dictatorship and transition into democracy. Such sights may be the shooting towers of the Parque del Oeste in the University district, where one of the bloodiest and longest Civil War battles took place, the Cuartel de la Montaña, where Republicans killed hundreds of men, the Arc of the Triumph built by Franco´s regime, the air raid shelter of the Alameda de Osuna, the Escuelas Pías, bombed during an air raid, or the subway station of the district of Chamberí, famous for being an air raid shelter during the war. On the other hand, Madrid's example of collaborative culture allows the citizens to be the ones who are telling the story of their districts. They are, thus, in control of what they want to tell about their history.

However, this does not replace or exempt the city museums' responsibility to present and explain to the public this particular episode of 20th century Spanish history. Only by dealing with difficult episodes of the history of our cities will

citizens respect museums as cultural institutions – institutions that are not afraid to show and teach democratic values to future generations by presenting the history of their cities, with moments both of light and shadow.

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BEHIND THE FAÇADE. COMPARING THREE BUILDING TRADITIONS:
LONDON, LISBON, BARCELONA

ABSTRACT

The careful observation of three building traditions, which were developed in parallel in three European cities (London, Lisbon and Barcelona), may enable the creation of new narratives about the city and its history. Instead of a description of the architecture based on art movements, the text proposes an approach to what lies behind the façade. At the start of the industrialisation process of the eighteenth century, three events (the Great Fire of London, the Lisbon earthquake and the early and unexpected industrialisation of Barcelona) forced a change in the construction systems used for houses in these cities. This comparative approach may open up a fascinating narrative world on the society of that time that could be of use to city museums that are interested in the construction of European identity.

Key words: Urban history, architectural history, construction history, cities' identity, industrialisation

Introduction

What is behind the façade? This is a question that Peter L. Berger (1963: 29–38) asked in another context, that of sociology. This short text will explain why this question is also relevant when a city museum tries to describe the architecture of its city. How may new narratives on the city and its history be proposed? This article will attempt at an answer by comparing the building traditions of London, Lisbon and Barcelona. Actually, the proposal does no more than examine in depth the opportunities provided by the room "Connecting Cities: Europe and networked museums" of the exhibition *Barcelona Flashback* that Joan Roca prepared for the museum he directs and that focused on the role played by cities in the construction of the European identity (*Barcelona Declaration, 2013*).[1]

Behind the similarities: London, Lisbon and Barcelona

At first glance, a terrace house in Regent's Park in London, a tenement house in the Baixa neighbourhood in Lisbon and the Porxos d'en Xifré building in Barcelona look remarkably alike. They have façades with very regular fenestration, which uses French windows on a large scale. If the names of the cities were not given, their origin would have been hard to identify. The general composition is also very similar. However, behind the similarities lies a wide range of construction systems. Construction presents a resistance to change that is greater than one might have imagined, and, in this respect, comparative history is very useful to recall events that transformed the way houses are built in different cities.

How can another fire as devastating as that of London be avoided?[2]

It could be illuminating to focus on three events that ushered a dramatic change in the way of building: the Great Fire of London of 1666, which completely destroyed the City (Field, 2017), the Lisbon earthquake of 1755 that devastated the Baixa, the lower part of the city (França, 1987; Araújo et al., 2007) and the early industrialisation of Barcelona in the late eighteenth century, in which a dense city was constrained by city walls that could not be demolished (Garcia Espuche and Guàrdia, 1993; Guàrdia, 1995). Behind the façade, the fear of another fire in London can be found, warded off by the setting up of regulations that tried to achieve a fire-proof construction; the terror of earthquakes in Lisbon, which would be countered by an innovative anti-seismic structure; and the eagerness to profit from speculation in industrial Barcelona, which consolidated a system to cut costs by making everything thinner, including the flat roof.

The following recipe was then used: in its regulations, London imposed the replacement of wood with brick or stone; naturally, brick triumphed as it was cheaper (Hobhouse and Saunders, 1989; Cox, 1997). Enlightened Lisbon established, through its military engineers, a braced three-dimensional wooden frame, called the *gaiola pombalina* (França, 1989; Mascarenhas, 2009), and in Barcelona, the logic of capital led the master builders to replace stone with brick and to introduce the techniques of Catalan vaulting in new buildings for rental housing, called *casa d'escaleta* (Arranz, 1985; Rosell, 1996a, 1996b). London built with thick walls of brick and the party wall emerged above the gable roof with the aim of isolating fire. Lisbon standardised the construction system and also used thick walls to prevent fires. None of these precautions are found in the tenement

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[1] *Barcelona Flashback*, Museu d'Història de Barcelona (MUHBA, 10 October 2019 – 31 December 2021).
https://youtu.be/7lnPjExfdW8

[2] Source: Rolle, 1667.

How can another earthquake such as that of Lisbon be withstood? Building in Rua Augusta, 82-84, Lisbon. © Ramon Graus, 1992.

How can ever cheaper dwellings be produced for Barcelona in its rapidly advancing process of industrialisation? [3]

houses of Barcelona: instead of a thick wall, a thin wall of only 15 centimetres was chosen (Graus, 2018).

Going back to the three façades described, none of them reveal what is inside. The stucco always hides the material that makes up the wall. This was the elegance proclaimed by classicism, the art movement that predominated in the long cycle from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. However, it would be a mistake to associate this style with the construction system in each of our three cities. Their building tradition must be explained from the perspective of *longue durée*. The great resistance to change in construction has already been mentioned. Styles passed and the wall remained the same. This is true whether the style was the facing brick of Bedford Square, before Robert Adam and John Nash made white stucco fashionable in London, or it was the nineteenth-century fashion of covering Portuguese façades with tin-glazed ceramic tiles, or even whether it was the wide variety of façades with *sgrafitto* in Barcelona (Graus and Rosell, 2009).

The invariability of the wall

Perhaps it does not seem particularly relevant to consider the external walls of a building. But, remember how Émile Zola, in *La Curée* (1872/2004), starkly showed how Paris was influenced by the real estate business. Studying architecture with all its complexity would help to improve knowledge of society, its mechanisms of relation and production, in a combined exercise of social history and urban history. This could also be considered an exercise in cultural history. This approach offers a new interpretation of the architecture of these cities and poses the following question about their genuine identity: what is it that explains the inner forces that make the city? One common answer is the variability of the façade, as a matter of personal or collective taste; however, a fresh approach can be the invariability of the wall.

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[3] Source: Rosell, 1996a, p. 300.

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BIOGRAPHY

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[4] Graus, R., Navas, T. (2021). Modern icons of the "calculated risk": Candela and Torroja in international key (1936-1973). In: Pizza, A., & Granell, E. (Ed.). *Crossing frontiers: International networks of Spanish architecture (1939-1975)*. Barcelona: Iniciativa Digital Politècnica. 78-94.