

Ecomuseums 2012



Proceedings of the

**1st International Conference
on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities**

Edited by

Sérgio Lira, Rogério Amoêda, Cristina Pinheiro

Green Lines Institute

Peter Davis, Michelle Stefano, Gerard Corsane

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies - Newcastle University

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*Seixal, Portugal
19-21 September*

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ISBN 978-989-98013-1-8

e-ISBN 978-989-98013-0-1

Published by

Green Lines Instituto para o Desenvolvimento Sustentável

Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development

Av. Alcides de Faria, 377 S.12

4750-106 Barcelos, Portugal

mail@greenlines-institute.org

<http://www.greenlines-institute.org>

1st edition, September 2012

Published in electronic format.

Print on demand.

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Foreword

Ecomuseums 2012 - 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities aimed at gathering scholars, academics and practitioners working in the areas of Ecomuseums and Community Museums.

The ecomuseum movement has its origins in late 1960's France when the roles museums can play in linking people, their heritage expressions and places, as well as affecting social change, were examined. At this time, traditional museum activities, which centered on the collection of heritage to be interpreted by curators and other museum professionals within a museum building, were viewed as both limited and exclusive in approach. In more recent decades, ecomuseums have been established throughout the world and are guided by a variety of differing aims and objectives. For example, an ecomuseum may resemble a more conventional museum in appearance or, in other cases, an open-air community-controlled heritage project, depending on the place.

It can be considered that this wide range of ecomuseological and community-based museological initiatives demonstrates an international interest in alternative heritage management approaches. For this reason, Ecomuseums 2012 seeks to bring together scholars, researchers, architects and heritage professionals to discuss the commonalities, differences and future of safeguarding practices that are holistic and community oriented in scope.

Papers submitted to Ecomuseums 2012 - 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities discussed issues pertaining to the following sub-themes:

- Community-based museological approaches: challenges, opportunities, practice;
- The evolution and geographical diaspora of ecomuseum practices;
- Beyond ecomuseums – Sociomuseology, its theory and practice;
- Place, communities and heritage – relationships and ecomuseological interventions;
- Nature, culture and communities – making connections through ecomuseology;
- The ecomuseum movement - conserving traditional crafts;
- Tourism, environment and sustainability – ecomuseological approaches;
- Working with ethnic minorities - community museology and indigenous curation;
- Intangible cultural heritage – its significance to local communities and how museums/ecomuseums can assist in safeguarding;
- Architecture and spatial planning – ecomuseological and inclusive approaches;
- Urban ecomuseums: conceptual issues, challenges and opportunities;
- Industrial communities - inclusive approaches to conservation and interpretation of industrial heritage.

Ecomuseums 2012 - 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities also gave stage to early researcher students willing to share the results of their research projects, namely post-graduation projects and doctoral projects. A significant number of such proposals was submitted the quality of which was confirmed during double-blind review (by at least two members of the Scientific Committee).

We would like to express our gratefulness to the Câmara Municipal do Seixal (Seixal City Council) and to the Ecomuseum of Seixal.

Finally, a special word of gratitude to all Members of the Scientific Committee who reviewed the papers and made suggestions that improved the quality of individual work and the over-all quality of the event.

The Editors

Organising Committee

Green Lines Institute for Sustainable Development

Sérgio Lira
Rogério Amoêda
Cristina Pinheiro

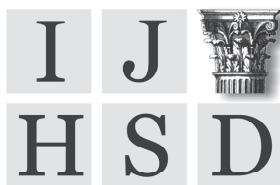
International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies - Newcastle University

Peter Davis
Michelle Stefano
Gerard Corsane

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Partners



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Ecomuseology and local museums in Catalonia (Spain). Influences and coincidences during the 1975-1985 period.

G. Alcalde Gurt

Catalan Institute for Cultural Heritage Research & University of Girona (Spain)

J.M. Rueda Torres

Directorate General of Cultural Heritage, Generalitat de Catalunya (Spain)

ABSTRACT: In Catalonia the origin of local museums dates back to the end of the nineteenth century. Local museums evolved through different stages in accordance with the economic, social and political context of the times. During the final years of Francoism, local museums became relevant in the defence of the local identity and Catalan nationalism. At the start of the democratic period, the Autonomous Government of Catalonia's policy was based foremost on the development of local museums. In this historical framework, the theoretical approach of most local Catalan museums of the seventies and early eighties coincided with the theoretical approach of ecomuseology. Simultaneously local museums evolved in response to the social change initiated just after the end of the Franco dictatorship.

1 THE CATALAN MUSEUM TRADITION AND INFLUENTIAL THEORETICAL TRENDS

The first local museums in Catalonia were created at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Since then, the number of local museums has been on the increase, each one developing in accordance with the social, economic and political contexts of the time. Simultaneously, the Catalan museum tradition was being fed by different theoretical formulae operating at different moments in history. At the time of its origins, during the 19th century, the autochthonous Catalan tradition was influenced by the French regional museums, in particular, Frederic Mistral's Musée Artlésien. Mistral's discourse fitted well with the idealised concepts of the Catalan bourgeoisie's ideology, which was basically conservative and nationalist.

The search for the authenticity of the countryside led to the emergence of an active Catalan excursionist movement. This movement rediscovered the remote areas of Catalonia; what was considered as the authentic mother country and rural museums went along with this ideology and discourse.

Catalan regional museums were subject to new influences throughout the 1920s and 30s, mainly Paul Vidal de la Blanche's Regional Geography and French humanist anthropology. The first took an integral approach to the regional concept, including all areas of knowledge (communications, physiography, hydrology, anthropology, history, zoology, botany, geology, etc.). Characters such as Pau Vila, author of a study which divided Catalonia into counties, and Salvador Llobet, author of studies such as *El medio y la vida en el Montseny* (Llobet, 1947), were of great importance in the cultural and scientific arena of the time. Evidence of the influence of this tendency can be observed in museum publications such as the journal *Terra Nostra* (1935) from El Cau de la Costa Brava, in Palamós, which defined its aim as "our beloved Costa Brava" and refers to the region in all its aspects, even mentioning an interest in attracting tourism to the area.

The second tendency, generated by the Musée de l'Homme (1937) and Musée d'Arts et Métiers (1937) in Paris, under the influence of characters such as Paul Rivet and Georges Henri Rivière, coinciding with the triumph of the French Popular Front, expanded internationally and arrived in Catalonia at the hand of Violant i Simorra. He was responsible for what would later become the Museu d'Arts, Indústries i Tradicions Populars del Poble Espanyol de Barcelona (1943), where a typical house from the Pallars region was built. Violant i Simorra's writings, which would later go on to influence the personality of local and county museums in Catalonia, argued that all cultural aspects of a territory should be developed in museums, from prehistory to present time.

While local Catalan museums were influenced by the main trends in European museology from the end of the 19th century until the 1940s, it was not until the mid-1970s that they were to receive another considerable inflow of foreign influences. From that point on, Catalan local museums were influenced by two ideas linking heritage with its surroundings: one culturalist, the other environmentalist. Trends in New Museology penetrated Catalan museology; however, some Catalan museums, particularly those located close to nature reserves, were influenced by environmentalism. Both these sources of influence were linked to the Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) set up by UNESCO at the beginning of the 1970s and later applied to natural parks, the Round Table Debate in Santiago de Chile in 1972 (ICOM) and the Quebec Declaration in 1984. This moment marked the beginning of important changes in world and Catalan heritage management policies.

2 LOCAL MUSEUMS IN CATALONIA IN THE PERIOD 1975-1985

The total number of museums in Catalonia at the time period being studied here was high. Specifically, in 1980, there were 248 centres, 52 of which were located in the city of Barcelona (Comissió..., 1981).

The year 1975 marked the end of the Franco dictatorship, followed by a period of democratic transition (1975-1978) which initiated a democratic period continuing up to present time. During the final years of Francoism, local museums brought together people and interests linked to the defence of local and Catalan national identities. However, the majority of these museum centres did not directly participate in the political and social vindications of other social and cultural areas in the Spanish state at that time.

The beginning of a new democratic period in the Spanish State brought with it the decentralization of the administration to the autonomous regions and the creation of the Government of Catalonia. In 1979, the transfer of control over the area of culture from the state to the Autonomous Government of Catalonia included control over museums. This led to the creation of the Museum Service in 1980 by the Catalan government's Directorate General of Cultural Heritage.

Before the creation of the Museum Service, the majority of local museums were run by town councils or cultural associations. Generally, they lacked economic resources and practically none of them had technical staff on contract. From the outset, the policy of the Museum Service, created by the autonomous government, a centre-right Catalan nationalist government, was to develop local museums. Therefore, in 1982, the Local and County Museums Network was set up, with the aim of promoting museums through agreements between the Catalan government, local councils and organizations responsible for museum centres.

As a result of this network, the Catalan government became involved in the management of a series of emblematic local museums mostly run by local authorities, but also by cultural associations or the Catholic Church. Specifically, the Catalan government provided funding for the architectural remodelling of museums, incorporated itself in the management structure of these centres and provided technical consultation. It was understood that local museums were to act as cultural centres for local territories and efforts were made to insure that each county had one. Many of these centres had a territorial point of reference: a municipality, a county or geographical space.

This new situation led to an extraordinary change in local museums in Catalonia: a considerable number of centres were reformed, formulas were developed to promote interrelation between centres and the work of technicians began to be professionalised.

Simultaneously, many centres implemented policies which led to a considerable qualitative increase in collections and an extension of the concept of heritage to include assets related to wider sectors of society.

Local authorities managing museums in the Local and County Museums Network were governed by a diversity of political parties from centre-right, to centre-left to left. Technicians working in these museums also came from a diversity of ideological backgrounds; however, people from left-wing ideologies predominated.

3 ECOMUSEUMS IN CATALONIA

Within this general framework in the development of local museums in Catalonia, a link was created with ecomuseology, both in terms of the interest of particular museum technicians working in Catalonia and the contact they established with their counterparts in various French ecomuseums, and in terms of specific museum projects.

The relationship between technicians in Catalonia and the main references in ecomuseology dates back further than 1975. In 1973, the seminar “Museums, Education and Society” was celebrated in Barcelona and Empúries, 2nd - 7th July. The seminar was organised by the *Junta de Museus* and Lluís Monreal was secretary. Both Hugues de Varine-Bohan and Georges Henri Rivière, the two main names behind the development of ecomuseums, participated in this seminar.

A few years later, in 1975, the seminar “Training of Museum Technicians”, which took place in Barcelona from 20th to 24th October, was organized by ICOM and the Board of Museums of the Provincial Government of Barcelona. Georges Henri Rivière was among the participants and the documentation given to those attending included texts from the following lessons: 1. “Le Musée à travers les âges”, 2. “Musée et savoir”, 3. “Musée et conservation”, 4. “Le musée instrument d’éducation et de culture: Public réel, public potentiel” and 5. “Le musée instrument d’éducation et de culture: Présentation. Animation”. These lessons were from the course in Contemporary Museology given by this museologist at the Universities of Paris I and IV. Lesson 2 included a section entitled “*Un nouveau type de musée, l’ecomusée*”, which identified the main characteristics of this type of centre. Some years later, the journal *Artlugi*, edited in Barcelona, published (1978) the catalan translation of Hugues de Varine-Bohan’s article “*Le musée au service de l’homme et du développement*” (1969).

In 1974, Lluís Monreal was nominated Director General of ICOM, succeeding Hugues de Varine-Bohan. Monreal was very knowledgeable about ecomuseums and a strong advocate for them. In an article published in *La Vanguardia* newspaper on 25th November 1973, while he was curator for art museums in Barcelona, Monreal states that ecomuseums “place museum objects, buildings and content in their cultural framework! An example of an ecomuseum is the village of Le Creusot in Bourgogne, where after centuries of producing wine a specific way of life, kind of architecture and industry and even landscape have developed. Ecomuseums will be responsible for the conservation of all of this.”

Eulàlia Janer was a key person in the area of ecomuseums in Catalonia during the period we are analysing here. In 1975 and 1976, she and Francesc Miralles wrote the first articles about ecomuseums to be published from Catalonia. Specifically, they published articles in the journal *Estudios Pro-Arte* about ecomuseums and the specific cases of Le Creusot and Landes-Gascogne (Janer, 1976; Janer & Miralles, 1975a, 1975b). Janer was significantly involved with ecomuseums and new museology and participated in the *Ier Atelier International. Ecomusées / Nouvelle Muséologie* (Quebec, 1984) and the *II Atelier International. Musées locaux / Nouvelle Muséologie* (Lisboa, 1985). She was also a member of the *Comité international provisionnel de la nouvelle muséologie* (1984) and in 1985 became an elected member of the Administrative Council of *Mouvement international pour une nouvelle muséologie* (MINOM). She disseminated information throughout Catalonia about both *ateliers* and MINOM by publishing articles in *La Vanguardia* and La Garrotxa county museum review called *Vitrina* (Janer, 1985-86).

Subsequently, Eulàlia Janer, as head of the Museum Services of the Autonomous Government of Catalonia (1985-1989), continued to promote the relationship between ecomuseums and Catalan museology. It was in this framework that a variety of conferences

were organized, including: “The Museum and its integration in the natural and human environment” by Gerard Collin from the Mont Lozère Ecomuseum (Barcelona and Girona, 1985) and “The question of identity museums: the Museum of Bretagne” by Jean-Yves Veillard from the Museum of Bretagne (Barcelona, 1986). Other conferences included: “The process of creating a local museum: the Camargue Museum project” by Jean Claude Duclos from the Museum of Dauphiné (Amposta and Barcelona, 1986) and “The museographic strategy of the Museum of Dauphiné” (Barcelona, 1986) by Jean-Pierre Laurant, from the Museum of Dauphiné.

In terms of ecomuseums, Eulàlia Janer played an important role in promoting the Vall de Ribes Ecomuseum, initiated in 1984 and developed on the basis of the concepts of territory, population and heritage. The proposal was made up of three temporary exhibitions, which were to take place between 1986 and 1989, entitled: “The life of shepherds in the valley”, “Celebrations and meals in the Ribes valley” and “Hydroelectric power stations”; however, the project languished and never materialised.

Internationally speaking, Eulàlia Morral was among the Catalan museologists linked to ecomuseology during the period being analysed here. She participated, along with Domènec Miquel, in the ICOFOM on museums and identity and presented the document entitled “*Quelques notes sur l'ecomusée*” at ICOFOM’s 7th Annual Meeting in Leiden in 1984.

In addition, the postulates of ecomuseology penetrated into Catalonia through the Vall d’Aran. Although not officially recognised as an ecomuseum, the Musèu dera Val d’Aran founded in 1983 is definitely worth mentioning (Boya & Menetrier, 1989). From the beginning, this museum centre explicitly manifested that its project was based on the postulates of ecomuseology. This was a result of contact between the technical and political team responsible for the museum and Jean-Claude Duclos at the Camargue Ecomuseum. Contact between the museum and Jean-Claude Duclos continued into the late 1980s, at a time when Jusèp Boya was responsible for the Musèu dera Val d’Aran and Duclos for the Museum of Dauphiné.

According to the blueprint for the Musèu dera Val d’Aran, created by Josep Maria Trullén in 1981, the museum was supposed to be focused on Aranese history and culture and based territorially on the creation of a network of museum centres stemming from Tor deth Generau Martinhon where the “time museum” would be established (Boya, 1993). Promotional material for the centre constantly referred to its connection with ecomuseology. An example is the introduction of a booklet with slides from the museum, edited in 1986, which stated explicitly that “the museum shows the evolution, through history, of man and nature in the Val d’Aran. It is the first stage of a project which, adhering to the philosophy of ecomuseums, seeks to restore various sites of historical and natural interest in the valley and to make them available to the public”.

The first persisting Catalan museum designated as an ecomuseum was the Delta de l’Ebre Ecomuseum, inaugurated in 1989, in the Delta de l’Ebre Natural Park. However, despite donning the label of ecomuseum it does not really reflect the characteristics and specificities of these types of centres (Andreu, 2007) and should be considered an interpretative centre for the park rather than an ecomuseum.

This was the panorama of ecomuseology in Catalonia during the time period we are analysing in this study. We would like to highlight the fact that what was being carried out in terms of ecomuseology was linked mainly to anthropology and not so much to other fields and areas of museology. The link between ecomuseology and anthropology can be illustrated by Mario Moutinho and Maria Manuela Oliveira’s presentation in the Catalan Institute of Anthropology’s Seminar entitled “New museology: a factor in community development” (1985).

During the following years, specifically the late 1980s, there were several proposals for ecomuseums in Catalonia (for example; an ecomuseum in Alta Ribagorça in 1988, an ecomuseum based on immigrant culture in Santa Coloma de Gramenet in 1989, and an ecomuseum in the county of Osona, also in 1989), but none of them materialized. It was not until the 1990s that new ecomuseums came into being.

At the end of the 1980s, development began on the ecomuseum located in the Catalan Pyrenees at the Valls d’Àneu, inaugurated in 1994, which went on to become the most emblematic ecomuseum in Catalonia. In the section of the centre’s project entitled “Toward a new museology. The Valls d’Àneu Ecomuseum” Cisco Farràs and Ferran Rella clearly express the wish to develop a museum based on the parameters of ecomuseology, “ecomuseums are of

vital importance for gathering all our Heritage, they are museums of man in his environment, museums where people can recognise themselves. At ecomuseums local people and visitors can observe the evolution of an area since ancient times" (Farràs & Rella, 1988). The conceptualisation of this centre as an ecomuseum is linked to and influenced by the *Musèu dera Val d'Aran*.

Therefore, while the theoretical trend of ecomuseology reached Catalonia in the mid-1970s, it was not excessively applied until the end of the 1980s, which was when the first ecomuseums were created.¹

4 LOCAL MUSEUMS AND THE CONCEPTS OF ECOMUSEOLOGY

Despite the lack of a model ecomuseum and a specific dynamic in terms of the creation or functioning processes of these museums, some concepts can bring together the essence of these centres: community, territory, integral heritage, participation, development, "the museum of time", "the museum of space" (Rivière, 1985, 1989; Duclos, 2001; Collin, 1989...).

At the beginning of the 1980s, one of the main characteristics defining part of the local and county museums in Catalonia was the fact that they were based on the desire to explain in a global and integrated manner the territory in which they were located and to which they referred. They incorporated concepts related to integral heritage, the integration of people living in a museum's territory and had the aim of participating in community development (Alcalde & Rueda, 2001). Some local centres were structured around a central headquarters presenting the historical evolution of a territory with other sites presenting specific aspects of a territory. Therefore, generally speaking, Catalan local museums of that period were proximate to the postulates of ecomuseology. Hence, the Technical Commission for Local and County Museums, which grouped together a good number of people linked to local museums in Catalonia, proclaimed, in 1981, "we adopt the criteria expressed in the *Llibre Blanc dels Museus de Barcelona* [...], the definition given by Hugues de Varine-Bohan in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and Georges Henri Rivière's concept of ecomuseum" (Comissió..., 1981: 17).

Concepts such as "the museum of time" or "the museum of space" were applied in various local museums. In 1984, the project for the *Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa* foresaw a central museum with a main exhibition and a series of exhibitions about specific aspects, located at different sites in the territory, directly linked to the subject in question (Alcalde, 1985; Alcalde et al, 1985). The project for the *Museu de la Conca de Barberà*, in 1983, was based on "a new integrated concept of the whole county, with a central headquarters in Montblanc and monographic sections in the perimeters" (Soler, 1995: 138). Additionally, in 1983, the project for the *Museu del Montsià* defined itself as "a museum of time and space adhering to the new trends in museology and with a specific aim: to give a global vision of the history and nature of the county" (Queralt, 1994:183).

Direct participation of the local community in the creation and management of local museums was common during this period. One example is the *Museu Etnològic del Montseny* created in 1983, which arose from a group of young people in the area called *Recerques* (Rueda, 1992). Additionally, the *Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa*, created in 1982, was run, in its first years, by what was called the *Patronat del Museu-Biblioteca d'Olot*, which was managed on the basis of assemblies and open participation, and gathered people from ideologies ranging from far-right to far-left.

During those years, cultural heritage in local museums was dealt with under the concept of integral heritage. The Provincial Government of Barcelona played a significant role in the relationship between natural heritage and the introduction and development of the integral heritage concept. Thus, the first important event was the conference held in Gavà in 1992, entitled *La construcció del paisatge: natura, cultura i Patrimoni*, organized by the Provincial Government of Barcelona and the *Museu de Gavà*. In fact, the Provincial Government of Barcelona had already begun to implement integral heritage policies in the *Montseny Natural Park*, a declared Biosphere Reserve (Rueda, 1989, 1999).

In addition, the local population participated directly in creating collections. In 1984, the *Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa* organized a campaign entitled "Together we make the Museum" to widen its collection and to collect heritage assets with different characteristics to

the traditional collection in the centre. Another example is the Museu Etnològic del Montseny, under the management of the *Recerques* group (between 1979 and 1984), which called out to the population to help build the museum's collection. They went on to organise a campaign to save the castle of Montsoriu and created the association Amics del Castell de Montsoriu (1992).

5 CONCLUSIONS: LOCAL MUSEUMS AND ECOMUSEUMS

In conclusion, we can assert that Catalan local museums, during the period we are analysing, coincided strongly with the postulates of ecomuseology. However, Catalan local museums came to the conclusions of ecomuseology through a process of self-evolution rather than as a result of previous knowledge of the theory of ecomuseology. As we have seen, contact with the ecomuseology theory was not constant yet there was an explicit desire to apply it. The coincidence and relationship between the development of local museums and ecomuseology is not unique to Catalonia and occurred in other countries such as Italy and Portugal (Davis, 2011; Maggi & Falletti, 200; Nabais, 1985).

Strong community involvement in Catalan local museums and the application of a wide concept of cultural heritage, which allowed for the inclusion of elements previously not considered so, were propelled by the historical evolution of these museums and the influences of general trends in museology. However, this was a direct consequence of the social context of the late-1970s and early 80s in Catalonia, the end of the Franco regime, and the activation of civil society and its direct involvement in public affairs. The generalized effervescence which led to the extraordinary development in cultural action in many fields also materialized in local museums. The new situation of museums was related more to the new social and political situation than the search for an alternative to traditional museums.

ENDNOTES

¹ This section has benefited from information and comments from Eulàlia Janer and Jusep Boya.

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Local museums: new spaces for a contemporary heritage epic?

J. Benedetti

Spazi Consonanti, Rome, Italy

ABSTRACT: The theme of the lecture is to present a new approach in museography, the interdisciplinary group Spazi Consonanti has developed and tested throughout the years working on several local ecomuseums in Italy, through the example of latest of them: a community museum in Tuscany, on its way to be completed, the "Museum of the Olive Tree and Land of Seggiano". The core idea of this approach is to design a museum where the scientific languages of museology are joined with the language of contemporary arts and architecture together, in the narration of a community heritage. Telling a story through the means of a poetic language is what has been done for centuries in every fresco cycle, in every relief, in every church and public building throughout Europe: art can tell a very particular story through a universal language, making the narration accessible to everybody, no matter where the visitor comes from, or what his age, ability or background is.

The museographic method, that is going to be presented in this paper, is the result of a 20-year-old on the field research, carried out by architects and artists together in several ecomuseums in Italy. The experience of this work became the backbone for the interdisciplinary group *Spazi Consonanti*, founded in 2007, of which I'm part since its inception together with three architects - Mao Benedetti, Sveva Di Martino, Vania Gianese - and with the artists Gianandrea Gazzola and Stefano Scialotti.

The research having been carried out over such a long span of time, this paper will not deal with the key aspects of our museographic method alone, but will list the actual results and visitor experiences gathered throughout the years. This is why, while the core section of the text will present the most recent project of our group, the *Museum of the Olive Tree and Land of Seggiano* in Tuscany - that began as early as 2005 and still is being worked on - the introduction will briefly present the design and actual results of the first of the group's projects, the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina*, in Castelnuovo di Farfa.

The history of European art and culture provides the most vivid example of how the same story can be told in as many different ways, as the territories, cultures and languages involved are: this is why every church and every fresco cycle, while housing the very same function, or depicting the very same episode as many others, is as unique as the place it stems from (Borges, 2004). The two museums I'm going to talk about, share the same theme - the history and tradition of olive oil production - and are both thought and designed for small rural centres of nearly the same size and period of foundation - Castelnuovo di Farfa, not far from Rome, and Seggiano, in Tuscany - but happen to provide the visitor with two contextual experiences, very different from one another.

What is common to both the projects, is the need to address the deeply significant issue of the survival of the identity and culture of a small community. Each museum had to present its own

specific local culture through contemporary means and languages, so to show its continuity, liveliness and competitiveness in our times.

But how to reach that goal? How to make the experience of a local museum both unique and suited for each and every visitor, no matter what his or her age, culture, abilities or language are? And, at the same time, how to reach the local community so that the young and the old together can take pride in their very own culture through the museum?

The core idea for our method is to experiment with the narrative languages of contemporary art and architecture, as a means to deepen the experience of the visit and to support the scientific languages of museology (Heidegger, 1997). Art reaches for every visitor, being able to draw out of a specific tradition its underlying universal themes. As Nico Stringa - professor of Contemporary Art at the Ca' Foscari University in Venice - eloquently explained in the catalogue for the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina* "For the very first time a museum dedicated to material culture, and in the specific case to the production of olive oil, was planned employing a revolutionary concept that abandons the archaeological tradition of a classical museum by reversing the orientation of the museum itself. This museum begins in the present with contemporary art in order to understand the past better. Art today explains the handicrafts of yesteryear." (Stringa, 2001).



Figure 1 - the restored church of San Donato; the artwork *Oleophona*, *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina*

Already while planning the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina* - a project that began in the early 90's and was unveiled in 2001, although some parts of it are still under construction - the local authorities expressed the desire to include in the visit all the most significant sites and buildings of Castelnuovo di Farfa. This strategy had for us the clear goal of finding a way to safeguard every testimony of the local heritage from abandonment and destruction, by turning them into cornerstones of the new museum program.

The first step in realizing the project was to restore the buildings that were to house the new exhibition; every architectural intervention differed from the others so to value and exploit the potential of each site, rather than using a fixed formal approach. The visit was structured an ascent from the outskirts of the town up to its historical centre, ending in a restored mediaeval church right in the middle of an olive grove (Fig. 1, the restored church of San Donato, one of the stations of the visit to the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina*; the artwork *Oleophona* by Gianandrea Gazzola in one of the rooms of the museum).

Six world-renowned contemporary artists - Alik Cavaliere, Gianandrea Gazzola, Emanuele Luzzati, Maria Lai, Hidetoshi Nagasawa and Ilse Strazza - were asked to take part to the design, each one of them having to deal with a very specific place, either a room of one of the buildings, or a whole site. Every artist worked autonomously on site, but bearing in mind the general theme and structure of the museum, as well as the ultimate social goal of the intervention, and the wider hope to bring art back to grounds that could be shared by all the visitors.

Great interest on the project was shown by the national and international press (Kaplan, 2000; Herbst, 2000; Palmegiani, 2003), for at last a small Italian town provided a lively strategy to keep the younger generations from leaving its territory, in the hope of building their future in the near cities.

After the 2001 unveiling, our group was asked to get directly involved in the scientific direction of the museum, a task that lasted nearly ten years, giving us the chance not only to verify the effects of the proposed museographic approach, but to really understand all the everyday challenges and problems that a local museum has, that can be nonetheless prevented or at least mitigated already while developing the project.

The greater of all these challenges is without any doubt the economic survival of the museum; it is a challenge that can be truly faced only if every interested party, such as the local politics or the community, is involved, but that can be addressed by the designer by providing the museum with the spaces it needs to start a series of side activities, ranging from didactics to cultural encounters, even before the core exhibition opens. This problem is not to be underestimated, for the very local identity that needs to be preserved, relies on cultural as well as on economic means.

Within the first four years since the opening, the guides - none of whom had at the time graduated - started working both with the students of the schools of central Italy, and got paid for preparing and forming the teachers that wanted to get involved with the didactic programs offered by the *Museo dell'Olio*. This was probably one of the greatest successes on the road to the economic autonomy of the museum itself.

Sadly the fruitful pooling of efforts that surrounded the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina*, was not destined to last long. The local politicians did not support its activities and failed to complete the other renewal projects in the historical centre, that were meant to boost the economic growth propagating from the new museum. Nonetheless, visitors from all over the world never ceased to come and to speak up their enthusiasm for the project, two real estate agencies and several commercial activities opened in Castelnuovo di Farfa, the didactic program offered by the guides continued to be of the utmost interest not only for the schools in the surrounding area, but for the universities in Rome as well, which became directly involved in the museum through internships, graduation theses, workshops and competitions.

Several books and articles have been written on this small local museum and on its innovative conception, stimulating an international debate that led to a nomination for the European Museum Award in Copenhagen (2003), a presentation in the international symposium "Szenographie" organized in DASA's State Museum in Dortmund (2005), a call to the Koeln Heritage Fair (2007) - where the "Museo dell'Olio" was chosen as one of the three most compelling museographic researches in Europe, alongside with the New Bauhaus Archives and the Kolumba museum in Koeln - and lastly to being selected for the Italian Pavilion of the 13th International Architecture Biennale in Venice (August-November 2012).

The academic debate, the direct experience both with the visitors and with the local communities as well as the involvement in the scientific direction of the museum in Castelnuovo, deepened throughout the years our understanding of the relations between local community and local museum, and helped us to further develop and structure our design approach. It is with the project for the *Museo dell'Olivastra e della Terra di Seggiano* (Museum of the Olive Tree and of the Land of Seggiano), also known as *Museo dell'Olio di Seggiano* (Olive Oil Museum of Seggiano), that this decennial research came to a more informed result in the narration of the heritage and culture of the town of Seggiano in Tuscany. Before going into detail on the project, a step back is needed to sum up the key aspects of the museographic approach of *Spazi Consonanti* and thereby address the issue raised in the very title of this paper: can local museums become new spaces for a contemporary heritage epic? And if so, how?

Museums and cultural sites, hold tangible or intangible testimonies that speak of the symbolic transmission between generations: *heritage* is what we have received from our fathers and we

think is worth passing along to our children. In our times, museums are among the very few places where this transmission is not only ensured but shown and narrated. Therefore museums are by vocation the spaces where each man can feel part of the age-old tradition and history of a specific culture.

We believe that probably the real reason why cultural tourism has become so popular, is the search of an answer to the deep, lasting human need of feeling part of something bigger than one is, a need that is often left unheard in the visit of cultural sites (Di Martino, 2011). It is therefore with great hope that, while attending the international conference *Il Museo verso una Nuova Identità* (Museums towards a new identity – Rome, 2007-2008), we discovered in several new local museums all over the world, a sort of answer to this very compelling general need. On the other hand, it came as no great surprise to us, that the major museums which were debated upon in the same conference, which were born to collect the most diverse testimonies of the most different cultures, experimented on a *play and learn* approach rather than on the use of art and narrative experience, for they lacked the main and irreplaceable actors of the transmission between generations we spoke of before, the local community and its native context (Cirese, 1967).

In local museums, instead, the scientific languages of museology, and the narrative ones of museography, can fruitfully work together, the one caring for the preservation, safeguarding and study of the heritage, the other unveiling and telling its underlying universal themes. “Nihil est in intellectu quod prius non fuerit in sensu” (Nothing is in the intellect that was not first in the senses) is what Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas said, and what has been done throughout the centuries in western civilization: using art as universal means of spreading knowledge.

Each heritage calls for a different approach in the museographic project, and every time different architectonic and artistic languages must be employed; nonetheless the general design method is the same, and can be summed up in the following steps:

- 1 Acknowledgement of the museological project and of the desires of the local community regarding the cultural, social and economic aspects of their contemporary identity;
- 2 Acknowledgement of the spaces that are going to be enclosed in the museum program, and of the ones that might in the future; analysis of their own particular physical character, so to exploit their potential through the preliminary architectural interventions; acknowledgement of the local heritage that will become the core of the new museum;
- 3 Outlining of the key narrative of the new museum, starting from the acknowledged spaces, museological project and heritage and community life. The key narrative will become the underlying structure of the whole visit, the theme and name of the local museum, providing a bond between the autonomous stations of the visit. These stations will house both the historical heritage and the specifically designed contemporary artworks;
- 4 First drafting of the structure of the museum, imagined this time as a sequence of spaces, for the visit is essentially a spatial experience. This draft is a means of understanding where and how to show the historical testimonies and which artistic interventions are overall needed to tell the story properly, which the artistic languages should be, and who the most suited artist for the intervention is. The more valid and appropriate the interventions of art and architecture are, the clearer and more direct will be the experience of every visitor stepping into the museum;
- 5 Drafting of the guided visit, in order to form the young locals on the main themes of their heritage and on the outline of the museum. The dialogue they open with the visitors, so important to make the museum an actual space of social exchange, should wander between scientific and artistic registers, for they must be able to intertwine the key aspects of the museological project with the metaphors provided by the artworks.

The active experience of the visit, becomes an actual meeting between local community and global world. Moreover, by having a common ground from which the dialogue can begin, and by sharing a common experience, people do come together: “It is not merely being together, but is the purpose that brings everybody together, and prevents them from talking by themselves, or to live autonomous experiences” (Gadamer, 1977).

It is, in fact, the shared experience alone that makes visitors want to come back to the museum, for the dialogue with the guides is each time different. This is why the tours last so long (the tour through the eleven spaces of the *Museo dell'Olio della Sabina* never lasted less than two hours), and why there can't be no autonomous visit: the museums preserves the historical and contemporary testimonies of the local heritage, but it is the community that brings it to life.

Such museums could only exist in the dilated time of internal, rural territories, for "The essence of art's temporal experience is to learn to linger" (Gadamer, 1977). This renovated attention on the timing of the experience could never be applied to bigger cultural sites, and is one of the exclusive strengths of local museums; this is why the historical testimonies that have to be shown are carefully selected, and the stations of the visit are few.

The young locals that work as guides in these museums play a major role in the success and significance of the experience: they are trained as narrators, and their ability, somewhere between mere communication and acting, is to all intents and purposes one of the artistic languages of the museum.

Olive oil has always played a pivotal role for the culture and economy of Seggiano, a small town sitting on the slopes of Mount Amiata, in Tuscany (Alessandro da Seggiano, 1913). In its extensively cultivated territory grows a unique olive tree cultivar, the *Olivastra seggianese*; the several historical olive oil mills, that can be found in the historical town centre, are a tangible proof of the long history of olive oil production in this area. This specific agricultural tradition is today as significant for the economy of Seggiano as it had been in the past: the recently acquired DOP certification constitutes one of the few concrete economic promises for countless small local farming businesses.

Iron mines and ironworks have always been part of the life and work of the local community members up until the recent past, and testimonies of this activity can be still seen throughout the territory. The atmospheres and materials of mining have doubtlessly influenced the character of the spaces of agricultural production: this particular *trait d'union* is one of the most distinctive features of the built agricultural heritage of Seggiano.

Saint Bernardino of Siena, one of the earliest Franciscan preachers and one of the brightest exponents of Italian literature in the XV century, received his formation and began his preaching in the *Colombaio* monastery (Niccolai, 2000), just a few kilometers away from the historical town centre. It was clear from early on that this site, now abandoned, needed to have a key role in the future museum.

In 2005 we, as *Spazi Consonanti*, were first asked to work on a project for Seggiano. At the time, the town and its territory became part of a European network of agricultural landscapes; the idea of making this virtual network tangible and understandable for the citizens, marked the beginning of the project of the museum, which was then to be developed and structured in the following years. Instead of focusing on the landscape alone, the European network project, which was then called *Radici Intelligenti / Intelligent roots*, investigated the hidden and unknown half of the plants, their roots, metaphor of the bonds between a local community and its territory. In each node of the network the most typical plant of the area had to be chosen and the electric activity of its roots studied, to translate it then poetically in a musical score, different from plant to plant, from territory to territory. The key narrative of the buried half of the plants, that hinted also at the mining tradition of the area, became the strongest underlying theme for the *Museo dell'Olivastra e della Terra di Seggiano*.

Just a few months after beginning to work on the European project we discovered with great surprise, that one of the most important research centers worldwide on plant neurobiology was in Tuscany as well, the *LINV* (Laboratorio Internazionale di Neurobiologia Vegetale – International Laboratory of Plant Neurobiology). The shared interests between the museum and the Laboratory directed by Prof. Mancuso, gave birth to the first significant alliance of the *Museo dell'Olio* with the best practices of the territory.

While reflecting on the more general themes of the new museum program, we were asked to acknowledge all the sites that could have become part of the visit. It was a series of very diverse spaces, for either typology or architecture: the most significant piece of built heritage was surely an old oil mill, spanning over four floors right next to the town's main square; there was an old buried water cistern resting on the former town walls; a former bank right in the centre of the town; the abandoned and severely damaged building of the former town hall; the ruins of the *Colombaio* monastery; the three churches in the historical centre.

The experience of the hidden half, of the invisible, suited well not only the duplicity of the mining and agricultural traditions of the local community, but also the actual physical spaces that were going to house the museum. Starting from this key narrative, the stations of the visit to the *Museo dell'Olivastra e della Terra di Seggiano* were structured as follows (Fig. 2, Seggiano and its territory; project for the suspension and monitoring of the roots, and its eventual poetical translation, by Gianandrea Gazzola):

- *Museum services*: the services are laid at the entrance to the town. Parking lots, spaces for didactics and laboratories are organized in a building and in a urban park close by;
- *First station of the visit to the Museum: the Church of San Rocco*. The church is near to the museum services and marks both the entrance to Seggiano, and the introduction to the key narrative of the museum, that is to read what's invisible in the visible world. The religious theme is of great interest to the development of the narration: it is religion that gave shape to Italian towns as we know them and organized both their productive and religious life. The culture we want to preserve and transfer, is born of a unity of the spiritual and everyday life, a unity we've now lost and can hardly understand. The contemporary artistic languages that will work on the churches, will try to make the invisible rules of a sacred space visible, such as light, sound, rite etc. In the church of San Rocco, there is a fresco depicting Saint Bernardino of Siena, who was known for being able, in his preaching, to intertwine the visible and the invisible worlds. The main theme of the visit has been presented, and the visitors can move along to the second station after a short walk along an olive grove.
- *Second station of the visit to the Museum: the XIX century buried water cistern*. The cistern consists in a 12 meter high cylindrical hollow volume, that leads from the level of the entrance to the town, up to its actual centre. This station is the symbolic doorstep of the museum and houses what is probably the most evocative experience of the whole visit: inside of the perfectly preserved cistern, the roots of an *Olivastra seggianese*, sitting on top of the cistern itself, will be left hanging and visible to the naked eye. The tree will be the world's largest plant to be fed hydroponically through the vapours of a water pool and nebulizers. All the electrical impulses of the roots will be registered, monitored, studied and then poetically translated into a written musical score. Trunk and foliage of the tree will be visible from the small square just above the buried cistern, where a new urban vertical connection will allow the visitors to reach the historical town centre. There, overlooking the vast agricultural territory of Seggiano, the theme of landscape not just as a visible aesthetic experience but as fruit of invisible work is introduced; later on, in the third station, the same theme will be deepened.
- *Third station of the visit to the Museum: the former town hall and its square*. The small restored building of the former town hall is where the images of the gestures of the agricultural work will be preserved and narrated to the visitors through an artistic intervention. Those movements, that have never changed over millennia of history, from the decorations on Greek vases to the photographs of our recent past, will be catalogued in a multimedia archive with the help of the older community members, who can still recall them from their youth. The *Accademia dei Georgofili* of Florence, the oldest agricultural academy in the world, will oversee the scientific direction of this archive. The main hall of the building, while normally being part of this image archive, will occasionally be used for community meetings.
- *Fourth station of the visit to the Museum: the old oil mill*. This monument is just below the main town's square, right in the heart of the historical centre of Seggiano. The building spans over four floors, and due to its good state of conservation and to its historical value, the architectural interventions are only aimed at preserving and restoring the old structure as it was. Once again it is the potential and meaning of each site to guide both the architectural and museographical projects. The metal machinery of the mill evokes the atmospheres of Seggiano's mining tradition, which are hinted at in the fifth station of the visit, just on the opposite side of the square.
- *Fifth station of the visit to the Museum: the experience of olive oil today*. The fifth station includes the commercial spaces that are essential to the economic survival of the

museum, but is at the same time the space where the visitors can have a firsthand contact with the local community. Here the fruits of the local olive oil production are presented: on the ground floor of the former bank, is the *Oleoteca* or olive oil tasting room, with a contemporary metal furniture recalls the machinery encountered in the fourth station; on the first floor, is the oil tasters' formation and meeting space.

-*Sixth station of the visit to the Museum: the yard of the church of Saint Bernardino of Siena.* This very churchyard is a site of great importance in the life of Saint Bernardino, for it is here that he started preaching to the local community. The church holds and preserves the relics the Saint: while looking at them, the visitors are introduced to the issue of conservation as the result of care and passion in time, and, on the opposite, of abandonment leading to decay and, eventually, vanishing of any form of heritage. This theme leads the visitor to the last station of the museum, the *Colombaio* monastery, a place that once was the heart of the culture, art and spirituality of this territory, and that has been abandoned in the recent past, leaving nature free to recapture the ruins of this monumental site.

-*Seventh station of the visit to the Museum: the "Colombaio" monastery.* The convent rests on the slopes of the gentle hills just a few kilometers north of Seggiano, and faces directly onto the dale of Grosseto, which runs all the way to the Tyrrhenian Sea. The architectural intervention will be here aimed at freezing the current state of the ruins in time, by propping up what's left of the former perimeter walls, and allowing vegetation to grow on supports so to prevent the plants from damaging the ancient structure. This is the site of silence, surrounded by nature: the artistic languages will have to bring out the natural elements of light, echoes, movements, while facing the complex task of interpreting and providing a contemporary translation of the masterpiece of Franciscan spirituality, the *Cantico delle Creature* (Cantic of the Sun).

The visit to the museum ends here, in a place surrounded by the very same landscape of which the olive oil tradition is born. The visitors can now move to the other relevant sites of Seggiano's territory as its intensive olive groves, the XVII century ironwork, or the contemporary sculpture garden *Il Giardino di Daniel Spoerri*.

Even if the museum is still being worked on, and has only partially opened to the public, countless meetings have been organized to inform and involve the local community in the project. A public-private foundation was formed, *Le Radici di Seggiano* (The roots of Seggiano), that will coordinate the management and the projects of the museum, granting its independence from local politics. The alliances between the newly born *Museo dell'Olivastro e della Terra di Seggiano* and the best practices and institutions of the territory, have already proven to be fruitful: in the fall of 2012, the *LINV* will organize an international symposium on plant neurobiology in the spaces of the museum. *The Accademia di San Luca* (Academy of Saint Luke), the national academy for arts and architecture in Italy, has chosen Seggiano and its museum as theme and site for a workshop ("*Segnare Disegnare Interpretare* - Sign, draw, interpret", curated by Marisa Dalai Emiliani: "Drawing in relation to interpretation and museology. An itinerary throughout history") they organized earlier this year; they furthermore expressed an interest in founding a postgraduate formation school in the small rural town in Tuscany, where to learn how to deal with local communities and heritages, how different professions could work together and how to exploit the incredible potential hidden in the Italian internal territories.

The research of Spazi Consonanti, that I've briefly presented in the paper through the examples of the two olive oil museums, never meant to be a solid theoretical *corpus*, but is rather the recollection of the very practical experience of the group, in dealing with the always surprising and rich heritage of the internal territories of Italy, often forgotten or underestimated, but laying at the very heart of the nation's history and culture.

This 20-year-long experience led us to the formulation of a "design method", which, to our great surprise at first, proved to be working beyond any expectation. The artists that worked with us, dazzled at first by such an atypical "down-to-earth" approach, discovered a new, less abstract, dimension of their work. But it was among the locals that the museums seemed to have made the strongest impression, since they found for the first time not only a recognition, but a *celebration* of their life, work and traditions.

It was only after the realization of the first local museums and exhibitions that, when wondering why these works were having such an unexpected appeal, we first realized we were doing

nothing different than what has been done for centuries in every fresco cycle, in every relief, in every church and public building, for art can tell a very particular story - or in our case a very particular heritage - through a universal language (Borges, 2004), making the narration accessible to everybody, no matter where the user comes from, or what his age, ability or background is. It is now, and always have been the humble attention to the practical and cultural needs of a community, and to the always diverse character every place has, to make art and architecture great in Italy and in Europe throughout the centuries.

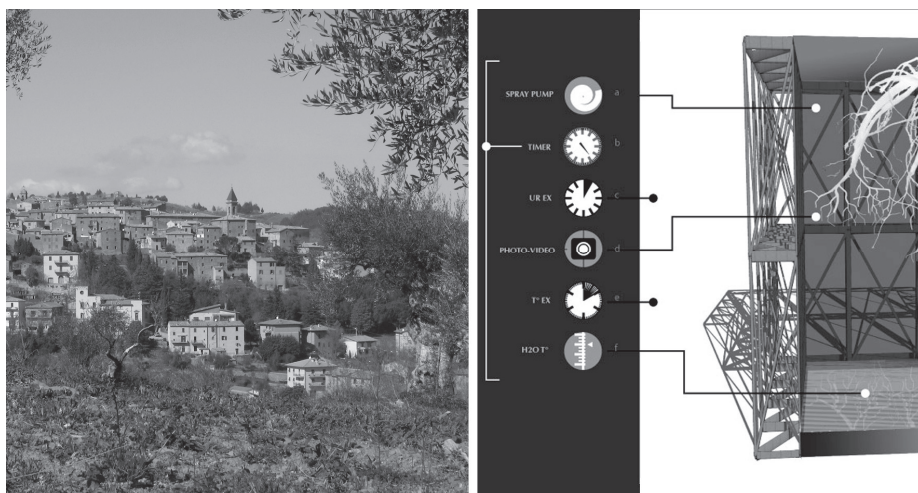


Figure 2 - town of Seggiano; roots suspension project, *Museo dell'Olivastro e della Terra di Seggiano*

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Ecomuseums and the new commons

W. Bigell

Finnmark University College, Norway

ABSTRACT: Ecomuseums are by definition community-oriented, but community consist of more than the people living in the museums. Ecomuseums and their communities can be seen as manifestations of the new commons, understood in a multi-level approach, distinguishing cooperative, public, and global levels. Even though they appear to be local, ecomuseums involve all levels. Seeing ecomuseums as commons allows appreciating their political role, resisting the trend towards commercialization and commodification of common resources. Ecomuseums are politically significant if not seen as isolated local projects but as part of a network of community-based museums and alternative projects that reclaim the tangible (land) and intangible (heritage) commons. Ecomuseums create an awareness of history in a territory, told by those who create it, rather than by those who own it.

1 INTRODUCTION

Ecomuseums are relevant in a wider socio-political context as a new commons challenging established concepts of ownership. The ecomuseum owns tangible (land and artifacts) and intangible (heritage) resources that are administered as commons. Historically commons means commonly owned land that was lost through enclosures. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2009) apply the term to the modern world and distinguish two forms of the commons arguing that social theorists traditionally “conceive the commons as the bounty of nature available to humanity” (2009, 139) and add to this definition “both the product of labor and the means of future production,” including language and social practices (2009, 139). Slavoj Žižek develops the concept and distinguishes between the commons of culture (communication, education, infrastructure), of external nature (resources), and of internal nature (genetic information) (2009, 91). Charlotte Hess proposes the term “new commons,” acknowledging that the use of the term varies significantly (2008, 3) and provides a conceptual map of current uses (2008, 13). The term is used both in the academic and activist spheres (Hess 2008, 3) and is politically charged. For an analysis of ecomuseums, commons is also a more useful term than “environment” since it links the natural and social environments and focuses on social relations with respect to natural and human-made resources (Hess 2008, 36). Hess distinguishes between cultural, neighborhood, knowledge, social, infrastructure, market, and global commons. This article, however, will not focus on the typology of the commons but on their organization.

Often local grassroots movements, opposing central power, are seen as reclaiming the commons. The problem with this picture is that alternative movements reviving the commons are brainchildren of the anti-authoritarian counter-culture of the 1960s; their understanding of the

cultural conflict is that of authority against people, of police against polity. Indicative here is the slogan “think globally, act locally,” excluding the state level, which is associated with authority. Žižek, for example, sees the main political conflict between centralized authority and local cooperative control (the former he associates with socialism, the latter with communism). Also Hess observes the trend to equate the cooperative level with the commons: “Increasing numbers of people are interested in a more general sense of commons and with shared resources usually outside of market or government systems. The new commons literature focuses on collective action, voluntary associations, and collaboration” (2008, 37). This understanding, however, limits the significance of the commons. I propose to understand the commons in a three-level approach, as cooperative, public, and global commons. Sometimes the differentiation is made between commons and public goods (Helfrich n.d. 5), but this distinction is not helpful since it suggests a fundamental difference of the stakes in a territory that does not exist. I suggest distinguishing between three levels of the commons, cooperative, public, and global; all three levels can be present in the same territory but have different forms of organization and human relations.

On the cooperative level people organize locally and know each other personally, as in the traditional commons. Human relations are marked by in-group solidarity, and decisions are made decentrally and often informally. Expertise is gained through experience. This level is frequently linked to a definable territory, and collective identity derives from common work, which can be voluntary. Fairness and equal distribution of resources are important. The public level consists of administrative units such as cities, states, nations, and supranational entities such as the European Union with definable and overlapping territories. People on this level do not know each other personally, and decisions are made in professional administrative organs with extensive powers. Collective identity on this level is symbolic, expressed for example in the symbols of nationality, human relations are formalized, and work is usually paid. There is some inequality of resource distribution, depending on cultural traditions. The global level has no marked territory, and arguments made on this level invoke universal validity. Its administrative means are limited (as e.g. the UN or NGOs). The global level has high visibility and a strong moral dimension (e.g. in the climate debate), but a weak sense of collectivity, not at least because inequality in terms of resource distribution is extremely high.

The different organizational forms of these levels can be in conflict with each other, as David Harvey points out: “what is a commons on a lower level can be an enclosure on a higher one and vice versa” (2012, 70). Elinor Ostrom points at the problematic relationship between different levels: “National governments can help or hinder local self-organization” (1999, 281). Nevertheless, she advocates “multilevel institutions” and “institutional diversity” (1999, 282). Rather than making the degree of decentralization a measure of the commons, commons could be evaluated by their degree of organizational integration and by their social inclusiveness.

Different commons create different communities, depending on the organizational levels. Community on the cooperative level is participatory and derives from common engagement in the territory and from common work with face-to-face contact. Community on the public level is symbolic, for example when a historical artifact becomes a marker for national identity. Community on the global level is abstract, as the awareness of being part of a scientific community or the planetary ecosystem.

2 ECOMUSEUMS AS COMMONS

There are a number of studies about community involvement in ecomuseums. Corsane et al. point out the territorial aspect of community and the role of the *in situ* concept of ecomuseums: “The emphasis on a selected geographical territory and the *in situ* conservation and interpretation of selected features in that cultural landscape, and the active involvement of local people in the selection and management of sites are considered particularly important features” (2007, 225). In a number of ecomuseums the majority of visitors and users are locals, and Corsane et al. (2007) call this local focus “introspective.” The engagement in the ecomuseum and the community affects the involved individuals, as Corsane et al. describe in the case of the Ecomuseo della Canapa in Carmagnola, Italy: “the respondents indicated that their personal skills and confidence had grown, they have travelled to new places and met new people, widened

their horizons, and have a sense of achieving a personal vision" (2007, 226). Along with personal gains, the described ecomuseum produces and sells traditional products, thus becoming economically sustainable; furthermore it has "become a focus for community pride in place, a means of celebrating the past, and demonstrating pride in the history of the industry" (Corsane et al. 2007, 227). The collective involvement with the past empowers individuals and creates a community-based culture and economy based on territory and collective activities in it. Therefore empirical methods to evaluate an ecomuseum (number of visitors etc.) are inappropriate, as Corsane et al. point out (2007, 233). Corsane et al. define the effects of community engagement as "human, social, cultural and identity capital" (2007, 235). In order to understand the political significance of this capital, however, it is necessary to see it in the context of capitalism, the reduction of citizens to consumers and of cultural heritage and natural beauty to USPs, "unique selling points" in marketing-speak. Corsane, Davis, and Murtas (2009, 61) ask whether the "community focus proved to be a new museological *utopia*" (2009, 61), and I would argue that indeed community-based ecomuseums can be seen as an expression of resistance against commodification and consumerism, informed by a, however sketchy, vision of a different world.

Describing ecomuseums as multilevel organizations means understanding their character as a new commons on the local, national, and global level. Davis focuses on the "empowerment of local communities" (2009, 487) in ecomuseums, and in his discussion about the Ecomuseum of the Terraces and the Vine in Cortemilla, Italy, he stresses that the "terraces were built by the community and not by an architect or engineer [and that they] have no individual signature but are a collective enterprise" (2009, 498). Whereas the main organizational effort is carried out by the local community, other levels are involved too. Davis mentions that the museum is supported by the region (2009, 498), i.e. the public level, and that it has links with other terraced landscapes worldwide (2009, 498), i.e. the global level. Ecomuseums are interesting because they do not only integrate different administrative levels but also tangible and intangible elements of the commons intersecting in one territory. Below I discuss several projects based on community involvement in a territory. One is Nord Troms Museum in northern Norway that calls itself an ecomuseum, two are mining museums that are not called ecomuseums but could be characterized as such (Durham Mining Museum and Killhope Mining Museum in England), and one is the Freetown Christiania in Copenhagen that shares a number of characteristics with community-based ecomuseums.

3 NORD TROMS MUSEUM

The following case study of Nord Troms Museum in northern Norway is based on an interview with the former director of the museum, Rune Sundelin, and a collection of articles published by the museum (Nilsen 2004). The political background for the establishment of the ecomuseum was twofold. In the 1972 referendum, Norwegians voted against the membership in the European Economic Community, and the anti-EEC movement triggered an interest in local and national heritage and identity. A second current was the Sami mobilization during the period between the 1950s and 70s. It culminated in the Alta-case in 1979, a massive protest against a hydro-electrical dam in the region. This developed an interest for local history that did not exist earlier (Sundelin 2012). Initially behind the establishment of the ecomuseum was a grassroots movement against political centralization and for local appropriation of tangible and intangible resources, such as heritage. An important part of the movement was university-educated individuals from other parts of the country who had moved into the community, many working as teachers at the newly established secondary school. In the beginning there were local historical associations, several publications, and finally the museum was founded (Sundelin 2012). At its foundation the museum had a cooperative character; interesting is the role of those who have moved into the community, showing that heritage is defined in participatory terms, as engagement, not as inheritance. A book published at the 25-year anniversary of the museum (Nilsen 2004) shows that regional history is made by many groups (including Sami and the Finnish-speaking Kvens), stressing the inclusive character of the museum.

The public level soon became involved in the ecomuseum through a coincidence. During those years the phone lines were automated, making the operators of the Norwegian state telecommunication company redundant. They lived in the local communities, and when the state

decided to transfer them to the ecomuseum, it suddenly disposed of thirty to forty full-time positions, financed by the state (Sundelin 2012). Beside the permanent workforce, voluntary work has played a role, although often people had to be hired. Mobilizing the local population for voluntary work worked better for short-term arrangements than for long-term projects. In the 1990s the contract with the workers from the telecommunications company ended and the museum was down to eight to nine full-time positions. Today the employees are hired by the municipality, the provincial government, and the state, and there are some volunteers (Sundelin 2012).

With different administrative levels came conflicts, for example how the facilities should be used. The locals used the museum for activities leading to some wear and tear, which was criticized by the state antiquarian who was concerned about heritage preservation (Sundelin 2012). Apart from this conflict between the cooperative and public levels there were conflicts with private owners. Even though the municipality bought property from the private owners, some exhibits and spaces remained private or state property. Conflicts involved maintenance as well as neighborhood and infrastructure issues such as parking space, but most could be solved relatively easily (Sundelin 2012). This shows that conflicts must be understood as an inherent but not necessarily destructive element of multilevel arrangements both inside the commons (cooperative and public) and between commons and private owners.

The museum is involved in several research projects with the University of Tromsø, and there is an EU cooperation project with Iceland (Sundelin 2012). The initial anti-centralism of the museum initiative has given way to a multi-level involvement, including the global level of research. The museum intends to conduct more of its own research projects in the future, aiming both at academic and general audiences (Nilsen 2004, 16). Another global level is international tourism. However, despite the scenic attractiveness of the area, few international tourists visit the museum. A French bus operator regularly brings international tourists to the museum, but the museum does not prioritize touristic development (Sundelin 2012).

The primary visitors of the museum are local inhabitants, in particular schoolchildren (Nilsen 13). Schools organize a variety of activities in the museum, often lasting the entire day. There are role-plays where the children re-enact the life of the past (one may have the role to steal tobacco, another to court a lady, another to be a lazy worker), to work with traditional fishing, charcoal production, bread baking, or log-floating, or, in the case of younger children, to explore the area without guidance first, and then getting their questions about artifacts and features in the area answered (Sundelin 2012).



Figure 1. School activity. Photograph: Nord Troms Museum / Rune Sundelin

These activities are in accordance with the aim of the museum to see visitors not as passive recipients but as active participants (Nilsen 2004, 9). The photo collection of the museum, which is made available on the website (Nilsen 2004, 15) can be seen as creating a collective community memory. Nord Troms Museum is an ecomuseum in the true sense; it presents cultural artifacts *in situ*, it bridges tangible and intangible commons involving all administrative levels, it is community based and oriented, and it generates a collective memory.

4 DURHAM MINING MUSEUM

Durham Mining Museum in Spennymoor and Killhope Mining Museum in Killhope, both in Durham County, England, do not call themselves ecomuseums but deserve this label because of their community involvement and their linking of social history to the environment. Durham Mining Museum is located in the town hall of Spennymoor and consists of two smaller exhibition rooms and a replica of an underground coalmine shaft, used for school activities. Displays contain coal and other minerals that can be touched. The museum has a focus on coalmining, but other mining activities are mentioned. The museum cooperates with other community initiatives and museums in the region. The information in this chapter is based on an interview with Jack Inch, the secretary of the museum.

The museum mainly serves the local community, including relatives of coal miners who have emigrated; most other visitors have a special interest in mining. The museum provides a number of services such as the tracing of individual miners, the documentation about accidents and victims, the identification of rock samples, and the sale of memorabilia such as key chains for each mine. The attachment of miners to their mine and their profession is strong. Also the conflicts with the state during the Thatcher years are documented. The museum makes an effort to have complete records, and a typical opening phrase from visitors is "My husband/father/grandfather worked in ... mine."

The museum links the local community not only to its social history but also to the environment. In contrast to lead mining, coal mining left relatively few traces in the area. The museum creates an awareness of the networks of mines (in a radius of five miles there were 116 coal mines) fuelling the industrial revolution, as well as an awareness of the three-dimensionality of the land. Displayed are many pieces of miners' equipment, creating a sense of working conditions. There were many accidents due to methane and CO-formation after explosions. Limestone dust was blown into the mines in order to neutralize the dangerous rock dust, and that means that the limestone quarries visible in the area are also related to mining. In historical mines pillars of coal were left standing to support the mine. Today these remaining coal deposits are mined in open pits ("bord and pillar mining"). The museum branches out into iron and lead mining through informal cooperation, creating a sense of connection between surface and underground environment to history. In the past coal mining has created a strong sense of identity in the form of labor solidarity. How can this sense of community survive in a de-industrialized region? Whereas during the time of mining identity was built on common work and common struggle, today the museum forms a part of symbolic creation of identity by linking people to the territory, in terms of history, family ties, and the environment.

The museum is independent and run by volunteers. There is no entrance fee, and the museum is financed by donations and project-based grants from the local government. Spennymoor town provides the locales for the museum, without administrative interference. The museum provides mining union records to the University of Sunderland and cooperates with Killhope Mining Museum, also in terms of genealogical history, as well as in creating lists of lead/ironstone mines and their location. The museum is run and controlled by community volunteers, but is connected to the public sphere through grants and to the global sphere through university-based research. Its main focus is local, and its specialty is genealogical research and the creating of geological awareness. It creates a three-dimensional sense of the environment, for the geological forces that have shaped culture. It sees itself as part of a network of community-oriented heritage museums, thus raising the question whether the concept of the ecomuseum can be applied to a network of museums rather than to isolated institutions. The museum creates heritage as a commons, linking geological history, mineral resources, industrial activity,

working conditions, and political struggles, in spite of the fact that most of coal mining artifacts in the land have disappeared or are inaccessible underground; it makes visible the invisible.

5 KILLHOPE MINING MUSEUM

Killhope Mining Museum is located on the ground of an old lead mine in the moorlands of the North Pennines. This chapter is based on an interview with Liz Whitfield, an information consultant at the museum. The museum started as the initiative of one man, Ian Forbes, gathering some volunteers, and soon the County Council of Durham got involved. Now the council, aided by the Friends of Killhope, runs the museum. Employees are responsible for its daily operation, but especially for restoring artifacts, research on machines, and fundraising, volunteers are involved. The museum has no direct connection to research projects, but it was pointed out that miners provided data for the first generation of academic geologists.

There are some international visitors, but the museum focuses on local visitors, especially schoolchildren, in particular since the museum is an example for the working conditions in the Victorian era, a topic included in the school curriculum. The aim of the museum is educational and it costs more money than it generates. The number of people that can take the one-hour underground tour is limited to about 80-90 per day. Also children with mental or physical disabilities are able to visit the mine. The museum appeals to children because of its hands-on approach. Children can wash the ore and understand how it was to work in a mine (this work would be done by children in Victorian times). The museum helps individuals with genealogical research, but since lead mining involved fewer people than coal mining and was abandoned already in 1916, there is not much living memory left. Lead mining goes too far back to say for children "I got a grandfather who was a lead miner." Killhope represents a lesser-known aspect of regional heritage, as 90% of the people in Durham County do not know about lead mining in the county.

The museum is situated adjacent to an area of woodland, planted in 1966. The moors have been shaped by economic activity. The land was deforested in Roman times and later drained and partially re-forested because pinewood was needed in the mines. Pinewood was softer than other woods but more useful because when under pressure it would bend and crack first, thus warning the miners who then could get out before a shaft collapsed—other wood was harder but would not give this warning. There is an exploration path into the wood, containing information plaques showing the many man-made and natural features in the woods, generating an understanding for the interaction between socio-economic forces and the ecosystem.

During my visit to the mineshaft, the guide described working and living conditions from a miner's point of view. Heritage is not neutral. The land does not belong to the people even though they create it through their labor. By telling the stories a commons is created, a commons of heritage, telling the story of human involvement in the environment. The conflicts of ownership and control of the land were political and still are. Also Killhope shows that one museum cannot be evaluated independently but that it belongs to a network of community-based museums, creating a new commons of heritage situated in the environment. Particular for mining museums is the creation of a sense of three-dimensionality of the land, in this region enhanced by the fact that coal seams are horizontal, and lead veins are vertical.

6 CHRISTIANIA: PRESERVING RECENT HERITAGE

As ecomuseums can be seen as parts of a heritage network, in a wider sense they are also part of an alternative movement for reclaiming the commons. It seems to be farfetched to describe Christiania, the former military area in Copenhagen that has been occupied by squatters for forty years as a museum. However, there are parallels. Christiania has promoted an alternative lifestyle, ecological sustainability, a car-free environment, and communal ownership; it is organized as fourteen area committees and a plenary meeting for general questions. In itself it is a living memory of the hippie age, begging the question of how old (or passé) something must be to count as heritage (see Bøggild 2011,124 for a discussion). The area of Christiania contains military barracks buildings from the 17th century, as well as newly constructed buildings that

express the alternative, counter-functional (Bøggild 2011, 114) utopian visions of the 1960s—and contrast with the social democratic city planning vision, which also can be seen in Copenhagen, in the district of Tingbjerg (Bøggild 2011), now often regarded as a problem area. The multiple heritage of Christiania attracts high numbers of local and international visitors (over a million per year, according to the Christiania Guide), and there are guided tours. Christiania is linked to a network of similar alternative projects in Denmark, which are marketed as tourist attractions on an official website (see visitdenmark.dk in references). There is no clear distinction between the alternative project of Christiania and community-oriented ecomuseums. Both ecomuseums and Christiania are future-oriented and also rooted in the past. Whereas ecomuseums are built on an alternative interpretation of history, Christiania is founded on the counter-cultural ideology of the 1960s, which is in itself a revival of romanticism, a reaction against the cultural effects of industrialization. In a time of widespread criticism against consumer culture as the main cause of the environmental crisis as well as the effects of finance capitalism, the experiment has gained a new relevance.

At first glance Christiania appears to be a counter-example to the idea of multi-level organization, as there have been many, often violent, conflicts with the Danish state, and the state attempted to legislate what is called “normalization,” i.e. the privatization of the communally owned project. Despite the massive cultural and organizational differences, however, history shows continuous cooperation with the state, in terms of health service and providing utilities. Contracts of toleration with the state brought stability, and recently the conflict was solved: the state agreed to sell the territory for a low price to the community, maintaining its collective status (Karpantschov 2011). Without both the conflict with the state creating solidarity and the cooperation with it, Christiania would not exist.

Christiania is also a global commons. It is the object of academic research and offers a program called Christiania Researchers in Residence (CRIR). It is a tourist magnet, and tourists support the local economy frequenting art galleries and restaurants. A guide brochure that explains the Christiania experiment points out specifically that the area has always been accessible to the public; it also stresses the social inclusiveness of the project, calling itself “losers’ paradise” (Christiania Guide 2004, 2). The guide also mentions that Christiania provides its visitors with access to nature: “The inhabited green ramparts make for a variegated and exciting natural environment. In fact, the green ramparts of Christiania appear much more recreational and attractive to visitors than the well kept, deserted areas under the care of municipal Copenhagen” (Christiania Guide 2004, 2). Christiania shows a three-level structure of the commons, and although the community now legally owns it, it is also used by the inhabitants of the city, the country, and the world. It is not an ecomuseum but it preserves heritage (historic barracks and buildings created in a countercultural spirit) *in situ* and has a similar multi-level structure.

7 OWNERSHIP AND THE COMMONS

Davis mentions that in the ecomuseum “[c]onventional views of site ownership are abandoned; conservation and interpretation of sites is carried out via liaison, cooperation, and the development of partnerships” (1999, 92). Who then owns ecomuseums? In the case of the Ecomuseo della Canapa the site was purchased by the local historical association (Corsane et al. 2007, 226). Killhope Mining Museum is owned by the public level, the County of Durham, but it is used by the cooperative Friends of Killhope as well. Christiania is soon owned by the collective of the about 900 inhabitants, but its space is used by local and international visitors. Nord Troms Museum contains its own, state, and private land. Here it is necessary to distinguish between the legal ownership of land and the uses of it. Uses can limit the scope of private ownership, and for example in Norway private land can be used by anyone for recreation (hiking, camping, berry picking), and it can also be protected by the state (Hess 2008, 4), which means in effect a limit to private property rights. Whereas legal ownership is usually restricted to one level of organization, the using rights and practices are not. Hess mentions that the question of property is highly complex, using the example of farmers in the Amazon rainforest who can burn the forest on their land, but this affects the global commons of the atmosphere (2008, 34). She explains: “This is an enigma with many types of commons: we ‘own’ what we can’t own. One solution to the puzzle is that we own in the sense they are the common heritage of human-

kind. We are ‘owners’ in the sense of needing to participate in the protection of them. We don’t own them in the sense that no one should own them—i.e. they should not be privatized” (2008, 39). The same kind of dilemma is encountered in ecomuseums: the actual territory has a legal owner, but in the territory of the ecomuseum many different commons, tangible and intangible, intersect. The common denominator of ecomuseums is that the actual territory is a commons, owned by the cooperative or public level and is not dominated by private interests.

In capitalism private ownership is the predominant mode of relating to natural resources and space. The dominance of private ownership creates a consumptive attitude that is blind for communal practices of creative engagement. Hardt quotes Karl Marx: “Private property has made us so stupid and one-sided that an object is only *ours* when we have it” and then asks: “What would it mean for something to be ours when we do not possess it? What would it mean to regard ourselves and our world not as property? [...] The open access and sharing that characterizes the use of the common are outside of and inimical to property relations” (2010, 139). Property relations are more than legal ownership: they prefigure social relations and relations to the natural world. Property means a monopolization of space that is inimical to multi-level communal use. Monopolization of space and resources is a tool for exclusion. The ecomuseum can be seen as an attempt to break the power of property, the exclusiveness of space through multi-level use. Even though legal ownership is usually limited to one level of commons, this does not exclude the other levels—to the contrary, it opens up the possibility to develop a full range of commons on its territory. An example here is Zuccotti Park in New York; this publicly owned park was appropriated by the cooperatively and globally organized Occupy Wall Street movement, thus briefly turning it into a multi-level territory. This is the same that happened forty years ago in Christiania, and the difference to ecomuseums is not too great: ecomuseums do not use direct forms of appropriation but negotiate—but the spirit of creating a new commons is the same. What is important is not so much the question of legal ownership but of monopolization and exclusion. In gated communities we find collective ownership with a high degree of exclusion. The ecomuseum can be evaluated by its inclusiveness: how does it include all segments of the local population and how does it include the other levels of the commons? Also the question must be asked of how it includes visitors. Visitors should not be seen as customers but as owners of the ecomuseums. This sounds absurd, but it is not. In the case of introspective ecomuseums, visitors and local population are the same, but also other visitors own. A major argument for the preservation of Christiania was that it provides a place to relax for everybody. If the nine hundred residents had decided to close the area for visitors, the state would have terminated the project. Ecomuseums that exclude consciously would not receive public funding. The heritage in an ecomuseum often is the symbolic property of a larger community such as a nation. The ecosystem of an ecomuseum belongs to the global community, as do results from its ethnographic or historical research. The inclusiveness of the ecomuseum and other alternative projects have thoroughly complicated the old public-private binary and raised the question of property, understanding that many tangible and intangible commons intersect in a territory, and that the commons are “owned” by the people who use and depend on them. Ecomuseums can be seen as part of a movement to resist the monopolization of property and to re-conceptualize the notion of ownership.

The question can be asked what happens if exclusion invades the administration of the commons, for example in the case where the state level is hijacked by corporate or criminal interests, where it is corrupt and authoritarian, not representing the public anymore? What if ecomuseums are instrumentalized by authoritarian governments, turning them into ethnographic zoos or commercial theme parks, exploiting its population economically and appropriating its symbols? In this case multi-level administrative arrangements are counter-productive, and in the case of the failure of the public level often cooperative grassroots movement are aided by global actors such as the UN or NGOs. Here it is important to see that the public or state level per se is not the problem (despite anti-state rhetoric that unites parts of the right and left) but that the problem is the loss of democratic control by the people who form the public level. Also NGOs can be self-serving, scientists unethical, or the cooperative level can be corrupt: failure of multi-level arrangements is always possible. Ecomuseums exist in a political context, and the role of the researcher is to elucidate this context and to ask who is in control of the various commons in its territory and who is excluded from this control.

8 CONCLUSION

The ecomuseum can be seen as a reclaiming of tangible and intangible commons, of the territory and heritage of a community. The *in situ* approach does not just mean that buildings and artifacts keep their original setting; it means that the ecomuseum creates a territory. In this sense Nilsen states that Nord Troms Museum is more than buildings, it is a territory (2004, 9). This new territory links different types of commons, and its establishment has a political dimension. Harvey argues that resistance is not just based on workplace solidarity but that there is a territorial basis to it (2012, 138-139). Ecomuseums are territories with patterns of land use reclaiming the commons and resisting the trend towards monopolization of space. Legal ownership in an ecomuseum can have many forms, but the common denominator is that land is either communally owned or that the community has (legal or granted) rights to use private property. This limitation of private property creates a common territory of collective memory, based on common work, engagement, involvement, and creation of the land. These processes of social reproduction encompass all forms of work, including unpaid work and cultural production. The engagement in a territory and with its heritage creates solidarity; this means that the ecomuseum is not about preserving historic artifacts and obsolete social relations but that common engagement with heritage and interpretation of the past create a future-oriented community.

Most ecomuseum research defines community in ecomuseums as local community. This is correct insofar as local involvement is the main feature of an ecomuseum. However, ecomuseums are also part of symbolic (regional or national) narratives as well as of global discourses from science to tourism. The ecomuseum has the potential to involve three levels of the commons, cooperative, public, and global in a multi-level organization. Because the three levels have divergent modes of organization and values, conflicts and failure are possible. Seeing the ecomuseum as an expression of the commons makes it necessary to re-adjust the conceptual map. Even though ecomuseums often grew from a reaction to centralization and lack of local control of heritage, they have made arrangements with the public and global levels, resulting in different forms of organization; in the case of the Durham Mining Museum the control of the museum remains fully in the cooperative sphere, whereas in Killhope the public level is dominant but still relies on the cooperative level of volunteers.

Seeing ecomuseums as multi-layered commons also allows a new understanding of the institution of the ecomuseum. The distinction between traditional public museums and cooperative ecomuseums is a gradual one, as there are cooperative elements in public museums (such as “community outreach” programs), and there are public elements in ecomuseums. Although traditional museums and ecomuseums have different forms of organization and values, they are both representatives of the commons. Ecomuseums have to be seen as a network of community-based museums and initiatives. The discussed museums have many formal and informal contacts and see themselves as parts of a network. Furthermore, also public institutions such as universities and traditional museums form part of this network or have the potential to do so.

Finally, the ecomuseum must be understood in a political context, as defending the tangible and intangible commons not against centralization but against commodification. The political and cultural opposite of the ecomuseum is not the Louvre—it is the theme park. Whereas the Louvre does not represent local community but central authority and defines a national identity in solely symbolic, not territorial terms, it is nevertheless a component of the commons, representing the public level. The commercial theme park, on the other hand, is not part of the commons—it forces its logic of entertainment and commodification onto culture and space, it does not engage visitors but fulfills their expectations of “authenticity” which often means a confirmation of stereotypes, it glosses over unpleasant conflicts (unless they are entertaining), it reduces living heritage to unique selling points, and it freezes an image of history without creating a community. The theme park is an expression of the progressing commodification and cultural enclosure in the neoliberal world, and the ecomuseum can be seen as a reaction to this trend. This reaction can only be effective if it is seen in a larger context of resistance, against the new enclosures of the commons, the monopolization of space and the commodification of heritage.

In the evaluation of an ecomuseum its character as commons has to be considered. This character is visible on different levels of the commons, on the cooperative level in the creation of local solidarity and empowerment, on the public level in the creation of symbolic value, and on

the global level through academic and touristic activities as well as local awareness of global environmental impact. Ecomuseums can be evaluated in terms of their educational profile, their resistance to commodification of heritage and monopolization of space, and their integration into a system of community-based projects. Finally, ecomuseums have to be evaluated for their political significance, for their ability to remember who built the land and who owns it, and to create a new sense of solidarity through engagement in the intersection of social and natural environment.

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New trends, new needs. Spatial planning for seniors' mobility in ecomuseums

N. Borrelli

University of Milan Bicocca

ABSTRACT: This paper raises some important questions which require innovation oriented solutions in ecomuseums' projects. These questions deal with the ageing of population, the seniors' mobility needs, and the impact of these aspects on ecomuseums. Those are very important problems -ageing processes are quoted in European Union Document HORIZON 2020- that have not been investigated yet in Ecomuseum literature. In particular, the focus is on a specific aspect concerning the ageing processes, i.e. seniors' mobility and transportation needs. Even though this paper is only result of literature reviews, it aims to discuss the importance of knowing seniors' mobility needs in ecomuseums, treated like spatial planning practices. In order to reach this objective, characteristics of new trends in ageing society are analyzed; features of seniors' needs in mobility and transportation field are shown; a path for seniors mobility planning are proposed. In conclusions, new paths of research are exposed.

1 INTRODUCTION: ECOMUSEUMS AND SPATIAL PLANNING

The concept of ecomuseum is one of the most long-lived and active expression of a school of thought known as "New Museology" that emerged between the 1960s and 1970s; the original new museology focussed on how museums might assist disadvantaged communities – becoming a social actor in a process of societal, cultural and environmental transformation. This view is still prevalent in many parts of the world, but in England and English-speaking countries the phrase 'new museology' is used as shorthand to capture the varied social roles and processes that museums have adopted (Davis 2008).

The main aims of ecomuseums are to utilise heritage resources by local actors, to sustain heritage and to benefit local communities. The large number of experiences indicate that these institutions aim: to rediscover the territory's cultural and natural values; the develop local leadership and to involve such leadership within supportive decision making processes; and promote relationships between different local authorities and local stakeholders, so ensuring integrated governance. Nowadays the ecomuseums philosophy and practices give value not only to the conservation of heritage values within a given territory, but also take in consideration the relationships between different actors.

Ecomuseums sustain a complex notion of place and a concept of territory that has multiple integrated components (physical, environmental, economic, social, cultural and political) and emphasize the role of local actors in increasing the value of cultural, natural and social resources by participation processes.

Participation permits the growth of the awareness of the local population about the importance of territorial values. Moreover, participation processes contribute to a progressive capacity-building to manage the territory and to get people used to working together and to making

decisions. In general, ecomuseums pursue the task of improving participation not only to encourage a common ideology but also take responsibility as a territorial guardian, resolving the conflicts between conservation and development. Participation processes that involve learning and empowerment work on local community habitus (Bourdieu, 1992). At the same time, participation processes encourage local people to organize themselves, strengthening the trust among actors and their social relationships, so consolidating social capital. Finally, participation processes help to identify the values of a territory and empower local actors, improve capacity building and the formation of institutional capital.

This people centred approach is very coherent with spatial and environmental planning that tends to revolve around social processes or social actions (Healey 2007) for sustainable development (Albrecht 2007)¹. In these social processes, local actors can be involved in decision-making processes to define the environmental conservation priorities and formulate development strategies. Ecomuseums are processes that can contribute to spatial planning because they aim to start social actions in which local actors are involved in democratic and participative decision making processes. They involve the local community and territorial stakeholders, empower local people, encourage learning and seek to identify sustainable development strategies within a defined geographical space.

In other words, ecomuseums reinforce sense of place and the awareness of the local resource to promote local development processes; to stimulate participation and empowerment in local contexts; and, to enhance governance.

2 NEW TRENDS: AGEING SOCIETY AND ACTIVE AGEING

A renowned researcher has studied the megatrends of our societies and their repercussions on life styles. Among other things, changes in the family structures are analyzed and it was already found that the classic family has been replaced by new types of groups such as: long distance couples, childless couples, homosexual couples, divorced singles, involuntary male singles, patchworking female singles, patchwork families, seniors.

Our interest here is on seniors. The interest on elderly people's ways of life has been growing since the end of the 80's (eighties). The reasons for such rising interest, proved by the variety of publications related to the topic, are also exposed in many reports published by international institutions like World Health Organization (WHO), United Nations (UN), Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and World Economic Forum (WEF). These documents have shown the main aspects of demographic changes and their impacts on society, cities and economy.

With the aim to better understand causes of increasing concern in elderly people and quoting a document by the World Economic Forum (2012), traits and characteristics of demographic trends are here summarized in few points. "At the global level, the share of those 60-plus has risen from only 8% of world population (200 million people) in 1950 to around 11% (760 million) in 2011, with the dramatic increase still ahead as those 60-plus are expected to reach 22% (2 billion) by 2050. In the same time, the share of those 80-plus has edged up from 0.6% of world population in 1950 (15 million) to around 1.6% of world population (110 million) in 2011, and is expected to reach 4% (400 million) by 2050" (World Economic Forum, 2012, p.7). These trends are due to the maturation of the "baby boom" generation - those born between 1946 and 1964 - (OECD, 2001, p.21), combined with increased longevity and declining birth rates; and they will markedly transform the developed world's demographics (OECD, 2001, p. 21; WEF, 2012, p. 4). In his last publication, also Brzezinski has underlined which are the main aspects of future trends of ageing population.

AGING—POPULATION 65+	US	EU	CHINA	JAPAN	RUSSIA	INDIA
1) % of Total Population 2010	13.0%	17.5%	8.2%	22.6%	12.9%	4.9%
2) % of Total Population 2025	18.1%	22.0%	13.4%	29.7%	17.7%	7.3%
3) % of Total Population 2030	19.8%	23.8%	15.9%	30.8%	19.4%	8.4%
4) % of Total Population 2050	21.6%	28.7%	23.3%	37.8%	23.4%	13.7%
5) Current Life Expectancy at Birth (years)	78.11	78.67	73.47	82.12	66.03	66.09

Figure 1 Ageing population trends

Source: Brzezinski Z. (2012)

Strictly interconnected with these topics, a study of the Copenhagen Centre suggests a possible distinction between three groups of elderly: healthy and fresh people; elderly with reduced functions, but who take care of themselves; dependent elderly who are debilitated and require care (Copenhagen Centre, 2008, p.11).

Senior Groups	Characteristic	Most prevalent in the age group	Share healthy and fresh in the age group 2008 (estimate)	Share healthy and fresh in the age group 2020 (estimate)
"Free 2"	Healthy and fresh seniors	55-74	65%	75%
Elderly	Reduced functions, but take care of themselves	75-84	45%	55%
Dependent elderly	Weakened elderly who require care	85 +	25%	30%

Figure 2 Senior groups classification

Source: Copenhagen Centre, 2008, p.11

These new generations of elderly people, living longer and better than the previous, will influence the society in all their dimensions: transportation, mobility, communication, technology and civic participation (WHO, 2007). Among all the issues considered in the document on age-friendly cities, relevant are the suggestions on how transportation and mobility system could be developed to be more age-friendly.

Closely interconnected with these new trends is the development of Active ageing by EU. Active ageing is the process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance quality of life as people age. Active ageing applies to both individuals and population groups. It allows people to realize their potential for physical, social, and mental well being throughout the life course and to participate in society according to their needs, desires and capacities, while providing them with adequate protection, security and care when they require assistance (WHO, 2002)

3 MAIN ISSUES CONCERNING SENIORS MOBILITY

Notwithstanding these new elderly's generations are able to take care of themselves, many studies³ have highlighted that older people tend to lose some skills, and, as a consequence, their safety is more at risk when they are moving around. It is possible to indicate some factors diminishing the elderly persons' ability to move around as: loss of vision and hearing; reduction of motor skills and walking speed; diminished attention and reaction time. The OECD underlines that "the gradual decline of the ability to discriminate fine detail (visual acuity) can lead to problems in viewing oncoming vehicles, traffic signals and signs. With increasing age, the field of view may also decrease and restrict perception of the traffic environment" (OECD, 2001, p.52).

Some researchers have examined the relationship between age-related hearing loss and safe mobility: "hearing deficits may cause problems for older people to localize sounds and ascertain consequently from which direction a vehicle is approaching" (Oxley, Dewer, 2004, p.177). Moreover, Oxley and Dewer added, quoting Carthy (Carthy et al, 1995) that "if visual and auditory information is incongruent, confusion may result and lead older pedestrians to panic" (Oxley and Dewer, 2004, p.177). Panic is another issue to be considered for the safety of elderly people.

Other researchers have examined the relationship between age-related diminished attention and reaction time and safe mobility. What they note is that there are some aspects that influence a lot the mobility of seniors. Those aspects are: decline in the capacity to distinguish relevant from irrelevant information (selective attention); decline in the capacity to divide attention between several tasks (divided attention); slower perception-reaction time. In the end, some other research have analysed how the Reduction of motor skills influenced the mobility of seniors.

What was demonstrated is that the reduced flexibility of neck and torso; the decrease in muscle strength; the slowing of the movements; and the decrease of fine motor coordination could have a big impact on senior mobility life style (SWOV, 2011).

A study by the London Department of Transportation underlined that "illness leads to the largest reductions in walking speed, but loss of strength is likely to be a factor for normally ageing people. Changes in leg strength and, possibly, patterns of muscle activity also affect older people's ability to maintain balance and to cope with losing balance. Falls become more common from late middle age and can have serious, even fatal, consequences for older people" (London Department of Transportation, 2001, p.54).

In addition to the factors diminishing the physical abilities of elderly people to walk, there are issues related to, for example, the maintenance of a high-quality walking surface. In fact, the quality of footpath and pedestrian-crossing surfaces and the avoidance of abrupt changes in level and step inclines may facilitate elderly pedestrians' mobility and increase their confidence. The OECD provided a list of the measures to be taken to facilitate elderly pedestrians walking: "kerb extensions to minimize exposure time on the roadway; bollards or other treatments to prevent parked vehicles from blocking pedestrian pavements; adequate footpath widths to accommodate all users safely; reliable pedestrian access to public transport, given the difficulties often posed by steps, the customary absence of handrails and access difficulties for wheelchairs and walking frames; adequate pedestrian access to shopping facilities which are often blocked by extensive parking lots or street furniture; pedestrian-only areas where possible" (OECD 2001, p.60).

Other measures are individualized for road users. Those are: decreasing the crossing distance by the construction of a pedestrian island; placing traffic lights at more crossing locations; adjusting the traffic lights for the elderly walking speed; reducing the speed of other traffic or excluding motor vehicles

All the aspects related to the mobility of elderly people, together with construction guidelines designed to provide a more comfortable environment for people that, due to ageing, are experiencing a decrease in mobility and perceptive characteristics, should be taken into consideration during the planning phases of mobility schemes.

4 PLANNING MOBILITY FOR SENIORS

Louis Albrechts (2004) proposes the following strategic spatial planning definition:

“Strategic spatial planning is a public-sector-led (Kunzmann, 2000) sociospatial (see Healey, 1997a for the emphasis on the social) process through which a vision, actions, and means for implementation are produced that shape and frame what a place is and may become.”⁴ (Louis Albrechts, 2004, p.747).

Starting from this definition and discussing the positions of Healey and Kunzmann, the first achievement of this paragraph is to explain which are the spatial planning aspects tackled in this paper.

As Patsy Healey underlines, in contemporary discussions in the UK, but we add in Europe too, a recurring theme is “the role of the spatial planning system in “integrating” disparate agendas, activities and actors” (Healey 2006). Healey defined an integrated approach like a way of 1. linking diverse policy objectives (the search for a beneficial economic, social and environmental “balance”); 2. connecting issues as they play out spatially(for example housing and economic development or land use and transport); 3. linking different types of government interventions (especially regulatory power and investment power); 4. overcoming the fragmentation of area – and development – based policy initiatives and the competition between individual projects; or as a way of linking policy with “implementation”; 5. increasing the connections between levels of governments or linking multiple stakeholders in pursuit of an agreed framework or strategy (Healey, 2006).

The last, but not the least, issue to be considered in spatial planning processes is the emphasis on livability and sustainability for the many and not for the few (Healey, 2011), that is recognized like a central aspect of place governance with a planning orientation.

This last issues, concerning the capacity to trigger open and inclusive spatial planning processes, is what captures our attention in this paper, where the focus is on seniors mobility planning processes. Reasoning about seniors mobility planning, implies to clarify which is the mobility theoretical approach adopted. As it will be better explained below, the interest here is on motility concept.

Motility can be defined as “how an individual or group takes possession of the realm of possibilities for mobility and builds on it to develop personal projects” (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006, p.173). The concept comprises all the factors that define the potential to be mobile in space, whether these are physical capacities, aspirations to be sedentary or mobile, existing technical transportation and telecommunications systems and their accessibility, and also previously acquired knowledge (e.g., a driver’s license, learning English for traveling etc.) (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006, p.170)⁵.

Motility is therefore made up of factors relating to ‘access’ (the conditions under which available options can be used), to ‘skills’ (required in order to use these options) and to ‘cognitive appropriation’ (the evaluation of the available options vis-à-vis one’s projects). Kaufmann defined these three groups of factors as follows:

- ‘Access’ is related to the concept of service. This includes the range of conditions regulating price, schedules etc., under which available options may be used. Access depends on the spatial distribution of the population and infrastructure (e.g., towns and cities provide a different range of choices of goods and services), sedimentation of spatial policies (e.g., transportation and accessibility), and socio-economic position (e.g., purchasing power, position in a hierarchy or social network) (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006).
- ‘Skills’ refer to: physical ability, (e.g., the ability to transfer an entity from one place to another within given constraints); acquired skills relating to rules and regulations of movement (e.g., driver’s licenses, permits, specific knowledge of the terrain or codes); and organizational skills (e.g., planning and synchronizing activities including the acquisition of information, abilities) (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006, p.171). Motility skills are based upon “only a small degree on formal training or education, and for the most part are learned outside the classroom” (Kaufmann, 2011, p.43).
- ‘Cognitive appropriation’ is what actors do with access and skills. It is therefore linked with strategies, values, representations and habits. This is formed especially by the assimilation of standards and values. Cognitive appropriation refers to how agents (including individuals, groups, networks, or institutions) interpret and act upon perceived or real access and skills. It is shaped by needs, plans, aspirations and understandings of agents (Flamm and Kaufmann, 2006; Kaufmann, 2011).

In sum, motility incorporates structural and cultural dimensions of movement, so that the actual or potential capacity for spatial-social mobility may be realized differently or has different consequences across varying socio-cultural contexts (Kaufmann, 2004, p.784).

The reason why it is preferable to embrace the theoretical approach provided by the concept of motility lies then in its capacity to be strictly attuned to the adopted spatial planning point of view. As it is discussed above, aging mobility planning is treated like inclusive social process that, to be community based sharing Albrechts', Healey' and Kunzmann' approaches, has the objective to individualize the main features of potential users like seniors.

In other words, to rely on a concept of motility that incorporates structural and cultural dimensions of movements means to lay the foundations for open and inclusive planning processes for seniors' mobility.

5 CONCLUSIONS: OPEN ISSUES TO BE INVESTIGATED IN THE FUTURE

As it was already discussed, ecomuseums, being an inclusive social processes or community based projects, could be considered a spatial planning processes aiming to trigger the evaluation of local resources by the involvement of local communities and to develop welcome services able to let visitors know which are the main features of the territories (Maggi, 2004; Maggi and Murtas, 2005; Murtas and Davis, 2009; Borrelli and Davis, 2012).

In the contemporary society, where demographic changes indicate that ageing population is growing rapidly. Focalizing the attention on seniors needs, also in tourism field, seems to be a fundamental necessity.

The demographic changes, in fact, stimulate, at least the development of two scenarios. The first one is characterized by the reduction of active population that will provoke a reduction of consumptions also in tourism field (Patterson, 2006). The second one regards the progressively involvement of well-educated and high income elderly persons in tourism experiences (Patterson, 2006). Well-educated and high income elderly persons are supposedly more interested in these kind of tourism experiences and, as consequence, the capacity to recognize their needs is becoming very important (Ietri and Krisel, 2012; Copenhagen Centre, 2008; Patterson, 2006).

Taken in consideration that the most part of ecomuseums are open-air museums characterized by pedestrian paths, it seems to be really important to consider the aspects concerning the seniors mobility needs at least for two reasons. Knowing senior mobility needs allow, on one hand, to welcome groups of seniors adequately; on the other hand to encourage a larger involvement of seniors in volunteers groups dealing with ecomuseums' activities.

ENDNOTES

¹About ecomuseum as spatial planning, it is suggested to read Howard, 2004; Davis and Murtas, 2009; Borrelli and Davis, 2012; Maggi, Murtas, 2004; Maggi et al. 2005, Sabrina Hong Yi, 2010, Raffaella Riva 2008.

²This is a list of some publications and studies concerning elderly mobility: Mathey, F. (1983) "Attitudes and behaviour of elderly pedestrians" *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* (17), 25-28; Sheppard, D., & Pattinson, M. (1988) "Interviews with elderly pedestrian involved in road accidents" (*Report RR98*) Crowthorne, Transportation Road Research Laboratory; Safety for Seniors Working Group (1989) "Safety for Seniors: Final report on pedestrian safety" Western Australia, Department of Transport and Planning; Harrell, W. (1991) "Precautionary street crossing by elderly pedestrians" *International Journal of Aging and Human Development* 32 (1), 65-80. Job, R., Prabhakar, T., Lee, S., Haynes, J., & Quach, J. (1994) "Elderly pedestrian behaviour and driver attitudes and knowledge regarding pedestrians" *Volume 2: Driver attitude and knowledge survey and pedestrian behaviour at zebra crossing study*. Report to the Roads and Traffic Authority of NSW Department of Psychology and Soames Job & Associates University of Sydney; Carthy, T., Packham, D., Salter, D., & Silcock, D. (1995) "Risk and safety on the roads: The older pedestrian" *Report prepared for the AA Foundation for Road Safety Research*, University of Newcastle Upon Tyne; Oxley, J., & Fildes, B. (1999) "Safety of older pedestrians: Strategy for future research and action initiatives" (*Report 157*) *Accident Research Centre*, Monash University.

- ³ It is suggested to read also OECD, (2001); WHO, (2007); London Department of Transportation (2001) and Whelam, (2006).
- ⁴ Our background in spatial planning considers the approaches of Albrechts, Balducci, Davoudi, Hall, Healey, Hiller, Moulaert, Kunzmann, Vigar.
- ⁵ As Kaufmann (2006, p. 169) highlights, the “motility concept relates, in certain aspects, to notions developed in the 1970s in transportation science regarding accessibility. Ideally, accessibility is the measure of a place’s attractiveness in relation to its potential to offer opportunities and the resources necessary to obtain these potentials (Ben-Akiva & Lerman, 1985). In more sophisticated versions, accessibility indicators integrate the perception of accessible opportunities (Handy & Niemeyer, 1997)”.

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Can ecomuseology be used to support sustainable, community-based tourism development in the Rupununi, Guyana?

J. Bowers

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, Newcastle University

G. Corsane

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, Newcastle University

ABSTRACT: Sustainability is a concept that continues to evolve and perplex in tourism, one of the world's largest industries. Effective new theories and practices are constantly explored to incorporate sustainability into tourism frameworks. Although marginally successful, sustainable tourism development remains a much criticised concept due to its lack of consistent implementation and conceptual and practical difficulties. In comparison, due to their focus on participation processes, integration of resources and response to specific needs and contexts, ecomuseum principles can be very useful for the development of community-based sustainable tourism products. Within the philosophy and practices of ecomuseology one can identify a number of indicators that tend to characterize individual ecomuseums. These can be viewed as the key principles of the ecomuseum ideal. This paper will consider these indicators in an attempt to explore their potential in supporting sustainable tourism development. These indicators map on to the heritage management and tourism initiatives developed by tourism stakeholders in the Rupununi region of Guyana, particularly the Iwokrama International Centre for Rainforest Conservation and Development (IIC) and the North Rupununi District Development Board (NRDDB). Are the actions and processes of these two organizations comparable and compatible with the principles of the ecomuseum ideal? If so, would the establishment of an actual ecomuseum help to support the sustainable development of community-based tourism resources, which are an important income generation stream in the region?

1 INTRODUCTION

Currently the tourism industry faces key challenges in terms of sustainable development, including threats to natural and cultural heritage resources. Effective sustainability frameworks are most often contextual depending on the circumstances of a destination, leading to a variety of management structures. The Iwokrama International Centre for Rainforest Conservation and Development and the North Rupununi District Development Board (NRDDB), in the Rupununi region of Guyana, South America, have established very important initiatives that can be held up as providing examples of 'good practice' in terms of sustainable tourism development. This includes encouraging and facilitating democratic participatory processes for integrated heritage management including nature conservation and the promotion of cultural diversity. Although Iwokrama and the NRDDB do not include the term 'ecomuseum' in their names, they follow several of the main characteristics, or indicators, associated with the ecomuseum ideal (see Corsane 2006b: 405 and Corsane *et al.* 2007: 105), which are listed later in this paper.

While Iwokrama, the NRDDB and other stakeholders already adhere to certain indicators within ecomuseum philosophy, there remains significant potential for sustainability in the adoption of additional principles. The central aim of the paper, therefore, will be to explore if the further inclusion of these indicators could be used to support sustainable tourism development

in the Rupununi. Ultimately, the authors suggest that stakeholders consider adopting the principles of the ecomuseum ideal, define an actual ecomuseum territory and use the term in promotional literature. This may provide a way forward for improving Rupununi tourism through consolidating an overall touristic experience where each venue and product finds a place. It may also contribute to the sustainable development of tourism through its focus on improved livelihoods, cultural preservation and environmental conservation.

Following this introductory section, the paper will provide a brief overview of the Rupununi and the current state of tourism development in the region, as well as the establishment and work of Iwokrama and the NRDDDB. It will then introduce the ecomuseum movement, along with identified indicators of the ecomuseum ideal. With these two outlines, it should become clear that Iwokrama and the NRDDDB initiatives appear to show several of the characteristics of an ecomuseum. As such, they have become part of a 'living museum' that in many ways breaks from traditional Western museum and heritage management approaches. In this, the working partnership between them tries to be sympathetic to the needs, concerns and interests of local indigenous Amerindian communities. This partnership is more holistic in character and attempts to reduce the Western way of thinking, which often sets up an artificial divide between nature and culture.

The paper will finish with some suggestions as to how the ecomuseum ideal can be used to support Rupununi tourism, including stimulating further documentation, recording and research programmes related to the natural and cultural heritage resources in the area, facilitating the interpretation and presentation of these resources for tourists and other users, establishing an understanding of 'sense of place' and consolidating the tourism provision by establishing an umbrella branding that will help to develop a critical mass and unified profile. This may help to ensure that tourists spend more time in this beautiful part of the world exploring what is on offer.

2 RUPUNUNI, GUYANA

The Rupununi (32,800 square km) is an immense tract of land in central and southwestern Guyana, composed of naturally-occurring savannah wetlands, riverine systems and tropical rainforests (Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 47). The region has a unique mixture of world-class natural and cultural heritage resources that have significant potential for tourism. Within its different ecosystems, the Rupununi has become one of the most biologically diverse locations on Earth (Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 47). Watkins *et al.* (2010: 1) argue that the area is as significant as other well-known destinations like the Galapagos, Serengeti, Manu Reserve and the Everglades. However, the seasonal flooding of the savanna, combined with a poor infrastructure and an extensive strip of rainforest separating the region from the coast, has made the area largely inaccessible until recent times. Authors and marketing efforts alike have described the area as one of the last great and untouched areas of the world, a "biological treasure trove" (Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 1; see also Smock, 2008: 229; Chan, 2012: 23; Gimlette, 2012: 59). The distinctive combination of an unspoiled natural environment with high species richness and indigenous cultural heritage presents an area of profound importance in today's globalized society.

The region has a population of 16,000 persons, made up of three main indigenous, Amerindian groups: the Carib-speaking Makushi (81%) in the north and the Arawak-speaking Wapishana (12.6%) and Wai Wai in the south (Funnell & Bynoe, 2007: 169-170; Read *et al.*, 2010: 219; Smock, 2008: 230; CI, 2010: 13; Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 1). Amerindian livelihoods are a mixture of traditional practices and cash-earning activities. However, they remain mostly subsistence-oriented, using their natural surroundings in holistic fashion (Read *et al.*, 2010: 214; Griffiths & Anselmo, 2010: 3). In most Amerindian communities, only around one to ten per cent will have full-time salaried jobs (Griffiths & Anselmo, 2010: 3). This scarcity for revenue options is characterized by high unemployment and low income, high transportation costs, poor social infrastructure and lack of capacity and access to markets (Bynoe, 2006: 6). As a result, communities have explored various options for development (pet trade, balata, cattle ranching), including the most recent addition of tourism.



Figure 1 Rupununi Map

© ICCHS (based on an original by the Iwokrama International Centre for Rainforest Conservation and Development)

3 HERITAGE TOURISM IN THE RUPUNUNI

In an area that possesses world-class heritage resources but remains plagued by a privation of employment opportunities, tourism has formulated as a seemingly 'logical' option for local development. Tourism had its initial, organized start in the Rupununi in the 1980s; however, in the last decade tourism has emphatically increased with seventy five percent of today's sixteen tourism businesses in the region officially opening their doors during this time (CI, 2010: 30). The majority of today's tourism projects are based in communities and predominantly run or influenced by indigenous people. Furthermore, tourism has evolved to become a highly targeted economic activity for several other communities and businesses in the Rupununi due to its socio-economic benefits and is considered an icon of tourism in Guyana (Edwards, 2006: 69; Dilly, 2003: 66). Currently, there exists a moderately sized tourism framework (200 available beds) with the majority of stakeholders planning to expand in the next five years (CI, 2010: 30-31).

Tourism in the Rupununi has largely been driven by its natural heritage resources (Smock, 2008: vii; Sinclair & Ali 2006: 87). The wealth of world-class biodiversity and natural landscapes has evoked a certain sense of place about the Rupununi that creates notions of a pristine, natural world teeming with exotic wildlife (Corsane & Bowers, 2012: 257). The Rupununi's advantages in wildlife viewing, particularly bird watching, have attracted visitors from all over the world (Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 207). Indeed, for the past six to seven years, bird watching was been pushed as the primary activity to attract the ecotourism market to the Rupununi (Smock, 2008: 17; CI, 2010: 27). This has resulted in targeted promotion for this niche market, guide

training programmes focused on birding and the creation of activities based around bird watching (CI, 2010: 27, 35). The concentration on nature tourism, particular bird watching, has been most evident in the visitor engagement activities offered by most Rupununi attractions. Birding and wildlife watching have consistently been the most popular activities by visitors since tourism's inception (CI, 2010: 9). Alternatively, and although the relationship between culture and nature is a key facet of Rupununi attractions and used for interpretation, initial research has suggested there is a lack of awareness on the value of cultural heritage for tourism. Although nature and wildlife may be the foci of Rupununi tourism, consideration should also be given to historic and cultural tourism, which represent over half of the world's tourism market (CI, 2010: 6).

Despite the available infrastructure and wealth of resources, there remains a significant amount of "unrealized potential" for Rupununi tourism (CI, 2003: 5). This is primarily because businesses are receiving low quantities of visitors (CI, 2010: 28). Currently, there are around twelve to fifteen hundred leisure visitors to the Rupununi annually. Smock (2008: 241), author of the only guide book on Guyana, asserts that "Workshops are attended, trails are cut, guides are trained, birds and mammals are identified and lodges are built, and yet still only limited numbers of visitors come". Tourism in the Rupununi is at a crossroads. It is entering a time where there have been small signs of significant growth, which is only likely to continue. A solid infrastructure base combined with improved access to the region is exemplifying the state of change occurring in the Rupununi and the shifting of societal and cultural values. Due to its young state, impacts from tourism have been minimal and therefore growth is seen as the primary objective. And although tourism development does possess significant potential, management frameworks need to be cautious and consider the three main pillars of sustainability.

4 IWOKRAMA AND THE NRDDDB

Rupununi tourism development has been heavily influenced by the work of a few key organizations. Stakeholders include numerous establishments from the private sector (e.g. Wilderness Explorers, Rock View, Karanambu), voluntary sector (e.g. Conservation International, World Wildlife Fund), media outlets (e.g. BBC, National Geographic) and local and national government agencies. Numerous donors have contributed to developing the tourism product while further financial assistance and equally important technical advice continues to come from two key, local organizations, the Iwokrama International Centre for Rainforest Conservation and Development and the North Rupununi District Development Board (Smock, 2008: 240). As both of their operations are based in the Rupununi, these two organizations have strong local presences. Iwokrama and the NRDDDB's involvement has proven to be a significant step forward in developing tourism in the Rupununi as they seek to demonstrate how tourism can assist with protecting local resources while generating economic benefits (Smock, 2011: 18).

The Iwokrama reserve, which draws its names from local mountains considered sacred to the Makushi, consists of nearly one million acres of rainforest. Although the main administration offices are in Guyana's capital city, Georgetown, the heart of the conservation area and the 'living laboratory' is the Iwokrama River Lodge and Research Centre, located in the northern portion of the Rupununi. The Iwokrama International Centre was established in 1996 as a joint initiative between the Government of Guyana and the Commonwealth Secretariat. The primary objective of the centre is to manage the Iwokrama reserve "in a manner that will lead to lasting ecological, economic and social benefits to the people of Guyana and to the world in general" (Iwokrama, 2012). As an international centre Iwokrama is governed by a carefully selected Board of Trustees, with international, national and local representation which meets regularly, whilst its day-to-day activities are administered by an employed management team and staff body.

Iwokrama's approach to sustainable development is founded in its partnerships and collaborations with national and international institutions and most especially local communities (Iwokrama, 2003: 10). Today, Iwokrama is considered to be "a world leader in collaborative natural resource management with indigenous communities" (Iwokrama, 2003: 8). Iwokrama's success has been possible due to this high level of stakeholder engagement where the local communities have played a central role in the decision-making processes of the organization (Wihak, 2009:

20; Corsane & Bowers, 2012: 253). Iwokrama has developed a set of guiding principles that recognise:

- the importance of seeking out appropriate partners for collaboration and cooperation;
- the adoption of a participatory approach that encourages active engagement with local communities and other stakeholder groups;
- the importance of developing as a self-sustaining enterprise, with environmentally friends and socially responsible products;
- the value of indigenous knowledge and practices; the need for capacity building; the provision for education and training; and, the importance of being involved in national and international forestry policy development (Iwokrama, 2004).

These principles ensure that the interests of local indigenous communities are considered and that they are empowered in decisions which affect their lifestyles. Much of Iwokrama's functioning relationship with Amerindian communities has principally been done through the NRDDDB, which was established with some support from Iwokrama on 19th, January 1996.

The democratic NRDDDB has representation through the *Toschao* (elected village leader) and village council systems of 16 local villages. The administrative headquarters of the NRDDDB is currently based at the Bina Hill Institute that was opened in 2001 in the Annai Village district, Rupununi (Smock, 2008: 240). Several important groups have been created out of the activities of the NRDDDB. This includes the Bina Hill Institute, the Makushi Research Unit (MRU), and the Community Tourism Board (Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 227). The Bina Hill Institute, aside from providing the head office for the NRDDDB, has started training programmes for post-secondary school children and adults (Wihak, 2009: 24; Iwokrama, 2003: 25; Smock, 2008: 240; Watkins *et al.*, 2010: 227). The Institute is primarily concerned with the preservation of local culture, enhancing local capacity for economic development and natural resource management (Wihak, 2009: 24). The Makushi Research Unit is a research-based group driven by women from the communities who document and research Makushi language, culture, traditional skills and nature-culture relationships. The Community Tourism Board has become increasingly important as tourism becomes a targeted activity for several communities and serves to promote and assist with the development of their products (Corsane & Bowers, 2012: 255).

Iwokrama and the NRDDDB have shared a close relationship during their history together. This partnership between the two organizations was formalized with the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) in 2003 and a Collaborative Management Agreement in 2005. These are that Iwokrama should: "respect community protocols, customs and traditions; work with the NRDDDB to minimize potential negative social or cultural impacts from Iwokrama activities; and, guarantee positive benefits and outcomes from business enterprises and other activities" (Iwokrama, 2007). As a result, Iwokrama and the NRDDDB have facilitated a culture of cooperation amongst stakeholders which has aided the development of tourism. One example is the formation of CATS, a joint initiative between two industry organizations (Rock View Lodge and Wilderness Explores, an inbound tour operator), Iwokrama and Surama, a local community to run the Atta Rainforest Lodge.

After Iwokrama established an ecotourism programme and river lodge in 2003 as part of their conservation management efforts, they then began a promotional campaign in the adjacent communities to the reserve for the development of "community-based ecotourism" (Bynoe, 2006: 7). Iwokrama and the NRDDDB have also assisted with workshops and capacity building sessions for Rupununi businesses and communities interested in tourism (CI, 2010: 3; Edwards, 2006: 69). These sessions provided technical assistance and advice for the development of tourism and "initiated steps towards networking of tourism operations in the region" (CI, 2010: 3). The first community-based tourism project was set up by Surama (2004), which after its initial success was then followed by several communities throughout the Rupununi (CI, 2010: 27). Throughout this process, Iwokrama and the NRDDDB have remained consistently involved.

In the end, understanding the characteristics of the conservation, research and tourism projects organized by Iwokrama and the NRDDDB is important in mapping them against the indicators of the ecomuseum ideal.

5 THE ECOMUSEUM MOVEMENT AND INDICATORS OF THE ECOMUSEUM IDEAL

The ecomuseum movement started in France in the early 1970s and has spread internationally to countries including Brazil, China, Canada, Italy, Japan, Norway, Portugal, Spain and Sweden. As with certain other new approaches to museology that appeared at about the same time, ecomuseology started as a challenge to more traditional approaches to museum work and heritage management. In France, two people have been put forward as the central initial proponents of the movement. They were the museologists Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine. Each of these men introduced one important ingredient that when combined became the foundation of the ecomuseum ideal. Rivière believed that at the time museums should have been doing more to place human affairs into broader environmental contexts, whilst de Varine wished to see museums become democratic institutions with local communities taking a far more active role in their work.

At this point, it is useful to gain a basic understanding of the differences between the ‘traditional’ museum and the ‘ecomuseum’. These differences have been presented as a pair of formulae developed by Hugues de Varine and added to by René Rivard (1988: 124). They state that:

- A Traditional Museum = building + heritage + collections + expert staff + public visitors; and,
- An Ecomuseum = territory + heritage + memory + population (see also Corsane 2006a: 109; Corsane 2006b: 404).

With this admittedly basic understanding of the differences stated one can delve deeper into the philosophy and practices of ecomuseology and identify a number of characteristics, or indicators. These can be viewed as the key principles of the ecomuseum ideal. Any list of these principles is likely to include variations on the twenty one outlined below in Table 1 (Corsane 2006b: 405; Corsane *et al.* 2007: 105). In this list, numbers 1 to 6 focus on the democratic and participatory nature of ecomuseums, 7 to 12 deal with what an ecomuseum includes and covers, and 13 to 21 centre on what an ecomuseum can do and the approaches and methods often used in ecomuseology.

Although the indicators represent the ecomuseum ideal, it needs to be noted that no two ecomuseums are the same. Each is distinct and unique; with the reason being that at the heart of ecomuseology is the idea that each ecomuseum is a living and changing organism that should be ever responsive to changing local environmental, economic, social, cultural and political needs and imperatives. As a result, individual ecomuseums will not have followed all of the same principles in the same order, or in the same proportion. This list supports the claim that Iwokrama, the NRDDb and other Rupununi stakeholders are following certain principles of ecomuseology. This is most evident in the empowerment of local communities and the democratic participatory processes employed by stakeholders. The consistent promotion by Iwokrama and the NRDDb of sustainability, joint ownership and management, collaboration amongst stakeholders, research initiatives and benefits for host communities further cements their association with the ideals of ecomuseology.

Table 1 Twenty One Ecomuseum Indicators (Corsane 2006a: 110; Corsane 2006b: 405; Corsane *et al.* 2007: 105)

1.	Is steered by local communities;
2.	Allows for public participation in a democratic manner;
3.	Encourages joint ownership and management - double input system;
4.	Emphasises process rather than on product;
5.	Encourages collaboration with network of partners;

Table 1 Twenty One Ecomuseum Indicators (Corsane 2006a: 110; Corsane 2006b: 405; Corsane *et al.* 2007: 105) (continued)

6.	Is dependent on substantial active voluntary efforts and local 'good will';
7.	Focuses on local identities and 'sense of place';
8.	Encompasses a 'geographical' territory, which can be determined by different shared characteristics;
9.	Is a fragmented 'museum', with a network of interpretation and display 'gateways', 'hub' and 'antennae', including landscapes, buildings, sites, etc ;
10.	Promotes preservation, conservation and safeguarding of heritage resources <i>in situ</i> ;
11.	Gives equal attention to immovable and movable tangible and intangible heritage resources, where the tangibles include all components of material culture and intangibles include expressions of culture like oral traditions, oral testimonies, language, song, music, dance, ritual, ceremonial practices, traditional craft skills, etc.;
12.	Covers both spatial and temporal aspects - diachronic rather than simply synchronic;
13.	Allows for change and development for a better future;
14.	Encourages an <i>ongoing</i> programme of documentation of past and present life and interactions with all physical, economic, social, cultural and political environmental factors;
15.	Promotes research with different inputs - from local 'specialists' to academics;
16.	Promotes multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches to research;
17.	Promotes a holistic approach to interpretation of culture/nature relationships;
18.	Illustrates interconnectedness between: nature/culture; past/present; technology/individual skills;
19.	Provides for an intersection between heritage management and <i>responsible</i> tourism;
20.	Brings benefits to local communities e.g. sense of pride, regeneration, and economic, human, social and cultural capital; and,
21.	Stimulates sustainable development and responsible use of natural and cultural heritage resources.

6 ECOMUSEOLOGY AS A WAY FORWARD

In the final section of this paper and in the conclusions, the authors draw together what is presented in an unpublished conference paper by Corsane (2009), with some further ideas by Bowers following his initial data analysis on his doctoral research project.

The conservation, research and tourism programmes of Iwokrama and North Rupununi are all being developed and increasingly formalized on an ongoing basis by the different shareholders and stakeholders. These stakeholders include international organizations and aid bodies, national government ministries and commissions, academics from Guyana and abroad, businesses, and, most importantly, the local communities and people. It is suggested that these activities and outcomes could be more closely brought together if the principles and practices of the ecomuseum ideal were more overtly recognized and applied as a set. Currently all of these activities and programmes are being undertaken and this is important. However, to an 'outsider' the processes may seem a little fragmented and it is difficult to see all the complex points of connection and the critical paths between them. It is believed that the relationships – both actual and potential – between the initiatives could be consolidated and made more explicit if they were incorporated under an umbrella name that includes the term 'ecomuseum'.

The ecomuseum movement is still growing internationally and by establishing an 'Iwokrama-Rupununi Ecomuseum' the initiatives could be given a 'branding' that would interest external bodies. This includes donors and funding groups, who would be able to support and appreciate individual component initiatives as part of a larger and integrated project that is significant in size and international impact. In addition, by including the recognized term 'ecomuseum' into the name, the project will join a movement that has critical mass and is gaining increasing momentum internationally. Internally, it has the potential to stimulate the development of closer communication and working relationships between all the interested parties in the territory.

Additional benefits from using ecomuseum principles to support the sustainable development of Rupununi tourism include the equal promotion of both natural and cultural heritage resources. At present, the natural heritage is currently the primary marketing tool and product. However, the indigenous cultural heritage of the region, including the tangible and intangible, possesses great potential for tourism development. Although Iwokrama and the NRDDB have been working to safeguard the cultural heritage of the region (see Bowers & Corsane 2012), more consideration should also be given to the role of tourism in protecting these heritage resources. Inclusion of cultural heritage is likely to raise awareness about the value of these resources amongst visitors and community members alike. In turn, this assists with generating social capital including a renewed sense of pride and place and personal capacity. Also, due to the fact that the Rupununi is in a state of 'change', an ecomuseum would allow for the diachronic documentation of past and present life and relationships between the natural and cultural landscapes.

In more practical terms, the establishment of an umbrella concept like an ecomuseum may help to encourage tourists to stay in the area for longer and to visit more of the sites and villages. Currently, tourists may not be able to see the links between the different tourism products and places, settling for limited visits to the better known tourism venues like Iwokrama, Karanambu, Surama and Rock View. However, tourists might include more in their itineraries if they were aware of the opportunities and felt that all of the tourism opportunities were part of a larger whole.

The overall ecomuseum territory with 'gateways', 'hubs' and 'antennae' could initially be communicated via a unified website that focused on a geographical map with a defined ecomuseum boundary. This would likely be the first introduction to the ecomuseum that many people would find as they started their desk-top research for travel destinations. The website would then be mirrored in the actual environment. It is suggested that clearly signed 'gateways' into the ecomuseum could be set up, with orientation centres that could be linked to restaurants and other facilities. For example, a gateway and orientation centre in the north could be set up alongside the roadside village of Fair View. This would be accessible from the Linden-Lethem road, the Fair View airstrip and the Essequibo River. An eastern gateway and orientation centre could be established at Apoteri, which would be accessible from the airstrip and the Rupununi River, with the latter being used as a way into the more centralised area of the ecomuseum terri-

tory. A gateway and orientation centre from the south could also be established on the road out of Lethem to Linden.

These gateway orientation centres would provide introductory information to each of the tourism venues and products and show how they all formed part of a complementary whole. More detailed information and exhibition centres could be established in more centralized 'hub' points, where tourists were likely to spend more time. For example, hub interpretation centres could be created at the Iwokrama River Lodge, Binna Hill Institute/Rock View and Yupukari. As part of the communication presented at the gateway orientation centres and the hub interpretation centres, tourists would be encouraged to visit all the other villages and sites. More detailed interpretation could then be provided at sites using site display panels and the villages could host small exhibitions and displays giving more detailed village-specific information and an understanding of the local 'sense of place'. The villages themselves should be encouraged to develop very distinct and unique selling points in terms of the interpretation and tourism products. Some could have eco-lodges, while others focus on providing tours, or creating craftwork using traditional skills.

7 CONCLUSIONS

This paper set out to provide a brief overview of tourism development in the Rupununi, the work of Iwokrama and the NRDDDB and to show how this work, the processes followed and the outputs achieved are reflective of identified ecomuseum indicators. Both these institutions have intuitively followed the principles of the ecomuseum ideal. In addition, both have the development of tourism experiences and products at the core of their business activities. This paper suggests that by establishing both a virtual and actual ecomuseum territory and by using the term ecomuseum in their promotional material, Iwokrama, the NRDDDB and other stakeholders will be able to consolidate their activities under a single umbrella concept. This would likely help in attracting further funding, improving communication and understanding in the network of working partnerships, creating awareness and placing value on all heritage resources and provide a more unified approach to attracting and holding tourists. All of this should benefit all the shareholders and stakeholders with invested economic, social and cultural interests. These are surely positive outcomes to aim for?

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Rethinking the geographical concepts of “post”modern (eco)museology: spatial trends and challenges for the Brazilian ecomuseums and community museums

D. S. Cardoso

UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro, Brasil

ABSTRACT: This paper presents the hypothesis that ecomuseums and community museums, at least within the Brazilian context, make a mistaken use of the geographical concepts (territory, region, landscape, place and space) in their endeavour of planning and management of collections, cultural heritage and of the “territory-heritage” as a whole. Accordingly, it is possible to notice a depletion of (eco) museological and spatial theories, when the geographical concepts have their meanings changed and mixed up with one another. Therefore, there is a risk, yet apparent, of reifying, stifling memories, identities, knowledge, works and local artifacts, because the speech, which should be a facilitating factor in the (eco) museological mediation, often ends up becoming a State control tool and of power struggles in other political arenas.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is often believed that the world has become both globalised and localised in all life spheres and backgrounds. In this conception, the process revolves around two poles: a) major economic and financial undertakings and an urbanisation linchpin that promotes, at least in the western realm, societies with post-industrial, post-modern and cyborg profile; 2) reactions against intrusion and theft of “Others”, all on behalf of preserving the place, the people or group that feels neglected. Usually in these latter cases, the outcome is the creation of exclusion clusters (Haesbaert, 1997), localist communities or globalised bums (Bauman, 1999), residential segregation (Ribeiro, s/d), territorial distinctions (Barbosa, 2010), power micro-spaces (Foucault, 1979), bio-political spaces of exception (Agamben, 2002), in short, *territorial restraints* (Haesbaert, 2007) of every kind that engenders territories with (extremely) problematic geographic feelings. Upon quoting territory, as a provocation, a topic will focus its analysis in order to point out the problems arising from the current trivialisation of the concept, exposed to every type of use and abuse. The proposal is to place it again where it has always been and has a greater semantics strength: in power relations, in institutional hierarchies, everywhere else, in negotiations and bargaining. The approach through which territory has been conceptually emptied from any political and economic meaning deserves a thorough review. And for socio-eco-museum purposes, the urgency is similar.

In many cases of territorial localism/exclusivity, even those with strong global appeal – which Nigel Thrift very cleverly referred to as globalised localism (Thrift, 1996) – there is a clear and resigned denial of the relational dimension of the place, in other words, the spatiality of social life. Without those three assumptions advocated by geographer Doreen Massey (2008),

space (and its production) becomes a mere abstract clipping, full of ideologies and thus its connection to other contexts and networks becomes delicate, and in several cases, it is adjoined in the name of originality, good morals and the maintenance of “local” interests. By taking such action, we build a vision of place as a crystal, a lump of which only the established ones have the right of usufruct. But since the postmodern spatiality is so practical – the dimension it simultaneously harbours, “traditionalises”, translates and transforms into flow technical objects, the know-how, institutions and relationships – such exclusivist and pseudo-authentic speech no longer fits to our contemporaneity. And to our enthusiasm, ecomuseums and community museums are already to some extent, aware of this new socio-political, cultural and space scenario shaped by urban societies (Westernised?).

There is a need – urgently raised by post-colonial studies and the very recent Latin American de-colonial movement (although some of its mainstream mentors are hosted in U.S. and European universities...) – to overcome Eurocentrism and the arrogant scientific knowledge that insist on framing the social aspect within the ideas and ordinances planning. What is needed is the opposite: Science being framed by social groups from their experiences, interests and urgency for empowerment and development.

The space and its conceptual variants (territory, region, landscape, place) should be understood, recorded and conducted in order to clarify what, according to Sack (1997), defines the human being as a geographical creature: memory, imagination, culture, tradition, identification processes, rituality, intertextuality, negotiation, conflict ... Therefore, memory and imagination tend to occupy a prominent “place” in our space representation systems. Accordingly, it is through memory and imagination that the act becomes inventive, fluid and (in)tense. This more generous view allows us not to make the fatal mistake of the Western modernity, namely: the reduction of “deviant,” “exotic” and non-Western cultures to billiard-balls (Massey, 2008), essentialised entities (Clifford, 2002), spatially isolated groups¹ (Gupta & Ferguson, 2002) that are not included in the Western civilisational landmarks.

This early dialogue serves to show that, if within the scope of international relations and urban phenomena, there is clear uncertainty over how to think and *spatially* act, the sociomuseum scene does not escape this situation either. It is a social dilemma of modern societies that annihilated the space for the sake of time. From Marx to Hegel and Henri Bergson, and then, from Lucien Febvre to Richard O’Brien, theorists have devised a Cartesian, and modernist and non-social space to be subdued by time, this rather is a crucial dimension of change, vitality of the *socius*. Space would only be a support, the stage of events driven by the flow of time. Space would be taken as clipping of time (Hegel’s idea) to reveal the strength and elasticity of the duration. There is no need to elaborate on the disastrous consequences of this thinking concerning social theory and social movements in general, for a long “time,” they held up to the famous idea: “the revolution will come one day,” “sometime the change will happen”, “if things will really change, only time will tell”. Regarding this last phrase, it is undeniable that behind it there is metaphysical-like solution, because it is the space that shows how well a social process takes place, it materialises the production of inter-relationships and also dictates the pace of change. Massey (2008) considers in detail all perniciousness contained in the modern (non) geographic thought, and which prevented the advancement of the critical social theory. Therefore, besides the cultural *turn*, the *spatial/ geographical turn* of social sciences in the late twentieth century were so much celebrated (Cook, 2000).

For ecomuseology and community museology, space is *important* not only for its strategic value in speech and museum territorialisation, but also as it settles in scalar mode the relations and injects processivity to the socio-environmental dynamics. Accordingly, a community museum is not focused only in local relations: it can reach actors, resources and experiences from other contexts, outside the sphere of its scope of immediate action. This implies a situation in which the museum territory and its performance area together form a plant of *local production of the global*. Memory and imagination, two prominent elements in any production and museum communication, are inherently global in their capacity to give meaning and significance to the past, present or future events. The global is not in essence a usurper of the place, but with it the global can maintain continuities and point horizons of undertaking/intermediation.

The central purpose of this paper is to establish a *bridge* between geography and museology. Only thus can we understand the geographical bases of action of museum institutions and

government spheres that promote/finance Brazilian museums (IBRAM, museum state systems, research and consulting companies in cultural resources). Preference will be given to ecomuseums and community museums because these institutionalities are trying to arrange society/community/regional/local network into a dialogue with the territorial and cultural heritage. This is the scope of the text: think “museum post-modernity” that anchored on the community/eco-social bias of the museum process, outlines spatial strategies consistent with trends and demands of globalised societies. These, even intricate in relations of economic and cultural domination and exploitation are more attentive to peripheral voices (albeit in an action that aestheticises or even folklorises popular expressions) and to issues such as justice and social equality, human rights, environmental conservation, protection of historical-cultural heritage and democratisation of access to culture (cultural citizenship).

Arrange geographers, museologists and other museum actors in interaction. This is a challenge that shall come into being when *bridges* are established between the branches, and the geographical space is fully highlighted in the museum and museographic processes. Regarding the *bridge* meaning, I refer to the Simmelian thinking style like a continuous exchange, which generates, in specific events, the completion of uniqueness (Simmel, 1996, p. 21). É na construção de pontes que se realiza a paisagem, vista numa perspectiva simmel-raffestiniana² standpoint as the *stimmung*³ that works as the interface between the human side and the exterior side, the ecological and symbolic aspects, the corporeal and the representation aspects. In other words, the landscape, and in foreseeing a discussion about the next topic, is an “instrumental image” that allows the human intervention in a “multiplicity of domains” in life (Raffestin, 2007, p. 5).

In the following topics, I will give a brief explanation concerning the major geographic concepts: landscape, region, territory and place; at some occasions, I will quote examples of ecomuseums institutions incorporating geographic concepts as a discursive (Foucault, 1979), strategic (Werlen, 1993) or existential resource (Tuan, 1983) in order to procure things, recognition and *status* before the local population and in other contexts, spheres and political, cultural and heritage institutions.

2. MAJOR GEOGRAPHIC CONCEPTS

2.1 *Landscape*

It is through the landscape that society and individuals are realised, namely, nature takes shape and manifests itself in the image/representation/speech of social subjects. I use the word “realisation” not in the Heideggerian sense, but as a form of attention to the central role of representation in shaping what we call landscape. It is commonly claimed that the representation is the other end of the Real, a symbolic form that has at its heart the masking of the Real by the transmutation of perception in a diffuse and ambivalent arrangement of forms of expression and content (Gumbrecht, 1998). These forms of expression and forms of content are the materialisation of processes transposing the universe of memory, imagination, image and meaning in worlds of intermediations from the language, the positioning of subjects, use of materials and media, etc.

Consequently, an idea of landscape as “instrumental image” (Raffestin, 2007) is important in the museum and museographic domains for two reasons: 1) it provides an imagistic-discursive content that enhances the museum space, leading the public to meet and interact with memories and events of the past – and in many cases, with its present and future projections of the local community; 2) it provides the basis for fracturing images that it helps to create, because images are culturally and environmentally constructed and, as in any process involving the cultural environment and the environmental culture are likely to be contested, reworked and re-semanticised; therefore, the landscape is fully and consistently activated in virtually all *museum communication* processes (Santana, 2011), leading the public to experience the atmosphere of the period that the museum space intends to emphasise. Ecomuseums and community museums are the museum instances most impacted by the way local inhabitants *present and represent* the local heritage and their experiences of living and place.

Under such a landscape point of view, the territorial image provided in a landscape way establishes the exchange system between the practical-sensitive world and the symbolic world. In ecomuseology and community museology, the landscape should act as a spatial analysis method of the ways to intervene in the empirical reality spread out between the material and the symbolic, but especially under the scrutiny of the images and representations. The idea of landscape as a material-apparent result of societies hinders more than helps to clarify the actual conditions of production of place (Massey, 2008), of regional consciousness (Bezzi, 2004) and groups territorialisation (Haesbaert, 2004). Unfortunately, through the trends seen today in the world museology and museum examples of the landscape seen in Europe and Brazil⁴, we see that the landscape sociomuseum discussion is just at its start.

2.2 Region

Anthropologist Gilberto Freyre in the middle of last century introduced the proposal of “regional museum” as an institution to preserve the folk memory. This idea, advocated in some museum sectors and in the third sector, has been gradually treated harshly in some musealisation processes in which the phenomenon has a clear regional “feature”. This is the case of Museu do Homem do Nordeste⁵, (Museum of Man of Northeast, Museu Regional de Olinda (PE) (Regional Museum of Olinda (state of Pernambuco) and Museu Regional de São João del Rei (MG) (Regional Museum of São João del Rei (state of Minas Gerais).

Many authors mean the region as the domain space, control and administration, like the connotation given in the Roman Empire (*regio*). However, the region can also be read with a sense of direction, spatial orientation (Haesbaert, 2010, p. 3)⁶. At this point, region is a continuous process of regionalisation, and the marks of the process leads to a regional issue that is never empty, always needs the identity (Bezzi, 2004, 2002) to both mobilise the “regional subjects” and accomplish the ever required cohesion and territorial integration.

There are several examples of regional processes with global impact, as in Spain (Basque, Catalan), Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia. In such cases, it is regionalisms, a narrower dimension of the region where *politics* takes the reins, leaving culture of “between equals” or in the background.

But after all, what is region? Meri Bezzi sums it up brilliantly:

(...) region is defined as a specific set of cultural relationships between a group and a specific place. The region is a symbolic appropriation of a portion of space by a certain group, which is also a constitutive element of regional identity. The region, with a focus on cultural identity, is again seen as a real product. It is concrete. It exists. It is proper and experienced by its inhabitants, differing from the others mainly by the identity the social group gives to it (Bezzi, 2002, p. 17).

As to museum policy and management, the ontological and practical dimension of the region and regional identity should be taken into consideration when determining the scope and territorial strategies. Since ecomuseums and community museums are likely to be created in both urban and rural environments, the diversity of tactics, plans and actions will largely depend on the context to be territorialised by the museum institution. It is not the same thing to foster ecomuseums in global cities-regions (Scott et al., 2001) or in rural areas, as in the case of ecomuseums of Maranguape (state of Pernambuco) and Ribeirão da Ilha (state of Santa Catarina).

In any case, region is the prominent geographical concept of identification and articulation of groups, places and political-economic processes that are gathered in one place. The region is always under a process: this is its generic condition. And because it is eminently cultural (Hissa, 2004), the regional spatiality unavoidably involves issues such as negotiation, conflict, reproduction and social dispute. Besides intermediations, region refers to an imaginary, or rather, an imagined community (Anderson, 1987). Its dynamicity is embedded within vibrations of power ontologically engendering the *regional issue* (herein in accordance with Francisco Oliveira’s phrasing [1977]).

In general, (eco) museum institutions play an important role in valuing a region and/or a regional identity: their mission is to authenticate and disseminate memories, events and know-how of the regional society. All the region dimensions may be subject to musealisation (politics, economy, culture, art, religion), as they should merely be claimed by local groups and supported by museum management. The museum, as well as any cultural institution undertaking the task, is apt to recognise, enhance, invest and convey a regionality atmosphere that nourishes and rules the regional society. In any case, in musealisation situations of the “regional”, culture will always be the geographical bulwark.

2.3 Territory

Today territory is the key concept of the Brazilian Human Geography, the great driver of speeches and actions on the dynamics of places and human intermediations, always determined by the trio des-re-territorialisation (Haesbaert, 2004), following in the footsteps of the Deleuze-Guattarian thinking.

A hypothesis for the preference of the concept of territory by Brazilian geographers, social movements and the cultural initiatives is given by Haesbaert:

Perhaps the hegemony of place revealed in Doreen Massey's works [and in the English geography] is due in part to the strength of the cultural-identity dimension within the English geographical context, as well as “territory” in our midst may be due to the strength of territorial disputes in an environment where “land-territory” is still a resource (and a shelter, would claim Milton Santos) to be appropriated and enjoyed by an increasingly larger society (Haesbaert, 2008, p. 13).

Territory is a geographical phenomenon of power manifestation, a concrete and symbolic expression of ownership or possession of the space by a person or any kind of social grouping. It is through territory that politics takes place by means of material conditions and instrumental means (and mediations) of heritage acquisition or solidarity occupation, of mutual usufruct or strict control of space. It can be noted that I am working on both the territories that are born out of solitary action and those that are a direct product, for example, of the Western modernist order, which rationalises all and marks the “correct” places of actions of social subjects (children in schools, adults in the companies, the elderly in asylums, mad people in mental hospitals, women in purified places, etc.). The French geography comprehensively discusses framing techniques (Taillard, 2004) and concept (and technique) that best describes how the capitalist west conceives space and think about its applicability in hegemonic processes.

Under a materialistic view point, Robert Sack (1986) believes that territoriality, a dynamic condition of formation and territory qualification, establishes a border, an area classification and a form of communication. But as the author explains, each group/person has their own territorial dynamics, and it takes its *form* and *content* from the social history, geographic conditions and policy of meaning of the group/person. Territoriality leads groups and people to adopt a position (Marcus, 1994) and location policy (Hall, 1992).

Nowadays, the mistake concerning the approaches of territory focuses on the trivialisation of the concept to such an extent that its operation is ambiguous, that is, totally inaccurate in its political-ideological content and established power relations. What was then the operational role of the territory, namely, the investigation of political relations, negotiations, hierarchies etc., has been used to treat all facets and situations of life, in a movement that tends to produce a reverse effect: to empty the political meaning of or uncritical approach to the culture of the social group being studied.

Some geographers argue that territory should retrieve its “original” semantic load, that is to say, where the emphasis is on the concrete and/or symbolic uptake of space. Centred in this approach, territory emerges as a dimension where the conflict, negotiation, interest and physical, symbolic and visual demands make up the analytical and defining scope of social existence of the territory. The territory should be focused on the dimension of the struggle, the social conflict. The territory embodies events requiring a decision making that, in most cases, takes harsh proportions of calculated risk and physical and/or symbolic violence. As Carlos Walter

Porto-Gonçalves⁷, ironically asserts, territory is the *place* of the back alley, the tête-à-tête with the Other. And the Other is not always so outlying: it may be your neighbour, an adjacent suburb, a street of a socially lower group, as points out Norbert Elias (2000) upon studying the little town fictitiously called Winston Parva, and the conflicts arising from the division and stigmatisation between the established ones (early dwellers) and the two other newly-installed territory groups.

At the Ecomuseum de Santa Cruz, along with other cultural actors, ways to understand the dynamics of segments territorialisation and local groups, and one of the rich examples of cultural territorial dispute existing in the region is that of “*Clóvis bate-bola*,” groups which appear in the carnival period and set up a symbolic and “friendly” atmosphere of rivalry and joy, with the right to contest for the best clothing and performance in “*cruzas*” and “*roda-baiiana*”⁸. This phenomenon has gained such popular reputation that has been recently recognised as a cultural heritage in the State of Rio de Janeiro.

The criticism of human geographers is that territory has fallen into such a vulgar concept that, regardless of the topic that is under discussion, territory has become a kind of “Joker playing card” that can replace the remaining geographical concepts: where earlier it was spoken of as landscape, it is now spoken of as territory; where a space would be of a regional type, now it is treated as territory; in place situations (the convergence of social paths and nature), the vocabulary strength of territory stands out as a dimension of the human interaction by power; and finally, in environmental approaches, territory would be a cycle that articulates and enriches acclimatised elements, taking out of the environment its major concept richness: that of the *amb + ere = to be related*, “*go-along*” (Yazigi, 2006).

In line with this reasoning, how can we define territoriality and the territory of an ecomuseum or community museum? Certainly, it will not be possible along the lines today prescribed by the intellectual “whim” and social movements, including several Brazilian ecomuseums that have confounded territory with place, landscape, region, environment/ambience...

2.4 Place

Place habitually is the concept that draws attention to the affective, experiential and lived side (or even playfulness) of spatialised social relations. Place is the meeting space, connecting social and natural trajectories that make up a unique and particular space. Unlike the readings made by some “territoriologists” geographers (Sahr, 2009), the concept of place does not ignore the power relations, and much less tapers the political aspect, which is part of the processes of recognition, organisation and reproduction of places. Place is connected to the conformation of geographical identity shared by the subjects enjoying that meeting space of stories/social paths and nature (Massey, 2008).

However, place does not seem to be a concept very much requested by museum experts and other cultural agents. This is due to the naive, parsimonious and incomplete nature conveyed by the concept. As a result, Anthony Giddens adopts *locale*; in France, landscape is the main concept used both by geographers (Roger Brunet, Augustin Berque, Paul Claval) and by sociologists and philosophers (Michel Maffesoli, Gilles Lipovetsky, Alain Roger, Pierre Sansot); in Britain and in Southern U.S., region has been rebuilding as a concept-matrix of geographical human-cultural disciplines (Cardoso, 2011); whereas in Brazil, territory emerged with full force in recent years (Haesbaert, 2010, 2007, 2004)⁹.

Region, often seen as a concept situated in the limbo between the local and the national, is now confronted with the contemporary requirements for valuing of the place sphere, the senses of place, the practiced place¹⁰. And with that review of the place, museology finds fertile ground to expand its ideas and intermediations. Seeing regions in the interstices of the cities and in other space instances is still a new path in the Brazilian Geography.

By way of introduction, place is the network of relationships instituted in a particular space-time. It is upon (dis) articulation and (dis) integration of social phenomena on a locatable network of relationships that place is produced. People, art groups, merchants, institutions, streets, sub-districts, public agencies, hospitals, religious communities, events and entertainment, these are the hallmarks and nuances of a place that establishes landscapes relating to local processes.

Ontologically speaking, geographers deal with *referrals of the place* ... These are built in the daily reproduction of material activities and memories, imaginations, feelings and loyalties that mobilize, educate and expand the sensibilities of local residents and supporters. Here, we are going deeper into the breeding ground of the sense of place, a concept hardly explored by British and American geographers.

When the sense of place is developed, practiced, and perhaps the greatest of all, *ritualised*, people incorporate a geography of emotion, a spatially marked structure of feeling, but that at any time can expand or contract through the processes involved. The geography of the place of emotions has its apex at the moment in which people, groups and institutions state, with all zeal, that “this place is mine,” “we cannot live without this place,” “we love this place,” “we miss our place to death.” Again focusing Rio de Janeiro, this city is an important area to study the causes and effects of a sense of place continuously developed (Wonderful Town, Land of Samba, place of cunning and happy people) and disclosed in a speech by the media, hegemonic institutions and popular segments, making up a dense web of meanings to be debated and processed in the daily life.

Peter Davis (1999) notes that the sense of place is one of the basic pillars of the ecomuseum action, and it should be enhanced in all senses and situations. And indeed, in recent years the main focus of the ecomuseums has been the pursuit and protection of meaning, or rather the “spirit of place” (Corsane, s/d). From East to West, the ecomuseum action has been summarised to pace in the best possible way the equation “territory + heritage + memory + population” (Corsane, 2008, p. 3), whose result is to Peter Davis, the ecomuseum, an institution to serve the conservation and interpretation of “all elements of the environment in a way that it ensures a continuity with the past and a sense of belonging” (1999, cited in Pérez, 2009, p. 194), regardless of the socio-political context.

An overview of ecomuseums and Brazilian community museums makes us understand that place is the dimension that is implied in the theoretical and labour developments of each one of these institutions. Place is not elevated to the category of crucial theoretical action both due to the conditions described above (naive vision of the concept) and the fact that territory has taken over the reins in museum speech, being used in an indiscriminate and uncritical manner. The question is whether the place will follow its course or if new perspectives will open “space” for debate on how ecomuseums and the community museums can participate in the production of place, using memory (basic concept of museology) as an organizing element of affections and imaginations that gives local community powers to understand, appropriate, labour and reframe its Space-World (Sahr, 2007) as a cultural heritage to be enjoyed in a conscientious, fair and caring way by all identifying with it.

3. A QUICK LOOK AT THE CONTEXT AND DEBATES OF THE BRAZILIAN COMMUNITY (ECO) MUSEOLOGY

In concrete terms, IBRAM (Instituto Brasileiro de Museus) [Brazilian Institute of Museums] is one of the records of the new State cultural policy implemented early this century – initiated by Lula’s administration (2003-2010) -, headed by scholars, politicians and other left-wing activists who erected the cultural heritage as an action priority for the sectors related to the culture. Safeguarding, registration, restoration, promotion and funding actions have augmented in the last ten years. IBRAM as well as other public and non-governmental institutions affiliated to it or to the Ministry of Culture (MinC), marks a historic moment of re-conceptualisation for the cultural heritage (now encompassing intangible culture), enhancement of vernacular know-how (Master Griô, point of culture, recognition of specific segments such as gypsies, *quilombolas*, *ribeirinhos*, lace workers, babacu coconut breakers, popular *luthiers* and hip hop, funk, “forró pé de serra,” dirty music groups, etc.).

The museum and the museum knowledge also stand out in the current Brazilian cultural scene: they have become protagonists in a moment of re-appreciation and re-narration of the Brazilian history, where stories of cultural diversity are to be told and safeguarded. This diversity needs to be documented, preserved, promoted and, if possible and necessary, museumified for new generations. They are creating new ways to generate employment, income and cultural creation through the formalization, professionalization and mercantilisation

of history and cultures. Urry(1996) remarks on the outbreak of the “tradition industry”, this being a recent vector for the expansion of profits regarding the consumer’s sovereignty and the new demands for a popular taste. Although it is not based on the action of ecomuseums and community museums, which have a less auratic and mercantilist scope than conventional museums, Urry manages to generalise with a relative accuracy the current role of the different types of museum:

It is not so much a matter of incorporating a high culture, devoid of ambiguity, which the vast majority of the population is excluded of. Museums have become more accessible, especially for service providers classes and the middle class (...). In terms of leisure of these classes, suggests Merriman (1989), visits to museums, with their associations, with their associations to a previously very high culture, enables the acquisition of a certain cultural capital, acquisition made possible thanks to the degree whereby people today have the ability to “read” museums (Urry, 1996, p. 178).

And he makes a critical quotation, and that goes for the community (eco) museology, rushed readings that see the tradition industry as a sea of inauthenticity and lack of commitment to the “history as such”:

Indeed, it is not clear, in any way, which history most people have. In the absence of a tradition industry, how is the past usually appropriated? (...) For many people the past, at best, will be recovered by reading biographies and historical novels. It is not obvious that the account of the heritage industry is more misleading than such readings.

What needs to be emphasised is that the history of the tradition is distorted due to the prevailing emphasis on visualisation, the fact that they present to visitors a series of artifacts, including buildings (“real” or “manufactured” artifacts) and then try to visualise the pattern of life that would have been built around them. This is essentially “artifactual” history, in which a variety of social experiences are necessarily ignored or trivialised, such as war, exploitation, hunger, disease, law, etc. (Ibid., p. 153).

The museum, museology and the agents who are indirectly involved in Brazil constitute a field where memory, identity and cultural economy become part of safeguarding, promotion, sponsorship and broadcast actions. Museums and similar institutions began to fight for shares of public funds (and private as well) via notices, incentive laws, etc. Everything should be devoted on behalf of an excellent museum management, prioritising the qualification of the actors and beautification of the museum space. Within this scenario of attempts to democratise public resources, from the Museu Imperial de Petrópolis (Imperial Museum of Petrópolis) to the Ecomuseu de Ouro Preto (Ecomuseum of Ouro Preto) – and all those pertaining to federal and state museums systems, all are in the struggle for institutional consolidation.

The National Sector Museum Plan (PNMS, term 2010-2020)¹¹ is a leading document in the Brazilian cultural field. It features the consolidation of a far-reaching policy for the multifaceted museological segment, comprising from the training of managers to the use of the most sophisticated media and marketing strategies in order to compose audiences, unlike previous management approaches, which gave precedence only to conventional museums¹² and the “petty politics” concentrating all resources and privileges on the hands of only a few museum actors, the tactics of IBRAM and its allies perpetrating the museological activity within novel parameters of democratisation of resources and access to culture.

If PNSM is able to accomplish all goals set within the deadline prescribed, socio-museology as a whole will achieve another projection and relevance in the national socio-cultural scenario. As “guardian” entities of know-how, ways of life and local-community territoriality, the community ecomuseological action is linked to a geographical view in which “territory” is the

actual address of the museumised phenomenon. There are no museums that are more related to the place, the geographical region, and the symbolic territoriality than ecomuseums and community museums, except for museums of landscapes and territories, which gradually gain “space” in the sector policy of IBRAM and similar.

The goal of the Plan is to provide ecomuseums and community museums with an objective cultural and political purpose, that is, ability to train and empower community actors for the full exercise of cultural production and citizenship. Inserted as a sector pole, ecomuseums and community museums have as its political most attraction its easy insertion with communities with a low museum potential. Regarding ecomuseums, these can anywhere and under any circumstances, museumises a space: it is enough to have a community willing to receive new ideas and agencies, and a “technical” body who face the problems and challenges of the community consensus, heritage and environmental demands, and the risk of reification of space in the eco-museumisation process. Barreto (2000) says that until the 1980s, ecomuseums had their pinnacle in Europe, notably those endorsed by mentor Hugues de Varine. However, by 1980, ecomuseology starts to lose theoretical (and political) strength for a number of reasons that are not answered solely by the internal structure of ecomuseums. It involves a closer look at the cultural flows and socio-spatial mobility of post-modern capitalist societies.

Among the reasons for the crisis and transformation of the ecomuseological sector, are the social changes after 1973, which have provided companies with a global, post-industrial and spectacularised (cultural industry) content. In this scenario, societies and nations begin to leverage some *isms* peculiar to a system that became flexibilised, relaxed, liberalised and spectacularised in all social spheres. Therefore, *individualism*, *pragmatism*, *managerialism* and *entrepreneurialism* make up the political landscape of the Western industrial democracies. As to individualism, in Brazil, the trend of new ecomuseum and museum-community institutions in Brazil has been to have their names linked to an important person of the past, placing the community on a secondary level.

In light of the foregoing, we see that initiatives such as Ecomuseu Dr. Agobar Fagundes, located in Nova Russia, Blumenau (SC), and Ecomuseu Nega Vilma, resided in Dona Marta slum, Botafogo (RJ), comprise the new ideas of museum and cultural producers and managers. The proposal is simple: immersed by an entrepreneurial view, such producers and managers of the culture turn one or more distinguished persons into symbolic baits, and based on a “rescue” of their personal narratives, habits, skills and political and cultural significance, the community museumisation is triggered, summoning a pool of people who are interested in sharing the symbolic and concrete appropriation of their place by means of virtuosités and peculiarities of the renowned subject(s). Closing this brief comment, we can realize that based on one or more people (that were) locally influential, the cementation of the social and patrimonialising of the place become fully feasible. The unique requirement is that the museological plan is convincing and beneficial for dwellers and collaborators. And the community empowerment becomes a matter of time and resources.

In pragmatic terms, ecomuseums, as well as museology in its entirety, cannot escape the structural imperative of radical contemporaneity embracing us; a world where the struggle to maintain the aura and physical integrity of the cultural heritage has become as important as the fighting against hunger, poverty, war and social and environmental injustices. Culture is the anchorage for novel social demands and struggles in pursuit of recognition and protagonism. Culture, far from the romantic appeal of anthropologists, is the new centre of social battle; of the symbolic war for (re) taking of spaces and activities subject to the cultural industries or groups featuring other sustainability parameters (solidarity economic, cooperativism, financing via crowd funding).

Turning back to ecomuseums... These demand a good amount of financial and human resources to support their projects, and establishing alliances and agreements with private actors (company, research institute, patronage) become inevitable. In most cases, these are disjointed actors and not in the least used to ecomuseological design, and by so doing, one runs the risk of breaking the original design of the museological project.

The community museum phenomenon has obtained interesting results in Brazil. In almost all places where a community museum is installed, reports are that the initiative derived from the “inside” of the horizontal networks that make up the community and its externality (university, technicians, and patrons). These were either the result of the militancy of residents associations

or other institutions hankering for restoration of the stories and identity (ies) of the place, or local intellectuals committed to the situation. Accordingly, the community museum has been moving in this direction: providing tools so that dwellers themselves mobilize their feelings, membership and activities, forming a *localized economy of goods and symbolic exchanges*.

Among the community museums, one that draws attention is Lomba do Pinheiro (stated of Rio Grande do Sul). The building housing the museum-community actions, which is situated on the outskirts of Porto Alegre, in the past, served as a shelter (flood of 1965) and space for popular education. This story provided the guidelines for implementation of the museum, which has in the heritage education its main philosophical and political-educational foundation. UFRGS has an interesting outreach programme with neighbourhood schools, besides the exchange made with other institutions and groups¹³. The goal is to break the gap between academic knowledge and popular knowledge, providing a multiple interaction cultural and diffuse environment, including indigenous children, youth, adults and elderly. The inclusion of all participants within the network of relationships of museumized place turns the museum into an effective mediating space between the collective memory (speech) and the actions of the local basis. As stated by the mediators of the museum¹⁴:

(...) the educational process is conducted towards local knowledge and an enhancement of memory, history, environment, in the various aspects that it may contribute to self-esteem (sic) of the neighbourhood residents. In this territory, under the guidance of Professor Zita Possamai, the work is developed through group meetings, reading, texts studying and writing, debates and discussions. Besides the theoretical and practical preparation, students work at least once a week in the territory. These projects involve the qualification of basic-level teachers and students, through visits to the museum spaces. It is intended to establish a dialogue between theory and practice, providing a reflection on the action that will be constantly reviewed and evaluated by the group.

As in all museum institutions committed to the museumized neighbourhood, media and virtual environments are the best way to reach and serve stakeholders. In an era when heritage education is as necessary as environmental education and other basic subjects, the community museum of Lomba do Pinheiro is an excellent laboratory of trends of socio-spatial insertion through museological processes. The *locale* of Lomba do Pinheiro is the location of the communities that make up the neighbourhood, similar to the scope followed by the ecomuseums of Santa Cruz and of (still in its planning stages) Sepetiba, both located in the West Zone of Rio de Janeiro, and believe it or not: Sepetiba is a sub-district of Santa Cruz! In this situation, as in others, it is seen that the delimitation of a neighbourhood does not necessarily coincide with the boundaries and limits of an eco-museum agency.

Other community museums with a good territorial accountability and representation are: Museu Comunitário Almiro Theobaldo Muller de Itaparanga (state of Santa Catarina), Museu da Maré (state of Rio de Janeiro), Museu da Favela (state of Rio de Janeiro) and Museu Didático-Comunitário de Itapoã (state of Bahia). A quick visit to ABREMC's website, link "Ecomuseus e Museus Comunitários no Brasil,"¹⁵ reveals how much failure and inequality exists concerning the distribution of ecomuseums and community museums in Brazil. Certainly it is a medium-and long-term process in view of the fact that these museum modalities do not have a strong media appeal, much less the generation of employment and income. The southern region has the largest concentration of community museums, something presumable due to the cultural, scientific and economical asset available there, and the strong identity appeal of the regional groups and other segments – Museu Comunitário dos Trabalhadores de Limpeza Urbana (state of Rio de Janeiro), Museu Treze de Maio (state of Rio Grande do Sul), the latter with an emphasis on black culture and expressions. In Southeast pole, ecomuseums are given some emphasis, even though their exhibits are devoid of personal and financial resources in artistic and cultural events and promotion of conservation initiative of the memory and heritage of the place.

4. FINAL REMARKS AND A RESEARCH AGENDA

The symbolic production of social museums is dynamic, relational, and intuitive. The museum is a system of (in) formation, a privileged spatial structure that works memory, imagination, collections and training of individuals to schedule commitment to cultural heritage. Under the community museum standpoint, it becomes more evident, since its aim is to be

(...) a cultural management centre with meetings and dialogues, as a promoter of the surrounding community, and the instance where different cultural actors converge and encourage exploration, discovery, intellectual exchanges and renewals (Santana, 2011, p. 2).

Endowed with a specific form of communication, the *museum communication*, the museum gains notoriety when its scope of geographical action encompasses all forms of contents worthy of being appropriated, catalogued and presented to the public. In these situations, creating ambience is crucial to assert the interactive aspect of the collection and heritage, inviting people to create an aesthetic relationship with the museumized product. I refer to aesthetics as “the experience of feeling for the potencialisation of the form”, in which “derives the important phenomenon of the enchantment of the senses” (YÁZIGI, 2006, p. 70). Aesthetic makes it possible, through *in*-formation, the creation of worlds via production of sensibilities, affiliations, memberships and more.

Many of the geographic dilemmas occurring in the Brazilian museum management derive from attitudes and ideological positions already taken in the first steps of musealisation of a space. The planning and implementation phase of the museum is very important in order to know what kind of geographicity/spatiality the musealisation is intended to. Among the errors are:

1- A lack of criteria concerning the spatial ontological basis of ecomuseums, community museums and other alternative museums, and this greatly affects the documentation, patrimonial and conservation process of cultural goods, the moment the museum, community and territory become instruments of cultural, political and educational action;

2- The spatial strategies of the institution that, in general, remain in the background or are not given due attention;

3- And carelessness regarding the vertical and horizontal stresses that are not suited to the hard core of meaning that the concept of territory conveys, for instance. I mention a hard core of meaning because, due to the postmodern condition that undermined all that was said to be stable, authentic and unproblematic, sciences, arts and other know-how are in front of the trap, as advised by many authors, to extend the concepts to the point that the meaning is fully compromised. Something is spoken of, when in fact the other case is being referred to, which linguistically speaking, is already recorded in another concept. In geography, territory has gone through this process.

Finally, we must wonder if ecomuseums and community museums – and I also quote the recent program “memory points” – an IBRAM’s initiative, which aims to stimulate local-community initiatives for the registration of collective memory and differentiated know-how – are *heterotopias*, evoking here the classical Foucault’s grammar (2006), or comprise other topological natures. By so doing, then we can think of endotopic situations (endo = internal + topos = space = interpenetration spaces of strategic seclusion), ritotopic (rite = ceremony topos = space = ritualisation spaces) or “oligotopic” (oligos = few + topos = space = space to/for a few, the *insiders*) in the ecomuseology and community museology.

Such a debate based on museum topologies places socio-museology in another plan of action: as a catalyst for creation processes of cultural conservatories (Warnier, 2000). Thinking ecomuseums and community museums as authentic cultural conservatories is understanding, on the one side, that ecomuseums stands out for total cultural environmental heritage by involving everyone in the defence of the ordinary space (Santos, 1996), but now museumized and made meaningful to all; and on the other side, that the community museum acquires responsibility and leadership in the communitisation process and territory-heritage management, returning to the collective the political voice and relevance in the *local* production of culture, memory, identity...

Differences between these two socio-museological facts fork, as we might expect in a two-way path: 1) the strengthening of memories, traditions, membership and manners of use of cultural heritage; 2) the possibility to access externalities, promoting socio-cultural exchange, making up differentiating rituals and use the museum institution as an ideological instrument of power to negotiate conflicts and propose solutions. In short, these are issues and questions of geographical matrix still in a germination state (at least in the Brazilian scenario), which should be urgently reviewed in the light of new contributions made by the Human Geography currents (cultural, humanistic, Marxist, media).

ENDNOTES

- ¹ It concerns the configuration of European anthropological representations over several decades. Such a view contextualised non-western societies (exotic!) as isolated groups, without possibilities of civilisational advancement.
- ² I quote two academic scholars from distinct professions and temporalities: Simmel was a German sociologist who lived until early last century and produced outstanding diagnosis about the psycho-geographic condition of people in big European cities. A fact that spread to other Western urban contexts and stresses the generalisation of specific processes configured in the capitalist urban areas (monetarianisation of the economy, impersonality of relationships, blasé attitude, privatisation of the religious aspect); Raffestin is a Swiss franc geographer who is at work, preparing excellent reviews based on the concepts of territory/territoriality and the implication in landscape, that is, the representation people envisage of perceived/conceived/lived territory.
- ³ These are the three possible meanings for the term in the Portuguese language: “atmosphere”, “objectively perceived sensibility” or “engendered atmosphere”. All of them elicit the spatiality of the phenomenon concerned and its setting over a certain period of time. The *stimmung* relations with the concept of event are very productive, particularly if the geographers advanced the geographic theory of the event discretely proposed by Santos (1996).
- ⁴ In the city of Rio de Janeiro, there is the revitalisation project of Largo do Boticário, in Cosme Velho, Zona Sul, which comprises the creation of a landscape museum to consolidate the neoclassic and bucolic atmosphere of the district. Available at: <<http://solucoesurbanas.com.br/projetos-em-curso/museu-da-paisagem.html>> - Accessed on: April 20th 2010.
- ⁵ An example is Museu do Homem do Nordeste, located in Recife (state of Pernambuco), that, despite not being related to the community ecomuseological perspective, and not taking into consideration the mistakes of interpretation that might arise upon essentialising the phenomenon of the “northeastern man”, the institution plays an important role in broadcasting the know-how of the northeastern popular groups. Further details, refer to Santana et al. (2011)
- ⁶ Meaning also derived from the Roman Empire, but unlike the first definition (that mentions chiefs and bureaucrats of the empire), the meaning of “orientate”, “direct” relates to the Roman diviners who tried to foresee events through “regions” traced in the sky.
- ⁷ A sentence uttered in his lesson “Geography and Social Movements”, given in a Geography graduation course at UFF (2/2008).
- ⁸ See: <<http://textosdetherezapires.blogspot.com.br/2012/02/o-blog-entra-em-ritmo-de-carnaval.html>> Accessed on: May 5th 2012. NT: Typical folkloric costumes and dances in the state of Rio de Janeiro.
- ⁹ Despite the power of the territory, the region follows as a protagonist in interurban and mesoscale reviews.
- ¹⁰ To have a clear picture of the ambivalence of both concepts, as far as the British Geography is concerned, region is nearly always a synonym for place; in USA, as well. But in other countries, the discussion assumes different forms.
- ¹¹ PNSM available at: <<http://www.museus.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/PSNM-Versao-Web.pdf>> Accessed on: February 2nd 2012.
- ¹² In regard to this, some remarks must be raised, such as in the instance of Rio de Janeiro, where ecomuseology had its most prominent status (prematurely, so as to speak) in early 1990s, with the creation during Eco-92 (agenda 21) of Ecomuseu of Santa Cruz, which became recognized only in 1995 by means of a municipal decree. However, the current management has systematically neglected both this ecomuseum as other cultural institutions with a large profit margin.
- ¹³ For measurements of exchanges, see: <<http://conexlomba.blogspot.com.br/>> Accessed on: May 19th 2012.
- ¹⁴ Available at: <<http://conexoesufrgs.blogspot.com.br/2009/05/museu-comunitario-da-lomba-do-pinheiro.html>> Accessed on: May 19th 2012.

¹⁵ <<http://www.abremc.com.br/ecomuseus.asp>> Accessed on: May 19th 2012.

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Looking at ecomuseums through 'landscape lenses'. Examples from Suoga and Zhenshan, China

C. Chang

Department of Landscape Architecture, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Alnarp, Sweden

M. Annerstedt

Department of Work Science, Business Economics, and Environmental Psychology, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Alnarp, Sweden

A. Jakobsson

Department of Landscape Architecture, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Alnarp, Sweden

M. Lieberg

Department of Landscape Architecture, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Alnarp, Sweden

I. S. Herlin

Department of Landscape Architecture, Swedish University of Agricultural Science, Alnarp, Sweden

ABSTRACT: The concept of 'landscape' has become increasingly recognised in Europe, due to the establishment of the European Landscape Convention (ELC), emphasising the involvement of local actors in planning, management, and conservation of landscapes and recognizing the role of landscape as an economic resource in the context of sustainable tourism. This illustrates that the ideas of ecomuseums are at the heart of the ELC. The concept of landscape has, however, not previously been much addressed in ecomuseum literature, even though landscape is the setting for ecomuseums. This paper explores, via examples from Suoga and Zhenshan ecomuseums in China, how landscape is represented in descriptions of ecomuseums, as a way to highlight the interaction between natural environment and human activity. The paper concludes that the concept of landscape may be used for expressing linkages between the present and the past, as well as between social, cultural and natural environments in Chinese ecomuseums.

1 INTRODUCTION

A common definition of an ecomuseum is a museum which is for, by, and about people at home in their environment (Keyes, 1992). Thus, in an ecomuseum created after original principles, the purpose is to protect and develop relationships between people, people and nature, people and society, and material and spiritual culture, as manifested by local people.

The ideas of an ecomuseum were developed and defined during the 1970s by the pioneering museologists George Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine. The definitions of ecomuseums have then evolved over the years (Davis, 2011 citing Rivière, 1992). From an initial focus on ecology and environment, the concept has evolved towards a stronger emphasis on regional and societal issues, connected to local communities and regional national parks (Davis, 2011). In his final conceptualization Rivière gives the ecomuseum an "evolving definition" and describes it as a tool, with "limitless diversity" (Rivière, 1985), shaped, and operated by both public authority and local community. There have been several attempts to update Rivière's definition as for example by de Varine in 2005: "The primary meaning of the prefix 'eco' in the term 'ecomuseum' as opposed to its use in such general terms of reference as 'economy' and 'ecology', is one that connotes a balanced system between society and the environment" (de Varine, 2005). De Varine (2005) also emphasizes the importance of people's own awareness in protection and conservation. Landscape was mentioned as an indispensable element of ecomuseums in Rivard's graphic representation of ecomuseums (Rivard, 1984), but the term was not discussed further.

Landscapes have varied meanings and functions, expressing aesthetical as well as territorial or material aspects. In addition, they gain cultural and social significance by reflecting both local and social relations within a territory (Olwig, 1996; Mitchell, 2004 citing Meinig, 1979). The concept of 'landscape' has become increasingly recognised at a political level in Europe, due to the establishment of the European Landscape Convention (ELC). The ELC puts great emphasis on community participation and the involvement of local actors in planning, managing, and conserving landscapes. The ELC defines landscape as 'an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors' (Council of Europe, 2000). This acknowledges landscape as a relation between natural environments and local people within a defined space. These are also important components of ecomuseums. The ELC 'applies to ordinary landscapes no less than to outstanding ones [because] every landscape forms the setting for the lives of the population concerned' (Déjeant-Pons, 2006). Furthermore, raising awareness of various cultural landscapes is the central principle of both ELC and ecomuseums. This illustrates that the ideas of ecomuseums are at the heart of the notions expressed in the ELC. The preamble of the ELC highlights the role of landscape as an economic resource in the context of sustainable tourism (Council of Europe, 2000).

Hence, the interaction between community and nature, i.e. between the social, cultural, economic, and natural environment is what creates a landscape. In the study of ecomuseums, it may therefore be useful to analyse these interactions in the landscape. Understanding landscape representation could provide a tool to understand the interactions between human and social environments in ecomuseums. Landscape is also the main feature that is visible in representations of ecomuseums, for example in information materials on the internet and in brochures.

There has previously not been much landscape analysis in ecomuseum literature, and if so mostly in terms of heritage studies. Regarding China only two authors mention the concept of 'landscape' when discussing ecomuseums, Yafang Yu (2006) and Hong Yi (2010). Yu promotes a value assessment system for landscape protection and usage, including sustainable development of ecomuseums in China (Yu, 2006). Yi (2010) suggests an integrated way to evaluate the success of Chinese ecomuseums, which relates to heritage landscape conservation. Both authors mention landscape evaluation approaches in the context of heritage protection in ecomuseums, but to the best of our knowledge the discussion of landscape representation in literature on ecomuseums is otherwise scarce.

In the western world, for example Sweden, ecomuseums are often associated with traditional farming culture, natural history and landscape (Bergdahl, 2006). One such example is the Ekomuseum Nedre Äträdalen, in the south-western county of Halland. The web page of the county defines an ecomuseum as a "decentralized museum situated in a well-defined landscape area" (Ekomuseum Nedre Äträdalen, 2012 online). Hence, the term "landscape" is used already in the advertisement, to attract potential visitors. It also describes the ecomuseum as relying on local involvement and participation from inhabitants and as a place where the original buildings and objects fulfil their functions in their original settings. The landscape is the setting for various activities and places to visit, as well as the main object for experiences such as hiking or walking on trails and pathways (Ekomuseum Nedre Äträdalen, 2012 online). Immaterial values, such as beauty, that can contribute to the sense of place are mentioned several times for various places in the area (Ekomuseum Nedre Äträdalen, 2012 online). Landscape is furthermore linked to sensory experience such as sound and taste. The possibilities to experience tranquillity, taste traditional food, or listen to the sound of a river are pointed out. The ecomuseum here seems to provide a connecting "brand" for promoting countryside enterprises. The resulting economic development will lead to further interaction between human activities and natural environments, shaping a new landscape.

1.1 *The concept of landscape in China*

In China the concept of landscape has constantly developed throughout time. The ancient, classical landscape was called 'garden' (園). Such a garden meant something enclosed, private, designed to create a recreational environment through natural beauty. This was traditionally linked to political power, and only the royal and upper class could build and enjoy such gardens.

Today China has begun to use the term 'landscape' more widely and the concept is similar to the western one based on the ELC. The Chinese concept of landscape is centred on industrialisa-

tion, globalisation and socialisation and has been developed through modern science and technology. Landscape is a complex phenomenon integrating land, humans, culture, history, security, health, and sustainability and is not exclusively seen as something aesthetically pleasing (Landscape, 2012 online). The idea of landscape challenges the idea of the garden and marks a transition from an exclusive use of landscape for the upper class to a more inclusive and participatory model, which also includes the local population.

The Chinese development of ecomuseums has been going on since the 1990s, and this development is not influenced by the traditional garden idea but rather by newer ideas of landscape. Ecomuseums in China have often been constructed in order to conserve minority culture and to assist further development within the villages and the landscape (Yu, 2006).

1.2 *Nostalgia as a link between ecomuseums and landscape*

A connection between ecomuseum and landscape is expressed through the notion of nostalgia, as Daniel Cosgrove (2006) shows. The way we think of and interpret a place can be guided by a feeling of nostalgia and create a landscape. Cosgrove argues that traditional and modern communities have developed different senses of landscape (Cosgrove 2006). Traditional ones are built around production (for example agriculture), whereas modern ones are built around consumption, for example tourism and recreation.

Establishing an ecomuseum may be seen as motivated by a sense of nostalgia, which is an idealisation of the past. Drawing on Cosgrove's argument, it could be said that there are two economic bases in an ecomuseum; one is production in the traditional sense, for example old crafts or agricultural techniques, and the other is based both on the production of a product for visitors and by the consumption of that product *in situ*. In other words, whereas the establishment of the ecomuseum is motivated by nostalgia, this nostalgia both preserves old productive modes and translates them into the modern world of production and consumption of for example aesthetic experiences. Whereas visitors consume the ecomuseum, the local population is engaged in two different production processes.

It may be that ecomuseums are created because of nostalgic impulses for beauty, history, nature, and/or communities that are considered threatened in our world. It is, however, a question to what degree ecomuseums realise such nostalgic dreams. On one hand the ecomuseum may be seen as a nostalgic reaction, on the other hand, a local community also creates and controls its territory by creating an ecomuseum. Controlling the past is a way of shaping a territory for a community in the future. By creating an ecomuseum, a community's reality and dreams within its culture manifest itself visually and tangibly in a landscape.

1.3 *Ecomuseums, environment, and sense of place*

The closely related terms 'sense of place' and 'natural environment' are often presented as central aspects of ecomuseums. The concept of sense of place stems from the relation of a community to its natural and social environment, both in terms of a shared past and in creating a common future. An ecomuseum represents both social and natural environment and the interaction between the two, and since it involves a community, it represents the past at the same time as it creates a future.

For Doreen Massey, sense of place is a global category and does not refer to a specific territory (Massey, 1995). She stresses that places are not isolated, but they must always be regarded in relation to the outside world. What make a place special, she argues, are not only the specific qualities of the place itself. It may also be "the particularity of the linkage to that 'outside' which is therefore itself part of what constitutes a place" (Massey 1994). On the other hand, if we expand Olwig's notion of a territorial meaning of landscape, it can be argued that also a sense of place is territorial, since it is linked to landscape. This linking is collective (local or national) in character, and this contradicts both Edward Relph (1976) and Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) who focus on individual experience in their definitions of a sense of place (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). Considering landscape as a tangible expression of cultural characteristics linked to a territory (Olwig, 1996), it could hypothetically be said that a sense of place is an intangible expression of these characteristics.

Peter Davis suggests that an environment is the sum of all living and non-living elements (light, water, temperature and geology) in a particular place (Davis, 2011). He describes the environment of an ecomuseum as a combination of natural landscapes with which we are familiar, and a part of our world that is more obviously created by human beings. According to Davis' review of ecomuseums in Italy, Japan, and China (2007), the relationship between landscape and the human being is significant in the ecomuseum idea just as Rivard wrote in 1984. Ecomuseums display contemporary natural environments and built landscape, at the same time as they are museums of time and space. Despite its central role for ecomuseums and their representations, however, the concept of landscape has not previously been much addressed in ecomuseum literature.

Whereas in the western world there is a strong connection between ecomuseum development and landscape, in China this relationship is under development. This paper explores how landscape, in representations of Chinese ecomuseums, can be taken into account as a way to highlight the interaction between natural environment and human activity. It explores through the examples of Suoga and Zhenshan ecomuseums, how 'landscape' can be represented in ecomuseums in the images and texts in the information for visitors and how the concepts of landscape can be linked to sense of place in ecomuseums. We will adopt the definition of landscape as it is described by the ELC (Council of Europe, 2000) and apply it throughout the paper.

Starting with an explanation of the landscape concept in China, we will then discuss the relationships between the ecomuseum idea and the concept of landscape. This relationship is also visible in the concepts of nostalgia and sense of place. Whereas landscape is a material manifestation of the interaction between social and natural environments, sense of place is its immaterial expression.

1.4 *Methods and material*

Two Chinese ecomuseums, Suoga/Suojia and Zhenshan, were studied with regard to how landscape is represented and taken into account in descriptions. For this we used web pages related to the ecomuseums in May 2012. The museums do not have their own websites, but are represented on other official promotional websites, containing landscape representations in image and text form. The aim of these web pages is to attract tourists, and they present a popularised account of the heritage in the ecomuseum. In addition to these promotional materials, there is a large variety of academic and newspaper articles and encyclopaedic information about the ecomuseums, but these focus more on minority representation than on landscape. Google was used as the engine for searching in both English and Chinese, and the search engine Baidu was used for Chinese searches.

2 TWO CHINESE ECOMUSEUMS: SUOGA AND ZHENSHAN

2.1 *Suoga Ecomuseum in the Guizhou province, China*

The rather large-scale Suoga (梭嘎) or Suojia (梭戛) Ecomuseum is located in the mist-shrouded mountains in Liuzhi, Guizhou province in the south-western part of China. Websites, which we found by searching the term "ecomuseum", "Chinese", as well as the different spelling variants of the ecomuseums on Google and Baidu, explain that the general landscape is a widespread agricultural area with forests in between (Suoga village, 2006 online). There is a tropical monsoon climate. The land is only used for farming practice, and some parts of the land remain karst virgin forest. The karst carbonate rock creates topography where ravines and caves form a complicated network in the mountains (Yu & Deng, 2010). Landscape appears to be the base of the territory, the living area for people and an arena for social activities.

Suoga Ecomuseum is the first ecomuseum in China and opened in 1998 (News Digest: Ecomuseum a new module for ethnic culture preservation, 2011 online). It consists of twelve villages dispersed over 120 km², about 1600m above sea level. There lives an ethnic group called 'Long-horn Miao', with a population of less than 5000. They maintain their own unique culture with a self-sufficient natural economy. They do not have a written language, but use bamboo carvings as chronicles, and they sing songs and tell stories to pass down tales and memories.

Their social activities such as weddings and funerals, sacrifices, festivals, dances, and music all take place outdoors in the landscape. The ecomuseum is described as a museum with local community participation, lead by the government and experts (Suojia Eco-museum, 2012 online).

Suoga Ecomuseum focuses on both ethnic culture and eco-tourism, while cultural protection is the primary goal (Suojia Eco-museum, 2012 online). As a tourist attraction it is in its infancy, and the aim is to combine tourism and cultural protection. Taking up Cosgrove's concept of nostalgia, it could be said that in this ecomuseum there are two forms of production; one is the agricultural activity of the local people and the second one is tourism, where visitors are consumers. This means that the first mode of production (agriculture) becomes the basis for the second mode (tourism), which can be consumed by visitors. This also means that local people in the ecomuseum participate in two economies, traditional and modern, so they become not simply a remnant from the past but contribute to interpreting and translating the past into the current world.

Landscape is the arena for people's life and the setting for social activities, as well as the very territory of the ecomuseum. A homogeneous agricultural landscape connects different villages, and buildings are dispersed in a way that follows the topography. Thatch-roofed buildings, cabins, trees, and livestock are scattered in the landscape. The roads are organized following the buildings and the topography. There is a gate at the entrance of the village and another one at the spring, which people who fetch water have to go through. These gates mark the village entrance and the spring for the local people and function as signposts for the tourists. Both gates have been reconstructed in the traditional style of the other buildings, which creates a sense of harmony in the landscape. There are areas that offer local people places for meetings, activities, festival celebrations, and where men and women can date for marriage. In the areas are temporary sheds for courtship and funerals, showing respect for the cycle of life and death. The sheds are made of bamboo, covered with leaves, thatch, or straw. Every village has its own holy tree for sacrifice.

Tourists can walk on their own the same paths as the local people guided by the gates to find the village entrance and to fetch water. Tourists can also stay and eat at local people's home and be guided by local inhabitants to experience the territory in the landscape area.

Immaterial values that contribute to a sense of place are attached to this landscape. For example, the way women carry their water, the technique of local plants used for batik in the yard, the way of courtship and funeral around the temporary sheds, the ritual sacrifices close to holy mountain and trees, special festivals, markets and love dating on the gathering area that in Chinese literally is called "flower slope" and "flower ground", all of these are attributes that offer a strong sense of the Suoga landscape. Social practices are embedded in the landscape, and it is apparent that landscape features have a special cultural significance for the Suoga. The approach of guiding tourists appears to suggest that this immaterial value is shared with the tourists (Suoga Ecology Museum, 2010 online).

The seemingly idyllic landscape, the absence of the urban modern world and motorized traffic, and at the surface simple community relations give the visitor an image of an Arcadian landscape. Whereas the visitors see the realization of a nostalgic past in the Suoga life and landscape, the Suoga people themselves are not nostalgic since they have not lost their lifestyles. So it can be said that the same landscape represents different values for Suoga inhabitants and for the visitors, but that they share the same material landscape.

Even though all landscapes according to the ELC are dynamic (Council of Europe, 2000) the areas have not changed much since the ecomuseum was established. Newly built or reconstructed buildings appear to be harmonious with original ones, making the whole landscape coordinate with its original natural and social environment (Surprise and Sigh in Suoga, 2011). This demonstrates a strong conservational awareness, expressed in the strengthening of and improving the inherited essence of the landscape. The ecomuseum does not just preserve the past, but it also aims to create a landscape through involvement of the local community. The purpose appears to be providing a dynamic, future-oriented landscape, while interpreting the past. This may be achieved through creating a sense of place by integrating cultural and social meanings with the natural environment in the local landscape. Landscape and sense of place in the Suoga ecomuseum have a clear territorial base, but, to argue with Massey (1994), the expression and development of the tangible landscape and intangible sense of place are also influenced by the

outside world, by participating in the economy of interpreting the past and of producing experience for visitors.

2.2 *Zhenshan Ecomuseum in the Guizhou province, China*

Zhenshan Ecomuseum is situated on a peninsula surrounded on three sides by water and on one side by mountains. There is tropical monsoon climate, and the village is situated on low karst mountains. The land is mainly used for village housing and activities (Urban and Rural Planning Design Institute of Guizhou Province, 2012 online). It is located 21 km southwest of Guiyang city, the capital of Guizhou Province in south-western China. The relatively small Zhenshan belong to the Buyi ethnic group, and their village has an extension of 3.8 km² and is situated around 1200 m above sea level. One web page describes Zhenshan ecomuseum as being located in a scenic landscape, surrounded on three sides by a lake and on one side by mountains. The farming fields and stone buildings are embedded in the village (Zhenshan ethnic village, 2011 online). Zhenshan Ecomuseum was established in 2000, but the village has a history of more than 400 years. It was founded by a general of the Han ethnic group who stationed his troops in Zhenshan. He married a Buyi woman who gave birth to two sons and the generations have passed on since then. Now the village has a population of 158 families, in total 677 descendants of the first couple (Urban and Rural Planning Design Institute of Guizhou Province, 2012 online).

Zhenshan Ecomuseum is called 'the village in the city' due to its proximity to Guiyang city. The authorities protect the village and develop it for tourism. However, it is still unclear who is ultimately responsible for the management of the ecomuseum, and the local Relics Bureau has for a long time acted as an administrative deputy. The local community is enthusiastic about developing tourism, but has little awareness of cultural landscape protection (Urban and Rural Planning Design Institute of Guizhou Province, 2012 online). Changing the management way and improving self-awareness of local people to protect their own cultural landscape is the main ethical aim for Zhenshan ecomuseum. Due to convenient transportation and accessibility, tourism has developed fast. Most of the locals live on tourism, while some still live on agriculture (Metes & Hackel, 2007). Tourism is mainly driven by the possibility of experiencing the landscape, with the Buyi inhabitants and their different activities in the landscape. Visitors can stay in the local people's homes, move in the village-scale landscape, and walk on the stone paths of the village, or go for a boat-trip on the Huaxi Lake. Places to visit include a stone building, a stone arch, a stone road, the agricultural landscape, the Huaxi Lake, the 400 years old temple, and holy items (tree and stone).

Landscape appears to be the main object for the experience. The landscape mainly consists of mountain and water, Buyi ethnic buildings and historic heritage. Zhenshan is a real 'stone village' made of local stone—thus the buildings appear to be extensions of the landscape. The village is surrounded by stonewalls and for example the village gate, playgrounds, paths and path steps, tables and chairs, and almost all tools are made of stone, connecting it to the landscape. The buildings are distributed following the topography of the mountain, and it appears as if courtyards are connected to courtyards, roofs to bottoms of other houses, and that buildings are connected by pathways and walls. The holy tree, an old ginkgo, shapes a place for people to worship; a stone resembling a tiger forms another place for worshipping. The landscape integrates culture with nature experience.

Many traditions are also connected to the landscape. For example, annual festivals are held for worshipping holy trees and commemorating ancestors. This creates a strong sense of place connecting the local community to their environment.

The scenic Buyi landscape, the stone environment, the natural beauty, the fresh air, the escape from polluted city and the countryside life can contribute to a feeling of nostalgia for visitors. For local people, however, there is more concern about economic development (Urban and Rural Planning Design Institute of Guizhou Province, 2012 online).

After the ecomuseum was established, the area has started showing obvious economic development. Around 100 out of the 158 families in the village who only worked on their farms earlier have shifted to the tourism business: 43 families focus on local-custom entertainment such as local food restaurants, hotels, local life experience, 4 families exhibit their own living quarters and daily life, and 57 families work in the souvenir business (Urban and Rural Planning Design

Institute of Guizhou Province, 2012 online). The road has been reconstructed and broadened, and development of landscape scenery and service programs are increasing to meet visitors' requirements as well as desires for better living through facilities such as supermarkets, restaurants, hotels, etc. Newly constructed or expanded dwellings are generally harmonious with the original landscape. However, some landscape elements are disharmonious with the original, such as new construction materials, commercial branding, and disorderly traffic. This demonstrates the conflict between conservation and the local people's strong endeavour for a better life, coupled with an unawareness of landscape conservation.

The landscape reflects both the preservation of the past and the path towards a dynamic and prosperous future. There are similarities to Suoga; the first mode of production (agriculture) becomes the basis for the second mode (tourism), but the local community in Zhenshan lives more in the modern economy. It could be said that in Zhenshan the interaction of the ecomuseum with the outside world is more pronounced than in Suoga, creating a situation where visitors search for a sense of place that is defined by the past, but that the tourism business creates a new sense of place in Zhenshan, bringing the community to evaluate its past in relation to the outside world and its interest in experiencing the past. Both landscape and sense of place are therefore both territorial, being determined by a localised past and a community living in a determined area, and global, being the product of local interaction with the outside world in the form of tourism.

3 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Suoga ecomuseum is a quite large agricultural area, covering twelve villages with few forest areas in between. The landscape is the base for living, as well as for social activities and appears to be dynamic, due to its living community with farming and social activities like festivals and sacrifice happening in the landscape. The ecomuseum does not just preserve the past, but it creates a landscape through active involvement of the local community with the past. Suoga ecomuseum integrates cultural expressions with the natural environment, and this creates a landscape that is shared with visitors who participate in social activities such as festivals in sacred natural places. Visitors can also live in the homes of locals, provided with bed and food and can be guided by the inhabitants to experience the landscape. The immaterial traditions experienced by locals and visitors create a material landscape and an immaterial sense of place through integrating nature with cultural activities and human involvement.

Zhenshan ecomuseum is relatively small, it contains one historic stone village, and the landscape mainly consists of residential areas. Whereas for visitors the landscape is the main attraction, for local people it is an arena for varied activities. The landscape is presented as dynamic, similar to the Suoga ecomuseum. The main difference to Suoga is the stronger emphasis on commercial tourism. In other words, whereas the economy of the Suoga is based on agriculture and government support, the Zhenshan economy depends to a larger part on tourism. The main activities in Zhenshan ecomuseum are visitors visiting, eating, and living in local people's homes, visiting the cultural and historical villages, festivals, and religious ceremonies. Landscape is also experienced in stories of what has happened and is happening in the area told by local inhabitants and local guides, which creates a strong sense of place for visitors to the Suoga area.

For both Suoga and Zhenshan, the landscape is a material manifestation of the interaction between social and natural environments, while sense of place shows the immaterial aspect of this interaction. Social practices are embedded in the landscape such as festivals or religious ceremonies. While visitors in Suoga mostly participate in existing activities located in the landscape, visitors in Zhenshan influence the creation of a landscape since their presence actively leads to considerable commercial activity. Both landscape and sense of place are territorial, linked to a specific community in a limited area and with a particular history and global in the sense that they also relate to the outside world in the form of heritage conservation and tourism.

Ecomuseums like Suoga and Zhenshan work on the principles of cultural integration. They do not only protect an existing culture as a remnant of the past but also create common awareness of cultural changes and trends that help to develop and understand the specific cultures of

the varied ecomuseums. An example is the awareness that Suoga relies to a larger degree on traditional production (agriculture), and in Zhenshan tourism plays a more dominant role.

The concept of landscape in China keeps evolving and this may be one of the reasons why the idea of ecomuseum has taken root in China. The Chinese society not only wants to protect the past but also needs a sustainable future. Ecomuseums show the past and present, while they at the same time try to address future challenges and possibilities in the landscape, and they may indicate or predict changes in social relations and ideas. Ecomuseums challenge the Chinese garden ideal of a ruling class, a royal or upper society and tend towards a more local and participatory model, which is visible in the adoption of the term landscape. This means that not only the particular landscape features of the Chinese ecomuseums are meaningful, but also the notion of landscape per se, indicating a socio-political development.

The general understanding of landscape is similar between the discussed cases, showing landscape as the tangible manifestation of the interaction between the natural and cultural environment. This interaction is also found as a sense of place. In Scandinavian ecomuseums there seems to be a focus both on nature as such as well as on regional identity, often in the form of regional economic history, regional environments or communities. In China, on the other hand, there is a focus on ethnic minorities and on cultural preservation. The Chinese ecomuseums seems to be an attempt to create a sustainable cultural and economic base for a local population, and this happens through a creative engagement with the past, not by freezing it. A remaining problem in China is who administers the ecomuseum and who has control over the development—the local population here is not necessarily in charge here.

In an attempt to understand the role of an ecomuseum for a community in a certain environment it could be said that an ecomuseum may not only exist in a landscape, but that an ecomuseum may also be part of creating new landscapes, lived landscapes, while involving the past. Often involvement with the past is defined by a sense of nostalgia, the re-creation of a social ideal in the modern world. This re-creation of the past consequently exists in a modern world with a different economy. Whereas the traditional world is dominated by production, and the modern one by consumption, the economic base of the ecomuseum has three elements: the preserved traditional production, tourism-based production, and finally the consumption of local products within the ecomuseum by the tourists. This means that the nostalgia of the ecomuseum is indeed a return to production, but not a copy of traditional society. The minority in the Suoga ecomuseum, for example sustains itself economically both through agriculture and through heritage preservation for visitors. Economic development, however, has two sides. On the one hand it makes the local population more independent and is a sign of local involvement; on the other hand it can be a sign of an overly commercialised approach that could exclude the local population and be negative for its heritage.

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Metropolis Square at Naxos Island: creation and functional evolution (1999-2012)

A. Couvelas

ICOM, Athens, Greece

ABSTRACT: The original intent of our design was to create a “central town square” as an openly inviting space for diverse social activities and, at the same time, provide easy access and protect the adjacent partly underground archaeological site by transforming it into an In-Situ Museum. Thirteen years later, the diversity of current activities reveals the success of the project. The Square “drew-in” the local inhabitants through its openness and gradually became their own by providing a unifying centre of social functions and an opportunity for new uses, while maintaining its specific character. The archaeological findings in the underground Museum and their visitors were integrated into everyday life. The urban public space was enriched both by the exhibition of the antiquities and by the “open” management of its form. The results speak favorably for the role of architecture in the development of socio-cultural activities that enhance social coherence.

1 REVISITING UNDER AN ECOMUSEOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

Revisiting works of architecture well after they have become permanent part of their environment can provide important lessons for the future. Architects often revisit their work for sentimental and professional reasons. Reassessing how a structure is integrated in the environment, how well is accepted by its users and what new parameters may have come up in real life is a practical and theoretical tool, whose importance has not been fully recognized.

At the design stage, architects have little difficulty foreseeing the possible future uses of a private project such as housing, but this foresight is more difficult for public works. Thus, revisiting the work is important not only for the designers but also for those all who participated in its realization. The fact-finding process has of course to take into account that conditions change all the time.

I first presented my thoughts on this subject on the occasion of a recent conference focusing on the importance of public space. In this presentation, I revisit the paradigm of the new Metropolis Square at Naxos with an eye on its ecomuseum dimension. The Metropolis (Cathedral) Square in Hora, the main town in the island of Naxos, is a site that we created thirteen years ago. I believe that the particular and multiple character of the space as it was designed and used over the last thirteen years is a good example for investigation. I compare the intended goals to the results and try to identify the aesthetic and functional elements of the design that contributed to success or failure.

2 THE METROPOLIS SQUARE AT NAXOS

The free open space that we transformed into a public square in 1999, lies at the edge of the cohesive core of the Hora settlement and is adjacent to the single road connecting the port with the interior of the island. The excavations in the area include part of the ancient defensive wall that encircled the Mycenaean city, pottery and metal workshops from 1300-1100 BC, later remnants of a more recent cemetery (1100-700 BC), as well as other layers that confirm continuous occupation for 3500 years.

The main aim of the intervention was to handle the layers of antiquities brought to light by the recent archaeological excavations in such a way as to allow the safe presentation of the findings to the public, exactly where they were uncovered. Later on, as the scope of the work was extended to include the surrounding area, the conditions for a diversity of uses over and around the underground museum were created and recorded. The new Square acquired a multiple character as a result of its many uses and a new relationship with the city. Here the role of architecture in the development of social activities and the enhancement of social coherence is made evident (Fig. 1).

3 CULTURAL VALUE

It is my contention that the civic space was enriched both directly, through the “open” handling of its transformation, and indirectly through the display of the antiquities located there. For thirteen years since the construction, the Square partly covering the underground archaeological site has served not so much as antechamber to the museum, but rather as an element with its own socio-cultural significance within the Hora settlement. Its form and size, though, that arose after the archaeological excavation provided a disproportional area compared to the traditional tight urban tissue. Our design had to reconstruct the regional scale and create the conditions for the development of new uses allowing at the same time for the coexistence of various and often conflicting functions.



Figure 1. General view of Metropolis Square.

4 STRUCTURAL COMPOSITION OF THE SQUARE

Enclosed in a frame of churches and houses, the Square is composed of open spaces surrounding the Museum. Pedestrians crossing the Square, while moving on levels corresponding to the historical layers of the area, “feel” the sacredness of the ancient cemetery and of the continuity of people’s life in the same location for thousands of years. Even today the site is *memento mori* registered in the memory of inhabitants and visitors as an inseparable part of Hora.

We opted for a simple regular geometric shape, a cube, in contrast to the other shapes of the structure so as to mark the entrance to the Museum. Then we let the space unfold “flowing” through free, irregular shapes (Fig. 2). The uncertainty of the limits of the Square allowed the penetration of the structure into the surroundings in a smooth way without optical and functional conflicts. The palm trees that we planted in front of a three storey building were intended to protect the inhabitants from the sunlight reflection and to provide shade to pedestrians; we also had the (hidden) intention to restrict the aesthetic “damage” done by this voluminous building as it towers over the nearby small church. However the young trees were neglected and soon ran dry in spite of the automatic watering system provided as well. The inhabitants did not realize at that time the necessity of the trees.

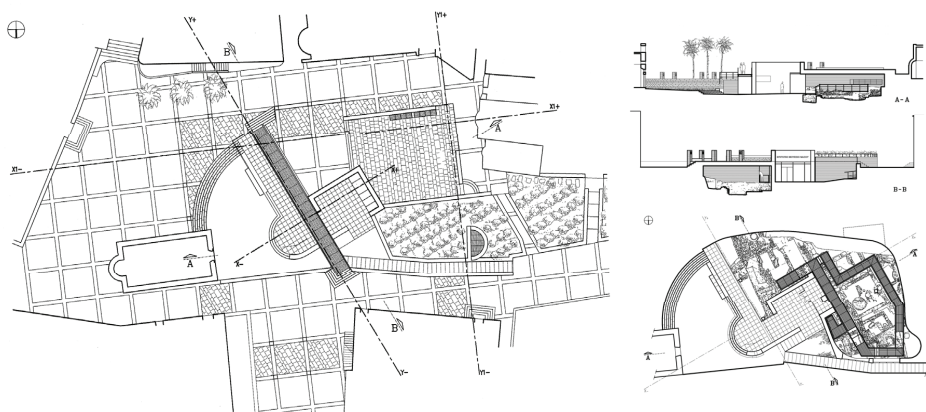


Figure 2. Plans and Sections of the square and the underground archaeological site.

5 ACCEPTANCE BY THE INHABITANTS

Social acceptance of the work, a must for a finished project, did not come at once. At the beginning, part of the local public assumed a negative attitude towards the intervention to the site. The reasons were diverse, ranging from petty political conflicts to the refusal of losing a parking space (cars would not be allowed to park in the Square).

Today the situation is the reverse, the reconstruction having been warmly accepted by the people. Favorable comments are heard and written in the visitors’ book. The neighbors got used to the new elements of the surroundings and the pedestrians adopted in their everyday route the new paths and passages. Obviously, the daily repeated movement, the frequent stops for a short chat, the new uses improvised by the people visiting the area, the discovery of new optical openings towards the city, established a sense of familiarity and appeased the few skeptics. The continuity of the space was restored whereas the Square, as a new node in the historical network of walkways acquired a significant position in the urban tissue.

During the first stage in the life of a construction work people usually judge it from its form and the materials used. Any initial surprise, acceptance or rejection is attenuated as time passes. What is established is the relationship that people develop with the site and the dynamics occur-

ring during its development in time. A characteristic example is the bridge that we constructed as a “stitch” to the disrupted tissue of Hora to cover the gap of the excavation. The metal and wood structure of six-meter span initially provoked a lot of negative comments from locals who thought that form and materials were alien to the traditional architecture understood by them as a stereotype (Figs. 3, 4).

We succeeded to put their minds at ease by providing information – verbally and in writing – on the, current, internationally accepted and codified way of handling historical sites. We also discovered that objections were not always genuine. They often concealed personal conflicts among local officials or an effort to resist authority (the negative attitude of the locals towards archaeological restrictions that often delay or stop new building activities is well known).



Figures 3, 4. Details of the pedestrian ramp accessing the museum and the metal footbridge above it.

6 THE SOCIAL ROLE

In spite of the fact that the Square was surrounded by churches, i.e. areas of collective gathering, it never had become a popular place for other activities. A unifying centre in the wider area was needed that could provide suitable arrangements for diverse usages.

The social role that the Square has acquired today contributed to a change of attitude of many who in the past felt that their life had nothing to do with museums, or considered the antique relics as a nuisance or even as a threat to their property. Gradually a “dialogue” developed between the official museographical narration and the unwritten small prosaic stories. As the drama of interaction of ancient findings and modern developments unfolds, material traces become historical evidence for the scholars, or elements of inspiration for the artists of today and tomorrow.



Figure 5. The lower levels of the Metropolis Square

7 THE CHARACTER OF THE PUBLIC SPACE

Enhanced by the diversity of its uses, the newly constructed curved marble tiers and the metal bridge passing above, give to the Square an authentic theatricality (Fig. 5). The narrative element and the theatrical characteristics acquire here a prominent role. As if on stage, contemporary life unfolds in the form of theatrical action in all sorts of everyday spontaneous events. The final result constitutes an involuntary «heterotopia» where de facto have been applied principals that Michel Foucault formulated. Many uses coexist while the space is subject to continuous transformation. Everyday rhythms of life are in unity with the strong presence of the monuments and the periodic waves of visitors – a unity of opposites.

The public urban space, imperfect if it served only one function, becomes complete within every use, the moment that the particular function is realized. The space is integrated as it is transformed into museum atrium, church aula, playground, auditorium, manifestation grounds. Compared, thus, to other types of structures designed for a unique specific use the Square may look imperfect. However it looks more “liberal” as it is now. Visitors are invited to find ways to use the space. Its multiple characters create new possibilities for actions “hidden”, unknown or

neglected – but real. The space proves to be easily transformed, while architecture is reshaped responding to every new situation (Fig. 6).

The authentic theatricality of the structure provides a suitable locus for the performance of site specific programs, including occasional performances and road shows or amateur theatrical groups. The space allows for the development of creative usage of its elements and different forms of action by inventing new ways of communication. The speaker is seen from a multitude of directions instead from a single one as in a traditional lecture room (Fig. 7). The performance becomes multi-form and the spectator part of the show as well. Finally, not only the artists' or speakers' acts are enhanced, but also the interactions among the public, i.e. the interpersonal relationships. Thus, a different type of integration of the play with the spectators is provided and as a consequence they have the opportunity to play a significant role by participating in a creative process. The show becomes a public activity that aims not only at recreation but at the assimilation of social experience as well. The volitional behavior of the spectator is enhanced through his interaction with others and contributes to his socialization. Socialization is understood as the historically determined assimilation of social experience by the individual and its energetic reproduction in his activity and communication. Socialization may take place as purposeful formation during the upbringing of a developing personality or through the spontaneous influence of, often contradicting, factors of social life.



Figure 6. View of the access level to the museum temporarily transformed into a podium



Figure 7. Passers-by, above, are enmeshed in a spontaneous “happening”.

However, several years had to pass before the first performance took place in the Square. On the 27th and 28th August 2010, the multi-functionality of Metropolis Square was established during two daylong events organized by the electronic magazine “Monumenta”. The Square was functioning simultaneously as lecture hall, pedestrian walk, leisure space and protest ground. Participants, spectators and passers-by involved in their daily activities were enmeshed in a spontaneous “happening” without distinct roles. All were installed in the recessed stratigraphy of the place, where history functioned as a cradle of the present. The knowledge, conscious or not, that they were literally immersed into the past contributed to the evocativeness of the space and supported mental alertness, simultaneously creating a feeling of serenity. The Square absorbed the activities of its occupants. No walls or other barriers were here to restrict the spectator. He could easily come or leave, remain in the same place or move to a different one. A young cyclist going down the ramp, stopped for a while, turned and went away. For a moment he too became a spectator. A group of young people suspended a protest panel for the abandonment by the State of the ancient tower of Cheimarros (Fig. 8).

This unique manifestation of continuous, multidimensional civic activity demonstrates the important role of architecture in the development of social functions and to the preservation of social continuity. The Metropolis Square, along with its recently designed grounds and underground archaeological In Situ Museum of Naxos has become a permanent visible expression of local identity.



Figure 8. Scene from the first public meeting organized in the square.

8 CONCLUSION - ECOMUSEUM ATTRIBUTES

The creation of the Metropolis Square contributed to the change of attitude of the inhabitants towards the excavation site. Feelings of enmity and awe gave way to serenity. To this effect the contribution of architectural design was substantial. I refer here to a series of factors: the bonding of the historical periods in the given space and the emotions created to the spectator, the use of local materials and familiar forms, the mildness of the intervention and even the wear of time and the patina on the various materials.

Any serious attempt to intervene in the traditional tissue, or in what remains of it, is always directed towards the preservation of its values, its scale, its “economy”, and the “richness” of its structure. The Square together with the surrounding churches and the underground Museum represents the identity of the area (Fig. 9).



Figure 9. Interior view of the In Situ Museum.

The 'in-situ' archaeological museum, does not necessarily meet the criteria of an ecomuseum, since the design approach was dictated more by museographical needs than by ecological policies. Its presence, however, empowers spiritually the local community, whereas the Square and

the surroundings fulfill the principles of ecomuseology. Although design took place before these principles were widely deployed, the complex can now well be interpreted as a territorial heritage museum. As analytically presented above, it can be characterized as an emerging ecomuseum effectively capturing strong local distinctiveness. Being open, without natural or established boundaries, it carries a strong sense of place and group identity that extend deeply into the past. Thus, the rich material and immaterial heritage aids community sustainability. Furthermore, the modern layout encourages activities that integrate the community through various modes of development initiatives.

The serious economic crisis that Greece is traversing now followed by cuts in cultural expenses, hinder the development of institutions to promote ecomuseology applications, establishing sustainable solutions towards heritage. Therefore, nowadays action is mostly depending on local community initiative to evaluate and reconcile more immediate needs with preserving heritage.

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Studying and safeguarding intangible heritage at the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum

E. Curtinhal

Câmara Municipal do Seixal, Seixal, Portugal

F. Afonso

Câmara Municipal do Seixal, Seixal, Portugal

ABSTRACT: Since its foundation in the early 1980s with the objective of preserving and programming diverse *in situ* heritage resources, the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum (SME) has integrated into its technical team persons whose prior professional activities were profoundly bound up with the nature of the museological sites. Holders of wisdom and knowledge on the techniques relating to the respective thematic fields of the SME, they have also undertaken the training of new professionals. The integration of these holders of intangible heritage into the SME team ensured that their intangible heritage became simultaneously the subject of study within the scope of research projects and heritage resources deployed in service of compliance with museological functions, rendering viable and enabling the active conveyance of techniques and knowhow within a context of communicating with the publics encountered in the diverse Ecomuseum spaces and facilities. This characteristic of SME programming and activities, and alongside projects such as the systematic collection of oral testimony related to the different thematic fields, the resources and heritage managed by the Ecomuseum in conjunction with its vast and diversified thematic fields of research, provides a particularly interesting research dimension in terms of enhancing and measuring the value of tangible and intangible heritage. Within the scope of this paper, we intend to specifically approach processes involving the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage through the maintaining and sailing of traditional vessels in addition to the gathering of oral testimony on the local cork community, which represented one of the main industrial activities in the Council throughout the 20th century, and constituting two case studies within the framework of which the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum has collected, processed and produced a vast range of documentation, perceived as an important resource for managing the broader heritage scenario, both in terms of its study and its museological communication and dissemination.

“(...) it is always of persons and their lives in society that we refer to when dealing with Intangible Heritage, whether handling experiences or already only that left in memories” (Costa, 2009: 19).

1 INTRODUCTION

Since its foundation in the early 1980s with the objective of preserving and programming diverse *in situ* heritage resources, the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum (SME) has integrated into its technical team persons whose prior professional activities were profoundly bound up with the nature of the museological sites. Holders of wisdom and knowledge on the techniques relating to the respective thematic fields of the SME, they have also undertaken the training of new professionals.

The integration of these holders of intangible heritage into the SME team ensured that their intangible heritage became simultaneously the subject of study within the scope of research projects and heritage resources deployed in service of compliance with museological functions, rendering viable and enabling the active conveyance of techniques and knowhow within a context of communicating with the publics encountered in the diverse Ecomuseum spaces and facilities.

This characteristic of SME programming and activities, and alongside projects such as the systematic collection of oral testimony related to the different thematic fields, the resources and heritage managed by the Ecomuseum in conjunction with its vast and diversified thematic fields of research, provides a particularly interesting research dimension in terms of enhancing and measuring the value of tangible and intangible heritage.

Within the scope of this paper, we intend to specifically approach processes involving the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage through the maintaining and sailing of traditional vessels in addition to the gathering of oral testimony on the local cork community, which represented one of the main industrial activities in the Council throughout the 20th century, and constituting two case studies within the framework of which the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum has collected, processed and produced a vast range of documentation, perceived as an important resource for managing the broader heritage scenario, both in terms of its study and its museological communication and dissemination.

2 BRIEF PRESENTATION OF SEIXAL MUNICIPAL ECOMUSEUM

The Municipal Museum of Seixal was founded in 1982 on the deliberation of the Council and the Seixal Municipal Assembly, based upon a museological program resulting from a historical-cultural survey of the council undertaken between 1979 and 1981. At the time, Seixal council was experiencing a period of demographic expansion and becoming an increasingly multicultural environment. This survey was established with the objective of safeguarding the cultural identity of the municipality and was at that time to a certain extent innovative given how the survey made recourse to various different segments of the local community: parish councils, collective organisations, resident's associations, workers commissions, other local entities, schools, among others.

The survey culminated in the staging of an exhibition, inaugurated in November 1981 at the Nautical Association of Seixal, entitled "the Seixal Council History of Work" and with its program based on two fundamental premises: on the one hand, fostering knowledge about the history of Seixal among its population and, on the other hand, raising awareness about the need to defend council heritage.

In May 1982, the Municipal Museum was inaugurated, with its thematic scope structured around the material evidence reporting to the key economic activities prevailing in its territory over the different eras of human settlement. The process of setting up the museum also stemmed from issues of the greatest concern at that time and that this museological approach would seek to address: a broad reaching concept of heritage, a multi-centre structure and a close relationship with the communities present in the terrain. These were the main characteristics of the initial phase in the museological experience of Seixal and whose respective comparison with the concepts underpinning ecomuseology led Hugues de Varine to propose to the municipal authorities the adoption of the title Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum in 1983. In accordance with the ideas driving the founding of the municipal museum, the following were adopted as the key project guidelines: a program taking the surrounding municipal territory as its framework of reference, the *in situ* conservation of cultural assets and full community involvement.

Currently, and considering its programming priorities, the origins and the scope of its collection, in addition to the role the entity plays in cultural heritage management, the Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum (SME) engages with its mission across three thematic fields: archaeology and local and regional history, the technical and industrial heritage and fluvial-maritime heritage and culture.

Endowed with a territorially decentralised structure, the Ecomuseum is made up of five museological centres, three extensions and three traditional vessels. Correspondingly, the centres are as follows:

- 1) Mundet Centre: open to the public since 1998, the centre is housed in the former Mundet cork factory in Seixal, one of the largest and most important 20th century industrial cork units in Portugal;
- 2) Naval Centre: open to the public since 1984, this occupies the site of a former naval dockyard in Arrentela. Beyond the exhibition area, this centre contains a Tagus estuary vessel model construction workshop;
- 3) Corroios Tide Mill: open to the public since 1986, the site is classified as a Property of Public Interest and contains all of the working equipment required for traditional milling practices;
- 4) Quinta da Trindade Centre: also classified as a Property of Public Interest, this 15th century estate, located inside the parish of Seixal, has been a component of the municipal museological project since 1982;
- 5) Quinta do Rouxinol Roman Pottery Centre: a site still preserving some of the Roman pottery kilns that were operational between the 2nd and 5th centuries. Located within the vicinity of the Tide Mill in Corroios, the site was subject to archaeological excavation between 1986 and 1991 and classified as a National Monument in the following year.

The following extensions are integrated into the museological structure:

- 1) The Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory Extension: housed within this industrial unit that dates back to 1898. This includes boilers and machinery that, whilst a century old, still remain operational in conjunction with a series of workshops constituting the Black Gunpowder Production circuit;
- 2) The Quinta de São Pedro Estate Extension: a former manor house where a necropolis associated with the estate's chapel was identified and excavated and reporting to the period between the 13th and 18th centuries;
- 3) The Memory Space Extension – Popular Seixal Typography: occupying a former typography and where the traditional techniques are still in effect for manual composition and printing.

Finally, the Ecomuseum also includes as floating museum pieces, three historical vessels once serving fluvial traffic on the Tagus estuary and now crossing its waters with both educational and leisure purposes, deploying the traditional navigation and sailing techniques, a dimension that we shall return to in greater detail later in this paper.

3 PROGRESS IN GATHERING ORAL TESTIMONIES UNDERTAKEN BY THE SME (1997-2011)

Within the framework of its mission, the SME strives to contribute towards constructing and conveying collective memories in the Council, and hence undertakes, among other museological projects, the gathering and recording of social memories relating to themes involving working and daily lives, integrated in an oral history project that, in recent years, was supervised by technical specialists from the SME's inventory and industrial heritage study services. This oral collection project also involves the objective of raising the SME profile among local communities, "(...) based on the specific relationship [of those technical staff] with professional sectors or with persons holding representative experiences of the livelihoods, cultural life and other local realities" [Filipe, 2000: 278].

However, it was particularly the acquisition of the Mundet cork factory, by Seixal Municipal Council in 1996, and the founding of the industrial heritage inventory team, which enabled the oral gathering projects to proceed with the systematic process of planned research work. Based on a methodology of inventorying, documenting and the studying of industrial heritage, integrated into a broad reaching program launched by Seixal Municipal Council, through the SME, to record, study and safeguard the industrial units and heritage bound up with Seixal's working world. The objectives included establishing a source of knowledge, research and study as well as intervening in the protection and enhancement of such heritage, particularly through building up a museological and heritage fund in keeping with the council's industrial heritage.

The work has expanded over different facets ranging from intervention in the terrain through to researching and analysing documentation, beyond recourse to the actual testimony of former

employees, resulting from the oral surveys carried out and for which the museum set down a set of procedures designed to standardise the gathering and recording of these intangible assets. Despite the collection of oral testimonies having focused more deeply on the theme of local industries (from the technological, architectonic and social perspectives), also subject to consideration, and among other themes, were “(...) the estates and their agricultural production, handcrafted economic activities, traditional retail, public supplies, religious festivals and family celebrations and hence putting the activities of various generations of the Council into the spotlight” [Curtinhal, 2004: 10].

Within the scope of the oral survey of the council’s industries, we would highlight the focus on work carried out on the Mundet cork factory in Seixal – a case to which this article shall return –, the Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory and the Siderurgia Nacional – Empresa de Serviços S.A. (National Iron Company – Company Services). The forms of approach and the intervention and the criteria adopted for the gathering of oral material were different for each industrial location – especially in terms of the selection of potential interviewees – taking into consideration the specific features in place in each situation: the industrial production still ongoing in some cases and the consequences of deactivation in others. A preference emerged for personal interviews that began to take place, as contacts progressed, in the place and alongside the equipment that the former employee was most closely associated with.

In the case of the Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory, the studies benefitted from the fact that the factory was in its final stages of production and meaning that both senior and intermediary company members of staff were available to work with the specialists from the SME. “The development of the work centred on the Vale de Milhaços industrial heritage and took into account the knowhow dimension, deriving from practice and personal experience, handed down through various generations of workers, of the production process specific to black gunpowder and inherently involving the working and the maintenance of a series of operating machines and the transmission system that the steam engine forms part of” [Filipe, 2000: 310-311]. Similar to the project undertaken at the Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory, the collection of oral evidence among workers at the National Iron Company – Company Services, carried out between June 2000 and March 2001, was undertaken whilst the factory was still operational.

Taking into account the set of interviews carried out between 1997 and 2011, we note that in terms of the frequency of the collection, the following portrays the pattern of interview collection:

Table 1. SME oral survey (1997-2011)

Year	Number of interviews carried out
1997	45
1998	37
1999	22
2000	100
2001	41
2002	31
2003	29
2004	22
2005	20
2006	3
2007	3
2008	1
2009	12
2010	3
2011	13

This table – produced in accordance with the records of the interviews undertaken annually – to a large extent portrays the approximation and intensification of SME’s contacts with the community over the fifteen years subsequent to the acquisition of the Mundet factory by the municipality.

As regards the aforementioned projects, within the framework of industrial heritage, the oral surveys at Mundet were begun immediately following its takeover. However, the gathering of

evidence on this site was carried out in a planned but not effectively systematic approach, having evolved in accordance with the needs to interpret and read the different areas of the factory and the description, whether of the industrial equipment itself or the productive circuits. The emergence of the Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory project in late 1997 also served in some way to condition the work then ongoing on the Mundet site.

The oral surveys undertaken and the contacts with former employees and their families have together resulted in the donation of objects and documentation, in particular photographic material, to the SME that have joined and enriched its collection.

4 THE GATHERING OF ORAL TESTIMONIES AND MEMORIES ABOUT THE LOCAL CORK COMMUNITY

In the 1990s, CAMINUS – Atividades Culturais was responsible for a project under the auspices of the theme “Representations of Portuguese Culture in the Ethnographic Collections of Local Museums”. This project, rooted in the work carried out by a team of researchers between 1994 and 1997, studied the collections existing in various local and regional scale museums throughout Portugal and reaching the conclusion that a broad range of economic and socio-professional activities was indeed represented within the national museological panorama. As regards museological entities taking an interest in cork related activities, we found that in the universe of 220 museological institutions studied throughout mainland Portugal, only 20 (that is, around 9% of the museums studied) incorporated cork related objects into their collections whether as a raw material for local handicraft traditions or in terms of the objects bound up with activities relating to the extraction, preparation and transformation of cork, whilst implicitly encountering a concern over portraying the accounts of living and working in each region.

As from the 1980s, there emerged the first museological projects for sites interrelated with “working memories”. Within this framework, projects took place involving the museological conversion of former cork industrial structures, which resulted in the emergence of museum facilities and exhibitions on cork related issues whilst some such plans still remain at the programming phase.

In late 1996, the former *Mundet & C.^a, Lda.* cork factory was acquired by Seixal Municipal Council and justified on the grounds of both its economic and socio-cultural importance and its heritage and symbolic value. This factory was just one of the 38 industrial cork units that operated over the course of the last century within the Council’s borders.

The largest expansion in the Seixal cork industry occurred in between the turn of the century and the 1940s and integrating the preparation and transformation sectors of the cork industry, including agglomerate and decorative purposes and ranging in scale from household and family based output through to the large scale cork industry players. The Council hosted a limited number of large cork transformation industrial units and became a unique case in comparison with the other cases of cork industrial production clusters encountered across the extent of the district of Setúbal. We may indeed consider that the two largest local companies in this sector – *Mundet & C.^a, Lda.* (1905-1988) and *C.G. Wicander, Lda.* (1912-1993) –, and that were truly global in their reach, attained the peak of their economic scale in this period.

Another aspect taken into account was the sheer concentration of labour directly or indirectly involved in the cork sector: producers, the rural cork communities, masters and workers (in 1947, Mundet employed 2,269 cork workers at its Seixal factories), office clerks, personnel involved in its transport by land and sea, commercial agents and exporters, among others. In sum, there were tens of thousands employed by the cork sector with cork production accounting for the means of subsistence of a high proportion of households throughout the municipality.

As from the 1960s, there was a sharp decline in terms of the numbers of cork factories in Seixal and, whilst there remained a strong presence of the cork industry in the old town of Seixal and in Amora de Baixo throughout the next decades, deindustrialisation proved irreversible as from the late 1980s.

The Seixal Mundet (1905-1988) factory industrial cork heritage, incorporating a vast technical-industrial heritage, unmoveable and integrated, moveable and documental, remaining from the bankruptcy process (1993-1996) and the ongoing founding of a museological collection, en-

abled a program for inventorying, documenting and studying the industrial heritage of this productive unit brought about by Seixal Municipal Council, through the SME.

The Mundet installations are in a phase of reconversion and, since the late 1990s, subject to progressively more intense reutilisation as a cultural and service infrastructure for developing cultural promotional activities conveying and enhancing cork related industrial memories. This simultaneously contributes towards valuing and upgrading the heritage site and thus also boosting the regeneration of the former urban centre of Seixal and its riverside frontage. In 1998, the Mundet Centre was opened (integrated into the multi-centre and territorially decentralised SME structure), and reutilising the *Babcock & Wilcox* boiler rooms and the boilers themselves as SME exhibition areas (opened to the public in 1998 and 2000, respectively) and the Mundet Offices to house central museum services (2006).

The extension of this industrial heritage made a decisive contribution towards a change in the pre-established SME management and programming priorities and driving a re-evaluation of the research and documentation methodologies and processes. The case of the Mundet cork factory, in Seixal, took on a different specific character to the other industrial sites inventoried, documented and studied by the SME. From the outset, this stemmed from the complexity inherent to the site and particularly that this was an industrial facility subject to deactivation almost a decade earlier and thereby requiring a greater preparation of the technical staff and a different approach to the oral testimony on the site.

Following the municipal acquisition of the factory and its installations, the SME sought to reach out to former Mundet factory workers for assistance in the process of documentation and the selection of objects and factory areas, which thus gain the heritage recognition by those involved that legitimates their museological preservation and study.

One of the main guidelines for this museological work was, in the first phase, getting acquainted with the industrial site and its respective historical, economic and social role in order to, in a second phase, to intervene and render the contents in museum form. Therefore, the gathering of testimony from former employees proved important as a means of overcoming the lack of information in relation to a large number and highly diverse set of objects integrated into the various spaces of the industrial production facility and thereby enabling a more integrated documentation of the objects incorporated into the operational chain and related with the former factory's production process. Hence, we also strove, through the memories associated with them, to learn and explore the various different dimensions to these objects.

This collecting of the oral testimonies of former employees did prove possible, within the framework of an integrated approach, to explore and learn about "(...) the different layers of knowledge that an object may provide and enable: on modes of production and utilisation, contexts (historical, social, cultural), symbolic values, identity values, among other meanings" [Carvalho, 2011: 125], considerably expanding the scope of work interpreting and contextualising the respective objects.

Given the expanse of spaces and the complexity of the technical-industrial workshops and pieces of equipment involved, the participation of the operators of machines and other such working objects helped SME's technical team of staff to undertake systematic registration both in terms of the level of description of its functional purpose but also in its technical particularities, and thereby cooperating in the identification, selection, conservation and interpretation of this industrial legacy from a museological perspective.

The survey favoured the study and interpretation of the different factory workshops and social installations – steam producing boilers, central electricity station, the working processes on board sections and the cork boilers, the cork paper production workshop, workshops and greenhouses for the production of champagne corks, cork cutting workshop, cork stopper quality selection facility, crèche, offices and the installations of the *Mundet Sports Group*. The memories recorded open up key information bound up with factory and production equipment environments reporting on not only the formal factory hierarchy and the rate of production that stipulated much of worker behavioural patterns as regards the demands of production and factory discipline and in addition to details on cork worker leisure practices.

Within the framework of preserving, registering and safeguarding the Mundet related memories, the gathering of oral testimony spread to other cork factories in operation in the territory. Throughout a long period of time, these industrial establishments maintained an important economic and socio-cultural activity, that resulted in, among other aspects, the broad scope of ac-

tivities undertaken by these companies and ranging from production to the consumer and in addition to the great variety of the actual products under manufacture – in the stopper sector in addition to agglomerate and decorative items – clearly demonstrating the sheer economic importance of this production and the level of perfection and progress attained by industry across the council's geographic extent.

Currently, three industrial cork facilities remain in production within the scope of Seixal Municipal Council (*Guilherme Rodrigues de Oliveira, Lda., Somsen & Poole da Costa, Lda.* and *Amorim Cork Composites, S.A.*). Furthermore, due to the importance of the cork industry to the development of Seixal, whether in economic, socio-cultural or political terms, and also due to the repercussions on the livelihoods of local families over the course of the last century, these industrial cork units have driven the founding of one of the strongest cork communities in the country and are at the very heart of those that now constitute important points of cultural and identity reference to the municipality.

5 SAFEGUARDING INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE THROUGH THE CONSERVATION AND UTILISATION OF TRADITIONAL SAILING VESSELS

Around the time of the foundation of the municipal museum in 1982, one of the dimensions integrated into the mission defined at that time was to act to prevent the disappearance of the traditional professions. This objective, in conjunction with the intention of boosting the ongoing conservation of heritage, led to the *in situ* conservation and, whenever possible, functional preservation of heritage resources. In turn, this meant the Ecomuseum recruited a technical team of specialists whose prior professional activities had been profoundly bound up with the respective core interests of the different museological sites. This thereby enabled and leveraged the active transmission of techniques and knowhow. One of the thematic fields in which this integration took place was that of maritime heritage, specifically through the activities of Tagus Estuary vessels. Correspondingly, the local master of traffic José Pires has been a member of the museum's team since the launch of the project in 1982. A council resident, with around 40-years of professional experience and holding very relevant knowhow on navigating the Tagus Estuary by sail, José Pires cooperated with the Ecomuseum from 1982 to 2005 and performed a fundamental role in establishing the collection in the initial phase of founding the museum. Indeed, he was also one of the main interlocutors (and mediator between the museum's technical management and the naval dockyards) in the processes of restoring and converting the vessels for recreational purposes. Finally, and it is this aspect that we would like to highlight within the framework of this present article, José Pires proved responsible for training all of the crews that still man the vessels managed by the Ecomuseum. Two of these trainees are currently captains for the two vessels engaged in regular activities and who, in turn, contribute to the continuous training of the remaining crew members. This formation depends on a great diversity of factors: ranging from traditional sail navigation techniques, the maintenance and conservation of the vessels themselves, through to running an active program of on-board educational activities and the learning about the maritime social and cultural environment that these vessels form part of.

The field of culture and maritime heritage at the Ecomuseum is characterised by a very significant presence of its technical staff actually in the terrain alongside the respective communities and not only within the council itself but around the Tagus Estuary. This strong presence derives on the one hand from the activities of the vessels themselves and, on the other hand, the work of recent years in the terrain and which has resulted in the systematic gathering of oral testimonies from sailors, fishermen, naval constructors, ship painters, master sail makers, and among others. The records thereby obtained, both regarding their respective memories and their technical skills and knowhow have proven important resources in documentation and research projects and other promotional initiatives subsequently taking place in terms of the exhibitions and publications held on this theme.

Returning to the passing on of knowhow, we would like to demonstrate how the activities of the vessels managed by the Ecomuseum, including both the navigation and their maintenance enable us to approach all domains belonging to the field of intangible cultural heritage, and as duly defined by the UNESCO Convention for Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: oral traditions and expressions; artistic expressions and manifestations of a performative character,

social practices, festive rituals and events; knowledge and practices related to nature and the universe and, finally, to competences within the scope of traditional processes and techniques.

As regards the former domain, there is an immense wealth of oral expressions, characterised by a diverse range of localisms and regionalisms, related with sail powered navigation techniques, as well as the designations attributed to the winds and tides and with names for particular geographic locations on shore and at certain points of navigation along the river. Within the framework of vessel maintenance, there is also an extensive vocabulary related to the techniques, tools and instruments deployed within the scope of naval carpentry, from the decorative ship painting styles to the manufacture of their sails. This represents a field in which the Ecomuseum has completed some collection, especially as regards the working contexts in the dockyards, but where a systematic collection has not yet been carried out.

The second domain, that of artistic expressions and manifestations of a performative character, in contemporary times is expressed only in the decorative painting of vessels that, despite being an expression that obeys rules to a certain extent consecrated through utilisation but which also allows painters to impose their personal styles.

The social practices, rituals and festive events correspond to the third dimension of intangible cultural heritage and, in the concrete case of the Ecomuseum's historical boat activities, we should make due mention of their participation in the traditional riverside festivities among the Estuary's maritime communities. Through the active participation of the vessels and their crews in these festivities, the Ecomuseum technical teams have participated especially as social actors and not as third party observers. Whilst such participation over the course of years enabled the collection of a vast photographic documental record, there have been no research projects focused on these celebrations. Although duly identified, such community traditions have not been subject to appropriate study and documentation.

The next two fields of intangible cultural heritage that we approach, specifically regarding the knowledge and the practices related with nature and the universe alongside competences within the framework of traditional processes and techniques, are areas best represented through vessel operational and maintenance activities. As regards the former, it would seem unquestionable to the extent that the very navigation of these vessels is inherently bound up with the knowledge of its crew about the natural environment through which they sail, particularly the morphology of the river bed and the respective prevailing wind and tide patterns. This is a fairly specific knowledge, comprehensible only through navigating these waters and, in relation to which, conveying the knowledge accumulated by more experienced sailors is fundamental. Similarly, crews in the service of the Ecomuseum have built up an important body of knowledge and skills critical to sail powered navigation and specific to vessels with these specific characteristics and typologies. Indirectly, the regular maintenance that these wooden vessels require, contributes towards the survival of dockyards dedicated to wood based naval construction and repair and, consequently, to the sustainability of the respective professions involved in this activity, such as carpenters, caulkers, painters and master sail makers. However, we are not currently in a position to predict through when the sustainability of these Tagus Estuary professions may be guaranteed due to two key factors: on the one hand, as this is an ageing group and, on the other hand, the absence of any younger individuals coming forward to learn these trades and thereby putting in jeopardy the revitalisation and transmission of this knowledge and practices.

6 CONCLUSION

Nowadays, following the Convention on Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage approved by UNESCO in 2003 and ratified by the Portuguese state in 2008, intangible cultural heritage events, educational activities and collection projects have multiplied. This is, understandably, an extremely positive trend taking into consideration not only the importance of this heritage that the Convention refers to as the generator of cultural diversity, but also the fragility of societies impacted by processes of globalisation and undergoing constant social transformation. However, and as various authors have drawn attention to, we should never forget that we have encountered some apparent novelty only to the extent in which the five domains expressing intangible cultural heritage, and as described in the Convention, only correspond to fields of research

that have, after all, long been of concern to ethnographers, their research centres and a focus of museums containing ethnographic collections.

The development of Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum in this field of research is a precise example of this point to the extent intangible cultural heritage was integrated right from the very outset into this project, as we have sought to convey throughout this article, through concrete cases involving the collection of oral testimony on the local cork community and actions safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage through the conservation and navigation of traditional vessels.

However, we should also be aware of how we are facing a broad reaching field of research where progress has been made but in which there is still much to do, especially in terms of building up systematic inventories on some of these domains. Furthermore, within the scope of the Ecomuseum's activities and considering all of the different thematic areas, we believe there are two types of expressing intangible cultural heritage susceptible to proposal for national inventorying within this scope: on the one hand, the navigation of vessels, from the simultaneous point of view of both knowledge and practices related with nature and the universe and competences and skills within the framework of traditional processes and techniques and, on the other hand, the thematic area of industrial heritage, as reported by the Ecomuseu's Vale de Milhaços Gunpowder Factory, the production of steam-based mechanical energy, integrated into the Black Gunpowder circuit.

Similar to other local museums, Seixal Municipal Ecomuseum daily confronts this great challenge of working with a very wide ranging notion of heritage to the extent that its heritage scope of intervention reaches beyond moveable assets and covers other heritage types related to its reference territory and the communities therein living. This broad notion of heritage thus includes the intangible, the built, the industrial, the floating/sailable and the natural. Each one of these dimensions places different and distinct challenges and demands to implementing the Ecomuseum's objective of conserving, interpreting, enhancing and raising the profile of some of the most important tangible and intangible evidence and testimonies existing through an integrated approach to the territory. These furthermore represent not only valuable sources of knowledge on those local communities but also, it should be emphasised, to those communities and efforts should be made to share such knowledge with those who are, after all, not only the current visitors to the museum but, ideally, the future donors of their own patrimonial testimony.

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Lifescapes, therapeutic landscapes and the Ecomuseum

P. Davis

International Centre for Cultural and Heritage Studies, Newcastle University, UK

ABSTRACT: The term ‘lifescape’ is used by social anthropologists and geographers to frame how local communities interact with their local environment. Defined as the social, cultural and economic interactions that occur within a locality they explore the interconnections between people and place. It appears that lifescapes are shaped by the interpretation and negotiation of ‘everyday places’ and mundane daily routines. Theoretical approaches to lifescapes also have resonance with the concept of ‘therapeutic landscapes’ which recognizes the significance of places in sustaining people’s emotional, mental, physical and spiritual well-being. There are clear connections between the concept of lifescapes and ecomuseum practice and it could also be argued that some ecomuseums could be regarded as ‘therapeutic places’. This paper explores these ideas and provides some examples of ecomuseums that have a strong link to ‘lifescape’ themes and others that may provide emotional benefits to visitors and ecomuseum practitioners.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Lifescapes*

The term ‘lifescape’ was first used by social anthropologists to frame how local communities interacted with their local environment. It was introduced first by Nazarea (1995), an anthropologist working in the Philippines, who subsequently developed the concept further (Nazarea et al., 1998; Nazarea, 1999). Howorth (1999), Howorth and O’Keefe (1999) and Convery (2004) have all highlighted that lifescapes - defined as the social, cultural and economic interactions that occur across the landscape - are dynamic. In other words, environments are the embodiment of past activity but are constantly being re-shaped; they are a ‘work in progress’ (Ingold, 1992). Lifescapes also recognize that the relationship between people, place and production is complex and shifting; boundaries between people and the components of their world are permeable and osmotic (Bender 2001) and creative of one another, they are linked intimately. This interconnection necessitates that we recognize that lifescapes help to create places that offer livelihoods for local people. There is a long temporal dimension in the creation of the mosaic of land uses, ecosystems and landscapes; i.e. it has taken thousands of years to shape rural and urban environments to provide a variety of distinctive lifescapes. However, there is potential for rapid change. When livelihoods are threatened by man-made or natural disasters, then lifescapes can change dramatically, as demonstrated, for example, by the 2001 foot and mouth epidemic in the UK (Convery et al 2009).

Lifescapes provide a means of exploring the interconnections between people and place, what might be regarded as the sum of ‘a way of life’, i.e. that lifescapes are shaped by the interpretation and negotiation of ‘everyday places’ and mundane daily routines. It is tempting then to

think of lifescapes in purely physical terms – seeing them as an interaction with the physical elements of the landscape. It would be wrong however to see lifescapes as purely physical entities; there are intangible dimensions of place – the knowledge, skills, beliefs and values held by local people – that emphasize its spiritual and social meanings. The growing recognition of the significance of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) – oral traditions and expressions, language, the performing arts, social practices, rituals, festivals, belief systems, traditional craftsmanship – is evidenced in UNESCO's (2003) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Although UNESCO seeks to safeguard and recognize the most remarkable (and most threatened) ICH, lifescapes focus on the everyday social practices, rituals and beliefs practiced by local communities. There is a parallel here to Common Ground's view that 'heritage' is not necessarily captured by World Heritage Sites or ICH nominated by UNESCO, but that it is what is deemed as being important by and to local people (Clifford and King, 2006).

This article contemplates the connections between the theory of lifescapes and the principles of ecomuseology. It also questions if and how the ecomuseum might act as a medium to represent lifescapes, not only by interpreting past ways of life but also by encouraging visitors to explore the distinctiveness of contemporary landscapes.

1.2 *Therapeutic landscapes*

Theories of lifescapes also link into the ideas of 'therapeutic landscapes' proposed by Gesler (1992; 1993; 1996). These ideas recognize the significance of places in sustaining people's emotional, mental, physical and spiritual well-being – this field is often referred to as 'health geography' or 'medical geography' to reflect the dynamic relationship between place and wellness. This link was recognized by the medical profession in the 19th century, particularly with reference to the design of the grounds of psychiatric hospitals and convalescent homes, where lawns, trees and bandstands provided a tranquil setting that aided patient recovery (Hickman, 2012). Such 'designed' landscapes fall within the pantheon of therapeutic landscapes; these peaceful and tranquil settings are dependent on the qualities of buildings and open spaces, and include botanic gardens, art galleries, churches, temples or spas. The ability of such places to engage and affect people may be related to the nature of their physical, psychological or cultural environment, and can equally be experienced in, for example, wilderness areas such as the high mountains of the Alps or a Brazilian rainforest. There is some evidence (Kaltenborn and Bjerke, 2002) that people attached to a place are especially attracted to landscapes that have a natural character and landscapes that contain historically important elements because they provide recreational opportunities or have restorative properties. Velarde et al. (2007) suggest that exposure to 'natural' or rural landscapes results in a stronger positive health effect than urban ones. People seek out these places, for recreation and for an improvement in their well-being.

In the 21st century the idea of therapeutic landscapes has been expanded to include ordinary and everyday places in addition to those that are actively sought by people; the home (Williams, 2002) and garden (Milligan et al 2004), the familiar streets and buildings can be of real significance. For Native Americans their lands, with their associated culturally-specific systems of belief, values and traditions, are seen as alive, so providing a spiritual connection between people and place (Wilson 2003). Everyday geographies are then a feature of therapeutic landscapes and lifescapes. Research carried out in relation to place and sense of place (e.g. Buttner, 1980) has reinforced ideas about the way individuals experience these everyday places, developing an emotional attachment to them; much of this research suggests a direct relationship between attachment to place and wellbeing.

It has been recognized that the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of individuals affects the constitution of a therapeutic landscape, which will differ, for example, with age, background, ethnicity and location. The collected essays in Williams (2007) discuss many of these issues, but what is especially pertinent is that most of the authors focus on the local scale; it appears that it is the intimate detail of the immediate surroundings that affect people and provide a sense of well-being. Hence for the elderly, attachment to the familiarities of place, notably in the home, is closely linked to sustaining personal identity and wellness (Rowles, 1982).

2 ECOMUSEUMS AND LIFESCAPES

The brief discussion of lifescapes above has drawn attention to the emphases on: interactions between people and their landscape; their dynamic nature and change over time; the importance of everyday ways of life and livelihoods; the significance of the intangible dimensions of place; and how they document change, especially where this is traumatic. The emphasis in ecomuseums is also on how humankind has utilised and shaped the landscape, examining how natural resources have been used to support local economies and develop distinctive senses of place. It is not surprising therefore that many of the features of lifescapes are also present in the '21 principles' or indicators of ecomuseum philosophy (Corsane et al., 2007a; 2007b) including the acknowledgment of temporal change, dynamic systems and the importance of local distinctiveness as evidenced in tangible and intangible heritage of a locality. Ecomuseum concepts are to some extent echoed in UNESCO conventions on the conservation of both tangible and intangible heritage, and are especially relevant to the European Landscape Convention which is designed in part to safeguard local distinctiveness.

It can be argued that there are clear connections between the concept of lifescapes and ecomuseum principles, but this is also carried over into practice. This is simply because most individual ecomuseums interpret 'everyday' places and the routines of daily life in both urban and rural environments; the clamour and drudgery of the factory and the yearly cycle of life on the farm are common themes. However, although ecomuseums may to some extent interpret past and present lifescapes of local communities they do not portray their places as 'ordinary'; they demonstrate how years of interaction between people and the land, between culture and nature, have led to the creation of distinctive places. Each place has its own unique tangible and intangible cultural heritage set in its own distinctive 'natural' landscape. In other words ecomuseums help us to understand the value of everyday places, their links to geology and natural resources and the network of social and economic relationships that made the place what it was, and now is. These ideas can be best explored by considering two examples.

The Ecomuseo dell'Argilla is sited in old brickworks outside the small town of Cambiano, to the east of the city of Turin, Italy. The area is rich in deposits of clay, and brickworks have been and remain a feature of the local landscape; the Clay Ecomuseum utilises the site of the current active brickworks and its environment, but makes particular use of the shell of the oldest, now disused, brick kiln for the majority of its activities. Before the ecomuseum was created, a small group of ex-workers, friends from their days of working in the factory, had decided that they wished to find a new use for the old brickworks. They formed a small Association and began to promote the old factory as a venue for art, especially sculpture and pottery, with a first exhibition being held in 1987. From 2000 the site became the focus for an ecomuseum project that was dedicated to keeping the memories of the factory alive – the lifescape of a past livelihood for many local people – by revitalising the connections with the community. This vision was carried forward by a team that has always encouraged widespread local involvement.

The site has achieved its primary objective of revitalising the community, of being a dynamic institution that involves local people, becoming part of their lives. A dedicated workshop space for developing practical skills in working clay, and providing an introduction to the site, was financially supported by the Province of Torino and opened in 2001. This has proved attractive to schools (with an unexpected number of repeat visits) and local people. Although the tourism potential has been recognised, attracting visitors from outside the local area is regarded as less important than local engagement. The site is now used as a place for local discourse, prompted in part by the success of a drama/video project with local schools and former workers. The evening screenings of the project, which dramatized the history of the site and its workers, were an unexpected success. They attracted almost the whole population of the village, with 300 people attending each of the three performances. Such support gave real credibility to the ecomuseum project and a sense of ownership to the local community – although it reflects on the significance of past lifescapes; perhaps more significantly the ecomuseum is now a part of the contemporary lifescape for many local residents.

The ecomuseum team prioritise the significance of process over product, as the drama event demonstrated very clearly. For this event, engaging the local community through the donation of photographs and oral histories was a significant yet rewarding challenge, central to the project. Oral history is arguably one of the most important on-going projects for the ecomuseum,

demonstrating the significance given to intangible heritage which lifescapes also champion. Although the site has not yet been fully interpreted to develop an understanding of the surrounding landscape and its natural resources, it is evident it has significant potential. The footpath through the site enables access to a rich wetland habitat. There are guided walks through the factory site and the clay pit areas that make reference to literature and poetry; these add significantly to the experience, as does the artwork that is a feature of the site. The ecomuseum has reacted to changing local needs, another lifescape feature.

The Ecomuseum Alzen, opened in 2002 in the hamlet of Vidalac (Midi – Pyrénées), is owned and managed by the municipality, its main goal being environmental education. The town's inhabitants had worked together to find the capital to buy the Vidalac farm in 1999, and then acquired the neighbouring farm two years later. Financed by LEADER II and the municipality, the ecomuseum is now established at the heart of the community; meetings are held here to discuss and promote the many local heritage and development projects. The principal aims of the ecomuseum project were to use the farms as a base to celebrate and conserve local traditions, to improve the local economy by direct employment and by attracting visitors to the area – in effect it has become central to the lifescape of this small village. The ecomuseum is not simply a collection of beautiful farm buildings, having displays of material culture of 19th century rural life (a reflection on past lifescapes), an exhibition and breeding programme for rare local breeds of farm animals and a demonstration vegetable garden that is managed by local schoolchildren. The ecomuseum celebrates local ICH by running a restaurant specialising in local dishes and acts as a centre for traditional music and entertainment.

Further proof of the ecomuseum as an essential component of local lifescape is demonstrated by CASTA, a separate organisation the ecomuseum set up in 2006 to promote agricultural production (including cheese making, livestock rearing) on the farm using traditional techniques. This association now employs sixteen people including four professional trainers. It also has a close connection with the local Ariège naturalists association and is working to create a resource centre to interpret local wildlife. In 2007 the ecomuseum established a communal wood-fired boiler that heats its buildings and pipes hot water to houses in the village. As a community-led project Ecomuseum Alzen fulfils most of the 21 'ecomuseum principles' and can be regarded as a venue that not only interprets local lifescapes of the past but is an integral part of contemporary livelihoods in the village.

3 ECOMUSEUMS AND THERAPEUTIC LANDSCAPES

The key question here is 'are ecomuseums good for you'? Does a visit to an ecomuseum have a beneficial effect on emotional, mental, physical and spiritual well-being and how might these benefits be realized? There is some evidence that positive health and social benefits can accrue from visitors' experiences in art museums (Newman et al. 2012). These authors explored the consumption of contemporary visual art by elderly people; their analysis demonstrated that respondents were using the resources of the exhibition to construct personal identity in response to their social contexts, and that wellbeing originates from the control such a process might give individuals over their social environment. We also know that there are positive benefits to ecomuseum activists (Corsane et al. 2007b) – by acquiring social and cultural capital they develop new friendships and standing within the local community – arguably with positive effects on their well-being. At present we have no empirical evidence to indicate that ecomuseum visitors acquire well-being in the same way that visitors to art galleries appear to do, or that by acquiring cultural and social capital from a visit influences their well-being. However, personal experience suggests that being in ecomuseum environments is normally pleasant and that as such they engender positive emotions; in general terms they provide an uplifting experience. Velarde et al (2007) suggested three kinds of health benefits that therapeutic landscapes bring: overall improvement in health and well-being; faster physical recovery from illness; and short-term recovery from stress and mental fatigue. It would be unwise to suggest that a visit to an ecomuseum could achieve any more than the latter, yet if so it would still be a positive impact.

The principal features of therapeutic landscapes have been discussed above, the key issue being their impact on the well-being of the individual. Other important facets include the emphasis on the local; the significance of careful design; recognition of the peace and tranquility that such

landscapes can bring to visitors; the significance of natural character and features of historically important elements; the celebration of the everyday; and a spiritual dimension. Ecomuseums in general demonstrate all of these features, though each will have stronger elements in this list. However, what they all share is the emphasis on the local, the everyday and the attention paid to the distinctiveness of local landscapes, nature and history. So perhaps the ecomuseum tourist, immersed in a stimulating and beautiful environment, is able to realize well-being through their physical and emotional reactions to place? This notion is discussed below with reference to three ecomuseums.

In the heart of the Cévennes National Park, the special nature of the granite massif of Mont Lozère encouraged the park authorities to create a separate ecomuseum – the *Écomusée du Mont-Lozère* – to interpret the landscape that surrounds its highest mountain (1699 metres). The base for the ecomuseum is the Maison de Mont-Lozère in Pont-de-Montvert which provides meeting rooms for local residents and acts as an information point for the National Park; it includes a permanent exhibition devised by local experts and outside specialists on the archaeology, wildlife and social history of the area – an introduction to the history and characteristics of the landscape.

The strategy in this ecomuseum was to encourage the visitor to explore a beautiful scenic area for themselves; several sites were selected that provide a holistic view of the area, including the restored Ferme-de-Troubat, with its bread ovens, barns and threshing floors, and the remains of a small water-mill. Other architectural features including fountains, bell-towers and even entire hamlets provide an understanding of the past and present ways of life in the area. Further exploration of local landscape and wildlife is made possible by self-guided routes at Mas de la Barque and Mas Camargues, which pass through upland pasture, beechwoods, coniferous plantations and sub-alpine meadows. The interactions between local people and the landscape and its wildlife are explained in trail guides and leaflets. These facilities enable the visitor to appreciate a wild, remote and breath-taking landscape; the trails demand physical effort but could be seen to be emotionally and spiritually rewarding.

Ha Long Bay in Vietnam is part of an archipelago of thousands of limestone pinnacles that reach up to 200m above sea level. Covering more than 1500 km² the area has outstanding natural beauty with unsurpassed geological formations, caves and grottoes; its coral reefs, sea grass beds and mangrove swamps provide environments that support a wide range of animals and plants, including more than sixty endemic species. It was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1994; the site boundary was extended in 2000. However, Ha Long Bay is not without problems; the significance of ecomuseum development here is that it provided a means to consider the many problems – water and atmospheric pollution, environmental and cultural degradation, inappropriate urban development and mass tourism – that beset the area (Schwartz, 2001). The Ha Long Bay Ecomuseum is gradually transforming the entire archipelago and its hinterland with an aim to increase awareness of the bay's environmental and cultural resources. All these features – the intangible cultural heritage resources, a site of staggering beauty and scientific interest, an emphasis on local distinctiveness – contribute to its recognition as a therapeutic landscape.

Ceumannan Ecomuseum, at Staffin, Isle of Skye, Scotland is set in arguably one of the most spectacular landscapes in Britain. An area of rugged mountain scenery hiding secluded grassy plateaus and small freshwater lakes, it has a dramatic coastline with stacks, pinnacles and hidden coves. The coastal rocks are rich in fossils and support colonies of breeding seabirds and populations of rare plants. In 2004 the Staffin Community Trust began to develop a heritage project that resulted in the first ecomuseum in Scotland (and indeed the first in the UK at that time). The Trust took responsibility for development, with aims to stimulate economic growth, encourage social activities in the community, improve local services and strengthen sense of place. Inaugurated in 2008, ecomuseum supporters have undertaken a range of ambitious projects. Aware of the wide range of natural and cultural assets that attract geologists, naturalists and walkers, projects have been largely devoted to historical and environmental themes which link neatly into notions of a therapeutic landscape.

The Staffin Ecomuseum promotes some thirteen sites of interest to visitors and local people by encouraging them to discover the area on waymarked trails; it requires physical and demanding effort to explore natural and cultural sites within a small geographical area. These include Flodigarry with its Viking connections; scattered crofts at Brodaig; Quiraing, the massive rock

face that towers above Staffin; dinosaur footprints on the shore at An Corran; and the Staffin Museum at Ellishadder which houses excellent collections of local geological specimens. This low-key ecomuseum has opened up an extraordinary landscape to visitors; a natural landscape has been 'rebranded', it has been given the 'ecomuseum' label as a means of drawing attention to its distinctive character. This ecomuseum is arguably the epitome of a therapeutic landscape.

4 CONCLUSIONS

This article has attempted to make connections between the notions of lifescapes and therapeutic landscapes, which have emerged from cultural geography, and the principles and practice of ecomuseums. Using selected examples it has inferred that ecomuseums are able to act as a medium for describing past and present lifescapes of distinctive places, and that some ecomuseums would qualify as therapeutic places. The examples of the latter described here all fall within protected areas which are already recognized as being of significant landscape value, a situation which is clearly biased – whether all ecomuseum sites can engender well-being is not known. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the potential for future research within a fascinating area of discourse; at present we lack the evidence to support what is here presented as a presumption that ecomuseums are 'a good thing'.

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Craft in the community: an holistic re-balancing

A. E. Dixey

St Fagans: National History Museum, Cardiff, Wales

ABSTRACT: Arguing for a view of the craft artisan as set at the centre of a craft ecosystem, this paper develops ideas for the management of the ICH of traditional craft skills that are grounded in community and economic, geographic and museological forces. This shows synergies with eco- and econo- museum ideas. Drawing on recent papers and projects (both inside and outside museums), it investigates whether ICH can be safeguarded by targetting poor or broken links within the craft ecosystem. Can Museum-based developments ever become more than a ghetto-isation? Can 'broken' ecosystems be balanced to once more become self-sustaining?

1 INTRODUCTION

When the presenters at the Robert Gordon University Heritage Convention were writing their papers (Fladmark 2000), none of them used the word *intangible* once. In other parts of the globe, however, more and more people were coming to the conclusion that a concentration on the tangible manifestations of heritage alone was not enough, particularly when the issues of spirituality, identity, belief and skills are considered. By 2003, UNESCO had drafted, discussed and approved the 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* ('the Convention') (UNESCO 2003). Museums moved somewhat more sedately. A small survey of museums in Wales in 2011 showed that the only issues that they considered linked what they were doing with Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) were oral history and community outreach (Dixey 2012a). In other parts of the UK, by 2009 some museums were experimenting beyond simple oral history (Stefano 2009). In the cradle of the ICH concept, the Pacific Rim, the USA's *National Museum of the American Indian* and New Zealand's *Te Papa* are just two examples of museums that have integrated the idea deep within their structures, beyond the simple level of the display.

Denes (2012) describes a pilot 15 day field school held in Lamphun, Thailand, which 'focused on the role of museums in safeguarding, documenting and revitalizing' ICH. She quotes Kurin as part of the reasoning behind concentrating on museums, as he considers museums to be 'the most appropriate type of organization to take the lead role', being 'cultural *preservation* institutions by their very definition' (2007:14, my emphasis). It is somewhat surprising that Kurin uses the 'p' word here, as only two pages earlier he had made the point that ICH is alive, with change inherent in its vitality (ibid:12). This concept of slow, evolutionary change, central to the idea of the living heritage that is ICH, is one that many museums find difficult. As Denes points out, museum professionals who have 'been trained to manage collections of objects' can struggle when they are required to work with 'communities who are the bearers of living culture' (ibid:168). Her suggested answer is to employ reflexive, ethnographic techniques; particularly as the Convention seems to view ICH as inherently non-Western and pre-industrial (cf.

Deacon 2004). Stefano (2012) suggests an ecomuseological approach. In much the same way as Zehbe (2011), she is critical of the Convention's concentration on the top-down approach, the first level being the States Parties. If States Parties do not ratify the Convention, there is no official list; to some, maybe, that means that there is even no ICH (cf Hassard 2009). But even where the Convention is taken on board, the list is drawn up by the heritage professional. Zehbe (2011) argues that the focus of ICH should shift away from the heritage professional, the outsider, to the participant, the insider. This is significant in the understanding of barriers to the safeguarding of ICH, i.e. that the Convention itself could be considered as a barrier, implying as it does that the outsider is 'in charge'. Zehbe is led to the view that the involvement of UNESCO's Education arm would help (ibid:289), but there is a concern that this would simply lead to yet another level of outsiders, this time 'doing' education to the poor old participants. The standard mode of education, with its formalisation and standardisation of teaching processes seems inevitably to lead to teaching to achieve certification, not teaching to mastery of the subject, or at least it does in the UK.

In an earlier paper, the idea was introduced of the model of the integrated economic and human flow around the craft artisan (Dixey 2012b) (see below). This paper investigates how targeting poor or broken links within individual and more widespread craft ecosystems may be a means of safeguarding the heritage.

2 CRAFT AS INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The idea of craft as ICH can be a difficult one to grasp. Sometimes this is purely semantics; many think of the word 'craft' as referring to the object produced by the craftsperson. In this paper it is used to mean the sum of the processes that are used to produce the object, i.e. that which is held in the mind and body of the artisan that enables him or her to produce the object. And, in that this is held within a person, it is very much intangible. Even the best multimedia recording would not be able to give an understanding what the feeling was like when the work was done correctly or what it felt like when it was wrong. This goes to the heart of the intangibility of craft.

2.1 *The Tyranny of the Tangible*

Within the UK, the most comprehensive treatise on the situation of traditional skills remains Collins (2004). It considered that 'the preservation of historic buildings is really no longer a living tradition ... in a vernacular context', with 'revivals, close approximations or... entirely new interpretations of the practices of the past' (Collins 2004:240). Once again we see the use of the word 'preservation'; interesting, as it could be argued that this is not a concept that sits at all comfortably within the traditional, vernacular context of building and the crafts that create and maintain them. Traditionally, buildings have been used and valued by virtue of their usefulness, with small evolutionary changes needed over time to maintain their role. The crafts that built and maintained them have evolved as part of this process. And the buildings slowly evolved with them. Thus the modern concentration on preserving the tangible heritage implies to some that preservation of the intangible crafts that created them is necessary.

The 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH) (UNESCO 2003) and the many articles, papers and even books that have been published which explain it, agree that maintaining ICH within its community is a key platform to safeguarding it (e.g. Kurin (2004 & 2007) and Smith & Akagawa (2009)). I have previously pointed out (Dixey 2012b) that this focussing on ICH as 'living heritage' in 'cultural communities' (Kurin 2007) could be endangering craft in westernized societies, where the definition of 'community' is confused. I suggest that the view of the ICH as simply a 'necessary evil' for the preservation of the TCH creates its own problems, not least of which is the view of the craft artisan in isolation, as merely a creator in a vacuum, with little or no understanding of the critical need for the full craft ecosystem to exist around him or her.

2.2 *Craft, ICH and the Museum*

One might presume that museums are well placed to help safeguard traditional crafts. After all, many museums based on Hazelius' 1893 *Skansen* model have had craftspeople working either as staff or individuals for many years. Ecomuseums have had similar living craft displays, sometimes as relics of original manufacturing processes, at others, in the disparate Ecomuseum model, taking the visitor to working artisans' workshops. The newest model on this continuum is the Economuseum. Here a conscious recognition of the craft as ICH brings the museum to the workshop. But how many of these actually *set out* to safeguard the ICH? So often, the artisan is merely a living exhibit, local colour to help entice the public to visit. This can lead to the accusation of the museum-based artisan as existing in a ghetto, a word that describes both a protected environment and one of last resort, even choiceless.

In 'Betwixt and between' I described the open-air museum at St Fagans as a user of the heritage resource (Dixey 2012b:1128). Not only that, but the protection afforded by the guaranteed salary, together with a view of craft as a preserved entity could lead to a siege mentality, as seen in the views of the carpenter and turner, who both considered that it was impossible to make a living outside the museum; patently false when the wider picture was taken (ibid: 1127). In contrast, artisans outside the museum can feel threatened by the artisan within, protected from market forces.

There have been developments since the research interviews made for that study. The Museum has had a series of building craft apprentices, funded by the UK Heritage Lottery Fund via the Traditional Building Skills Bursary Scheme. Although this is driven by the need for the Museum to have people undertake the work on site of re-building relocated historic buildings and maintaining those already in situ, it has not balked at the idea that those who have successfully completed their apprenticeships can be 'released into the wild', i.e. that they may want to find work outside the Museum. This is somewhat different to the National Trust in England and Wales, another organiser of work-based training in disappearing crafts. They no longer take on thatching apprentices as those that they have trained have immediately left for jobs elsewhere (Cullen 2012a). While this is somewhat understandable, particularly when financial resources are under some strain, it could be considered at the very least short-sighted. And the altruism of the gain to the heritage, as an extra input to the craft ecosystem, is shown to have very little value.

It would be unfair to single out the National Trust in this regard. Very few training schemes in the UK or elsewhere in Europe view the heritage as an holistic whole. Crafts associated with building are usually good on maintaining traditional materials and techniques, with equipment allowed to evolve, particularly where more enlightened views on health and safety are current. Dukanovic (2011) has described the revival of woodcarving in Vojvodina, Serbia. It is clearly a success story for the sustained maintenance of the many fine historic woodcarvings in that area, and also more widely across the Balkans. But I would suggest that it is the *tangible* that is being concentrated on; the *intangible*, the craft itself, is merely engaged in conserving and copying the originals. There was no mention of the change inherent in a living, *evolving* craft. As is the case for those wholly within museums, these artisans might be described as 'captive' or 'in the zoo'.

2.3 *Safeguarding ICH*

While the concentration on the tangible object might be excused when so much is deteriorating into oblivion, other views are beginning to make themselves heard. Cominelli (2011) approaches the issue of safeguarding craft as ICH from the idea of commons, and although it is described as an ecosystem, the structure proposed is positional. The key elements in sustainable natural ecosystems are that they are *balanced* and *cyclical*, the two being inextricably linked. The model presented recently (Dixey 2012b) is reproduced in Fig. 1. It was initially suggested there that the system = the Heritage. I now propose that a better view would be for the flow around the artisan to be viewed as an individual *Craft Ecosystem*, many of these individual systems going to make the whole that is the Heritage. In the same way that all the links within the craft ecosystem surrounding an individual artisan need to be working for that system to be sus-

tainable, the stronger the links between the individual artisanal systems for any particular craft, the more sustainable that craft is as a whole.

The problem with all this is relies on the willingness to pay (WTP). Also, that WTP can be misused in the wrong hands, with potential for a mis-selected group to be 'certified' by a misled or even corrupt officialdom, adversely affecting the 'real' ICH.

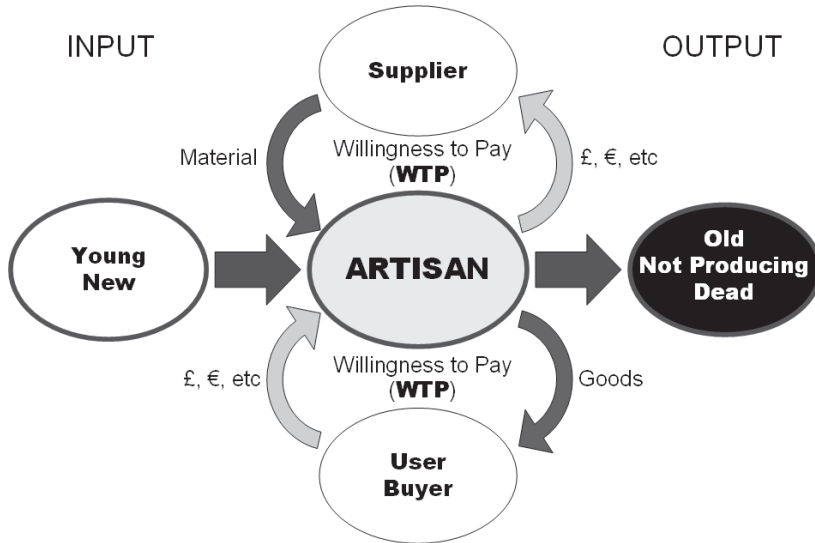


Figure 1 The Craft Ecosystem, a model of the flow around a craft artisan

I am not suggesting that there is anything particularly new or novel here, merely that these individual items are just not generally viewed as a linked system; because of this, damaged or broken links go unnoticed, and thus unaddressed.

This system is not static. But, as the linking flows get stretched, diminished or broken, they can affect it in different ways. If either of the cash supply flows are diminished or removed, the system can quickly suffer catastrophic collapse. But an *increase* in the cash supply does not necessarily result in a corresponding increase in production or other areas. If new recruits have to be trained for production to increase, there can be a considerable time lag before a new or changed demand can be met.

No ecosystem is simple, and this model might be considered *so* simple as to be stating the blindingly obvious. If that is the case, why does no one seem to be using this information, gained from viewing the holistic whole, when considering the sustainability of a craft? This is particularly so for education and training.

3 EDUCATION AND TRAINING IN CRAFT SKILLS

Many crafts and skills have been described, filmed or videoed in great detail. Many have been taught in formal courses. In a recent paper, Bassa & Kiss (2011) describe a recording and delivery system called eTeacher, which they assert enables endangered professions be maintained. Their 'knowledge-engineering' approach sprang from the need to teach maintenance systems in a factory environment and one can see potential for it in that context. But their proposal to expand it to traditional craft rather flies in the face of the opinions of the artisans themselves. Mul-

timedia is now very good, but it is still unable to represent what something feels like (see above).

Sarashima (2011) writing about *Bingata*, a specialised fabric from Okinawa, and Bai & Xiong (2011) on Nanjing brocade production, show that concentrating on the training in the skill set alone is not enough. The most important thing is to complete the virtuous circle Craft Ecosystem and that must include giving value to the product. This confirms Zehbe's point, as it indicates that concentrating on training/systemisation alone is doomed to fail wherever it is the main focus, whereas the commoditisation by increased worth closes the virtuous circle. The long Japanese experience of ICH with 'Living National Treasures' seems to have merit in imbuing a natural 'seal of approval', although the danger of enartment (as used by Howard 2003:91,195) is ever present. Indeed, it may even be a required part of the process. Bai & Xiong (2011)'s description of the Nanjing brocade experience shows that merely proclaiming ICH representative list status is not a panacea or 'golden bullet'. Perhaps the personalisation element is just as important?

As noted above, modern, formalised courses merely address the one element of the craft ecosystem that is considered the most important, if not the only, one worth doing – the skill techniques. In some cases safeguarding the heritage is only small part of the story. Hunt & Kershaw (2012) give an account of the Heritage Lottery funded '*Care and Repair*' (C&R) project in Peterborough, UK. The primary driver for the project was: 'to build the confidence and practical skills of young people who are: de-motivated, vulnerable, disengaged or likely to disengage' (ibid:1601). Hunt and Kershaw place it within the context of museum-based 'community engagement and social and economic development' (ibid:1602) and the use of heritage skills 'as a tool for sustainability' (ibid:1603, my emphasis). They suggest that projects like this are rare. Perhaps they were at the beginning of 2009, but by November 2009, the UK Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) had announced a new training scheme called *Skills for the Future* (SfF). Roadshows were organised and interested organisations invited to seminars to explain the scheme. The difference between C&R and SfF projects is subtle, but significant. SfF is founded on the need to increase both the numbers and diversity of the heritage workforce, i.e. the heritage should show a direct benefit. For C&R the primary mover is social, any heritage benefit being secondary, i.e. it is a *user* of the heritage. There is not anything necessarily wrong with this, as the aims and objectives are admirable, but once again the ICH is demoted to the role of bystander.

Many older readers in the UK may remember the *Youth Training Schemes* of the 1980s, when similar use of the heritage was made. Some, like myself, benefitted and eventually got employment within the sector. But many were disillusioned by the promise of employment once the new skills were gained – and then found that they could not get a paid job, as potential employers could get the work done for nothing by those on the next round of schemes! Yet the model in fig. 1 shows that an holistic view of the Craft Ecosystem would ensure that all the elements in the system as well as the links connecting them, were addressed. The same mistakes seem to be being made today.

One place in the UK that does seem to have moved towards this view is Scotland. Historic Scotland have developed a 'Strategy for Sustaining and Developing Traditional Building *Skills* in Scotland' (my emphasis). This is interesting as, although initially developed because of the deterioration in the tangible building stock in Scotland (60% of which are over 100 years old), it is now concentrating on skills training as part of a system that includes e.g. stimulation of demand (Walker 2012). As he said, before this scheme there were 'no options within the qualifications framework to pursue traditional skills'(ibid).

In some places, traditional modes of training in traditional crafts still exist. Japan's *iemoto* system is perhaps the most extreme, as 'only one designated successor receives training from just one master' (Cang 2007:52). Sarashima describes *Bingata*, but Cang points out that this is viewed as a revival; 'the older traditions with the centuries-old lineage do have established 'ecosystems'... underlined by patronage (specific skills from specific artisans/practitioners for the specific tradition, and not just anybody from anywhere who could actually perform the exact same function)' (Cang 2012). Thus the central left to right flow within those ecosystems is closed to all but approved participants.

Remnants of the Guild systems remain in Europe, which once performed a similar *iemoto* – type role for their respective crafts, guild membership being compulsory to anyone undertaking

the craft. Although no longer having exclusivity, their presence is perhaps most noticeable in German-speaking countries with the *Wandergeselle* or *Vogtländer* (Journeyman) still to be seen in their distinctive clothing as they travel for three years and a day after completing their apprenticeship, honing the nuances of their trade. The French equivalent is *Les Compagnons du Devoir*. It is worth noting that both of these require that a person has to have completed their initial apprenticeship before setting off on their journey (*Walz* or *Tour* respectively). The journey deepens understanding of the craft, broadens the knowledge base and produces acknowledged masters of the craft, as well as allowing the journeyman to learn about life. The *Compagnons* include an overarching view of the craft, with *Instituts de Métier* that observe changes that are occurring and respond with training updates if necessary (Compagnons du Devoir 2008:8). The training includes issues of entrepreneurship such as finance, vital for the sustainability of the trainee once they become masters in their own right. So the idea of the Craft Ecosystem is not new, but for various reasons in many places it has been cast aside.

4 THE HERITAGE HORTICULTURE SKILLS SCHEME

The *Skills for the Future* has been mentioned above. By March 2010, St Fagans: National History Museum, Dyffryn Gardens, Aberglasney Garden, National Botanic Garden of Wales and Cardiff and Newport City Councils had submitted a joint bid to HLF's Wales office for a scheme rejoicing in the unwieldy title of the *Heritage Horticulture Skills Scheme* (HHSS).

Although founded on the knowledge that the specialised heritage horticulture sector is finding it increasingly difficult to recruit staff with excellent practical skills (as evidenced by Collins (2004)), as Chairman of the joint project board I was able to ground the presentation within the concept of safeguarding the ICH of heritage horticulture (HHSS 2011:HHSS). The primary element where this was seen was that training should be continuous, workplace based and not classroom orientated, a return to the type of one-to-one learning that had disappeared throughout much of the sector. We also aspired to enable access to assessment at the garden, many of which are remote from education colleges.

Following acceptance of the scheme in June 2010, a training development phase was embarked upon, which included 'Training the Trainer' sessions. The first seven trainees arrived at the end of September 2011. By this time The National Botanic Garden of Wales had had to withdraw entirely, Dyffryn Gardens had to postpone their first intake to the second year, both due to resourcing issues, but Bodnant Garden, from North Wales had become a partner.

A joint induction day in Cardiff was followed by site specific induction and the drawing up of individual learning and development plans for each trainee.

There have been a number of teething issues, the most prominent of which has been related to our need to have each trainee achieve accredited qualifications. Although links at Board level to the Royal Horticultural Society (RHS) have been positive, some trainers have felt that this level of qualification put them under too much pressure. Most prominent in this has been the misapprehension that the link to the RHS means that training must be lecture-led. This stems in the main from the trainers' own experiences when trainees themselves.

It has been noticeable that it has been trainers who are under the age of 45 for whom this seems the most intractable problem. And this is not only noticeable in the horticulture sector. The officer in charge of the NT's apprentice scheme in England and Wales had had a similar situation arise. Trainers under about 45 equated learning with the classroom, those over about 55 were happy with the idea of the slow daily drip of traditional apprentice-type workplace based learning (Cullen 2012b).

Although this was unexpected, we will be addressing it in the next round of training for the trainers. One suggestion has been to call them *coaches*. It is not yet clear whether this will work, but the idea is that coaching implies more of a continuous role, including encouraging the growth of a skill, with repetition of the practical skill an important factor. *Trainer* comes with the idea of shorter contact time, leading to a lecturing style.

It is too early to say whether this more individual- and ICH- centred approach has the right elements to enable dysfunctional links in the Craft Ecosystem be identified and addressed, but there are encouraging signs. We plan to hold open days for potential employers, starting in autumn 2012. As well as showing the type of training being undertaken and the high quality of

work being carried out already by the trainees, these will endeavour to impress upon garden owners who may not have vacancies at present, the sort of qualifications and experience they should be looking for in the future. By raising the profile of the role, the perceived value is reinforced or increased and the WTP is encouraged. We do not know of another scheme in the UK that is addressing the Craft Ecosystem in this way.

5 ST FAGANS: NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM

As mentioned above, the Museum at St Fagans is an open-air museum of the *Skansen* type. Opened in 1948, it remained tied to its creator's (Iorwerth Peate) ideal off the rural idyll until the 1980s, when houses of industrial S Wales were added to the collection of re-erected buildings. As well as the buildings, there are collections, with furniture and other items of domestic life, agricultural and craft collections and oral archives being particularly noteworthy. Right from the start there was an aspiration to include craft as part of the displays, with demonstrating craftsmen. (For a fuller history of this museum, set in the context of the wider open-air museum movement, see Rentzhog 2007).

In retrospect, the Museum has not had a particularly good record for safeguarding craft skills, being to all intents and purposes a user of the heritage resource, with the craftsmen aptly labelled 'captives' by a previous museum manager in a light-hearted aside during an interview in 2008 (Interview 1002, 26.06.08). I have since termed them as examples of ICH 'in the zoo'. Although the Museum took on apprentices in the early period, this fell away when it was found that the trained personnel tended to leave to better paid jobs outside the Museum. In this respect the situation was very similar to that with thatching and the NT mentioned previously.

Since 2000, the situation has changed, with the Historic Building Unit taking on apprentices under the Traditional Building Skills Bursary Scheme. This has been successful, and the Museum has been able to keep some of the apprentices under contract, others being 'released into the wild'.

5.1 *Creu Hanes / Making History*

In 2010 the Museum embarked on an ambitious redevelopment project, entitled *Creu Hanes – Making History*. As well as gaining new all-weather areas, the timeline will be extended by moving the archaeological collections from the Museum in the centre of Cardiff. The aim is to 'create a unique learning environment, presenting the histories of the people of Wales in a new way. For the first time anywhere, national collections of archaeology and social history will be displayed together in an open-air museum be able to explore over 200,000 years of Welsh heritage. Innovative dialogical exhibitions, authentic historical buildings, archaeological reconstructions and skill-sharing activities will unlock the potential of our world class collections. ... The Museum's aim is to provide better experiences for all our visitors, to reduce inequalities in participation in the cultural activities we provide, and make a positive and lasting difference for heritage and people (ACNMW 2012:3).

With a projected cost of over £25M, the project is based very much on the type of reconstructed, community engagement-led museology that has become very successful since the 1990s (cf Simon 2010). In this respect it resonates very well with the concept behind Peterborough's Care & Repair scheme mentioned earlier (Hunt & Kershaw 2012).

With the success of the small building apprentice scheme on site, and the lead role in the pan-Wales HHSS scheme, the craft elements have become a fundamental part of the Activity Plan accompanying the project's bid for major HLF funding (ACNMW 2012). Participatory forums are to be set up, that will include members of the relevant community, including one for craft artisans.

In July 2012 it was announced that the bid had been successful. The hard work of putting the ideas into operation has now started. It will be interesting to report in retrospect at a future date whether the Museum does indeed change from being a user of ICH to become one which can have the successful safeguarding of ICH as one of its outcomes; not as a by-product, but as one of its primary roles. Watch this space...

6 ECO- AND ECONO- MUSEUMS

With the move to community-centred museology, the differences between museums like St Fagans and those presenting themselves under the Ecomuseum umbrella have become more and more blurred. To quote from the scope of this conference, ‘an ecomuseum may resemble a more conventional museum in appearance or, in other cases, an open-air community-controlled heritage project, depending on the place’ (Ecomuseums 2012). In many ways there is a synergy here with the modern idea of identity; that you can be whoever you want to be. Perhaps the key difference, certainly when ecomuseums came into being, was that they were set up *by* a community *for* that community. This can bring its own problems; visiting ecomuseums in France some twenty years after they were set up, Howard could relate that ‘visitors to the ecomusées are... almost exclusively tourists not locals’ (2003: 240). This might not be an issue, except that, although established by the local community, the ‘next [local] generation has virtually lost interest’ (ibid: 242). It will be interesting to hear evidence on this at the conference.

Ecomuseological principles have been suggested as a good foundation for the safeguarding of ICH, whether it is within an actual ecomuseum or not (Stefano 2012). By virtue of its bottom-up approach, ‘the practitioners of ICH remain in control of how it is to be safeguarded, as well as by whom’ (ibid: 233).

The only part of the Economuseum movement to have reached the UK is in Northern Ireland, with three artisans. However, the idea that real or perceived value can be added by extending the artisanal workshop experience to include placing the heritage in its historical context is interesting and has merit. The most obvious downside is that it is limited to those artisans that are workshop-based. Site-based artisans, particularly those associated with traditional building crafts, are put at a disadvantage. But to base a concept on ‘heritage that “earns its keep”’ (Économusée n.d.) cannot be a bad thing. In fact it should be looked upon as a good thing, because without that flow of cash around the Craft Ecosystem, the system is simply not sustainable.

7 CONCLUSION

The museum experience has not always been a happy one for the craft artisan - ‘in the zoo’, a ‘living display’, even a ‘captive’. Yet it need not be so. The community-centred approach of UNESCO with respect to ICH and museums with respect to their new displays, whether in traditional, eco- or econo- museums, can allow the ICH to be on display as part of living heritage, no matter what the definition of ‘community’ might be. And not as a pastiche, but set within the real context that is the Craft Ecosystem, with new entrants learning from old masters in a setting that allows the visitor to gain an enhanced experience; one that helps turn them from visitor to participant, to buyer and user of the heritage – in the nicest possible sense of the term.

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“Ecomuseum”: one of the many components of the New Museology

A. Duarte¹

University of Porto, Arts Faculty/Institute of Sociology

ABSTRACT: The word “ecomuseum” was created by H. de Varine-Bohan to translate a set of new ideas developed by G. H. Rivière. New Museology gains one of its keywords, but it is very limitative to identify the movement of New Museology exclusively with the dynamics of the ecomuseum. On the contrary, New Museology is a movement of a wide theoretical and methodological range, whose position is still crucial for the effective renovation of all the museums of the 21st century. Today, the clarity of the term seems weak, and more so because of the proliferation of other designations: postmodern museology, critical museology, sociomuseology... In this article I intend to clarify the most important strands of the New Museology. I claim that there is no need to make up a new designation – we shall keep “New Museology” – since its guidelines support either the renovation begun in the 1960s, or the much craved renovation of the 21st century.

1 INTRODUCTION

In May 1968, a group of museum professionals came together spontaneously in Paris to object to museums, considered “bourgeois institutions”. Students even demanded the suppression of all museums and the scattering of their collections across common daily places: “La Jaconde au métro” is their slogan.² At the same time in the United States of America, some artists united to reject art and museums. The new artistic languages and expressions showed a non empathy for the institution and resorted to the use of alternative spaces such as huge empty warehouses, approaching an anti-museum model. Simultaneously, in several European countries, the rate of museum visitors was dropping and it became clear that the institution had transformed into nothing more than a lugubrious storage of objects.

The social context of strong questioning and change that marked the 1960s did not allow the museum to go through that period unscathed. On the other hand, the inclusion of the museum within those social movements and the dynamic analysis of its collections required a real metamorphosis of the institution. The ruling lethargy would be removed through two distinct type of renovation: the project and the political ideal of cultural democratization with the help of the museum and the election of the museum and its practices as an area of theoretical and epistemological reflection. In both cases, the contribution of the ethnographic museums and anthropology would be paramount. From each of those renovation types, however, in the ‘80s, will result a set of developments framed within the so called New Museology, either in its French strand or Anglo-Saxon strand, respectively.

2 THE MUSEUM AND THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The subject of cultural democratization (or “popular education”) becomes particularly relevant in France.³ Since the critical opinion that so far the museum had been an instrument at the service of the social and intellectual elite, the continuation of its existence is perceived as something that must be converted into an institution at the service of everyone and used by everyone. The museum can and should be a privileged instrument for a permanent education, and a cultural centre available for everyone. According to this opinion, a set of reformulations is proposed, and at a more or less slower pace, it is adopted inside and outside France.

The presence of George Henri Rivière (1897-1985) and his museological theories defended and applied in the Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, in Paris, is unquestionable in this line of renovation. The fact that the museum can meet the newly assigned functions means, among other things, that some museographical experimentation can be introduced, with the underlying intention of conveying the message from the museum to the greatest possible amount of people.⁴ In the words of G. H. Rivière “(...) you can’t measure the success of a museum by the number of visitors, but by the number of visitors to whom something is taught. The museum is not measure by the number of objects it displays, but by the number of objects that might have been perceived by the visitors in its human environment.” (Schlumberger, 1989: 7). His pioneer work reveals itself namely in the refusal of sheer visual delight in the observation of isolated objects, and in the search for an exhibition itinerary or museographical language. The latter is accomplished through several techniques, among which the reconstitution of realistic settings, the “ecological units”, recreating a certain social context there, and making the exhibited objects relive.⁵ The reconstitution of complete operatory processes to illustrate a determined process of material production is another possibility. Concerning showcases, the systematic use of the nylon thread, through which the artifacts were kept in a realistic position of use, granted Rivière the title of “showcase magician” (Gorgus, 2003). We can also mention the use of several exhibition components, such as explanatory texts adapted to different publics, graphic and audiovisual resources, and allowing some of the exhibited objects to be touched.

At other levels, the perception of the museum as an educational and auxiliary instrument for the awareness of citizens is equally translated in the defence of other innovations. In a comprehensive way, the opening of the museum to the exterior is advocated, meaning either the widespread dissemination of the institution in uncommon places such as fairs, or the holding of conferences or concerts in the museum facilities. The intention of closing the gap between the museum and the population, and the concern with their access to the institution equally support the establishment of the first educational services for school audiences, and of the cultural action services aimed at a wider public, as well as the creation, in 1971, of the first *museum bus*, at the Musée Savoisien de Chambéry.

It is important to understand that the referred museological innovations were disseminated in the 1970s, but were not widely spread. Renewal tends to appear recurrently in temporary exhibitions, however, the museographical materials tend not to be renewed in permanent exhibitions. And even this partial adhesion is quite variable according to different disciplinary areas: less effective among art historians, and more regular among anthropologists. For this reason, we should stress the contribution given by ethnographic museums and anthropology to the support of the proposed renovations. On the one hand, ethnographic museums embody an extension of the notion of museum object, since the artifacts they deal with are all sorts of everyday objects which are not qualified for the traditional “work of art” category. On the other hand, the understanding of ethnographic objects as missing their intrinsic value, since their meaning can only be comprehended by the respective socio-cultural framing where they are produced and/or used, strengthens the need to contextualize them, and, therefore, the need to place them within an exhibition discourse. In a time still far from the current heritage paradigm, proclaiming the indissoluble nature of its material and immaterial dimensions, anthropology clearly highlighted the impossibility of being otherwise.

In the 1970s, maintaining the ideal of cultural democratization and simultaneously realizing that the implementation of the required museological renovations to accomplish such a goal is not sufficient, leads one to question whether the existent institution will be capable of meeting its new purposes: being an instrument for permanent learning and socio-cultural animation,

interacting closely with people. This bringing the museum into question raises new proposals for other types of museums – the ecomuseum and/or the community museum. In the new typology, “the decisive innovation relates to the communitarian logic of the project, defined by the territoriality of the intervention area and by the population’s participation” (Poulot, 2008:178). Recognizing the importance of the social and political dimensions of the museum, the promotion of a “integral museum” (Varine-Bohan, 1976) is advocated, taking into consideration all the problems of the community that houses it, itself performing a pivotal role as an instrument of participative animation and sustainable development.

The term “ecomuseum” was invented in 1971 in the context of the IX General Conference of Museums of the ICOM – held in Grenoble (France) and dedicated to the discussion of the museum’s functions at the service of the human being – by the then Director of the ICOM, Hugues de Varine-Bohan. And his model of “integral museum” gathered momentum in 1972, during the Round Table of Santiago do Chile (carried out at the initiative of UNESCO to debate the role of the museum in Latin America), alongside the growing awareness of the attending professionals who ignore the communities where they work and where the museums are located. However, the set of practices which will be referred as museology: “active”, “popular”, “participative”, “communitarian”, “experimental”, “anthropological” and others alike, finds its predecessors once more in the 1960s. In September 1966, the well known Conferences of Lurs-en-Provence were held in France with the purpose of discussing the constitution of Natural Parks as structures capable of promoting the defence of the cultural and natural heritage.⁶ In this debate, G. H. Rivière defends that Parks should include “museographically explored compounds”, where constructions displaced from their original environments would be located, according to the Scandinavian model of *plein air* museum. The Parks are eventually created in 1967, and inside them the so called “park houses”, considered as the immediate predecessors of the ecomuseum. The Natural Park provides to the ecomuseum a decisive opportunity of development, because within the Park the connection between sustainable development, socio-cultural animation and identity references is facilitated. At about the same time, some museums in large cities begin to create antennae spread across peripheral neighbourhoods, which also foreshadows the “musée éclaté”, recognized as the prototype of the ecomuseum (Varine-Bohan, 1973),⁷ i.e., a multidisciplinary and displaced museum expanding throughout different and disperse exhibition locations. The examples still emblematic today of the pioneer movement of approaching the community in large urban centres are the Anacostia Neighbourhood Museum (1967), located in Washington D.C., and an extension of the Smithsonian Institution, as well as the Casa del Museo (1968), located in Mexico City and linked to the Museo Nacional de Antropología.

Meanwhile, the Ecomuseum of the Urban Community Le Creusot/Montceau-les-Mines (France), established in April 1974, turned out to be a referential landmark because it extended beyond the link of the ecomuseological project to the world of Parks and actually approach the ideal of the “integral museum” created at the Round Table of Santiago.⁸ The “adventure of Creusot” was significant from its inception, because it was an urban community strongly influenced by industrial activities, where the first industrial archaeology activity took place.⁹ The experience was equally pioneering for the way it managed to articulate the protection of the material and immaterial heritage, how the inhabitants took to this experience, and the artistic creation, materializing an approach of “culture” in its most effective anthropological sense. Briefly put, the goal of creating a Musée de l’Homme et de l’Industrie of Le Creusot is defined in 1970, designed and animated by a local Centre of Visual Arts created in 1970.¹⁰ The development of this project and the consequent establishment of a local Association leads to the establishment of the Ecomuseum of the Urban Community Le Creusot/Montceau-les-Mines in 1974, which seeks to organically link memory, training, collaborative management, and artistic and industrial creation.

During the 1970s, the ecomuseum spread in France and abroad, covering a broad range of formulas. In terms of organization, however, the administration model established in Le Creusot is recurrent, formed by three committees: managers, users and researchers; but their desired balance tends not to be achieved. Throughout the 1980s polymorphism would keep on growing, but the so called third generation ecomuseums would tend to strengthen the participative philosophy of the institution, insisting on its social dimension (Hubert, 1989).

3 THE MUSEUM AS OBJECT OF STUDY AND REFLECTION

The other renovation line of the museological institution taking place in the late 1960s, was enabled by the election of the museum and its practices as a field of theoretical and epistemological reflection. These developments intersect, firstly, with the emergence of a new epistemological attitude, which was rightly called “poststructuralist” or “postmodernist”. If the 18th century Enlightenment led to the assertion of a positivist epistemology which proclaimed the absolute nature of knowledge, its universal applicability and the certainty of its achievement by strictly complying with the scientific method, the emergence of criticism towards this conception of knowledge gives rise to the issue of representational criticism. Certainty and trust, previously placed on the superiority of rational thought, are now changed by the perception that knowledge is always and inevitably a historical and social construction. The emerging epistemology ceases to understand knowledge as absolutely objective and disinterested, insisting, instead, on the need to unveil its political and power implications, as well as the corresponding relativity and limitations. By producing knowledge, the different disciplinary areas simultaneously generate representations about reality that need to be disassembled and questioned. The constructed representations are not harmful, instead they support and communicate meanings which help, or not, reproduce inequalities and the *status quo*.

Given this new poststructuralist epistemological attitude, marked by great reflexivity and sensitivity about the partial nature of knowledge and its political implications, the museum sees its own principles and concepts become targets of analysis and questioning. The museological institution itself emerges as a pertinent research object for several disciplinary areas, since the “old” narratives shown within it – representations about cultures, science, art, people, nation, empire, class, race – cease to be held as “right” or “true”, being instead understood as deserving of critical analysis and reevaluation. Representational criticism affects the very concept of museum and museological studies.¹¹ Translating the introduction of new approaches within the museological subject area, the discussion about the nature of the institution is established, on the nature and meaning of its collections, its modalities of cultural representation, its institutional identity, and even its mission and place in society.

Before mentioning other equally relevant factors within this line of museological renovation, it is important to understand that the new critical focus conferred upon the museum makes it emerge as the core a much broader discussion. The museum becomes a particular *locus* where some of the great contemporary theoretical and epistemological issues are debated and fought. Stemming from the new raised levels of reflection and interest, the museum professionals are confronted – although they don’t always engage in a dialogue – with approaches of other disciplinary areas, and forced to admit that the museum researchers are not just themselves, but also a quite widespread set of scholars. On the other hand, insisting that the museological institution and the meanings of its contents are contextual and contingent – instead of fixed – leads to the awareness of the need to include other “voices” within museological discourses, absent so far. In other words, the awareness of the need to widen the representational space of the museum keeps growing.

This second renovation strand of museology – focused on the critical study of the museum and its representational practices – also intersects with the introduction of theoretical perspectives, namely anthropological, in the study of the museum as a social institution. Within this framework, the contributions of anthropology must be stressed once more, because since the 1970s they have manifested either through the renovation of material culture studies, or the emergence of what can be called an anthropological museology (Kaplan, 1994). Perhaps it needs reminding that anthropology has been the only social science with a strict relationship with the museological institution since its establishment in the 19th century. Subsequently, in the 1920s, those relationships suffered a quite radical break related to the adoption of a structural-functionalist conceptual and methodological position, as well as to the creation of anthropology departments in the university. However, this dissociation between anthropology and the museums would be overcome in the 1970s (Duarte, 1997). This reapproach and correlative resurgence of an anthropological museology are closely connected to the assertion of an interpretative approach in anthropology, and the corresponding perception of social phenomena as processes of construction of meanings, as proposed by Clifford Geertz [1973].

In order to account for this new interpretative attitude, namely the reorientation effects it allowed within the multiple areas of cultural studies, some authors (Milner & Browill, 2002; Mason, 2006; Anico, 2006) use the expression “contemporary cultural theory”, as if the “culture” they talk about were a totally new construct. However, the outlines of such a “cultural theory” are not understandable if the anthropological affiliation of the utilized notion of “culture” is not recognized, nor its connection with the interpretative approach. Thus, it is crucial to clarify how the interpretative perspective, noticeable in anthropology since the 1970s, helped corroborate the direction of the identified museological renovation. With the interpretative perspective, cultures are understood as “webs of significance” that social beings themselves spin and to which they are tied, and the cultural analysis is understood as a “search of meaning” (Geertz, 1989: 4). Anthropological interpretation aims to construct a reading of what happens through the analysis of the social discourse, which manifests itself both through words and actions. It should be highlighted both the semiotic nature of the formulated concept of culture and the relevance given to the consideration of processes of production and the communication of meanings. These are understood as taking place in different situations and spaces through different practices and behaviours, performed by multiple agents. Even the analytical results produced within the numerous disciplinary areas are interpretations from which it is important to unveil the social and political implications.

The increasing importance conferred to processes of meaning construction strengthens the perception of the museum as a privileged research object. The museum is a social institution that produces meaning systems and that communicates them publicly. On the other hand, value constructions and narrative discourses undertaken in the museum are not timeless or absolute. They are attributions of meanings that, because they involve the possibility of alternative meanings, always involve power struggles. Under this perspective, the museum is rediscovered by anthropology as a *locus* of research and reflection (Duarte, 1998). Accepting that the production of interpretations and the acknowledgment of meanings depend on the context has direct repercussions on the understanding that the museum object and its exhibition have no internal meanings. On the contrary, these meanings depend on the respective context of exhibition and interpretation. In other words, the interpretative turn in anthropology strengthens the recognition that the museum object is polysemic and that no exhibition is neutral. The activities of the museum and particularly those related to the arrangement of its objects in the exhibition deserve attention, sustaining a textual approach of the museological institution. The museum is a discursive space whose strategies and exhibition narratives deserve a close analysis in order to disclose both the constructed and communicated meanings and their ideological, political and ethical implications.

4 “NEW MUSEOLOGY”: THE ARRIVAL OF A THEORETICAL MUSEOLOGY

The two previous points in this article sought to show – in a reasonably exhaustive way – the many aspects of the museological institution which, from a certain period on, were under scrutiny. Before 1960, we can talk about a traditional (or “modern”) museology that had been developed in strict articulation with the establishment of the modern Nation-state and the European colonial empires, and the corresponding education of their citizens (Bennett, 1995), but which lacked the whole self-questioning or self-criticism about the foundations and the social and political role of the museum. The situation changed radically in 1960/70 because of the many areas that professionals and academics begin to consider as in need and/or deserving debate and renovation. It is important to understand that it is as a result of that movement that in the 1980s one will speak about New Museology, a name chosen precisely to translate the theoretical and reflexive turn that was being made – or seen as something that still needed promotion – in contemporary museology.

Therefore, understanding that the dynamics and strands of museological renovation mentioned before are the main concerns of New Museology, it is now possible to pay closer attention to its outlines. It is probably clear by now through the strands enhanced in this article that we need to understand the designation “New Museology” as embracing either the developments of the French strand or the Anglo-Saxon strand, which are not contrary but complementary. Beginning with the history of the construction of this designation, one cannot

evade, either the reference of the Quebec Declaration in 1984 and the creation of the Mouvement Internationale pour la Nouvelle Museologie (MINOM),¹² in 1985, or the publication of the book *The New Museology*, edited by Peter Vergo in 1989.

The international document known as the Quebec Declaration has the subtitle “basic principles for a new museology” and it was produced within the context of the I Ecomuseum/New Museology International Atelier. Dedicated to G. H. Rivière and held in strict connection to the Ecomusée of Haute Beauce, in Quebec (Canada), this Atelier assembled the members of the ICOMOM¹³ who advocated international acknowledgment and the promotion of new museum forms, and therefore had disagreed with the position undertaken in the XIII General Conference of ICOM – held in London in July 1983 – where the acknowledgment of all the practices which did not fit into the established museological frame had been formally rejected. The Quebec Declaration begins by establishing the relation between the movement of the new museology and the Round Table of Santiago do Chile, stressing the importance of the declaration of the social function of the museum. Then, it proceeds with the systematization of the movement’s principles, stating the need to widen the traditional duties of the museum and to integrate the population in its actions, specifying as well that the new museology comprises the “ecomuseology, the communitarian museology and every other form of active museology”. In terms of resolutions, the document finishes by inviting the international community to recognize the movement and to accept every new existing museum typologies, appealing to the creation of permanent international structures that can ensure their development. The proposition of the creation of an International Committee “Ecomuseum/Community Museums” will never be put into practice, but the creation of an International Federation of New Museology would become effective through MINOM, established in 1985 in Lisbon, during the II International Atelier. In that meeting set of positions subscribed in the Quebec Declaration was also recognized, leaving no doubt as to its role as founding document of the MINOM, the new affiliated institution of the ICOM.

Concerning the affirmation of this strand of the New Museology movement, some aspects must be stressed. On the one hand, it is convenient to notice the scope of the advocated renovation, explained in the clear acknowledgment of several new museum forms and not only the ecomuseum. The active museology being defended is clearly a multiple museological movement which encompasses not only the ecomuseum but also the community museum, the neighbourhood museum and the local museum. On the other hand, the priority given to the participation and the integrated development of the population requires that professionals adopt a renewed conceptual apparatus to help them fulfil the change from a museum focused on its collections to another focused on its social functions. The extension of conceptual instruments and the resort to mechanisms such as interdisciplinarity or new management and communication methods are the other side of the advocated innovative experiences and of the new demands of the museum as an institution involved in the lives of the population.

With regard to the other unquestionable landmark in the construction of the designation New Museology – the publication of the book *The New Museology*, edited by the art historian Peter Vergo in 1989 – it has other specificities. One can claim that the appearance of this work was motivated by a similar appreciation regarding the need to renovate the established museological framework, explained in the words of its editor in a rather corrosive way: “Contemplating the history and development of the museum profession (...) the comparison that springs irresistibly to mind is with the coelacanth, that remarkable creature whose brain, in the course of its development from embryo to adult, shrinks in relation to its size, so that in the end it occupies only a fraction of the space available to it.” (Vergo, 1989: 3). But some differences have to be highlighted. From the very beginning, it is a publication composed of only nine chapters, an introduction and the respective selected bibliography, the authors of which are equally divided between the museological institution and the university, in professional terms. Although one can claim that it also translates the existence of a collective movement, the production of the book is not motivated by the goal of seeing the accomplished analysis or the positions undertaken to be recognized by an international body with a regulating role in the museology area. This institutional and international dimension is absent from the book, and is even expressly referred in the Introduction that the scope of the volume is limited to the United Kingdom with a few actions done in Australia and United States. The other substantial difference relates to the fact that the reflections are not aimed at the social functions of the museum and their potential to

transform the surrounding environment, but to the “choices” which, irrevocably, the museum must make in order to acquire and publicly present its collections. The impacts produced by the museum are also felt within the institution, through its exhibitions and its underlying options. This is the central issue of the considerations here produced under the designation of the New Museology.

After declaring that every act of collecting has a political, ideological or aesthetic dimension which cannot be overlooked, and stressing that “every juxtaposition or arrangement of an object or work of art, (...) within the context of a temporary exhibition or museum display means placing a certain construction upon history” (1989: 2), Vergo defines the “new” museology “as a state of widespread dissatisfaction” with the “old”. And he specifies: “that what is wrong with the «old» museology is that it is too much about museum *methods*, and too little about the purposes of museums” (idem: 3). There is a severe criticism to the fact that to this day the museum professionals have not recognized their disciplinary area as a theoretical discipline and part of the social sciences, which results in a total lack of attention paid on absolutely relevant topics. Behind every option linked to the exhibition activity of the museum – the selection of objects, the captions, the information panels, the catalogue, the communication decisions – there is a discourse or “subtexts” that express conceptions, desires, ambitions, positions conveyed by all participants in the process, that have intellectual, political, social and educational implications. Those “considerations, rather than, say, the administration of museums, their methods and techniques of conservation, their financial well-being, their success or neglect in the eyes of the public, are the subject matter of the new museology.” (Vergo, 1989: 3). Oriented and endorsing the positions advocated in the Introduction of the book, every chapter – yet in very different ways – addresses processes of exhibition creation. They dismantle the construction of “texts” and “contexts” used to communicate meanings and show that the displayed objects have no intrinsic value.

Having explained the dominant parameters in each of the French and Anglo-Saxon strands of the New Museology, I would like to show how, beyond the differences, their concerns overlap and/or complement each other. Beginning by the focus on the social and political dimension of the museum, only in a rather immediate approach would we be tempted to consider this topic as endorsed exclusively by the French strand. In a less impulsive analysis, we must acknowledge that the issue is also central to the Anglo-Saxon strand. In the former, relevance is placed on sustainable development, socio-cultural animation and the participation of the population, but in the latter, the concern with the expansion of the representational space of the museum and the deconstruction of its exhibition discourses, defending the increase of “voices” represented there, can lead to addressing very similar social and political issues.¹⁴ Even if in different ways, it is always the sensitivity on the role of the museum as an instrument of social transformation that gains relevance. The same can be said about the attention given to museographic experimentation. Oriented by the intention of democratizing the access to the museum or by the intention of deconstructing the discourses of the dominant ideology represented there, in any case innovations are tested, based on the recognition that the meaning of objects is not intrinsic, which means that they are used to a lesser extent in exclusively aesthetic terms, or that the very notion of the museological object is expanded, now including more everyday objects, the manipulation of which can even be encouraged. Globally considering the French and Anglo-Saxon strands of the New Museology, their differences are mostly found at the level of their theoretical sources of support, since in the former the weight of museum professionals and their connection to the respective international bodies is more relevant, while in the latter the weight of academics and their connection to the university institution prevails.

Considering the diverse topics listed here, there should be no doubt that the New Museology is a movement with a wide theoretical and methodological range, whose positions was essential for the renovation of museums in the 20th century, and will continue to be so for the renovation of museums in the 21st century. Hoping to have been clear in explaining that the expression New Museology can refer to a very wide set of issues, problems and even museologies, to finish this approach one last effort is needed to systematize its greatest trends.

Unequivocally, under the influence of the New Museology every activity of the museum becomes an object of theoretical and political reflection. In many ways, the museum is an institution that builds value definitions. Whatever it chooses to research or ignore, the cultural assets it selects to keep or exhibit to the detriment of others, how it fulfills those tasks and

justifies them, with whose help, is a set of decisions which deserve to be questioned. Museums are public spaces that build social representations which support particular power regimes, but such representations can also be deconstructed and/or contested and/or diversified. It is understood that the museum is a cultural institution as much as the objects it keeps. Meanings produced and communicated not only can, but should be, questioned.

As an essentially reflexive and critical museological practice, the New Museology is capable of leading a research agenda closer and more receptive to the contemporary problem of social sciences. Considering the museological institution in terms of its history and its purposes, the New Museology unfolds, namely in the consideration of its social function, and of its narratives and exhibition strategies. As a social institution, the museum has certain social responsibilities towards the community where it is located, whose well being and fulfilment of numerous needs should be a part of its mission. Tensions and socio-cultural problems of various kinds, as well as evident processes of exclusion are not issues to be ignored. On the contrary, the museum can be an agent of social change, regeneration and empowerment of the population, as it becomes more aware of the surrounding community and an effective space of congregation for that community. The consolidation of the museum's social function assumes either the abandonment of its traditional isolation in relation to entities such as schools, libraries or local associations, with which it is important to establish partnerships bearing in mind the interest of the population, or the redefinition of its organization that no longer focuses on collections, rather on subject matters and histories that make sense for their population. In turn, the new exhibition narratives are more and more materialized through objects and many other exhibition devices. These tend to result from the growing activation of participative methodologies, whose level of enforcement can go from the simple listening or inquiry of different community subgroups to the establishment of agreements with those subgroups bearing in mind the concession of materials or their effective integration in the curators' team. By adopting these strategies, the museum avoids its close discourse and opens itself to the inclusion of new and diversified "voices" which become a part of its museological narratives.

As a product of synthesis of a movement that includes the introduction of theoretical perspectives in the study of the museum and its approach as a vehicle of empowerment of the communities, the New Museology translates further in the renovation of different other dimensions of the museological institution. On the one hand, the idea that the museum should represent society within the diversity of the subgroups it comprises leads to and supports an expansion of the notion of museum object. This also includes a material culture of everyday life, from a more recent past and from classes and ethnic groups previously unmentioned. On the other hand, the widespread understanding that the meanings of the objects are situated – i.e., changing according to their contexts of use – justifies and strengthens the growing attention given to the contextualization of the representations built in the museum. In an understandable way, the emphasis shifts from the presentation of isolated and "unique" objects to representations which seek to attend to and clarify the socio-cultural contexts where the meanings of the objects are generated. Continuing along the same logic, the tasks of exhibition and community animation gain relevance and development to the detriment of the tasks dedicated to the preservation of the collections.

As the prime example of the radical revision undertaken on the every activity of the museum, one must mention the matter of the return requests from several countries and ethnic groups over objects held by countless museums for a long time. The act of exhibition is always an act of definition and attribution of value, which deserves analysis and discussion in order to highlight the respective political and ideological subtexts. But if the constructed representations use certain objects which are perceived by some as being "stolen" and obtained illicitly, embodying deeply culturally limiting narratives and reproachable in ethical terms, then the controversy may reach very critical levels. The use of objects from outside Europe and/or of an indigenous nature – usually collected in contexts of colonial situations and political domination – has fuelled the controversy. On the one hand, one cannot avoid the debate about the legal statute of these objects and the ethical implications of their use by current owners. On the other hand, more and more countries and ethnic groups demand "their" objects back and, often, an official apology.

The main goal of this article is to provide the best possible overview of the initial influential sources and the subsequent dynamics of the New Museology. The intention and ambition is to

be able to contribute to the comprehension of the New Museology as a large scale theoretical and methodological movement. I sought to show how the New Museology is a product of synthesis resulting from two initial renovations strands. As a result of the two mentioned strands, which at a certain point are no longer logical or possible to distinguish, the expression New Museology refers to a wide set of issues and problems that remain central for the desired contemporary museological renovation. Today, the clarity of the expression often appears to be lacking, even by the proliferation of other designations: postmodern museology, critical museology, sociomuseology... Recognizing that there is not enough room here to focus properly on any of those designations and corresponding analytical philosophies, I call, however, attention to the limited heuristic ability inherent to them in virtue, namely of embodying approaches that are insufficient because they are partial. For the same reason, none of these approaches can fully demand to be the heir or the logical development of the New Museology movement. Currently, as in the last century, the museum and museology continue to be both needed and deserving of critical attention. The analysis to be made, however, should be not only careful and reflexive but also thorough and questioning every field of action of the museum. Therefore, I advocate that there is no need to make up new designations. Let us continue with the "New Museology", since its guidelines seem to be able to support both the renovation initiated in the 1960s and the desired renovation of the 21st century.

5 CONCLUSION

As a final statement, I would like to reaffirm the importance of the New Museology contributions. If today it is possible to effectively confirm that museological research "has come of age" (Macdonald, 2006: 1), simultaneously one cannot hide the extent to which the achieved developments are a result of the contribution provided by the multiple dynamics of renovation covered by the New Museology. The growing articulation between museum and academy – and the correlative reinforcement of the theoretical and critical perspectives – which seems to be the label of the current expansion of museological studies, is itself an ineffaceable mark of the theoretical and political reflection instigated by the New Museology movement. It is thanks to it that the museum has ceased to be, at least in general terms, the lugubrious storage room it was before. If it is true that too many museological institutions and their activities still need greater theoretical and methodological sophistication, all the more reason to show the depth and comprehensiveness of the renovations proposed by the New Museology. Recurring or not to this designation, its teachings seem to be a good means of acquiring a type of museum that can be "a place where the visitor's imagination is stimulated, where he or she is made to see things in a new light, where some sort of stretching – conscious or unconscious – occurs in the way they see the world" (Houtman, 1987: 7).

ENDNOTES

¹ Anthropologist – alice_duarte@hotmail.com

² "The *Jaconde/Gioconda* in the underground". This student movement echoed the statements of some of the directors of the French "Houses of Culture" who, after a joint meeting, stated their refusal by the "public", claiming to exclusively recognize an interest for the "non-public", i.e., those who traditionally did not visit museums.

³ Its ideological roots can be found in the programmatic positions of the *Front Populaire* – a left wing coalition that took charge in the 1930s in France.

⁴ Even though less mentioned, equally deserving the label of pioneers are Duncan F. A. Cameron (1968), from the Art Gallery of Ontario (Canada) and Jean Gabus who, as director of the *Musée de Ethnographie de Neuchâtel* (Switzerland), was particularly committed to hold temporary exhibitions, seeking to create what he termed "dynamic museum" and "spectacle museum".

⁵ Something very similar started in 1970, in London, in the Museum of Mankind (ethnographic department of the British Museum, existing until 1994), with the so called "contextual exhibitions" which used elaborated scenographies to recreate the social contexts within which the ethnographic objects had been used.

⁶ *Journées Nationales d'Études sur Les Parcs Naturels Régionaux*, 25th to 30th September 1966.

- ⁷ I.e., “disperse museum”, with several dependencies or antennae.
- ⁸ Kenneth Hudson (1987: 163-167), in his work *Museums of Influence*, elects the Ecomuseum of Le Creusot as one of the 37 museums within 13 countries that have influenced contemporary museology.
- ⁹ Between the cities of Le Creusot and Montceau-les-Mines it is possible to mention the industries of metallurgy, coal mining and production of ceramics and glass.
- ¹⁰ Centre de Recherche, d'Animation et de Création en Arts Plâstiques (CRACAP), of which G. H. Rivière is one of the founders.
- ¹¹ It is under the influence of the same poststructuralist epistemological posture that, according to a few authors, studies within the museum area should prefer the designation “museum studies” replacing the term “museology”, since it is through that option that the plural nature of approaches is explained (Macdonald, 2006).
- ¹² International Movement for a New Museology.
- ¹³ International Council of Museology of ICOM (International Council of Museums)
- ¹⁴ The approach of issues such as ethnic, gender or class inequalities are obvious examples.

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Up the revolution! The role of museums in inspiring environmental and social change

R. A. Dunkley

ESRC Centre for Business Relationships Accountability, Sustainability and Society

ABSTRACT: Geels, Hekkert, and Jacobsson, (2008) declare that current ‘sustainability problems’ are as alarming a societal challenge as hygiene and infection issues of the Nineteenth Century. Tackling Twenty-First Century issues, such as climate change, will require new systems of production and consumption. These transitions will transpire through interplay between technology, markets, business investment, public policy, cultural beliefs and consumer behaviour. Consequently, the role of behaviour and lifestyle changes, in moving towards more sustainable ways of living, cannot be underestimated (Spence, Pidgeon and Uzzell 2009). As institutions that occupy prominent positions within our society, with collections and sites that can be interpreted topically, museums and cultural attractions are arguably ideal locations to stimulate conversations about the ways in which we live our lives and to inspire individuals, from all walks of life, to move towards more sustainable ways of living (Museums Association 2008). In the UK, many so called eco-attractions, for example *Eden Project*, and the *Centre for Alternative Technology*, place tackling current environmental and social issues at the centre of their function, while more conventional institutions, for example, the *National Museum for Wales* are beginning to embrace their role in tackling such issues, not just in their own in-house environmental management, but in utilising sites and collections as a positive force to create changes needed to tackle Twenty-First Century issues (NEF 2011). As museums and cultural attractions become increasingly engaged with the sustainability agenda, this paper considers their role in creating environmental and social change. Drawing on empirical research, it will examine current institutional approaches to sustainability education and interpretation, together with their key drivers. Finally, the outcomes of particular sustainability engagements programmes, implemented within an eco-attraction will be explored, providing insight into the potential for museums to rejuvenate thought, encourage excitement for the future, and inspire action.

1 INTRODUCTION

In 2007, the forth report for the International Government Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) declared that the certainty of the role of greenhouse gasses in climate change had increased to 90%. Global warming was now unequivocal, evidenced by increases in air and ocean temperatures, in global sea level rises, and widespread melting of snow and ice. There have been widespread changes in precipitation amounts, ocean salinity, wind patterns and extreme weather, including droughts, heat waves and the intensity of tropical cyclones. The 2007 IPCC report stated that if greenhouse gas emissions continued to increase at the current rate then changes to

Twenty-First Century global climate system were very likely to be bigger than in the previous one hundred years, with average global temperatures expected to rise by between 1.4 and 5.8 degrees by end of century. We are currently influencing the planet's life support system in a way unprecedented in the earth's history, yet while we become more aware of our centrality within the depletion of resources and the creation of dangerous climate change, oil dependant standards of living continue to rise and global population is expected to increase further by an estimated 2 or 3 billion by 2050 (Edwards and Timberlake 2012). Under such circumstances, the pressures that will be placed on humanity have the potential to be catastrophic.

Given the pivotal role that human-beings play in affecting the ecosystem that sustains us, together with the fact that a two degrees increase in global warming presents significant risk to human society and to ecosystems growth, there is a crucial need for a transition to more sustainable ways of living and working, if we are to mitigate the impacts of what Mark Edwards (2009) has called our 'headlong collision with nature'. The Stern Review (2006: i) on the Economics of Climate Change declared that 'the benefits of strong, early action on climate change outweigh the costs'. In recognition of this the EU has committed to a 20% reduction in carbon emissions by 2020 (as per 1990 levels) and an 80% reduction by 2050. Simultaneously, in the UK, the Climate Change Act (2008) sets out that an 80% reduction in carbon emissions on 1990 figures, will be achieved by 2050 and a 34% reduction in emissions by 2020. Such a commitment will result in changes that will leave society unrecognisable to us. Confronting the issues we face is therefore no longer the concern of a small niche of interested people, who care about the environment, but a global alarm to which we all need to respond. As Jonathan Porritt (1984: 119) somewhat dauntingly posed, 'we face an appalling difficult period of transition as we move towards a more sustainable society. It will require the most massive adult education programme ever imagined'.

It has been argued that though museums are often profoundly involved in sustainability, through their sharing of knowledge from the past and their social missions, they are often unaware of their contribution to a larger sustainability movement (Museums Association 2009). This paper seeks to illuminate the active steps that museums and cultural attractions, within the UK are currently taking in journeying towards a lower carbon society. This will be followed with a discussion of a recent sustainability focused youth education programme piloted at the eco-attractions the Eden Project, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB), and the Royal Botanic Gardens Kew (RBG Kew). Empirical research findings suggest that a reconnection with natural environments can encourage understanding of the issues we face, while presenting a hopeful vision of the future is key to empowering individuals to move towards more sustainable ways of living and working.

2 ECOMUSEUM IMPRESSIONS

With around 2,500 museums in the UK, the modern museum can be difficult to define, as Hunter Davis shows us in his amusing text, *'Behind the Scenes at the Museum of Baked Beans'*. In a period when museums continue to grow in numbers, their subject matter has become ever more specialist, to include *The British Lawnmower Museum*, *The Laurel and Hardy Museum*, *The Cumberland Pencil Museum* and *The Packaging Museum of Notting Hill*. The ecomuseum is a relatively rare concept in the UK (Davis 1994) and yet elements of the movement can be observed within the UK's museum and attraction sector. The attractions considered in this paper could well be considered under a broad definition as 'ecomuseums', given the philosophy's embracing of all aspects of cultural heritage, including the natural environment, as well as buildings, collective memories and objects. Subsequently, while the Eden Project, Kew Gardens and RSPB nature reserves do not explicitly declare themselves ecomuseums, they exhibit many similar characteristics. For example, they share both our local and indeed, in the case of the Eden Project, global natural heritage with their audiences and while they are not museums in the traditional, glass-case sense, alike to ecomuseums, they are living and breathing caretakers of species and testimonies of ancient ways of life, situated within their communities, placing environmental issues at their core. Moreover, as Martinovich (1990 in Davies 1994) stated, 'we are all in the environment, we eat it, we breathe it and sometimes we make museums out of it'. In that sense, every museum is a testament to the environment, given our dependence on the natu-

ral world for all worldly creations. In times of social and environmental change, the remit of more conventional museums is also evolving. The contested concept of sustainability now features more readily in strategic plans and on mainstream museum websites, as society as a whole becomes more aware of it as a development model that will allow us to slow the changes in global temperatures, already having catastrophic impacts in some parts of the world, and as a means of insuring intergenerational and intercultural equity.

Indeed, the positive actions that museums are able to take by way of sustainability are not just limited to minimising their negative impacts. Hooper-Greenhill (1994) shows us that museums traditionally have three essential functions: to preserve, to study and to communicate – of which the last dimension is key to this discussion. Museums were traditionally established as spaces for people to encounter and understand the wonders of the world around them. To this end, Hooper-Greenhill (1994: 140) argues that museums are ideal environments for learning, fundamentally educational in character, ‘they offer opportunities to people for increasing their knowledge and experience’. Indeed, in Wales alone, in 2008, 287,045 school visits were made to museums; these institutions are a major provider of formal and informal learning opportunities, outside the classroom (CyMAL 2012). Museums offer people, of all ages the unique opportunity to engage with tangible relics, whether a lump of coal or a coffee plant, which can stimulate the mind in ways that less tangible forms of knowledge creation are incapable of. Lord Smith of Finsbury, speaking at the Museums Sustainability and Growth Conference, in 2008 stated that ‘the most powerful role that museums can play in the sustainability agenda is that they can show us how we can learn from the past in order to live with the future’. This ambition was also recognised in Wales’ latest Museum strategy where it is specified that:

‘collections can be used to interpret and explore human impact on the environment and landscape of Wales and can enable users to explore beyond the museum and discover how Wales was made. Our collections provide evidence of change to the environment and landscape. They are made from materials grown on the land, or bought with the wealth generated by these activities. They are often manufactured using materials or processes that have damaged or altered our surroundings. Natural science collections contain basic information on the geology, flora and fauna that formed the landscape and can demonstrate how the environment has been altered by people’s activities’ (CyMAL 2012: 27).

In the UK, the Happy Museum, an initiative established in 2011, actively sets out to lead museums towards a ‘high wellbeing’, low carbon future (NEF 2011). Moreover, larger organisations, such as the National Trust and English Heritage are also becoming increasingly involved in sustainability, while funding organisation, including the Museums Libraries and Archives Council (MLA) and the Heritage Lottery Fund are also beginning to consider sustainability within their strategies. It follows, therefore, that museums are recognising to an increasing extent, their prominent societal position in leading learning from the past, as well as in imagining a more positive future. Arguably, this is largely a result of the interface that museums have with their visitors and the wealth of collections available to them to bring their message to life. As Simms (2012) puts it, museums are able to demonstrate how previous ‘times and cultures interpreted and reacted to their challenges, and perhaps therefore show how a new world might be: the projection from the past to future is inherent in the nature of museums’.

3 THE GREEN TALENT PROGRAMME AT EDEN, KEW GARDENS AND RSPB

It’s the first day of Green Talent, at the Eden Project. Twenty-five 15 and 16 year olds sit in a cheerfully decorated classroom, ever so slightly anxiously waiting for their Eden tutor to begin their first lesson. He stands in front of a picture of Polynesian tribes, some of the greatest travellers on the planet. They left South-East Asia, he tells the group, in search of islands off the South American coast. They must have known where they were going, but the only way we know they got there was because the pots they carried pots have been recovered since. If they’d missed the island they were heading for, they would have had their chips. ‘Amazing precision’, he motions to a wall map of the Pacific Ocean, ‘on a tiny boat, in the biggest ocean in the world’ and with them, they carried twenty-four plants to cater for all their needs: medicine,

food and clothing. These plants, like coconuts, are now found all over the pacific. The teacher sets the group a task, 'you're setting off to another world, changing your life. What plants would you want to take with you when you set off to this new world? With that thought, he sends them off to the biomes, where they witness the largest captive rainforest in the world, with an instruction to photograph, draw or even hug the plants, if they want to. They wander amid the rice paddies and banana plantations, the rubber trees and periwinkles used to cure childhood leukaemia. Their minds transfixed on the awe inspiring wonders before them.

Led by the Eden Project with core partners, RSPB, and RBG Kew Gardens and the Institute for Education Business Excellence (IEBE), Green Talent was a project aimed to transform the future, by equipping and inspiring young people to recognise their dependence on the natural world, and the opportunities opening up in the emerging low carbon economy. The lead organisation, an example of an ecoattraction, if not strictly speaking, an ecomuseum, is a multifaceted space - an international visitor destination, an educational resource, an environmental showcase, a forum, and a social enterprise. It is not a traditional botanical garden and does not grow rare plants specifically, but rather chooses plants that exhibit human dependency on the natural world. During time spent at one of the partner sites, young people engaged with a number of interactive activities. As Hooper-Greenhill (1994: 140) recognises, the most positive learning experiences are those that are enjoyable and the least restrained. In the unique ecoattraction environments, students were told stories exhibiting human dependence on plants; they voted on the extent to which climate change was the fault of humans, they walked in search of things that were not dependant on oil for their creation, and went behind the scenes within the organisations to consider issues such as procurement, energy and waste management in a practical setting.

It is now widely recognised that the changes we need to prepare for are unknown. As Foundation Director, Tony Kendle puts it, 'sustainability is about preparing for a world you can't believe will happen'. Yet Eden also realises that a 'doom and gloom' attitude, in the face of such uncertainties, will not help in tackling future issues. In recognition of this, Green Talent aimed to provide young people with an insight into means for confronting Twenty-First Century issues and encouraged those involved to view the future positively, to create the changes that they want to see in the world. Over a six month period in 2010, 430 young people, aged 14-19, engaged in the programme which consisted of a two day environmental experience at one of the partner organisations, combined with an insight into the way businesses approach sustainability through work experience, work related learning and educational visits. In sum, the four core objectives of Green Talent were:

- 1 To demonstrate that every bit of our lives depends on the natural world
- 2 To share the latest news on climate change and what it might mean for us
- 3 To explore how businesses and employers are responding to the challenge
- 4 To examine what opportunities might exist in the changing world and how to share ideas with others.

A constructivist approach was taken to evaluating the programme, using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. A range of data capture approaches were used, including observational techniques, in-depth interviews, questionnaires and integrated means of feedback, including, fast feedback through video diaries and post-it notes. All 430 participants were given the opportunity to tell their stories. In sum, evaluation of the programme revealed that learning within the unique environments of Eden Project, Kew Gardens and three RSPB nature reserves involved, increased young people's understanding of the challenges facing humanity, inspired them to create changes and provided a sense of empowerment to make those changes happen. As part of the questionnaire process, a series of core statements were designed and tested, which demonstrated that by the end of the Green Talent experience:

- **93%** felt that we were 'dependent on natural resources for our survival'
- **91%** felt they knew '...about the environmental and social challenges that face [their] generation'
- **88%** felt they could '...see how sustainability issues are relevant to [them]'
- **84%** felt they knew more '...about the job opportunities that will be available to [them] in the low carbon economy'
- **74%** felt they knew '...what the low carbon economy [was] and why it [was] going to be important'

- 72% felt they could...‘do something about the climate change issues facing [their] generation’

The three key findings of the qualitative data will now be considered in greater detail.

3.1 Increasing awareness...

‘I learnt things here that I wouldn’t have learnt anywhere [else]’ (Student, Eden Project).

When reflecting on their experience, the vast majority of students used words like ‘educated’, ‘informed’ and ‘knowledgeable’ when describing how the Green Talent programme made them feel. Increases in awareness, were in fact, the single greatest impact of the programme, related to three key areas: human dependency on plants, awareness of the climate change and understanding of sustainable practice. ‘We cannot survive without nature,’ a student at Rainham Marshes, stated, while another, participating in the programme at Kew Gardens declared, ‘I learnt that together, humans can impact on climate change, for better or for worse’ Perhaps most crucially, by the end of the experience, students had a greater appreciation of sustainable practice, as well as of opportunities opening up to them in the low carbon economy. ‘[I’ve learnt]...how important it is to look after the earth, because we have nowhere else to go’ (Student, Eden Project). This student especially, seems to have grasped how environmental issues are a problem for humanity, in a way that Porritt (1984: 111) urged us to in 1984:

‘if we are to leave the planet as we found it, and thereby to liberate the future from the problems and the so called ‘solutions’ of the present, we must first recognise the ecology and good economic management are now one and the same thing. Every threat to the earth is a threat to ourselves; every wound inflicted on the Earth is our own wound. Wealth and welfare simply cannot exist in a world that is ecologically unhealthy, and the production of wealth can no longer be separated from the conservation of the source of that wealth’.

3.2 Inspiring...

‘Before I felt like there was nothing I could do, but now I really understand that we’ve got to do something and in the future, I will be doing things to really help out’ (Amy, Aged 15, Sinfin Community School, Derbyshire).

A theme which emerged strongly from the qualitative data was that participating in Green Talent had enhanced student’s aspirations to become part of a movement to find solutions to climate change. Some made bold, impassioned statements, such as, ‘if we find efficient ways to help the planet, we will be heroes in ourselves’ (Alex, Chafford School, Aged 14), while others expressed a desire to share what they’d learned with others. 15 year old Tom, from Brannel School in Cornwall, declared at the end of the experience that ‘if someone gave [him] a chance...as a young person [to] speak out and tell people, then [he] would jump at it’, while several students spoke of trying to influence their schools, family and friends to make positive changes in their immediate environments. As Felicia explains below:

‘I thought climate change...they’re going on about it, but...no-ones like making such a big deal out of it...so it won’t be as bad as they’re saying’, but after attending Green Talent at the RSPB reserve Rainham Marshes, 15 year old Felicia’s prior apathy to environmental issues and scepticism of the ‘hype’ surrounding climate change declined. ‘I’ve matured in the way I think about the earth...I’ve actually realised that people [are] a bit ignorant to ignore [climate change] because this is our futures they’re affecting’. She now looks at things differently, recognising our dependency on plants for every day products and most crucially, for the air we breathe: ‘I see people pulling plants off trees and they’re just like mucking about with it and now I realise that that [by taking the] plant, you’re taking away a bit of someone’s breath’. She left Rainham Marshes wanting to ‘spread the word’ amongst friends. What’s more, while she didn’t have her career plans mapped out, she now feels she would like to help to address environmental issues within her future employment.

3.3 Empowerment...

'It made me realise that I could make a dramatic effect as far as global warming and climate change are concerned' (Student, Wakehurst Place, West Sussex)

A key objective of the programme was to empower young people to realise their potential through gaining new knowledge and skills to help them appreciate the opportunities opening up to them in the low carbon economy. As Tim Smit (2009: 125), co-founder of the Eden Project puts it, 'if you don't have a vision of the future, a narrative that leads you to the sunlit uplands of the imagination, that hints at a future possible with you, yes you, as a player in the story, it will perish on the vine'. When asked to describe how they felt following participating in Green Talent, several students stated that they felt 'more experienced', 'confident' and 'prepared'. One student, who attended the RSPB reserve, Rainham Marshes, for their experience stated: '[Green Talent] was about showing us what we can do. Even though we're just kids, little things can affect us and when we're older, we can help the planet'. Many young people involved had ideas for how they could adopt more sustainable ways of living currently (117 students made explicit statements in questionnaires regarding this), these related mainly to purchasing products as well as waste and energy management. Below, 15 year old George describes how he feels following the programme:

Students from Sinfon Community School in Derby gained the opportunity to visit the Rolls-Royce factory in their town as part of Green Talent. George, who said he 'knew [climate change] was around' but didn't have his 'eyes open to it' was one of them. He'd never had 'proper lessons' on the subject, despite coming from a school with 'a wind-turbine and a bio-mass generator'. George had felt pessimistic about the task ahead: 'I just felt that there wasn't really much that could be done and I thought that it would be a really long-haul change'. At Eden, he felt he'd found out 'what could be done' while at Rolls-Royce, he'd seen an organisation 'actually putting them things into action'. As a result, he felt a lot more knowledgeable about sustainability and excited about the prospect of developing innovative approaches to Climate Change, challenging his previously held view that finding solutions would mean 'that we would have to sacrifice a lot of things' Following the programme he intended to be part of the solution: 'I'm more aware of the impact that things have now, so I'll turn things off, I never used to... and in the future, hopefully, I would like to be involved in something like this. So I'm hoping to have, in that respect, a job within that field'. 'I feel much more optimistic now, because it showed just with Rolls-Royce, I know it's not a small company, but it is one company and it is pushing forward a lot of things and it's really making a difference'.

It is clear, that interacting with the natural world and focusing on a positive future can engage young people with the sustainability agenda. Nevertheless, despite these positive outcomes, it is important to recognise the limitations of learning about the issues we face, as a means of inspiring solutions that will sustain our civilisation. The sense of inspiration and empowerment felt following involvement in the programme was not absolute for all students and while 72% of students felt they could do something about the issues facing their generation that leaves 28% with a feeling of indifference or despondence. This dejection came mainly from a sense of a lack of agency in creating the changes needed, largely resulting from a feeling that collective action was needed. 14 year old, Robert from Chafford School stated that: 'if we all helped...we could make a difference, if we all came together and actually tried. Most people aren't really bothered at the moment because there isn't any like full-on things that we see every day. There's not much we can do on our own but there are the little bits'. Another student, Manu, expressed that following the programme, he felt he was likely to resume his 'normal lifestyle, go out, watch DVD's, eat, that's it really'. Manu felt that he'd only become 'bothered' by the challenges we face, 'if it has a big effect on the world'.

As Smit (2009: 126) stated, 'the present is never a good place to imagine the future', and clearly there are difficulties to overcome in this respect. Imagining a future that is yet to come to pass is challenging, for as David Bohm (2009) states, people have difficulty grasping abstractions. Therefore, not only will a new spirit of cooperation be needed if we are to tackle the issues we face within the Twenty-First Century, but more pertinently still, there is a need to ex-

amine the ways that we have come to think about the issues. Manu is very candid, in recognising that when he returned home, his concerns for issues beyond his immediate environment were likely to be minimal. This, Bohm (2009: 136) states is because 'unless our thinking changes, any change of feeling can't really be sustained and so...overall change will not be very significant'. In his opinion then, multiple, creative ways of helping the wider public to understand abstractions are necessary to make the issues we face 'alive in the present to people generally'. It is clear therefore, that there is no panacea in terms of creating resilience through educational programmes.

4 THE ROAD AHEAD

As Porritt (1984: 119) asserts, the majority of people will not change their behaviour unless it is in their best interests to do so. Subsequently, perhaps the greatest contribution of the ecoattraction, the ecomuseum and indeed museums in general, as institutions occupying central positions within our society, is their potential to inspire sustainable change by revealing why environmental issues are a problem for all humanity. Results presented here, from just one sustainability education programme, led by ecoattractions, show that there are positive byways being made in the sector to create changes in ways of living and working, while collaborating with other national museums offers potential to increase geographical scope of projects and builds funding capacity for worthwhile initiatives, in times of economic challenge.

Admittedly, the challenge is great, and some within the sector will inevitably feel that it is not the responsibility of museums to educate the public about sustainability (Museums Association 2009). Yet as time goes on, facilitated by the emergence of greater consensus regarding the occurrence of climate change (Hulme 2008), abstract concepts will become a reality and subsequently, greater recognition will be given to the role of museums and other cultural organisations, with a public interface, in changing perceptions and behaviours. Yet currently, leadership for sustainability and support within the museums sector is 'patchy and fragmented', with no national green schemes for museums in England, Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland (Museums Association 2012) and whereas the Museums Association has made efforts to provide leadership for sustainability for the UK sector, the MLA have been unsupportive in funding such an initiative. It is clear then that in order for the potential of museums to be fully actualised in this regard, there will need to be a re-imagining of key aspects of the role of museums (NEF 2011).

Urgent action is needed, in order to move towards a more resilient society. As one respondent to the Museums Association's 2009 consultation on sustainability within the sector stated, 'it is pointless showcasing history to the world if it costs the earth'. Museums not only have the ability to improve their own environmental practices, as Wylie and Brophy (2008) and Maden (2011) have advocated, so as to limit their negative impacts, they are in a position to lead society towards a more sustainable future. As NEF (2011:8) urges 'given the scale of the challenges we face, the need for open, inclusive dialogue is urgent and we hope that the museum sector as a whole resists the temptation to remain in the role of passive observer, and instead chooses to play an active part in facilitating the conversation'. The power of a positive learning experience can not be underestimated in terms of its ability to light a fire of passion. Museums and attractions offer that sense of 'something else' to engage and inspire. If the secrets of how to connect with a wide variety of people are shared, then ecomuseums and traditional museums alike, have the potential to be central meeting grounds for people to share and solve the issues we currently face. Museums reflect life; they reflect ways of living and when dealing with the greatest issues to face our humanity in recent times, where better a place could there be, to start than an environment that allows us to appreciate how we have lived both within and increasingly outstretched of the limits of our ecosystem? And in that sense, what better places could there be to begin to reflect on the greatest challenges of our time?

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The other ecologies: why there is no ecomuseum in India

P. Dutta

Tezpur University, Tezpur, Assam, India

ABSTRACT: Since late 20th century onwards, ecomuseology and other such community-based alternative museum methods were increasingly practiced in several parts of the globe. However, in India, a country which is known for the existence of a corpus of living traditional cultures of its highly heterogeneous populations did not come up with any such boom (barring very few experiments) of ecomuseums or alternative museums, neither in actual practices nor in museum related deliberations, as anticipated and desired by some ecomuseologists within and outside the country. This paper intends to analyze this apparent non-existence of alternative museum practices in India by locating its reasons in: firstly, the museum and heritage management setup in India which is mostly operated within the governmental structures and is following an English model inherited as a colonial legacy; secondly, a newly emerged 'culturalism' visible in the ethno-political as well economic domains in post-liberalization times since the 1990s. Here it is to argue that a governmental bureaucratic setup of museum and heritage management, in one hand, is structurally resistant to radical changes in its existing practices; and a situation of new ethno-political crisis as well as the advent of the globalized economy, on the other hand, has turned the 'culture and heritage' into tools and commodities always available at hand – negating any additional craze, on the part of the people, to use them in any kind of museum format.

The Ecomuseum as a form of museum practice, and its ideological umbrella – the new museology, can be seen as the offshoot of several radical changes that took place within and outside the museum world during the 1960s and onwards. It was the far-reaching changes in the socio-political and economic spheres that confronted the hitherto object-centric museum world to respond to it by inclining towards more humanist and community-oriented schemes for the functioning of museum. However, there were local and country-specific realities which were responsible for the mixed and uneven acceptance and success of the ecomuseum practices in the global scale. In the initial phase, ecomuseological values and practices became popular in countries of continental Europe, Mexico and Latin America. Some of the Asian countries like China, Taiwan, Korea and Philippines were also seen to be engaged with ecomuseum projects in relatively recent times.

In the context of India, no museological work has been launched till date under the name and style of an ecomuseum. In 1999, the Korlai Community Museum was started by a community of Indo-Portuguese descendants under some active interventions of V. H. Bedekar. The term ecomuseum was not used in naming this project but some of the ecomuseological ethics and principles were followed to salvage the local problems. This work rightly received considerable in-

ternational attention. It was hoped that more such works would follow and the global ecomuseum movement would find a prospective ground in India.

However, a stock taking after one and a half decade of the Korlai experiment gives a different picture of the case of ecomuseum concepts in India. In this period very limited number museums came up, which were noted for their departure from the conventional modes of object-centric museums. Mention can be made about the Arna-Jharna Desert Museum of Rajasthan, started in 2008, where the life of people in the desert is explored through interrelationships of various cultural traits. Very recently, a community museum namely Hansiba Museum, developed by the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA), has been inaugurated in the state of Gujarat ("Self" 2012). None of these few museums, however, claim to be an ecomuseum either in its label or in its contents. Books, articles and reports published within the scholarship of museum studies in India during this time did not produce sufficient deliberations on the issues pertaining to new museology and ecomuseum. The works of very limited number of authors, e.g. (Bedekar 1995), (Bhatnagar 1999) and (Dutta 2010) can be referred in this context. Such scanty and fragmented activities reflect that new museology and ecomuseum failed to emerge in India in the form of an organized movement. It could not become a contesting discourse of museum practice.

Having understood this, one is obviously prompted to find the reasons for this unforeseen failure of the new museology and ecomuseum in the Indian context. For that, one needs to look critically at a number of issues: Firstly, the background and characteristics of the museum setup in India; Secondly, the political and economic scenario of the Indian society in general at the end of the last century.

Like the various wings of the state machinery, such as, the system of education, structures of judiciary and administration, etc, the museum establishments in India too finds its origin in the colonial setup by the British. "Some of the earliest museums in India", as noted by Savithri P Nair, "were founded in connection with scientific societies such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal and assumed a heterogeneous nature, with contents ranging from natural history specimens to economic products and antiquities" (Nair 2007: 61). The starting of the institution of museum was undertaken by the colonial rulers on Indian soil "first, out of a natural curiosity to know all about the new land where Europeans had come to work and live for a while, and, secondly, for the practical ends of ruling the land" (Banerjee 1990: 17). The first museum in India, which later came to be known as Indian Museum, was established in 1814 in Calcutta. By the time India attains her freedom in 1947, it was almost a century and a half time of the direct colonial museography firmly established in India that had evolved with all its sophistications of methodologies and practices. This colonial legacy influenced heavily in the museum practices of the country even after its independence. Thus, according to Nair, "(u)nlike in Europe, where the museum became a key agent of social identity and emancipation, the public museum in India was predominantly conceived as an agent of economic progress; it made the systematic exploitation of resources possible" (Nair 2007: 62). A characteristic feature of the operation of museums in colonial India was the showcasing of the findings of scientific explorations in the fields of natural history, anthropology and archaeology. This is evident even now in the contemporary functioning of the various national and regional museums run by the government.

The colonial structure of the museum transplanted in India by the British was found useful in, and appropriated for, the nation building project by the native government in post-independence times. This was largely a process of integration of the various regional provinces, which had been separate and independent kingdoms and princely states prior to the British rule, into a newly constructed national mainstream. It is to be noted that a process had been started, much before the actual independence in 1947, by the newly emerging educated elite nationalists to reconstruct a rich and glorious past rooted in the ancient sanskrit and vedic traditions. Powerful emperors and their dynasties subscribing different religions in various local constituencies became important contributing chapters in the new national history. This is a fact that there was no country called India prior to the advent of the British, at least as a territorially demarcated entity. It was the constellation of the various British colonies in this peninsula represented by the connotation called 'India' during its independence. Thus the successive native governments in post-independence times had to go with an integrative nation building project under the tag line of 'unity in diversity'. In such a context, the inherited structure of cultural museums dominated by disciplines like archaeology and anthropology was seen to be particularly useful.

Hence, the operation of museums in post-independence India can be summarized as: a) it is mostly a government endeavor with limited number of private museums b) almost all the cultural museums of regional and national category are guided by archaeological and anthropological scholarships, c) the evaluation and interpretation at the government museums are guided by a converging nationalist discourse. The first two of these characteristics can be seen as the reminiscences of the object-oriented classical museography, inherited as colonial bequest, which were further championed by Indian museums for the nationalist ideology in post-independence times. The third characteristic was mostly responsible for the apparent political reluctance in embracing the ecomuseum and new museological ideals. The prime ideal of ecomuseum, to promote the distinctive senses of an individual place or identity of a single community, was in sharp opposition to the ongoing nation-building project where the priority was to promote and solidify a larger collective national identity.

It has already been mentioned that the institution of museum in India operates largely within the governmental sector; and private museums are numerically fewer. The nature of such governmental museums, run under the Directorates of Museum (both of state and central governments), Archaeological Survey of India, Anthropological Survey of India, etc, is more administrative and bureaucratic. As a consequence, such museums are always reluctant to any radical change and more prone to carry on with existing colonial methods and practices. There are departments of museology in few Indian universities, offering graduate courses and research programmes in museology, which are, by virtue of their own academic characteristics, relatively more open and exposed to newer theoretical ideas. But, their infrastructural facilities and financial support are limited to carry on new kinds of museum experiments. The first department of such kind was established in 1952 in M. S. University of Baroda and, it is not ironical that one of its former professors, V. H. Bedekar, was later instrumental in bringing out the Korlai Community Museum – the first of its kind in India, in 1999.

The relatively late entry of new museology and ecomuseums into Indian academics can also be attributed to the fact that most of the writings on the pioneering thoughts and experiments of new museology of the 1960s and 1970s were limited to French only (Dutta 2006: 218). The much-needed writings in English, for countries including India, were published in the UNESCO's journal in 1985. In his lecture in the second international conference on ecomuseums in Brazil, in 2000, Bedekar expressed that

... through the articles in UNESCO's MUSEUM special number 4, of volume XXXVII, 1985, on New Museology, Indians were made aware for the first time of the parting of ways of thinking between the traditional, conservative museologists and the champions of New Museology. Pierre Mayrand's article "The new museology proclaimed" was a wake up call for persons like me in India. The Declaration of Quebec made us sit up and take note of the new movement to which we were oblivious, because we were in "English knowing" country. (Bedekar 2000).

After this linguistic barrier was reduced, issues of new museology and ecomuseums did figure in the academic deliberations amongst the Indian museologists. Declarations were signed, limited books and articles were published, but concrete works in action were not reported other than Bedekar's work in Korlai. The available literature produced during this phase reflects that Indian museologists were mostly engaged in exploring theoretical possibilities of ecomuseums in various local contexts in India. I have a feeling that, in those explorations, many of us were too obsessed with the classical French formats of ecomuseums, undermining the fact ecomuseum can be, and in fact – it is, much more diversified than any specific model.

An important aspect to be noted in this context is a fact that, during 1990s and onwards, Indian society, in general, was made to face with crucial changes due to the new economic liberalization policy adopted by the government. The impact of this new open-market regime was far more than superficial. With the emergence of the franchises of the MNCs, the large population of Indian middle class suddenly found it possible to subscribe the so-called high-class foreign commodities and 'globalized' ways of life. Thus, during the time when Bedekar could see the first community museum in India was inaugurated, a large section of Indian middle class was just beginning to experience the tastes of affordable private airlines, foreign cars, packages from the service industries and uncountable array of 'foreign' and 'international' consumer goods and leisure products. Whatever little changes occurred at this stage to museums in India was more in the lines of making museums commercially profitable, through technically sophisticated dis-

plays for attracting visitors and tourists. This was certainly not a conducive environment for the flourishing of ecomuseum, where the priority is neither commercial profit nor the flow of visitors. I have the feeling that such a phenomenon, where one experiences the rapid disappearance of traditional landscapes and values – which was experienced by the developed nations in Europe and elsewhere several decades earlier, has been relatively late for the Indians.

In analyzing the situation in Britain, where “the concept of ecomuseum has been largely ignored by the curators”, Peter Davis observed that

“It is perhaps also the case that in the UK some of the roles of the ecomuseum are being met by other non-traditional museums.....and by a network of ‘visitor centres’ and other interpretive facilities in protected landscapes.....Neither of these museums makes a claim to be an ecomuseum, despite the fact that local people are employed there. It is frequently local skills that are used in interpretation at these museums.” (Davis 1999: 144)

If one looks through this perspective in Indian situation, one would find quite a lot of such ‘visitor centres’ and ‘interpretive facilities’ which are unquestionably playing the roles of an ecomuseum.

Firstly, within the traditional setup of many Indian communities, there are religious institutions, community prayer halls, village councils, youth dormitories, etc – which are, in practice, extremely multidimensional in nature. Mention can be made about one such institution called *namghar* (literally meaning ‘prayer hall’) which is unmistakably found in each Hindu village in the state of Assam. Besides, being the place of routine religious activities, this institution is also the site of almost all the collective activities of the village members, such as, community gathering, community trials and crucial decision making, practice of performing arts, display of local craftsmanship, etc. Similarly, there are village councils in states like Nagaland which are basically administrative units at the grass root level. Such Naga village councils, in recent times, are taking the responsibility of preserving local heritage by collecting and displaying traditional articles in small museums, preserving old house-patterns by erecting model architectural structures, interpretation and guided tour to tourists by local representatives and arranging traditional performances for visitors. It is very likely that in rest of India there will be more such traditional setup engaged in such activities.

Secondly, there are also different cultural outlets outside the so-called traditional systems. In many places there are emporiums and centres of local arts and crafts under the ministries like Handloom and Textile, Rural Development, etc of the government. In such centres, the local skills in various types of craftsmanship are promoted and crafts products are sold to visitors. Non-governmental organizations, women’s associations are also increasingly becoming active by opening such centres where a visitor can buy local products and also experience live processes of local crafts-making, cooking and weaving.

However, none of the above-mentioned institutions are labeled either as museum or ecomuseum. Yet, many of the roles of ecomuseum, such as promotion of local identity, economic profit (if any) to the actual bearers of tradition, etc., are definitely played by these institutions.

Finally, I wish to dwell upon the issue of the fear of losing one’s culture or one’s identity in contemporary India. In fact, such a fear is understood to be the key for stimulating the preservation of heritage in general and ecomuseum in particular. In India, such cultural crises were experienced in two waves. The first wave was due to the processes of industrialization and urbanization immediately after the time of independence that caused uneven development and injudicious cultural and political representation of regional communities. In this wave, an underprivileged class or community of Indian population was seen to be victimized by another dominant Indian class or community. There was a second wave experienced with the advent of market-oriented liberal economy that started during the 1990s and onwards. The second wave can safely be understood as synonymous to what is called ‘globalization’ – a situation where dominating force is not necessarily within India but beyond its boundary. In both waves of cultural crises, the affected communities reacted through their possible means. However, the nature and intensity of such crises and the demands for their solutions are widely varied. It can be summarized, though at the risk of generalization, that for a long time several groups in India are engaged in their ‘cultural defense’ through local movements of diverse kinds and intensities. This has created a sound cultural consciousness in the Indian milieu which is articulated in daily life through constantly renewed cultural symbols. In addition to this, India has proved to be an

excellent site to experience the coexistence of tradition and modernity – and the packaging of the former within the latter, for, the new technologies and marketing strategies in globalized India have been successful in re-packaging culture and tradition, and in supplying them abundantly both in real and virtual spaces. This is not to mean that Indian tradition and culture are firmly secured and protected in the changing contexts, but the result of all these has been that if one feels threatened with the loss of culture for the obvious reasons, one also finds too much culture around the corner.

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How can you explain “museums without walls”?

V. O. Fagundes

Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes, Blumenau, Santa Catarina, Brazil

ABSTRACT: Well, is this a museum? This question has taken part of Ecomuseum Agobar Fagundes history since its opening in 2007. One of the biggest difficulties for Ecomuseums as for the Landscape Ecomuseums is to see themselves and to be seen as a museum. Due to the several challenges that museums in general and small museums in particular have to face, this institution is investing into educational actions oriented to a wide range of audience (students, professors, elderly people, special skilled people, researchers, etc.). We are also looking for innovative resources with various partnerships which work with Ecomuseology. After all, can a museum exist despite the fact it does not have walls? Can it give up its walls which delimit its boundaries? Can it cross its borders? The breach and the resulting expansion of the museum concept started when the regular museums experienced such a wide variety of *acquis* that was obligated to recontextualize its spaces, to renew its musealization proposals, and also its communication with its diversified public. Some museum spaces, then, adopted the conception of museum without walls, without fences or showcases and its *acquis* has been having new lectures. But still, museums without walls are not exactly a museum category. In the same way that there is a lack of concepts related to the community museums and ecomuseums, there are many gaps to be filled when talking about museums without walls. New researches are being done looking for strategies aiming to speed the flow of information making the expositions more flexible, and furthermore, aiming to monitor the pedagogical actions which meet the structural and dynamic demands of these institutions. The Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes is a museum without walls, an option inspired from its specific *acquis*: objects and utensils which belonged to the rural man, the natural heritage, for example the interpretative museum tracks. Finally, we aim to present our intention in creating a museum without walls, a gesture which came from the decision of disrupting the traditional standards and bringing its public closer to the museum *acquis*: the natural heritage. Instead of working into a closed space, the ecomuseum surroundings capture everybody's look deviating it from the usual landscape, unresting its perception, causing strangeness, making us think.

Blumenau and Criciúma are, respectively, the third and the fourth most populous cities of Santa Catarina, a state in the South of Brazil; the first with about 310,000 and the other with approximately 190,000 inhabitants. Blumenau had, due to the migratory flow, a stronger German influence and it is known for its industries and traditional festivals; while Criciúma received more Italian immigrants in its demographic composition and has into the mineral coal extraction and into the ceramic industry its major activities. If in the first city quoted above the environment preservation is a must; in the second, it was exactly the fight to reverse environmental degradation due to the mining which placed it at the forefront of the environmental researches.

So, what do these two cities, apparently so different, have in common? Beyond the several aspects that are not the aim of this text, the aspect we aim to emphasize is that both house a *mu-*

seum without walls: The Ecomuseum Agobar Fagundes, in Blumenau; and the Childhood Museum- Museu da Infância- in Criciúma.

About the specificities of the ecomuseums:

It is in the 20th century when the concept of *heritage* is thought in a more broadly way. It does not only stand for the literal meaning, which covers family assets, inheritance, possessions and structures itself in a wider way, as an asset or a group of natural or cultural assets with particular relevance in a specific place, region, and country or even for the mankind. Due to the enlargement of the *heritage* boundaries the sciences and the society understood that the history of the human testimonies is directly linked to the environment, to the nature and therefore to the *ecology*. To one *ecology* where the nature is no longer seen as an untouched entity, but as an environment where the human intervenes in different ways, through the deforestation or constructions aiming to build cities, aiming to structure production methods, or yet, its cultural expression, which means, its ways of acting, of being, of thinking and dealing with the adversities.

This conceptual dynamics helps us to understand the different definitions that has guided the museum studies since its birth, with the cabinets of curiosities, and the various kinds of museums, without losing sight of their main role: the history, the memory, the preservation, the communication and the several testimonies of the human intervention in nature-all of this as an integral part of this set of statements about heritage.

In this sense, the different areas of expertise, such as Economics, Sociology, History, Culture, among others, have been standing out in the researches about ecosystem, understanding it as a support of the creations, the human victories and also the defeats, in the search for new interpretations for the changes that constantly happen, favoring the view of the heritage as a place in which the nature is above all, where the cultural acts are materialized.

But if it is like this, new debates are needed, so that we will be able to permanently discuss the changes in the human conduct on nature. From this point on, experts from the several areas involved have been developing restoration, conservation, and interpretation plans of the natural heritage and also have been working on different analysis of the existent cultural testimonies, even the ones that refers to the culture of the rural communities.

It is in this scenery that the concept of an ecomuseum as a privileged place in which the questioning of the contemporary relations between the human, nature and the museum take place. Due to this, we are able to visualize a new movement in the contemporary museology: more than pieces displayed in shop windows, mixed, collections turn to be understood as live sources of culture, testimonies that interact with the audience talking about the civilizations, about the habits, about the success and failure of the human societies.

The ecomuseum addresses to the public, work with the public, it takes part into the community life; the projects developed in these institutions value the work of the neighborhood associations and syndicates, develop museology concepts which value the cultural heritage, systematize the local cultural tourism and preserve the social memory, among other actions performed by the community.

Fundamentally, when it comes to ecomuseum, its mission is precisely to be the synthesis of the relations between man-land structured in the idea of preserving certain regions, their animal and plant species.

The Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes was created to keep the preservation work developed by its owner, a doctor who had dedicated himself to appreciate and to study the value of the nature and the culture of a rural area in the Garcia neighborhood, called Nova Rússia- rich in flora, fauna and ruins which tells the colonization history of this region and of the community that lives there.

After his death in 2001, his family turned the Sítio das Minas into an ecomuseum, opened then, in 2007.

The first step was to make an inventory of the objects and utensils which were used by the local farmers, and some of them by the Indians, which lived in the region in the colonization and mining period, which turned into a small but significant collection. Once the inventory with the objects from the local farmers' production was drawn up, the Ecomuseum started to classify the fauna and flora in the surroundings, aiming to create museum tracks in the future.

The Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes develops several projects which intend to show the history of the region since its geological formation and explain its evolution – how the first in-

habitants used to live, how the local culture has developed in connection to the ecosystems, the ones that the mankind has been changing.

Therefore, the museum is designed, at first, for the population, more specifically to the Municipal Serida Margarida Freygang School, mainly because it is located in an area where the prestige of the urban things tends to erase the importance of the local and traditional culture.

With the Ecomuseum, the surrounding population is challenged to Love what it is theirs, their tradition, their ancient knowledge, which means, their peculiar way to be in this world.

About the specificities of the university, community and childhood museums

University museums are the ones which collections are under the responsibility of a Higher Education Institution. As the universities that keep them, their structure is based on the research, extension and education. In the same way, the concept of community museum is somehow analogous to the community university, whose proposal is to be a social meeting space surrounded by the knowledge/ heritage as generator of meaning for the local and surroundings population. This meetings aim to stimulate the process of identity configuration and the improvement of this community quality of life in their various social roles.

In this sense, the community museum shows itself as a space where we can be committed to reorganize the heritage, turning it into a management cultural centre with meetings and chats with a facilitator of the cultural environment. Furthermore, this kind of museum can be seen as the space where the different cultural actors search for historical and cultural values, intellectual exchanges, renewals expected by the community; and yet as the locus of decision-making power into the planning and implementation of projects related to its origin and development.

Briefly describing specificities of a Childhood museum in Criciúma, this Childhood Museum was created as an Extension Project of the Postgraduate Certificate in Education from the Universidade do Extremo Sul Catarinense(UNESC) in 2005, but became operational in 2006. The UNESC is a Community University, so that this fact turned the Childhood Museum into a University Museum, with a community character.

Its collection consists of scientific, artistic and cultural productions from, to and about the childhood. In this regard, the museum collection is very palatable to the public, creating a feeling of belonging; after all, we all have already been children! Although the child is protagonist of this collection, The Childhood Museum intends to be a space where the generations meet, hosting such a diverse as adverse public.

Its university dimension becomes predominant by developing partnerships with other universities, groups of research, graduation and post graduation courses; by being the basis for various researches; by exposing in congresses and other scientific events, etc. Since 2007 the Childhood Museum also works in virtual dimension, enlarging its frontiers and absorbing a wider variety of public.

In spite of an expressive philosophical approach, there are differences between the Ecomuseum and the Community Museum. We can tell that the first has a close relation with the land and aims the landscape and historical preservation, with or without the original community. Unlike the Ecomuseum, the Community Museum searches, firstly, for the modern day history of the community who occupies the land, looking for the roots of the past, the bonds and cultural productions to the heritage preservation; furthermore this museum aims to value activities that might perpetuate the art, the cultural history and the economic production of the community.

It is visible, in the specificities of these two museums, their approaches: they are not focused on the collections, buildings which keep the collections or on the permanent exhibits. There is a new scenography being developed which aims to and reaches different aesthetic and theoretical dimensions, new educational parameters, new preservation and communication strategies .

As the guardian of the community heritage, in general the museum should motivate conditions for the discovery and critical comprehension of the man's work. Assuming that the museum is also a space for acquisition of knowledge, for reflection, for sensibility, for beauty, for the past, the present and the future, we can realize that dealing with these aspects of the human life is the biggest challenge of the today's museum.

Due to the changes which came from the need of renewal of the museums social role, with mainly the creation of the ecomuseums and community museums, a scenery was introduced to the society which allows the man the responsibility of not establishing his position of subject, the one he has been keeping all over the years, which is the position of an observer who is indifferent to the vital phenomena which surround himself.

How do you explain “museums without walls”?

But, is this a museum? This question seems to be following the Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes and the Childhood Museum since the beginning. Among the several challenges that face the museums in general and the small museums in particular, those two institutions above have been in seek of innovative resources to face those challenges through different partnerships, specific projects to raise funds from different Development Agencies, educational actions aimed at a great diversity of public (students, professors, elderly people, researchers, etc.) – but as for the Ecomuseum as for the Childhood Museum to see themselves and to be seen by the public as a museum has been one of the biggest problems.

After all, can a museum be almost immaterial? Can it give up its territory delimiters walls? Cross its borders? The rupture and consequent enlargement of the museum concept happened when the original museum faced such a diversity of collections that was obligated to recontextualize its own spaces, to renew its proposals of musealization, as well as its communication to its varied (and new) public.

Some museum spaces, then, adopted a museum without walls, without adjacent walls or showcases conception and so the collections are seen through different eyes. But even though, museums without walls are not exactly a museum category. In the same way that there is a lack of concepts related to the community museums and the ecomuseums, there are many questions to be answered about the museums without walls.

In this regard, researches in this Field try to find other strategies to face the dynamism of information and the flexibility of the exhibits, besides the monitoring and pedagogical actions which meet the structural and dynamic demands from these institutions.

If it was quite a natural choice for the Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes to turn into a museum without walls, due to the specificity of its collection and due to the option for the museum tracks; for the Childhood Museum the choice of becoming a museum without walls was the outcome of a daring decision which aimed to breach the traditional museum designs and make the public closer to the collection. Instead of settling into a closed space, spread itself by the campus trying not to interfere with the landscape. Its showcases are on the way of the ones that walk around, and so, turn their everyday look and unrest their senses, causing strangeness, forcing them to think.

Both the Ecomuseum and the Childhood Museum, because of the museum choice, face a tremendous challenge: to contribute to the redefinition of the museums and promote the public access. Therefore, what both of them have to face is the continuous search for different ways to arouse the interest from the public to go to other museums, as we believe that realizing that there are different museum typologies help to deconstruct the mistaken concept of a museum as a place for bric-a-brac, and/or it is a place for the others (just a few).

Several researches have already pointed out the difficulty from the public to face the physical barrier imposed by the sumptuous buildings in some museums, making them feel not wanted into that universe. So, many times, from a peaceful and relaxing experience as the ones that take place into the museums described here, people take courage to visit the other museums, even the traditional ones, as they feel *authorized* after this experience.

Other challenges when in search of a quality museum education

Beside the change of shape of the expository way-and, therefore, the permanent distrust: *but is this a museum?*-, the two museums which were analyzed here face other major difficulties seeking for a quality museum education. In both, the educational actions do not improve in the pace wished, but in the rhythm imposed by the difficulties found especially by the absence of professionals to meet the demand existent.

For us, the biggest issue that rises from the difficulty above is the rupture with, what we are going to call here, the *pedagogy of dialogue*, since we understand that it is not enough to visit an exhibit so the viewer can learn the meanings inside the objects. It is necessary to introduce him/her as part of a more extensive educational program, which includes monitored visits explaining the relation between the museum and the surrounding spaces.

We do not ignore this need and we are engaged into the creation of educational programs, wider and better structured, it is in this direction we are heading. There are even some results of the researches that are under development in the Ecomuseum Dr. Agobar Fagundes in our database.

Not to conclude: into the progression of time, museums, in one way or another, have always been worried in keeping the man's memory. In the beginning as treasures which "showed" the power of their owners; later, from many interdisciplinary dialogues, reached the conclusion that the rupture with the old concepts that has guided the Museology since its founding speech would be important for the creation of a New Museology. Nowadays, memories and various identities, which turn into the condition of subjects with rights into the public scenery, nuanced the museum and heritage area. Beyond this, the appearance and specificities of new collections leave room for questionings and innovations, in particular to production and conservation, systematization and dissemination of information about various kinds of collections, promoting the creation of land museums, community museums, landscape museums among others.

The preservation and musealisation also deal with new questions due to their insertion in human and social development programs, in affirmative action, in socio-environmental and community programs. New subjects, technologies and uses of the New Museology and preservation mean different questions and challenges to the Antropology, the Archeology and the Museology, as the development of multidisciplinary approaches, justifying the creation of institutional bases and specific academic activities.

This precise rupture did not disturb the dialogues about the heritage. On the contrary, new projects were established, new enquiries, new interpretations and they are learning to work with the past tense in permanent connection with the future and the present, even with walls and also, without them.

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Power structures in authentication processes, 4 examples in Sucre, Bolivia

T. Glas

Université Paris VII Denis-Diderot, Paris, France

ABSTRACT: Based on the idea that authentication processes are issues of power, this paper tries to explore representations of power-plays in the restitution of authentication in four examples taken from a case-study carried out in 2008-09, in Sucre, Bolivia. These four examples are structures bearing the main characteristics of ecomuseums, one of which is the need for a holoptic vision which we define and demonstrate through our analysis of ASUR and AMB, both offering development projects around traditional textile and Ñanta and Los Masis working, among other activities, on the teaching of autochthonous music. A further analysis leads us to question the very notion of power and relate it to the idea of interconnections. Conclusions draw the first lines of what could be an alternative authentication model, including an alternative idea of the inventory.

During the year spent in Bolivia working on heritage and authentication, I informally interviewed a woman called Emiliana B., in February 2009. She had been elected by a group of rural communities to supervise several shops and represent a large cooperative of Bolivian craft, ComArt Tukuypaj. I asked her how, when accepting pieces for the shop, she could decide what was authentic craft. She did not seem to understand the question. I became more specific: Were there colors that were symbolically used, or patterns? Was it the method? Or the author maybe? She seemed surprised. «How do you know it's the real thing?», I finally asked. She shrugged her shoulders and answered as if it were obvious: «Because we made it.» For Emiliana, coming from a Bolivian community, the whole idea of setting a list of characteristics to identify what was part of her traditional craft seemed to make no sense at all. There was no authentic or false piece, there was simply a group of communities who decided to sell their craft all together, to create collective economic opportunities with their know-how deciding for themselves what it was worth. ComArt may be the example of a successful ecomuseum where groups of people are able to find ways to use and adapt their heritage in a globalized world without even asking themselves how to define its value.

What this example shows is how difficult it can be to name what obviously characterizes this heritage. I tried to press Emiliana further. What if someone knitted flashy yellow hearts on a poncho? What if someone from outside the community came for a few months, learned how to weave and started selling poorly executed copies of traditional tapestries? For Emiliana this was unthinkable, it simply could not happen. Authentication, or the way to decide what makes our heritage ours, what is important to keep and what can be lost, is a complex process and, as we argue, an issue of power. The word is commonly used in our field but rarely defined. And if the Nara Declaration (Unesco 1994) makes an attempt to do so, we consider authenticity needs a deeper and more specific analysis that we will try to start offering here through the demonstration that authentication needs to be read as a struggle for power and that museology alongside other disciplines offers tools to represent the challenges at stake in these power-struggles. The example of organizations in Sucre will enlighten this idea.

What is authenticity? Beyond the observation that it serves as major selling argument in today's economy (Pine and Gilmore 1998), the word "authentic" refers to several opposite definitions. Historically, the first etymology is legal (Webster 1985; Robert 1993), as in the French expression "*l'acte authentique*" (notarized deed), what is authentic is what is autographed, stamped, registered, voluntarily given a sign to differentiate the authentic from the false. This sign is the proof of the object's value and may even become the value in itself. When a painting with a famous signature and a certificate of authenticity is sold at an auction, one can sometimes wonder how different the price would have been without that signature or the certificate. The idea that «authentic» could refer to something emotional only appeared in the 20th century (Encyclopédie Quillet 1989). «Authentic» would then be used as a synonym for genuine, as in the expression "authentic self", referring to a feeling of truthfulness. In this sense an authentic object is an object conveying this feeling, usually in cases of intangible objects such as "an authentic accent". Between these two antagonistic definitions lies a third which is the one usually used when speaking of heritage which combines both aspects. Indeed, when a museum presents an authentic piece, it is both implied that this piece is not fake and that it holds strong emotional value. However, contrary to a legal document in an archive, a museum object was not usually intentionally designed to become proof of something (Pomian 1992).

So for the object to be authentic, it needs a set of characteristics that recreate its value as proof. For instance a vase can be authentic if it was made in China during the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th Century. Because it can be proven that it was produced during a precise dynasty, that it has a specific origin, that its aesthetics fit and that it reflects the abilities of the craftsmen at the time the vase will be accepted as a valuable testimony of the society that produced it and will gain monetary value. The criteria used are decided by a group of experts who know how to judge Chinese craft accordingly. An object is therefore never authentic in itself but in reference to. But if this was all, only connoisseurs would be able to appreciate the vase and there would be no point in exhibiting it. We are all able, to a certain extent, to imagine the Medieval Chinese potter in front of his work and if this may not convey emotion to most of us, it hopefully does to enough people for it to have meaning in a museum. However, when we start thinking about our own heritage, this emotional feeling, the meaning of the objects, the way we tell our own story, the proof of our existence, says something about our authentic selves and makes us all experts to a certain extent, able to decide what is to be kept of our own story. This right however, is not usually expressed, and the same expert setting a list of characteristics to judge a Chinese vase may also be the one setting characteristics to define the symbols and meanings of our own culture. Hence the idea that we need to find innovative forms, the ecomuseum being one of them, to open authentication processes.

Moreover, this explanation would be incomplete if we did not consider that an object can have several authenticities. Referring back to Pearce's concept of an object as data-carrier (Pearce 1992) and Van Mensch's theory on different contexts creating the object's significance (Van Mensch 1992), it is obvious that, for instance, a pair of Dutch clogs from the sixteenth century carries information about peasant life at the time (primary context) but if these clogs were used in a theater-play in the 50's (secondary context) they may also convey information about the use of props in theater in the mid 20th century. And the way they will be exhibited in a museum (museum context) says a lot about why this object is considered important for us today. Here again a choice is made, and by whom?

Finally what is what we call *object*? Tkac offers an interesting synthesis of the different types of objects that may exist as part of our heritage and suggests a model showing how they become part of a process leading from a general object to a cultural heritage item (Tkac 1994). His model thus starts with a general object, that can be considered with or without cultural value. If it does have cultural value, then someone or a group of people (here again we may ask who) will want to create a cultural estate made of objects related to the general object. Their form may be very different and he offers the following classification: monuments (original manifestation in an original environment), musealia (original manifestation in a transferred environment), iconicum (recorded manifestation and representation), texticum (recorded manifestation codified by language), exacticum (recorded manifestation codified by extra-linguistic means). All of these objects become cultural heritage. But there are also objects that could have been part of this cultural estate had they been preserved. The apple used by William Tell rotted a long time ago. However it still exists in our collective imagination making it part of this common heritage. Can

we say our imagination is authentic? Probably not. Authenticity is also defined by physical limits and if we could bring together all authentic testimonies of an event we would get close to the truth of the event but still not be able to grasp it. Authenticity is the trace recreated in the present of something that has disappeared and bears meaning in the present (Veyne 1971). The expert's role would then be to define how we look at the past rather than what the past really was, something we may wish to do collectively.

An object is therefore never authentic in itself but authentic in reference to: one or several set(s) of values, in reference to one or several context(s) and in reference to a moment in time, all of which should be but are rarely explicit. The question is thus not so much to know why a Bolivian piece of craft is authentic. It can be because of its style, its author, its technique, because of a context or because it is part of a certain moment. The question is who has the power to decide? What is at stake is rather important: it means defining what Bolivian culture is, what Bolivian identity is and which objects contribute to characterize it.

Starting from the postulate inspired by ecomuseology that we wish for people to decide for themselves, our question is finding a method to do so. Which forms of action, which kind of gathering, which alternative power-structure can lead to the opening of authentication processes? How can we, as museologists, represent them? This paper does not aim at giving a closed answer. As Varine defined it, the spirit of the ecomuseum, it is not a set form (Varine 1978). Rather we will try to investigate different ideas of forms of power-distribution and use four examples in Sucre, Bolivia, to try to understand through practice how power-structures can be challenged by projects assimilated to ecomuseums and how we can find forms to modelize them.

Sucre was chosen for two main reasons. First in this field-study we discovered on a rather small territory several organizations functioning as or similarly to ecomuseums which we believe is rather rare but can be easily explained by the importance of the notion of community in traditional Bolivian society. Second, Sucre and Bolivia in general, are undergoing important changes that we will not be able to address in this paper but that make identifying power-tensions and transformations easier. The examples used are thus taken from a field-study carried out in 2008-2009. We will present two organizations working with weavers on textile production: Antropologos del Sur Andino (ASUR) and Arte Mujer Bartolina (AMB). The two other organizations tackle the preservation and use of music in social development: Los Masis and Nanta.

Finally, we have limited ourselves to two notions that will constitute answers to start understanding how we could represent power-structures in authentication processes. First the holoptic model based on Noubel's work which allows to represent the restitution of the authentication process in the ecomuseum. Second, through the idea of decentralized power and networks we will try to think beyond the ecomuseum structure at the scale of shaping culture and territory.

1 HOLOPTIC VISIONS SURROUNDING ECOMUSEUMS IN BOLIVIAN TEXTILE AND MUSIC

Jean-François Noubel (Noubel 2004; 2009) uses the concept of collective intelligence to describe several models of power distribution. One of them, the holoptic model, corresponds or illustrates quite closely what an ecomuseum may offer in terms of power distribution. After explaining this connection and suggesting an ecomuseum should be a holoptic structure we will try to see how this characteristic may help us analyze what kind of alternative power-structures emerge from the different institutions under study.

1.1 *Collective intelligence and the holoptic model*

Jean-François Noubel, more than a philosopher is rather a kind of activist pleading for a new world after the monetary system. He bases his actions on a theory of collective intelligence in which he opposes three models, which appear at three different moments of historical time but which all exist in our contemporary period. The first model, the holoptic model, is an ideal pri-

mitive power-structure. The characteristics of this model are generally quite close to those of the ecomuseum and are defended by Noubel in opposition to the hierarchical model.

What Noubel calls holoptic (contrary to panoptic) is the idea that from one point of view one may understand and assess a whole situation. It is a model in which each member of a group can participate because he/she has a general vision and the right information to analyze a situation. Examples of this are a sports team or a jazz band where each member can spontaneously play a role within the global action.

Noubel states seven conditions for this to take place: -The existence of a global identity, “an emerging whole” which is also one of the basic principals of the ecomuseum based on a preexisting community (Varine 1978) - The actual holoptic vision which allows each participant to have a horizontal vision of the other participants and a vertical vision through the emerging entity, through the group. Noubel explains that this is made possible by the experience and expertise of each individual. The relationship between the individual and the group is compared to a mirror, a metaphor also used by Rivière to explain the concept of an ecomuseum (Rivière 1985). - A social contract that may be implicit or explicit. This contract, Noubel explains, does not only give a set of rules but is often the basis of future development which is here again one of the characteristics of an ecomuseum (Varine, 2000). - A polymorphic architecture that adapts at different moments. Needless to say this reflects the idea of a museum outside the traditional walls of a temple-type institution but here again Noubel gives us an indication on what an expert is or might be in such a structure: “each expert (recognized as such by the group) takes the lead as needed.” (Noubel 2004, 8) There are multiple experts, every person being a potential expert recognized by the group rather than a higher authority. In the case of an ecomuseum it is the community deciding for itself -An “object-link” in circulation, an object or an activity that unites the group. In the case of an ecomuseum this would be the common heritage. -A learning organization able to evolve. This can be related to the concept of “global pedagogy” or “the creative initiative of the population” (Varine, 1978). -And finally a gift economy (“économie du don”) where competition and independence are replaced by mutual survival. Here again this is one of the bases of the theoretical development of ecomuseology as Peter Davis shows in his analysis of the origins of the concept (Davis 1999). These elements come down to two key ideas: that of a strong collective vision (emerging whole, social contract, one object, gift economy) and a large flexibility (holoptic vision, polymorphic architecture, learning organization).

Evaluating an authentication process by asking to what extent one of the participants is able or not to assess the general situation and take part in it through a strong collective vision and a large flexibility seems to be an interesting and innovating approach. Let us try to apply it in the case of the four examples we will now present.

1.2 *Textile preservation in Sucre: ASUR and AMB*

Around the city of Sucre, several communities produce particular types of tapestries in styles generally named after the indigenous groups who started producing them: Tarabuco, Jalq'a or Calchas are the most famous ones. Two institutions base themselves on this tradition to create empowerment and economic growth among these communities.

First ASUR, the Foundation for Anthropological Research and Ethno-development, Anthropologists of the Southern Andes, developed ways to preserve the know-how and to create economic opportunities around traditional tapestries in the Jalq'a and Tarabuco communities of Chuquisaca (the region Sucre is the capital of).

SUR was progressively founded in the 80's by Veronika Cereceda and Gabriel Martinez. At the time the Jalq'a community's know-how was endangered by the selling of their traditional tapestries in a rapidly growing market they could not control. Nearly all preserved tapestries were sold for little money and the lack of examples kept in the community nearly killed the tradition. So together with local leaders Cereceda and Martinez decided to build workshops to maintain or recreate the tapestry traditions which successfully grew (Healy 2001). By 2001, 400 weavers from five Jalq'a communities were part of the project and ASUR employed about 20 people. In 2009, the ASUR museum director informed us the number of employees was closer to 30 and they are now also working with Tarabuco communities. Indeed, part of the project was also to create a museum to show the pieces from the Jalq'a and Tarabuco styles and teach the

public how to read and appreciate them. The building also includes a shop to start creating economic opportunities.

Today, ASUR's vision, as quoted on their website, is quite close to what an ecomuseum strives to be:

Indigenous communities with a strong culture, capable of creatively facing the inevitable confrontation with modern society (technology, markets, economic systems, etc.), without losing their roots, and contributing, with their values and knowledge, to the construction of a national identity.

In a chapter devoted to ASUR's project published in 2001, Kevin Healy gives a precise and positive evaluation of the project's showing this vision is being implemented:

Incomes do vary, depending on skill and effort, but the impulse toward individuation and social fragmentation is checked by mutual recognition that expanded future earnings depend on successful community management. The economic gains from the project have also strengthened Jalq'a family life and set in process a dynamic for expanding active community involvement. The best weavers make the most of the new opportunities by having relatives pasture the animals. Young women in several villages have stopped working as live-in domestic servants in Sucre where monthly earnings amounted to a measly \$10, choosing instead to stay home with their children and weave. And their husbands are also staying home. (Healy 2001, 282)

Does this project encompass a holoptic authentication structure and under which form? Although the museum and foundation are run in a rather classical way, the project gives the actors a vision of the whole chain. They are present in all three activities of ASUR: in the galleries of the museum exhibition, weavers demonstrate their work; in the shop as they create their own economic value including through management (as accounting lessons were also given through the project) and in the community helped by the foundation where collective decision-making is the main way of deciding including in the authentication process as reported by Cassandra Torrico, quoted by Healy:

It has become an important moment for collectively discussing, arguing, and analyzing a specific piece among themselves, which greatly enhances understanding of the mechanisms and criteria for evaluating and assigning a value to their work. They expertly judge the quality and uniformity of the wool and its colors, and the harmonizing effects of the designs within a given spacial arrangement, as well as other aesthetic and technical details. This change has begun a process whereby the standards become negotiated by the people themselves rather than left solely to the marketplace to decide for them. (Torrico 1995 in: Healy, 288)

This description seems to mirror the ideal of an authentication process where the community is able to decide for itself and a power-structure where the vision and participation of each member reaches the whole process.

Our second example suggests a different choice in using traditional textile in community development. Arte Mujer Bartolina (AMB) is an NGO offering migrant women from the countryside training and work as dressmakers for the brand bearing the same name since 2000. The brand invented the concept of Bolivian Couture and aims at creating cutting edge fashion. The designs are made by the director, Sonia Aviles, using traditional Bolivian patterns, some inspired by the women's traditional know-how. In ten years time, AMB successfully managed to open eleven workshops in the peripheral quarters of Sucre and two shops in the city center. When this research was being carried out they were studying the market to go national (based on interviews carried out in January 2009 with director Sonia Aviles and marketing director Marina Chavez).

AMB emerged from the community as a response to the difficulty for migrant women to find work in town. But the NGO does not only provide work and professional training, it offers classes in hygiene, reading and writing. It has a daycare system for the children and is a way for the women to work collectively and share their experience. These elements make AMB more than a company. Close to the idea of an ecomuseum, it is a place of action trying to solve problems in this community through the use of heritage in the creation of economic prosperity and empowerment.

Does AMB reflect a holoptic model? AMB is still a hierarchical structure with two levels: the director deciding on the final design and the workers. But there is a certain form of transparency between these levels. It is still a place to learn and reflect on a common heritage used to create prosperity and earnings for the community which has a vision and usually a say on the whole

process. The project is flexible to the women's needs and to the growing market. As the marketing sells it, AMB tries to mix "Fashion with identity" (Moda con identidad, the brand's slogan).

In terms of authentication, the patterns are said to be inspired by traditional patterns but not actual patterns. What is authentic for AMB is not the object but the spirit of the object that should reflect traditional Bolivian identity and know-how. This identity is defined in reference to the designers' taste (hierarchical model), the women's skills (holoptic model) and the market as final judge of the success of a piece. Their relationship to the market is an interesting point as they managed to create a true success thanks to the influence of the Italian Embassy. As Aviles explained, it is by convincing the Ambassador and his wife to wear the clothes and to finance the participation to an international fashion-show in Milan that she managed to create a trend and earn credibility among the Sucre well-to-do. It would probably be provocative to suggest this as part of a holoptic view on a capitalist society as a whole but one can smile at Aviles' smart moves to gain control over the market she entered and where she is giving a place for her workers.

1.3 *Autochthonous music in an urban setting: Ñanta and Los Masis*

What cultural managers call "autochthonous music" is a style of music played in the Andean communities of the countryside mainly characterized by: the instruments used, the pan flute (sicuris) being one of the most famous; the style of the music which bases itself on specific scales; the way it is performed, for instance traditionally the musicians place themselves in a circle looking at each other; the meaning of the lyrics generally connected to religious themes, important events or everyday life, and the symbolic value of the performance in the community's life. In the city center of Sucre several bands and music schools feel inspired by autochthonous music which they reinterpret, study, pass on and wish to preserve. At least two of them work at teaching migrant children from the countryside how to play the music that is in fact their own heritage. Do the forms they choose allow a holoptic vision?

The first case is a center, Centro Educativo Ñanta, offering activities to child-workers. Most of these child-workers are migrants from the countryside coming to urban areas to earn money and try to study. Ñanta was founded in 1995 as a canteen (comedor popular) offering cheap meals to the children and teenagers working on the streets (they are called NATs: Niños y Adolescentes Trabajadores) of Sucre. In 2001, the project moved to a new location in the city center and other activities were offered to the NATs among which music lessons and the creation of an autochthonous music band: Ayllu Pukara. In 2004, Ñanta became an NGO the statutes of which specified that one of its objectives is to "encourage a culture of participation" (Bertrand 2007, 32). References were also made to comprehensive development and identity as a fundamental right. Interviewed in January 2009, Marco Coysara, the center's director, explained that his objective was to increase the NATs' participation in the center's organization. The idea was and is still for the NATs to progressively take-over the administration of the center. At the time this study was carried out, a democratic system allowed for several NATs to elect a board of their own and participate in the decision making process. They were also responsible for certain activities alongside actual educators as "assistants".

The cultural activities of the center strive to be a means to create empowerment, valuing the culture of the countryside the NATs are often rooted in and helping them deal with a rural/urban cultural shock. The music workshop is one of the most popular activities. Carlitos, the educator, and his assistant teach the NATs how to play autochthonous music, how to make traditional

instruments, organize performances and trips to visit the communities the NATs migrated from. He preserves and passes on an intangible object (the music) and the know-how to make this object (building the instrument). Furthermore, going to the communities is a way to keep a relationship with the original place of production of the music. A whole group of educators (who also have their own band) and children go there and exchange with the community relating back to its "authentic" origin.

As any educator, Carlitos teaches the NATs his knowledge of autochthonous music, i.e. in the way he authenticates it, but he also gives them the path to go and find them. By doing this Ñanta gives the NATs part of the holoptic view Noubel described as they have a global vision of the process that is being created in this exchange and discussion around musical interpretation and may become part of it. For instance, a group of teenagers created a band which plays in the bars

of the city and allows them to use their heritage to make a little money. They choose their songs, their costumes, the way they want to perform and most of all consider it their own identity as testified in an interview with one of the teenagers who was asked which were his hobbies. He answered, cap on the side, with a hip hop nod and a rapper's attitude that he played the pan flute. In Nanta it is now "cool" to play your ancestors' music which is probably one of the best signs that restitution has taken place.

Our second example is the work of Los Masis. Los Masis is the name of a band and two music centers, one in the city, the other in the countryside. For the past forty years the members of Los Masis, who were initially all men living in the city of Sucre, have been playing autochthonous music from the rural area of Miscamayu. In the early 70's, this group of men who liked music but knew nothing of rural practices befriended a group of musicians from Miscamayu and offered to exchange classes in reading and writing as the literacy rate was and is still very low in rural Bolivia against classes in music. This led to the creation of the first center. In terms of authentication this shows Los Masis considered this community as an expert able to teach their music. However when later adapting their performances to the urban context, they decided to change certain characteristics of the performance. For instance, girls are now allowed to play the pan flute in Los Masis, while this instrument is traditionally a boy's one. In an interview carried out in December 2008 Roberto Sahonero Jr. explained that in the urban setting the symbolic meaning of genre differences in musical codes made little sense. Girls and boys, especially child-workers, have similar roles in society. This testifies of a re-appropriation of the symbolic meaning and authentication process.

Indeed, the second center was created when five years after the project started, Roberto Sahonero Senior, the present director of the organization, who was a school teacher, decided to start giving music classes to children in the city. Progressively this led to the foundation of a school located in the center of Sucre. The activities of this school are comparable to what Nanta offers with music, including the trips to the countryside, but the organization of the institution is rather different.

Indeed as Roberto Sahonero Jr. explained, the institutional structure seeks to respect the *ayllu*, the traditional Andean community structure:

What is beautiful in this ayllu structure is that each dot is part of a circle and each dot is as important as the other. If a dot is missing there is no circle anymore. So the first ayllu, the first circle, is between Los Masis and the chiefs of the group and the second that is complementary is between the children.

There are two ways of interpreting this idea. On the one hand it is a two level hierarchical structure inspired by an ideal of equality within each level. On the other hand, we may consider, and this is what we wish to argue, that for Los Masis the music's authenticity is defined by its provenance: the traditional community structure, the *ayllu*, which is the intangible object that needs to be preserved. The *ayllu* is understood here as a circle (a holoptic form one could say) that is essential to the object and the community and form there, each person may adapt the form of the music to what they feel is authentic thus participating in a common process.

All four examples reflect to a larger or a lesser extent the idea of a holoptic power-structure. The difference between these organizations and the authentication processes they implement lies in what they consider as being the basis of authenticity. For ASUR, defining authenticity means defining the qualities of the best tapestries hence a community debate on which criteria to use. For AMB what testifies of the value of the object is foremost its success on the market, hence a cooperative form and development around their main selling argument: identity. For Nanta, what makes the music authentic is mainly the fact that it is played by NATs fully recognizing their origins and identity, hence a democratic participative model focused on their empowerment. For Los Masis, the basis of authenticity is among other things that the music is produced in a certain context and should be created as close as possible to the values of this context, hence the center's *ayllu* structure.

Each of these institutions is seeking to generate power for its participants. ASUR seeks to give the weavers the power to control their cultural production from one end to the other. AMB tries to give the weavers social and economic power through the economic value of their cultural identity. Nanta gives the children the power to reinvent their identity and chose to proudly connect back to their ancestry. Los Masis gives the students a similar power to reconnect to their roots and identity in an urban context by adapting forms from the rural communities.

This power struggle reflects a will of empowerment that is actually a will to resist a higher authority. These organizations seek to assert a certain freedom to define hybrid culture and identity in a context where conservative movements and indigenous movements together monopolize the official scene of cultural production, in a context where racism is a major issue, in the context where the migrant child, the changing community, the migrant women are figures of the in-between. Turning to Foucault's analysis of power, we will try to deepen our first reading of this holoptic structure and define the important role of this "being in between".

2 THE GENEALOGICAL METHOD AND HYBRID REPRESENTATIONS: FROM INVENTORY TO INVENTING

After considering authentication processes as power plays and places of resistance, we wish to broaden our scope and try to reintegrate these examples within the context they come from. This context, although it would deserve a large and much more precise analysis, will be looked at through the synthetic work of Franz Flores, a sociologist dedicated to the study of cultural policies in Sucre (Flores 2006). From this analysis opposing an elitist dominant power to hybrid popular forms of culture, we shall try to reconsider our holoptic power-structures in the light of Foucault's definition as presented in *La Volonté de Savoir*. And finally, inspired by Michel Serres's vision of culture as connections, we will suggest ecomuseums may be a place for these connections to interact.

2.1 *Rethinking Sucre's cultural policies in the light of Foucauldian power*

In his analysis of "cultural consumption", Flores describes an opposition between elitist cultural policies and unrecognized popular culture as the main character of Sucre's cultural expressions' landscape. The elitist culture is described as being the dominant power represented for instance by museums, concert halls or painting galleries. "One could never see women in T-shirts or worse indigenous people at the opening of an International Cultural Festival (...) in the Gran Mariscal Theater" (Flores 2006, 35). Flores demonstrates that this elite is not necessarily well-read or does not have an in-depth knowledge of the cultural references it defends but that these references serve as a means to differentiate this class "not so much from a middle class but from the Indians and Cholos [mixed race]" (Flores 2006, 40) who are highly represented in the rural and migrant populations.

The popular culture, expressed on local radios, in local dance-halls and concerts is not taken into account by the cultural programs offered by public institutions.

It is important to clarify that this rejection is not explicit. The discourse we have described serves to hide the discrimination and legitimate it in the eyes of the people as well as in the eyes of the cultural managers themselves, to make them understand that if the cultural offer is not received on all the social layers of the city, it is not due to the offer in itself but to factors related to the people. In this way, the lack of audience of the public is explained by its ignorance, lack of cultural knowledge or education in aesthetic taste instead of the actual characteristics of this cultural offer. (Flores 2006, 93)

Our conclusions tend to be slightly more nuanced but overall it is clear that the four examples we described are marginal. Furthermore, Flores explains that this elitist culture beyond its classical Western taste also has a point of view on indigenous culture which is seen as a static entity to be preserved outside of (enlève) any kind of hybridization with no reference to a present dynamics. Flores defends the idea that, on the contrary, cities are places where new identities can be created with an actual complexity and innovative capacity. The examples we described, though only Los Masis are cited once marginally in Flores' study, are examples of structures enabling this hybridization, and cutting away from the influence of elitist power, as we showed, particularly thanks to their holoptic approach. Flores' analysis thus places in opposition a rather homogeneous dominant elitist power and a heterogeneous oppressed popular group resisting this domination.

This approach of power-distribution, although probably true in the representation of most actors of Sucre's cultural policies may be questioned as we take a closer look at what power-distribution may mean. Michel Foucault offers a famous and much more complex analysis of

power in society where it is "not something that is acquired, seized, or shared, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; power is exercised from innumerable points, in the interplay of nonegalitarian and mobile relations" (Foucault 1976, 93-94). The discourse slips from one side to the other, power moves inside and outside social entities, is divided into multiple points of resistance and every discourse, knowledge-invention is subjected to it.

In the case of Sucre, Cesar Brie, the director of el Teatro de los Andes and author of an Odyssey reinterpreted around the issue of migration, contributes to illustrate this idea when he explains part of the phenomenon of racism in a speech given during the Cultural Days (Jornadas Culturales) in October 2008:

The indigenous person who arrives in the city and comes from Miscamayu is mistreated so he changes his clothes and hides his origin, where he comes from. He speaks Spanish and hides who he is. (...) He hates himself. (...) He does not hate himself because one can not live this way so he hates his dark-skinned brother, son of indigenous people. He hates his community (...) This is one of the most important origins of racism in this city and in this country.

Power slips into the migrant and becomes his primary censorship, his own denial and hatred beyond what the dominant power may already be despising. In response to this Foucault demonstrates a genealogical method, which is the restitution of discourses including the underlining of zones where discourse is absent:

We must not imagine a world of discourse divided between accepted discourse and excluded discourse, or between the dominant discourse and the dominated one; but as a multiplicity of discursive elements that can come into play in various strategies. It is the distribution that we must reconstruct, with the things said and those concealed, the enunciations required and those forbidden, that it comprises; with the variants and different effects-according to who is speaking, his position of power; the institutional context in which he happens to be situated-that it implies; and with the shifts and reutilizations of identical formulas for contrary objectives that it also includes. (Foucault 1976, 100)

Typically, and as we noted in our introduction, in museology, authentication is a process where discourse is rarely reconstituted, where the whys and hows are hardly ever put into play. For Stephane Nadaud, Foucault's method is not so much a way of extracting subjected knowledge as putting it back into play and potentially freeing it. In his interpretation of Foucault's vision of power, he explains:

The genealogist knows how to stay perplexed and he knows his place is in the gray space; because he knows it is still one of the best ways to practice politics. Why? Because for him, nothing is ever established and nothing is ever certain: what is at stake is not truth (or else for it to be immediately questioned). Politics would be to uncover (in the sense of the inventor or the archeologist) what is possible.

What is suggested here about discourse analysis is applicable to heritage authentication. Authentication, rather than deciding on the true and the false would be a way of uncovering identities and offering possible pasts to possible futures. For a historian, the gray space is that of sources which our objects are. Tying this back to our case-studies it seems that by offering a holoptic participative authentication-power to the communities, each structure is able, to a certain extent, to open possibilities rather than give a clear definition of what their object precisely is. ASUR usually tells their visitors how buses recently entered the imagination of weavers representing the world of chaos. AMB is proud to say how upper-class women are now wearing the dresses of the cholitas they despise. Nanta managed to mix panflute with hip hop. And Los Masis combined autochthonous music with gender equality. The discourses accompanying their objects are bound to change again and again. We could envision the role of the expert close to that of the genealogist: to observe, to dig, to plan, to analyse rather than to decide once again what is the other's truth.

This idea will lead us to a last conception of what an alternative authentication power-structure could be, when questioning the interactions and connections of cultural forms.

2.2 Beyond the dynamics of authenticity, culture as connection

In a conference organized by Claude Lévy-Strauss and presented at the Collège de France, Michel Serres characterizes culture as a dynamic form rather than as a set of characteristics:

In general, a culture builds, in and through its history an original intersection between such varieties, a particular and specific knot of connections. This construction, I believe, is its history in itself. What differentiates cultures, is the form of the set of these linkings, its appearance, its place, as well as its changing states, its fluctuations. But what they have in common and constitutes them as such is the very operation of linking, connecting. (Serres 1983, 30-31)

For Serres, a culture is a place where elements, like knots, are woven together to finally be able to inter-say, which in French also means to forbid, a pond that expresses the relevance of this intermediary place where the power to say is the power to forbid, and maybe to prevent expressions. The power of an organization dealing with culture resides in this ability to reflect upon connections linking past and present, linking Foucault's points of power, linking spaces and human bodies. It is not the affirmation of this link but its dynamic existence, its changing form that we may be interested in. What if museums or ecomuseums rather than offering a place to contemplate and recognize objects as static authenticity could be places for authenticities to come into play with each other, to be renewed through cultural connections, moving visions where in-between cultures can be said in-between objects, as relationships, and in-between people may fully exist in their own space. The inventory thus becoming the map of these relationships could no longer be an assertion but an inter-play, a description or a map of possible connections, a dynamic inventory constantly re-invented like Noubel's idea of a moving architecture.

Coming back to Sucre where storytelling is a grand practice. Someone once told me about an anthropologist trying to use traditional weaving as a basis to rethink IT technology (the Jalq'a bi-color tapestry reminding him of binary code) through the methods used by the weavers to remember the execution of patterns without writing them down. I never found the source nor the name of this researcher, a modern legend probably. But this is definitely the kind of bridge I believe we may be looking for. A model that would come as an alternative authentication process encompassing Noubel's holoptic vision, corresponding to Foucault's moving gray space where the to-be-imagined and the uncountables occur, where Serres' interwoven culture can take place, is what we strive to invent. These are the first elements of a global work to be carried out on a large scale. Finally, maybe Emiliana's surprising response could be interpreted as the fact that after all, since their motto is to keep on producing craft "tukupaj", for everyone in Quechua, and in accordance with themselves, then who cares if yellow hearts appear on ponchos. It can only make sense.

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The arts of placemaking: creative co-construction of meaning

S. K. Hawke

Mid Pennine Arts, Burnley, Lancashire, United Kingdom

H. Yates

Mid Pennine Arts, Burnley, Lancashire, United Kingdom

ABSTRACT: The principles of ecomuseology developed by Corsane (2006a, b) clearly reference the value of the creative arts in aiding communities to explore and celebrate their distinctive sense of place. Drawing on qualitative research conducted amongst local people engaging with heritage in the North Pennines of England, this paper finds parallels in the arts based interventions that have formed a programme of work over the last three years in the mid Pennine region of the country, interventions that have focussed on regeneration and have been funded by local authority and National Lottery sources. How do communities engage with heritage, what are the benefits to individuals and groups of this engagement and how can the arts be used as a mechanism or process to achieve ownership, belonging, co-construction of meaning and stronger sense of place?

1 INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

This paper examines a heritage management paradigm that seeks to empower those involved in grassroots heritage activity, but that also has the flexibility of approach to tease out and recognise the plural ways of valuing sense of place that do not have agency within existing policy and practice (Smith's [2006] 'authorised heritage discourse'). This paradigm approaches heritage from the context of 'sense of place', has the capacity to recognise alternative ways of valuing heritage demanding decision making at the grassroots level and the participation of local people. It is an approach that takes the involvement of local people and their ways of valuing heritage in the social and economic context of place, recognising the dialogue⁴ between resident and visitor, insider and outsider, as part and parcel of heritage as a process. At the same time, this is an approach that accepts the economic value of place-branding and recognises the regenerative potential of engagement with heritage as an activity that develops the skills, learning and confidence of participants. It is a holistic and integrated approach to safeguarding heritage in its social and political context, through the notion of 'sense of place' and it is this approach, known as 'ecomuseology,' which provides the theoretical framework for this paper.

2 ECOMUSEUM

The ecomuseum paradigm was born of a desire to challenge preconceptions about meaning, control and authority and is frequently linked to 'new museology'. The discourse of 'new museology' has seen a shift from the notion of the museum as a self-contained institution that is the domain of experts and elites, to a more inclusive approach. Likewise the ecomuseum strives to draw the community into its practice (Corsane, 2006b) and exercise its agency to advance community sustainability. In origin, ecomuseology was born out of a widespread dissatisfaction

with the ability of traditional museums to deal in this way with contemporary social, cultural, political and environmental issues and contexts. Ecomuseology is linked to the notion of an 'integrated museum' (which emerged from the UNESCO and ICOM 'Round Table of Santiago' meeting in 1972), as it adopts many of the propositions presented by the notion of an 'integrated' socially inclusive cultural institution into its philosophy and practice (Davis, 2004: 93).

Museologists have been at pains to succinctly articulate a definition of the ecomuseum and Davis suggests that early definitions were broad, even 'guarded' (ibid: 95-96). The ecomuseum most palpably departs from the traditional museum concept by dismantling its walls to embrace a holistic territory. The ecomuseum is a place rather than a building and its heritage resources are the distinctive features of that locality rather than museum objects. These resources are tangible and intangible, fixed and portable, what Davis has described as a community's 'cultural touchstones' (1999: 40). He cites Sheila Stephenson who suggests, "the ecomuseum is concerned with collections management – the collection being everything in the designated area... flora, fauna, topography, weather, buildings, land use practices, songs, attitudes, tools..." (cited in Davis, 2004: 96). De Varine too noted that everything within the Le Creusot-Montceau ecomuseum territory was part of its 'collection' (cited in Davis, 2000, Stefano and Corsane, 2008).

A number of useful models have been provided that help to visualise the ecomuseum paradigm (Davis, 1999, Corsane, 2006b: 112-118). It has been suggested that where a traditional museum is the sum of its buildings, collections, expert staff and visitors, an ecomuseum is the sum of a territory, its heritage, the population and their memory (Rivard, 1984; 1988 cited in Davis, 1999). The paradigm has been illustrated as a string of beads, each 'cultural touchstone' within the territory represented as an equally important gem on the metaphorical ecomuseum thread. Davis explains:

"Here, the pearls are the elements of landscape, nature, community, sites, song, traditions and so on. This 'necklace' model helps us to understand that by combining the attributes of regions – their cultural sites and associated histories and themes, vernacular architecture, traditions, dialect, memories – the ecomuseum brings together those elements that make places special" (Davis, 1999: 240).

2.1 *Ecomuseum principles*

In recent years Davis has pared the ecomuseum definition back by stating that after long consideration, the most practical explanation seems to be that an ecomuseum, "is a community-led heritage or museum project that supports sustainable development" (Davis, 2007a: 199). Notwithstanding these definitions however, the interpretation of the ecomuseum paradigm in practice has proved fluid, diverse and inconsistent. For this reason, efforts in recent years have been made to assess how far ecomuseums achieve the original philosophy. Attributes have been listed (Davis, 1999: 228) namely that an ecomuseum is indicated by a heritage management system that:

- adopts a territory that is not necessarily defined by conventional boundaries
- adopts a 'fragmented-site' policy which is linked to *in situ* conservation and interpretation
- abandons conventional views of site ownership; conserving and interpreting sites via liaison and cooperation
- empowers local communities, involving local people in museum activities and in the presentation and development of their cultural identity
- has potential for interdisciplinary and holistic interpretation.

This list has been further developed to help heritage projects and ecomuseum assess their performance against the ideal (Borelli et al. 2008, Corsane et al., 2007a & b), and the fundamental tenets of the ecomuseum philosophy have been reduced to twenty one principles that can serve as indicators of ecomuseology in practice (Corsane 2006 a & b):

- 1 An ecomuseum is initiated and steered by local communities.
- 2 It should allow for public participation in all decision-making processes and activities in a democratic manner.
- 3 It should stimulate joint ownership and management, with input from local communities, academic advisors, local businesses, local authorities, and government structures.

4 In an ecomuseum, an emphasis is usually placed on the processes of heritage management rather than on heritage products for consumption.

5 An ecomuseum is likely to encourage collaboration with local craftspeople, artists, writers, actors and musicians.

6 It often depends on substantial active voluntary efforts by local stakeholders.

7 It focuses on local identity and sense of place.

8 It often encompasses as 'geographical' territory, which can be determined by different shared characteristics.

9 It covers both spatial and temporal aspects. In relation to the temporal, it looks at continuity and change over time. Therefore, its approach is diachronic rather than synchronic.

10 The ecomuseum often takes the form of a 'fragmented museum', consisting of a network with a hub and antennae of different buildings and sites.

11 It promotes preservation, conservation and safeguarding of heritage resources *in situ*.

12 In the ecomuseum ideal, equal attention is paid to immovable and movable tangible material culture, and to intangible heritage resources.

13 The ecomuseum stimulates sustainable development and use of resources.

14 It allows for change and development for a better future.

15 It encourages an *ongoing* programme of documentation of past and present life and people's interactions with all environmental factors (including physical, economic, social, cultural, and political).

16 It promotes research at a number of levels – from the research and understanding of local 'specialists' to research by academics.

17 It promotes multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches to research.

18 The ecomuseum ideal encourages a holistic approach to the interpretation of nature/culture relationships

19 It often attempts to illustrate connections between: technology/individual, nature/culture, and past /present.

20 The ecomuseum can provide for an intersection between heritage and responsible tourism.

21 It can bring benefits to local communities, for example a sense of pride, regeneration, and /or economic income.

2.2 Ecomuseum and the arts

This paper seeks to explore the relationship between the principles of ecomuseology and arts based place-making activity. It does so firstly with reference to empirical data collected in the Northern part of the Pennine region in 2008 as part of a collaborative research project with a protected landscape organisation, the North Pennines Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty Partnership (AONB), then with a more recent example of heritage-based place-making activity in the mid Pennine region which took place from 2010-2012 and was delivered through a sub-regional arts organisation, Mid Pennine Arts (MPA). The paper will find that ecomuseum principles are alive in arts based regeneration projects which often give primacy to local voice, democratic principles and joint ownership, but that also focus upon heritage processes rather than products and upon intangibility, identity, sense of place and collaboration with local craftspeople, artists, writers, actors and musicians.

3 THE BENEFITS OF ENGAGING WITH HERITAGE IN THE NORTH PENNINES

The charity, Common Ground (Clifford and King, 1993) advocates the identification of features of place distinctiveness by local people. Recognising what is distinctive about a place and understanding what is special is a prerequisite to any attempt to safeguard sense of place. As Freedman Tilden pointed out, protection must be built on exploration and understanding: "Through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection" (cited in Davis, 1996: 101). Research conducted amongst those engaging with

their heritage in the protected landscape of the North Pennines AONB in 2008 examined the involvement of local people in attempts to explore and safeguard the valued elements, both tangible and intangible that contributed to their sense of place. The research examined what happens when local people are involved in this sort of engagement with heritage.

3.1 *Exploring sense of place in the North Pennines*

Drawing on the work of Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) and Korpela (1989), analysis of interview data collected in the North Pennines in 2008 has been used to demonstrate that engagement with heritage can contribute to key components in the development of a strong sense of place (Hawke, 2010, 2011, 2012). Data demonstrated that engagement with heritage generated a sense of pride through association with a historic place or story (Hawke, 2010: 34). Relph (2008) suggests a sense of place is intimately related to difference and it follows that engagement in an exploration of the special qualities that contribute to the distinctiveness of a setting can lead to a stronger sense of place and identity for its residents. This was evidenced in the North Pennines data in which respondents described the special features of their locality lending it a palimpsestic quality which underpinned their sense of the continuity of time. Temporal continuity is one of a number of features identified by Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) as contributing to a strong sense of place (Hawke, 2011: 34). The North Pennines research explored, through notions of 'memory-talk' (Degnen 2005), the value of engaging with heritage in participatory ways that lift sense of place from the 'vaults' of the mind to the foreground of human dialogue, so that language becomes a channel through which sense of place is defined (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000). Such engagement was also found to generate beneficial outcomes for participants which were explored in terms of forms of capital (Hawke, 2011: 37).

3.2 *Benefits of engagement with heritage*

The North Pennines research draws conclusions from the data in relation to forms of capital. Capital has been defined as, "a resource invested to create new resources" (Flora et al., 2004: 18). In particular, the engagement of residents with local heritage and their participation in heritage interpretation and conservation activities developed social capital. Social capital relates to networks: "the networks, norms of reciprocity, and mutual trust that exist among and within groups and communities" (Flora et al., 2004: 19). The North Pennines data indicated that respondents were strengthening ties in their networks through their participation in heritage related activities but also that newer residents used the opportunity to take part as a way to build social capital, "you volunteer because you want to belong..." (Hawke, 2011: 37). By taking part and forming relationships with local decision makers, respondents also described a form of 'linking' social capital (Harriss, 2002: 100, Woolcock, 2001) which contributed to a more efficacious community. The development of new skills and in some cases the achievement of qualifications resulting from participation in voluntary or leisure activities related to their heritage, furthermore suggested that participation in such heritage activities can be linked to the development of human (Jeannotte, 2003) and cultural (Bordieu, 1997) capital. Given the benefits of engagement with heritage, it is pertinent to consider effective methods of encouraging such engagement and at this point discussion turns to a heritage project recently completed in the mid Pennine region of England.

4 THE ARTS AS PLACEMAKING

4.1 *Ecomuseum and the arts*

As a holistic approach to nature and culture, the principles of ecomuseology stress the value of working with local artists, but studies in the field of ecomuseology have as yet failed to tease out precisely how and why the creative arts are of value. This paper seizes the opportunity to explore a creative engagement programmed focused on a linear park and multi-use path called the Padiham Greenway. The project was recently delivered by Mid Pennine Arts (MPA) in the Pennine Lancashire subregion of the UK, the objectives of which related to developing owner-

ship and pride amongst local people in order to consolidate the successful regeneration of the site. The programme has collected four awards to date, the most prestigious being the European Greenway Award for exemplary use of the arts in engagement. What follows explains something of the project before drawing out its synergy with the ecomuseum paradigm.

4.2 *Mid Pennine Arts (MPA)*

MPA is a driving force for the arts in Pennine Lancashire, recognised nationally for devising and delivering exemplary arts programmes that inspire, surprise and delight. With reference to Corsane et al's 21 principles (2006) it is possible to see that within MPA's aspiration to bring art, people and places together to transform perceptions and change lives, thrives a spirit of ecomuseology. Created as a partnership, MPA develops its most successful work through partnerships, networks and creative collaborations. MPA was formed in 1966 and in recent years has focused firmly upon locating culture within the wider agendas of economic and social regeneration. MPA have pioneered with creative projects serving public funded programmes in urban and rural locations.

4.3 *MPA and the public realm*

Lancashire County Council's Arts Development Service (LADS) proposed a Creative Regeneration programme for a portfolio of REMADE sites. REMADE stands for REclamation and MAnagement of DErelect land. The programme aims to utilise a rich variety of creative tools to engage local communities in imaginative ways. MPA was commissioned to project-manage the Creative Regeneration programme. This work began with a programme of work to support the regeneration of Padiham Greenway. The Greenway is the site of a disused railway line in Pennine Lancashire, and the Padiham Greenway Creative Engagement Programme was the first major piece of creative regeneration work for MPA's involvement with REMADE. The railway line's embankment formed a barrier separating two local communities and REMADE, in partnership with Sustrans, a charity promoting sustainable transport, set out to develop the former railway line into high quality cycle paths, footpaths and bridleways to bring these communities together to use and enjoy the site.

4.4 *Padiham Greenway*

The Padiham to Rosegrove railway line was discontinued in 1964 and the land became a wasteland and dumping ground which divided the community. Under the REMADE scheme, the site was turned into a Greenway. In early 2010 the landscaping works were coming to a successful conclusion, but the REMADE team were deeply concerned about the challenges of engaging a community still psychologically divided by the old railway line. Since early 2009 mid Pennine Arts had been engaging the local community with this outdoor space. Using creative investigations into the ecology of the site and history of the railway, MPA have continued to encourage connections to be made between local people and the site. The 'Padiham Greenway Creative Engagement Programme' was formed through a series of interconnected projects led by artists specialising in creative engagement, media, dance and sculpture both temporary and permanent.

4.5 *Padiham Greenway Creative Engagement Programme*

Nine integrated projects took place between March 2010 and March 2011, all of which aimed for sustainable outcomes. The main aim was to re-establish the site by promoting awareness and developing a sense of local ownership. There was a celebration week in June 2010 which culminated in a Padiham Greenway Pageant. The momentum of this shared celebration continued with sustained artist input into the community and the site resulting in increased community interest, ownership and use of the Greenway. Since March 2011 MPA with the help and support of the community, have continued to commission artists to work on the programme. To date, the programme has engaged 6956 people and 20 artists. Feedback received from stakeholders and

partners indicates that the project is an exemplary of successful engagement and involvement of the local community:

“The Padiham Greenway development has been brilliant for this community. I am hearing many people talk so positively about what they now have in Padiham. There are always people using it both on an individual and organisational level and everyone seems to be looking after it too.”

Mark Dixon, Headteacher, Padiham Green School and Chair, Celebration Week Steering Group

The main aims of partners and stakeholders were to:

- promote awareness of the potential of the site
- promote a sense of ownership and pride in the area
- re-establish the site as an area for gathering and celebration
- bring the community together

MPA set out to achieve these aims by:

- Involving diverse groups of local people with their heritage through creative workshops and events
- Establishing inter-generational working within the schools
- Engaging members of the community with long term memories of the area
- Providing learning opportunities for the local school children in new media skills, interviewing and documentation
- Gathering community memories and thoughts for the future

4.6 *Project activities*

Specific creative working ideas emerged through extensive consultation with the stakeholder groups taking place over four sessions, and with the County Council, Padiham Archives and two key schools in the Padiham Schools Cluster group. Student and pupil representatives attended the meetings. A successful application to the Heritage Lottery Fund made a significant contribution to County Council funds invested in the project. As momentum began to grow, a cluster of ten local schools contributed their ‘extended services’ funds to a programme of complimentary activity and they went on to work with three professional writers and two visual artists, resulting in a multimedia exhibition.

The first artist’s residency focused upon the ecological heritage of the site and an environmental artist engaged a local school in tree and bulb planting, poetry, mixed media drawings, water colour painting and the creation and installation of temporary sculpture, all reflecting the changing environment on and around the Greenway. This significantly contributed to raising awareness, knowledge and ultimately a sense of ownership of the area by young people. A second residency by the same artists developed a series of ‘Historical Tea Parties’ which drew the community into dialogue with local school children. The project worked inter-generationally, across different schools and different sections of the community. Padiham Archives provided historical references and parents, grandparents and members of the community were interviewed and recorded. Children visited the National Railway Museum and met the County Council’s Rail Development Officer. The high school’s media students filmed some of the Tea Party discussions and the resulting material provided an exhibition event at the Padiham Pageant. The project increased knowledge of the history of the Greenway within schools and the wider community, strengthening links between schools and residents.

A video and digital artist worked with young people focusing on the site’s history and encouraged them to think about the way the site has been used in the past, by the community today and how it might be used in the future. This resulted in three short films made by local school children. A professional dancer worked in the high school to create a performance for the Pageant inspired by the site’s heritage. Further artists engaged local people before and during the Pageant to decorate bicycles and make Pageant costumes and banners. A short heritage play was performed, Padiham Archives produced a history exhibition, walkabout performers entertained, musicians played, and local groups contributed from cheerleaders to a synchronised bike ride along the Greenway.

5 SYNERGY BETWEEN ARTS BASED PRACTICES AND THE ECOMUSEUM PARADIGM

Reflecting upon the success of the Padiham Greenway Creative Engagement Programme it is possible to draw a number of parallels between the arts based practices employed and the spirit of ecomuseology. Stakeholder meetings were so successful that the voluntary Steering Group felt they had gained the focus and knowledge required to continue to generate ideas about the future use of the Greenway. As a result the Steering Group continues to meet beyond the lifespan of the Engagement Programme in order to discuss issues in the use and management of the Greenway. In this sense the Greenway project continues to be steered by its local communities, working hard to allow for public participation in decision-making processes. This group brings together community members, school teachers, local councillors, local authorities and businesses, stimulating joint ownership and management. The Greenway project focused less upon the production of permanent pieces of public art and more upon the process of engagement with heritage, dialogue and celebration, principles which the Steering Group carry forward.

Clearly the programme was developed with creative practitioners in a range of artform and these artists focused on the past, present and future of a site defined by a linear characteristic and one that safeguards the heritage of a former railway line *in situ*. The Steering Group continue to focus closely upon the sustainability of the site by paying careful attention to ecology and community stewardship (particularly in terms of litter picking) and the Engagement Programme was effective in illustrating connections between nature and culture and the past and present. More recently the creative programme has been extended resulting in sculpture on the Greenway. Artist John Merrill ran modelling workshops in a local school, gathering ideas to inform his design for a green oak sculpture called 'White Lightning'. The Steering Group were involved in the artist commissioning process for this permanent piece. The experience gave them the confidence to initiate, raise funds for, and commission a second piece of sculptural seating. Artist Tim Norris worked alongside members of the community, many of whom were formerly employed in the area's coal mines to realise his design reflecting the coal-mining heritage of the locality. The crescent shaped seating is cut into the landscape to allow the hillside to envelope the user and act as a windbreak. MPA's Community and Projects Officer managed the Creative Engagement Programme and described the success of these projects and the value of artists working onsite, as passers-by stopped to chat and were encouraged to take an interest and participate, developing their sense of ownership of the sculptural pieces.

Finally the programme appears to have benefitted the local community in ways similar to those identified in the North Pennines data. The programme helped to build social capital as the two divided communities began to interact, as residents engaged with schools and as the Steering Group became more efficacious. Knowledge and understanding were generated in intergenerational projects and creative explorations of natural and cultural heritage. Place distinctiveness was identified and celebrated in a Pageant that demonstrated the site's continuity of time and brought diverse aspects of the community together, all of which activity has led to a stronger sense of place and identity for those residents engaged. Historical Tea Parties and visits to the Greenway with writers and visual artists, elicited conversation and interaction creating a discursive sense of place (Dixon and Durrheim, 2000) and allowed for 'memory talk' (Degnen 2005) to be recorded and shared. The Padiham Pageant as a culmination of a short period packed with creative engagement with the site was a genuine opportunity for shared celebration generating community pride. The site is regenerated and continues to develop as a popular route for cyclists and dog-walkers.

6 CONCLUSIONS

It is easy to consider the principles of ecomuseology in isolation and without reference to their practical application. Such discussions are vulnerable to the cynicism of those unconvinced by the ecomuseum ideal. Research in the North Pennines demonstrated the value of engaging with heritage for local people in terms of their sense of pride, local distinctiveness, sense of temporal continuity along with the processes of 'memory talk' that generate a discursive sense of place. Those participating in heritage-related activities built social capital, skills and contacts. The ex-

ample of the Padiham Greenway Creative Engagement Programme provides some evidence that these outcomes are generated through processes that mirror ecomuseum ideology, that such processes are effective and the creative arts are a successful means of achieving outcomes in terms of community-led stewardship and a stronger sense of place. This paper concludes by suggesting that the value of the creative arts in the achievement of the principles of ecomuseology present a rich field for further investigation.

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The Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum

J. Joicey

Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum Ltd

C. Burgess

Northumberland Conservation, Northumberland County Council

ABSTRACT: 2013 marks the quincentenary of the Battle of Flodden, fought on the border between England and Scotland. By the end of 9th September 1513 the Scottish King lay dead; a huge proportion of his nobility had been annihilated, along with 10,000-15,000 ordinary Scots men and women. The loss resonates as a central theme of Scottish and British tradition and culture even today. Despite focussed effort on interpreting the battle itself, little work has been devoted to uniting the wide legacy and heritage – both tangible and intangible, local and national – which perpetuates the name. The quincentenary has been the catalyst to create England's first ecomuseum, Flodden1513. The ecomuseum links physical sites related to Flodden with its traditions and legacy, and involves local communities in conserving and interpreting physical remains and in maintaining and understanding the traditions and festivals of the borderland area connected to the outcome the battle. The first stage of Flodden1513.com has linked communities from Northumberland and Southern Scotland and includes sites: historic bridges, churches, a water-mill, castles and the defensive town walls of Edinburgh. It also supports and conserves the non-tangible heritage such as civic festivals and the deep traditions of literature (Scott's Marmion and poetry including The Flowers o' the Forest) which relate the events and legacy of the battle. Only one other ecomuseum exists in the UK (at Staffin, on Skye) but as a result of the work at both Staffin and Flodden more are now planned. The model of Flodden1513 offers a new perspective on interpreting and conserving the 'heritage and association of place'. The "exhibits" are the sites and community projects associated with them; they are interlinked using a modern web portal. The stakeholder group which steers the project now includes approximately 220 individuals and organisations.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper outlines the creation of the United Kingdom's second ecomuseum (the first in England and the second in Scotland), the background for it and the path that has led to its creation. We believe that this is the first community ecomuseum in the world created from the legacy of a historical event.

The project takes as its catalyst the commemoration of the Quincentenary of the Battle of Flodden, fought in 1513 between England and Scotland. Importantly, this campaign took place on the borderline between the two countries. Despite the passing of 500 years the battle still resonates. It was the last of the truly bloody medieval battles in the UK and the first technically post-medieval battle in the UK (Sadler, 2005. 408). The Scottish King (James IV) lay dead, and was the last monarch in Britain to die in battle. The vast proportion of Scotland's nobility – its ruling class – was annihilated. It can be argued that Scotland never really recovered.

In a wider European context, the future of Europe hung in the balance at Flodden. The young King Henry VIII of England, best known in popular history because he later broke away from the Church of Rome so that he could divorce his first wife and marry a second (and ultimately a sixth), was at the start of his reign in 1509 and keen to secure England's position on the continent (Barr, 2001. 18). He had joined an alliance with Pope Julius II against France in 1511 (Barr, 2001. 15). King James IV of Scotland, an effective, cultured and educated Renaissance monarch, was married to Henry's sister, and Scotland had an old and strong alliance with France but also an agreement for 'Perpetual Peace' with England (Reese, 2003. 57). When Henry invaded France in 1513 the French King Louis XII persuaded James to invade England in the hope that he would divert Henry's troops away from the war on the continent (Reese, 2003. 64).

King Henry VIII sent one of his generals, Thomas Howard the Earl of Surrey, to repel the Scots (Sadler, 2005. 414. Reese, 2003. 66). Despite the fact that the Scots were superior in number, and occupied a superior position in the landscape, the Earl of Surrey defeated the Scots by clever strategy and luck within the terrain of the Battlefield (Burgess, in prep). The Scottish King, much of his nobility and between 10-12,000 Scots were dead. The English too suffered losses, about 4000-5000 (Sadler, 2006. 86. Burgess, in prep.). It has been well argued that a Scottish victory at Flodden might have compelled Henry to return home at a crucial moment, which would have been a turning point in European history (Barr, 2001. 35. Reese, 2003. 64).

Despite Scotland's terrible loss, ironically it was the great-grandson of James IV, King of Scotland, James VI, who 90 years later in 1603 inherited the English throne, to bring about the "United Kingdom".

The effects of Flodden still resonate, and many sites and legacies – tangible and, importantly, intangible – recall its heritage and its importance. Until a few years ago, only a simple monument on a low hill in northern Northumberland (on the English side of the border) marked the site of the battle (Burgess 2010. 11). In 2004 a small volunteer group, led by local residents, created a circular trail with interpretation panels which are considered exemplary of their type. Apart from this, there has been little focused interpretation of the battle (Burgess & Hallam-Baker. 2006. 44-45).

As the Quincentenary of Flodden approached, it was obvious that sites connected with the story – the battlefield itself, the nearby Church of St Paul in Branxton, the castles of Norham and Etal captured during the Scottish campaign, and other monuments including the Flodden Wall in Edinburgh – were, although recognised in their own way, not connected with, or supportive of, each other.

As well as the tangible sites, there is a vibrant and important intangible heritage of Flodden, with a high profile within its community as well as further afield. This intangible heritage is seen today in local traditional cultural events such as the Common Ridings held each year in the Border towns, or in the epic poem of famous 19th century Scottish author Sir Walter Scott 'Marmion' which recounts the story of the battle (Scott 1806). 'The Flowers of the Forest', one of the most famous tunes written for the Scottish bagpipes, recalls the bloodshed at Flodden. The words to this were published anonymously in 1776 but are known to be the only surviving work of the song writings of Jean Elliot (1727-1805).

In any contemporary UK project, especially one involving commemoration, legacy is a vital element when searching for funding. Early discussions saw the opportunity to use the 500th anniversary of Flodden as a catalyst for legacy. At the same time contact with Newcastle University encouraged thoughts about creating a Flodden Ecomuseum. Of equal importance, and as an integral part of the process, groups within the local community proposed their own projects. The ecomuseum concept allows projects such as, for example, a play or a piece of music (whether written for the commemoration, or written long ago) to be just as much a part of the ecomuseum as the battlefield site itself. Linkage and interconnection, tangible to intangible and vice-versa, were seen as vital. There is no limit to what may be contained in an ecomuseum. An ecomuseum is owned by the community, not imposed from the top down (Davis, 2011. 79-85). This was an important and attractive philosophy both to the people working to commemorate the quincentenary of the battle and also to funding organizations such as Northumberland Uplands LEADER and the UK Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF).

It is important to state that, because the story and heritage of Flodden is relevant to both Scotland and England, it has been the wish of the communities on both sides of the border to reflect this. The Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum therefore deliberately sets out to be cross-border. It

is the second example world wide of a cross-border ecomuseum, the only other being the Grenseland Ekomuseum which sits astride the border between Sweden and Norway (Davis, 2011. 139. Lars-Erik Hammar, pers. comm.).

2 THE CREATION OF THE FLODDEN ECOMUSEUM

In 2008 an Initiators' Group was formed, led by the landowner and representatives from the third sector (for example the local development trust and a small local charity) as well as representatives of Local Government currently charged with managing the wide heritage issues of the site. This group debated what Flodden means and how it means different things to different people, groups, agencies and communities, why it was such an important event in our history, and who might want to have some involvement in commemorating it. The initiators group quickly focused on the desire for legacy. It created an initial database of 30 names of people or organizations who might have an interest in Flodden.

The use of IT was seen as a particular focus. The digitisation of archive records has generated a high level of genealogical research and awareness of history, and has produced the phenomenon of ancestral tourism, aided in the UK by TV programmes such as the BBC's 'Who Do You Think You Are?'. In addition, 2013 and 2014 are years in which other important national historical events in England and Scotland have significant anniversaries (Anniversary of the Lindisfarne Gospels, The Battle of Bannockburn and the start of World War 1). Consideration of the impact of these events, and their potential to interact with Flodden required consideration. More locally the initiators also understood how the legacy and heritage of Flodden is never far away from the border people. There is a borderline, different dialects, a different educational system, different perspectives still, but both sides view themselves as Borderers together.

The group decided to articulate all this in the local press. The response was huge. Individuals, societies and groups came forward with projects and suggestions far outstripping expectations envisaged at the outset.

In 2009 a Placement Student from the University of Newcastle's International Centre for Heritage & Cultural Studies interviewed the 30 people and organisations on the initial database, and on the recommendation of these, extended the 'stakeholder list' to include about 80 people and groups. He analysed the project ideas sorting them into themes (e.g. education, research, access improvements, etc.) (Lewis, 2009). The Initiators Group saw clearly at that stage that there was little practical linkage between sites associated with Flodden, although the battle-site itself, and particularly the Battlefield Trail implemented by Remembering Flodden in 2004, is considered an exemplar of good historical interpretation (Lewis, 2009). From his studies at Newcastle the student introduced the group to Peter Davis, Professor of Museology. This led them to study the concept and structures of ecomuseums, and their role. Despite the perennial difficulty in the UK associated with the term 'ecomuseum' (interpreted as meaning environmental or 'green'), a meeting of the community stakeholders agreed overwhelmingly that an ecomuseum was very appropriate for Flodden.

In 2010 the initiators group applied successfully through the EU LEADER programme to create an ecomuseum, associated website and interpretation, and to support community involvement through projects. In late 2010 the community stakeholders, consulted at a series of village hall meetings, selected twelve sites to be the baseline of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum (Burgess, 2011. 42). Other sites, where there was not yet contact with the owner or for which issues of access or interpretation needed discussion or development, were selected as probable additions for the future (Burgess, 2012).

3 FLODDEN 1513 ECOMUSEUM

The 12 baseline sites selected to form phase 1 of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum comprise two castles, two churches, two fine medieval bridges, two registered museums, two monuments, a modern private art commission and the battlefield site itself. The aims of the ecomuseum at phase 1 (encompassing these sites) was to raise national awareness of the significant and cataclysmic events of 9th September 1513 while at the same time supporting and aiding the local

communities of Northumberland and the Scottish Borders in managing and commemorating their heritage.

The consideration of the formation of an ecomuseum came at a point when national debate in Scotland was beginning to address renewed issues of Scottish independence. This was seen to involve other battlefields, particularly Bannockburn (Scottish victory over the English in 1314), which was receiving a lot of publicity and financial input from the Scottish Government because of the perceived association of sites of Scottish victories over the English with nationalist/separatist politics. The events surrounding Flodden meanwhile were seen as an opportunity to unite border communities in remembrance and it was felt the structures of the ecomuseum could aid this at all levels, from basic education to sustainable economic development.

With the creation of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum came agreement that the initiators group did not want to conform to the traditional 'top down' models of museums and wider heritage led projects. Ecomuseums from around the world demonstrated to the group that, though there are almost as many models as there are occurrences of ecomuseums, all seem to take a 'bottom up' approach, communities defining what of their heritage is important to them and then shaping and aiding the formation of body to help conserve and manage that heritage (Davis 2011, 85-87).

Of the initial 12 sites included in phase 1 all were selected (from a longer list) by stakeholders in the Flodden 500 commemoration process. Each has an association with Flodden and the events of the battle and the Scottish campaign in England. Many of the sites already acknowledged their links to the battle though not in a 'joined up' manner. One of the primary roles for the ecomuseum would be to create a linked network that provided information to explain how all of the sites chosen were related. This was achieved primarily through the Flodden 1513 website, which acts as a hub providing interpretation and information for each site, including their history, how they were involved or contributed to the Battle of Flodden and what happened to the site in the subsequent 500 years.

One of the important (but not heritage related) criteria for the selection of initial 12 sites selected was to ensure that they all had existing access provision for the public. Sites were suggested where no access was currently possible. The process here was constrained by the funds available to establish the ecomuseum. A grant from Northumberland Uplands LEADER, matched by sums from various stakeholders, allowed for new interpretation and common marketing, primarily through the central website, but did not allow for the creation of new access to sites where none already existed.

Though Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum has specific physical sites throughout southern Scotland and northern Northumberland, it is in effect a virtual museum. The links are forged through the internet. Decisions were taken at a very early stage of development to keep costs down by minimizing physical infrastructure. The ecomuseum would in effect be a series of linkages between existing attractions, to highlight their association and common purpose with the events of Flodden, primarily through the Flodden 1513 website. Some of the sites selected already have aggressive marketing with standing displays and exhibitions (e.g. Coldstream Museum, Etal Castle and Heatherslaw Mill) while others are simply open for visits (e.g. the Flodden Wall, Norham Castle and Twizel Bridge) with greater or lesser levels of interpretation. The internet address and the QR (barcode) image on the signs at each of the 12 ecomuseum sites allow access to more information.

In 2011 the LEADER work – establishing the ecomuseum and its website, and community consultation exercises – was completed. The initiators researched the structure under which ecomuseums on the continent operate (particularly making field visits to Italy and Sweden), and decided to create a not-for-profit company (Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum Ltd) to act as the 'clasp' described in Peter Davis's diagrammatic necklace structure for an ecomuseum (Davis, 2011. 90 Figs. 4.8). By this time the project's stakeholder base numbered over 220, from the large (e.g. local government authorities in England and Scotland, government agencies such as English Heritage and Historic Scotland) to the small (local history societies or individuals from communities on both sides of the border interested in their heritage). Large public authority or small community group, in this project all are viewed as part of the community with a voice of equal importance.

During the summer of 2011 and into 2012 another student from Newcastle University helped to assemble as accurate a picture as possible of the projects planned by community groups asso-

ciated with the ecomuseum. These range from the small (music in local churches, improved access to the battlefield site, a stained glass window), to the regional (archaeological digs, tours with smartphone apps., Scottish Clan gatherings, a genealogy project), to the national (BBC recordings, a special composition for the Scottish National Chamber Orchestra, an exhibition by the Royal Armouries in Leeds). All originate from the community group that 'owns' them, often through the Community Consultation workshops organized by the new ecomuseum not-for-profit company. An outline calendar for the year 2013 has been drafted, with the aim of 'stretching' the year for maximum local economic benefit, and to prevent all projects happening on the anniversary itself.

In August 2012 Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum Ltd submitted an application to the UK's 'Heritage Lottery Fund', for support to develop community projects connected with education, archaeology, archive research, family history training, media recording, the expansion of the ecomuseum, and the coordination and support of approximately 100 projects 'owned' by community groups, as well as a marketing strategy linked to a detailed calendar specifically for 2013. The company awaits the result in November 2012.

As part of this bid it is hoped that additional sites may be added to the ecomuseum. Communities in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders have consulted widely on a draft paper (Burgess, 2012) in which an additional 40 sites nominated by the community are listed. These sites would potentially be added to a phase 2 expansion of the ecomuseum. Phase 2 may include sites that require negotiations with owners and specific capital works to achieve access.

3.1 *National Policy Context*

The creation of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum has coincided with a time when a new UK government has been reviewing many policies relating to heritage management and particularly strategic planning and development management. The principle of Sustainable Development has remained a cornerstone of UK planning policies, and the current government has signaled its wishes to engage communities in delivery and management of many services traditionally thought to be the role of government or local government (NECT 2011, 1). In addition, engagement and the views of community have become increasingly important in deciding which cultural heritage assets are valued and important when considering both strategic planning and individual developments (Departments of Communities and Local Government, 2012).

The borderland between England and Scotland is very rural and sparsely populated. Sustainability, not growth, is the main driver of any development, whether it is commercially or community led. In the case of Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum the aim has been not to flood weak rural infrastructure with thousands of visitors but to encourage a steady but limited increase in numbers, to develop the holistic interpretation of existing sites and at the same time to support existing smaller tourism services such as Bed & Breakfast businesses, small cafes and restaurants that already serve the areas around the ecomuseum sites. The ecomuseum has however seen the spark of new tourism led growth, with buildings being renovated and independent tourist aids such as smart phone apps being developed.

4 CONCLUSION

In the long term, the success (or otherwise) of the Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum will be measured by the engagement of community in the continued conservation of their heritage. The not-for-profit company, Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum Ltd, provides a means by which local communities can be consulted and involved in managing aspects of Flodden heritage that are important to them. For the funding bodies, success will certainly include the growth of this engagement, but it will also be measured by the sustainable increase in the tourist economy without negative impact on the sites. For small business owners, both at the inscribed sites and also in the wider hinterland, success will be measured in increased sales and footfall amongst both locals and visitors. For those who have helped the community to form Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum, all of these measures will mark success or failure. So far the signs are good, but in addition there must be consideration of the more intangible 'sense of place' and the role that Flodden 1513 Ecomuseum

has – and will continue to have – in creating community cohesion around the events of 9th September 1513 and the 500 years of the aftermath.

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The development of ecomuseums in Poland. The Eastern European takes on the concept

D. Kawęcka

Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

ABSTRACT: The concept of ecomuseum has been spreading across the world for over forty years. In each country it is interpreted in a different way and can take a variety of forms. The development of ecomuseums in Eastern Europe was delayed by the Iron Curtain and in Poland did not begin until a decade after its fall. The article presents the interlinks between the emergence of non-profit sector, local identity revival and rural areas renewal programmes and analyzes how they influenced the development of Polish ecomuseums in two regions.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper presents initial findings of the first stage of a research project “Modes of operation and the development of ecomuseums in Poland” which is subsidised by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education. The project started in May 2012 and will take two years during which the work of over twenty two Polish museums will be examined, with the focus on their origins, aims, organisational structures as well as forms of collaboration between the local communities, non-profit organisations and governmental institutions. The main argument is that specific political, economic, social and cultural factors led to a development of an original model of ecomuseum practice. This local form is strongly linked to the emergence of non-governmental sector and the regional identity revival while the changes to heritage industry play a secondary role. Therefore, in the article, the ecomuseums will be analysed in the context of the development of the third sector in Poland. This is primarily because most initiatives of this type were established thanks to the Foundation Partnership for Environment programme “Ecomuseums” (which had started in 2000) and acquired a legal status of registered NGO. They also received financial and operational support from large non-profit organisations such as Polish-American Freedom Foundation (founded in 2000).

Many sociologists pointed that the rapidly developing NGO sector laid foundations for the emerging civil society in Poland and was important, if not decisive, in building social capital after the fall of communism in 1989 (Gliński, 2004; Halamska, 2008). While it is often claimed that in the last decade we have been experiencing a crisis of democracy and political elites, the non-profit sector still serves as a hidden source of civic engagement and responsibility – in fact this is where the real participatory democracy is born (Gliński, 2004). NGOs aim for a social change: they raise awareness and encourage pro-civic behaviour. Ecomuseums proved to be part of this movement – they result from the development of civil society and contribute to it at the same time as they strive for enhanced involvement of communities in improving their living conditions and greater development by means of heritage. Identity-building and establishing a sense of community are crucial in this process.

2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

While ecomuseums have been known across the world for nearly half a century, it was not until 2001 when the first ecomuseum was established in Poland and up until today it remains a fairly unknown type of museum practice in this country. The main reason of such a delay was the communist regime which – despite its end in 1989 – left a firm print on the nation, hindering the development of civil society. The participation in new democratic institutions such as local governments and third sector organisations was much lower than it had been expected (Halamska, 2008). For over forty years the restricting political system also unabled any Western influences. Values were non-negotiable and dissatisfaction or criticism – if expressed publicly – were punished. For these reasons, the 1960s revolt had a completely different origin and course than in the Western countries. Consequently, there was no call for the re-definition of the role of museums or reassessment of their social relevance. The “old museology” had solid foundations within the system and remained a dominating paradigm in the heritage sector. As the state controlled any action taken by the citizens alternative, independent, grass-root initiatives aimed at heritage protection were scarce and had limited impact.

On the other hand, when looking closer at the last two centuries in the history of Poland, it is clear that it was the nation with a huge social potential, precisely because it had to resist the imposed governance for most of that time (Hübner, 2002: 73). Self-organizing to preserve national identity go back to 1772 when the first partition of Poland happened. As Weclawowicz (1996: 8) explains: “between 1795 [third partition - D.K.] and 1919 the development of Poland experienced three different conflicting traditions. Prussian absolutism overlapped with an increasing Germanization tendency and with the economic integration of connected territories to the rest of Prussia. In the Austrian monarchy, Poles adapted to the relatively liberalized parliamentary monarchy, and in the Russian part, people were the subject of Tsarist autocracy with its Eastern style of executive power”. Armed efforts to regain independence concurred with the emergence of - both legal and underground - organisations which took the role of non-existing public institutions in sustaining the national identity by preserving the core aspects Polish culture, particularly language and traditions (Leś, 1994: 5). The most important were voluntary fire brigades which covered the areas exceeding the reach of official services but also facilitated cultural initiatives in local communities. A strong movement of self-support existed in agriculture (cooperatives, savings and loan associations, mutual insurance), industry (unions) and leisure (folk music bands, sport clubs, libraries newspapers) (Hübner, 2002; Bratkowski, 2002; Kamiński, 2008). The idea of supporting technological progress and cultivating national culture together with independence ethos formed basis of what later took form of institutionalized non-profit sector. When outlining the historical context of social potential in Poland it is also important to mention regional differentiation resulting from political circumstances. Galicia and Prussian partitions had much stronger traditions of self-organising than the territories which remained under Russian order (as Congress Kingdom of Poland). After regaining independence in 1918 the country faced the challenge of integrating territories which had been operating under different laws and were unequal in terms of economic and social development. Underground organisations could finally get legal status and work openly. The situation changed again after World War II. Due to the massive resettlement executed as part of Potsdam conference resolutions the continuity of social traditions was broken. The so-called regained territories (East Prussia, Pomerania, Silesia) were populated with Poles from central and eastern Poland (as the latter was annexed by Soviet Union) while their former inhabitants were expelled to Germany. However, the most devastating period for civic engagement was yet to come.

While the imposed communist system put restrictions on social activism, banning most independent organisations and nationalising their property already in the 1940s (Bartkowski, 2002; Leś, 1994; Leś & Nałęcz, 2002) and many authors claim that the revival of non-profit organisations and their dynamic development did not start until 1989 (Leś, 1994; Iwankiewicz-Rak, 2002; Siciński, 2002), the picture is more complex. Siellawa-Kolbowska (2002) argues that the considerable number of initiatives functioning at the end of 1980s proves the existence of traces of civil society during the communism. Establishing new organisations in the beginning of that decade became easier because ‘the state, although oppressive, could no longer block social activism or incorporate it in state controlled institutions’ (Siellawa-Kolbowska, 2002: 81). That development was interrupted in 1981 with the introduction of Martial law and special regulations

which made the work of most organisations illegal. However, 1984 saw another revival thanks to the new bill enabling the work of foundations. Siellawa-Kolbowska makes a distinction between self-support groups (focused on providing social care and health service to those who could not receive it from the state) and ethos groups whose main role was building new social identities. It was a reaction to limiting the free expression of identities and values as well as to highly ideological, artificial ideals imposed by the communist system. They aimed at creating a specific ethos and civic identity as well protecting the traditional identities (national, religious) among the Poles. Although these organisations were strictly controlled by the state and poorly financed, their amount and distribution showed an abiding spirit of community and political resistance at the end of 1980s. It is important to note that the renaissance of institutionalized social activism after 1989 origins from political transformation which had been initiated by the workers' efforts to establish independent labour unions and to build an alternative civic society based on self-governing organisations. Recurrent protests in factories and shipyards led to the establishment of Independent Self-governing Trade Union "Solidarity" in 1980 which proved the most influential movement in the region. As Leś & Nałęcz (2002: 30) also remind, the reconstruction of civic life and the economic and social potential of non-profit organisations is to much extent owing to Catholic Church which offered a political and social alternative to the communist system and created conditions for pro-democratic efforts after 1989 and continues to promote self-organising of Polish society.

The development of non-profit sector after the fall of communism was two-fold. The first five years were the time of spontaneous establishing of institutions of civil society (Iwankiewicz-Rak, 2002: 126). This dynamic, characteristic for Central-Eastern European countries, resulted from political changes which were to have profound impact on the position and perspectives of development of the third sector in these countries (Leś, 1994). While large reserves of social activism are common in postcommunist societies, on the other hand they are also more prone to social apathy, mutual distrust and conformity after the idea of 'common good' have been overused and discredited, with organised actions serving mainly the 'state (politicians) good', legitimising the communist order and its control over the society. The idea of community was also disparaged by replacing it with a 'collective', forcing people to feel a part of one homogenous entity, working together for the benefit of socialism. Therefore, those first years saw a decline in membership in many old organisations which was not outnumbered by the sign-ups to new organisations. This has changed again after 1995 when the engagement index rose while there were less organisation established (due to new restricting bill). According to another survey conducted by IFiS PAN (Gliński, 2006), the membership in strictly civic organisations dropped between 1995 and 1999. Gliński (2004) explains that the decline in activity and short-term fluctuations of Polish third sector do not prove its weakness but are typical for the functioning of civil society in new democracies. At the end of the 1990s, in average, the level of social potential in Poland was twice lower than in developed countries but similar to other post-soviet countries (Leś & Nałęcz, 2002). Moreover, in the very same decade it decreased in Central and Eastern Europe, it increased in Western Europe (Bartkowski, 2002). Additionally, if compared with other post-soviet countries, the level of social engagement in Poland was similar to the one in Hungary, Romania, Lithuania. The reason behind is what Leś and Nałęcz (2002) call 'social legacy of communism'. Not only has it discouraged Poles from social activism, but it has also affected their idea of what a grass-root initiative can be. After so many years of oppression, protesting seemed a more natural way to express civic engagement than gathering to work with a more abstract purpose such as common good (Frączak, 2004). The disappearance of the main enemy – the one-party state – demanded the civic initiatives to re-define their identities and learn how to recognize and address other pertinent issues (Chimiak, 2006). Added to that, the new economical system made people priorities private affairs over participation in resolving public issues. This individualistic and materialist attitude was another factor that hindered the development of civil society in Poland. What made post communist

The local level plays crucial role in this transition since this is where the models of involvement, cooperation in public sphere and negotiating collective interests are formed (Gliński et al., 2004: 10). However, sociological research shows that building local communities is a mundane process and the expected results of political and economical transformation have still not been achieved. Learned helplessness, distrust towards politicians and self-occupation inherited from the previous system – especially strong in the province – impeded civic engagement. The out-

dated, irrational economy and low dynamics of transformation too slowed down the shaping of civil society on the local level. Yet after another decade, mainly thanks to EU funding for establishing and development of democratic institutions and its emphasis on public-private partnership (Kozłicka, 2004) and the administrative reform from 1999 which was meant to encourage the more bottom-up approach in decision-making, we can talk about a revival of locality. Local communities have become active in taking the responsibility for their own affairs, got involved in public life and gradually gained support from local governments. This phenomenon is closely related to a growing sense of local identity which accompanied the process of reshaping national identity (also incited by the accession to European Union in 2004 and changing governments which offered different visions of Poland). The re-orientation towards locality is considered a remedy to social issues on a national level (Lewenstein, 2004: 289). In 2003 a new law on non-profit organisations was introduced, providing a firm legal basis for the work of the sector by further defining the rights of NGOs and the duties of governmental institutions towards them (mostly regarding funding and relegating tasks).

Consequently, due to acknowledging common aims and mutual benefits the cooperation between NGOs and local governments improved. The involvement in non-profit organisations in the countryside, although lower than in cities, has undergone similar fluctuations after 1989 and has increased at the end of the 1990s and in the beginning of the new century (Głinski, 2006: 287). Sociologists identified it as 'a delayed result of self-development of non-governmental sector in the province' and connect it with a slower absorption of innovation in the countryside. The legacy of the past (both recent and more distant) also hindered the development of institutionalised social engagement by influencing its geographical differentiation. Eastern parts of Poland (former Congress Kingdom of Poland, under Russian order) still show a low level of involvement in non-profit sector in the countryside while the Western and Northern parts are leading in this category (Halamska, 2008). The latter remained under German (Prussian) rule until 1945 and for this reason the traditional forms of self-organizing, widespread in other regions of Poland (such as voluntary brigades and "Sokół" gymnastics clubs), did not develop there at all before the War. Interestingly, the massive forced resettlement of people from – of that time – Eastern Poland (in part today Ukraine) to these so-called Regained Territories (former Germany) after 1945 caused at first a dispersion of communities and discontinuity of social traditions but ultimately lead to the creation of new bonds and the emergence of modern types of self-organisation. These newly formed communities were more open to innovation and change than their predecessors. Low employment in farming also proved a positive factor and fuelled engagement in social issues. Similar phenomenon can be spot in the far South-Eastern part near Polish-Ukrainian border (former Galicia), where various nationalities and religions mixed. This area is an exception in generally passive Eastern territories since the new organisations were developing there nearly as fast as in the Western parts of the country between 2002 and 2005 (Herbst, 2008). It was subject to resettlement as well as changes of border (up to 1951) and for many years remained a rather deserted area. Today it is populated with inhabitants of similar ethnic background but very different origins or occupation, from farmers living there for generations to former businessmen who rejected the pace of city life.

Despite the vast amount of research, social activity in the countryside remains an untapped and unidentified development resource. A lot of it is undertaken in informal structures and therefore does not appear in official statistics. Some sociologists claim that this kind of social cooperation traditions are the closest to the communitarian concept of civil society (Bartkowski, 2003; Herbst, 2005) and that they foster authentic social bonds – those based on the real sense of community. Examining such form of involvement requires an approach that goes beyond comparing mere figures, seeking a more holistic description of social reality.

3 ECOMUSEUMS IN POLAND

The revival of regional identity from late 1990s was important for the development of Polish ecomuseums as they were established to preserve heritage which expresses the identity of the local communities. The two processes – increase of social activity in the countryside and emergence of first ecomuseums in Poland – concurred, with a strong sense of community and place

as a catalyst. In fact, ecomuseums are an example of a grass-root initiative where this rising social involvement and sense of identity can be realised in an institutionalised form.

So far twenty two ecomuseums were founded in Poland. When looking at their geographical distribution, two concentrations of these organisations can be noticed: in Lower Silesia (Western Poland) and Bieszczady mountains (South-Eastern border). These are the same regions that saw the highest increase in social engagement after 2002. All of these organisations were set up as part of the “Ecomuseums” programme of the Foundation Partnership for Environment, in co-operation with Krajowa Sieć Grup Partnerskich na Rzecz Zrównoważonego Rozwoju, a network of partnerships between public institutions, private companies and non-profit organisations working together towards sustainable development. Therefore they share a very deliberate commitment to supporting sustainable tourism and promoting local products. In almost every description of such initiative – in a guidebook or on a website – it is stated that ecomuseum is a (grass-root) form of protecting and presenting heritage which allows to generate income from tourism. It is thus often perceived as a method of connecting existing resources and activities related to cultural and natural heritage, under a single name and corporate identity, to be more attractive and recognizable from the outside. The internal social gains are less emphasized. Although the communities credit themselves for setting up the ecomuseum and managing it not much is said about how this process empowers them and strengthens the local identities. A few mention raising awareness about local heritage by engaging the inhabitants in its active preservation. In contrast, the social aims are more frequently stated by the meta-organizations which coordinate establishing ecomuseums. In project descriptions or reports a more academic language is used to define what and how is achieved. This is because these organisations specialise in civil society and regional development and are therefore more aware of the wider effects of these initiatives. At this point it is hard to determine if they fully transfer this knowledge to the communities as it needs to be studied empirically. However, their role appears crucial since they provided multi-faceted support along the process and created a sort of snowball effect. Every successful ecomuseum initiative in the nearby area has become and inspiration for next communities. In Lower Silesia four local LEADER+ partnerships (Gór i Pogórza Kaczawskiego, Dolina Środkowej Odry, Wrzosowa Kraina, Wzgórza Dalkowskie) applied together for funding to create nine ecomuseums while in Bieszczady mountains local NGOs, which already had experience in ecology and tourism-related projects, formed a large partnership “Zielone Bieszczady” (today known as Fundacja Bieszczadzka) to create greenways and later on – ecomuseums. In both regions a recent increase in social activity and the rising sense of identity fuelled the involvement of local communities in implementing this new model of heritage work. It has to be emphasized again that in the case of Polish ecomuseums we cannot talk about a sudden resistance to old, conservative museum forms – ecomuseums became handy solutions to economic and social shortcomings. If an opposition is formed it is usually against open-air museum and serves more as a rhetoric figure. Ecomuseums – because of their relative novelty – are described by contrasting with a more familiar practice of heritage preservation and such comparison does not necessarily attribute value to one or the other method. If not the expertise and supervision of meta-organisations ecomuseums could have not been established or would have lost their social aims and turned into mere heritage attractions which have started to mushroom across the country in the recent years. So despite the very strong emphasis on tourism functions, they do not aim to be commercial centres of entertainment.

It is also significant that most of them received financial support from regional development programmes from EU and national funds. One of them, LEADER, is a long-term EU Commission programme for the development of rural areas, especially those scarcely populated. It supports: local development initiatives modern strategies of rural areas development, innovative solutions, increasing exchange of experiences between rural areas, transnational cooperation, networking of rural areas in EU (Śpiwak, 2008). LEADER relies on bottom-up partnership initiative and innovative approach to countryside, promoting the collaboration of three sectors: non-governmental, private and public. Its core aims are: increasing the engagement of rural communities in activities contributing to the development of local areas, encouraging the use of social capital and development of human, social and economic capital. This is fulfilled by Lokalne Grupy Działania (Local Groups of Activity) – registered NGOs – which at first define a local integrated strategy of development, a basis for future projects connecting human, natural, cultural and historical resources as well as knowledge and skills of various partners. One of the

four possible topics for the strategy is “The use of natural and cultural resources, including territories belonging to Natura 2000 network of protected areas”. Many partnerships (Grupy Partnerskie) established before 2004, later became LGDs in LEADER+ programme.

The first ecomuseum in Bieszczady – “W ogniu bieszczadzkiej kuźni” in Baligród – was established in 2003 thanks to the joint efforts of Fundacja Partnerstwo dla Środowiska and Grupa Partnerska “Zielone Bieszczady” (later LEADER+ partnership “Fundacja Bieszczadzka”). Gradually, with the development of the infrastructure for tourism, next ecomuseums were set up. One of the factors that determined their success was the simultaneous creation of „Zielony Rower - Greenway Karpaty Wschodnie” – a 125 km (1300 km with extensions) pedestrian-cycling transnational route created along natural corridors such as river valleys, historical trade routes, which allows for on-site exploration of cultural and natural heritage. It connects the region, tourist attractions and local initiatives such as ecomuseums, supports development of green tourism and leisure, healthy lifestyle and green means of transport. While two decades ago Bieszczady were only attractive to hikers who would spend most of their time in the mountains, nowadays they offer a lot more on the cultural side, providing opportunities for learning about the complex history of the region and its multicultural past. Thus in this very context, ecomuseums fill in an important gap, providing an opportunity to experience heritage and living traditions in-situ – something that was not necessarily possible or easy before (especially when it comes to monuments of which only remains are left). However, it does not mean that they only serve tourists. Preparing hundreds of kilometres of cycling path, producing signage and content for the themed routes as well as maintaining them demanded a lot of engagement and cooperation between NGOs, local communities governments and businesses. The project has thus created many jobs, contributing to the improvement of quality and conditions of living in the area. But while the path is ready to use once it is built, an ecomuseum has to be managed all year round and require a constant effort from the community.

Because of the greenway origin, the ecomuseums in Bieszczady usually take the form of a route accessible to cyclists, pedestrians and on horseback:

- Ecomuseum “W ogniu bieszczadzkiej kuźni” in Baligród (established in 2003, first ecomuseum in Bieszczady) – a 100-year old forge, initiative of Baligród municipality, forgery owner and the Folk Architecture Open-Air-Museum in Sanok.
- Ecomuseum “Hole” in Dzwiniacz Dolny – a 28 km route with 16 stops: wooden housing, orthodox churches, two non-existing villages, former border with USSR, oil mine, nature reserve, bread baking festival.
- Ecomuseum “Trzy Kultury” w Lutowiskach – a 13 km route, draws on the multicultural, pre-war past when the village was populated with Ukrainians, Poles and Jews. Arboretum, ruins of synagogue and Jewish school, Jewish cemetery, orthodox graveyard, wooden housing, crafts workshops, nature sites.
- Ecomuseum “W krainie Bojków” in Zatwarnica – Chata Bojkowska, nature and history footpath „Hylaty”, dedicated to history and traditions of Zatwarnica and its surroundings. Traditional crafts workshops, (embroidery, weaving, bead-making). Initiative of local school, Lutowska municipality and Lutowska forest inspectorate.
- Ecomuseum “Bandrów” in Bandrów Narodowy – a 30 km route industrial remains of oil mines, German and Bojkow settlements, willow workshops, nature sites.
- Ecomuseum “Śladami cerkwi” in Czarna – path connecting 6 orthodox churches and nature sites
- Ecomuseums “Hoszów” and “Jałowe” – a 8 km route with 19 stops related to the history of the two villages (orthodox churches, remains of a palace, graveyard, places of battles)
- Ecomuseum “W Krainie Bobrów” in Uherce Mineralne – nature sites (beaver dams and lodges), crafts (weaving, lace making, bread baking, tissue-paper decorations making).

Although they share a lot of crafts workshops, each of them has a different speciality, with some focusing on industrial heritage while others taking advantage of rich cultural traditions to a wider extent (with the exception of “Hole” which – due to its size – covers all kinds of sites). Fundacja Bieszczadzka also plans that ecomuseums will help to promote traditional building methods and local architectural styles, making them alive again.

Thanks to the national network of partnerships (Krajowa Sieć Grup Partnerskich na Rzecz Zrównoważonego Rozwoju) coordinated by Fundacja Partnerstwo dla Środowiska, the snowball effect also reached further areas. In the case of Dolina Odry in Lower Silesia, inspiration came from ecomuseums in Lanckorona and Bieszczady. In 2005 Partnerstwo Gór i Pogórza Kaczawskiego (later „Lokalna Grupa Działania Partnerstwo Kaczawskie”) through Stowarzyszenie na Rzecz Zrównoważonego Rozwoju Gminy Mściwojów and Fundacja Ekologiczna „Zielona Akcja” initiated a project “Ekomuzea – aktywna ochrona dziedzictwa przyrodniczo-kulturowego Dolnego Śląska” (“Ecomuseums – active preservation of natural and cultural heritage of Lower Silesia”) in the areas covering the partnerships which had been established a few years before: Góry i Pogórze Kaczawskie, Dolina Środkowej Odry, Wrzosowa Kraina, Wzgórza Dalkowskie (in total 6 partnerships collaborated in the project). Four ecomuseums within Dolina Środkowej Odry Partnership (today Kraina Łęgów Odrzańskich Partnership) are located along Rowerowy Szlak Odry Greenway:

- Ecomuseum “Dziadoszan” in Wietszyce – remains of Slavonic, early Middle Ages tribe Dziadoszanie, NATURE 2000 sites.
- Ecomuseum “Dymarki” in Tarchalice – archaeological sites from late Roman times and przeworska culture (Vandals tribe), NATURE 2000 sites.
- Ecomuseum “Cysterskie” in Lubiąż – medieval monuments (cloister, st Valentine’s, church), mental hospital remains, nature reserve “Odrzyńska”.
- Ecomuseum Żegluga in Malczyce – port and shipyard, marine music festival
- Another two have been recently set up within Kraina Łęgów Odrzańskich Partnership area: Ecomuseum “Zaborowa Kraina” in Zabór Wielki and Ecomuseum “Ziemie Średzkiej” in Zakrzów. Góry i Pogórze Kaczawskie Partnership established two ecomuseums:
- Ecomuseum “Wsi Dolnośląskiej, Szkółkarstwa i Sadownictwa” in Mściwojów – preservation of agriculture and orcharding traditional methods, crafts workshops, folk and religious holidays traditions, a community museum, NATURE 2000 sites.
- Ecomuseum “Rzemiosła” in Dobków – medieval village remains, stone crosses and sculptures, metal mine remains, agriculture workshops, traditional food production (wine making, honey making), crafts (ceramics, carpentry), former volcanos, NATURE 2000.
- Only one ecomuseum was founded in the Wrzosowa Kraina Partnership area:
- Ecomuseum “Wrzosowa Kraina” in Przemków – local products (heather honey, wax candles), Easter eggs decorating workshops, NATURE 2000 sites.

Again, each ecomuseum has an original set of sites and attractions, a few of them located along Greenway cycling route, others concentrated in networks across a couple of villages. Interestingly, most of them include a NATURE 2000 reserve which means that the local governments are persistent in protecting their natural resources and supporting sustainable development. These sites are a big asset and supplement the rich cultural heritage of the region. Due to the post-war resettlements, populations from South-Eastern Poland (particularly Łemkowie) brought their traditions to the Western regions. Today, thanks to the ethnic identity revival these customs get rediscovered and become alive again in ecomuseums.

After successful introduction of museum to Lower Silesia, the partnerships and supporting NGOs decided to focus their efforts on improving collaboration, exchange of knowledge and experience on the national scale as well as encourage strategic thinking about ecomuseums as a unique Polish eco-tourism product. This is why in 2008 these organisations started a project “Naturalnie Ekomuzea” (“Naturally Ecomuseums”). It also aimed to empower existing ecomuseums in Lower Silesia and support new initiatives by enhancing the skills of ecomuseum leaders and creating a model of a tourist offer based on natural resources. The idea was that experienced ecomuseums would help the newbies in the areas of their speciality

Ecomuseums cannot be expected to resolve all economic and social problems in the rural areas of Poland but there are a lot of benefits from establishing and managing such places. They provide an additional source of income, allow for better understanding of one’s own history and traditions thus leading to more informed choices regarding the future, support practising local customs and passing them over to next generations, help to highlight certain sites by adding them to the a network with and encourage creating an integrated strategy for the development of tourism. Although many communities find this model of heritage preservation tempting because

of the expected profits from tourism (whose development contributes to the economic growth) the social goals become evident in the process and are often expressed in funding applications, which usually provide an opportunity to define precisely what is being planned and what for. Ecomuseum projects as well as their networking initiatives have been extensively financed by such organisations and programmes as: Polsko-Amerykańska Fundacja Wolności (Polish-American Freedom Foundation), Fundacja Rozwoju Demokracji Lokalnej (The Foundation in Support of Local Democracy), Polska Fundacja Dzieci i Młodzieży (Polish Children and Youth Foundation), Fundusz Inicjatyw Obywatelskich (Civic Initiatives Fund – a governmental long-term grant program managed by the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy programme), Akademia Rozwoju Filantropii (Academy for the Development of Philanthropy in Poland), PHARE 2003, LEADER, EEA Financial Mechanism and the Norwegian Financial Mechanism, and Agencja Rozwoju Regionalnego ARLEG SA (Regional Development Agency ARLEG Ltd). The profile of these grant programmes proves a strong relationship between the establishment of ecomuseums and regional development. Yet the support from governmental institutions and non-profit organisations as well as external funding do not compromise the bottom-up character of Polish ecomuseums.

4 CONCLUSIONS

The development of ecomuseums in Poland was not preceded by a 'state of widespread dissatisfaction with the old museology', a systematic rejection of traditional heritage practices such as second museum revolution. However, it would be unjust to say that this stage was simply skipped as this movement happened elsewhere in the world and its impact somehow crossed national borders. The very fact that a seemingly abstract idea of introducing ecomuseums in Poland resulted in success means that the circumstances were right, despite the lack of overt revolt beforehand. As shown above, the context for their development was built by specific political, economic and cultural factors such social traditions and their geographical differentiation. Especially in the two discussed regions, the rise of social engagement that led to establishing new non-profit organizations and forming cross-sectoral partnerships; regional development programmes dedicated to rural areas and the regional identity revival which laid foundations for sustainable tourism industry had influence on how the ecomuseums came to be and what were their purposes. The successful stories continue to encourage next communities while the meta-organisations provide them with methodology and offer support along the process, networking with similar initiatives nationally and internationally.

On a final note, it is worth mentioning that the first Polish ecomuseum (in Starachowice) opened a few years before the first multimedia museum (2004 - Warsaw Uprising Museum), seen by many as a sign of upcoming museum boom in Poland. In the following decade tens of new institutions or large refurbishments were planned and financed by the government. These developments ran parallel but in separation, following different aims and relying on different resources. It would be interesting to see if this rising ecomuseum movement, with its specific ethos and commitment, could in any way inspire the mainstream and ultimately lead to an evolution in thinking about the social role of museums.

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Ecomuseums: a way to Involve People with the cultural landscape. A case study in Turkey: Hüsamettindere Village Ecomuseum Project

V. B. Kurtuluş

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

S. D. Torre

Politecnico di Milano, Milan, Italy

ABSTRACT: The aim of this study is to understand the risks and the opportunities of an ecomuseum project on one settlement and its community through all the existing definitions and the critiques of the notion in the literature along with the selected practice in Turkey. The paper introduces the significance of people involvement and the role of the project in strengthening the identity of the communities and the importance of authenticity in a global world. Afterwards, an investigation of the formation, evolution, and outcomes of the selected case in Turkey is represented; Husamettindere Village Ecomuseum Project. The conclusion critiques the processes and the outcomes of the Husamettindere Project through questions and interferences.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Aim and methodology*

Initial point of the study is questioning an ecomuseum idea in Turkey. Tahtakuslar Village in the north Aegean and the Island of Gökçeada are the recent examples of ecomuseum initiatives. The studied case in this paper is the first ecomuseum project in the country: Husamettindere Village Ecomuseum Project in Mudurnu, Bolu.

The study intends to find out how the settlement and its community have been influenced by the ecomuseum project, considering the existing definitions and the critiques of the notion in the literature.

First of all, desk research was made to see obtainable data about the philosophy, and analysis of further examples was studied to understand the practice and the process of the concept clearly. Afterwards, several interviews were done with Funda İnandugcar- the manager of the “*Mudurnu Natural and Cultural Heritage Protection Association*”- in order to understand the features and individuality of Husamettindere Village Ecomuseum Project. Necessary documents for the study such as maps, images, and videos were provided from Emin İnandugcar who is one of the inhabitants and the member of the association. Further interviews were done with the local inhabitants to learn the traditions, the dialect, and their thoughts about the project.

All the intangibles were discovered through experiencing them with the village people. The information of the history is obtained from the books.

After collecting all these information, the basic questions during the analysis of the project were: Is the ecomuseum representing the place and the past correctly? How does the ecomuseum come to ‘truth’ about its history and daily life? How is it utilizing its cultural and natural resources with the involvement of people to achieve these aims?

1.2 *Role of local community in an ecomuseum project*

The ecomuseum philosophy is applied in different settlements in the world to conserve and honor local inhabitants, local distinctiveness, and individuality through community involvement aiming to strengthen the identity of societies. The central proposal of this philosophy is to use cultural and natural capitals sustainably and be sure that local community is responsible for them.

Specifically, what makes an ecomuseum unique is that the authority, who makes the decision of the cultural heritage depicting the uniqueness of the place, is the local society, not an external force. Regional people define the intangible and tangible heritage to be displayed for the representation of the place characteristics. (Davis, 2004)

Besides, a vital part of the concept is increasing the knowledge and the education of the community through the thought of social change via collaboration with each other. An accurate society improvement is coming from the community itself since resolutions of the particular troubles of a population depend heavily on the internal relationships and resources. An ecomuseum phenomenon encourages a community to produce a common way of thinking as a proposal for the future. The intention is to maintain a strong sense of a place with the permission of the *change*. Namely, it is the tool for community growth. Local people are the authority to decide the identification, protection, and development of the heritage resources. The local community should decide the kind of progress in contact with its objective for the future. Population empowerment and regional agreement on decision-making get better with the people involvement at all faces of development. This course of action is guided by the principles of the community involvement, management, and leadership. (Keyes, 1992)

1.3 *Reaching the authenticity*

The way a project identify a place is satisfactory with representing both tangible and intangible cultural heritage since these two concept completes each other. While tangibles like squares, buildings, furniture and costumes are important to define a settlement, the intangibles such as how people live in their houses, what their traditions are, how they earn living, briefly how their lifestyle is, makes the image of the project worthwhile and truthful.

The dynamic interaction between people and place, the creation of cultural landscape, is particularly significant for ecomuseums. There are risks for museums in imagined, shared identities, the ways that communities “remember” the past. It has always been a critical issue if museums construct and honor “authentic” or “truthful” sense of a place. It is explained by Davis and Huang (2010) that it is possible by carefully selecting the artifacts and the stories reminding visitors of significance moments in local history, or introducing the past through engaging media such as oral histories and by introducing the visitor to key elements of tangible and intangible cultural landscape.

A serious concern is to be aware of advantages and disadvantages of the preserving methods through the project. Generally, the intention of ecomuseum projects has a risk of altering to a village composed of demonstrations rather than a community living a real life by utilizing the cultural and natural resources. This is an essential issue that could misguide the project because it was verified with the investigations that the demonstrations attract numerous visitors and audiences. After a while the earnings acquired from performances could be appealing and local people would become actors and actresses.

Therefore, an ecomuseum is a project aiming “*authenticity*” of a cultural landscape through involvement and agreement of local people plus living in today with the local distinctive features of the place: both tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

2 HÜSAMETTİNDERE VILLAGE ECOMUSEUM PROJECT

Husamettindere village is located in western town of the Black Sea; Bolu linked to the province of Mudurnu. It is situated between valleys of Hisar and Kulaklı hills, 20 km away from Mudurnu. (Husamettindere Koyu Ekomuzesi, 2010)

2.1 Formation of the ecomuseum

2.1.1 Motives

The major reasons of choosing Husamettindere Village for an ecomuseum project are that not only it housed numerous civilizations but also it has an important history and cultural heritage as well as traditional lifestyle of the local people. Besides, it has various valued vegetation such as blackberry, cranberry and especially rosehip. Moreover, it is close to two essential cities of Turkey; Ankara and Istanbul.



Figure 1: Mudurnu, Turkey

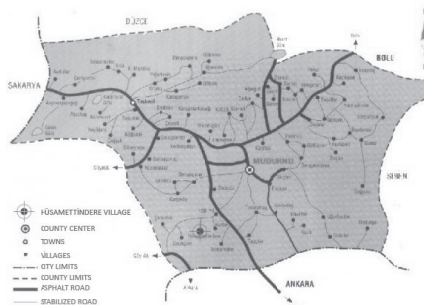


Figure 2: Husamettindere Village, Mudurnu

The idea of establishing an ecomuseum in Turkey was initiated by Tunca Bokesoy. Abandoned houses in the settlement were put up for sale in Husamettindere Village when he was on a journey in Mudurnu. A group of people including him bought 10 houses with the intention of transferring them to another land, however at the end it is decided to restore the houses in their original settlement. This new community started to introduce and spread the idea of the ecomuseum project.

A better perception of the ecomuseum idea was mentioned by Tunca Bokesoy after a conference on Skansen museums, that Husamettindere Village Ecomuseum Project is not like Skansen museums, it is not intended to be a demonstration of life.

Twenty-four houses have been purchased until today by the new community. One of the houses have restored with the aim of arranging a cultural museum.

2.1.2 Objectives

The primary aim is to increase the awareness and the income levels of the inhabitants. The latest owners of the houses are reunited under *Natural and Cultural Heritage Protection Association*. The Association was established considering the needs of raising knowledge of general public about the importance of the subject and their responsibilities towards cultural and natural heritage. This association seeks to serve cultural and natural values through providing sustainability of traditions, conserving authentic Anatolian houses, restoring and opening them into use, finding solutions for damaged natural and cultural assets that organization or individual needs, national or international civil initiatives, funding agencies by developing partnerships with Turkey's cultural and natural heritage-related projects, creating public awareness of civil society to produce and attract the attention of relevant authorities for organizing activities. (Husamettindere Köyü Ekomüzesi, 2010)

Arranging social activities such as; providing sustainability of forgotten customs and traditions, revitalization of the middle and folkloric games of the region, agricultural and animal projects, the proper way of consumption, recycling and activities that can be done with local people and visitors; table tennis, sports activities, crafts, presentation of traditional natural products is the first attempt. (Husamettindere Köyü Ekomüzesi, 2010)

Recently, the idea of reorganizing the traditional laundry room is being considered in order to keep the traditional cultural values alive as well as reclamation of unused barn to bring new uses by creating sports fields.



Figure 3: Before the restoration (Husamettindere Ekomuzesi, 2010)



Figure 4: After the restoration (Husamettindere Ekomüzesi, 2010)

2.2 Evolution of the ecomuseum – safeguarding the landscape heritage

Despite the favorable attempts for the development of the project, the only interference that keeps it from being an authorized ecomuseum is the absence of a registered, unique characteristic of the place. The Natural and Cultural Heritage Protection Association is aware of it and looking for a solution.

2.2.1 Tangibles

The abounded houses were interfered in a sensitive way during the restoration process with the purpose of providing the most faithful outcome. However, some of the houses were deeply damaged that it was quite challenging to assume the essential materials and methods. The two different conditions of a house before and after the restoration can be seen in Figures 3 and 4.



Figure 5: An interior view from a regular house (Husamettindere Ekomuzesi, 2010)



Figure 6: An interior view from a regular house (Husamettindere Ekomuzesi, 2010)

The roads of the village are constantly affected from rain or snow since they are made of soil. This subject is a complication among new community that Funda Inandugcar defends that the road needs to be repaired and improved while Tunca Bokesoy says it should remain as it is in terms of conserving the identity of the village.

2.2.2 Intangibles

The intangible heritage in Husamettindere Village includes oral traditions, social practices, festive events, the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.

Local economy is based on agriculture and breeding in the village. Cultivation of blackberry, cranberry, rosehip as well as cow and goat breeding is the most common way of earning money. A specific knowledge and definitive abilities are required both for agriculture and breeding.

It was complicated for two populations to communicate at the beginning because of the typical dialect of the village people which is one of the significant intangible heritage.

Hacet Holiday is a traditional event that local people comes together for the dinner every 13th of July. A notable amount of money is gathered for the organization along one week.

A well-known inhabitant named Pakize is considered as a living heritage since she is telling stories about village life with traditional dialect.

The rich history of the site, especially during of Independence War is the cultural heritage that generates the uniqueness of the place.

Although Mudurnu region has traces of many civilizations since ancient times, there isn't an obvious information about them. History of Mudurnu needs to be considered in the framework of the history of the Anatolia Thrace and Bithynia (Bursa-Izmit-Bolu) region that is in the middle of important commercial and military roads.

The first known settlements in Bithynia in 5000BC were made by Prohitler. Subsequently, the Phrygians, Lydians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines established sovereignty that the region carries the traces of those civilizations. (Husamettindere Koyu Ekomuzesi, 2010)

The first Turkmen settlements in the neighborhood of Sakarya, Eskisehir, Bolu and Mudurnu begins after the Oguz invasions towards Anatolia in the period of Suleyman Shah in 1078. Seljuk sovereignty ends with the first crusade and the region re-enters the control of Byzantines.



Figure 7: Views from the village (Hüsamettindere Ekomüzesi, 2010)



Figure 8: Views from the village (Hüsamettindere Ekomüzesi, 2010)

Mudurnu have been included to the Ottoman Empire by Samsa Sergeant in 1307. In the Ottoman period, the lumber and the needle produced had been exported around the world. (Husamettindere Koyu Ekomuzesi, 2010)

Through history, with its vibrant economy, the host population, education, and culture, Mudurnu had made important contributions to the establishment of Turkish Republic and was the castle of Turkish Revolutionaries while there was a rebellion during the Independence War. (Husamettindere Koyu Ekomuzesi, 2010)

Thanks to the collaboration with local people all intangibles such as skills, oral history and living people heritage have been recorded. This is a common method that brings a common saving problem since the digital utensil is affected badly from external factors kind of heat, cold, or water. If it (such as an external disk) breaks down, all the information would disappear. Hence, the internet is considered as the least problematic way to store, besides it is the easiest and fastest way to provide access to the other people. On the other hand, there are still threats for the information of disappearing. All these videos and audios are uploaded the video archive of website and the facebook page of the ecomuseum.

2.3 *Capacity building (adaptation of the societies)*

Both new population and the village people are intended to be adapted to the project. New group of people are not present in the village permanently, except holiday and weekends. Conversely, old group of people lives in the village since their birth. Adaptation of these two different groups which have different lifestyles and traditions is a tough course of action.

Funda Inandugcar, the head of the Association and owner of one of the houses states that it had been a hard process to integrate the new community with the old community. The village people were overreacting and didn't want to live with their new neighbors at the beginning, because they knew that the new group was there to make a change. Therefore, new group is constantly connecting with the village people and they are trying to adapt them to the idea of the project. It was hard for the new inhabitants coming from big cities to adapt the village lifestyle, either.

Emin Inandugcar, one of the new inhabitants, tells that the village people and the new community have socialized and united for the last three years. Recently, some people of the new group support the village girls financially to study and the village people are cooking traditional food for the new group. New community modify their behavior in the village with respect of "the sense of the place". Funda Inandugcar declares that they adapt themselves to the place including their clothes.

The project activists are in contact with the headman of the village and the elders delegation in order to gain the attention of the government.

An advertisement video was prepared and spread through internet for the promotion of the project by Emin Inandugcar. As well as, a website of the Husametindere Ecomuseum was arranged by Funda Inandugcar.

Local people, native and foreign tourists as well as of Yıldız Technical University students are arranging various activities for strengthening the adaptation of the people to the project.

Interviews with district government were done except it was not effective to increase the interest. The number of the participants and volunteers are quite low as it is a new project and advertising is weak. Even though the process is pretty slow, the number of participants is increasing each passing day. Funda Inandugcar declares that "We are telling about the project everywhere and everyone we thought that interested in the project and we are growing as a chain."

Recently, well-known specialists on ecomuseum concept came from England and Italy to visit the village. Meetings and discussions were done for the improvement of the project that motivate the idea of introducing the project to the tourists after some refinement of the village. (such as restoration of the houses, and addition of ornamentation signs).

2.4 *Authenticity*

It is open to discussion if the new community is an interference or assistance for the area to represent the spirit of the place. Therefore, how close does Husametindere Ecomuseum Project come to "truth" about its history and daily life? Although many of its inhabitants are village people, now there is a new community having half of the houses in the village. Thinking the daily life of the local people without the new ones, it would be surely different in various ways. Is the ecomuseum representing the place and the past correctly?

3 CONCLUSIONS

3.1 *Formation of the ecomuseum*

The projects aims to adapt the old village life with present life without any concern of visitors and Husametindere hasn't yet achieved to motivate the supervision by means of the project.

Besides, Husametindere Village Ecomuseum Project needs a further step to be a certificated "museum" and to be distinguished from the other Ecomuseums which defines one unique, registered characteristic of the place.

3.2 Evolution of the ecomuseum

Husametindere Village Ecomuseum Project can be considered from two different points of view; conservation of landscape and conservation of oral traditions, social practices, festivals, the knowledge and the skills.

Firstly, despite the favorable attempts, the conservation of the landscape and the houses were not achieved in a proper way because the required information for the material and technique couldn't be reached.

On the other hand, conservation of intangible heritage contributes to social unity, helps two different communities to feel part of one community by promoting the sense of belonging and responsibility.

3.3 Community building

Community building requires a long process, especially in this project. There are two different groups of people with different lifestyles expecting to be adapted within the project.

In this sense, it is questionable if the existence of new inhabitants is consistent with the philosophy of ecomuseum. 25 of 65 households belong to new group that comes from big cities, mostly in Istanbul. Although local people are living there all along, new inhabitants are coming only in holidays. They are using the houses as a place to rest.

It is easy to prejudge the project with just looking to the visible conditions like restored houses. The purchased houses are seemed to be isolated from the village people and the settlement itself. Since the new owners have other houses in big cities generally in Istanbul or Ankara, they do not live in the village all the time. They are coming just for the holidays to rest. Looking to this side of the project for a minute, it is possible to think that new owners have neutered the daily life of the village and it doesn't seem to be an ecomuseum project.

Nevertheless, the project can be considered from a further point of view. It has brought opportunities for two groups of people. New community can experience the rural life through its details by living with local people. It is an occasion also for the local people as newcomers support the education of girls, assist a number of technical and technological innovations and inform local people in the course of conversations and meetings. Both sides have benefits of this condition as well as they are trying to adapt each other.

3.4 Authenticity

Making an allowance for all, including the misleading projects representing the demonstration of life; the question is if an accurate truth is necessary?

For an ecomuseum, as well as reflecting today is more essential rather than reflecting past and the place in order to represent the identity of the place. Considering is idea, new community is the truth of today, and with the old community they represent today, past and the place together.

In this sense, Husametindere case offers a new expression of ecomuseum concept by using the cultural heritage as a tool of "social inclusion". The renovated houses would be individual villas without any relationship with the old community and settlement, unless there was an ecomuseum project. It is questionable if the ecomuseum has been achieved democratization, authenticity or sustainable development in all faces. However, it has grounded a connection between the new community, cultural landscape and the old community.

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APPENDICES

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ANALYSIS

1. Geographical Territory
2. Establishment date of the Ecomuseum
3. Formation of the Ecomuseum
 - a. History: a brief information about the history
 - b. Motive: How did the idea of establishing an ecomuseum rise?
 - c. Objective: Primary and Secondary objectives
 - i. Basic aims of the ecomuseum
 - ii. General intentions of ecomuseum
4. Evolution of the Ecomuseum - Safeguarding Landscape Heritage
 - a. What is unique about the place? Is there a characteristic of the place that is registered by the government? What is the feature that makes the place a "museum"?
5. Authenticity: Tangibles vs. Intangibles
 - a. Tangibles
 - i. Landscape and environmental resource, Architectural and cultural sites
 - b. Intangibles
 - i. Legislation:

1. Is there any legislation that the ecomuseum country conform about intangible cultural heritage?
2. Is there any foundation or organization that responsible about intangible cultural heritage linked to ecomuseum?
- ii. Traditions
 1. What are the existing intangibles in the ecomuseum?
 2. How does the ecomuseum discover/reach the information about the intangibles?
 3. What kind instruments does the ecomuseum use for safeguarding the intangibles? How do the ecomuseum archive the documentation about intangibles?
- iii. Capacity Building – Adaptation of the Society
 1. How do the ecomuseum raise the awareness of local, international and international levels people of the intangible cultural heritage importance? How do the ecomuseum encourage collaboration with local people, artists, writers and musicians. Is there any intangibles or tangibles created or modified by the local people and volunteers after the establishment of the ecomuseum?
 2. The management of the ecomuseum
- c. Financial support & Staff
 - i. Government, association, the employees and the volunteers
- d. Core activities
 - i. Accommodation, workshops, ecomuseum trips
- e. Visitors
 - i. Number of the visitors, kind of visitors
6. The outcomes of the Ecomuseum
 - a. The outcomes considering achievement of landscape preservation, raising awareness and authenticity.

Performing memories and place branding in small Tuscan communities

M. G. Lerario

Museologist, Florence, Italy

ABSTRACT: In Italy, historical cradle of City Councils, villages clearly tend to differentiate one another by highlighting their own distinct characteristics. The purposes of this tendency are at the same time political, economical and social; they are deeply rooted and strongly performed. The need to 'mark', distinguish places from others is an intense activity, really well known as a way of local marketing (Ashworth and Kavaratzis 2010). Local based museums try to emphasize on collective and individual memories, emotional or nostalgic, all together with ancient and recent glories. The Museum of Local Memories in Cerreto Guidi, recently inaugurated near Florence, is a good case in point. I'm focusing on the evolution and perspectives of the project.

1 LOCATION AND CONTEXT

1.1 *Museum planning: comparing points of view*

Nowadays, ecomuseums are more numerous; also they are more accessible than ever before. I am of the opinion that they are further more resonant with common life. Observing many museums in little villages, through Tuscany, makes me wonder: how can the citizens' pride match the local authorities' aims? Could a heritage project evolve into a community-based project? Which factors affect sustainability and duration of such kind of projects? In other words, could civic museums link to the ecomuseum's philosophy, setting the communities at the heart of the decision-making? Which are the vehicles of a greater community pride?

I have participated as the museologist-curator for the group who won the bid for the realization of the Museum of Local Memories in Cerreto Guidi, a museum near to the Florentine area and right in the middle of Tuscany, Italy. I shared views and estimates with the anthropologist-curator Paolo De Simonis, the architect Giancarlo Lombardi, and the team of *Space*, the information technology company, which handled the realization of the new museum. Many locals have contributed to the project; among them the mayor Carlo Tempesti, and the current director, Marco Folin, who have been actively involved in the curatorial issues.

Local authorities declared their own mission in the bid document: the dissemination of history and traditions focused on the territory with a particular reference to the first half of Nineteenth Century, and the tragic massacre that took place in August 1944, during the Second World War. The bid required multimedia and interactive tools and methods that had to be oriented towards education.

The massacre, already analyzed in several important researches and publications (De Simonis 2004; Folin 2005), has already been the focus of a survey project, supported by a consortium of

local authorities, led by Cerreto Guidi from 1996 to 1999. Marco Folin, Lorenzo Garzella and Filippo Macelloni directed the video document: *Ecce homini, memories of a massacre*, a DVD released in 1999. The events of the past are assumed as the starting point to rethink the present: we carry history within us, in all aspects of life, even if we are only partially aware. A critical discussion about the past rose, the current expectations and the use of memories are case in point (Clemente and Dei 2005), and moreover local authorities are deeply involved to chart a cultural future landscape. A growing number of memorial plaques are shaping the landscape with the monumental presence of names and dates connected with the cruel atrocities that took place during the Second World War: the unforgettable August 23rd 1944, that awful day when 176 people, mostly children, women, and old men were killed.

The painful memory has worked as a catalyst for us to reflect together throughout different points of view: some were still waiting for justice, some others were wondering about the effects of this shocking events in the memories and lives of those who have survived, and how it could affect the whole community and the citizens' identity. After months of discussions, we had the clear understanding and were planning a very engaging and challenging project, embracing the idea of safeguarding human rights making a deep analysis of a specific area.

The research campaign kept going, and it gave us the opportunity to collect many kinds of documents, family photos, clippings, objects, and most of all stories. Every interview has been a plunge in a personal way of that told, with gestures, words and dialects, this appeared outstanding to us. The practice of gathering such materials, on the one hand facilitated an agreement in the curatorial choices, on the other refreshed the framework planning, opening the field to new stakeholders such as associations' attendants, spontaneous collectors, and new farmers. Interconnections appeared more and more significant to draw a map of interests inside the current *Padule* area, which is actually searching for a lively identity, connecting itself somehow to their past and glorious times.

The Cerreto Guidi Museum of Local Memory is located on the ground floor commercial premises of a building in the middle of town, a space that once was used as a movie theatre. The planning of the museum exhibit space evolved into an accordion shaped permanent exhibition: images, voices and videos are taking place around a vibrant core; inside a closed space two short videos on a fog screen question us about the tragic memories and community's identity.

The museum welcomes visitors, and declares its aim: Mu.Me.Loc. Museum of local memory, voices and images of people and communities through time and around a specific date: August 23rd, 1944 (Fig. 1.1).

The museum's logo comes out of the letters forming the name of the museum; it highlights the 'me' as the central core that stretches in a curved line that recalls the shape of a strand of grass typical of the swamps. Meanwhile, the attention is centred on the personal pronoun, the individual, integrated into a 'genealogical community' (de Varine, 1969), where everyone shares a positive lasting legacy.



Figure 1.1 Welcome: the glass door, Cerreto Guidi, Florence, Italy. (Photo: Arch. Giancarlo Lombardi)

1.2 *Stopping time: shocking memories and video as retrieve*

The museum's layout defines a space in which perceptual elements predominate: the lines lead the graphical content reproduce the central form of the logo; the floor gathers the colors of the swamp; local production, coming from the river and from the land, are materialized, and some objects are there for the audience to handle. A plurality of chasing stories, from past to present events or vice versa, according to where you enter from, induce reflective moments, and offer the option of leaving a written record of the spectator's impressions. The circular path follows chronological and thematic lines, it is held through documents and stories, with interactive multimedia presentations and graphic design embedded in a set to highlight the network's relationship and connecting to the town, countryside and marshes, as permanent elements still recognizable along the path of continuous changes, within centuries. The stories unfold around the central hall; instead inside the same 'nucleus' videos express emotions and thoughts about the tragic massacre. Legal documents and historical narratives feed the expectation of redemption and open a discussion regarding the aftermaths of the slaughter.

In August 2010, the City of Cerreto Guidi hosted the annual commemoration, which each year takes place in a different locality, the places involved in this commemorative event are: Fucecchio, Querce and Massarella, Ponte Buggianese, Castelmartini (Cerreto Guidi), Cintolese (Monsummano), Stabbia (Cerreto Guidi). The program, aimed to value the witnesses, as well as the historical contributions and reports on the judicial process, announced the opening of the new museum. The intend of the mayor and the working staff, is to enable a filmed testimony from 1996 to 2010: images of local history, that identify a specific condition, and out of this, create connections with visitors from near and afar. The appreciation of each story enriches the community, inviting to leave other stories, and may encourage an exchange, using the experience of the painful events as starting points for communication (Fig. 1.2). What comes out of these memory talks indicates that traumatic events have the ability to not only end the lives of many but also to affect the emotional lives of those who have survived. Younger generations begin discussions and ask questions about the information they have just received about such terrible events; instead parents and relatives have been careful to protect them from such anxious memories.



Figure 1.2 Video telling. (Photo: Arch. Giancarlo Lombardi)

The effect of violence is referred like the halt, shocking stop of everything, even thought, even most, breath: a standstill of consciousness. Inside the museum, around the central hall, graphic compositions recall bright impressions from the writings of Giangiacomo Micheletti, a quite unknown writer (first issued in 1967) who lived in the area during the August 1944. Surveys, memories, and talks about Nazi German massacres and similar events have in common the focus on suffering images as the elected way of retrieve. Movies and documentaries serve as starting points to arise discussions on the atrocities of the Second World War; giving mostly historical interpretations from different points of view. The *Miracle at Saint Anna* by Spike Lee (2008), is just one of most popular movies, inspired by a well-known massacre (Rovatti 2004; Clemente and Dei 2005). Sant'Anna di Stazzema, surrounded by green mountains, in the North of Tuscany, housed a museum dedicated to anguish memory, opened in the fall of 1982. On September 1991, it was transformed in the Historical Museum of the Resistance in Tuscany, giving a specific identity to the whole enterprise.

The ideal that inspired the planning of the Cerreto Guidi museum has been to highlight the processes of collective memory, and its subjective performances. However, involving local people with their memory performance process brings this experience close to 'museums of society' (see Vaillard 1993), and open the museum to a large opportunity of define itself through inclusive practices (Karp *et al.*, 1995; Maggi 2005; Magi 2009).

2 LANDSCAPE LAYOUT AND HERITAGE PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Thematic routes

Fucecchio's Wetlands are well known for naturalistic values. They cover an area of about 1,800 hectares, divided between the Provinces of Pistoia and Florence. In spite of them being drastically reduced in comparison to the ancient lake-marshes, which once covered most of the southern Valdinievole, today they represent Italy's largest inland marsh (Fig. 2.1). The area is situated nearby the Municipalities of Larciano, Ponte Buggianese and Fucecchio. The triangular basin lays in the Valdinievole, south of the Pistoiese Apennines, between Montalbano and the Cerbaian Hills, which are areas of high touristic interest. The only water stream coming from the Marshes, the Usciana Canal runs more or less parallel to the River Arno for 18 kilometers and

flows into the nearby Montecalvoli (Pisa). The Padule di Fucecchio's Natural Reserve is equipped with structures for visitors, including an observatory, made out of one of the characteristics Marsh cabins that have been transformed for this purpose.

The Centre for Research, Documentation and Promotion of the *Padule* represents a point of reference for the direct knowledge of the territory. The objectives of the association are related to the promotion, preservation and enhancement of the *Padule*, Sibolla Lake and other areas of northern Tuscany. The Laboratory for Environmental Education organizes guided tours, aimed at both school classes and groups of adults, continuing education and courses for teachers, and also visits (<http://www.zoneumidetoscane.it/accessibilita/files/welcome.html>). This institution is part of the growing presence of associations and clubs that keep the interests on natural history alive, often animated by a spirit of voluntary work, connected or alternative to the official promotion ways which run touristic information centres connected with local authorities.

By the other hand, there are traditional touristic proposals: The circuit of the green lands of the Renaissance and museum system with well-preserved historic sites and artworks dating from the period of the Italian Renaissance. Cerreto Guidi is one of the municipalities involved, with Capraia-Limite, Empoli, Fucecchio, Montelupo Fiorentino and Vinci. Most of its consortiums and touristic proposals are focused on historical highlights such as the 'Leonardo da Vinci hill's' standpoint, following a traditional idea of interests: architecture, history, wine, olive oil and food, and the recognizable beauty of the cluster of Montalbano hill's that gradually reach the Arno valley, branch off from the Tuscan-Emilia Apennines, separating the Pistoia-Florence plain from the Nievole valley. Castles and fortified hamlets, those specially numerous towards the Valdinievole, and parishes churches are typical architectures on the eastern slope, towards Pistoia. Medician Villas are also included in thematic touristic attraction routes; they used to serve as Medician residencies during the hunting seasons and were important centres of agricultural administration of the Medician estates in the Valdinievole.

Actually, the touristic paths consist of 'art and nature, walks and excursions', underlining the historical heritage and featuring prominent productions. Economic changes are largely silenced and excluded from these authoritative representations; there are few and marginal venues dedicated to the large audience and focused on typical manufacturing, which have been actually demised during the last decades. Processing of marsh plants for the production of common objects, but also fishing, agriculture, construction and furniture, developed during centuries (see Bartolini 2010), that enriched the area, mainly after World War II, and until the Nineties, when the globalization process dramatically affected the local economy.

The preliminary survey that was organized for the planning of the Mu.Me.Loc., has been especially interesting because it has unveiled people's anxieties about the future, many people share stories about the decades before globalization impact in their social and economic lives, and they are still concerned and wondering about the economic changes and the effects of pollution, which are noticeable to them during their everyday activities. These concerns don't touch the younger populations, which are mainly involved in sports and festival venues, and are detached from the historical heritage.

Part of the museum's mission is to become a space for the images and voices of the diverse and disparate elements that constitute citizenship; at the same time it is a challenging occasion to create awareness, involving the local authorities (Sacco 2001; Scavi 2002; de Varine 2005). Sometimes, community-based practices overlap official touristic routes, activating a deep process of identity evolution (Davis and Borrelli 2012).

On the other hand, an interesting example in Tuscany is the *Ecomuseum of Casentino*, founded in 1998 (<http://www.casentino.toscana.it/ecomuseo/>) and connected with the national network *Mondi locali*, founded in 2007 (<http://www.casentino.toscana.it/ecomuseo/>) as the Italian branch of 'Local Worlds', founded in 2005. The reasons for creating these networks differ from case to case, but a common factor is the awareness and the importance given to the mutual and intense exchange of experiences. This network is a community of practice of eco-museums, namely a set of individuals held together by what they do in common rather than the will to adhere to certain programmatic platforms or set of principles (see Engström 1985; Davis 1999; Riva 2008). In particular, the Casentino network features cultural experiences and venues, popular in the Valley, in close contact with local communities. The fifteen antennas contribute to achieve the same mission: the protection and enhancement of the spatial component in its environmental, historical, cultural, and ethnographic production. Annually, with the active participa-

tion and involvement of the inhabitants, the Ecomuseum supports research, educational projects, cultural and festive occasions, in order to foster a sense of belonging and contributing to local development. This kind of projects suits self-evaluation practices, which are a result of the Istituto Ricerche Economico Sociali (IRES), based in the region of Piemonte (Maggi 2003) and connecting local actions throughout Italy, its website encourages interaction among different experiences and provides an up-to-date picture of ecomuseums evolution.



Figure 2.1 Padule typical views. (Photo: Space, IT company)

2.2 *The telling attitude: safeguarding intangible heritage*

Community members, with their contemporary needs, are the natural audience of these scenarios and will also take an active part of the museum. Theories and practices could start to get in touch with the philosophy of eco-museums that we see spreading in many regions and with different modulations, all over the planet (Davis, 2011). Specifically, the new museum of Cerreto Guidi, presents the ideal conditions to trigger a network of cultural offer and research. Privileged partners in this network are the libraries and the local archives, but also private archives, associations aggregated in the area that will gain more visibility, join forces, spread out new materials, enhancing what they already own and promoting their new acquisitions.

Transcriptions of interviews and historical photos are spread apart in different archives and public libraries, which gather a small portion of a large body of documents. Somehow, private collectors have safeguarded heterogeneous materials, which are quite interesting for a research means. The local network is dealing with naturalistic interests, noble lineage of personal pride, artistic and especially photographic heritage, with a wide sense of distinctiveness held in Tuscany's historical greatness and its local peculiarities.

At the moment the museum may constitute a starting point. The hall in the centre of the museum's building is a flexible environment: meeting and at the same time video projections room; the laboratory located in a mezzanine floor is dedicated to workshops and activities with schools. Besides its structure, the museum is a relevant element for the community: visitors are invited to get involved, to make observations, to express their expectations.

The distinct trait of this project is the amount and variety of people, images and voices recorded during two decades that have focused on the features of the area, and mainly the power given through the process of being able to perform by sharing the tales of particular events. The acknowledgment of the process could define a new way of mirroring the contemporary history and social evolution, and at the same time could empower people pointing out the connections with the places where they have been living (Davis 1999).

An analogous process is using writing practices, specifically the Pieve Santo Stefano village, near Arezzo, is another important case of study as a foundation defined as a house of private memories. The archive, conceived and founded by Saverio Tutino, increases every year by at least another one hundred and fifty journals that arrive from the entries of a contest created for this purpose (<http://www.archiviodiari.it/>).

On the other hand, the use of multimedia could be an effective way of archive oral and visual history (Monaci 2005), to safe and use part of the flow memories activated through the practice of telling. A museum, active in this direction, clearly relates to wider changes: it may call for an extensive participatory network in an area with recognizable features, but also attract people from the outside (Fig. 2.2).

To achieve the ecomuseum's philosophy and to profit from its advantages, such as regional development activities, requires a change of framework. There are some very useful aspects; first of all the location has to be taken into great consideration, as well as its emotional connection with the inhabitants of the Padule. The groups dedicated to the environment, local events and memories may ask for a planning of regional development, which is not about putting together a map showing scattered sites. The network should be self supported, the organization in such projects should have a democratic order, instead of a hierarchy, and only this type of administration may establish the strong roots necessary for its development. The empowerment of the awareness and enthusiasm of the locals serves as an excellent ground for social training. A sum of partners must carry out tangible and intangible heritage at the local level to function as an Ecomuseum (Riva 2008).

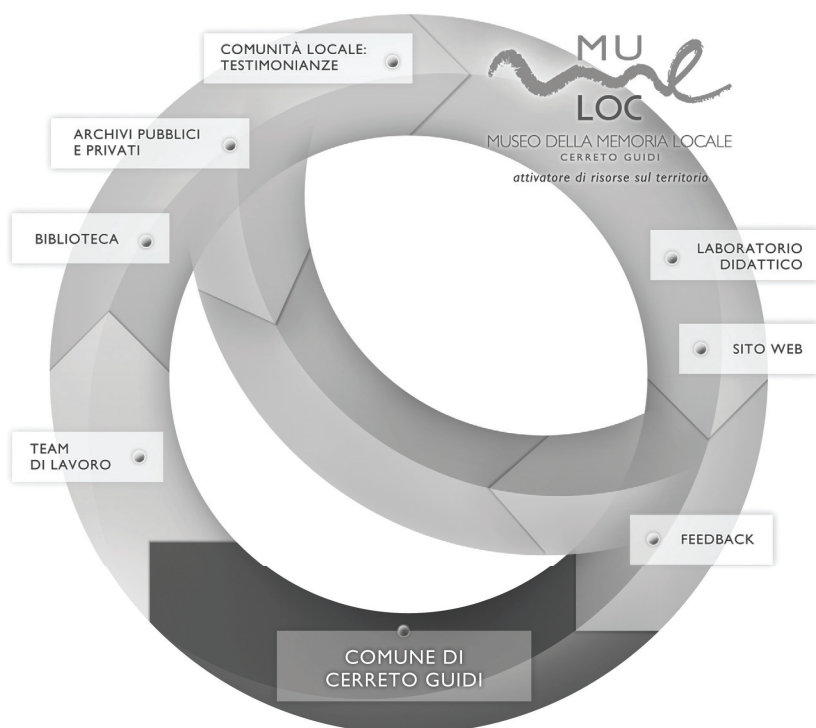


Figure 2.2 Museum activities flow planning. (Graphic design M. Di Sandro by Space, IT company)

3 CONCLUSIONS

Under the current Italian law, the town is still the centre of social life of the individual. The ecomuseum's model provides a breakthrough in the process of managing cultural heritage in local scale. At its bases, one of the most effective definition compares an Ecomuseum with a classic museum: essentially a cultural process, identified with a community, on a territory, using the common heritage as a resource for development, as opposed to the more classical museum, an institution characterised by a collection, in a building, for a public of visitors (de Varine, 1996).

Nowadays, the area of Northern Tuscany has got numerous praiseworthy activities. These activities are, in its most part, naturalistic networks dedicated to the Wetlands of Northern Tuscany, focused on the attitude to preserve and exploit environmental safeguarding, considering communities needs and crafts. Local artisans are invited to share their crafts orally, such performance brings many possibilities for their empowerment, and should be well used as a system to enhance, preserve and highlight the area.

The human interaction throughout the whole process, the relationship between the land and the people and all that can come out of the sharing experience, enriches the museum's contents. The local museum is fed by the aid of local informers that share their own human and social identity; also administrators and visitors affect the objectives of research and conservation, preparation and dissemination.

During this process both tangible and intangible heritage found in the changing urban centres and countryside, contribute to the creation of 'cultural landscapes' (World Heritage Convention, 1992), which, in turn, define several maps of interest, which could be linked to responsible tourism, such that would aim to the exploration of performances still untouched by usual touristic networks.

The most important aspect of the museum is the goal to become an important element for the development of the territory. The museum (structure, collaborators and staff), aims to be seen as a resource, and as an appealing institution able to call for and inspire creative strategic changes and attract local stakeholders towards the further development of the area. Working as an active archive of memory, dynamically stimulating the sharing of stories that conform the common past of the people of the area, which inspires the beginning of new things to come.

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Ecomuseum Bergslagen in progress

C. Lindeqvist

Ecomuseum Bergslagen, Ludvika, Sweden

ABSTRACT: Ecomuseum Bergslagen is a 61 site network in the middle of Sweden since 1986 and a foundation since 1990. Included in the network are seven municipalities in two counties Dalarna and Västmanland and the two county museums. In the vast ecomuseum area with rich natural resources an iron industry has developed during more than 1000 years shaping an industrial landscape, a social structure, a way of living, a local identity. Industrial and economic history have occupied Ecomuseum Bergslagen since start. A mouvement towards natural sciences, nature and ecology is ongoing. The connections Nature-Culture are to be more examined and known to locals and visitors. Bergslagen is a fine example of an ice-age landscape waiting to be explored. A network of natural scientists can support the development towards geology, geo-tourism, nature interpretation and nature-culture activities.

1 ECOMUSEUM BERGSLAGEN FACTS

The Ecomuseum Bergslagen, www.ekomuseum.se, is a 61 site network, that has stretched through Dalarna and Västmanland since 1986 and is a foundation since 1990. It consists of seven municipalities in two counties working together with tourism based on the rich history of iron making. Included in the network are two museums: The Dalarna and Västmanland county museums, www.dalarnasmuseum.se and www.vastmanlandslansmuseum.se.

Bergslagen is a vast district in the middle of Sweden without distinct borders and with rich natural resources: woods, lakes and running waters, an extremely mineral-rich ground – excellent conditions for developing a metal industry. Important metals in early times (1000 AD) were copper, silver and iron and iron-making started already some hundred years BC.

2 HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

The last Ice Age came to an end in Sweden about 10,000 years ago. Above our heads in Bergslagen there was during this long icy period of 80-100,000 years a 3 km coating of slowly moving ice, which caused an enormous heavy pressure on the landscape below, pressing down the ground and moving around a good piece of the ground surface. When the ice finally started melting, large and fast ice rivers influenced the landscape even more. The waters transported pieces of rocks, stones, sand and clay materials all over the land and created the ground on which we now walk and use. The waters also cleaned, polished and made primary rocks visible here and there in the landscape. A gigantic lake was formed by the melting ice and sometimes icebergs stranded and left deep pits in the ground after melting, pits still to be seen as they were surrounded by sand. And the ground rose very slow, free from the heavy icy burden and it still

does, more in the north and less in the south. Bergslagen was free from the ice about 9 000 years ago and half of the land were under water. In such a landscape with lots of traces from the inland ice our ecomuseum is situated. Here and there in the ecomuseum you can at some spots follow the highest level of the ice lake, today circa 175 m above the sea. Above the old coastline nature has a typical appearance, a ground of moraine. Under the old coastline and along the old ice rivers there are sediments of sand and clay, which formed the perfect ground for agriculture later on. In Riddarhyttan area there are plenty of still visible and evident traces from the inland ice, which make this landscape attractive for geologists and is also often used for geological excursions for students and researchers. (Yrgård, 1990)

After the ice period and when the elevation of ground started, nature invaded the lands with birch-trees at first, then pine-trees and animals (reindeer, elk and in fact also one or two still living mammoths). Huntsmen followed the ice boarder looking for possibilities to survive some thousand years before the first signs of agriculture showed up, and this was in southern Sweden, in Skåne close to Denmark circa 6000 years ago. At the same time people lived in highly developed cultures around the Mediterranean Sea since long times. In this perspective Sweden has a very young history. The real colonization of the Bergslagen area started during the younger Iron Age, in 800-900 AD (Viking Age).

But already around 800 BC people passed by the woods of Riddarhyttan following the rivers and streams. They probably saw the reddish waters, red from iron oxide, and found concentrated red soil deposits caused by the waters along the rapids, a formation that is a constantly ongoing process. Red soil has a high content of iron ochres. People obviously understood that iron-making was possible and they also seem to have knowledge how to extract iron out of the red soil. This knowledge came from the Middle East, where iron was traded already around 1 600 years BC. This site in the woods of Riddarhyttan was discovered in the seventies and excavated in the eighties. The excavations showed traces of several primitive blast furnaces in the ground dated to 800-700 BC with the ^{14}C -method. This simple production of iron tools for personal needs on the site continued for circa 1000 years, until two hundred years AD. This is one of the first found iron-making sites in Sweden and a magic site in Ecomuseum Bergslagen, called "Röda Jorden" (the red soil). (af Geijerstam & Nisser, 2011; Lindeqvist & Hägerman, 2010)

People who passed by Bergslagen, must in time have realized that here were natural resources to exploit, not only iron rich soil but also lake and bog ore were later used to produce iron in simple small-scale furnaces in the ground. This can be seen at Dunshammar, a link between the first red soil site and the earliest mining fields in Norberg. By the lake several primitive furnaces have been found and excavations have taken place twice, 1969-70 and 1985. ^{14}C datings showed two periods, one 495-665 AD (era of the Great Migration) and another 385-830 AD (Early Viking Age). Archaeologists have estimated that possibly 6-7 tonnes of iron was produced here. Iron producers also lived nearby, as Iron Age graves and a farm have been found.

Red soil and lake and bog ore was used in the beginning but it is easy to imagine that the bare primary rocks from the working ice showed some signs of iron ore and that people actually understood that all they had to do was to get the iron out of the rocks. So they used fire to make the stone brittle, then smashed the pieces to gravel before the roasting and the smelting. Mining started from the surface, breaking down through the rock following the visible iron ore. And at the same time new technology came into the iron-making – a more effective method to smelt the pieces of ore was realized in a larger blast furnace built up above the ground, instead of furnace pits in the ground. (Lindeqvist & Hägerman, 2010)

Maybe iron mining started as a consequence of the early large copper mine in Falun – UNESCO World Heritage since 2001, www.varldsarvetfalun.se. In the Norberg district you will find the oldest iron mines in Sweden and the first found traces of an early medieval blast furnace *Lapphyttan* in the wood, an old "hytt" village abandoned long time ago. The site was archaeologically researched in 1978-84 and ^{14}C dating showed evident traces from 14th century with an initial stage during 12th century. This is the first sign of high "modern" iron technology in Sweden. The Norberg area is one of the oldest sites of iron mining industry in our country. The early medieval village *Lapphyttan* has been reconstructed in the late 20th century closer to Norberg, *New Lapphyttan*, www.nyalapphyttan.se, and has now become a site of practical importance for iron history researchers: trial and error. Almost every summer during a couple of weeks a group of people is trying to make iron with old methods in a reconstructed medieval

blast furnace. A special iron making association is also formed since a couple of years, www.jarnetpalapphyttan.se. (af Geijerstam & Nisser, 2011; Lindeqvist & Hägerman, 2010)

People moving to Bergslagen, built villages and formed societies with a special way of living, a certain social structure, a specific local identity due to the iron business. As the iron production was a complicated process, cooperative systems were established among the iron-making mining farmers "bergsmän". In the 16th century larger private or company owned ironworks were established (järnbruk) and developed during the years to important economic units. Today they have turned into large steel industries but the old ironworks still have effects on the soul of Bergslagen with its "bruks-mentality". And furthermore – there is more iron to get in the district, old mines are opening up again. The real iron history may be in front of us and not behind us. And in the middle of all this our ecomuseum is situated also in a vast area (7500 km²) with its 61 sites, all outdoors. (Lindeqvist & Hägerman, 2010)

3 DISCUSSION

The eco- in ecomuseum has for us a meaning of economic history, with technical, industrial, social and cultural perspectives. But there is also a meaning of ecology. Economy or ecology, either one of them or both, the word *ecomuseum* is a splendid flexible expression. So now we must let economy also embrace ecology.

Ecomuseum Bergslagen started as an experimental project in 1986 and was established as a foundation 1990, without its own capital *but* with annual contribution fees from the ten founders. The purpose of the ecomuseum is described in the statutes. Now time has come to focus on the last item in the purpose paragraph, § 2: *the ecomuseum shall work to spread ecological knowledge*.

So we might change attitude and start thinking: Nature comes first, then comes Culture. The leading ecomuseum words are: Man – Environment – Landscape. Someone has put man first, maybe as a selfevident expression of mans power over nature and mans effects on landscape. But nature comes first and man has to adapt to nature. So you could turn around the words to show a new order: Landscape – Man – Environment. Landscape in the meaning of Nature, then comes Man forming Environment, good or bad.

It is easy for the superior man to forget that the force of nature is much stronger than the force of man. We have a tendency to put ourselves above nature, to give ourselves total power over all natural resources and without much respect or reflection. We use natural resources as we wish because they belong to us, *economy rules*. In short: we show arrogance towards nature. But nature takes back what man tries to keep and rule. It is a neverending fighting. Nature forces are working day and night and not always in our favour, of course all this has an effect on us, it is inevitable and alarming. Do we know Nature?? Here is an important and possible task for ecomuseums to find innovative activities. Identification is one of mans most wonderful characteristics and instead of loosing our natural instinct concerning nature, we could regain it and the ecomuseum could be an important tool for change.

Why not use ecomuseums to rouse public opinion in favour of environment, to bring forward biological diversity, sustainable development, geological knowledge and its connections to the environment? This could be fine opportunities for ecomuseums to survive as the living organisations they are meant to be. They can be the tool for our common future and contribute with a deeper understanding of nature on which we so much depend: *ecology rules*. And after ecology comes economy.

It's one thing to start an ecomuseum project. It is an adventure, it is a creative mobilizing work every minute following a theme. It is new, it is fresh! It awakes curiosity and people in the community run to help, everybody wants to join the project and bring forward their beloved home stead sites and places, their identity, memories, ancestors and history – this is in short words what happend in Bergslagen 26 years ago when Ecomuseum Bergslagen was formed. It's another thing to maintain an ecomuseum. After a while you understand that changes are crucial for survival. Change and survival make a good couple as do nature and culture and they are not separate worlds but instead companions in an endless journey, giving and taking. They belong together and form an invisible network close to us, we must only be aware of it.

In 2007 we began to think in this new direction. We became a member of Namsa, an associa-

tion of natural scientists with high competence within geology, biology, ethnobiology, botany, natural geography et cetera. Namsa is directed from the Swedish Museum of Natural History, www.nrm.se, in Stockholm, whose director also is the chairman of the association. Namsa gather its members in two interesting annual meetings in various places all over the country. To us Namsa was a start towards a new engagement. Doors opened up to a new world where scientists and officials are working to integrate nature with culture. Through Namsa we got useful contacts with Swedish Centre for Nature Interpretation (CNV) and Swedish Biodiversity Centre (CBM), both at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), www.slu.se, Uppsala.

However, the most useful contact so far has been with the Geological Survey of Sweden (SGU), www.sgu.se, also in Uppsala. A national geo-network is about to be formed, the initiative comes from the geologists at SGU. Geotourism is discussed within SGU, who also has a commitment to promote the interest for geology in the country. The necessity of a geological basic outlook in society is an important issue to promote, as they also are doing together with other authorities in Sweden, responsible for implementing ecological sustainable development imposed by the Swedish government in 1997. The comprehensive goals are protection of environment, effective use of energy and other natural resources and a sustainable maintenance of life. This work can also be connected to the European Landscape Convention from 2000, which was ratified in Sweden and became operative on the first of May 2011.

The work is carrying on in this direction. Since geology is "the floor" in the ecosystem and explains the reality under our feet, it must, like ecology, be taken into consideration. We often talk about biological diversity but there is also a geological diversity to consider. In our ecomuseum we just have to embrace the entire nature to deliver a natural heritage for generations coming after us, this could even be seen as a duty. It is not only a question of cultural or industrial heritage – without a functional nature, there is neither culture nor industry. (Davis, 2011; Emanuelsson, 2009; Hofrén, 2005; Pettersson et al., 2001; Tunón & Dahlström, 2010; Sammanfattning SGU, 2002)

4 OPTIONS

Now to the questions: what can we do and how can we think about the couple Nature and Culture in our ecomuseum? There are some hopeful signs of new energy in the ecomuseum and here are some options:

Geotourism. The evident Ice Age landscape around Riddarhyttan waits to be explored. We can learn from it, we have the red soil and one extremely rich mineral field: Bastnäs close to Riddarhyttan with its rare and unusual minerals, actually one of the most mineralrichest places in Sweden, even in the world. One possible option is first to create the "Geopark Riddarhyttan" consulting the geologists at SGU and later strengthen the area with a "Geo Visitor Centre" as a starting point for excursions. The work has already begun as an association in Riddarhyttan was formed when we started up with a "Geo Day" in May 2011. At about the same time a young architect from Lund, Gustaf Wennerberg, presented his master thesis: a plan of a visitor centre in this geo-landscape. The ideas of geo-activities have consequently grown since then and a process is ongoing. Consulting organisation: Geological Survey of Sweden, SGU, Sveriges Geologiska Undersökning, www.sgu.se.

Nature interpretation. The nature of Bergslagen is on the whole attractive for excursions and nature-guiding with the outdoor life and all the lakes, woods, paths, small roads suitable for walking, cycling etc – we have fine possibilities in the ecomuseum to introduce people to learn more about nature and nature forces. Nature activities can be connected to geotourism and will also help visitors to a deeper knowledge how the metal industry has developed during the centuries. Consulting organisations: Swedish Centre for Nature Interpretation, CNV, Centrum för Naturvägledning, www.slu.se/cnv and Swedish Biodiversity Centre, CBM, Centrum för Biologisk mångfald, www.slu.se/cbm.

Nature activities. The site Kolarbyn/Eco Lodge, www.kolarbyn.se, is also connected to us in 2009. The site is the meeting point for nature excursions since 2004 when Marcus Eldh started up Moose safaris combined with primitive cultural accommodation. In the woods lives today not only moose but now also beaver, bears and wolfs. Today Marcus Eldh is a part of a large network with the initiative "Wild Sweden", www.wildsweden.com. The safari tourism has been a

success. The Eco Lodge has a new owner Andreas, partner to Marcus, and they both have developed the activities with an ambition to work with the entire nature, not only with wild animals. They have also an ambition to integrate culture in the activities and do so by building up a charcoal pile every summer, producing charcoal. Our ecomuseum could support the activities more.

Permaculture. This new movement has reached our ecomuseum and is now practised at the Finn Farm Rikkenstorp, www.rikkenstorp.se, not far from Ludvika. The site was connected to us in 2009. The farm is privately owned by the family Holmdahl but open to the public. The youngest son Joel Holmdahl returned from studies at Uppsala University and started up farming concentrated on permaculture. Knowledge is spread through courses and they make a fine inspiring example of a natural, simple and sustainable life style. Our ecomuseum can support the work in many ways.

The Theatre Machine. The most evident example of new energy in the ecomuseum is the Theatre Machine, "Teatermaskinen", www.teatermaskinen.com. A devoted group of people have built a theatre house in the wood close to Riddarhyttan. Since some years already they have worked with interesting theatre projects in the landscape such as living history and drama tours. They do not only make nature alive, they also make culture alive. Their way of working is fascinating and people in the neighbourhood are coming to help and participate in the plays. The group is interested in our ecomuseum as well in permaculture-thinking and could be connected to Finn Farm Rikkenstorp for cooperation. It is not very difficult to imagine the Theatre Machine as a renewing ecomuseum force in the future, creating public opinion in important issues.

5 CONCLUSION

Finally it seems obvious that two things are most important for our ecomuseum in the future: following nature and looking for energy. Our ecomuseum depends above all on energy and engagement from people working in it, such as non-profit organisations, volunteers and entrepreneurs with new ideas. And when they show up, they need to be confirmed and involved in the network. This is the neverending inner movement of the ecomuseum that keeps the organisation alive and prepared for changes.

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The Hat Industry Museum - the role of the community

S. Lira

University Fernando Pessoa, Portugal

ABSTRACT: The making of the Hat Industry Museum involved, from the beginning, the community. In S. João da Madeira, a small town in the north of Portugal, the hat industry was one of the main activities during a significant part of the 19th and 20th centuries, employing a large part of the local community - it was common to say that all families in S. João da Madeira had some kind of connection with that industrial activity. In many families the profession was passed on from fathers to sons, from mothers to daughters, and it was common that different members of the same family worked with hats all their lives. The decline of the hat industry dates from the mid-20th century, however, when the museum began (the idea matured during the 1990 and the project began in 2000) the memory of the industry was still vivid and a number of former workers still remembered the glories of the profession gathering in local coffee-shops for a game of cards or domino. The museum project included the community and based a significant part of its work in the community. In this paper we aim at describing the role that community played in the construction of the museum project and the essential role the community still plays after the opening to the public.

1 INTRODUCTION

The idea of a Hat Museum dates from the nineties, but only during the next decade the municipality of S. João da Madeira undertook its creation. Being in charge of the scientific project for the museum, we stated from the beginning that the community had to be involved. The tradition of hat making in S. João da Madeira dates back from the early 19th century and its decadence only occurred in the mid of the 20 century – during this long period almost all residents in S. João da Madeira had some kind of connection with the industry (or, at least, some family member did). By the mid 19th century fifteen factories were producing hats there and some decades later this industry had become the most important economic activity of the region (Amaral, 1967: 134) producing more than 200,000 hats annually. The Empresa Industrial Chapeleira, built in 1914 was one of the most important industrial units of S. João da Madeira, always referred to as a model to other factories.



Figure 1: The original factory buildings

The most modern machinery (Martins e Teixeira, 1944: 93) was selected by its owner (Antônio José de Oliveira Júnior) and the importance of this factory in the recent history of S. João da Madeira became obvious, since several generations worked there, the factory being a “barometer” of the economic conditions of the population. It only closed in 1995, due to market constraints, namely at the national level. In S. João da Madeira it was only natural to choose the facilities of this factory to install the Hat Museum.

In our first visits to the field a sentiment of loss immediately emerged from the preliminary interviews with former workers. Almost all testimonies evidenced a sentiment of regretted towards the closing of the factory. Good (and bad) memories and recollections were put forward easily by former workers and by their relatives and it became self-evident that it would never be possible to build a decent museum that was not deeply rooted in the community. Furthermore we wanted to support the concept that the socio-economic changes that had led to the end of that factory should be presented in the museum discourse. As stated by Price (2006: 118): “The best interpretations of industry (...) accept the place of industry in its wider context, and take account of the socio-economic changes that have lead to the industry becoming industrial heritage.”.



Figure 2: Facade of the Museum

As such, the project for this museum was initially divided into three main areas: 1) the museological programme, 2) the architectural project and the 3) anthropological research. All through the execution of the project particular attention was paid to the coordination of these three areas, so that the coherence of the whole was safeguarded. The third area was considered crucial and included four main tasks: a) the gathering of a significant number of interviews with former actors of the hat industry (workers and owners, among others); b) the gathering of audio and visual testimonies (the “noises” of the industry recorded in factories still working, photographs taken from people that had had some kind of connection with the industry, from their houses, from their personal objects, from their symbolic places); c) the content analysis of all recorded material and d) the inventory of all material culture already available and identification of fundamental items not in possession of the City Hall.

In the following paragraphs we will present the methodology and the results of the anthropological research that enabled the constitution of this museum.

2 METHODOLOGY AND (SOME) RESULTS

One of the principal aims of our actions was to preserve (and to increase) the “sense of belonging” from the community towards the museum. Substantial part of the success on gathering material and immaterial evidence of the hat industry depended on the involvement of the community as its members were the owners of material objects (and of associated information) as well as the “source” of intangible heritage. The process of gathering both (material and intangible) demanded time, specialized know-how and – naturally – the confidence of the community. We had time, as the project was structured from the beginning considering these tasks; specialized work was provided by a number of anthropology students, who were following my subject of Museum Studies during their last year of undergraduate studies; the confidence of the community was achieved by previous and careful contacts and preliminary interviews but mainly by the intervention of a former worker of the factory (Mr. Méssio Trindade) who began his career at the age of 10 and worked in the same factory ever since. He was an extraordinary help as he knows all the industrial process, he has connections with almost all former workers and he introduced us to some of the most important interviewees.

Gathering oral information was done using semi-structured interviews, previously prepared by the coordination of the project. All interviews were recorded in high-quality digital support resulting in an extensive collection of testimonies – some hundred hours of audio and video recording. Interviewees were mainly former workers of the industry, but also owners of the factories (or their descendents); we also conducted our field work to the commercial area and all hat shops that could be identified as having some connection with S. João da Madeira (and with the Empresa Industrial Chapeleira) were visited – we asked to study their archives and interviewed the owners whenever they were elderly enough to have some kind of recollection concerning the “golden times” of S. João da Madeira hat production.

Interviews also produced memories of personal life, of landscapes, places and families, seeking as broad as possible a record of the sociological framework related to the hat industry. The recording of the interviews was associated to the photographic recording of the actors of the industrial scene of the past and of their present scenarios (Lemos, 2003).



Figure 3: Former workers of the hat industry

All this vast array of interviews was then thematically organized and parsed into thematic chunks, which were gathered according to the part of the industrial chain mentioned, individual experiences, symbolic meanings, personal feelings and emotions, among others. This organization allowed a comprehensive study of a substantial number of particular aspects concerning the industrial process as well as the human factor involved. Some of the testimonies were very accurate descriptions of the industry as some were dramatic revelations of human suffering. The universe of information was huge and we were sure that the material gathered would feed specialized research far more vast than we could do then. As such all recorder material (original and thematically organized) was incorporated in the archive of the museum and is available for further research either locally or remotely by accessing the museums' inventory system (Lira, 2002A; Lira, 2002B; Lira, 2003A and Lira, 2003B).



Figure 4: Documentation Centre

Besides a deep knowledge of the hat industry – that was absolutely necessary to conceptualize the museum plan – these interviews were also used to produce all the labels of the exhibition. Group labels and items labels (Serrell, 1996) were composed using quotations from the interviews; this way we have the former workers of the industry “directly” speaking to the visitor, explaining the use of each machine, each tool, and the making of each part of a hat. Their own words are there, their own sentences, their own way of perceiving and explaining what used to be their (working) lives.

The association between human memories, material objects and documents was necessary to create the ambience we wanted to this museum – one thing was missing though: sounds. All industries are normally noisy and the hat industry is not an exception. In order to recreate the sound environment of a hat factory we recorded a huge quantity of individual sounds, using high-quality digital recording devices and specialized microphones, capturing the particular sounds of each machine. From the vast library of recorded sounds, combined and synthesized, it was then possible to simulate the noisy ambience of the industry. Testing the results we invited some families to the museum, even before official opening, and we were very happy when a careful mother suddenly held her daughter’s hand exclaiming “careful! machines are working!” – and they were not.



Figure 5: Permanent exhibition

Another fundamental area where the intervention of the community was crucial was the material culture associated with the hat museum. The project of the museum counted, from the beginning, on a vast array of material objects the city Council had acquired (mainly a substantial number of the factory's machines, which, with minor exceptions, enabled the reconstitution of the chain of production). Some complementary acquisitions and some donations and enabled the constitution of a very suitable collection of material objects. It encompasses machinery, chemical laboratory equipment, tools, raw-materials (fur, buttons, bands, threads, labels) all essential to the explanation of the procedures of making a hat. There were also, among other things, the furniture of the offices and the tables of the workers' ateliers. All these objects enabled the productive process involved in making a hat, from the fur to the final product, to be presented in reasonable detail. However this group of items was not a museum collection – it had no coherent organization and it was not complete; furthermore it lacked associated information, this being the major issue.

To solve such problem we had two main solutions: A) within the material remains initially bought by the City Council, there were substantial lots of written documents, though they lacked the order and systematic organization to be considered a collection. Official records of the administration of the factory, letters relating commercial relations with suppliers and clients, personal medical records of former workers, relations with insurance companies, banks and judicial documents and personal notes are some of the types registered, after a preliminary inventory. Sales and sales strategies are illustrated by advertisement posters, catalogues, and lists of national and international clients. Ordering this documentation was a major need at the beginning, so a detailed inventory was produced. This step was a preliminary though fundamental step for the subsequent use of this type of information, for the purposes of the exhibition plan. Among several collections of documents, there is a significant number of advertisement postcards and placards used by the Empresa Industrial de Chapalaria to emphasize the quality of its products. It was also possible to find in local newspapers of the mid twentieth century an important number of articles and news about the local hat factories, as well as marketing material conceived to create the mental image of a hat as an indispensable part of people's garments. Another important source of documental information is collections of old photographs, some

about factory work and some about local life. These are not in the possession of the museum but, in certain cases, authorization for using them as part of the exhibitions was obtained from their legal owners. The gathering of such photographs was in fact the result of one of the research projects undertaken during the construction of the museum. It involved systematic gathering of photographs representing former workers and their home environments. Our task was to associate all these vast documental information to the material objects that constituted the original collection of the museum. B) Once again we asked for the communities' help and assistance. Some of our informants worked with us when preparing the material items (machines, tools, parts of hats, raw materials) for the exhibition and gave us precious information concerning each and every one of those. Sometimes they even identified a particular object as someone's toll (for example) and asked their neighbor/friend/former colleague to come to the museum and talk a little bit about that particular object. Some of the machines were identified as "the machine of «NAME»" as he/she had worked with it for some ten or twenty years. This deep involvement of the community was absolutely necessary to build a real "museum collection" but it was also one of the roots that linked the community to the museum, even before it was ready to public visit. The day of the official opening a (mainly local) crowd absolutely invaded the premises preventing any possibility of a real visit to the museum – among them some were explaining the exhibits to others, as they had cooperated in the mounting of the exhibition. Former workers of that particular factory were entering the building for the first time in ten or fifteen years and they were very emotional because of all far memories the building evoked.

3 FINAL REMARKS

From the beginning we understood that it would not have been possible to make the Hat Industry Museum without the enrollment of the community – that was a conceptual decision, and a practical fact. However, when approaching the project at its very early stages, we were not fully aware of the fundamental importance the community would have in the process. First steps and preliminary field work enabled a comprehensive understanding of the fundamental role of the hat industry in S. João da Madeira and made clear that even more than half-a-century after the climax of the hat industry the city was still under its (deep) influence. Memories and recollections were "available" everywhere – if one would enter a coffee-shop and initiated a simple conversation mentioning "hats" immediately would have echo and someone would begin an interesting conversation about personal experiences, family connections, etc. This seemed promising – but complex, from the methodological perspective: how could we coherently use these sources of information? How could we systematically gather this intangible material? Options had to be made and selection was necessary. We decided for a mixed approach: on one hand we contacted all former workers of the industry, especially those who had worked in the Empresa Industrial de Chapelaria; on the other hand we allowed personal contacts and suggestions and contacted those who were coopted that way. The result was a vast network of contacts and a deep rooted connection with the community: the "museum" (and the museum team, even being "outsiders") was trusted and the community adopted the project with very rare conflict or cleavage. The result was a museum the real belongs to the community, where people feel at ease and "at home". This doesn't mean the museum is only for locals, right on the contrary: the museum is from locals to themselves and to others. We believe that this kind of museums will only survive this way – if disruption arises, if the community feels the museum no longer belongs to them, it will become a dead museum, frozen in time, with no pulse and with scarce interest.

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The community museum “El Piojito” of Teocelo, Mexico, and the mechanisms of social participation involved in its creation and organization

E. A. A. López

Universidad Veracruzana, Xalapa, Veracruz, Mexico

ABSTRACT: A first view of a current investigation based on a case study is reported. The objective is to analyze the mechanisms of social participation used to create and organize a community museum, in a community with no specific ethnical population. In Mexico, the investigations about community museums are commonly about museums created by indigenous communities with their typical forms of organization. Such forms of organization do not exist in non-indigenous communities and therefore the study will provide a point of view of different mechanisms of social participation. Did the idea of creating the museum come from the community or was it an initiative of the federal government? Were there any links with civil organizations or government sectors? Ethnographic method and the Actor-oriented approach, will be used to answer these questions. The museum history and the importance of its collection are also approached in this paper.

1 INTRODUCTION

Community museums are created from the need of communities of capturing in a space the importance of their history, traditions, and inheritance. The communities are the ones who decide to create the museum, with their own ideas, work, and organization (Camarena & Morales, 1993). This article is focused on the study of mechanisms of social participation in the creation and organization of a community museum of mestizo population. The research is based on a case study: the community museum of the old railway station “El Piojito”, from Teocelo. The train, “El Piojito”, used to connect Teocelo with Xalapa, capital city of the State of Veracruz. The exhibition is small and modest; however, it reflects an important historic moment for the community.

A community museum, in contrast with a traditional museum, is dependent of the participation of the population for its design, organization and functioning. The community museum here studied belongs to a mestizo community, which lacks the organization level that is common in the indigenous communities, where systems such as the *tequio* and general assemblies (Camarena & Morales, 1993) are a fundamental part of their functioning as communities, and eases the organization of their community museums. Therefore, the study of mechanisms of participation in this museum, its relationships, and negotiations with other associations and the State, for their creation and organization, will be a new contribution to the study of community museums in Mexico.

With the purpose of knowing the history and the different forms of organization, links with the government, and other associations, the ethnographic method was used, based on the field observation and the conduction of profound interviews to the city chronicler and founding volunteers of the museum. Also, a bibliographic revision was made with the purpose of

knowing the history of community museums in Mexico and the different researches conducted on this topic. Additionally, a revision is being done, still in process, of the archive of official documents of the museum so as to know the links that it has had with other associations. With the purpose of analyzing the mechanisms of participation, the actor-oriented approach (Long, 2007) and the interface methodology strategy are used, which are explained later in this paper.

2 RESEARCH ABOUT COMMUNITY MUSEUMS IN MEXICO

The few existing research about community museums are about museums that belong to indigenous communities and are examples of consolidated success such as the Shan-Dany museum from Santa Ana del Valle in Oaxaca and the San Jose Mogote museum, also in Oaxaca (Gonzalez, 2002, 2008; Healy, 2003; Hoobler, 2006; Pierce, 1996). Some articles are focused on the study of the discourse through the expositions (Gamboggi & Melville, no date; Gonzalez, 2002, 2008). Hoobler (2006) analyzes the community museums in Oaxaca as a tool of the indigenous communities to construct and affirm their identity. The “Hitalulu” community museum in San Martin Huamelulpan, the one in San Miguel Progreso, in Shan-Dany, San Jose Mogote, San Miguel Tequixtepec among others, were studied by the author. Slenczka (2005) studied the process of “heritagization” of indigenous identity in the community museum of Yucu-Iti, in Santa Maria Yucuhiti, Oaxaca.

Other publications regarding community museums are the product of a Symposium about heritage, museums, and social participation; in these publications the basic characteristics of some community museums are reported, highlighting the participation of communities in their creation and functioning as a fundamental characteristic (Arroyo & Rodriguez, 1993; Bedolla, Payán de & Venegas, 1993; Bellaigue, 1993; Camarena & Morales, 1993; Dujovne, 1993; Quero, 1993).

Cuahtémoc Camarena and Teresa Morales are anthropologists of the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (INAH), one of the federal institutions in charge of the conservation, research, and spreading of the national heritage. They work for the Centro INAH Oaxaca and have a broad experience in consultancy for the creation of community museums. They have two books published in that field: *Pasos para crear un museo comunitario* (1994) and *Comunidades creando exposiciones* (no date). Additionally, they also have published several articles, mainly about the indigenous organization for the creation of community museums in Oaxaca (Camarena & Morales 1993; 2001; 2002; 2003).

As it can be observed, there are few works about community museums. Most of these are centered on community museums located in either indigenous or mestizo communities with indigenous background from Oaxaca. The Shan-Dany and San Jose Mogote museums are the ones that have been studied the most. The works have been mostly focused on the exhibitions, their discourses and on how the community through them achieves the democratization of its local heritage, or builds its identity, as well as the indigenous organizational structures and their contribution to the creation of their community museums.

3 BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY MUSEUMS IN MEXICO

In Mexico, due to the estrangement that exist between communities and the traditional institutional museums, with some exceptions as in the case of the community center of Culhuacan (Bedolla, Payan & Venegas, 1993), community museums are an approaching option that has emerged between the community and the museums; because they are created from engagement projects from and for the community, they can be useful for the conservation of the local material and immaterial heritage.

The community museums emerged in Mexico in the 80's as a consequence of the New Museology, tendency that was initially promoted in this country by the Museums Management, which belonged to the INAH. “The new museology includes all those experiences that emerged in European countries and Canada, with the name of ecomuseums; in the USA the neighborhood museums also emerged; and mainly as a Latin American expression, product of the “Integrated Museum” proposal, the community museums were developed” (DeCarly, 2003,

p.9). The creation of community museums was made through projects such as the House of the museum or Educational museums (Vallejo, Marin & Torres, 2002). During the development of these projects, along with the Community Museums and Educational Services Program of the INAH (1992-1998), other community museums were opened within the country from 1983 to 1997. An important number of these museums that were opened by the INAH program of the 80' were closed. Out of the 55 museums that were opened in 1988 in 5 states of the Republic, only 16 of them were remaining open in two states by 2003 (Camarena & Morales, 2003). Their failure was mainly due to the fact that they were designed from an office without taking into consideration the community where they would be implemented (Hoobler, 2006). This is an example that shows that the communities are not merely receivers of the State-designed programs; they should also be considered for the decision making process. As stated by Long (2007), regarding the public policies and their instrumentation: "The fight never ends because all actors exercise some sort of "power," counterweight or approaching space, including even those who are in subordinated positions" (p. 50).

On the other hand, since 1993 the General Office of Popular Cultures (DGCP) and the INAH created the National Program of Community Museums to respond the demand for support for the creation of this type of museums by the communities ("Coordinación Nacional de Museos," 2009). Despite that at the beginning community museums were born in Mexico by an initiative of institutional and state source, little by little these museums have become popular as community projects, what gives them their true nature in accordance with the philosophy of the New Museology of making them open and integrated for social participation with the intention of reflecting their local cultural identities and preserve their local heritage.

One of the main associations of community museums was formed in Oaxaca with the collaboration of Centro INAH Oaxaca personnel: the Union of Community Museums of Oaxaca (Camarena & Morales, 1993; Gonzalez, 2008). With its creation, "the researching team of the INAH-Oaxaca made a significant political and qualitative advancement when it took away the community museums from the central coordination of museums of the Institute; at the same time, an anti-paternalist relationship was founded in relation to the cultural institutions. This action gave communities an important role in making their own big decisions (Luna, 1999, p. 64)." In 2012, there are several community museums and ecomuseums within the country and many of them belong to the National Union of Community Museums and Ecomuseums ("Conoce los museos," 2009). Their popularity represents an alternative to the elitist and hegemonic discourses that are the common basis in national museums.

4 COMMUNITY MUSEUMS AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

In the consulted bibliography, community or social participation is mentioned several times as an essential element of community museums and ecomuseums (Arroyo & Rodriguez, 1990; Davis, 2004; Donghai, 2008; Gonzalez, 2008; Hoobler, 2006). In this research, the concept of social participation is used, defined as the "process of taking part in social organizations as in the creation and recreation of the own culture. The latter is understood as the system of objectives, norms and community, regional and national values" (De Shutter, 1983, p. 27). Social participation has been utilized by different social sectors so as to meet different objectives (Menéndez, 2006); it can also emerge from within the community itself or may be organized by foreign agencies (Ugalde, 2006); it may as well be organized by state agencies within the communities. This definition, since it is general and considers community relationships with state and foreign agencies, is better adapted than the one of citizen or community participation, whose definitions are very specific that not always can be adjusted to our case study.

In some of the studies found through the revision of the literature, the different systems of indigenous community organization are mentioned to be the key point for the creation of their community museums. The *tequio*, for example is a community work for public tasks (Camarena & Morales, 1993) in which each member of the community may serve its village for a period of time (Ugalde, 2006). The *sistema de cargos* (authority role system) "is a form of local government in which all men who are family heads within the community have the obligation of performing civic and religious positions throughout their lives. Although such system was

established in many regions of Mexico during the colonial period, there still exists controversy as to whether or not it incorporated pre-Hispanic traditions” (Camarena & Morales, 2001, p.213). The general assemblies are reunions in which most of the family chiefs of the community attend, or where representatives of agencies and neighborhoods would assist. These are the meetings in which important community decisions are made; even the municipal mayors are elected via the authority role system, in the general assembly. Afterwards, the elected mayor is registered in the official party so as to comply with the federal procedure (Camarena & Morales, 1993). It is during these meetings when the possibility of creating a community museum is proposed for voting and when the committee in charge of organizing the works of the museum is elected.

In the mestizo communities without a specific ethnic origin these forms of organization do not exist. Cities are much larger and populated and community museums were often created by external actors who belong to State institutions, with little or none local participation. In those cases, the museums are more like site museums, rather than community ones, because the local people are not involved in the museums activities and therefore they do not identify themselves with these museums.

There are, however, community museums that were created by the initiative of local groups of inhabitants that are interested in their local history and culture. They often form civil associations to have the power to negotiate with State institutions to get some economic or human resources to get started. The decisions are made by the integrants of these civil associations, and not by representatives of the whole community as in the case of indigenous museums; nevertheless they try to reflect the community identity and history in their museums.

5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Teocelo has more than 150,000 inhabitants (“Teocelo, Veracruz,” 2009) and does not have authority role systems, general assemblies, or any other form of organization that would achieve a high community representation. However, the community of Teocelo is known by the success of its community media: Radio Teocelo and Teocelo Te Ve. This shows the existence of collective organization forms. Radio Teocelo has been in service for over 40 years and its objectives are: “To promote and support the participation of the population from the coffee growing region of central Veracruz, using different communication media (radio, press, video, theater, brochures, and magazines), privileging the popular sectors as the main social subjects of these media (“Radio Teocelo,” 2005).

Since 1998, Teocelo has also a Community Museum, with a small exhibition of pieces and photographs of the history of the train that connected Teocelo with the main city Xalapa. Did the idea of creating the museum come from the community or was it an initiative of the federal government? Were there any links with civil organizations or government sectors? How did the founding members organize to create the museum? Who makes the decisions regarding the museum activities, the municipal government, the community, or a small group of volunteers?

To study the links and negotiations between the different social actors involved in the museum, the actor oriented approach has been very useful. This is a proposal developed by Norman Long and a group of researchers of the University of Wageningen, Holland (Ávila, 2008). According to Long (2007), “the social actors must not appear only as incorporeal social categories, or passive recipients of the intervention but as active participants that receive and interpret information and design strategies in their relationships with diverse local actors and external institutions and their personnel” (p. 43). This approach allows the study of the actors practical strategies, their forms of emergent interactions, their day-by day organization (Long, 2007, p. 119) and allows as well conceptualize the way that small scale interaction scenarios relate with wider resource fields and relations networks (Long, 2007, p. 107). Within this proposal of methodology, the concept of interface helps to analyze the different relationships among social actors. Isunza (2004) defines the interface as a space of social conflict, constituted by the interchanges (goods, prestige, etc.) of intentional subjects where asymmetric relationships among those subjects take place, which can be either individual or collective. One can talk about social-state interfaces when the relationships has both social and state subjects as actors; or social interfaces when they are collective and citizen actors (Isunza & Gurza, 2010).

According to Long, “these interfaces must be identified ethnographically” (Long, 2007, p. 109). Thereby, ethnographic method, based on interviews to key informers and field observation, is being used to identify the different actors involved in the museum’s creation and organization, as well as their relations, and the interfaces where their negotiations and conflicts take place.

6 THE COMMUNITY MUSEUM “EL PIOJITO”. ITS HISTORY AND THE MECHANISMS OF PARTICIPATION USED FOR ITS CREATION AND ORGANIZATION

The community museum of Teocelo is linked to two important historic moments for this community. In the year of 1898, on May first, Teocelo received the visit of the president of the Republic, Porfirio Díaz, who inaugurated the railways of the train named “El Piojito” that connected this town with Xalapa. According to one of the founders of the museum, during the visit of the president the people of Teocelo asked him to provide the town with the title of city, which was given on that same day, although the official procedure took over a month. The train worked until the year of 1944 and was dismantled in 1945 due to the high maintenance costs and because it was no longer utilized by the inhabitants as a result of the opening of the highway that connects Xalapa with Teocelo, since 1942, which reduced by thirty percent the time of traveling to get to the capital. Because Teocelo was the last station, the dismantling began at this city. All the materials were sold and the station was abandoned, and in time the roof and walls collapsed.

Since 1988 the chronicler of Teocelo, Antonio Homero Jiménez, proposed to rescue the ruins of the station, so as to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of the visit of president Porfirio Díaz, which was to be celebrated 10 years following that year. However, it was until 1996, two years before the one-hundredth anniversary that his son, Homero Jiménez Pale, got involved in the reunions of the state union of community museums and the courses organized by the DGCP with the objective of learning to organize a community museum. After this happened, the idea of rescuing the ruins of the station was again born so as to create a community museum. Through the Centro de Promoción Social y Cultural, CEPROSOC (Center of Social and Cultural Promotion), which is a Civil Association with many years in Teocelo, and to which the city chronicler belongs, talks with the mayor at that time were initiated with the purpose of rescuing the old station and convert it into a museum. That reunion took place early in 1997. The mayor agreed and the restoration was paid by the municipality. At the same time, some members of the community were worried because of the loss of historic buildings of Teocelo’s center and that is why the restoration of the old station represented a preservation example of their heritage. With the purpose of contending for resources offered by the federal government, the mayor promoted the creation of a patronage to be in charge of the museum and the preservation of the historic center of the city. That is how the Patronage of the Historic Center of Teocelo was created in June of 1997. The only member of the CEPROSOC that also belonged to the patronage was the chronicler of the city, otherwise, the members of the patronage were people of the community worried about their heritage. The federal funds were not obtained and that is why the restoration of the building was totally financed by the municipal government and it was done via a private architecture firm.

In July of 1997 the restoration of the station had begun, and the inauguration of the building took place on December 28th of the same year because the service period of the mayor was approaching its end. During the handover of the building the only pieces that were exhibited were some archeological ones, which the municipal administration had under their care in the Municipal Palace; they were lent to be used only for that day. The architects who presided over the restoration of the station also worked on the cataloging of the historic buildings of the center of Teocelo. This is how the creation of the community museum promoted the idea of preserving not just the building of the old station but also the historic buildings of Teocelo.

The inauguration of the community museum was programmed for the day in which the one-hundredth anniversary of the railways was celebrated. That is why the Patronage of the Historic Center of Teocelo searched for financing and donations in different institutions and businesses. It was possible to secure from transnational companies with facilities in Coatepec, city that is located in between Xalapa and Teocelo, the donation of three garbage containers and the illumination system. Due to the fact that the vestiges of the Piojito and its station were lost, the

Patronage negotiated with the Museo Nacional de Ferrocarriles (National Museum of Trains) from Puebla the possibility of having on a gratuitous loan the lending of 18 pieces related with the train theme. Up until now, that is the collection that the museum exhibits. The museum opened its doors on May 1, 1998, not with some previous conflicts and tense negotiations with the new municipal government: because it was a project promoted by a prior government, which belonged to another political party, the new mayor was not interested in supporting the initiative, besides with the fact that he disagreed that some funds were obtained from private businesses.

Throughout its history, the museum has counted with different groups of volunteers. The Patronage of the Historic Center of Teocelo and the CEPROSOC, even though they have not been officially dissolved, have not had any activity since some years ago. In the early years of the new century, another patronage was formed to be in charge of the functioning of the museum, without officially establishing itself with the corresponding procedures. It was called the "Patronato Amigos del Piojito" (Patronage – Friends of the Piojito) but it no longer operates because most of the volunteers left it. In general, throughout the years, it was the volunteers who were taking turns in order to keep the museum open during the weekends, but because of their different personal duties, keeping it opened was not always possible. In June of 2011 a community reunion took place to discuss the future of the museum, and a new administration formed by a group of volunteers, including two of the founding members, was in charge. Some remodeling work was performed and a list of volunteer donors from the community was formed and they were compromised to give away a monthly amount which was to be destined to pay for the minimum expenses generated by the museum, this in addition to paying wages to a student who is responsible for keeping the museum open on Saturdays and Sundays. In December of 2011 a community assembly was called to meet through Radio Teocelo and other communications media to present the report of the first six months of the restructuring of the museum. This is important, as it was the first time that open assemblies took place, and any member of the community could assist and participate by voting for the new administration.

It is also important to mention that the land in which the museum is located belongs to the municipality and that is why they are responsible for paying utilities. Also, support was solicited to the city council to pay for the remodeling work of restrooms in 2011. With the exception of these investments, the museum is in charge of its volunteer members and it has been tried to keep the municipal government outside the decision making process of the museum, this in accordance with the volunteers who were interviewed. As it has already been mentioned, some private businesses have donated equipment for the museum and all thanks to the management of the Patronage of the Historic Center of Teocelo. The Asociación de Estudiantes de Teocelo, A.C. (Teocelo Student Association, civil association) that assists students with their public transit fare so that they can be transported to the University in Xalapa in exchange of community service, has sporadically sent students so they can help with the work of the museum. The link with Radio Teocelo helps to spread the work and the activities of the museum. In fact, there was a time in which volunteers participated in the program "Cabildo abierto (Open Council)," the most heard program, once a month for the diffusion of the museum and retaking this program is currently being considered.

The museum has two rooms. In the small room there is the permanent exhibition with pieces and pictures that are related with train theme and also has a scale model of what used to be the station that was donated by an architecture student. After the robbery of several archeological pieces that were in the care of the city council, three of them were abandoned in the patio of a high school near the museum. One of the volunteers went to pick them up with a wheelbarrow and they are currently being exhibited. Furthermore, some neighbors donated an old wheelbarrow and old little carrying cart that used to belong to the station. The large room contains some pieces, also on the same theme, the three recovered archeological pieces and some others that used to belong to the old hydroelectric plant near the zone, which in its time represented, along with the train, a symbol of modernity for the city. This room also serves as a small auditorium and space for temporary expositions. The auditorium's furniture is made out of treated bamboo, typical in a near community known as Monte Blanco, part of the Teocelo municipality. In each room there is a hand-made dummy dressed as a railroad worker, which were made by members of the Railroad Worker's Union and later donated to the museum. Regional coffee is sold in the museum along with jamaica flowers (used to prepare a drink) so

as to pay for its minimum expenses. The museum offers activities during the weekend such as movie projections for children and teenagers (the nearest movie theater is a little over an hour away, in Xalapa); it also offers a chess workshop; hiking once a month in order to know the natural sights of the community's surroundings. Recently during the week the space is lent to a group of women who perform activities for physical conditioning.

As it can be observed, throughout the museum's history there has been individual and collective actors, moving in these spaces defined as interfaces, establishing relationships, making negotiations, and creating conflicts. We find social-state interfaces among the patronage and civil association in charge of the museums creation and federal institutions such as the INAH, the DGPC, or the Museo Nacional de Ferrocarriles. The relationship was of cooperation, and negotiation, as these State institutions provided workshops related with community museums subjects, and in the case of the Museo Nacional de Ferrocarriles, they provided a small collection of train related pieces for the permanent exhibition. The relationship with the municipal government was at first of negotiation, beginning with a down-top approach, where members of the community asked for the government's help to rescue the train station building. As the municipal government became closer to the project, and gave the economic resources for the building restoration, it became involved in the decision making process, and an up-down relationship began to develop. As one of the actors of this social-state interface changed, and a new political party won the local elections, the relation between the actors changed, and conflict began. The new members of the municipal government wanted to keep a top-down approach, making all the decisions regarding the museum, and rejecting other relationships formed by the patronage and other actors, such as private companies. Conflict ended as the patronage decided to move on with the project, without the intervention of the local government. Since then, the relationship with the municipal government, vary according to the disposition of the administrations on duty, but it's a down-top approach again. Initiatives can approach from up or down (Long, 2007), and in the case of the creation of a community museum, an approach down-top can obtain best results, as the history has proven (Hoobler, 2006). There are several social interfaces where individual and collective actors belonging to the museum establish relationships among associations (Asociación de Estudiantes de Teocelo), groupings (zumba fitness group), businesses (local swimming school, Transnational Companies), community media (Radio Teocelo) and individuals (donors) so as to obtain economic resources, or volunteer work.

"El Piojito" was born from the initiative of a sector of the community itself, which was concerned with the preservation of its heritage. This group of people, throughout time, has been organized in a Civil Association, two patronages (either formally or informally formed), and groups of volunteers with the purpose of opening a museum that would reflect an important part of the local history as well as the traditions of the community, its craft work, natural heritage, and artistic productions of local and foreign painters through the permanent and temporary exhibitions.

Although the decision regarding the museum are made by the volunteers, specially by those who founded it, the presence of the community is clear, as they participate in the outdoor activities and workshops; their presence reflect in the making of the furniture, and even people from other cities, who are attached to the train history, like the Railroad Worker's Union participate too. The community museum "El Piojito" reflects the exercise of different members of the community to tell one important part of their history in the permanent exhibition, and preserve their heritage, by taking it in their own hands (Hoobler, 2006; Slenczka, 2005).

7 CONCLUSIONS

This is the first stage of a research for the master's degree thesis, in which besides studying the mechanisms of social participation, democratization of the local heritage and the reflection of the community identity in the museum will be studied. In this first part, information was gathered about the history of the museum, some links and relationships that exist with other organizations, the municipal government, the federal government, etc. It can be said that the relationship with the city council is of support, or indifference, depending on the administration on duty. However, the municipal government does not intervene in the decision making process

or in the organization or activities of the museum. The relationship with the federal government is mainly about consulting, reunions with other community museums, courses, and workshops organized through the DGPC and the INAH and a gratuitous contract of most of the pieces on exhibition; it is important to mention that they do not intervene in the decision making process of the museum. Links are kept with community media and civil associations so as to achieve diffusion and the engagement of volunteers. It is counted with the assistance in kind and of a fixed monthly contribution from members of the population and some local businesses. Social-state and social interfaces can be observed, in which the relationships are mainly of negotiation, conflict, and support; they are formed by individual and collective actors.

Even though the museum was born from the initiative of a specific sector of the community, and that it has been such sector the one that has directed and taken the decisions regarding the museum, throughout its lifetime it has been tried to reflect the heritage, history, and community of Teocelo. As this paper is being revised, the organization and dynamics of the museum are changing. It started basically as a project developed by two well-known families in Teocelo, whose members were the first volunteers in the museum, and now, the volunteers are mostly young students from Teocelo who are interested in their heritage. They organize workshops for the community, with various themes like the importance of their local heritage; or the importance of the train for the city development, told by the people of the city, who used to work in the train. The founders of the museum maintain the links they have with the State, and they are the negotiators with these external actors such as the INAH or the DGCP; they are still in charge of the decision making process, along with the volunteers, but they are opening this process to the community by making reunions with the general public where the volunteers inform the activities that they organized, the amount of money spent, and other details regarding the work in the museum.

There is still much left to do in it, but with the restructuring and the approaching of volunteers towards a greater opening with its community for the joint decisions indicate that things are going through a good path, or in this case, railroad.

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Power, politics, and the first Community Museum in Hong Kong

T. L.-D. Lu

Department of Anthropology, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

ABSTRACT: Before 1997, museums in Hong Kong were established and managed by either the Government or the social elites. However, the earliest community museum in Hong Kong was set up by a group of residents at an outlying island in 2001 in the context of a “revitalization process” of the region. The birth of this museum is closely related to the changing economic, social and political contexts in Hong Kong. As the capitalism system with Hong Kong’s characteristics has been economically, socially and politically accelerating social segmentation, the dynamic of power and a competition over social and political influences between various stakeholders from local politicians, social workers, NGOs to members of local communities have become more vigorous. Thus the birth and operation of the first community museum results from the conflict and negotiation of power at both inter- and intra-community levels. Based on interviews and archive studies, it is argued that the community museum in this case is not only an institute to promote the local cultural and natural heritage and present the way of life of the local people to the public, but also a political implement, a *place* of resistance to a more powerful local institution, and a venue used by members of different classes and/or social segments to claim and counter claim, or consolidate their social and political status, to compete for the domination of discourse on local development and governance, and to maximize their interests and impacts on the society. The museum also symbolizes, consolidates and enhances the social status of its founding curator as a *human agency* in the local politics.

1 INTRODUCTION

Though often perceived as a metropolis with skyscrapers and modern facilities, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR for short hereafter) in fact consists of urban and rural districts. The Hong Kong Island and the Kowloon Peninsular make up the urban landscape, while the New Territories and the outlying islands used to be, or remain as, a rural landscape with agriculture, fishing and salt production as main economic activities.

According to archaeological and historical data, the majority of Hong Kong residents were fishers, farmers and traders migrating from various regions in the Yangzi River and/or the Pearl River Delta from approximately 6500 years ago (Lu 2007). Bringing their own traditions, techniques, know-how, kinship and believes with them, migrants of different periods settled in various districts, and developed diverse ways of life.

Hong Kong was ceded to Britain after the Qing Dynasty (AD 1644-1911) lost the first Opium War in 1840. The strategic position for military activities and international trade was one of the main reasons for the British to take Hong Kong. When the British arrived in 1841, they initially settled at the Hong Kong Island and gradually converted it to a political and economic centre of the whole HK region. In 1898 the New Territories were leased to Britain, but there were some rebellions organized by the indigenous villagers at that time (Chiu and Hung 1999). In order to

pacify the resistance and govern the rural districts, the colonial government adopted a 'strategy of synarchy and methods of elite-mass integration' (Chiu and Hung 1999: 75), agreed to respect the local custom laws and allowed the indigenous people to establish their own political institution, which is the rural district councils, in order to represent the indigenous' interests and to serve as a bridge between the indigenous and the colonial government (Wright 1990). This political structure remains unchanged after 1997. Therefore, the power and the social and political status of the rural councils are still recognized by the government of the Hong Kong SAR today.

According to oral history and historic documents, life in rural Hong Kong, particularly at the remote islands with very limited accessibility, was not significantly impacted by the modernization process even in the early 20th century (Wright 1990). As recorded by historic documents (Cameron 1991) and recalled by local informants, it is the industrialization process and economic changes, the Colonial Government's policy to urbanize rural areas, and the impact of globalized economy after the 1960s that have been causing fundamental changes in rural Hong Kong. Briefly speaking, as the Hong Kong government wanted to develop the rural areas in order to cater for the rapidly increased populations after the 1950s caused by the influx of migrants from mainland China, it purchased land from the rural communities to build new residential towns in the 1960s and the 1970s (Chiu and Hung 1999). Consequently, many farmers lost their land and had to change their way of life. On the other hand, industrialization and the rise of finance, international trade and other businesses after the 1960s provided new jobs and attracted the younger generations moving from rural to urban districts, while the traditional economic activities of agriculture, fishing and salt production could not compete with similar industries in mainland China and other Asian countries, thus quickly diminished (Cameron 1991; also interviews conducted by the author in two villages). Consequently, the majority of rural Hong Kong has been transformed into a semi-residential and semi-industrial landscape, with scattered and small-scaled agriculture, fishing and other traditional economic activities practiced mainly by the elders and the less formally-educated.

While the rural districts of Hong Kong have been going through significant changes since the 1960s, so has been the urban part of Hong Kong. Hundreds of thousands of migrants from mainland China arrived in Hong Kong after 1949, the majority of them settled in the urban areas. Before 1974 the border between Hong Kong and mainland China was not strictly controlled, and people could travel quite freely between the two areas (Wright 1990). However, more migrants came from mainland China due to the political and economic crisis in the 1960s and the 1970s, including the Cultural Revolution (Cameron 1991), so the Hong Kong colonial government implemented a "Touch Base Policy" between 1974 and 1980, which only granted residential permit to the illegal migrants who were able to enter urban Hong Kong (Wright 1990), thus causing further population increase in the urban areas.

Some mainland China migrants arrived in Hong Kong before 1949 were rich business persons or politicians with financial capital, while others were the poor coming to Hong Kong to escape the famine in the late 1950s and/or the political chaos from the 1950s to the 1970s in mainland China. With both capital and sufficient labour resource, many businesses were established after the 1950s in urban Hong Kong, focusing on manufacturing, finance, trading between mainland China and the rest of the world, and real estate businesses. Some of these businesses gradually expanded and now dominate Hong Kong's economy¹. This industrialization process and the development of international trade and finance, along with an increased public access to education due to the colonial government's changed policy after the 1966 riot, provided opportunities for social mobility and facilitated the birth of the middle-class in Hong Kong after the 1960s (Tsang 1992).

The British Colonial Government introduced Capitalism into Hong Kong when they obtained this land in the late nineteenth century, and held a "laissez-faire" attitude with little interference, low tax rates (with the maximum rate at 16% in 2011-2012), and extremely little social welfare since then (Ngo 1999). By the 1990s Hong Kong was viewed as a "manufacturing, financial, and service centre of East Asian capitalism" (Hamilton 1999:2), but the disparity between the rich and the poor has also been increasing since the 1970s. After the 1997 the HKSAR government more or less maintains the same policy, thus the disparity continues to grow, and the Gini coefficients in Hong Kong reached the highest score of 0.5333 among all countries in the world in 2011 (Anonymous 2011). In addition, as flat land has always been a very valuable natural resource in Hong Kong due to its geographical setting, and the population is ever growing, selling

land has been one of the main incomes for the government since the colonial era, and the price of properties has been increasing significantly since the 1970 in the whole region (Lu 2009). Consequently, it becomes harder and harder for ordinary people to acquire even a tiny home, while the rich accumulates their wealth by owing more properties.

To summarize, capitalism has transformed Hong Kong from a region based on farming, fishing, salt production and other traditional economic activities in the nineteenth century to a centre of finance, logistics, tourism and other service industries in Asia, and one of the financial centers of the World in the twenty first century. Restrained by the lack of flat land and other raw materials for manufacturing on one hand, yet benefited by a strategic location connecting East Asia (particularly mainland China), Southeast Asia and the world on the other hand, facilitated by the movement of financial capitals, ideas, technologies and human resources, and by the colonial and current governments' policies of "free port", "laissez-faire" and very limited social welfare system, which triggers, even forces people to ambitiously compete for their survival and betterment, today's Hong Kong is a region with a big gap between the rich and the poor, and, to a less extent, the rural and the urban. The capitalism in today's Hong Kong is characterized by an increased dominating power of the very rich in the society, a rather static social mobility, and a significant income inequality, with the elders, the less skillful, the newly arrivals (called 'new migrants' in Hong Kong) and the ethnic minorities being the most marginalized groups. It is in this context that the first community museum was founded.

2 THE COMMUNITY MUSEUM IN DA TANG², RURAL HONG KONG

Located at the southwestern tip of an island at southwestern Hong Kong SAR, Da Tang is a very unique landscape. To its north, the Pearl River flows into the Pacific Sea, thus the mixed fresh and marine water, which contains various nutritional elements, provides a rich habitat for many species of fish, prawn, crab, shell, and the endangered Chinese white dolphin (*Sousa chinensis chinensis*). Fishing can be carried out almost year round here, although the return has declined significantly after the 1980s due to industrial pollution and over-exploitation of marine resources. The mangroves curve along the seashore, which is a heaven of many marine fauna and flora. Da Tang is also rich in terms of birds, butterflies and insets (Undisclosed reference 1 2004). In short, it is a landscape of natural beauty and used to be a place full of natural resources.

As Da Tang is located at the seashore and the sea level fluctuates, local residents have built pile-dwellings of timber and other materials as an adaptive architecture to the environment, with small boats zigzagging between households as a mean of transportation. The structure of the pile-dwellings is also convenient for the fishers (males only) and their families to preserve the fish, dry up and repair fishing nets, and carry out other economic activities (Undisclosed reference 2). However, the colonial government identified these houses as illegal dwellings in the 1970s, and wanted to demolish them whenever it was possible (ibid.)

2.1 *The local community*

Some communities are "imaged" (Anderson 2006), while others can be closely connected. In this paper, the "local community" is defined as a group of residents who have been living in Da Tang for decades, personally know each other, and identify Da Tang as their home. On one hand, members of the Da Tang community recognize and share similar interpretations about their local culture and history, as described in the following; on the other hand, they belong to different classes and/or social groups, and have different interests and opinions on how their "home" should be managed and developed.

The peopling of Da Tang began in the Song Dynasty (AD 960-1279), when people migrated from the nearby Pearl River Delta and settled down here (Undisclosed references 1 and 2). Before the 1960s the Da Tang residents had been living on rice farming, fishing, salt production, or trading with other regions in Hong Kong and/or the Pearl River Delta, and the district was very prosperous between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century (Undisclosed reference 3). However, the construction of the Kowloon-Canton railway in 1911 facilitated trading and logistics of goods and persons between mainland China and Hong Kong through a much faster transporta-

tion system (*ibid.*), which was the first blow to the trading economy at Da Tang. But fishing and farming remained vibrant until the 1940s, when the Japanese occupied Hong Kong, posted restriction on fishing activities and caused the decline of the fishing industry (*ibid.*).

The influx of financial capital and migrants from mainland China after 1949 also resulted in the establishment of small factories and workshops to produce electronic or plastic items at Da Tang (Undisclosed reference 3), so there were jobs available then, and the local population reached over 10,000 persons in the 1950s, with the merchants and fishers being particularly better-off, who were able to fund the repair of temples and the organization of annual religious rituals (Undisclosed references 1-3).

However, transportation remained a problem, as the trading activities to mainland China by seafaring was restricted by the government's strict border control after 1949, and terrestrial transportation was very time-consuming and costing due to the long distance between Da Tang and urban Hong Kong, and the lack of infrastructure, particularly a well-paved road for motor vehicles (*ibid.*). Further, the colonial government encouraged the fishers to equip their fishing boats with machines in the 1950s in order to increase the fishing productivity, which eventually led to an over-exploitation of marine resources and a significant decline of fishing return, consequently a decline of fishing industry and other local businesses relying on fishing (Undisclosed reference 4). Inevitably, the local economy was dying, and very few jobs were available locally after the 1960s (*ibid.*).

On the other hand, the industrialization process in urban Hong Kong since the 1960s provided many jobs, so the younger generation of the fishers and farmers left Da Tang to find better jobs in urban Hong Kong, leaving mainly the elders, the children and the less formally-educated individuals behind (*ibid.*). The local population shrank from over 10,000 in the 1960s to about 5600 in 1981 (Undisclosed reference 5), and further down to about 2000 persons in 2004 (Undisclosed reference 1). The local community has been further marginalized by the closure of public facilities such as schools, post office, police station and bank after the 1980s.

Briefly speaking, the Da Tang community then consisted of farmers, fishers, employers and employees of small factories, workshops and shops, merchants, and workers of the salt field, with the merchants economically and politically being the most powerful, followed by the Fishers Association as a group. The merchants, fishers and workers of salt field established their own organizations in the 1940s. In 1950, the Da Tang Rural Council was established as a political and consultant organization recognized by the Hong Kong Colonial Government, and served to facilitate the communication between the government and the local community (Undisclosed reference 3). At the early stage the council was dominated by male merchants, but after 1994, members of the council were elected, including at least one representative from each village in the Da Tang district; two female members, for the first time, were also elected as members of the Rural Council (Undisclosed reference 4).

The local Rural Council began to urge the Hong Kong government to tackle these problems in the 1980s. The colonial government adopted a regional development planning in 1986, which was reviewed in 1990 (Undisclosed reference 6). After the Asian financial crisis in 1998, the Hong Kong government also wanted to develop tourism as one of the pillars of Hong Kong's economy. So in 1998 it was decided that Da Tang would be a new touristic destination, and the revitalization plan was finalized in 2002, with a budget of \$ 600 million HK dollars (*ibid.*). The objectives of this plan are to preserve the cultural and natural heritage of Da Tang, and to revitalize the local economy by developing infrastructures for eco-tourism and heritage tourism (*ibid.*). The project is still on going to date.

In the above process from the late 1980s to the present, the local community has been informed, and the revitalization plan was presented to them for comments and feedback in 2000 (Undisclosed reference 6). While the Da Tang Rural Council (referred to as the Council hereafter) and some members of the local community welcome this plan and hope to bring more tourists for economic gains, others are against it, because the plan proposes to demolish the piled dwellings and some local structures, which may drastically and irreversibly change the cultural and natural landscape of Da Tang, damage the spirit and network of the community, as well as the environment and local species. In a word, they worry that Da Tang will lose its cultural and natural uniqueness and be commercialized if the government's project being fully implemented. The establishment of the first community museum in Hong Kong in 2001 was a result of this concern of some community members.

2.2 The community museum and its founding curator

The first community museum in Hong Kong is located at a relatively quiet section of the main street at Da Tang. The building is a privately-owned two storey dwelling dated probably to the early 1920s or slightly earlier, and the floor plane is approximately 800 square feet estimated by the author. The museum opens only in the afternoon on weekends and public holidays, and admission is free; but prior appointment is required if visitors want to visit the museum on weekdays. This opening schedule apparently caters for the tourists, as the majority of them are Hong Kong residents flowing into Da Tang only on weekends and holidays as an “escape” from a crowded and polluted urban Hong Kong. According to the curator (Wai, personal communication 2012), the schedule also allows her to carry out other duties on weekdays.

The landlady of this building used to live on the second floor, but she passed away a few years ago, and the second floor is not in use now. Only the ground floor is used as the exhibition area, with photos showing the history of Da Tang hanging on the left-hand side of the wall. Various species of marine shells, and ceramic, metal and organic items (such as the fishing nets) used by the Da Tang fishers and farmers in the past, are displayed in a rather free style on other areas of the museum, with a few captions and very brief illustrations. Usually no photos are allowed inside the museum.

Though the collection is limited, and the exhibition is not very “professionalized”, the museum is quite well-known in Hong Kong mainly due to its’ founding curator, Ms. Wai (not her real surname), who is a public figure not only in Da Tang but also in Hong Kong. Since the late 1980s she has been concerned that the revitalization project of the Hong Kong government is just a commercialized plan without caring the local residents and the local culture, and has been a leading activist for the preservation of local natural and cultural heritage. She also began to collect items donated by local residents from that time (Wai, personal communication 2012). It was based on these items, and initially funded by a private foundation, that she and a group of local residents set up the community museum in 2001, and still manages it without pay. In addition, they have to generate income by selling souvenirs and leading tours in order to cover the rent of the venue and other costs such as electricity (ibid.).

Once she was approached by the government to donate her collections to a public museum run by the government, but she refused, for she always believes that a community museum should be located *in situ*, and Da Tang, with its beautiful and unique cultural and natural landscape, deserves to be a community museum (Wai, personal communication 2012). Since 2001 the museum has attracted more than 200,000 visitors (ibid.). However, without any government funding and cannot obtain substantial funding from other public or private organizations, she is not sure how long this little museum can survive. According to her, the elder landlady who used to live on the second floor agreed to lease the ground floor to her at a relatively low price in 2001 as a support in kind, but as the landlady has passed away and the property is now owned by the children of the landlady, it is not certain whether the rent will be increased, or the building will even be sold, as the property market has been going up substantially in the last few years in Hong Kong. If any one of the two possibilities happens, then the museum has to be closed, because she cannot generate sufficient income to cover the expenses (ibid.). In addition, one of her family member recently becomes very ill, and she also needs to spend more time to look after the family member (ibid.). As she is the only staff of the museum, this also means that she may not be able to manage the museum.

3 DISCUSSION

Obviously, the establishment and operation of the first community museum at Da Tang is a result of the power and politic dynamics between several groups within the local community and between the local and non-local social segments in Hong Kong. Power is an ability to influence decision making and behaviours of the others (Lewellen 2003). In Da Tang, the interaction of power between social groups can be classified at intra- and inter-local community levels. The dynamics between the HK government, the local Council and the community, between the government and NGOs and the intellectuals in Hong Kong, and between the local community, NGOs and intellectuals outside Da Tang etc., are at inter-community level and indicated by reg-

ular lines in Figure 1; while the dynamics between the Council and ordinary Da Tang residents (including Ms. Wai) are intra-community and indicated by bold lines, with Ms. Wai as an important *human agency* (Fig.1).

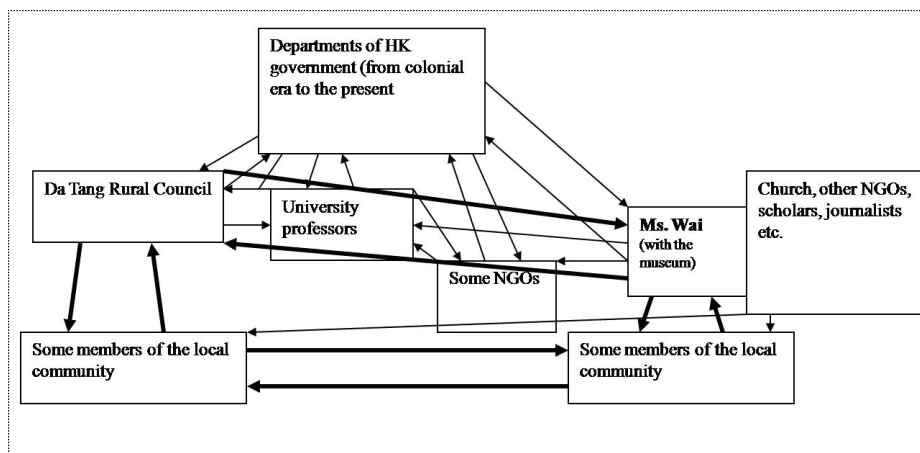


Figure 1 The power relationship between groups and individuals on the development (or revitalization) issue of Da Tang

3.1 Politics and power dynamics at the inter-community level

The most powerful stakeholder over the revitalization project of Da Tang is the Hong Kong government, which processes substantial financial and human resources, and can use its various departments as mechanisms of policy implementation and governance. Though with good intention, the colonial government was responsible for the decline of the fishing industry² and other economic activities in Da Tang since the 1950s. After this, it tried to solve the problems and answer the appeal of the local community represented by the Council by initiating a revitalization proposal in the late 1980s. However, in 1993 the colonial government proposed to demolish a long bar built in the seventeenth century protecting the residents from higher marine tides, and build a modern cement structure as a replacement. This triggered severe protests from Ms. Wai and her team, who mobilized more than one hundred volunteers to repair the bar, but the government eventually demolished it (Undisclosed reference 2).

The post-colonial Hong Kong government continues this project after 1997 because it fits well into the strategy of economic transformation, which is to transfer the economic foundation of Hong Kong from industry and logistics to finance, tourism and service (Lu 2009). Although not directly elected by people, the post-colonial government of Hong Kong inherits a political legacy from its predecessor, and governs with elite-mass interaction (Lu 2009). Therefore, the revitalization project is a governing process to win the support of the Da Tang community and to consolidate the power of the Hong Kong government.

To efficiently govern, the politic elites need the support and service of various social segments, including the professional elites (Bottomore 1993). The Hong Kong government has commissioned scholars to draw various plans for its 'revitalization' project, consequently triggered dynamics between a few university professors, the Da Tang Council, and members of the local community. In 2001, the government commissioned a professor on landscape conservation to draw a plan of mangrove planting at Da Tang, which was supported by the Council and some community members, but criticized by Ms. Wai and her supporters as a completely waste of tax payers' money while causing disturbance to the natural landscape, which had been a wetland developed from deserted rice field (Wai, personal communication 2012). At that time, Ms. Wai

and her supporters called a mass media meeting, wrote an open letter to the Legislative Council of Hong Kong SAR, and also wrote letters to several environmental concerned NGOs in Hong Kong to seek these powerful groups' help to stop the plan (Undisclosed reference 1). However, Ms. Wai and her team did not win. The government told her and her supporters that the mangrove plan was convincing, because it was written by a professor who had expertise in landscape management; some NGO also supported the professor's plan (Wai, personal communication 2012).

A few years later, another two professors, one of them locally born, were commissioned by the government to draft a plan for Da Tang to develop tourism and other economic activities (Undisclosed reference 4). They also developed course materials in 2008 for the new Liberal Studies of the secondary school curriculum in Hong Kong (Undisclosed reference 8). Mr. Wai does not like the tourism plan and the materials for the secondary students either. She said:

They (the two professors) just have read more books than I do, but they don't have the strong love as I have to Da Tang. They are only concerned with rebuilding the salt field, or even proposed to establish a museum of pile-dwelling houses – this is absurd, for all the pile-dwelling houses in the whole Da Tang should be a museum! It is also useless for the secondary school children to come and just ask questions like who was the master of the post office in the past. They should listen and think about the local culture and social network.

(Wai, personal communicate 2012)⁴

Indeed, Ms. Wai has a unique way of showing the local natural and cultural heritage to the public. Before establishing the community museum in 2001, she had begun to guide visitors to understand the Da Tang culture through visiting local resident's homes in 2000, so visitors could observe the structure of the pile dwellings and talk to the elders about the local culture and history. She also took the visitors to walk around Da Tang to appreciate the natural beauty (Undisclosed reference 9). This is a more active, engaging and appealing way of museum education and exhibition, and the whole natural and cultural landscape, as she said, is part of her community museum. She emphasizes the value of social network and connection of the local community, and argues that this is much more important than showing the reconstructed "dragon boat ritual" or the "traditional weeding" (Wai, personal communication 2012).

According to Ms. Wai, many elders of the local community, the social workers of a Christianity NGO, the father of a Catholic church, and several journalists and scholars who are not residents of Da Tang but share the same concern over Da Tang's future, have lent her much support over the years (*ibid.*). The local elders have told her their life stories, sung the local songs for her to record, or donated items or money to her museum (*ibid.*). Other members of the local community also wrote to newspaper in 2000 to endorse Wai's concern (Undisclosed reference 9). In short, her work and ideas have support in the local community, particularly among the elders, who can not be benefited much from tourism, as they are not the shop owners selling goods and service to the tourists, yet they are uncomfortable with tourists' intrusions, and hate to see Da Tang being commercialized (Wai, personal communication 2012).

The aforementioned events illustrate that an integrated power of the politic and the professional "elites" has been dominating Da Tang's revitalization process and decided the fate of the local community, who cannot have much say in the decision making process. This is a typical example not only in the rural but also in the urban areas of Hong Kong. The social elites have had the mindset that they know the best, which is a political legacy of the elite-mass governing practice from the colonial period (Ngo 1999).

However, there are other scholars and journalists supporting Ms. Wai and her team. This subgroup's concern is not just about Da Tang but also about Hong Kong's future. One of them wrote in a newspaper: "The future of Da Tang, being over-done by the Hong Kong government, is going to be bleak. In Hong Kong, you need to forget about the past, give up memory and tradition, and eventually become senseless... This is exactly what the government and the property developers want... This is a society lacking culture and a sense of sustainable development... Are you worried about Hong Kong? I am, very much. It is drying."⁵ (Undisclosed reference 10) Obviously, Da Tang has been viewed as an important symbol of Hong Kong's local culture, and the development of Da Tang is related to the sustainability of Hong Kong as a

whole and the survival of Hong Kong culture, which has been used for the consolidation of Hong Kong identity after 1997. The anti-commercialization of Da Tang is also related to the recently occurred social sentiment of anti-property developers, who have been blamed for the enlarged gap between the rich and the poor (Lu 2009). Therefore, the power dynamics between various social groups at the inter-community level reflect the conflicts of political and cultural values between different social segments in contemporary Hong Kong.

3.2 *Politics and power dynamics at the intra-community level*

The Da Tang Rural Council, being the only officially recognized political institute in the region and the consultant of the government, and with substantial financial means and extensive social network as its ‘social capital’ (Bourdieu 2006), is a dominating power at Da Tang. As the “revitalization” of Da Tang is a crucial issue related to all the community members, the Council has been playing a leading role in the process. It has been urging the government to construct more infrastructures and to promote tourism to revitalize the local economy since the 1980s, and collecting and channeling feedbacks from the local community to the government on the plan (Undisclosed reference 5). It also established another museum in 2004, showing items of the Da Tang history and culture⁶ in order to attract visitors and help the local retail business (Interview with the Secretary of the Council 2012). The council has also organized annual events such as the dragon boat ritual and “the traditional wedding of the boat people” to attract tourists. Apparently, these are approaches to maintain and consolidate the Council’s political and social status and power at the region by serving the local community.

For the same reason, it seems that the Council won’t allow its power and status being challenged, or at least it does not like different opinions. It objected the establishment of the community museum by Ms. Wai in 2001, not only because she is a woman, but also because she and her supporters have been against the proposals raised and implemented by the government and endorsed by the Council from the late 1980s. The construction of a docking pier in 2000 was the idea of the Council, but Ms. Wai viewed it useless apart from causing disturbance to the natural landscape, so she wrote to the Legislative Council of HKSAR and to other NGOs, trying to stop the plan, so she was much disliked.

Though Ms. Wai used to be a member of the council, she refused to join the election after 2000 because the widened disagreement and conflicts between her and the Council (Interview with the Secretary of the Council 2012). Indeed, the disagreement between the two camps, one being represented by Ms. Wai and her supporters, including some members of the local community, a few NGO workers, a father of the local Catholic church, and some scholars, teachers and journalists outside Da Tang, and the other camp led by the Da Tang Rural Council, and include some other members of the local community, a few professors of two universities, who have been commissioned by the Hong Kong government to draft the Da Tang revitalization plan and the heritage education programme as aforementioned, as well as the government officials (Fig. 1), sometimes is quite severe. Consequently, Ms. Wai was orally abused several times right before her museum was open in 2001. She also suspects that her son was physically attacked in 2001 for the same reason (Undisclosed reference 1).

In this politic context, the community museum becomes an important “weapon”. When asked why she wanted to establish this museum, she has made it very clear that the objectives are not only to preserve and promote the unique natural and cultural heritage of Da Tang, and to illustrate the local cultural changes to the public, particularly to the younger generation, but also to serve as an implement to object the government’s development plan for the region. These objectives are achieved, or attempted to be achieved, by showing the natural and cultural attributes of Da Tang to attract the public’s attention, and by using the museum as a *place* for her and her supporters to gather and plan activities to fight back the Council, the government and some members of the social elite, who disagree with her team on the development of Da Tang. In addition, the museum is also a subtle “resistance” to the male-dominated and powerful Da Tang Rural Council. She said:

In the 1980s it was quite difficult for a woman to do all the things here as it is dominated by male, so I was abused and hurt. In 1994 I became a Christian so I am much tolerated to these (abuses)...When I proposed to set up a museum, the Rural Council

was against it. Why? Well, they said, as a woman I should be cooking and taking care of children at home, and should not do these things to cause trouble... but I want to have more people to care about our community...now they (the Council) follow my footstep (to set up another museum in Da Tang).⁷

The community museum does serve as an important place for her and her team for the aforementioned objectives. After the establishment of the museum, she has been interviewed by many news papers, so the visibility of the museum, Da Tang and herself has been significantly increased and more public attention has been drawn, which is exactly what she has been hoping for (Wai, personal communication 2012). When the author talked to Ms. Wai in a weekend afternoon, local and overseas visitors continued to come into the museum and talked to her. She indeed has obtained supports from the community inside and outside Da Tang. On the other hand, she is not happy that the government officials have never visited the museum, showing the government not caring about the local culture and people (ibid.).

3.3 Ms. Wai as an agency

Now in her early fifties, Ms. Wai was brought by her parent to live in Da Tang when she was a child, so she has been living in Da Tang for more than forty years (Wai, personal communication 2012). Since the 1980s, Ms. Wai has shown her abilities to plan alternatives and to pursue her goals with determination and strategies, including the establishment and management of the community museum, in order to preserve the natural and cultural heritage of Da Tang, which is her “most beloved home” (ibid.). She knows the restraints in the cultural context in which she has been living for more than four decades, but she still determines to continue her perusal, because she believes that it is important for one to be a responsible citizen, and to fight for social justice and fairness; these ideas were acquired when she attended a secondary school many years ago (ibid.). Over the years she has spent much time and money, has published two books primarily on her own cost on the natural heritage, history and local culture of Da Tang, and has finished the manuscript of the third book on stories of local residents, which will be published soon by using her own money (ibid.).

Ms. Wai is very proud of what she has done. According to the author’s observation in 2012, she always enthusiastically greeted visitors coming to her museum, shown them the books she published, and told them the stories of the museum and Da Tang. If visitors required, she also happily took pictures with them. As she said: “I am just a housewife with three years of secondary school education, so it is not easy to be a curator of a community museum and the author of two books.” (Wai, personal communication 2012) In our conversation, she said that she did not do well academically in her secondary school (ibid.), so the role she has been played in the last decades becomes a self-actualization, or the meaning of life (Mathews 1996) for her. Obviously, the community museum also symbolizes, consolidates and enhances the social and political status of her as a unique *human agency* in the local community, and is a landmark of her works and efforts.

4 CONCLUSION

The birth of community museum or ecomuseum is a post-modernism phenomenon in the West (Davis 2011). The establishment and operation of the first community museum in Hong Kong results from power conflict and negotiation between various social groups, from the most powerful government to the least powerful individuals, all of them want to participate in and influence the decision making process of how to “develop” or revive a rural district, and to be the interpreters and presenters of the local natural and cultural heritage, which are perceived as a symbol of Hong Kong culture by some. Thus, the community museum in Da Tang is not only an institution to show the local heritage of a place (Davis 2011), but also a public *place*, where the local people, less formally-educated or even illiterate (i.e. the elders), are empowered as the story tellers of their own culture. Thus, a local and grass-root presentation of local “heritage”, in the absence of an “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (Smith 2006) from the government, can be constructed and disseminated. The community museum is also a place that Ms. Wai, as an ac-

tive human agency from the grass-root social segment, consolidates her social and political status not only within the local community but also in Hong Kong. In this sense, the community museum becomes a “weapon” of the less powerful to fight against the more powerful, and a place to offer diverse discourses on elites vs. grass-root, capitalism vs. tradition, and constructed “festivals” vs. social network etc., in contemporary Hong Kong.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The majority of the richest tycoons in contemporary Hong Kong are migrants from mainland China after 1949.
- ² To protect the founding curator of the museum, who is well-known in Hong Kong but is in conflicts with the regional power, the real names of the fieldsite and the curator will NOT be disclosed in this paper. For the same reason, several key references cannot be disclosed, and will be identified as undisclosed references 1-10. Interested scholars please contact the author at luledan@cuhk.edu.hk for details of these references.
- ³ The Da Tang case can serve as a good example of how good intentions produce unsustainable results.
- ⁴ The Interview was conducted in Cantonese, and the quotation is translated by the author.
- ⁵ The original text is in Chinese and translated by the author.
- ⁶ The items showed in the Council’s museum are very similar to those displayed in Ms. Wai’s museum.
- ⁷ The interview was conducted in Cantonese in April 2012, and the quotation was translated into English by the author.

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Heritage, community and development place sustainable

M. T. R. Martins¹

Ecomuseu da Amazônia – Belém-Pará – BRAZIL

ABREMC – Associação Brasileira de Ecomuseus e Museus Comunitários

ABSTRACT: This study aimed at to build up Sustainable Tourism proposal for Cotijuba Island which is placed in Pará State/Brazil, from the Cultural Heritage valuation. The methodology was based on search-action, considering the worry about reaffirm a true socio-cultural heritage in searched area. In this way, it was developed from February/2010 to January/2011, the study aiming to identify information about the community day by day, their memories, their ways of doing and knowing, and the recognition of the social actors which are involved on the local heritage. These information were collected through a general goal “to build up from the valorization of the cultural heritage which are showed by the community, the Sustainable Tourism proposal to Cotijuba Island, district of Belém, Pará State – Brazil”, which were shared into five goals: 1) identify the cultural heritage places and symbols; describe the cultural items that become part of the Island heritage; 2) detect the knowledge and the perception that the population in relation to these patrimonies; 3) verify the attitude and the valorization of the inhabitant in relation to the touristic places; 4) verify the cultural and social-economic of these inhabitant; 5) stimulate the happening and sustainability of a touristic project among the Island inhabitants. These referred goals deals to the following questions: Which are the steps to the construction of a proposal about Sustainable Tourism for Cotijuba Island community, district of Belém, Pará state – Brazil, from the Cultural Heritage valorization? These questioning emphasized the qualitative approach and were developed into two stages: it happened through informal contacts involving many categories of the society and through questionnaires that were done based on some structure interviews but not among the institutional and local actors. The cultural heritage showed in the searched area was divided into three categories: knowledge, environment and the cultural possessions, legislation about the searched area and the Sustainable Tourism. The results showed the cultural inheritance in three different parts: actives of the recognized knowledge, the tasks, the ruins, indicated as lost possessions and the new mentioned actives as constitutive elements of the local infrastructure. It was possible to detect the valorization of the touristic attractions and the Island symbols, as a conscience and the Island’s cultural heritage valorization. We checked that the ecological tourism has been developing at the rural and urban areas of the Island, considering the sustainable actions and vice versa. The study also discovered a conscience level and a change on residents’ and on some institutions and/or politics and socio-cultural organizations’ attitudes at the Island. We concluded then, that the search contributed to the developing of a Sustainable Tourism proposal from the cultural patrimony valorization, which was developed from Cotijuba Island community, district of Belém, Pará Stated – Brazil.

1 PRESENTATION

The importance of the amazonic set as a Brazilian natural heritage is extremely important to the planet’s life. In this way, specially, it deals with a part of this set, Cotijuba Island, which is

located in the district of Belém, Pará State, Metropolitan Region of Belém – MRB. The district of Belém is a territorial space that shelter this study about “Sustainable Tourism to Cotijuba Island community, district of Belém, State of Pará – Brazil, from the valorization of Cultural Heritage”, this study emphasized as its main topics: the patrimony, community and the sustainable local environment.

2 JUSTIFYING

According to the environment social questions through Earth planet is passing by, as some violent impacts caused to the ecosystems by human beings, the species survival runs the risk of losing life, so it is necessary the implantation of the politics which thinks and executes projects. In this context, Cotijuba Island environments questions are almost the same from the other areas in the Amazonia, because the population from this micro region also has dealt with the no preservation of the cultural heritage, with the missing programs about social and educational environment to the communities, these kinds of situations have come from different sectors, which we can mention some as the demographic explosion that occasioned the irregular use of the ground, deforestation and the degradation of some permanent preservation areas, problems about solid residuals and the difficulties that the drinking water has passed through and also the losing the real aspect of the local cultural. In this way, the population has been invited to understand the different social dimension that has happened on community everyday lives as: environments, cultural and socio-economic politics caused by many factors as the demographic increase, eliminated possessions and the services production and the solid residual volume, it is the consequence of the irresponsible human being consumption. These approaches represent the important investigation for the population at the search area.

3 THE STUDIES QUESTIONS

It is very important to mention the studies questionnaire: Which are the steps to build up a proposal of Sustainable Tourism to Cotijuba Island community, district of Belém, Pará State – Brazil, from the valorization of Cultural Heritage? Reinforcing this investigation, we did some questions: Which are the elements that could be attributed for a proposal to the Sustainable Tourism at Cotijuba Island? Which are the attitude and the valorization that Cotijuba inhabitant usually give to the heritage's Island? Which is people's cultural and social-economical situation from Cotijuba Island? And how to estimate the possibility to become true and the sustainability of a tourism project for Cotijuba Island?

Questions that had as a support a general goal: building from cultural heritage valorization which is attributed by the community, a Sustainable Tourism proposal to Cotijuba Island, district of Belém, Pará State – Brazil. According to this, we discussed some specific goals: 1) identify the cultural heritage places and symbols which were included in this study; 2) describe the cultural items that were part of the Island heritage; 3) detect the knowledge and the perception that the population feels in relation to these heritages; 4) verify the inhabitant's attitude and valorization in relation to the touristic places; 5) verify the cultural and social-economical situation of these inhabitants and, 6) stimulate the possibility and the sustainability of a touristic project among the Island inhabitant. These questions and goals had as a base the development of this study. It was possible because of the Amazon region, its natural and cultural resorts wealth, that reflect on the human being relations, cultural, environment and development, basic factors to lives quality on the region.

4 THE SEARCH

This study tried to reinforce the reflections, to explain related questions about the given theme. It also tried to contribute through theoretical search and the campus visits, strategies which became possible the realization of this study and the improvement of people's lives of the mentioned community. It is about a social study that tried to be based on the bibliographic revision and the popular participation, and also tried to approximate the practice and the theory

because it is a search-action. According to Thiollent (2000, p. 63), “it is a social search from empiric base conceived and realized in strict association with actions and collective problems solutions with representative participants’ involvement of the cooperative and participative mode situation”.

The other important theme in this study is the water factor. Cotijuba is located on Pará River, near the Guajará bay and on the North of Marajó bay which ends on Atlantic Ocean. The water that surrounds contributes to the formation of this micro region transforming it as a strategic territory; it also represents a constitutive element of the cultural patrimony of the Island, because of its importance for the social-economic, environment and touristic aspects. And also, the importance that it does on these people’s behavior in relation to the sustentation, their habits, traditions and their mystic character that they get, once that the water symbolizes life and is related to the idea of fertility. To emphasize the water factor, it is was called Pedro Arrojo Agudo searcher (2007) that explains the Water New Cultural, this theme favors the debates through relevant questionnaires and challenges, it requires changes on society people attitudes, it also includes the Sustainable New Cultural.

5 IMPORTANT LAWS FOR THE SEARCHED AREA

It is important in this search to mention the Brazilian laws which are related to this theme as Federal Constitution/1988, 225 Art., which orients the environment questions which involves the rights and obligations of the citizens and of the Public statement. In this way, it guaranties an ecologically environment equilibrated, because it deals with a good and common possessions. The Brazilian worried with the environment conservation and preservation is based on excellent environment legislation which this country has already had. It is considered as an advance by the environmentalists. We can mention as examples, the paragraphs: IV and XIII, 4th Art. that can be found on Sistema Nacional de Unidades de Conservação da Natureza – SNUC, Law Number: 9.985/2000, that emphasizes “the promotion of the Sustainable development from natural resorts, in the same way as the protection of the necessities natural resorts to support the traditional populations, respecting and giving importance to their knowledge, culture and promoting them social and economically.

The Island is favored by the water legislation because the preservation and the conservation of the water resorts are protected by the Law 9.433/97, Política Nacional de Recursos Híbridos – PNRH, which is knowing as the Water Law, that determines on the 1st Art, part I “the water is a public possession” and it completes the part IV “the management of the water resorts always must have offered the multiple use of the water.”

Other important legislation for Cotijuba community is the Law number: 6.766/1979 that is facing some problems because it is about the use of the ground, as the no organized construction near by the rivers. It involves the Use and Sharing of the ground which establishes the rules for the urban occupations that is forbidden at local and ecological preservation areas where the pollution represents dangerous for health. On its 1st Art. Unique Paragraph it mentions that “the States, The Federal Districts and the Municipalities can establish complementary rules related to the sharing of the municipality ground to adequate which is predicted on that Law to the regional and local peculiarities.”

Those legislations can be true an environment management which can be more effective for the public power and the organized civil society, because the practice has not been in accordance to the theories, which are established on the current legislation. In this way, the interaction of the public power and the civil society will be the base for a possible effectuation of actions about the environment protection, the culture and the social economic environment for Cotijuba Island. To Brito and Câmara (1999, p.30) “the environment question can be incorporated to public politics and the government strategic planning.”

6 COTIJUBA ISLAND

Cotijuba is management by the Administração Regional da Ilha de Caratateua, it is located at the district of Belém. The first Island inhabitants and from the areas which are nearby it were Tupinambás Indians in the year of 1616 that were responsible for its name, according to

bibliographic search. With no affirmation from the correct date, to Santana (2002, p. 29) “the first inhabitants from the Island were Tupinambás Indians, that called it as Cotijuba, which comes from its language as golden way (coti=way; and juba=golden, yellow), because of the reflections that the moon used to product on the yellow ground.”

The “Anuário Estatístico de Belém” (2008) emphasizes, that the Island has an area of 15,95 Km², but 20 Km of beaches, beautiful pictures and an Amazon wildlife and flora nice wealth, it is far from paraense capital for 22 Km straight. According to Fundação Nacional de Saúde – FNS (2010), the Island population increased on the last decades. Nowadays, they are 13.740 inhabitants, which mean that they constitute a demographic explosion.

Cotijuba has its own territory, with natural and cultural resorts that form the cultural constructions at the Island. It is not environment, according to Leff (2001, p. 224) “the environment which is around is related to biological species and the population. It is a sociological category (and not biological) it is related to a social rationality, built by behaviors, values and knowledge, and also by new productive potentials.” According to this approach, Cotijuba environment represents the result of communities’ interaction, involving social organization processes, values, does and knowledge, it is growing around the communities the longing for new information from a systematic vision, these factors will probably lead them to a new productive potential.

The Island cultural patrimony is formed by some artistic and historical centrals as Educandário Nogueira de Faria, a Casa do Governador Zacarias de Assunção and Usina de Branqueamento de Arroz, although these buildings are destroyed by the time, they represent the real historic monuments from the region and also they reproduce significant part of Island communities memory. Based on what was mentioned before, these heritages must have been protected by Decreto Lei –DL Number 25/37.

The searched area also must have been protected by the State Law number: 5.629/1990, on its 1st Art. That refers to cultural possessions: “the material and non material possessions are considered as cultural patrimony of Pará State, even if they are alone or on set, they must have been related to identity, action, to memory from different groups that form paraense society.”

The base of this search is about Sustainable Tourism-ST, which is definite by many social actors and even by some public administrators as a possible alternative and a way to interact with the natural resorts. However some researchers and also some common observers affirm that, the practice of a possible alternative of some communities’ sustainability, are not proportional to the environment sustainable. Being sustainable, the Tourism according to Rabinovici (2009, p. 57) “it must consider as goal the maintenance of the ecologic, biologic and environmental processes’ integrity and also it must satisfy people’s, environment’s around, the visited people and the visitors” economic, cultural, ethics and aesthetic necessities. Cotijuba community in this context have the possibilities to the implantation of a tourism sustainable from the valorization of the cultural heritage, as we identified during the field research, the perception of the interviewees, in relation to the recognition and valorization of the heritage local importance, specially recognized, in the know how category; the lost, where we stressed the ruins of Fazendinha sugar plantation, Pimentel and Educandário; and also, the new heritages, that pointed the infrastructure out which was built in the last years (maternity, schools, port...). the mentioned heritages show the directed and undirected relation with the problems which were listed by the interviewees, as: lack of drinking water, deforestation, the uncontrolled use of the ground, and so on, and also, with the main mentioned attractive by the community, as the beautiful pictures, the ruins, etc. It was observed too that the investigated actors has already started to establish participative actions focus on community and local development. The study also stressed the community tourism that according to the No Government Organization –OGN wwwf-International (2001) “it is defined as a modality of ecotourism where the local community has the control and the involvement in its development and management and the main part of the benefits from the permanent activities of the community.”

The Island population is formed by fourteen (14) communities; some of them still lives from fishing, farming and extractive activities, these activities normally guaranties people support and do not cause environment dangerous. But, on the last decades the population has been benefited by other ways to support themselves, the tourism based on local patrimony, that is, the natural and historic beauties, as the pictures, beaches, many kinds of fruits, ruins.

The Island has the same characteristics as a bioregion because it gets a territory which is composed by various nucleus of nature protection, and also it promotes the use of these sustainable resorts. According to Miller (1997, p. 19), Bioregional Planning “it is an organizational process that helps people to work together, to get information, to reflect carefully about the potential and the region’s problems, to establish goals, to define activities, to create projects and actions in accordance to the communities, to evaluate the progress and to adjust their own approach.”

According to this aspect, we could observe that the developed actions by the Island communities through “Projeto Ecomuseu da Amazônia are based on Kenton Miller theory, on the other words, they give importance to the idea of working together with public institutions and groups from the organized society from the Island. It is important to mention that the mention actions are done in a participative and integrated mode and its goal is to get necessities projects which improve the lives conditions from this micro region in practice. They also recognize the community spaces as interest articulation territory, conflict management and changing knowledge.

Ecomuseu da Amazônia activities are related to the Sustainable Tourism from the valorization of Cultural Heritage from Cotijuba Island which focuses on local development. The concept of ecomuseum, according to Martins (2005, p. 52) is: “it is a territory delimitation that shows a set of natural and cultural work from a region on a closed and opened area, integrating the living being and its habitat and other cultural manifestations.” The responsible for the term ecomuseum was a French called Varine-Bohan, in the years of 70th in France, who presents it as a tool for the communities actions, it is able to create conditions to process the decisions attitudes which are related to planning and development based on collective.

Ecomuseu da Amazônia methodology is developed on these axles: culture, environment, tourism and citizenship, the actions happen from fast participative diagnostic, production workshops, socio-economic and heritage search, social memory, helping on social organizations formation, creating income, exhibition, and others. The mentioned information was collected from social actors’ speeches who are involved on the micro region where this Museum is located. The actions projects are based on education areas, culture, environment, citizenship and sustainable tourism from modern Museum studies principles, from planning and bioregional management and from sustainable concept which is based on culture, local technology, people communities’ does and popular knowledge. Finally, the developed actions by Ecomuseu da Amazônia at Cotijuba Island involve directly and indirectly for about 40 families, with activities that get possible the join and the development of local inhabitant. Other developed experience at the Island is called “Movimento das Mulheres das Ilhas de Belém”-MMB, it is as association without lucrative goals, it helps on getting money and giving opportunities for young and women from Belém islands.

According to Silva (2007, p. 86) about the searched area, the district of Belém was divided on environment urban-Macro zone of urban environment – ZAU and the natural environment that got part of the insular region of Belém and its big green areas were called as Macro zone from the natural environment – ZAN. The country and the islands territory form the environment of the district of Belém. Cotijuba Island is part of ZAN 2, it integrates with Caratateua and Mosqueiro, it is a few islands that have well defined urban and rural environment. And as part of ZAN 2 it includes Varzea ecosystems, natural lakes and historical patrimony to be preserved, exuberant vegetation with the inhabitants’ presence that live near the rivers.

7 METHODOLOGY

This study is based on an investigation which is called action-search, according to Hernandez-Sampieri, Batista and Lucio (2008, p. 709) “Investigación-acción participativa o cooperativa en esta, los miembros del grupo, organización o comunidad fungen como coinvestigadores.” The methodological aim had as a goal the action-search as we have already mention before because it relates the search to the action or practice, that is, it comes along with people from Cotijuba necessities, which is a community that valorizes and reaffirm its culture and feels like producing its own history.

From comprehending of this search, the methodology was divided on: the local study descriptions, kinds and studies methods, population and examples of studies, techniques of data

collections. The chosen population for this search was defined based on mixed reasons, with qualitative mode using action-investigation, it a tool that facilitates the relation between searcher X community, from the study object. The sample is based on qualitative approach that according to Hernández-Sampieri et al (2006, p.252) represents “a unit of analyzes or a set of people, context, events or facts, on which information is collected, without being necessarily universe representative.”

This study was done with the searched community help, focused on selected actors on search. It is a study that became possible to solve problems which appeared at the Island during the search period, in this way the discovered situations at the Island, were disorganized use of ground, deforestation, increasing income, the non valorization of the local heritage, among others, there was not an own goal of investigation, but punctual situations that happened in the investigation process. The mention problems were identified at the campus visits and during the application of instruments in the community and also at institutions from the Island.

In this way the information collect was done with (316) three hundred and sixteen investigations; it was not based on the number the Island inhabitants that according to FNS (20110) are (13.740) thirteen thousand seven hundred and forty, but it was based on representation of the various groups that form the interviewed population which establishes some relation with Sustainable Tourism from the valorization of the local cultural heritage.

The investigated people were (275) two hundred and seventy-five people from the general community, using questionnaires; (25) twenty-five structured interviews with the Cotijuba Island inhabitants about the touristic activity at the Island; (8) eight almost structured interviews which were done with some responsible for some public institutions at the Island; (2) two almost structured interview with some associations' coordinators and project that developed actions at the searched area, and also (6) six almost structured interviews which were done with local people who related information about memory and the Cotijuba Island history. The main goal of this instrument application was getting an idea of its history, structure, development and the Island daily routine.

The search considered that the investigation process about Cotijuba Island in this study is a consequence of many factors that are related to Amazon continuous destruction by the economic politics and by the non respect of the public heritage. These determiners can be the base to the creation of new proposals of sustainable tourism for the local community. In this way, the questions about this problems, which based on the interviews' search and explained by the specific goals, observed that the local reality confrontation and the given results of the application questioner and the interviews with the community reaffirm the done considerations during the campus search in accordance to the action search.

We concluded that it is pertinent to affirm that the collected information indicates the realization possibility because the participative initiatives are increasing at the Island and also are making reflections among the communities, politics and the public administrations which help in protecting the public patrimony. These changes have been reaffirmed the importance of the legislation efficiency of theme mentioned and also the importance of the (re) valorization of the historic and cultural processes which help to improve the development of the sustainable practices based on the local culture.

The proposal of Sustainable Tourism for Cotijuba community is based on a diagnostic of the main aspects of the Island as the valorization of the cultural heritage which will be based on politic publics that improves the touristic activities in acceptable way by the community also to bring well living conditions as means of transportations, feeding and tourism helps.

It is important to explain the importance of the “Plano Diretor” which was establish in 2008 by MBM, which defines the valorization politics to cultural heritage and the use of its ground correctly to guarantee the definitions of the territory use to promote a better use of it and its preservation. And also to promote the legislation application about: education, culture, environment and water resorts.

It is also supposed to promote a proposal of sustainable tourism from the valorization of the Island patrimony by its inhabitant that shows many alternatives to improve the Island population lives, to increase jobs and income by visitors.

Finally, it is important to affirm that the study based on action-search methodology promotes actions based on the communities, its leadings and professionals which are engaged on the qualification of human resorts and on an active participative culture, cooperation and dialogue among different region's social actors (community, civil organizations and public power), to all

interested people can keep and multiply the necessary actions to the implantation of a Tourism proposal that focus on sustainable local development from valorization of Cotijuba Island cultural heritage.

ENDNOTES

* It is adapted from Doctor's paper fragments in Natural Integrated Resorts Management "Sustainable Tourism Propose for Cotijuba Island community, district of Belém, Pará State – Brazil, from the valorization of the Cultural Heritage", by Maria Terezinha R. Martins, Universidade Autônoma de Assunção-UAA/Universidade Católica de Brasília-UCB, 2012.

¹ Doctor in Natural Resorts Integrated Management, Ecomuseu da Amazônia Coordinator and Coordination of Community Development-Escola Bosque Professor Eidorfe Moreira Foundation; ABREMC-2010/2012 Directory Member.

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Protecting the intangible heritage of Hainan Province: could the use of ecomuseum principles help safeguard the intangible heritage of the Li and the Miao minorities?

K. Massing

Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, UK

ABSTRACT: This paper explores the possibilities of establishing an ecomuseum in Hainan Province, China, aiming to effectively safeguard the intangible cultural heritage of the Li and the Miao minorities. It examines the local situation in Hainan and discusses the practical application of ecomuseums in China. It concludes by investigating strategies that could give a stronger voice to the local communities and encourage a more integrated approach in heritage management.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, China has released a number of heritage inventory lists and legal guidelines concerning the protection of its intangible cultural heritage (ICH), the latest one being the Intangible Heritage Protection Law of the People's Republic of China that came into effect in June 2011 (Pan 2008). China's interest in the protection of its ICH was triggered by the 2003 UNESCO Intangible Heritage Convention and the listing of *kunqu*, a traditional form of Chinese opera, as a World Masterpiece of Oral and Intangible Heritage. While regarded as outdated and irrelevant before, the Chinese government then identified the preservation of ICH as a way to strengthen national unity and patriotism. It is also a major tool for tourism development (McLaren 2010).

However, when it comes to protecting ICH expressions in rural China, these recent measures have shown little success. The urbanisation of the countryside and rapid economic development are having a significant impact on the lifestyle of China's rural population, particularly on China's 55 ethnic minorities. Many of them are trying to adapt to the mainstream culture of the Han majority and are paying less attention to their own cultural traditions (An and Gjestrum 1999, Xu 2007).

Efforts by local governments to preserve the ICH of ethnic minorities are primarily made in the context of tourism development using a top-down approach. Many local officials regard ethnic minorities as "backward" with no capacity to manage their own affairs. Because of this, their ICH is often displayed in theme parks, managed and planned by the government or Han businessmen. This lack of control over their heritage and how it is presented to tourists leads to a loss of meaning and the commercialisation of ICH traditions (Oakes 1998).

Recognizing these issues, attitudes among government officials are slowly changing and Chinese experts on ICH are trying to develop methods that involve the participation and empowerment of ethnic minorities in tourism development and heritage protection. One approach that is growing more popular is the establishment of ecomuseums (Xu 2007).

In this context, this paper examines if the use of ecomuseum principles in Hainan Province could help its ethnic minorities safeguard their ICH. It starts by analysing the local situation in Hainan and then evaluates the strengths and weaknesses of existing ecomuseums in China. Building up on that evaluation and initial field research conducted in April 2012, it discusses the ecomuseum potential in Hainan Province. Hereafter, the focus lies on developing ways for stronger community involvement.

2 TOURISM AND INTAGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN HAINAN

Hainan Island, located by the South China Sea, is China's only tropical province. The majority of its inhabitants are Han Chinese who migrated there from the mainland. The largest ethnic minority groups there are the Li and Miao minorities. They mostly live in the south-central areas in the Li and Miao autonomous regions and contribute a major part to the ICH of the province. While the Miao are distributed all over Southeast Asia the Li are indigenous to Hainan (Xie 2010).

Tourism is the pillar of Hainan's economy and it is a popular holiday destination among Chinese honeymooners. It began its transformation into a vacation spot in 1986, when China included tourism in the national plan for social and economic development and the central government identified Hainan as one of seven priority areas for tourism development (Wang and Wall 2007). In order to encourage tourism and boost the economy, it was designated a Special Economic Zone. This allowed huge investments in development projects by enterprises from mainland China and foreign countries (Umezaki and Jiang 2009). This focus on strengthening the tourism industry is still ongoing. In January 2010, the central government approved the designation of Hainan as an 'International Tourism Island', with the aim to shape it into a world-class tourism destination by 2020 (Xie 2010). Despite these efforts from the government and Hainan's rich cultural and natural resources, it remains one of China's most economically backward provinces. Tourism mainly occurs in the coastal areas while the impoverished areas in the interior of the island do not profit economically from tourism (Stone and Wall 2003). Even in the coastal areas tourism has been a mixed success with many hotels in the resort zones operating at a loss (Xie 2010).

Tourism development also has major consequences for the cultural and natural heritage of the island. In the coastal areas, the absence of guidelines and controls regarding tourism development led to the destruction of cultural ecosystems, an overbuilt urban environment of poor standard, and limited concern for the livelihood and welfare of the ethnic minority communities. One example of this is the Yalong Bay State Tourist and Holiday Resort Zone, one of the biggest development zones in Hainan. Several villages of the Li minority had to be relocated for this project. The planning of the new settlements was largely decided without consulting the concerned Li communities, and therefore paid little attention to their cultural needs (Wang and Wall 2007).

In the interior areas, modernisation and tourism development are threatening cultural heritage in a different way. Due to modernisation efforts from the government, including providing the ethnic minorities with modern houses, most of the indigenous tangible heritage of Hainan is already lost. There are only two villages left on the whole island, Hongshui and Baicha, that are built in the traditional Li architectural design (Liu Kaiyao pers. comment). The lifestyle change and the employment possibilities tourism offers are threatening the ICH of these regions. The ICH of the ethnic minorities is closely linked to their farming traditions and rural lifestyle. The younger generation, however, prefers to work in ethnic minority villages far from their hometowns, which promise less rigorous work and higher salaries (Xie 2010). Many ICH expressions, such as the Li textile techniques of spinning, dyeing, weaving, and embroidering included in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in 2009, are under serious threat. These traditional textile techniques form an integral part of the Li culture and play an important role in religious rituals, weddings, and funerals. While in the 1950's traditional Li textile techniques were still practiced widely, with over 50,000 women mastering the skills, there are less than 1,000 practitioners left today, most of them over 70 years old. The UNESCO report (2009) names the influences of globalisation, especially the arrival of tourism, modern agriculture, and a drop in transmission as the main reasons for the decline. Other ICH

expressions of the Li such as music or tattooing traditions are also endangered (Yang 1996, Xie 2010). The Miao minority, though less researched on Hainan, is experiencing a similar loss of ICH traditions (Schein 2000, Oakes 1998).

A possibility to strengthen the preservation of ICH, and develop sustainable tourism that protects the natural resources of Hainan, would be to actively involve the local communities in tourism planning. Several researchers mention the necessity for Hainan to achieve a stronger community involvement in tourism development and heritage management in order to realize its full tourism potential and wider economic profits (Li 2004, Stone and Wall 2003). It is criticised that members of ethnic minority groups who could make distinctive contributions to the tourism industry are only minimally employed in tourism now (Wall and Xie 2005).

The provincial government has also recognized this but has little experience with community tourism so far. One of the ideas that would involve community participation and strengthen preservation of the natural and cultural environment is the establishment of ecomuseums. This proposal corresponds with the current trend in China to aim for more community participation in heritage planning. Currently, there are 22 ecomuseums in China and several more are in the planning state.

3 ECOMUSEUMS IN CHINA

The ecomuseum ideal was created in the early 1970's in France out of a need for a more holistic and integrated approach towards heritage management. Its initial ideas, developed by Georges Henri Rivière and Hugo de Varine, were to form a closer link between humanity and the environment and to democratise museum processes by taking the community more into account (Su 2008). As opposed to the traditional museum, the ecomuseum is more all-encompassing since it includes intangible, tangible, and natural heritage resources (Corsane 2006). Corsane (2006) identified 21 ecomuseum indicators, which can vary according to the local context. However, every ecomuseum should rest on the following three pillars: *in situ* preservation, community involvement, and responsiveness to its unique context.

Chinese scholars started to explore the idea of the ecomuseum in 1986 during the climax of China's museum building. Museum professionals were investigating new ways to protect China's diverse cultural heritage and its natural environment threatened by the rapid economic growth (Su 2008).

The first practical application of an ecomuseum in China was established in 1997 in Guizhou, in an attempt to open ethnic minority cultures for tourism and balance both heritage protection and economic development in a rural area. The Soga Miao Ecomuseum was established in co-operation with the Norwegian government and connects twelve villages of the *Qing Miao* people (An and Gjestrum 1999).

While attempting to conform to the international principles of the ecomuseum movement, China also aimed to develop its own Chinese characteristics. One of these characteristics is that while the local community is involved in the ecomuseum, the government and experts guide and direct the planning. Another point is that it is not only linked to the protection of cultural heritage, it is also related to economic development and an improvement of living standards (Hu 2006).

At the moment, China has established four ecomuseums in Guizhou Province; one in Inner Mongolia; one in Anji, Zhejiang Province; six ethnic cultural and ecological villages in Yunnan Province; and the 1+10 Ecomuseum Project in Guangxi Autonomous Region, which centres around the Guangxi Museum of Nationalities. Most of these ecomuseums are located in poor rural areas, protecting the heritage of China's ethnic minorities.

Ecomuseums in China have been a mixed success so far. On the positive side, Su (2008) notes that ecomuseums have heightened people's own cultural self-awareness and strengthened villagers' abilities to interact with the outside world. Rong (2006) observes an increase of pride in their culture and a significant improvement of lifestyle through the construction of schools and the installation of sanitation.

Despite these positive developments, it has been questioned if this Western approach of heritage management is suitable for the Chinese situation (Zhang and You 2009). The first four ecomuseums in Guizhou Province have especially been criticised for their top-down approach to

heritage protection, and the fact that they have been much more effective in promoting economic development rather than heritage protection. In the village of the Soga Miao, for instance, significant changes are talking place. Homes are being built in the old village using non-traditional techniques. The information centre has been largely abandoned. Only one of the twelve villages actually receives visitors. The other settlements feel that they do not profit from the ecomuseum, which leads to tension among the communities (Davis 2011).

The ecomuseums in Guangxi and Yunnan have been regarded more positively in the literature (Xu 2007, Yin 2003). Su (2006) notes that the ecomuseums in Guangxi are more professional in preserving heritage and are constantly making improvements to be more sustainable. Xu (2007) observes that in her case study in the Xianrendong village, one of the ethnic cultural and ecological villages in Yunnan, mechanisms created to encourage sustainable community involvement were very successful. Yet Davis (2011) indicates that the ecomuseums in Yunnan have not been maintained after their opening. Yin (2003), the initiator of the museums in Yunnan Province, remarks that it was very difficult to encourage community participation during the project. He further notes that the project team struggled to uphold the standards of the ecomuseum due to a lack of education, nearsightedness, and the pursuit of quick results.

During my initial field research in April 2012, I visited the ecomuseum in Lingchuan, which is part of the 1+10 project in Guangxi Autonomous Region. There, I observed similar problems to those in Guizhou Province. While talking to the local people, I found very little community participation, except from the village leader who looked after the exhibition hall. I also had the impression that the villagers scarcely understood the concept of the ecomuseum. They regarded the exhibition hall as being the ecomuseum and not the entire village. A remark the village leader made during our conversation demonstrates this clearly, 'I wish our visitors would be more interested in seeing the ecomuseum (meaning the exhibition hall) and not only wander around our village and look at the architecture.'

To summarize, while raising the living standard of the community and increasing the pride of the local population, ecomuseums in China struggle with the top-down approach and the lack of community participation. They are often established but not maintained. The remoteness of the area makes it inconvenient to visit them. The wish of villagers for a better lifestyle, for example to live in new houses, is changing the landscape of the villages. Part of the problem is that the local population is poor, depending on farming for their livelihood. If the ecomuseum does not produce economic benefits, they have neither the time nor the motivation to participate.

However, the practical application of ecomuseums and the idea of community involvement in heritage protection are still new to China. In order to develop new ecomuseum ideas and strengthen their research, the State Administration of Cultural Heritage announced in September 2011 the intention to establish model site eco and community museums in the whole country (SACH 2011).

4 THE ECOMUSEUM POTENTIAL ON HAINAN ISLAND

The plans of the provincial government in Hainan for establishing ecomuseums protecting its ICH and natural heritage are still at the very beginning stages. In April 2012, Gerard Corsane and I met with government officials from the Department of Culture, Radio, TV, Publication, and Sport of Hainan Province, to discuss possibilities of establishing an ecomuseum there. The officials were aiming to create a new ecomuseum ideal for Hainan Province and develop their own set of standards: 'Hainan has to find a different approach for ecomuseums than the one in Guizhou, which is too commercialized. We want to develop our own set of standards for Hainan that guarantees the protection of the ICH, encourages a more high-class tourism and protects the natural environment.' One suggestion was to distribute 60 ecomuseums all over the island with Baicha village in Dong'an County as a first model.

Due to Hainan's status as one of the most economically backward provinces in China and the plan to locate the ecomuseums in the rural interior of the island, they would have similar preconditions to the existing ones and consequently could face the related issues. Nevertheless, Hainan also has unique local conditions that bring new challenges and opportunities for the establishment of ecomuseums.

Most of Hainan's traditional ethnic minority architecture has been destroyed. While other ecomuseums in China also demonstrate *in situ* preservation of their tangible heritage, Hainan Province would rely on displaying intangible and natural heritage. These circumstances make the participation of the community and a bottom-up approach essential if the ecomuseums want to distinguish themselves from the local ethnic minority theme parks on the island and offer a new approach to heritage management.

Analysing the other ecomuseums in China showed that one important necessity for community involvement is for the local population to profit from the ecomuseum. Their livelihood depends on the money they earn through farming. They cannot invest time in the ecomuseum they would usually spend working, unless they receive financial benefits from it. One possibility to achieve that in Hainan is to establish the ecomuseum in a large area around Hainan's nature reserves. Benefits from tourism are generally greater when visitors stay in an area for several days (Svensson 2006). Hainan's interior has the resources for it. Combining the ICH of the villages with the natural heritage of the nature reserves could motivate tourists to spend a few days in the area to explore instead of visiting one village for a few hours.

Another factor that could support community participation in ecomuseums in Hainan is the way the traditional government of the Li minority is structured. The informal governance relies on the village council of elders, and communal and kinship bonds. Decisions are made through consensus-building (Xie 2010).

Furthermore, local ethnic minorities in Hainan have shown initiative to independently organise presentations of ICH for tourists. For instance, a *Li* village in Wuzhishan arranges dance performances and tours through their village for tourists travelling by bus from Haikou to Sanya (Xie 2010).

While demonstrating the interest of local minorities to present their ICH to visitors, this example can also be used to point out the challenges for establishing an ecomuseum on Hainan. While the folk village was a success at first, it was soon superseded by competition from professional folk villages working together with the bus companies. At the end of the 1990's, most of these professional folk villages declined because of a change of the bus route (Xie 2010). This shows the dependence of such activities on transportation, the cooperation of travel agencies, and the promotion of the project. Establishing successful ecomuseums in Hainan without the assistance of tourism organisations to promote them would be very difficult. However, it is a fine balance between tourism organisations supporting the project, and them taking over the management and gaining the biggest share of the profits.

Another obstacle potential ecomuseums in Hainan face is the problematic relationship between the Li and Miao minorities and the provincial government. The provincial government officials mainly belong to the Han majority. Tensions do arise, because the ethnic minorities feel they do not always act in their best interests (Xie 2010). This issue exists in Baicha village, where the government plans to establish the first ecomuseum in Hainan. During my visit I was told that the leader of the village is reluctant to cooperate with the provincial government. To establish an ecomuseum there, the government first would have to win the trust of the local population.

5 CONCLUSION

Despite the challenges, using ecomuseum principles would be a sustainable way to preserve the ICH of the Li and Miao minorities in Hainan Province. However, this would need long-term research, requiring a careful stakeholder analysis and an evaluation of the local situation and traditions, using methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups.

Drawing on my initial field research and the literature review, I have identified so far two major requirements for establishing an ecomuseum effectively safeguarding the ICH of the Li and Miao minorities. First, would be to find the right area: A region that offers enough interesting sights for visitors to stay there for up to three days and is easily reachable from the main vacation spots. To achieve this, three strategies would be vital:

1. Before establishing the ecomuseum, visitor surveys should be undertaken in the main tourist areas, Haikou and Sanya, to gauge how to attract tourists to the more ecologically and culturally diverse areas in Hainan's interior.
2. The provincial government and tourism organisations would need to establish convenient transportation networks from the main vacation spots to the ecomuseum and within the ecomuseum itself.
3. It would be important to promote the ecomuseum for its unique cultural and natural environment, so that tourists know about it and are interested in visiting. For this, partnerships with hotels and travel organisations need to be established. Within the ecomuseum, visitors should have the possibility to educate themselves about the area. Stone and Wall (2003) suggested a similar strategy in the context of offering a better visitor experience at Hainan's nature reserves.

The second and most important requirement would be to encourage active community participation. I would suggest the following strategies to support the communities in establishing and maintaining the ecomuseum:

1. To combine community involvement and the preservation of ICH with economic benefits. One way to achieve this would be to employ different community-based tourism models in the ecomuseum. One example that has been successfully employed in one of the ecomuseums in Yunnan is called *nongjiale* (Xu 2007). The idea behind it is to give urban families a taste of rural lifestyle and traditions by spending time in a rural setting participating in daily routines. These businesses are owned by farmers, opening their homes to urban dwellers and showing them their way of life (Su 2011). In this way *nongjiale* also encourages the local communities to preserve their agricultural traditions, which are key to protecting the ICH traditions.
2. To offer education possibilities and training classes for the local communities. It is vital to explain the concept of the ecomuseum and the importance of protecting their ICH to the local population. This would also include pointing out possibilities to participate in the ecomuseum and explaining about financial and social benefits.
3. To empower the local communities and strengthen their ability to communicate and represent their interests. To avoid top-down planning it is important to equip the communities with the tools needed to voice their opinions and needs. This strategy is closely connected to the education and training classes.
4. To create job opportunities for the younger generation which involve maintaining and managing parts of the ecomuseum. The participation of the younger generation is important to preserving ICH. They should be encouraged to stay in their village and jobs as well as training classes need to be developed for them. One possibility would be to give them the chance to be responsible for the preservation and management of one part of the ecomuseum, for example, their home village. Travel guides or park rangers should also be recruited from the local population. A similar strategy was used in the Ak-Chin Indian Community ecomuseum (Fuller 1992).
5. To install a management committee that maintains the relationship with the local government and tourism organisations, and solves conflicts within the community. This management committee should be comprised of elected representatives from the communities involved. Its function would be to communicate the wishes of the community, and issues that arise, to the government and travel organisations. They also would be employed to work out problems within the community and keep the villagers informed. Meetings should be open to all residents of the ecomuseum.

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The Ecomuseum as mirror of contemporary communities? Multi-cultural challenges, inter-cultural opportunities and trans-cultural practices

E. Montanari

Politecnico di Milano, Department of Architectural Design, MeLa Project

ABSTRACT: The complex and multifaceted transformations fostered by mass communication, industrial production and the accelerated migration of people, objects, cultures and knowledge in the contemporary context question the role of the museum institution, and stimulate the revision of its form, statute and mission toward society. The paper intends to observe the reaction of the ecomuseum to the current social and cultural-scape, and to verify the actual pertinence of its original definition as mirror reflecting the community and its territory. Through an investigation of the peculiar Italian situation, it will be possible to explore the strategic role that this institution can play in responding to the multi-cultural challenges set by contemporaneity, in supporting the sustainable and harmonious development of complex communities through the enhancement of inter-cultural opportunities, and in fostering the processes of cohesion and inclusion by potentiating trans-cultural practices.

1 INTRODUCTION

The ecomuseum has often been described through the image of the mirror, this is, as the instrument “in which the local population views itself to discover its own image, in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the population which have preceded it [...] a mirror that the local population holds up to its visitors so that it may be better understood and so that its industry, customs and identity may command respect.” (Rivière, 1985) This metaphoric association is meant to underline the reciprocal commitment of the institution, in representing the local community and its values as “a progressive instrument of knowledge and auto-analysis” (Daccò, 2001:6), as well as of the community, in perpetuating a conscious and constant evolution of the museum as an active tool promoting a diffused and holistic concept of heritage.

In the contemporaneity, the form, structure and composition of the social and cultural context to which ecomuseums refer have been deeply changing; the ongoing transformations are questioning the definition of the ecomuseum itself and its role within society.

2 MULTI-CULTURAL CHALLENGES: ASSERTING STABILITY AND CONTINUITY IN A SHIFTING WORLD

The turn of the XXIst century represents a peculiar “age of migrations”⁰¹. The movement of people, objects, cultures and knowledge, has always accompanied and fostered the development of the civilizations of the world; throughout the centuries the mobility of individuals and groups, the transfer of materials and goods, and the encounter and integration of different cultural systems significantly contributed to the evolution of human history. Nevertheless, due to the gra-

dual improvement of the possibilities for physical and virtual travelling, during the XXth century the migration phenomena started to grow in quantity, rapidity and extent.

The accelerated traffic flows of people, objects, information and knowledge operated profound transformations in the common markers. In the frame of the contemporary “time and space compression” (Harvey, 1990), referred to movement and communication across space, to the geographical stretching-out of social relations, as well as to their experience (Massey, 1994), the perception of time has become wordly and instantaneous (Virilio, 1996); the globally recurrence of materials, figures, forms, etc. weakened the distinctive characters and fostered the standardization of space (Robertson, 1995), as the world wide diffusion of goods produced a growing homogenization of the material culture, menacing the construction of sense of belonging (Giddens, 1991) and processing the dilution of collective memory (Appadurai, 1996). These phenomena, associated to demographic, economical and political transformation, have profoundly affected the life of communities. On the one hand, globalization queries the traditional “borders” of cultural identities: by menacing distinctiveness and specificities, and at the same time fostering the encounter of different persons and ideas, it enhances new layers and meanings for multi-culturalism. On the other, the constantly increasing migration flows – among the 501 million of people living in Europe in 2010, 47.3 million (9,4% of the total EU population) were born outside their resident Country; 31.4 million (6,3%) among them were born outside the EU and 16.0 million (3,2%) in another member State. Among the 61 million people constituting the Italian population, 4.2 million (8,5% of the total population in Italy) were born outside their resident Country; 1.5 million (2,6%) of them were born outside the EU and 3.2 million (5,3%) in another member State⁰² – drive a multi-cultural reconfiguration of the composition of local communities.

These multifaceted and complex phenomena characterizing the contemporary context question the role of cultural institutions, thus trigger the revision of their methods and strategies in dealing with the present situation and playing an active role for the population. This condition particularly affects museums, because of their relevant societal responsibilities: they are not only “permanent institutions in the service of society and its development”⁰³, according to ICOM definition, but also emblematic spaces for consolidating the values and identity of the cultural system by which they were created.

In the last years, cultural, social, economic and political changes have driven a reassessment of the roles, purposes and tasks of museums; moving their focus from the collection to the needs of their visitors and communities, they potentiate their function as agents for social change contributing to enhance a more sustainable and equitable development (Sandell, 2007). By rethinking their goals to respond to local and global concerns, articulate their value in social terms, and foster new working practices to reflect their impact and position within contemporaneity, museums have started significant processes of institutional, museographical and physical renovation, upgrading their policies in collecting and displaying, potentiating their means in conserving and archiving, redrawing the experience of the visitors, improving the interaction with the public through the contribution of the new digital technologies, evolving the communication approaches, widening and differentiating the range of activities provided in such fields as education and leisure, etc.

The interrogation and improvement of tasks, strategies and practices is affecting different types of museum. Considering the theoretic frame depicting the ecomuseum not as a static cabinet but as an instrument reflecting the community – “conceived as a hinge between a heritage and a population” (De Varine, 2004:6) – and reacting to its evolution (and eventually driving it), this institution should be particularly influenced by the profound transformation of the socio-cultural context.

Actually are globalization, mass communication and accelerated migration phenomena affecting the ecomuseum? Is its current structure envisaging the multifaceted issues reconfiguring the composition of population? Does it maintain its role in depicting the present situation of society and territory, and fostering their enhancement? Can it still be described as the mirror of local communities?

As stated by several scholars (first of all, Hugues de Varine, 2004) and demonstrated by a general analysis of the Italian institutions, it is very hard to prove the accomplishment of the permanent process of evolution that was originally supposed to ensue from a continuous active relationship between the ecomuseum and the community. Nevertheless, though its form may

have approached a more traditional – research-conservation-exhibition – model, it is possible to assert that the ecomuseum can still play a crucial role in the contemporary context.

The task of this institution focuses on the preservation and valorization of the heritage conveying the distinctive nature of a place, this is, the natural resources and the visible signs produced by human history in a specific environment – anticipating the currently growing attitude towards the “materialization of memory” (Nora, 1989). Through the steady historical configuration of artifacts and spaces, that seems to guarantee secure rooted values, the ecomuseum can oppose resistance not only to the deletion and distortion of habitats, but also to the disorientation of identities caused by the dynamics of transformative processes. “In a global scenario of rapid movements, fluxes and changes, heritage arises as a particularly effective resource for asserting continuity and stability, which enables societies to define and anchor their identity” (Anico, 2009: 63); as a matter of fact, the place itself, especially the heritage place, may represent or stand for a sense of identity and belonging for particular individuals or groups (Smith, 2006). The visiting and learning experiences promoted by the ecomuseum can thus be strategic instruments for the indigenous population, in order to recover the undermined relationships with the territory — shaping the collective and individual need for memories and search for identification, triggering the sense of belonging (to spaces or to cultural systems) and thereafter strengthen self awareness.

Nevertheless, in the contemporary multicultural context, the acceleration of globalization and migration phenomena has significantly augmented the articulation and heterogeneity of the composition of local communities. The continuous assimilation of large amounts of people who were born in other places, bearing highly differentiated familiar codes and cultural backgrounds (in terms of language, religion, rituals, ideas, traditions, alimentary habits, etc.), challenge the demographic, social and cultural structure of the groups living in the same territory. Though the effective integration may require a long and complex process, the immigrants settling down in urban and rural areas for quite long periods enter into the economic and social life of the place, interact with the native population and develop relationships with the environment: they become new members of the community. Therefore, while up to a few decades ago the community was defined by strong relational parameters (Gusfielf, 1975), today the population inhabiting the same environment develops interrelations mainly on the base of territorial assets, and shares profoundly different values, habits and views.

If the ecomuseum is to be the mirror representing the population inhabiting the territory and the instrument enhancing its sustainable and harmonious development, when the composition of the community is significantly altered, is it reflecting these relevant transformations of the social and cultural structure? How is it (if it is) reacting to the insertion of the new members of the community within the social life of the place? Is it upgrading its role and efficacy towards an increasingly multicultural and differentiated local population?

And is the ecomuseum, usually set on the validation and valorization of a precise identity system, the one ensued from a peculiar environment, able (and enabled) to represent the encounter of diverse cultures?

3 INTER-CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES: ENHANCING RELATIONSHIPS AMONG CULTURAL DECLENSIONS AND DIFFERENCES

By analyzing its peculiar structure, it is possible to assert that inter-cultural assets are inscribed in the mission of the ecomuseum.

The possibility to open up relationships and comparisons with other situations is included in its form, based on the network of different heritage places and sites, recognizing and emphasizing their affinities, sharing strategic policies and developing common activities. The natural areas, the buildings and the collections gathered in the ecomuseum are often distributed in a wide area and, though included in a defined “cultural perimeter” (the one illustrated by Parish Maps) asserting the existence of the roots building a common identity, they may be connoted by specific and not always homogeneous features. The structure of this institution thus entails the negotiation of the differences that may characterize some territories, in particular those situated in border areas or in places characterized by a complex and difficult past history.

In general, Italian ecomuseums mirror the diversities deriving from physical distance, environmental specificity or national/regional affiliation, recognizing the value of the distinct declensions in the type of heritage, the material characterization, the forms and functioning of spaces, objects and devices, the related gestures, the decoration motives, etc. but they also emphasize the possible similarities and recurrences that can be detected within the variety. By illustrating inner differences, the museum reflects the valuable complexity of the development of the civilization in the territory. This approach is particularly evident in the valorization of peculiar landscapes and sites, as well as in the exhibition of the material culture, displaying the declinations of the historical memories, signs, knowledge and know-how⁰⁴.

The ecomuseum has thus always dealt with the inter-cultural issue in its local-scale facets; nevertheless the current evolution of the socio-cultural context imposes to face this question in a wider perspective. The significant presence of immigrants articulating the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of the population inhabiting the territory obliges museums to rethink their role in representing society, as well as in referring to an increasingly multi-cultural audience.

If the ecomuseum is intended as the instrument mirroring the community, its features and main issues, should it report about the inclusion of these new members holding a different background? Should it integrate their cultural references and/or the process of mediation with the local ones into its mission and narratives?

This is a crucial issue, and it interrogates the meaning of the institution itself. In this transitional moment it is perhaps not possible to provide a valid and exhaustive answer to this critical question, also due to the variety and complexity characterizing the diffusion of the ecomuseum model in different areas. Nevertheless it is interesting to report that some Italian local museums and ecomuseums are starting to promote cultural activities specifically addressed to the new members of the community, thus demonstrating the attempt to enhance inter-cultural opportunities.

The reference to themes and topics referred to non autochthonous cultures, traditions and knowledge at the moment only concerns the planning of temporary events.

This observation must be contextualized in the general frame of the evolution of the XXIst century museums, where the relevance of temporary activities is increasing both in quantity – as demonstrated by the physical transformation of the buildings: the space dedicated to exhibitions, performative acts, congresses, courses, etc. now is sometimes exceeding the one dedicated to permanent settings – and quality – as set by the relevant resources dedicated to their organization and design. This interest can be explained by highlighting their strategic value, on the one hand widening, enriching and differentiating the cultural offer of the museum, thus encouraging return visits; on the other, allowing a higher level of experimentation: bearing less official bounds than the permanent ones, temporary practices may dare testing striking propositions and investigating special thematic issues, in particular those connected with contemporaneity and delicate societal questions.

Though still in poor quantity – and in particular involving institutions developing within urban areas⁰⁵ – also ecomuseums are starting to display and narrate multi- and inter-cultural topics through conferences, workshops, celebrations, film festivals and exhibitions, which bring out the heterogeneous characterization of the people inhabiting the territory. In some cases these attempts are dedicated to the presentation of traditions and knowledge that are alien to the place, usually exploiting the active involvement of the audience that is typical of this institution's learning programs: exhibition and experimentation of mores from far away Countries – costumes, music, dance, or food (e.g. “Il mondo in un chicco di caffè” at Ecomuseo del Cielo e della Terra, near Bologna, in 2010: an insight about the different people involved in the story of this good), celebration of diverse rituals, degustation of ethnic cooking, etc. These activities are sometimes focused on the experience of migration itself – conferences, photographic and art exhibition (e.g. “This Land is Your Land”, an exhibition currently displayed at Museo Civico Etnologico in Modena) and thematic film festivals (e.g. since 2008, Ecomuseo Valle Elvo e Serra organizes documentary screenings and seminars promoted by selected anthropologists, in order to discuss about “The Local Immigration” and similar social issues – or on the related tensions and frictions (e.g. the Ecomuseo del Biellese regularly participates to the journal Mondocapovolto, discussing multi-cultural issues).

Because of their significant effects on the economic, social and cultural structure of the local communities, migration phenomena should be crucial issues for ecomuseums, especially in Ita-

ly. In the first half of the XXth century emigration and return immigration highly affected the history of many urban and rural areas: the departure of large parts of the population had profound consequences on the development of depressed zones. At the turn of the XXIst century migrations are again deeply affecting economy and society, but on an inverted perspective: the Italian peninsula has become a favorite destination for immigration, and the settlement of a multi-cultural population is transforming the work system, the relational network, the use of the buildings, etc. It is interesting to notice that in Italy some ecomuseums include a research and documentation centre dedicated to emigration and return immigration⁰⁶. Considering the relevance of immigration for the current history of the Country, it could be possible to advance some hypothetical reflections about a future task of these institutions as documentation centers for immigration (though it is necessary to consider the actual increase of the number of museums dedicated to migration, that may assume this role).

Beyond the contribution to the analysis of the ongoing phenomena, ecomuseums can also engage with an active role for the immigrants, supporting and fostering their inclusion in the community.

The operative approach to the contemporaneous reality is inscribed in the mission of the institution, that the original theoretical frameworks describe as a vehicle to enhance the sustainable enhancement of the territory and its population – being a crucial issue for the contemporary history, the development of the dialogue between all the (native and new) members of the community should be a relevant task.

The social action of the ecomuseum towards immigrants operates at two levels. On the one hand it is an instrument to present the identity of the place where they are settling, thus to foster the construction of emotional belonging that is at the base of the sense of community (Sarason, 1974; McMillan and Chavis, 1986). People commuting over ever-increasing distances need to learn how to build connections with a new landscape, characterized by diverse mores and traditions; by presenting the local heritage, the natural and artificial resources, the material and immaterial culture ensued from a territory, the ecomuseum can help this part of the population in becoming familiar with the historical identity of their new homeland, fostering sense of awareness and offering the possibility to construct memories and affections to the place (Schofield and Szymanski, 2011). By promoting knowledge, that is a crucial condition for the growth of harmonious and democratic societies⁰⁷, the “alphabetization” provided by this institution participates to the enhancement of social and cultural cohesion and development.

On the other hand, the ecomuseum offers opportunities to promote inter-cultural dialogue, for example through the occasions of social encounter deriving from public events (conferences, celebrations, etc.) and didactic activities (workshops, courses, etc.), where the different members of the community can meet, share experiences and collect memories – as stated by McMillan and Chavis (1986), the parameters constructing the sense of belonging to a community include participation, social bonding and shared emotional connection. The main part of these practices are commonly offered to young generations – ecomuseums usually build productive collaborations with local schools – but the raising of lifelong learning programs is extending these possibilities also to adults. Educative activities can have a strategic importance, in providing not only increased knowledge and understanding, but also the development of new skills and abilities: though they are not dealing with the basic information required by immigrants – such as language classes: while in other Countries they are often promoted by local museums, in Italy this service is offered by other public institutions, usually public libraries – they may allow the new members of the community to access the local know-how (through the workshops dedicated to the artisanal works, such as wood carving, weaving, cooking with local resources, etc.)⁰⁸ and, eventually, to enhance job training.

Beyond the opportunities generally scheduled by the museum, that may be more or less effective for people with a different background according to the structure of the initiatives, in the last years some institutions started to promote experiences specifically addressed to the new members of the community, offering them the possibility to develop a closer relationship with the presented heritage, objects and knowledge. Selected groups of people – the participants are chosen among the representatives of the minorities inhabiting the territory, usually through the support of local associations – are guided by trained personnel through special practices fostering the interaction with the spaces and the collections of the museum. These experiences can be enhanced by different linguistic and communication strategies and mediation methodologies,

such as storytelling and theatre techniques – as in the activities developed at Ecomuseo del Biellese and at Museo Guatelli within the MAPforID Project⁰⁹ – or contemporary art languages. These inter-cultural activities promote a gradual acquaintance between audiences and collections, by initiating a dialogue between museum objects and personal objects, and creating a shared heritage of stories and life experiences of individuals (not only project participants, but also museum staff, educators and mediators) with different cultural and social backgrounds. The final task of these pilot experiences is focused on the possibility to actively involve the selected participants in developing collaborative exhibitions and planning new shared narratives around heritage and collections, and above all to train and recruit them as mediators to guide special inter-cultural visits of the involved museums.

4 TRANS-CULTURAL PRACTICES: DEVELOPING POTENTIAL CONNECTIONS AMONG DIFFERENT CULTURES

If compared with other likewise institutions (such as city museums, migration museums, national museums, etc. but also libraries and public bodies) ecomuseums have not been the first, nor the most effective in promoting peculiar projects conceived to offer specially mediated visits, or specifically shaped activities meant to foster inter-cultural relationships with the exhibition space and the presented materials. Nevertheless, the heritage they present seems particularly adequate for these purposes, because it may reveal significant trans-cultural potentialities.

These can be found in the natural and architectural sites, that convey “neutral”, that is, universally recognized values – the territory conveys still qualities, thus representing a system of cultural belonging that is less ambiguous and instable than others (Maggi, 2001) – but especially in the material and immaterial culture referred to everyday life. The devices and objects ensued from the domestic or the work activities developed in the territory – from harvesting to kneading bread, from forging iron to the washing, etc. – embody knowledge, stories, ideas, emotions, desires, fears and hopes, that can be read also from different cultural perspectives. Although specifically associated to the peculiar environment that produced them, the know-how, the techniques, the rituals, and the gestures related to the ordinary life, allow to detect recurrences and to build cross references among different cultural systems.

These processes, that can possibly support the different members of the community in absorbing cultural frictions and fostering sense of belonging, play a crucial role in the strategies and methodologies on which inter-cultural experiences are based. Many of them are in fact aimed at encouraging the participants in the “adoption” of museum objects or in special interaction practices: the close relationship with the selected pieces may stimulate the subjects to develop alternative readings of the collection through the evocation of memories and personal reminiscences. Ordinary objects can thus turn into means for building new bridges among different cultures, creating “resonances” and revealing unexpected links between artefacts and individuals.

Since the sense of community starts from the perception of similarities and acknowledged interdependences with others (Sarason, 1974), it is maybe possible to assert that, by highlighting the cross-cultural relationships residing in material and immaterial local culture, the ecomuseum may play a crucial social action, fostering the “relational dimension of community” (Gusfield, 1975) that, together with the territorial one, allows to build and strengthen the belonging to a physical and cultural environment.

5 CONCLUSIONS

“The ecomuseum approach is based on the community’s “near”, but it can also make understand ‘the far’, the strange, the other.” (Bellaigue, 1999:40) This statement never was so provoking as in the contemporary context, in which the institution seems to be opening up to the contemporary multi-cultural complexity, and to enhance its potentialities in promoting the sustainable and harmonious social enhancement. The development of some inter-cultural experiences may look like the clue documenting a starting attempt to upgrade the capacity of the ecomuseum in mir-

roring the present situation of local communities, and responding to the need of all their members.

Nevertheless, the future of these practices is still uncertain – the ecomuseum model was conceived to react to a critical period for the museum institution, and to offer new strategic tools to interact with the society of the Seventies; could the contemporary epoch, characterized by the transformation of political and economical dynamics, the evolution of social and cultural values, the shifting of identities and the questioning of the role of cultural institutions, represent the adequate context to trigger a further evolution of the ecomuseum? – and, at least in Italy, it is not yet evident which will be the part of the ecomuseum within the process currently undertaken by several museums, refashioning as institutions with the capacity to contribute towards a less prejudiced society (one in which cultural differences are affirmed, nurtured and celebrated) and engaging audiences in the challenge of addressing difficult questions of difference and equality.

In general, today the ecomuseum still is not able to allow all the members of the population to mirror their own image – but still it is not clear whether this could (nor should) be.

The most effective impact that this institution is likely to produce in the current social and cultural context could be the one deriving from its most traditional activities: by validating the local identity rooted in a specific place, valorizing its distinctiveness, fighting its impoverishment, perpetuating its memory and allowing its understanding, the ecomuseum can stimulate and foster sense of belonging for all the (native and new) members of the community. Though as picture, rather than mirror, the ecomuseum continues to maintain a significant role into society.

ENDNOTES

01. The paper ensued from the Research Project MeLa - European Museums in an Age of Migrations, funded within the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (SSH-2010-5.2.2) under Grant Agreement n° 266757.
02. The figures about "Population and Statistics" provided by EUROSTAT are annually elaborated by the National Statistical Institutes (NSIs).
03. Art.3 Definition of Terms, ICOM Statutes, adopted by the 22nd General Assembly (Vienna, Austria, 24 August 2007).
04. The ethnologic and ethnographic collections of civic museums and ecomuseums exhibit the cultural richness of the different parts of the territory by highlighting the peculiarities in the shape, material, style and motives of the thematic series of object, but usually recognize local typologies, highlight recurrent features and analyze affiliations (sometimes also tracing the migration paths of these features in other territories).
05. In the last years, a few Italian ecomuseums were founded in relation to urban territories, such as Ecomuseo Urbano di Torino (2004) and Ecomuseo Urbano Metropolitano Milano Nord (2006).
06. In Italy the research and documentation work about historic emigration is usually developed by Civic or Emigration Museums, small institutions focused on the history of a precise territory. Nevertheless, in some specific areas (because emigration and return immigration had such a profound impact on the history of the land, or simply due to political and/or financial reasons connected with museum management), this task is fostered by ecomuseums, as for example in the Ecomuseo della Valle Elvo e Serra, Ecomuseo Anfiteatro Morenico di Ivrea, Museo narrante dell'Emigrazione at Parco Old Calabria, etc.
07. "Constructive participation and the development of democracy depend on satisfactory education as well as on free and unlimited access to knowledge, thought, culture and information." UNESCO Public Libraries Manifesto (1994).
08. Italian ecomuseums are developing a relevant tradition in the lifelong learning activities, especially those dedicated to the revitalization and regeneration of ancient professions, between tradition and innovation: the memory of craft works is perpetuated and diffused through workshops and ateliers enhancing both education and production, in order to support the economic development of the territory.
09. The European project Museums as Places for Intercultural Dialogue (MAP for ID 2007-2009), funded by the European Commission as part of the Grundtvig Lifelong Learning Programme, was meant to develop the potential of museums as places of intercultural dialogue and to promote a more active engagement with the communities they serve. By supporting thirty pilot projects in the partner countries (Italy, Hungary, the Netherlands and Spain), the project analyzed the museums approach and practices towards intercultural dialogue, identified model case studies and developed guidelines for good practices.

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From theory to practice and vice versa. Mondì Locali/Local Worlds, an ecomuseum community of practice

D. Murtas

ABSTRACT: The ecomuseum concept formally arrived in Italy in 1995. In that year the Italian Region closest to France, Piedmont, gave birth to a regional policy devoted to the 'Institution of Regional Ecomuseums'. The policy was a real revolution in Italy where 'culture' has been mainly linked to conventional museums run by the Ministry of Culture. Since 1995 the ecomuseum concept has been greatly welcomed and developed in Italy, with more than 100 being created, formally and informally. However ecomuseums have not yet been given formal national recognition by the Ministry of Culture. Mondì Locali/Local Worlds was founded in 2004 by some Italian ecomuseums as a practical and very much needed informal structure capable of providing inspiration and practical support to the young Italian ecomuseum movement. Since then it has played an important role by disseminating good practices and by bringing together communities and professionals involved in the ecomuseum projects.

1 ECOMUSEUMS IN ITALY

The ecomuseum concept formally arrived in Italy in 1995. In that year Piedmont, the Italian Region closest to France - the formally recognized motherland of ecomuseology theory and practice - gave birth to a regional policy devoted to the 'Institution of Regional Ecomuseums' with the aim to conserve, document and promote local heritage and to foster the ways local knowledge and traditional lifestyles could be used to support future local, sustainable development. It was a water mill, once used to grain wheat, that had been neglected for more than twenty years, that boosted the decision to open a new path towards a wider approach linked to cultural heritage. The sensitive regional government in charge at that time saw it as the perfect opportunity to put Piedmont in the pole position of the Italian regions contributing actively in innovation and integrated conservation. Not far from the water-mill - and in an area where a Natural Regional Park was already defined for the conservation of nature - there were other traditional buildings, available as key 'starting sites' to tell the multilayered story of a local community living in a classic Alpine valley: a stone built ice house and a wooden fire oven used to bake the bread once a month. In addition, and even potentially more important as a community asset, was the intangible knowledges linked to the valley, almost never documented, nor recognized of any value and, not to be forgotten, the strategic need to intertwine nature and culture.

The 'Ecomuseum Colombano Roman', was chosen as the name of the project, reflecting the life of a virtually unknown local hero who made it possible to provide water to the dry areas in the high mountains so promoting agriculture. It became one of the first four formally instituted Piedmontese ecomuseums. To become so they had to follow a very simple process: to submit a letter of formal request, to describe the project aims and outputs, to ask for the necessary financial support to transform ideas into realities. Simplicity in logic and multidisciplinary were,

and still are, the main positive qualities of this policy, and they made it possible, especially in the first phase, to express creative ways of looking after local heritage and community empowerment.

Year after year the framework structure accompanying the policy became more clearly articulated and categories of *must have* activities came into the scope of the ecomuseum, defining a clearer mandate of activities. These helped those actors who were not used to dealing with everyday heritage and its multidisciplinary approach, so providing a deeper understanding of the core aim of the projects by participants.

The regional policy was a real revolution in Italy, a nation where the traditional 'cultural' focus has always been on conserving historical buildings, monuments and artifacts, and where 'culture' has been mainly linked to conventional museums run by the Ministry of Culture and prestigious cultural foundations. The ecomuseum ideals were thought of as a great inspiration, not only for giving a long deserved attention to tangible and intangible local heritage, but for the broader opportunities they were able to offer to communities on the periphery. Rather than being seen as marginal areas they potentially became centres of interest and future investment. It was as if a long awaited (much and needed) good news had finally arrived with a perfect sense of timing: a new renaissance was there and ready to flourish.

Since 1995 the ecomuseum concept has been greatly developed in Italy, with more than 100 being created, formally and informally. Formal and informal ecomuseums do not often differ in the way they work and act, but regional policies help to keep continuity in the mid and long term period, in terms of overall promotion and visibility. This is especially important today in a period of financial crisis. In 1999 the Piedmontese ecomuseal policy was formally welcomed by the Province of Trento who made its own policy with the same contents; in 2006 it was adopted further east and south in Italy reaching the Friuli Venezia Giulia and the Sardinia Regions. Then they were followed by Umbria and Lombardia in 2007, Molise in 2008 and Puglia in 2011: a step by step national transmission is in progress.

Although much progress has been made by several Regional administrations, ecomuseums have not yet been given formal national recognition – as their counterpart museums and natural parks have – by the Ministry of Culture or of Environment. Financial and social crisis, together with strong cultural lobbies and local powers, may have played a subtle rule in the lack of ecomuseum recognition: they are looked upon as competitors for funding and media attention, rather than complementary actors capable of making a real contribution to community cohesion and sustainability. The slow pace of Italian bureaucracy does not make the ecomuseum mission easy.

After a first phase of enthusiasm and positive achievements, the Italian ecomuseums are now going through a second phase of uncertainty and fragility. Some of them are still thriving, but a lot of them are struggling for survival due to the lack of financial support, professional involvement and innovative visions; others have become a network of small thematic museums. Much of the creative freshness of the initial period has been lost, transformed by tiredness and routine activities. Complexity and diversity have retreated into the background, leaving the stage to aggressive competition within themselves and fashionable programmes (tourism attractions where food and music play the main role) driven more by numbers (money) rather than by innovative solutions; such programmes appear more interested in attracting visitors and their money rather than encouraging an understanding of local heritage and its role in local sustainable development.

A lot has happened in Italy and in the world since the launch of the ecomuseum concept and ecomuseums must now understand and find, as they have always done, their contemporary role in a ever changing worldwide context. They must give evidence to the importance of working at the local level on shared values and meanings, being aware of the risk of becoming rigid and over-structured, still and not dynamic, replicas and not reality.

If this has to be achieved for the well being of the local projects as well as for their national and international recognition, a multilevel action has to be put in place: on one hand the regional and national administration should express their support in shaping a better general framework that will diminish fragility and political dependence; on the other hand ecomuseums should learn to work more closely together and clearly express their needs and their vision of actions grounded in the local community. Such a bottom-up and top-down collaboration will lead to a more general sense of fulfilment, a more fertile atmosphere capable to throw light on the sur-

rounding world, being aware that being externally appreciated is to not just to be listed in the UNESCO World Heritage Sites, but recognising local heritage as a means to reinforce the internal links between people and places, giving importance to an awareness driven participative management.

2 SOMETHING IN COMMON: FRAGILITY, COHERENCE, ROLE AND FUTURE VISION

Ecomuseums acknowledge the distinctive characteristics and value embedded in every place and the intricate relationships that bind together people, heritage and places. They have something in common but they have to translate the general view into many different needs and local *languages* – namely the ways of doing or local values – if they want to become really effective and useful. Every place has its own character and it is a world in itself. Local doesn't mean incomplete and poor in content and connections if you know how to read the visible and invisible in which you live. Ecomuseums work at the local level but they never forget the importance of world alliances and international ideas.

Mondi Locali/Local Worlds was the name chosen following discussions among a small group of Italian ecomuseum pioneers for a forum which could bring together ecomuseum projects, activists and professionals. The practical and much needed informal structure was founded in 2004 by some Italian ecomuseums to provide inspiration and practical support to the young Italian ecomuseum movement. It has always welcomed formally and informally instituted ecomuseums on the basis that it is more important to involve motivated persons and projects than choosing only 'shining façades'.

At the core of Mondi Locali/Local Worlds mission there is mutual exchange and help, a sense of trust and the will to find innovative solutions for living places: a real community of practice more than a vertically organized association. Since 2004 it has played an important role by disseminating and verifying good practices. The following are the most relevant:

- the 'Landscape day' – after the European Landscape Convention – is held in every Mondi Locali ecomuseum around the Summer Solstice. It is a symbolic moment of feast and celebration organized according to the local traditions, a simple but effective opportunity for living and looking at the landscape from the everyday point of view, walking and exchanging knowledge. It is a practical contribution to the European Landscape Convention implementation at the local and national scale;
- the 'Community maps' – based on Common Ground's inspirational idea of Parish maps – are a very effective tool to create participation and awareness on the importance of local heritage in the shaping of local distinctiveness. They bring together people and places, they tell a common story and reflect value perceptions and capability in auto-descriptions;
- the 'km 0 product cycle' is showing the intricate connections between traditional agricultural products, cooking recipes, traditional knowledge, traditional landscapes and the crucial aspects played by bio and cultural diversities;
- the 'Mondi Locali: needs, energies and opportunity' exhibit that is putting together best case practices that can make the difference at the local level from individual behaviours to collective actions. It is the Mondi Locali testimonial and it is designed to be itinerant and interactive.

The thematic projects have representatives and active participants, they decide the aims of the year and submit a final report during the thematic workshop held every year at one of the members' sites. This is a splendid opportunity to share new ideas and impressions, to involve local communities and to plan for the years to come.

Since its inception Mondi Locali has become a real 'ecomuseum laboratory' at a national scale, a place where members find the best situation for launching projects that can be of interest for community representatives and professionals eager to improve their know-how and share participative methodologies: auto-training courses, learning journeys, European projects and professional exchange.

Mondi Locali is an open working group, ready to welcome new members as well as new ideas linked to the implementation of its 3 main strategic guidelines:

- understanding the deep and complex nature of individual places, and seeking to avoid traditional or 'ready made' solutions to conserving local heritage;
- supporting participation of local communities, regarding their empowerment as the most crucial asset for long term success and sustainability;
- shaping strategies for the future alongside heritage conservation and documentation

3 CONCLUSION

In a world that will always need dreamers and people capable of imagining a better world, informality and coherence to the Ecomuseums' ideals and practical evidence supported by creative and innovative thinking will probably shape the main Mondilocali paths for the future. Formal recognition and support at national and international levels become important assets only if they do not heavily interfere in *how* the practical implementation of ecomuseological theory *must* be carried out. Creative vision on the management of complexity and diversity related to local heritage is more likely to be found in informal structures and, by and among committed people who are eager to experiment and share for the well being of community driven policies. These philosophies and methodologies shape the overall aims of what Mondilocali/Local World is trying to make happen.

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Ecomuseums with Chinese characteristics: the politics of safeguarding living heritage

W. Nitzky

Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ, USA

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the complex role ecomuseums play in contemporary Chinese society as a strategy to promote cultural diversity and stimulate economic development in ethnic minority regions. Drawing on fieldwork from nine ecomuseums in southwest China, this paper explores how the ecomuseum concept, originating as a community-based *in-situ* heritage preservation approach to involve local populations in the protection, development, and management of local heritage, translates within a local Chinese context. At the same time ecomuseums in China are implemented using a top-down government-led approach, they have become a space where contact relations generate new capabilities for local communities to engage in heritage and negotiate the state authorized heritage discourse. This paper examines the forces that shape ecomuseum development to show how ecomuseums in China embody both governmental and civic roles and are an agentive cultural process involving the construction of specific localities and the conditioning of local cultural practices.

1 INTRODUCTION

This paper explores how the ecomuseum concept translates in China. Rooted in Western ideals to democratize heritage preservation practices and empower local populations through the preservation, interpretation, and management of their heritage and promote the enhancement of community development (Davis 1999, 2005; Dos Santos 2010), the ecomuseum approach takes on new meaning in China as it is implemented using a top-down government-led approach implicated in the Chinese state's political and economic strategies. In spite of Chinese museologists' call to promote the participation of marginalized ethnic minority communities in heritage management and to create spaces for local "cultural autonomy" (Su 2006), ecomuseums in China have been marshaled in the service of an authorizing heritage discourse of the nation (see Smith 2006) and steeped in politics of paternalism. However, ecomuseums have also emerged as a contact space for local populations' engagement in the heritage discourse and a locus for new forms of agency. Drawing on fieldwork from nine ecomuseums in southwest China, this paper is part of a larger project that examines how the ecomuseum phenomenon manifests in local villages in China. For this paper, I explore the complex role ecomuseums play in contemporary Chinese society, and the politics of cultural heritage protection in rural ethnic China. This paper aims to extend research on ecomuseums to suggest how we might critically read, interpret, and understand the forces at play that shape their development and "reflect agendas that extend well beyond the community group" (Crooke 2008: 415). This paper makes a case for a different study of the ecomuseum as a cultural

process involving the construction of specific localities and subjectivities and as an initiative that embodies both governmental and civic roles.

2 CHINESE ECOMUSEUMS AS ASSEMBLAGES OF GOVERNMENT

Ecomuseum initiatives are seen as part of a larger museum development and heritage protection “fever” that has taken China by storm since the late 1980s. The national heritage protection campaign represents a multifaceted strategy for cultural revival after the demise of the Cultural Revolution, the mediation of destabilizing forces of cultural change in the face of rapid modernization, and an effort by China to join the international community, adopting the global heritage preservation discourse, after years of isolation. At the same time the campaign urgently aims to preserve the cultural “roots” of the Chinese civilization, safeguarding a sense of the “authentic” in modern China, it extends the use of culture and cultural difference as cultural resources for regional economic development and cultural governance (see Oakes 2006; Su 2006; Yudice 2003; Bennett 2005). Thus, local heritage protection projects like the ecomuseum have come to represent a new facet of China's cultural policy that, according to Su Donghai, “forefather” of the ecomuseum movement in China, works to promote cultural diversity and stimulate social and economic development in the poverty-stricken rural sector (Su 2006).

Museums in China have long been utilized for purposes of nation-building and legitimizing political authority, representing devices for state propaganda and education of the masses, repositories for national treasures and material culture, and centers for scientific research. Within the past thirty years, since the launch of the “open-door” reforms in the early 1980s, China has experienced a museum development boom, with the number of museums increasing seven times over, from just over 300 museums in 1978 to 1,392 by 2000 and jumping to 3,020 by 2009 (Kim 2011; Szántó 2010). The proliferation of museums are closely bound up with the formation of the nation in helping to create a sense of stability under a new regime and in an era of rapid modernization and mobilizing “tradition” and “collective” memory as a “key national unifier” (Sigley 2010; Bakken 2000), demonstrating the progress of the nation in reflecting China reaching a stage of a “civilized” nation, linking cultural heritage preservation and economic development at a time of market liberalization, embracing globalization and strengthening the bridge with the international community, and advancing the promotion of cultural diversity and the harmonious unity of the multi-ethnic state (*tongyi duo minzu guojia*). These new “modern” museums continue to be harnessed into and reproduce national historical and cultural narratives that work to educate the citizenry on the *idea* of the nation. “By putting specific objects on display and by interpolating them through narratives, museums contribute to shape individual and collective understandings of the past and future” (Varutti 2010: 72) and encourage people to imagine a sense of belonging to the nation and a sense of cultural difference (see MacDonald 2003). Thus museums enjoy a special agency in mobilizing “imaginative capacities” (Varutti 2010: 72).

Stuart Hall (1996: 3) explains that within these “specific historical and institutional sites” cultural and national identities are produced “within specific discursive formations and practices... [and] emerge within the play of specific modalities of power”. Through processes of remembering, forgetting, and imagining, museums in China construct cultural and national identities in keeping with “ideological tenets underlying the Chinese government politics of [cultural] difference” (Varutti 2010). The “culture of the museum” in China, as Maria Varutti (2010: 73) explains, is “enshrined in the logic of State-controlled univocal grand narratives” and thus the representation of the past and identities, in particular ethnic minorities, is steeped in state authorized interpretation. As the museum positions ethnic minorities and defines cultural diversity it contributes to the institutionalization of identities and the building of a collective national heritage. One example of this is through the recently established ecomuseum initiative in rural China.

From China's first ecomuseum project under the Sino-Norwegian Cooperative Ecomuseum Program, established from an ongoing collaborative relationship between Su Donghai and Norwegian museologist John Aage Gjestrum since 1994, Chinese museologists and government agencies have worked to “localize” this foreign concept and, specifically, adapt a Norwegian “model” for ecomuseum projects. Chinese ecomuseums share a common characteristic in

keeping with the Norwegian approach to implement a core, or 'brain' documentation center (Gjestrum 1995) situated in the locality that functions as an exhibition space to showcase the various elements of local cultural heritage and landscape beyond its walls and a place for ecomuseum staff to catalog documented and recorded work on the local culture as well as welcome visitors. Although the ecomuseum does consist of various *in-situ* tangible and intangible elements, such as ancestral tombs, natural springs, trails, farms, ceremonial spaces, historic residences, etc., they have not been designated as satellites of the ecomuseum. Thus the ecomuseum documentation and exhibition center has often become representative of the ecomuseum itself. Ecomuseums in China embody several contradictions such as within the exhibition center of many sites local ethnic minority identities and heritages on display are framed as "living fossils" and fetishized remnants of a past that serve as a "counterfoil" to the forward and acculturating thrust of the modern and ethnic Han-Chinese (see Bennett 2006: 55; Varutti 2010: 79), while outside choreographed performances proclaim the vibrancy of the local culture. For the Chinese government, the ecomuseum center signifies the tangibility of the ecomuseum initiative, ties it to the better understood traditional museum discourse of documentation, collection, and display, and justifies that the ecomuseum *is* in operation. For the local population, the documentation center is perceived as the ecomuseum itself as there is often a lack of understanding on the role of the ecomuseum and limited activities and local "satellite" sites to build a network (see Ohara 2008) to actively engage in "community heritage" (see Smith and Waterton 2010; Waterton and Watson 2011). With an exhibition center as its "core", ecomuseums in China resemble a local traditional folklore or ethnic nationality (*minzu*) museum creating a controlled space for the processes of imagination. At the same time, as a site for *in-situ* heritage preservation, the ecomuseum presents a "real" rather than "artificial" experience of dynamic interaction with local cultural heritage for the visitor as well as the local population "inhabiting" the ecomuseum, which mobilizes all parties in new forms of imagination – of the self, other, community, the nation – and understandings of the past and future.

Drawing on the work of Tony Bennett (1995), we can understand these institutionalized spaces where knowledge is produced through the modalities of power, as intrinsically tied to and advance the practices of government (see Toon 2011). Museums, Bennett argues, are embedded in "programmness of social and civic management" (2005: 3), "implicated in shaping civic capacity" (2005: 4) and "people movers" (2006: 51-57), "winning hearts and minds as well as the disciplining and training of bodies" (1995: 62) in their ability to mobilize cultures and identities in processes of self-regulation and cultural development. As much as today's museums in China, including the ecomuseum, aim to expand the museological discourse, having become Western-designed monuments to China's globalization, institutions to modernize Chinese traditional culture, and community-based initiatives to safeguard local folkways and the past, they continue to be "objects of government" and caught up with what Bennett (1988: 74) calls the "exhibitionary complex", as "vehicle[s] for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power...throughout society." Unique to the ecomuseum, however, is a new museum approach for China that not only structures the experience of the viewing museum spectator but also of local populations themselves through a state authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006). As ecomuseums constitute the assemblage of material and "living culture", these institutions enlist local populations in mimetic practices and the fabrication of new entities through expert-defined sites of "living heritage".

According to ecomuseum directors and staff and the ecomuseum selection committee in Guizhou and Guangxi, specific ethnic minority villages are designated ecomuseums because they exemplify cultural distinctiveness and have retained "completely" (*wanzheng*) the "original flavor" (*yuanzhi yuanwei*) of their varied cultural heritage, "more than any other village of their kind". Coming from the provincial government and museum professionals, the designation of ethnic villages as ecomuseums and the selection of "valuable" cultural heritage worthy of preservation and commercialization, such as ethnic dress, dance, music, architecture, etc. displayed through literature, websites, and billboards, play a key role in establishing "representative" villages of particular ethnic groups or sub-ethnic groups and contribute to determining what is culturally "authentic". In addition, "isolated, poverty-stricken" ethnic minority villages that "have been almost cut off from the modern civilization" (Su 2006) were commonly selected for ecomuseum development. This not only satisfied the desire by the Chinese government and museum professionals to preserve the "untouched" tangible and

intangible “roots” of Chinese civilization as they become attached to a Boasian logic to rescue dying cultures, but also strengthened the imagined link between ethnic minority peoples and “past” lifeways and the process of cultural interaction through which the dichotomy of the “backward,” “primitive” ethnic minority and the “modern” Han majority has been established (Gladney 1994; Fiskejo 2006; Harrell 1995). This “heritagization” process in China to iconize ethnicity and specific cultural landscapes is also explained by Tim Oakes (1997) as the Chinese state’s attempt “to ‘fossilize’ certain aspects of cultural tradition, drawing distinct boundaries around local customs, fixing them in time and space and insuring that they remain encased as exhibits for the modern metropolitan world to observe and appreciate.” This determining of what can or cannot count as heritage and what is worthy of conservation and commercialization through a politically-driven set of judgments lead by experts is what Laurajane Smith (2006) identifies as an “authorized heritage discourse” (AHD). Authorized heritage discourse is how “dominant forms of heritage become continually reinforced, continually authorized and made important” which significantly impacts people’s sense of self, place, belonging, and community (Smith audio). According to Stuart Hall, heritage is part of the ‘educative apparatus’ of the state; “as a discursive practice” it constitutes “one of the ways in which the nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory....This process of selective ‘canonisation’ confers authority and a material and institutional facticity on the selective tradition” (2008: 221). In China, the state has long assumed the role of custodian for culture and heritage, determining those things which represent its citizens and its past and present, and which consequently positions the public in a role of “passive” engagement to heritage and “has the ability to facilitate the marginalisation of groups who cannot make successful appeals to or control the expression of master cultural or social narratives” (Smith 2006: 192; Harrison 2010). This is reflected specifically in government-led ecomuseum work. From site selection to local consultation, to the construction and curation of the ecomuseum center, to the management of their ongoing documentation and activities, ecomuseum development has fallen on hands of museum professionals and the government. Ecomuseum local populations are often passive attendants through acts of *canjia*, or taking part in or joining, rather than *canyu*, taking part in with contribution (Nitzky 2012). This is referred in community participatory projects as the clear distance between informing and consultation and collaboration that Arnstein (1969) and Head (2007). In spite of the intended aim to encourage local communities’ democratic participation in heritage management and ecomuseum work (Su 2006), ecomuseums in China have yet to assume their role as agents of social inclusion (Sandell 2002) as they remain embedded in a “paternalist governance” (Boast 2011) that revolves around a state-led effort to integrate China’s diverse cultural heritages into the nation’s cultural patrimony and ethnic minority communities into mainstream economic development.

3 THE HERITAGE INDUSTRY AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Since the implementation of China’s first ecomuseums in Guizhou province, the ecomuseum has become a strategy for regional economic development. Implicated in provincial and county government agendas, ecomuseums in China, according to Su Donghai and other Chinese museologists and scholars, has on the ground become more an initiative of tourism development than a means for heritage preservation management. This conceptualization and utilization of the ecomuseum was in part inspired by work transpiring in Guizhou in the late 1980s under the Guizhou Cultural Heritage Bureau and deputy director Li Zhengguang, and his successor Hu Chaoxiang, to link tourism development for poverty-stricken, “culturally rich” ethnic minority communities with heritage preservation techniques. As an expert consultant for the Bureau, Su Donghai was called on to advise on the development of “new” museums for this endeavor, laying the groundwork for ecomuseum development in Guizhou and its connection to the enhancement of economic development and poverty alleviation, which has continued throughout all projects in Guizhou and Guangxi.

Even more than poverty-relief projects, like that implemented as an initial phase of China’s first ecomuseum in the Miao community of Suoga, tourism has become the focus for government-led ecomuseum initiatives for purposes of economic development, aiming to provide opportunities for the improvement of living standards for ethnic minority communities

in the rural sector. Ecomuseums are in fact part of a larger movement across China to strengthen the conservation of China's heritage by linking it with tourism (Sofield and Li 1998). With development and poverty in rural ethnic minority regions understood as a serious challenge for China's regional and national economic growth, the Chinese government at multiple levels has promoted the development of "cultural industries" like heritage and tourism as effective means for poverty alleviation and revenue generation (Oakes 1998, 2006; Wen and Tisdell 2001). Although China has made a dramatic push from the beginning of the reform era to implement poverty alleviation campaigns (World Bank 2001; Khan and Riskin 2001), reducing poverty from 250 million in 1978 to 26 million in 2004 (United Nations 2004), considerable rural poverty has still remained, particularly in ethnic minority regions, for example with ethnic minorities making up approximately 40% of the remaining absolute poor (Stern 2001; Bhalla and Qiu 2006). For many ethnic minority groups of the 55 officially recognized ethnic nationalities (*minzu*) in China, constituting 8% of the Chinese population and totaling approximately 105 million people, culture has become a means to stimulate economic growth through tourism, and, according to Shunli Gao (2008), has helped lift thousands of villages and people out of poverty. Furthermore, the celebration of culture through tourism has provided a means for the expression of cultural practices long suppressed as feudalistic under the Mao regime (Schein 1989; Sofield and Li 1998). Guizhou province, with ethnic minorities comprising one third of the total population, for example, was quick to link tourism development and poverty alleviation in the early 1990s (Donaldson 2007: 342), emphasizing exotic ethnic culture as "enticements for potential investments" and Han tourists in search of the "other" (Oakes 1999: 320; see also Schein 2000). Similar to Guizhou, other provincial and local governments have recognized the potential for mobilizing cultural symbols for marketizing ethnicity in the rural sector.

The branding of cultural "heritage" under the machinery of tourism, has assigned cultural landscapes and cultural traditions and practices not only a value for preservation but also for consumption. The selection, manipulation, and naturalization of cultural symbols are perceived as the root of each locality's ability to attract and generate economic development (Oakes 1998, 2006). Aware of this, many provincial and county governments have been quick to support the development of ecomuseums and other heritage preservation projects. For local governments in China, the ecomuseum has come to represent a fancy Western concept of the modern museum form to attract visitor interest and national and international attention that fits within the state cultural policy to promote national unity, cultural diversity, and modernization through the expansion of the cultural industry. Many ecomuseum directors and staff, and local government leaders throughout Guizhou and Guangxi explained to me that from each project's inception they have been developed as tourism initiatives and were presented to local villagers as such because it was believed that this would be the easiest way to explain the ecomuseum concept and provoke villagers' interest and "participation" in the project. Data collected across nine ecomuseum sites shows that little attempt has been made to collaborate with local populations to enhance the understanding of the "value" of heritage beyond cultural commoditization. This tourism development approach to ecomuseum development has stirred initial support by local villagers as they have seen an increase in government investment in village development, i.e. road construction and infrastructure, water, and electricity, and a promise of economic development for their community. Designation as an ecomuseum has helped place each village on the cultural tourism map in China and has led to an increase in tourist numbers, with some sites receiving as much as 30,000 to 50,000 tourists annually. Zhenshan, Longli, and Jinzhou are exemplary ecomuseum cases experiencing significant tourism development, yet their proximity to urban centers and prior official status as a "protected ethnic village", "ancient town", and center for Zhuang handicrafts, respectively, has contributed greatly to their success as cultural destinations. However, ecomuseum development has not necessarily directly translated into economic growth for the local community. Most ecomuseums are located far from city and county centers, lack suitable infrastructure for tourism growth, and do not offer many services to tourists outside of the ecomuseum information and exhibition center, which significantly limits the beneficial impact of tourism for locals. This coupled with limited collaboration between government agencies, museum professionals and the local community and failure to create a reciprocal "learning environment" (Maggi 2006) and strategies to mobilize local community involvement has resulted in many local villagers perceiving the ecomuseum

initiative as inconsequential to the future development of their community.

The ability to define and assert particular ethnic and cultural identity representations through the heritage industry, and in particular through the ecomuseum initiative itself, exemplifies tourism's power as a governance mechanism for cultural development (Oakes 2006). One way the tourism endeavor does this is through local populations' appropriation of reconstructed cultural heritage symbols which creates a new civic consciousness of commercialization within the community. Tim Oakes (2006) draws on the work of Stuart Hall (1997) to articulate how "enterprising subjects" are produced through "cultural strategies" outlined by the Chinese state. These strategies produce more than economic results and are also instrumental in "creating new subjectivities which contribute to the state's desired governance outcomes", i.e. to "spur commerce, enrich development, and attract investment and human capital" (Oakes 2006: 19). Hall (1997: 235) explains this process of "governing by culture" as get[ting] the subjects to align their own personal and subjective motivations and aspirations with the motivations of the organization, to redefine their skills and capacities in line with the personal and professional job-specifications of the firm, to internalize organizational objectives as their own subjective goals. They will use what Foucault calls the 'technologies of the self to 'make themselves up', to produce themselves." While government-led ecomuseum initiatives in China have been slow to "inculcate villagers in a 'culture of commerce'" (Oakes 2006: 25), there have been some developments seen throughout Guizhou and Guangxi projects led by local villagers and leaders, such as the establishment of, sometimes traveling, song and dance troupes for hire, *nongjiale* (peasant family happiness) guesthouses serving local food and home experiences filled with ethnic songs and wine, young minority women dressed in elaborate ethnic dress posing for tourist photographs, and the sale of local handicrafts and embroidered and batik dress. These new types of economic activity created through the formation of the ecomuseum demonstrate the power of cultural development and "generat[e] in [local communities] an enterprising attitude toward symbolic [heritage] resources" (Oakes 2006: 26). In addition, the cultural landscape has become a resource itself through the preservation mission of the ecomuseum and the local community members have begun to reimagine their "place", and consequently their "sense of place", as it now possesses commercial aesthetic value. They are now encouraged to "think of preserving the village environment as part of their 'jobs' in the new cultural economy" (Oakes 2006: 26), such as in the case of Longli Ancient Town ecomuseum. Furthermore, in borrowing from Sharon Zukin (1995), Oakes (2006: 22) states that "the new subjectivities of cultural development... regulate themselves in the interest of capital....Cultural strategies, then, represent a Gramscian project of manufactured consent. Because of their ambiguous symbolic qualities cultural resources are freighted with ideological baggage." As ethnic villages are designated ecomuseum sites and "requisitioned" in the name of government cultural strategies, they do not only serve the interests of government. As local populations participate in the cultural economy now brought on by ecomuseum development, ecomuseums can be made to serve, too, local interests as community members embrace the new rhetoric of state heritage preservation and attempt to use the very tools that continuously work to marginalize and position them as "primitive" "living heritage" (see Oakes 1998: 63). This does not necessarily lead to new "empowered" subjects that have local cultural autonomy, but self-regulated subjects who learn how to maneuver within and negotiate the framework of a new political and economic order (see Herzfeld 1991).

4 ECOMUSEUMS AS SPACES FOR CONTACT AND FRICTION

Within this paper we have seen how ecomuseums in China are caught up in processes of government as mechanisms for assembling and reassembling forms of power and authority which are directed at constructing identities and memories and regulating behavior and the conduct of people and things (Harrison 2012). The extent that political and economic strategies set forth by the Chinese government shape ecomuseum development calls attention to them being, according to Bennett (1998), tools for purposes of governmentality - "how the State indirectly and at a distance induces and solicits appropriate attitudes and forms of conduct from its citizens" (Hall 1999: 14). However, as much as these museums act as assemblages of government, they do not merely exist in a vacuum or as "safe zones" but as spaces of contact

and cross-cultural interaction as well as friction and conflict. With a new museological view having turned to issues of social inclusion and collaboration through the museum space, many have called on James Clifford's notion of the "contact zone" in describing the complex field of relations surrounding relations between museums and communities. Borrowing the term from Mary Louise Pratt (1992), Clifford (1997) popularized the idea of museums as contact zones and "recast the museum as a space where different cultures and communities intersect, interact, and are mutually influenced by the encounter" (Mason 2006: 25). In the words of Clifford, through a 'contact zone' perspective the organizing structure of the museum becomes "an ongoing historical, political, moral relationship – a power-charged set of exchanges, of push and pull" (1997: 192). He thus emphasized "the ways in which museums are best understood as locally *negotiated* responses to what are portrayed as dominant, universalizing, hierarchical notions of culture, and suggested that seeing them as such might have the effect of transforming and breaking down these dominant modes which structure the governmental role of museums" (Harrison 2012: 34). "The consequence of this approach", as Whitcomb (2003: 89) explains, "is that Clifford is able to analyse space instances of relations between museums and communities as cross-cultural encounters in which the museum, as much as the community, needs to make adjustments." As a new museological form of community heritage outside the physical confines of the traditional museum, calling for a collaborative program with the local community and the museum, ecomuseums can be seen through this contact perspective as a space where multiple discourses converge and interact, that incite a new dynamic of relations between the museum and the community through which the locality is recreated and new forms of agency emerge and play out (see Dos Santos 2008, Hawke 2011; Fuller 1992; see also Simpson 1996; Stanley 2007; Kreps 2003; Waterton and Watson 2011).

In China, ecomuseum development has been approached through a contact perspective as projects for cross-cultural interaction, proposing for collaboration between scholars, the government, and local communities to build new, ongoing relations. As contact spaces, the political dimensions of ecomuseum development and the workings of cultural governance take on new meaning where different articulations of culture, memory, meaning, and values are expressed and negotiated (see Whitcomb 2003). Although different power relations activated at different levels of interaction through the contact process do not always translate into positive experiences for those who come into contact with the museum, they are generative of new forms of agency for involved actors (see Crooke 2006; Whitcomb 2003). For example, for the first four years after its establishment in 2004, the Nandan White Trousers Yao Ecomuseum, Guangxi's first ecomuseum, represented a project in which the *baiku* Yao hamlets of Huatu, Huaqiao, and Manjiang of Huaili village were transformed into a destination culture and proclaimed a culturally distinct "primitive" culture in desperate need of preservation. Chinese government officials and tourists came to the remote ecomuseum village to view the exoticized spectacle of the *baiku* Yao displayed through the exhibition documentation center and cultural performances of young Yao girls dancing to the rhythmic tones of bronze ceremonial drums beaten by Yao male elders. While several local men and women from the local community participated in this staging of authenticity (see MacCannell 1973) within the ecomuseum center, the local population remained outside as distant and disengaged from the ecomuseum, perceiving it as purely a government project. In mid-2008, however, the reorientation of contact relations and friction between the Chinese government, ecomuseum staff, experts, and the new presence of a NGO organ incited the development and implementation of several new initiatives led by the local Yao ecomuseum staff themselves. These included a Yao culture inheritance class for local primary schools, youth exchange programs and internet-based Yao social network, village restoration projects, and a region-wide Yao association meeting. All activities to engage the local Yao community in cultural heritage education and protection and community development were the culmination of the ecomuseum staff's reaction to the lack of community involvement in ecomuseum work and dissatisfaction of government administration. This effort has already begun to transform the relations between the ecomuseum and the local population. It has created active community engagement in heritage and new civic capabilities for local villagers to negotiate and develop new social networks and understandings of a sense of self, community, and place. This case demonstrates how the ecomuseum initiative has become agentive in how it has brought things about, how it lends voice to certain people and silences others, and triggers new relations and power structures.

Nandan ecomuseum's experience appears to be more the exception than the rule in southwest China. As seen across Guizhou and Guangxi, the relations of power that shape the development of the ecomuseum and the dimensions of social and political mobility at different levels of interaction remain deeply entangled with processes of government and thus produce spaces for local populations to passively participate in the state heritage discourse that works to position and marginalize them as "living heritage". It is active community engagement in heritage that becomes the key issue in whether or not ecomuseums are community-driven and new modern subjectivities can be formed.

As much as relations between local populations and the ecomuseum are experiencing power imbalances and inequalities, calling into question the assumed democratic role of the contact zone, networks of social and material interaction are being established. When we know, as Harrison (2012: 34-35) importantly argues, that "the *contact* histories involved in the production and maintenance of such [these] flows have often involved violent *conflicts* and have occurred as the result of vastly unequal power relationships", contact relations and the flow of people, ideas, values, etc. no longer appear "frictionless" through the contact zone. Drawing from Karp et. al (2006) volume *Museum Frictions* and Anna Tsing's (2005) work, Harrison states that "it is necessary to take account not only of globalised 'flows', but also the sense in which moments of assembling and reassembling within the museum network also often produce *friction* and conflict." Tsing, Harrison explains, shows that "the outcome of the interactions of people and things in a globalised world is also a creative force in the co-production of culture which occurs across interactions of difference. The idea of 'friction' acknowledges the fundamentally awkward, unequal, contingent nature of cross-cultural interactions...conflict and friction is not simply about slowing down social and material flows, but is itself generative of new relations and required to keep global and local flows in motion" (2012: 35). These ideas help illustrate the complex processes of cross-cultural contact, engagements in heritage by communities, museum professionals, the government, and tourists, and formations of agency that characterize ecomuseum development in China.

This paper has attempted to draw out the politics of the ecomuseum through which knowledge and heritage is made and maintained and agency is mediated, and through which relationships are transforming and evolving as the museum development process changes. In exploring the power system of relations that shape ecomuseum development we can observe potential changes of those relations and how communities maneuver within this structure of power. In China, it is not through the construction of the ecomuseum per se but the encounters experienced through their development that spaces for community engagement in heritage can emerge. As local populations are positioned through the ecomuseum space as it institutionalizes cultural heritage and identities, they are also incorporated into contact relations which can build new social networks and understandings of the self and cultural value for local community members. In this way, it is possible for governmental mechanisms such as the ecomuseum to bring about not only the transformation of local cultures and identities but also new capabilities for local communities to act within the social and political structure in China. It is thus important to heed the words of Tsing (2005: 13) "to learn about the collaborations through which knowledge is made and maintained...through the friction of such collaborations" to understand how projects like the ecomuseum "gain their shape" and to explore the "new gaps" that are created through the friction of circulating and interacting knowledge that can reconfigure heritage and the ecomuseum space.

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Relationship between peoples' local actions and traditional museums – case study on Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum as the network to integrate local resources in the area

K. Ohara

Yokohama National University, Yokohama, Japan

ABSTRACT: Good relationship between traditional museums and participative activity of local people is an important element for composing an ecomuseum, but many ecomuseums in Japan had poor relations with established museums and museology. Unfortunately, museums aiming to become community-oriented with the focus set on the local area and local people are generally in the minority in Japan. We are trying to describe how the collaboration between museums and local groups should be done and what is needed by surveying the conditions and consciousness of experts and enthusiasts in Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum. The ecomuseum is mainly composed by local peoples' activities and there the advantages of the relation and cooperation would be showed.

1 INTRODUCTION: MUSEUMS AND ECOMUSEUMS IN JAPAN

1.1 *A challenge faced by Japanese Ecomuseums*

P. Davis wrote a paper discussing about Japanese ecomuseums in his paper titled "Ecomuseums and the Democratization of Japanese Museology" (Davis, 2004). The democratization is a one of the significance of ecomuseums in Japan, most of which are organized by local peoples' activities and depend on voluntary works with poor collaboration with museums, scientists and academic institutions.

Once I have appointed out in reviewing Japanese brief history of ecomuseum that many ecomuseums in Japan had poor relations with established museums and museology (Ohara et al., 2005). Unfortunately, the majority of museums in Japan are unusual because they are more for tourists than for local people. As such, the local people do not find them easily accessible. Also, despite their original role as research and training grounds, there is a general misunderstanding that the museums are exhibition facilities only. Given this, the Japanese traditional museums all too often end up becoming storage for old things, attractions for tourists, souvenir stores or display galleries. These indicate that the definition of museum is not rightly understood and that museology dealing in the social significance and role of museums is in a vulnerable position.

The actual situation of ecomuseums' activities are also weak at the point of museology according to data of national survey by us (presented by Ohara at the seminar of ecomuseum at

AIJ with Hugues de Varine on the 8th of March 2011). The survey was done in 2007, which questionnaire contains 36 items of checklist based on the article by Corsane, Davis and Italian ecomuseums (Corsane, 2007). The mail survey were sent towards 117 ecomuseums and similar organizations and we got 46 ecomuseums all over Japan. In the result, the weak point in Japan are considered at some items which are conducted by a few ecomuseums. Three items are characteristically founded as weakness. They are "Does the ecomuseum encourage collaboration with local craftspeople, artists, writers, actors and musicians?", "Does the site encourage an on-going programme of documentation of past and present life and interactions with environmental factors?" and "Does the ecomuseum promote multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches to research?" These items mean the important works of museum of fine art and researches as advanced role by museums.

In the meantime, traditional museologists regard the ecomuseum as an activity for regional development that is alien to the museum. Some say that the ecomuseum is founded not on museology but on regional study (Kato, 2004). It is just a case of the museum being used in regional study. The dominant view among them is that the ecomuseum is one thing and the museum quite another. Very few take an interest in the latest moves of ecomuseums. Museums aiming to become community-oriented with the focus set on the local area and local people are in the minority in Japan.

On the other hand, some of the ecomuseum advocates also create problems. With too much emphasis placed on differentiating themselves from the conventional museums, they argue as if the ecomuseum is something that negates the traditional museum; some even disrespect the traditional museum approach. The reality is that sound, full-scale cooperation between ecomuseum representatives and museologists is somewhat difficult to achieve.

1.2 Case study on Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum : Structural Model

The components of the ecomuseum are a set of heritages, i.e., cultures, nature, industries, that have been supported by citizens' movements in the region. A network linking the site of each heritage forms the ecomuseum. The role of the ecomuseum headquarters is to help each site network with one another in an effort to promote and support their activities.

Examples of sites are as follows: a limited area serving as a home to local heritage, a museum packed with collections, a small district, i.e., settlements, or folkways specific to a certain area. Possibilities for the dimensions and targets of the sites are virtually infinite. In addition, there is no hierarchical order among the sites. Once part of the ecomuseum, they should cooperate with each other on an equal footing with equal rights.

To function as an ecomuseum site, there has to be not only heritage or geographical location, but also definite local peoples' efforts inherent to the area. Our definition of ecomuseum is the comprehensive unit "Partner" that combines the heritage on each site and activities carried out at local level. That is, the ecomuseum is formed with a collective entity of Partners.

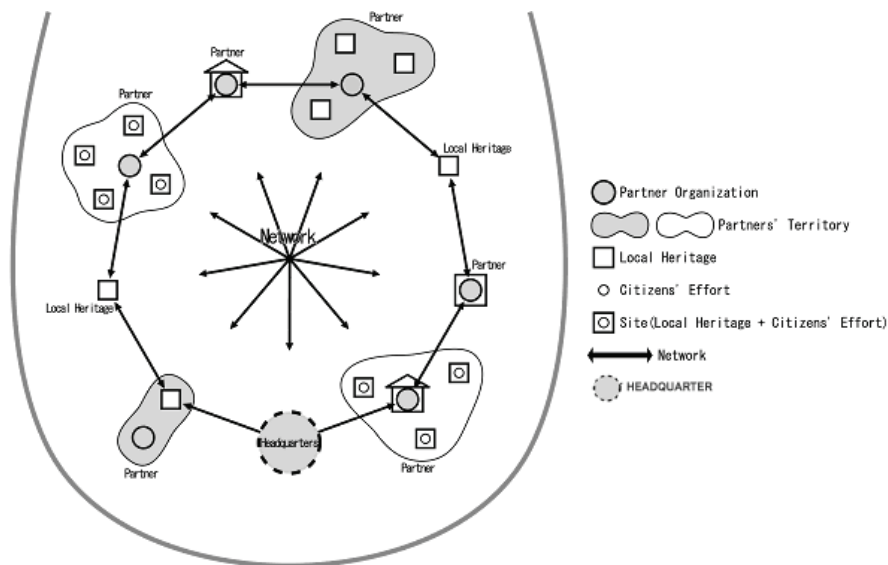


Figure 1. Composition of Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum

1.3. Maintaining facilities and local heritages on each Partners, and community participation

As in the case with the running of the ecomuseum network, community participation in the maintenance of buildings and facilities for regional heritage sites becomes indispensable.

However, the majority of partner organizations running such sites do not exist for the sake of the ecomuseum alone; they also engage in a variety of non-museum activities. Suppose that there is a group whose main activity is the conservation of a cityscape. Given its specialization, the role that the headquarters of the ecomuseum should embark upon is to support the group with training, data collection, and research so that they can carry out activities for the museum in a well-balanced manner.

Here, the group is making a partial contribution to the ecomuseum while being active independently. Upon its entry into the ecomuseum network, it would be wrong for a Partner to set its prime focus on the ecomuseum efforts alone or to become a cog in the wheel of the ecomuseum. Rather, the Partner should carry out self-organized activities, some of which could be for the ecomuseum. The immediate challenge of the ecomuseum upon its creation is to win the understanding and agreement of local people on this point.

1.4 Organization and Activities of MARUHAKU Liaison Council of Ecomuseum Miura Peninsula

In 2005, MARUHAKU liaison council of Ecomuseum Miura Peninsula (we will call it just MARUHAKU below) started its activities aiming at realizing Ecomuseum in the peninsula as an attempt to connect these action groups. At the time, the prefectural administration center (Yokosuka-Miura district administrative center in Kanagawa Prefecture) and the foundation (KIF : Kanagawa International exchange Foundation) worked as a secretariat to do the planning of each activity with organizers. They discuss it in the liaison council, and member groups and public administrations cooperate to perform the activity.

It consists of the members made up of municipalities (4 cities and a town), public organization relating administration (Prefectural Administration Center and KIF Foundation) and local peoples' activity groups (max. 50 groups, 30 groups in 2012), the advisors (2 learned people), and the organizers (4 people) chosen among the member groups.

Thus, Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum is just mainly composed by local activity groups as "partners" that mean not specialists of museology but lay people, citizens living there or enthusiasts for community development. They are some helped by municipal and private museums in the region, but there are no network of museums in the area of ecomuseum.

Some museums have been strongly supporting local activities in the community. In particular Yokosuka City Museum has held a lot of workshops with their local people. The museum is famous of educational program and study with citizens' participation. (Takibata, 2004)

MARUHAKU aims at "promoting the creation of a learning environment to study a region comprehensively, the activation of the region, and the development of an attractive region by groups which perform ecomuseum activities in each region interacting and cooperating with each other, administrative institutions and so on."

Now, it performs the activities below and more.

- Plenary meetings
- Holding tours (visit sessions)

Until spring of 2011 when the governmental economical support was stopped, the following activities had been annually done.

- Holding forums (interactive events)
- Issuing quarterly brochures and newsletter
- Creation and management of a website
- Making guidebooks (four books published in 2007-2010)

2 METHOD OF SURVEY

Miura Peninsula Ecomuseum (MARUHAKU) is now composed by from old community groups to young ones organized for special theme. There are around thirty partners in the network. Municipal and private museums are helping the activity of ecomuseum, but they didn't manage the ecomuseum.

We surveyed all the museums and visitor centers in the area of Miura peninsula ecomuseum about their status and consciousness' of relationship with peoples and ecomuseum network. Both of museums and local peoples' groups were surveyed of their ideas and actual conditions for mutual collaboration.

2.1 Mail survey of questionnaires

Questionnaires were distributed to 60 museums in different locations in the area of Miura peninsula to survey their impressions and awareness of ecomuseum and responses were received from 24 museums (Response rate: 40%).

2.2 Interview

We interviewed with three of the respondent museums and with seven local peoples' groups that belong to the ecomuseum.

Interviewee of museums are curators from various kinds of museums, which are Town museum (Hayama Shiosai Hakubutsukan), City museum (Yokosuka Jinbun Shizen Hakubutsukan) and Prefectural museum of modern art (Kanagawa Kindai Bijutsukan).

And interviewee of local groups are key persons or activists with responsibility on groups for history, cultural heritage, tourism, geology, natural environment, famous poet and community development.

3 RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO MUSEUMS

3.1 *The recognition of ecomuseum*

Most museums answered the “I know its name and outline but have never participated before”, followed by “I have seen its data and guidebook before” and “I have never even heard of it”.

MARUHAKU ecomuseum has not been very well known to the neighbouring museums. Part of the reason is that there are little people who are intimately involved with ecomuseum.

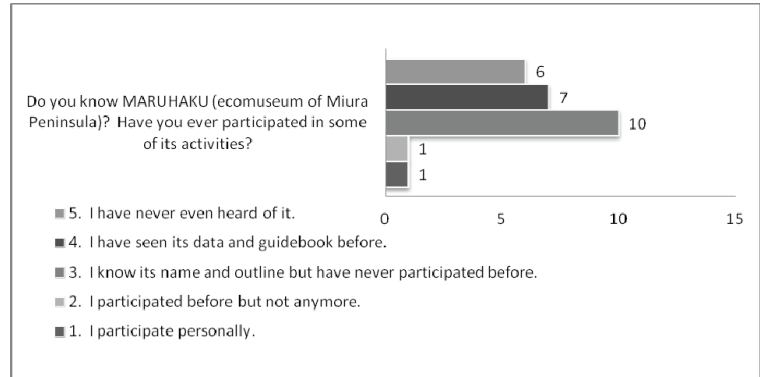


Figure 2. Recognition of MARUHAKU (ecomuseum)

3.2 *What the museums are in need*

Most museums answered the “Funds”, followed by “More visitors” and “New ideas”.

By joining in the ecomuseum, the museums will have the citizens spread the information among them to obtain new visitors to the museums. The “new ideas” could also be obtained sometimes by getting involved with other groups.

Ecomuseum cannot support directly the economical issue of museum organization, but can strengthen the social capital among the local peoples.

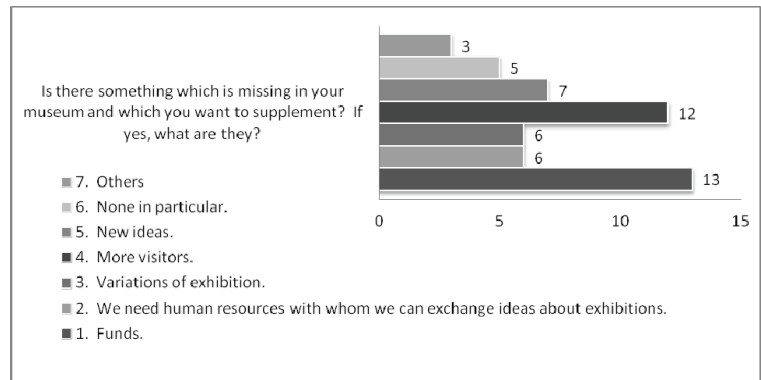


Figure 3. Need of museums

3.3 Advantage which local people think to cooperate with ecomuseum

Most museums answered the “many people can know more about the museum”, followed by “Collaboration with ecomuseum” and “Preservation of cultural heritages”. The expectation of “Collaborative studies and researches” were few answered.

Table.1 Advantage to cooperate with ecomuseum

museum ID	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
We can make exhibitions and events in coordination with ecomuseum.			○										○	○				
Many people living in the area can know more about our museum	○	○		○		○		○					○					○
Collaborative works between museums and local groups					○						○			○	○	○	○	
Preservation of cultural heritages	○			○				○	○	○								
Collaborative studies and re-searches				○						○								
Publication			○															
Others																○		
N.A.							○					○						

3.4 Reason for not being involved with ecomuseum

It's not that the museums currently uninvolved with ecomuseum are particularly reluctant to get involved.
The reasons why they are not involved with ecomuseum are mainly no opportunity to get together and shortage of manpower for the additional works.
On the contrary, many museums were of positive opinions about cooperation with ecomuseum saying that, if they could afford to, it's all right to join in the events that are planned by ecomuseum.

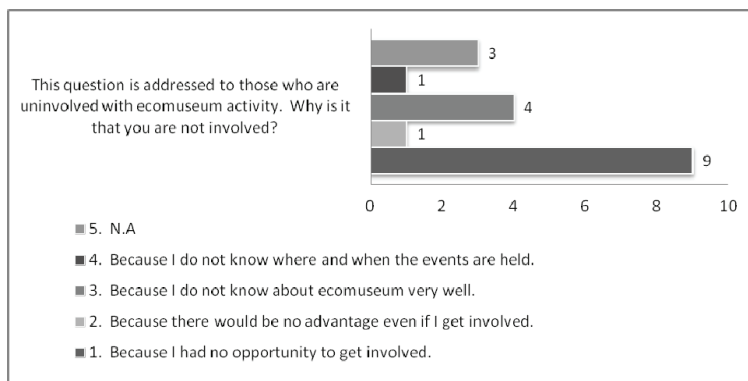


Figure 4. Reason for uninvolved

3.5 Collaboration with local peoples' groups

According to the results of questionnaires many of respondents answered “not involved with ecomuseum”, but it was revealed through interviews that, actually, they were individually involved with several local peoples' groups who are members of ecomuseum. This means that, even though the museums are cooperating with individual groups, they are not aware of being involved with ecomuseum network. It is important for gaining advantages that each groups might reconfirm themselves to being mutually connecting each other.

4 ADVANTAGES OF COLLABORATION FOR MUSEUMS AND ACTIVITY GROUPS BY THE NETWORK OF ECOMUSEUM

4.1 Advantage for both sides

Holding and participating in the cooperative projects and the events such as eco-tours bring about the opportunities to get involved with the local peoples' groups with whom there has been no relationship before.

4.2 The advantages for the museums

While the museums have wide knowledge about living animals and plant life in whole area of the prefecture or the city, they have had little discovery pertaining to their own regions.

On the other hand, since the local peoples' groups know very well about their regions, we can have them use the museum as the place of study taking the cues from what was newly discovered.

Through the cooperation of the local peoples' groups, the problem of understaffing in the research and studies can be solved by their volunteers.

4.3 The advantages for the local peoples' groups

They are able to obtain the information about the method of activities, and to learn professional knowledge.

5 OPINIONS FROM LOCAL PEOPLES' GROUPS

Without some opportunity, the local peoples' groups could not get involved with museums. And, by the opportunity, it means that there are either some museum officials or acquaintances

of the officials among the members of the groups. It was found that, due to the absence of such key persons, many of the groups were unable to be involved with their neighboring museums even where they want to get involved.

6 OPINIONS FROM MUSEUMS

Curators of local municipal museum said, "We believe that ecomuseum is meant for the local museums to investigate their regions on their own initiatives to turn the whole region into a museum in its entirety, starting the activities from the standpoint of where the value of nature is and what of the local cultural heritage should be bequeathed, and in coordination with other museums as well as with the groups and individuals who possess the expertise.", "Even when various local activists or local peoples' groups gather together, the reality is that such a meeting often ends up just as a tea party, making no further progress but hovering at the level of mere exchange of information.", "It will be essential to have the grass tops who are local experts, such as curators or educators of museums, and able to take leadership role. However, the reality is that all museums suffer the shortage of human resources and have their hands full with what is around them."

7 CONCLUSION

Regarding Miura peninsula, ecomuseum is effective system to create an "acquaintance" foundation for each person participating the activities among the network. It is a great meaning of the network building that the liaison council of ecomuseum exists as "a place to learn a region comprehensively". (Ohara,2008b,2009)

An individual member can take in a new point of view to know the region through the ecomuseum activities. Also, we can regard it as one of ecomuseum's meanings that people learn how to perceive the region comprehensively from various directions beyond a field or a point of view. Not only the communication among activity groups, but connecting with museums or scientific organizations can afford strong meaning of ecomuseum.

Also, the ecomuseum activities are considered to have huge potential as a way of lifelong learning and in promoting health for elderly people as many of the senior citizens who participate in ecomuseum have told that they became more motivated in life and more active outside their homes after joining the activities. Museums must give the good environment for the adults as a lifelong learning centre.

Many people considered that the cooperation between museums and local groups is very effective to empower the knowledge of region. But actually manpower and budgets are poorer than ideal situation.

Some said, "We have communicated and had relationships with museums/ local groups since before." But their connections are mostly "one to many", for instance, a museum has many repeaters and friends of museum, or a person has many favorite museums to visit. The "many to many" connection is preferred to making network. Just the pin-point connection of them is not effective to develop themselves.

It would be important that, when the local peoples' group and neighbouring museums attempt to coordinate their activities in the future, they do so while being fully aware that they are working together with whole ecomuseum network.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my gratitude to enthusiasts in Miura peninsula for giving us many instructive comments and also to museums for good corporations on survey. This work was supported by MEXT/JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 22601003.

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Promoting the potential of diversity in (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. The role of community museums and community-oriented cultural institutions

L. Parrino

Dept. INDACO, Politecnico di Milano, Milan, Italy

ABSTRACT: migration has deeply changed and is changing physical and immaterial landscapes of cities and neighbourhoods, which, in some cases, just thanks to their (multi)ethnic character, are seen or promoted as places for leisure and cultural experiences. This kind of promotion and commodification of ethno-cultural diversity is a complex and ambivalent issue. Putting museums and sociomuseological approach in the context of this phenomenon, the paper presents first findings and remarks arising from the preliminary-exploratory phase of a research and design project focused on the role that museums can play for this kind of promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. With the aim of framing the relationship between (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods and museums, both in reference to theoretical approaches and existing practices, a qualitative research study was conducted. Its findings, as well as the knowledge provided to outline the next steps of the research, will be discussed in the paper.

1 INTRODUCTION

Migration has deeply changed and is changing the physical, social and cultural landscape of cities and neighbourhoods. In some cases, the (multi)ethnic connotation of neighbourhoods or city areas has transformed and is transforming them into places for leisure, cultural and tourist experiences (Aytar & Rath, 2011; Rath, 2007). I use the expression “leisure, cultural and tourist experiences” or similar wordings to indicate practices and activities that are common to city residents, users and tourists. In fact, the here discussed promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhood lay in the context of contemporary urban uses characterised by growing blurred differentiations between tourists and residents/users, as well as among tourist, leisure, cultural and daily practices (Lloyd & Clark, 2001; Novy, 2011).

In this paper I present first findings and remarks arising from the preliminary-exploratory phase of a research and design project focused on the role that museums can play for the development and promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. This research – that is currently ongoing – is developed in connection with “MeLa* European Museums in an age of migrations”, a four-year European research project (FP7th) dealing with the role of museums with relation to migrations of people, cultures, ideas, information and knowledge in the global world¹.

2 AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

This preliminary-exploratory phase of my study is aimed at framing the relationship between (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods and museums, both in reference to theoretical approaches and existing practices. Indeed, the final objective of this phase is to provide knowledge fundamental to outlining the next steps of the research, towards the definition of a suitable museum intervention for the cultural diversity-based promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods.

Consistently with the aim of this exploratory part, I conducted a qualitative research study based on:

1. literature review about the different strands of research pertaining to my research;
2. exploration of practices of cultural diversity-based promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods

About the first point, as the focus of my research involves both museological and sociological issues, I built a set of reference literature that reflects and integrates the topics of:

- promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods as places for tourist, cultural and leisure experiences
- museums and local promotion/development
- museums and ethno-cultural diversity

In this context, I found sociomuseology (Dos Santos, 2008a, 2008b) to be an interesting framework for my study, as it is useful to holistically addressing sociological and museological issues and, at the same time, it is wide and flexible enough to being declined according to my specific focus on the promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods.

With regard to the exploration of existing practices, besides considering the cases described in the examined literature, I collected primary information about three experiences in three European cities:

- *MygranTour* project in Via Padova neighbourhood – Milan,
- *MygranTour* project in Porta Palazzo neighbourhood – Turin,
- Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Neighbourhood Museum (*Bezirksmuseum Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg*) – Berlin.

In this exploratory phase of my study I decided to examine these cases for two main reasons: first, because they are communicated and conceived as neighbourhood-based initiatives and projects and, second, because they represent the two main areas of interest of my research – museum and urban tourism – and their possible intersections and contaminations. The three cases have been analysed in a qualitative way, by interviews with project organizers and creators, participant observation and consultation of institutional documents.

The most relevant information and considerations about these three cases will be discussed in the following paragraphs, together with other reflections and contents coming from this preliminary-exploratory study.

The paper is divided in two parts. In the first part (paragraph 3) I will introduce the topic of promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods as places for tourist, leisure and cultural experience. Besides highlighting the wicked issues linked to the matter, I will focus on the existing contributions that intercept the theme of museums. The second part (paragraph 4) deals with the integration among the issue of promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods, (socio)museological practices and theories and remarks on the three cases examined. These heterogeneous contents are organised into five “key issues”. Going by what emerged from the exploratory phase, I identified these issues as five main dimensions that should be taken into account in order to define a suitable museum role for the cultural diversity-based promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. I will conclude the paper with final remarks about opportunities of intervention for museums and sociomuseology, as well as with outlooks for further research.

3 (MULTI)ETHNIC NEIGHBOURHOODS AS PLACES FOR TOURIST, LEISURE AND CULTURAL EXPERIENCES AND THE ROLE OF MUSEUMS

Migration has deeply changed and is changing urban landscapes, both physical and immaterial. This process of place-making is visible in many neighbourhoods and streets of contemporary

cities, which, in some cases, just thanks to their (multi)ethnic character, are seen as places for leisure and cultural experiences.

“Increasing numbers of people go gallery hopping and clubbing in up-and-coming neighborhoods; venture into ethnic enclaves to explore specialty shops, festivals and exotic restaurants; take guided walking tours through neighborhoods with which we are not acquainted to learn about their history, culture, and heritage or simply enjoy discovering areas by chance or serendipity.” (Novy, 2011: 13)

Classic Countries of immigration, as USA and Australia, acknowledged the tourist and leisure potential of their Chinatowns, Little Italies, Greektowns etcetera some time ago, but the theme is now topical in Europe too (Ford et al., 2008; Hall & Rath, 2007).

This kind of promotion and commodification of ethno-cultural diversity is a complex and ambivalent issue. On the one hand, some commentators underline the positive aspects of these forms of development, such as the transformation of cities and neighbourhood into more vibrant and secure places (Hall & Rath, 2007), the promotion of intercultural encounters (Fainstein and Powers 2007) or the possibilities of participation for immigrants, “emerging here as active subjects in a new tourist practice in the city” (Hall & Rath, 2007: 18). On the other hand, these dynamics are not without negative consequences. About the representation of cultures, many scholars see ethnic neighbourhoods as places where visitors can discover difference that is domesticated and adapted for Western use (Shaw et al., 2004). Others underline the risks of voyeurism and of reinforcement of stereotypes (Lin, 1998), as well as of disempowerment of local (ethnic) communities (Gotham, 2005; Lin, 2010).

Fainstein and Powers effectively sum up the ambivalence, the potentialities and the feasibility of these development paths, by affirming:

“[a]chieving development based on diversity rather than on the exploitation of difference, stimulating cultural interchange while avoiding putting local people on exhibit, nurturing small business while keeping chain stores at bay – all these are possible benefits of opening up neighbourhoods to tourists. The trick is to secure the benefits while minimizing the obvious pitfalls.” (Fainstein & Powers, 2007: 162)

In the context of the studies on (multi)ethnic neighbourhood as places for cultural and leisure experiences, attention is paid also to museums. In his research on the relation between heritage and the “power of urban ethnic places” (Lin, 2010: i), Lin discusses the cultural and economic retooling power of ethnic heritage preservation, which is due to its connection with livelihood of ethnic neighbourhoods and tourism. Based on the experiences of selected places in Houston, Miami, Los Angeles and New York, he acknowledges to museums an important role:

“[e]thnic and vernacular heritage museums [...] architecturally rehabilitated and culturally redeemed vernacular building types, residential tenements, and row houses that had previously drawn public outrage and stigmatization as slums and harbingers of residential overcrowding, vice, and immorality. These projects have joined historic preservation work with contemporary story telling in converting residential buildings to exhibitionary museums and gallery spaces.” (Lin, 2010: 251)

Another significant feature considered by Lin is the fact that these projects can give voice and visibility to often marginalized immigrants and ethnic minorities. This aspect is underlined also by Novy in his contribution on the case of Kreuzberg in Berlin (Novy, 2011). The multicultural Kreuzberg walking tour promoted by the neighbourhood museum and a non-profit institution is seen as a representational practice

“involv[ing] the potential for self-definition, agency, visibility and voice and [...] playing a role in marginalized communities’ struggle for greater equality and empowerment.” (Novy, 2011: 228)

This kind of activities are considered as grass-roots initiatives able to promote alternative images of disadvantaged neighbourhoods and aimed at using urban tourism for the benefit of local community (Novy, 2011).

Stressing different aspects, these two contributions acknowledge the potential of museums as actors for neighbourhood development and promotion. This potential will be further explored and discussed in the next paragraph.

4 KEY ISSUES

As previously written, in this section, reflections and information emerging from this preliminary-exploratory phase will be discussed according to five key issues. These are intended to be five dimensions that have to be taken into account in order to define actions and means by which museums can play a role in promoting a development process that, while “opening” (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods to people interested in tourist, leisure and cultural experiences, focuses adequately on needs and aspirations of neighbourhood insiders.

4.1 *The importance of context*

The first key issue – in some sense basis of the following ones – is that of specificity of contextual factors that characterises (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods and their promotion. The use of the caption “(multi)ethnic” itself is index of the existing differences among cities in the spatial distribution of immigrants. Mostly, differently from North America and northern Europe, migration in southern European cities has not formed neighbourhoods definable with the expression “ethnic neighbourhood” (Marzorati & Quassoli, 2011).

Also as for neighbourhood cultural and promotional interventions, in some cases, rather than the ethnic character, the multiethnic/multicultural one is stressed and communicated. The Department of Culture and History of the District Office of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg (*Der Fachbereich Kultur und Geschichte des Bezirksamtes Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg*) in Berlin offers an example of this approach. Its aim is to contribute to neighbourhood development through cultural and artistic programmes. According to institutional communication², it acknowledges cultural diversity as an important trait of the district, as well as an opportunity for its development. Diversity is not conceived only from the ethno-cultural point of view nor does it regard a specific ethnic community. Instead, multi- and transcultural reality of the district and of its neighbourhoods is underlined. This approach towards cultural diversity characterises also the activities of the five cultural institutions coordinated by the Department and – among these – of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum: “[different ethno-cultures] are always part of the exhibitions, but it’s not a main topic.” (interview with K.C., member of the staff of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum)

Going back to the discussion on the importance of context, other possible factors outlining its specificity could be the level of immigrants’ entrepreneurship and ties, local governance, local and national immigration and integration policies, urban infrastructures, interrelationships with urban economy and urban tourism (Aytar & Rath, 2011; Rath, 2007; Novy, 2011), but also with contemporaneous social and political movements (Lin, 2010). Based on USA experience, Lin distinguishes between tourism-oriented plans and socio-political movements that led to ethnic heritage preservation and – only consequently – to place promotion.

“While ethnic tourism has grown alongside the recent expansion in ethnic enclaves and economic partnership between ethnic entrepreneurs with city government and other arenas of the public sector, the ethnic heritage movement has emerged as a product of the community action and preservation movement in ethnic neighborhoods. These urban movements are correlated with the ‘ethnic power’ and ‘identity politics’ movements taking place in American political and academic arenas since the 1960s in the wake of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War.” (Lin, 2010: 51)

This remark raises the question of legitimacy and appropriateness of planning and designing such culture/heritage-led development and promotion processes, where they do not arise “spontaneously” because linked to contextual social movements or facts. One possible answer to this complex issue comes from reflections of sociomuseology and related disciplines, that consider

development strategies to be appropriate only if they are linked to needs, opportunities and capabilities of specific contexts:

“it is each particular context that defines what improvement means and, consequently, what development actually means.” (Dos Santos, 2008b: 193)

In this context, the role of tourism in local development strategies is increasingly acknowledged, on condition that it is not seen as the objective of development strategies, but, on the contrary, as one possible means (Dos Santos, 2008a). Museums too, although reckoned important tools for development, are considered to be products of choices, that should be consistent and connected to the specific contexts (de Varine, 2000). Bringing these contributions in the context of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods means acknowledging that strategies and interventions for their promotion as places for tourist, leisure and cultural experiences should consider firstly the benefits for neighbourhood community. Clearly it follows that under certain circumstances this kind of place promotion should be avoided.

4.2 Empowerment and self-representation

The second issue is related to the risk of disempowerment implied in such processes of place promotion. This can be associated to two aspects: that of representation of cultures and that of management and control of the dynamics of neighbourhood promotion and development.

Literature both about tourism and museums has focused on of cultural representation and production for tourists and visitors (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Rojek & Urry, 1997). If on the one side tourist and cultural experiences have been read as quests for authenticity (MacCannell, 1973), on the other side several scholars have questioned this concept of authenticity (Rojek & Urry, 1997) and/or have taken into account other aspects. Following Chambers' considerations on the correspondence between authenticity and control of the production (Chambers, 2000), Aime observes that rather than about authenticity per se, the key question is about autonomy in cultural representations (Aime, 2005). These remarks about the importance of self-representation find confirmation also in the field of heritage and museum studies: the vision of heritage as a “mode of cultural production” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 149) implies the need of taking into account who controls, promotes and enacts it and to what end.

The briefly mentioned issues of authenticity, autonomy and control linked to cultural production and representation have a significance that is not only cultural, but also social, economic and political. As Zukin observes, this significance involves also urban places and their dynamics of use and development, that is an aspect fundamental for the purposes of my research.

“Because the emergence of the term reflects the importance of our roles as cultural consumers who consume the city's art, food, and images and also its real estate, authenticity becomes a tool, along with economic and political power, to control not just the look but the use of real urban places: neighbourhoods, parks, community gardens, shopping streets. Authenticity, then, is a cultural form of power over space [...]”

But authenticity could become a potent tool to combat the recent negative effects of upscale growth if we redefine it as a cultural right to make a permanent home in the city for all the people to live and work.” (Zukin, 2010: xiii)

Put in the context of the promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods, this means that the participation of neighbourhood insiders in these processes, as well as the opportunity for them to self-represent themselves, are unavoidable. It must be said that the opposite condition represents a quite true risk. Differently from what observed by Lin in USA (Lin, 2010), in many cases contextual factors do not lead to ethnic heritage movements by immigrants. Instead, the stimulus for the promotion of ethnic heritage comes from other actors. I am not arguing that all these initiatives are a priori negative – especially in contexts where social, political and cultural participation of immigrants is inhibited – but that these stimuli should lead to self-representation and empowerment of immigrants, as showed by the attempts of the afterwards described cases of *MygranTour*

I believe that in order to handle the risks of cultural as well as of socio-economic disempowerment, the contribution of museums should go in the direction of the promotion of community

participation as a way to favour not only self-representation, but also ownership and self-management of development processes. The importance of participation and empowerment is stressed also by several contributions in the field of development studies (Chambers, 2005; Hickey & Mohan, 2005; Mayo, 2000). The definition of a suitable role in the cultural diversity-based promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods implies the need for museums to develop new functions and methodologies of action, also taking into account suggestions coming from this area of research and intervention. Nevertheless, also the most traditional functions, as that of exhibiting, can constitute a chance for museums to play a role as “development actors”, representing/denouncing – if not addressing – the complex issues of neighbourhood development and promotion. An example of the opportunity of representing and drawing attention on problematic neighbourhood processes is offered by one of the cases examined in this exploratory study: the exhibition *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte* (Local Chats. City - Migration - History) of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum. This reconstructs the territorial transformations of the district, trying to give voice to the diversity of people who have been and are shaping and experiencing them.

“The history of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg is presented through examples of places in the district. The places tell about arrival and acquisition, exclusion and absorption, about political and social discussion, work and leisure time. Historically and at present, people create, use, change and put their mark on these places. The recollections of the history of these places are as different as the people who live in the city. [...] The exhibition *ortsgespräche* attempts to do justice to this diversity of voices.” (opening display of the exhibition *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte* of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum)

The exhibition acquires a value that is also social and political, also thanks to its participatory approach that extends from the designing stage to the duration of the exhibition. In this context also topical and controversial issues – as that of gentrification (Fig. 1) – are showed in a participatory way.

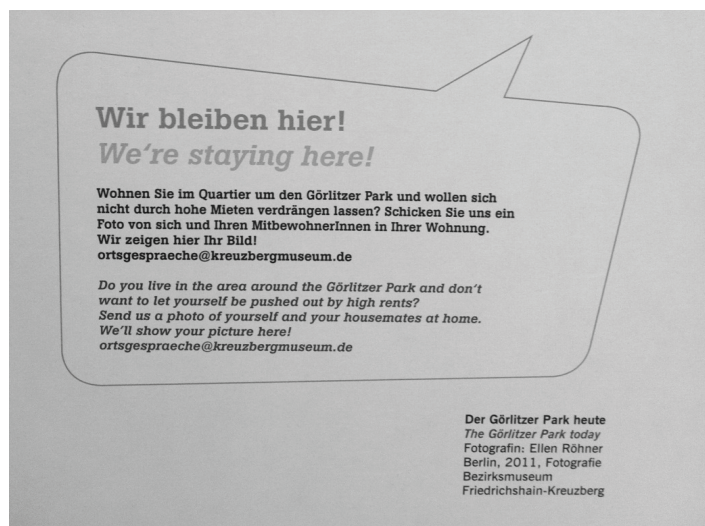


Figure 1. Gentrification topic in the exhibition *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte* of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum. Photo: Lucia Parrino

If on the one side museums have the potential to play a role in the regulation processes (Pang & Rath, 2007) that direct development and promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhood, on the other side, it must be acknowledged that

“museums have [limitations] in relation to community’s ownership (and consequently to the idea of participation in terms of taking control, planning and making decisions).” (Dos Santos, 2008b:197)

In facts, issues linked to development and promotion dynamics, as well as to integration and immigration policies, may not belong to the sphere of intervention of museums, and actually the role of museums as development actors is not fully recognised.

Thus, in order to play a role in addressing cultural diversity-led development of neighbourhoods and in handling its cultural and socio-economic risks, museums should design not only new functions and methodologies of actions, but also solutions to interface and integrate with regulation processes and actors.

4.3 *Partnerships and contaminations*

Consistently with the aim of my study, I decided to take into consideration also experiences not promoted by museums. At the bottom of this choice lies the idea of exploring possible new activities and roles for museums and of focusing on partnerships and networking among museums and other actors.

One interesting experience about the promotion of multiethnic neighbourhoods refers to the fields of responsible tourism and cooperation for development and is promoted by responsible tourism agencies and ONGs in several Italian cities. The project, called *MygranTour*³, consists of intercultural routes in significant neighbourhoods of Italian cities (currently Turin, Milan, Rome, Florence and Genoa). Immigrants specifically trained lead visitors across multiethnic neighbourhoods, focusing on places and elements that stimulate tales about migration, cultural diversity and cultural contaminations. The project started in Turin in 2010 and its concept itself is the outcome of contamination and collaboration among fiction, education sector and urban responsible tourism. The experience of Turin offers us the chance to reflect on the partnerships among museums and other actors involved in neighbourhood promotion. In fact, the responsible tourism agency promoting the intercultural tours in Porta Palazzo (a multiethnic neighbourhood of Turin) started a collaboration with the Museum of Oriental Arts (*MAO. Museo di Arte Orientale*) located in the neighbourhood. Thanks to this partnership, the museum is one of the destinations of the tour and opens its collection to tales and interpretations linked to the experiences and traditions of immigrant guides.

Another example of partnership between museums, education institutions and urban tourism associations is X-berg-Tag⁴: a multicultural tour across Kreuzberg that boasts a ten-year experience and that is supported and co-organized by the Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum.

Both these examples show the approaching between museums and urban tourist practices. The relevance of the link between museums and tourism is acknowledged in sociomuseological reflections too. According to these, the role of museums could be of intermediation between the interests of local population and those of tourism (Dos Santos, 2008a). This implies an extension of the functions of museums, which actually are often

“exhorted to expand their work beyond traditional functions and perform actions which could also be carried out by other organizations, such as communities or organizations or ONGs.” (Dos Santos, 2008a: 173)

Clearly partnerships are significant also with regard to the opportunities for museums to address promotion and development issues. According to Lin, museums could play a pivotal role in the context of that nonprofit-public partnership which “is the most productive paradigm for heritage preservation and community development” (Lin, 2010: 250). This implies that museums should acknowledge their role as actors of development and consequently act. Here limitations and problems of acknowledgment seen in the previous sub-paragraph arise again. In fact, the contribution of museums should be recognised and favoured not only by local tourism and place promotion associations – as the examples of the tours in Porta Palazzo and Kreuzberg show – but also by policy makers and institutions dealing with the development and promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods.

4.4 Which heritage?

A fourth issue to be considered is the kind of heritage connected to neighbourhood promotion. Possible elements of interest range from physical buildings and places to the neighbourhood atmosphere, from festivals and celebrations to ethnic businesses, that are considered to be of vital importance for (multi)ethnic neighbourhood atmosphere (Hall & Rath, 2007; Lin, 2010). Considerations about heritage touch different aspects.

Firstly, there is the definition of heritage itself. Given the importance of context previously seen, museums should be inclined to embrace and work on a concept of heritage which is flexible and ambiguous (Crooke, 2010), as well as biunivocally linked (Crooke, 2010) to specific (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods and respective communities. Again, since the definition of what heritage actually is involves ideas of power and control (Ashworth et al., 2007; Crooke, 2010), issues of self-representation, empowerment and control of promotion and development processes should be taken into account.

Thus, museums can be conceived as processes (Dos Santos, 2008a) aimed at making emerge and enhancing an heritage which is “intertwined with the lived experience and expression” (Crooke, 2010: 17) of communities in (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. Concretely museums might culturally map (Bianchini & Ghilardi, 2007) neighbourhoods and enhance existing resources and expressions, among which those that typically rouse visitors’ interest, as ethnic restaurants, supermarkets and grocery shops (Hall & Rath, 2007). For example, food emerges as an element interesting to work on for museums. Actually some (eco)museum experiences have already addressed the topic, enhancing restaurants and food producers as part of local heritage⁵. Also specifically about (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods, museum and tourist practices seen in this exploratory phase take into account food uses, traditions and places (see Fig. 2b). In doing so, they try to combine tradition and history with information and tales about contemporary uses and changes, also due to migration and rehoming experiences.

This lead to a second aspect of the reflection about heritage, that is the fact that museums dealing with (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods’ promotion should embrace an idea of heritage which acknowledges dynamism and fluidity of culture (Aime, 2004). In fact, I think that the challenge for museums is to find a way to promote an “identifiable Otherness” (Hall & Rath, 2007: 17) that recognises both ethnic identities and transcultural complexity (Macdonald, 2003; Werbner, 2005), being thus able to contain stereotypes based on an essentialist and rigid idea of culture (Aime, 2004).

The third aspect of reflection is about physical or intangible nature of heritage. It should be noticed that not always (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods present landmarks or buildings associated predominantly to particular ethnic communities and respective social history and movements, as those presented by Lin (Lin, 2010). New meanings, uses and feelings attributed by immigrants to neighbourhood places interweave with the existing ones, sometimes conflicting with them. This is a question that should carefully be taken into account in plans and practices aimed at promoting places through expressions of ethno-cultural diversity. This is particularly true for multiethnic neighbourhoods rather than for those characterized by the consolidated and strong presence of one ethnic community.

The exhibition *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte* offers an example of how museums can let different interpretations emerge, in this case on places and landmarks of Kreuzberg. Consistently with museum’s aim of representing a multicultural neighbourhood, the exhibition brings Kreuzberg into the museum and shows the multiple meanings and values attributed to its places by residents and users (Fig. 2).



Figure 2. Neighbourhood places of interest in the exhibition *Ortsgespräche. Stadt - Migration - Geschichte* of Friedrichshain-Kreuzberg Museum. Photos: Lucia Parrino

In (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods intangible heritage and cultural expressions – being them place meanings and uses, festivals, rituals, customs, – interweave with the physical dimension of neighbourhoods. From the viewpoint of museum intervention, the living character of these expressions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004) implies the need to consider not only fluidity and dynamism previously seen, but also the issue of their “opening”.

In fact, a fourth aspect of reflection about heritage regards exactly the promotion and “opening” of heritage or cultural expressions that could be considered private. I discussed the topic with T.Z., responsible for multicultural tours across Via Padova, a street of Milan characterized by the presence of many immigrants from different Countries. During the tours, for example, guides talk and show pictures about the celebrations for the *Virgen de Urqupiña* that Bolivian immigrants yearly organise in Via Padova.

“These are ceremonies that are religious, but also cultural and festive. It is a way for communities, indeed, to make them known. Very often are communities themselves that invites us because it pleases them that through these celebrations we know a little more about their culture [...]. Then, knowing the associations that organise these events, we are welcomed. [...] We made contact with all the actors, even those who may not cooperate directly with the tour [...]: in any case we created relationships so that they know that there is the tour.” (interview with T.Z., responsible for multicultural tours across Via Padova)

The words of T.Z. confirm the need for promotion projects and plans to be grounded in neighbourhoods. Thus, again, issues of self-representation and empowerment seem to be crucial, not only with regard to development and promotion programs, but also in the definition itself of which heritage should be enhanced.

4.5 Which museum?

The last key issue to consider in thinking about the role of museums in (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods regards museums themselves.

One first observation is about the different themes of interest of museums. Although museums specifically dealing with representation of neighbourhoods’ identity and dynamics seem to be favoured, also other kinds of museum can play a role, especially by opening their collections to interpretations consistent with the promotion of cultural diversity in neighbourhoods

and by collaborating with other actors. For example, about the assessment for the involvement of the Museum of Natural History of Milan in the multicultural tours, T.Z. tells:

“we would have talked about traditions and culture of Latin America, also through the natural environments. Actually there were also references to culture itself. For example, there was also the coca leaf and a Bolivian guide talked about the importance of coca leaf for Bolivian culture. [...] I must say that the museums we contacted showed great interest and willingness: much interest in migrant tours and in the message they want to bring.” (interview with T.Z., responsible for multicultural tours across Via Padova)

Another observation about the kind of museum regards the geographical relation between museums and (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods. On the basis of what has been seen in this exploratory phase of the research – considering both museum and tourist experiences – two are the main “geographical configurations” of museum and neighbourhood that can be found or envisaged for design and planning purposes:

1. the museum in the neighbourhood and
2. the neighbourhood as museum.

If the first one is the situation that mainly characterises current museum activities in (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods, the second one is derived from the conception that underlies touristic experiences. Clearly, between these two main configurations there are many intermediate situations, as those of museums promoting tours and delocalised activities in neighbourhoods. These intermediate situations could also be read as signs of the increasing contamination among museums, tourism and other fields involved in place promotion and development.

It should be said that the idea of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods as museums is expressed – in a descriptive way – by Lin and Shaw and MacLeod (Lin, 2010; Shaw & MacLeod, 2000). The first gives a positive connotation to his observation: “the urban ethnic heritage places I have examined in this book are like local, neighborhood-level living museums” (Lin, 2010:261). On the contrary, Shaw and MacLeod link the idea of museum to that of an overdetermined and rigid packaging of neighbourhood experiences of visitors (Shaw & MacLeod, 2000).

Leaving the descriptive and interpretative metaphors, I think that the idea and project of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods as museums can be an interesting field of action and intervention based on a sociomuseological approach that conceives museums as processes (Dos Santos, 2008a). Such process interpretation, if properly translated into practice, would allow museums to holistically and dynamically understand and represent neighbourhoods, as well as to be grounded in it.

5 CONCLUSION

To sum up, the relationship between museums and promotion and development of (multi)ethnic neighbourhoods emerges as an interesting, as well as challenging, area for research and design intervention. Existing practices and literature confirm the fact that this connection actually have been and is explored and treated. However, literature on promotion of (multi)ethnic neighbourhood, though acknowledging the role of cultural consumption and production, has not focused extensively on the contribution of cultural and museum institutions. More than to a deficiency of these studies, this is probably due to a lack of acknowledgment of museums in development and promotion policies and practices.

Nevertheless, as previously seen, museums have the potential to respond to socio-cultural challenges posed by these development and promotion processes. For this purpose, new functions, methodologies of intervention and placement in local governance should be developed or improved. These should also take into account the complex intertwining of leisure, culture and tourism that characterises contemporary urban experiences.

In this context, next contributions of my research will develop along two strands. On the one side, I will focus on neighbourhood (and similar) museums, with the aim of analysing and systematising their impacts on development and promotion dynamics and methodologies through which these are reached. On the other side, I will put this work in the context of (multi)ethnic

neighbourhoods. Based on a site-specific action-research project, I will try to define a museum methodology for the intervention in the context of a specific (multi)ethnic neighbourhood.

Site-specific action-research is seen as a means fundamental to establishing a dialectical relationship with the context. In fact, the discussed importance of contextual elements specific to the neighbourhoods shows that – from a planning and design point of view – further research has the task of carefully studying the contexts. This is unavoidable to identifying development and promotion strategies that museums can inspire and join. Clearly, the effort involves not only museums and related fields of study, but also policy makers and institutions. The five key issues pointed out in the paper are intended to be five first points that should be taken into account in elaborating strategies of development and promotion based on culture and cultural diversity and associated to neighbourhood-oriented museums.

ENDNOTES

¹ <http://www.mela-project.eu/> <25th May 2012>

² <http://www.kulturamt-friedrichshain-kreuzberg.de/profil.php> <25th May 2012>

³ <http://cittamigrande.it/> <25th May 2012>

⁴ <http://www.xberg-tag.de/> <25th May 2012>

⁵ See for example the activities of Urban Ecomuseum of North Milan (*Ecomuseo Urbano Metropolitano Milano Nord*): <http://www.eumm-nord.it/site/cena-narrante-2.html> <25th May 2012>

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Memory, community and heritage pedagogy: museology of liberation and resistance strategies*

O. Priosti

NOPH / Santa Cruz EcoMuseum – Rio de Janeiro – BRASIL (www.quarteirao.com.br)

ABREMC – EcoMuseums and Community Museums Brazilian Association (www.abremc.com.br)

ABSTRACT: Community museology first emerged at the Round Table of Santiago, Chile in 1972, that stressed the need for appropriate museums in Latin America. The pioneering role played by Mexico had introduced the operation of museums derived from community initiatives that had developed strategies and operational approaches; it highlighted the strength and creativity of collective and partnership working in the process of preserving heritage and how such resources can be used as a tool for sustainable local development. In Brazil, the experience of established “new museum”, and those still at an embryonic stage, confirm the reinvention of the museum, taking it from the concept of „building, collection and public” in favor of „an alive place, its heritage and a participating community”. These projects adopt new approaches to building memory with the aim of establishing roots for the future. The production of memory through these new museums, using their own methods and strategies, also demonstrates the existence of other ways in which memory itself is utilized. It is used as power and strength of those social groups in society that wish to exert control, delivering training and qualifications to communities; they want to manage their own museums, using them to master change and prepare for museum-community-sustainability processes. The search for a process of community heritage education - one that liberates the collective knowledge of the people, through eco-museums, community museums and similar processes; this approach is what I have called a “Museology of Liberation”. I propose that the community museum, as a memory maker which goes well beyond a sterile traditional approach, can evolve in the future.

(...)It no longer was compounded of the deeds and sufferings of men, and did not tell anymore the story events that affected men lives; it became a process done by mankind, the only global process whose existence is due solely to the human race. (ARENDT: 2003, p.89)

1 INTRODUCTION

With this article, based on practical experience of the Community EcoMuseum of Santa Cruz¹ we intend to develop a conception that in our view perhaps might bring contribution to the museology field, mainly what concerns to the community museological initiatives. It is about the notion of the museology of liberation, from which we are going to treat after situating the historical context and the specificities of Santa Cruz EcoMuseum. But even before contextualize Santa Cruz as a neighborhood away from the nerve center of the city of Rio de Janeiro, with its uniqueness and its rural way of life until the 60's, it is necessary to ratify that departing from action to reflection, strengthened, consolidated and even drove new activities within the NOPH-Center for Historical Research and Guidance, origin and heart of the EcoMuseum. The partnership and complicity between practice and theory that we seek in order to better think,

decide and act, showed that both are parts of a single movement, which sometimes merge to a stronger new wave or are struggling to measure forces and both bow weakened in the conflict. We learned how to ignore the conflict and opposition, the power disputes, to value what is best in ourselves, the freedom to be, to choose and decide which memory to build. That major heritage-the freedom of community action - has created a desire and confidence in the ability to act, make decisions, create initiatives, resist accommodation and finally incorporate the role of the historical subject. At this point, to retrieve the lessons of Master Paulo Freire with his pedagogy of liberation, and his education as a practice of freedom, it was essential for the concept of "museology of liberation".

The aim is to think the idea of liberation contained in the thinking of Paulo Freire, in line with the thinking of Gabriel Tarde and his conception of creation, in which "to exist is to differentiate oneself". (TARDE: s/d), that is, to imitate is to repeat the previous differently. This is how one can think of the pedagogy strategy to be adopted at the community museum, a museum that you want to get rid of a model, free itself from the site rediscovery, with another look, after the information nutrients on the site. But to free itself is also regardless of who or what building autonomy in the ways of life, in ways of valuing the goods and constituting the memory, making up permanently according to the problems found in everyday situations. In this sense, the museum is no different from anyone, but it differs from itself in its daily exercise, taking into account that differentiate itself is its own creation, and that a museum, differentiating itself permanently, creates its own form. Extending this idea to the museum institution, we may think that at every new museum building / conception, the imitation of a model will never be the same, because every society will be able to create the museum according its own needs in a given living space-time and each museum should reflect the reality of the collective subjects that build them, in other words, set free the subjectivities to be themselves, singular living forces driving the creation in the very exercise of repetition.

Obviously, in the same way the established museums may be reconsidered and be contaminated by the forms, methods and strategies of the community museum, which can be demonstrated through new educational practices that are seeking an even closer approach with communities, making them participants and even exhibition curators outdoors, traveling, enjoying the speech of their own inhabitants / residents. The holding of cultural fairs, salons, lightning craft workshops, shared exhibitions using objects donated by the community, exposures routes outside the headquarters of the museum, visits to the heritage of the city targeted or streamlined by people from the community shows that these practices that are so common in Community museums and EcoMuseums have been reflected in other museums and even been incorporated into their daily lives.

Thus, escaping the rigidity of a museological model inherited from the Europeans, the creation of community museological process takes up basic ideas from the established museum, but adapts or recreates them according to their own demands of the communities that create them in their specific lived spaces. At the same time, it is important in EcoMuseum practices which their achievements can be "imitated" differently in Tarde's sense, in other communities, spreading almost like an infection: it is maybe about that Paulo Freire referred, when he says that the experience of liberation needs to find other individuals with similar stories, being necessary to spread and internationalize the local response, in order to share what went right.

2 SANTA CRUZ ECOMUSEUM

2.1 The Evolution / Construction of the concept of community museum and EcoMuseum from Santa Cruz process

Santa Cruz neighborhood, located in the extreme west of Rio de Janeiro City, with a population of about 280,000 inhabitants, keeps a story very close to the founding of the City. On lands donated to the Jesuits by Christopher Miller's widow, there founded the historic Santa Cruz Farm that became one of the most prosperous in colonial Brazil until the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country in 1759. With the arrival of the Portuguese Royal Family in 1808, it was chosen and transformed to become the country seat of King John VI government and Emperors Peter I and Peter II.

A unique memory crossed the four centuries, defining this locality with a population developing a taste for music and theater, a latent religiosity and that after decades of neglect, has proved resilient to the loss of their singularities and to an imposed memory, creating its own museum albeit far from the conventional patterns of inherited by the Europeans. The different waves of immigrants of different nationalities and cultures and even the arrival of other transplanted communities contributed in the formation and profile of the community, arising from the dismantling of the favelas (slums) of Rio in the late 60's, after the creation of an industrial hub in the region, processes that ultimately generated the creation of an EcoMuseum in Santa Cruz. Continuing and deepening the dissertation *Slaughterhouse Cultural Quarter Ecomuseum : territory of memory and instrument of community*², advocated by that author in 2000 - in the Master of Social Memory of UNIRIO, we analyzed the museological process experienced by Santa Cruz community, the evolution of EcoMuseum concept it unleashed, describing some of its actions, confirming the uniqueness of that process with a new look and also noted the role of the museology technician, born in the community and motivated by the process experienced by him, and his relationship with that community he is part, as an intellectual who sought outside the academy the sources to understand and explain the creation and community management of that museum.

But what is meant by "technician"? According to Hugues de Varine in correspondence via the Internet, it is clear that the word museum does not evoke anything for communities that have no concept of intellectual property and you need a "catalyst" or a "mediator," someone who comes from outside or a community member who has been out of the community to seek further knowledge, which will sow the idea and then follow its germination. But not necessarily an anthropologist.

Hugues de Varine says the Ecomuseum Creusot was created by an art collector, a radiologist, an archaeologist frustrated or unsuccessful (he himself, in his own words). Seixal EcoMuseum was created by a young history teacher in Santa Cruz and the process of EcoMuseum was developed with the participation of various community members, leaders and opinion makers, and among them, a Museology student, but no experts in museum or in heritage. But you always need someone. You must then also talk about my case and the other NOPH members, dentists, artists, poets, artisans, teachers, lawyers, economists, traders, architects, photographers, that in a moment in local history, decided to create the NOPH in 1983 and at another time, much later (1992), identified themselves as members of an Ecomuseum process.

Development processes (or memory, or resistance) are not Platonic ideas and are triggered by individuals, united by a collective goal. Therefore, it is not always the technician that triggers the process. Often it is someone who knows the value of the heritage, but not necessarily a specialist in heritage. We further affirm that the collective decision-making is nothing but the fruit of a collective and citizen reflection that also matures and needs a mediator / catalyst to facilitate the unfolding action.

With this, we are not denying the role of the technician, whose experience can be of great value to the process, such as Itapuã Didactic-Community Museum, where museologist and educator Maria Celia Moura Santos helped germinate and develop the process. In this particular case, it was the technician who conceived and introduced the museological action, not only as a facilitator, but as one qualified professional who guided the whole process, stimulating and encouraging others not only in Bahia but throughout Brazil. But, if for some time, there was an embezzlement in the development of community museums in order to consider these museums do not need technicians, being enough the popular knowledge, there is now the intention to show that the technician is important in the context of the new museology, from conception and appreciation of the exchange and the mixture of knowledge that complements and enriches among them, working towards healthy and necessary exchanges. Since the technician, behind the scenes action, shows pathways, captures the synergy of the other members and directs them to a conscious action, responsible and organized.

In NOPH case, this action was led in the startup by a dental surgeon, a Syrian-Lebanese descendant- Antônio Nicolau Jorge, a merchant, Italian descent, José Francisco Tofani, and a young museologist, the future historian and teacher, from northeastern family that migrated to Santa Cruz - Sinvaldo do Nascimento Souza, all founding members and staff facilitators in the early years of the organization. From the beginning, the NOPH was inoculated with the genes of both the origins and diversity in the professionalism of its leaders. At that time there was not

awareness that the NOPH action would lead the community to create a museum or an EcoMuseum.

From the analysis of Varine, we are faced with a specific case of an experience effectively in community which claims the name "museum", from the actions promoted by an unpaid staff (volunteers), without an a priori collection, currently exists a permanent exhibition of objects but not collected randomly, but new goods - the models, (designed and made by community members), that interpret local history with an affirmative political vocation. Even so-called "new museums" or EcoMuseums best known institutions are often established with salaried professionals, with buildings that house permanent and temporary exhibitions produced by experts or technicians. They maintain a relationship with the power, they are instruments made outside the community to support it and then serve it. Most of them have implied implicit goals that are more or less distant from the release of memory and culture of the community.

Santa Cruz is a specific case of community that really tries to apply the so radical and uncompromising principles, faithful to the need for cultural liberation and the right to choose its own way to create and manage the museum.

3 MUSEOLOGY OF LIBERATION – CONCEPTS, METHODS, EXPERIMENTATIONS

Returning to museology of liberation concept, to build it, we will focus on the proposal of pedagogy of liberation by Paulo Freire. However, we do not intend to simply transfer an idea of the educational field to the museological one. Unlike this, we intend to shift from one field to another, making the concept suffer some dislocations and enrich it with new developments. We will use Paulo Freire's notion in what it is able to bring in order to light some museological theories and practices, with no loyalty pretense or absolute imitation.

One of the modifications we would like to highlight on the museological conception, about the idea of liberation pedagogy proposed by Paulo Freire, concerns the very idea of liberation: we intend to think in a liberation that will not be merely result from relations of opposition - oppressors and oppressed, for example-but that it will be also a liberation of subjectivity in what they have the most inventive and unique.

In order to distinguish precisely what is at stake in the concept of museology of liberation, as well as our own procedure to construct the notion, let's start showing the way in which we want to develop relations of imitation and creation. For this we use another thinker, Gabriel Tarde, and based on his thought we will treat here **difference** and **imitation**.

We reaffirm that Paulo Freire's ideas do not seem to be shrinking before our eyes, to a disciplinary logic. So we think that the idea of freedom practices and of "liberatory cultural actions", he proposed, can also be used to think the release of subjectivities through creative and inventive practices, that are spread rhizomatically on the social field.

To better clarify this creative dimension of subjectivity and memory, rather than strengthen because the opposition, gains strength by contagion, we will use the thought of the French sociologist Gabriel Tarde.

One of the concepts underlying the idea of liberation of subjectivities, as conceived here, is **the difference**, the concept worked out by Gabriel Tarde in his landmark work *The Laws of Imitation* (TARDE: s / d). For Tarde, the human invention always intersects with imitation. Tarde thinks the constitution of the social field from the differences, not from similarities. Changing the focus of the similarities for the difference, he notes that imitation and invention are articulated and succeed: if on the one hand, every invention opens a new way of imitation, a new open series, each imitation is also a new invention, i.e., the imitation of the previous plus marks of its time and space, and not repeating itself.

Therefore, every movement of imitation requires a new design, a new configuration, since, by repeating the movement, it is contaminated with traces of who runs it, thus making it different from before. Something is increased because is marked by the one who repeats the previous movement. It is therefore of creation and that is how you might think, from Tarde's view, memory: repetition and invention at the same time.

This is why we intend to think a **Museology of Liberation**³ revealed in the light of social memory, whose foundations could be the basis of a museum which educates and releases at the same time, by adopting the release of the cultural forces both by the opposition and affirmation, combining imitation and difference, produces memory.

In other words, we intend to consider the possibility of releasing the active forces of a community by the musealization of the living space and heritage actions that affirm the collective subjectivities while opposing the public policies imposed, and that affirm their museological uniqueness at the same time they fight the conventional principles of museology. According to our view the museology of liberation would be the process by which communities - and particularly that of Santa Cruz - can build a memory as a resistance, a memory that does not subjugate to a model that was imposed, but with which it negotiates, imitating it and differentiating itself in multiple ways.

From another perspective, the very creation of museums on the initiative of communities reinforces the idea that the release of which we treat here also refers to the release of the active forces, endogenous community in the exercise of subjectivation. The museology of Liberation represents a production of differentiated museological processes, "the new museums" - museums that place the individuals in the center of their concern, instead of objects and collections that they produced. That is, they are museums in which the first intention is not the preservation or survival of the heritage of a collection or a collection of goods but primarily the development of a community aware and responsible to act and create, able to build its own memory and to exercise its own citizenship.

So we are dealing here with creation where the essential and determinant factors are the characteristics of each community. In this sense, the practice of "listening" is adopted as the method itself. Listening to the speeches of people, we will be releasing their life stories, knowing the fate of memories brought into this space, coming through immigration or removal from the slums of Rio and their resettlement in Santa Cruz. Would these memories have space and suitable conditions for survival? Have they been forgotten? Or have they temporarily submerged, awaiting the proper moment to take the stage?

As stated earlier, in proposing the museology of Liberation, our idea is to work memory as a pedagogical process of subjectivation and liberation of the living forces of the communities.

Without the purpose of a deeper theological question and much more interested in bringing the atmosphere of rupture of the main factor of underdevelopment - the dependence, It will be discussed here the passage of a cultural dependency to a release. For if the developmental model has triggered a nationalist consciousness, it is also true that it was promoted on the basis of dependent capitalism, which distributed unevenly the benefits to the already developed countries and harm to the countries historically backward, underdeveloped and peripheral (BOFF: 2001 , p.110), deepening the gap between the richest and the poorest.

In the dependency between the center and periphery should be opposed a process of rupture and release. Therefore, it was unmade-up the basis for the theology of development and built up the theoretical foundations for a theology of liberation. (Ibid)

Therefore, what reconnects us to those questions is only the historical context of political and social effervescence that preceded the renovating blow in the church, causing in the 60's the emergence of various ecclesial and popular movements and a recognition of Latin America by itself, or that is, a Latin America that makes decisions and chooses its own paths, laying the foundations of a socio-political liberation. The New Museology, inspired by Paulo Freire's liberatory education and guided by the Declaration of Santiago, demystified the urgent need to copy or imitate the museums of Europe and brought together protagonists of diverse experiences of new museums and so

(...) The militants of the new museology recognize themselves and seek a "museology of liberation" (Odalice Priosti term) adequate to help communities find in themselves and outside the force and the means to live and act as individuals and actors in their own future. (VARINE: 2005)⁴

We can say that the Hugues de Varine's reflections and even the provocation of his reverence / recognition of the contribution of the Brazilian educator to the foundations of the New Museology, articulated with Freire's, culminated with the presentation of the text *Museology of liberation* and the democratic construction of the future heritage (PRIOSTI, 2004), for the preparatory discussions at EIEMC III-III International Meeting of Ecomuseums and Community Museums, held in Rio de Janeiro, in Santa Cruz, in 2004, in a joint meeting with MINOM X International Workshop. The theme – Community, Shared Heritage and Education

justified the expansion of museum concept as educator-liberator for a differentiated museology able to reread Paulo Freire's work (Education as a practice of freedom) and approach it to the experience of ecomuseums and community museums and simultaneously decode the meaning of liberation processes, like Leonardo Boff's interpretation, in the wake of liberation theology, adapting it to the New Museology. With regard to Paulo Freire's work with the notions of **pedagogy of liberation** (read by us as pedagogical processes that promote and stimulate the production of subjectivities through them and release the living forces of the community) and **pedagogy of autonomy** (by which man takes himself the capacity of choices and decision making), as were presented in the book *The Social Time*, by H. of Varine. These concepts will be revisited and implemented by us for the museological processes as founding of **museology of liberation**.

The concept of museology of liberation, understood as a process of musealization that starts in the communities themselves producing subjectivity, was brought to discussion at the Third International Meeting of Ecomuseums and Community Museums on September 2004, Santa Cruz, Rio de Janeiro, by extension of the principles of Latin American liberation theology on the one hand, and with reference to *Education as the practice of freedom* (FREIRE, 2000).

Since 1999, in preparation for the realization of the II International Meeting of Ecomuseums (IEE II) proposed by the EcoMuseum of Santa Cruz, with whom also was held the ICOFOM LAM IX-IX Annual Meeting of the ICOM International Committee for Museology in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2000 in Rio de Janeiro (Santa Cruz), we kept with Hugues de Varine close correspondence via the Internet. The local community prepared the entire meeting, organized into six working groups: Academic Research, Administration and Secretary, Disclosure, Financial Resources, Cultural Demonstrations, and Reception and Tourism, which planned and carried throughout the program. At that time, our most conflictive issues often addressed the limitations imposed by the government to the community cultural actions of the Ecomuseum in the name of a claimed autonomy.

Those reflections from a distance engendered the IEE II program and included among the workshops of the working groups the theme: **Liberator-Educator Museum: pedagogy**, which was coordinated by Professor Dr. Celia Maria Moura Santos⁵, who brought her own experience in the design and creation of Itapuã Didactical-Community Museum⁶ in Bahia. My own immersion in the works of Paulo Freire also cemented what we conceive as "museology of liberation":

For it is not only the liberation of self-confidence, creativity, initiative, but also a liberation from cultural dependency, from promotion of enshrined values, power of knowledge, etc.. The Round Table of Santiago de Chile, in 1972 ennobled that museology, suggesting the primacy of man and the community as authors and actors of an institution that should not be solely in the service of their collections or their conservative (technicians), or even of a public cultural and socially representing a minority⁷. (VARINE, 2002, p. 183-184)

Here we favor the interface with education, contemplating the "pedagogy of liberation" by P. Freire. In our view, this is a museology led by communities that, with a clearly political approach in the noblest sense of the word, create museological processes, i.e., musealize its living space, its heritage, the dynamic relationships of community life and use them as ways and means to make community members conscious about themselves, to assert their specificities, to enhance their autonomy and initiative. The procedural musealization would be like a slow and cumulative apprenticeship where the direct participation of communities in the choices, decisions and resultant initiatives could include a release of collective subjectivities, which, supported by a knowledge of self, emerge and assert themselves, resisting a political and cultural context that often discourages innovation.

4 THE PLOT OF SUBJECTIVITY – MEETING BETWEEN TARDE AND FREIRE

A whole item of Chapter VI of the thesis – **Re-reading of "Education as the Practice of Freedom", from the perspective of social memory**, summarizes the elements that already in 1972 foreshadowed the weight of the Brazilian educator on changes in museology. But we must return to Tarde and make him talk to Freire's pedagogy of liberation. By detailing the

contributions of both to the foundations of this chapter, the rhizome generated in the differentiation and imitation may be linked to Freire's liberation pedagogy to understand why experiments run by communities as diverse, often without any close contact, trace different trajectories but they bring a common sense directed to the release of the active forces that are repressed, silenced or softened by a force majeure at a certain time. The museological community initiatives can thus be interpreted as Tardes's bias as creations of the collective subject, mobilized by a situation of vulnerability or even fragility as a group, these creations performing the dual role of strengthening the sense of belonging and social cohesion, resisting adversity and at the same time, assert themselves creating their own ways of existence, that is, affirming its uniqueness.

By realizing the multiplication of experiences, none created in the image and likeness of another, each with its specific characteristics that make it distinct from others, we think that a successful case tends to be imitated, not copied, by the communities that have already matured and are seeking answers to their case in particular. Imitation when combined with invention, since no copy or reproduce the same, will seek its own outputs, imitating and differentiating each other, spreading themselves over the museum field.

The community of Santa Cruz itself can exemplify this **spread**: as community museological, pioneer in Rio de Janeiro City became a reference, when its facilitators were invited to participate in round tables, debates and discussions in forums and meetings in Brazil, between the 90's and 2010 or as rapporteurs for their practices, either as witnesses to a new way of doing museology in Brazil. For almost two decades, since 1992 that witness traveled across the country, sharing and multiplying concepts, methods, ways of doing and ran for other communities also would strengthen in its still embryonic museum initiative.

Tarde tells us about the invention that is an imitation crisscrossed with differentiation. Therefore, every imitation or invention of a new community museological process, whether community museum, EcoMuseum, living museum, territory museum, journey museum etc, communities are just emulating to a museum and differentiating in this imitation, printing on it their hallmark, based on their own needs. We must show now that the liberatory pedagogy, a particularity of community museums, the EcoMuseum and similar processes, besides meeting the cultural demands of communities process themselves guiding their actions, since Freire shows us the way through education.

Thus, we may think that, **as education can be an imprisonment or silencing by imposing a project or a practice that releases the individuals to act as masters of their own will**, giving them opportunities to create, **museology can also set us free from the collective subjectivities, when communities are able to create their museological processes**, from their cultural needs.

Let's ratify, though, that it is not about creating differentiated museums just to oppose to the hegemonic model, but to create museums required by the procedural dynamics of community life, with other needs, other goals, therefore, another mode of musealization, that absolutely does not exclude the more conventional museums. We will say even more: Like the classic museums received from the innovative experiences new approaches and new objectives, the new museums also required and need to rely on theoretical scope of museology, just adapting it to the specific case of a singular process. Therefore, the practices of hostage ownership by EcoMuseums, community museums and other museological initiatives can also be understood as a liberatory pedagogy that educates communities to responsibly exercise the role of creative individuals of their own museums, thereby releasing its active forces, often underestimated or even ignored in the cultural context of a city or a country.

The meeting between Tarde and Freire in the reflection on the case of Santa Cruz supports the museology of Liberation and points significant indicators in museology, as a privileged field to make the communities that so wish and believe in their strength to master their new story, no more as passive innocent ones, but as transitive aware of their power to transform the reality. In short, what we did in this article it was to present the **museology of liberation**, as we conceive it as a participant in the eco-museological process of Santa Cruz, to indicate the set of actions methods and practices built in the museological making of a museum that educates and liberates communities to exercise their role as subjects of their own history.

We affirm that the museology of liberation is also a very new field of experimentation, as each time that a community musealizes its living space with its heritage included and its relations between itself and with others, new paths of possibilities are opened, admitting imitation without ever repeating the same.

All the community museological initiatives, recognized in the museums world, known so far as "new museums" (cf New Museology), fall within the Museology of Liberation, and they came to light after the Bureau of Santiago and that somehow conceptually or practically are linked to the principles of the Declaration of Santiago of Chile (1972), which is based on the thinking of Paulo Freire. Let's point out, however, that release in these museums is not simply restricted to an alternative of a colonialist model, because it is not only the release of a passive and banking attitude facing an oppressor.

In addition to this already worn out and overcome question, EcoMuseums and community museums, living museums, street museums, territory museums, journey museums and others, reveal the strength of their **creative forces**, capable of creating through imitation and gradually differentiate themselves without necessarily oppose or struggle against the imitated model. From this perspective, communities, in exercising its subjectivity, create new forms of musealization and these are creative forces which are released in this differentiated imitation. Once they are released, they spread and expand, just like Tarde's thought, consolidating with their practices to a new museum making. Examples of those new museums have been spreading for two decades throughout Brazil, as the Serra de Ouro Preto EcoMuseum, Maranguape EcoMuseum, Treze de Maio Community Museum and the latest version and also more challenging - the Eco-museum of the Amazon that, with five years of existence, hosted the Fourth International Conference of Ecomuseums and Community Museums in Belem, Pará on

June, 12th -16th, 2012, bringing to discuss the theme "Training and Heritage for Local Development Actors".

This reflection suggests or indicates that only the freedom space-time can enjoy the creation, which also seeks freedom and both as wings in tune and in a synchronic movement, balance the flight of subjectivity. Therefore, believing that education can no longer be just playing the same and to promote the release of the creative forces of the subjects, in order to innovate and transform, we bring the philosophical concepts of Freire, of essential importance for the understanding of new musealization practices, which synthesize liberatory heritage pedagogy.

ENDNOTES

* Adaptation of fragments of the doctoral dissertation in Social Memory "Memory, Community and hybridization : museology of liberation and resistance strategies, by Odalice Miranda Priosti, UNIRIO/PPGMS, 2010).

¹ Community Museological Process developed by NOPH – Santa Cruz Center for Historical Research and Guidance, since its foundation in 1983.

² Since 1995, the Eco-museum of Santa Cruz was officially designated Slaughterhouse Cultural Quarter Ecomuseum, recognized by Rio de Janeiro City Hall by Law No. 2345 of September 1st, 1995. However, the use of the term Eco-museum of Santa Cruz has established itself in the community, limiting the Quarter Ecomuseum to bureaucratic procedures.

³ Cited by Hugues de Varine in the text *The New Museology: Fiction or reality*, In: MUNICIPAL DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE. *Social Museology*. Porto Alegre, Unidade Editorial, 2000, p. 24-25 and in his book *Les Racines du futur-Le patrimoine au service du développement local*, 2002, p.183, it was presented by this author in EIEMC III - III International Meeting of Ecomuseums and Community Museums, Rio de Janeiro, 2004. In: Minutes of the CD Rom EIEMC III / X International Workshop MINOM, 2004

⁴ OMP Free translation from the original French. Articles publiés dans: *Les Nouvelles de l'ICOM*, vol. 58, No. 3.2005 - La décolonisation de la muséologie

⁵ The Professor and museologist, Maria Celia T. Moura Santos published a book *Rethinking Cultural and Educational Action on Museums*, Salvador, Centro Editorial e Didático da UFBA: 1993, where on page 43 asks: Isn't it impractical to assume the role of museum as an educator, committed to a new pedagogical practice to turn it?

⁶ See Santos, Maria Celia T. Moura. *Museological Process and Education: building a Didactic-Community Museum in Itapuã*. Salvador: UFBA, Faculty of Education, 1995. Thesis (Doctorate in Education)

⁷ Free translation by the author of the text: ... Car il s'agit bien de la libération de la confiance en soi, de la créativité, de la capacité d'initiative, mais aussi d'une libération des dépendances culturelles: consommations, promotion des valeurs consacrées, pouvoir des savants, etc.. La Table Ronde of Santiago du Chili, 1792 a Donne des lettres de noblesse à cette muséologie, en suggérant le primat de l'homme et de la communauté comme auteurs et acteurs d'une institution qui ne devrait être au seul

service de ses collections ou de ses conservateurs ou même des publics culturel et socialement minoritaires.

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Report of 1+10 project of Guangxi Ethnic Eco-Museum development, China

Q. Pu

Guangxi Culture Department, Nanning City, China

G. Shiyang

Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, Nanning City, China

W. Wei

Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, Nanning City, China

L. Wendong

Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, Nanning City, China

ABSTRACT: In 2003, Guangxi Culture Department and Guangxi Museum of Nationalities constructed ten eco-museums applying basic international eco-museum theories to expand the forms of protecting Guangxi's ethnic cultural heritage. These ten eco-museums and Guangxi Museum of Nationalities are combined as a whole structure forming the 1+10 Project of Guangxi Ethnic Eco-museums and undertaking the responsibilities of ethnic culture protection and inheritance. Reviewing the historical process and development form of Guangxi ethnic eco-museum project is of great importance to enrich the eco-museum theory and to promote worldwide eco-museum development.

1 INTRODUCTION

Guangxi is located in the southern border of China. It is one of five ethnic minority autonomous regions. Its total population is 51.99 million, among which 19.67 million is minority people, including the 12 ethnic groups of the Zhuang, Han, Yao, Miao, Dong, Mulao, Gelao, Yi, Maonan, Jing, Hui and Shui. Guangxi's ethnic cultural heritage is rich and diverse. With the rapid development of globalization, industrialization and marketization in the China's villages and towns, the preservation of ethnic nationality cultural heritage, especially the ethnic minority culture, is facing severe challenges. Since the end of 1990s, Guangxi Culture Department has begun to explore ways to protect ethnic nationalities' cultural heritage.

In 2003, the eco-museum development pilot project was formally launched. Thereafter, more work has been done to promote the pace of pilot projects. Nearly ten years later, by May 2011, ten ethnic minority eco-museums and preservation zones had been established, forming one of the largest ethnic eco-museum groups in China. Reviewing the historical process and development form of Guangxi ethnic eco-museum project is of great importance to enrich the eco-museum theory and to promote worldwide eco-museum development.

2 DEVELOPMENT PRPCESS OF GUANGXI ETHNIC ECO-MUSEUM PROJECT

From the end of 1990s to now, the development of Guangxi ethnic eco-museums has gone through the following four stages.

2.1 Preparatory Stage

In 1998, affected by the international museology movement and the development of Guizhou eco-museums in China, the Cultural Administration Ministry of Guangxi, Guangxi Culture Department, Zhuang Autonomous Region began to explore and develop many museum models.

From then on, the development of eco-museum has been put on the state agenda. In 2001, Guangxi Culture Department organized government officials and museum professionals to investigate the first eco-museum of China, Guizhou Suoga Miao Eco-museum so as to understand its method for development. From this investigation, the development of the ecomuseum program in Guangxi began. In 2003, before implementing the eco-museum program, a senior seminar on "the exploration of developing thoughts and models" was held in 2003 by Guangxi Culture Department. Many practitioners and experts including Su Donghai, An Laishun and Hu Chaoxiang were invited to give lectures on eco-museum philosophy and methodology. Training was also provided from Autonomous Region Government, Cultural Administration Department and the Cultural Heritage Conservation Institute. This work made the concept and process of eco-museum clear in order to ensure the practice and development of Guangxi eco-museums to begin under professional guidance and instruction.

2.2 Pilot Project Development Stage

After early-stage preparations, the development of Guangxi ethnic eco-museum pilot projects began in 2003. Guangxi Museum of Nationalities is a museum focused on collecting, studying, displaying and promoting the culture of Guangxi native ethnic groups. In order to carry out the pilot eco-museum projects smoothly and implement work under professional guidance from beginning to end, a principle has been followed, for the Guangxi Culture Department to lead with expertise guidance from Guangxi Museum of Nationalities and participation by local residents.

By September 2005, three eco-museums were open to the public. They are (1) Eco-museum of White Trousers Yao Ethnic Group in Lihu, Nandang County, (2) Eco-museum of Dong Ethnic Group in Sanjiang, (3) Eco-museum of Zhuang Ethnic Group in Jiuzhou, Jingxi County. These three pilot projects fall under two development models. The eco-museum of Nandan and Jingxi adopts the model of "same-scene site construction" of the eco-museum Documentation Center and village conservation zone. The eco-museum of Sanjiang sets the eco-museum center in the downtown Dong Museum and adopts the model of remote management of "museum and village". The three pilot projects provided valuable experiences to develop the full implementation of eco-museums in the next stage.

2.3 Full Implementation Stage

The completion of the three pilot projects provided confidence and determination for the establishment of more eco-museum projects in Guangxi. From August 2005, another seven eco-museums were planned in six years. And a proposal was creatively drafted with Guangxi Museum of Nationalities and the 10 eco-museums forming a "unified" whole of the "1+10 Project". Guangxi Museum of Nationalities formed the head of the project working in the instruction of the implementation of eco-museum work while the ten eco-museums represent the work stations and research bases. They together establish long-term and stable interaction and extension and shoulder the task of protecting, researching, retaining, and displaying ethnic nationality cultural heritage. The "1+10" Model of Guangxi Ethnic Eco-museums has become an effective way of solving the problem of ethnic nationality cultural protection and sustainable development as it works to alleviate problems in the shortage of leadership and instruction in the development of ongoing eco-museum projects.

After a six-year continuous effort, one after another, seven more eco-museums have been established. They include: (4) Eco-museum of Hakka in Hezhou City; (5) Eco-museum of Black-clothes Zhuang Ethnic Group in Napo County; (6) Eco-museum in Shangdao Ancient Village in Changgangling, Lingchuan County; (7) Eco-museum of Jing Ethnic Group in Dongxing; (8) Eco-museum of Miao Ethnic Group of Antai, Rongshui County; (9) Eco-museum of Zhuang Ethnic Group in Longji, Longsheng County; (10) Eco-museum of Aoyao Ethnic Group in Guichen, Jinxiu County. These seven eco-museums have been developed based on the experiences of the three pilot projects. During the full implementation process, the train of thought for project development has become more clear, the measures more powerful, and the management more standard.

2.4 Consolidation and Development Stage

Since June 2011, the ten eco-museums distributed throughout Guangxi have all been developed, symbolizing the significant achievement of the "1+10" Project of Guangxi Ethnic Eco-museum. The ten-year exploration shows us that the construction of eco-museum is not difficult, but difficulties do exist in consolidation and development and their survival. For the eco-museums of Guangxi, two major problems will truly affect their existence and ongoing development. These include low participation of local residents and the protection of community cultural heritage. Residents' participation is the core of sustainable development for eco-museum. Thus it is the aim to improve residents' enthusiasm in participation of eco-museum development and management and change them from "on-lookers" and "participants" into "administrators" and "real masters" throughout eco-museum development. Community cultural heritage is the foundation for eco-museum sustainable development. Tangible cultural heritage conservation units within communities can be managed and protected according to national laws and regulations, yet other forms of cultural heritage lack legal ground and can result in difficulties in heritage protection and management and can thus affect the survival and development of eco-museums.

In consideration of the above reasons, from 2011, a plan to consolidate Guangxi ethnic nationalities eco-museums has been proposed. According to the plan, a series of measures will be taken to achieve interaction between eco-museums and local residents, to make the local residents become true masters so as to promote the sustainable development of eco-museums under the residents' self-management and instruction of experts for a long time. This has become the fourth stage for the development of Guangxi eco-museums. Thus far we have begun to carry out the following measures:

- 2.4.1 A senior seminar on sustainable development of Guangxi ethnic nationalities eco-museum. This seminar focuses on discussing the issues of "Chinesization" and "localization" of western eco-museum theories. It is important in helping eco-museum staff expand the vision, work ideas and means and orientations, especially in resolving the problem of how to promote change from an expert and government-led initiative to residents' management and participation.
- 2.4.2 A series of training activities held for eco-museum staff and residents. The cultural memory of eco-museums was emphasized and a training of visual anthropology was held to encourage eco-museum staff and villagers to record their culture and life using camera technology. Their self-made videos were played and shared in villages, which improved cultural confidence and awareness. Meanwhile, a series of skill training was held for families or women and the handicraft articles were sold in eco-museums and Guangxi Museum of Nationalities to improve resident incomes.
- 2.4.3 Inter-exchange exhibitions among eco-museums. Under the sponsorship of Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, ethnic exhibitions organized and planned by local residents are exchanged among eco-museums in Guangxi. The exhibition exchange is beneficial to improve residents participation and at the same time to promote the learning and understanding their own culture in comparison other "alien cultures."
- 2.4.4 "Ethnic cultural classes" in local schools of eco-museum sites. Staff of eco-museums are encouraged to cooperate with local schools and local school teachers work to instruct students to conduct simple investigations of their ethnic culture. The students learn from elders and people in their community to understand their ethnic culture, share the investigation results in classroom and to introduce their local ethnic culture. This activity raises the children's interest in learning about their ethnic culture, engages the community, and promotes active-reflection on the future of their culture.

3 ROLES OF GOVERNMENT, EXPERTS AND RESIDENTS IN ECO-MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT

During the process of constructing Guangxi ethnic eco-museums, the basic theory of eco-museum has been thoroughly followed with the form of "led by government, instructed by expert and participated by residents". Through the successful construction of the ten eco-museums this principle has proved feasible.

3.1 *The Role of Government*

The government, especially Guangxi Culture Department and local government of eco-museum sites, has played the representative role of organizer and coordinator.

First, Guangxi Culture Department and local government of eco-museum sites have reached a consensus on issues involving the significance, target, site, management mechanism and investment portfolio of eco-museums and set up project construction institutions and implementation control units so as to coordinate the relevant departments and develop eco-museums together.

Second, government has provided indispensable for financial support. Funds for eco-museums partly come from the government at autonomous region level and from the government of city and county levels. The government pays wages for staff of eco-museums managed by public culture heritage units. In addition, the government has improved the well-being of local areas by building roads and supplying water and electricity.

Lastly, according to relevant laws and regulations of protecting cultural heritage of China and *Liuzhi Principle* of Guizhou Eco-museum Development, Guangxi Culture Department has drafted Provisional Measures of Guangxi Ethnic Eco-museum Management so as to make the nature, task, organization units, staff and work ideas of eco-museums clear and to ensure that the establishment and future development of eco-museums have regulations to abide by.

3.2 *The Role of Experts*

Experts play a guiding role in the development of Eco-museums, taking Guangxi Museum of Nationalities as a representative.

First, based on specialized guidance by experts of Guangxi Museum of Nationalities, a construction team of Eco-museums was founded, including experts in the fields of ethnology, anthropology, archeology, history, and museology and so on. The team is responsible for the site selection, eco-museum plan feasibility analysis, research investigations, and the exhibition of these Eco-museums. Throughout all eco-museum development, the experts are responsible for the expert guidance project.

Second, awareness of locals being cultural masters should be raised, cultivated, and strengthened. Local people are organized into every construction project in a planned and systematical way, which includes introducing Eco-museum concepts, collecting suggestions, choosing cultural demonstrators, guiding local people to set up folk culture heritage protection organizations, inviting local people into the construction of display and information centers, and encouraging exhibits donation and so on.

Thirdly, Guangxi Museum of Nationalities has established long-term and stable business relations with these 10 Eco-museums, naming it as “1+10 Project”. Together with academic guidance and operational funds support, there are specialized departments as liaison between Eco-museums. Eco-museum meetings are held regularly every year, to discuss training experiences and the next-stage work plan.

Finally, cultural heritage projects and cultural memory projects are widely undertaken in the Eco-museums. On the one hand, through cultural heritage activities, such as lessons, training courses and delivering classes, local residents are encouraged to participate in the transmittance their ethnic culture. On the other hand, cameras, video cameras, computers are used to facilitate work for the display and information center, and therefore, eco-museum staffs and local residents can take part into recording and filming their ethnic culture.

3.3 *The Role of Local Residents*

Local residents are engaged in every aspect of Eco-museum construction, including setting up protection organization of cultural heritages, participating in culture inheritance, donating exhibits and organizing cultural performances. Through these activities guided by experts, some residents are active, and some are passive. Because the construction of Eco-museums is not spontaneously or consciously originated by local people, we should address how to work harder to enhance the participation of more local people in eco-museum development.

4 EVALUATION OF ECO-MUSEUM IN GUANGXI

The constructive model and manifestation of Eco-Museum in Guangxi are different from western developed countries in many ways. Our Eco-Museums are mostly built in the poor ethnic villages, where the natural and cultural resources are well preserved. However, with the intensification of foreign cultures' influence, the construction of Eco-Museums in Guangxi is important to rescue the natural characteristics of eco-museum sites. From the beginning till now, the construction of the Eco-museums has always kept a focus on localizing the road to combine society, culture and economy harmoniously. This should include two parts: cultural protection and economic and social development. On the whole, even though eco-museum development in Guangxi is in its infancy, Guangxi Eco-museums have already strengthened local resident understanding of local culture and raised local people's awareness of cultural heritage protection. The development of Eco-museums helps to realize the national laws and policies regarding ethnic cultural protection and inheritance in poor areas, which formerly existed as an urban public cultural service system for social and economic development. This confirms the importance in establishing Eco-museums in ethnic "culturally rich" and poor areas.

4.1 *Residents Raise Awareness of Ethnic Cultural Protection and Awareness*

The exhibits and pictures of Eco-museums help the local residents better understand their own ethnic culture and history and its value, enhancing their sense of national pride, as well as strengthening the consciousness and initiative of protecting their cultural heritage. From our work, we have observed that from the museum some local residents have come to realize those things they ordinarily were unaware of, which have great value as local ethnic cultural heritage. Thus they learned to regard the value, cherish, and protect the inheritance of traditional tools and handicrafts; some local residents have attempted to pass down their traditional arts and handicraft craftsmanship to future generations, such as teaching children local folk songs; some donated their own traditional tools and clothes to the eco-museum for exhibition and collection; while some have volunteered to help manage the eco-museums at the best of their ability.

4.2 *Enlarging Public Understanding of the Ethnic Cultural Heritage*

Remote villages are known by more and more people because of the establishment of local eco-museums. In ethnic eco-museums, visitors better understanding of the local ethnic culture, deepen cognition of ethnic culture value, and promote those ethnic cultures. According to recent statistics, the number of visitors is around 500,000 in 10 ethnic eco-museums. In Zhuang Eco-museum in Jingxi, the earliest established eco-museum in Guangxi, the average visitor are 50,000 per year; while there are more than 30,000 per year in White-trousers Yao Eco-museum in Nandan and Dong Eco-museum in Sanjiang.

4.3 *Increasing Local Resident Income*

With the development of rural tourism, including ethnic village scenic tours, these early established Eco-museums have become popular tourism destinations, and have already become important tourism resource. The sale of handicrafts and souvenirs has brought about increasing economic benefits for local people. For example, ethnic handicrafts like dyed and embroidered clothes of the White Trousers Yao in Nandan County and embroidery ball of the Zhuang in Jingxi County are some of the most popular souvenirs for tourists. The more tourists come, the more local people's income increases. According to the statistics, the sales of Zhuang embroidery ball are more than 200,000 per year, and in Hezhou Hakka Eco-museum, cultural enterprises are also involved in the development of cultural tourism sites. In brief, eco-museums can feasibly increase the income of local people, and improve their living conditions.

4.4 *Driving Local Eco-museum Construction*

For the basic infrastructure and environment improvement of eco-museums, local governments have actively cooperated and coordinated the establishment of relative special fund. In Nandan

County, the government arranged 2.71 million Yuan of international aid funds to build the country road, the engineering of drinking water and sanitary toilet transformation. In Longsheng, the local government coordinated 13 million Yuan in the construction of public facilities, such as mountain passes, car parks, and toilet facilities. The construction of these public facilities has not only assisted in providing service facilities of eco-museums, but has also improved the living environment for local people.

5 THE PROBLEM OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT FOR GUANGXI ETHNIC ECO-MUSEUMS

How to sustainably development eco-museums is a mutual question facing co-museums across the world. Aware that the “1+10 project” model is an ongoing process, we need to continue to realize that the sustainable development is a long-term procedure, and there are still more questions to solve. In our opinions, for the sustainable development of Guangxi eco-museum three questions need to be addressed:

5.1 *Necessary Link Between Eco-museum Development and Community Residents*

Community residents are one part of the Eco-museums, as a vehicle for recalling the past, in touch with the present, and leading the future. Therefore, the desires, opinions and actions of the residents have a direct impact on the future of Eco-museums. Concerning the inseparable connection between residents and Eco-museums, the short and long term goals of sustainable development of Eco-museums should well consider the residents' benefits, listen attentively to their voice, and understand their needs to enhance their the sense of belonging and ethnic identity.

5.2 *Resident Benefits from Eco-museums*

The level of local resident participation is a means to measure the success of Eco-museums. Participation is not only through the conscious protection of culture, but also involving community management. At present, residents are most concerned about whether the establishment and development of Eco-museums can bring about obvious benefits, and is meaningful. If local residents can obtain benefits from eco-museums, their willingness and ability of participate in managing Eco-museums will be strengthened. The change from “participants” to “managers” will be realized step by step for the future.

5.3 *Government and Experts Linked to the Eco-museum*

Most Eco-museums are built in poor ethnic areas, so the prime problem facing community residents is not the protection of the cultural heritage or to participate in community management, but to develop the economy and improve living conditions. Thus it is necessarily to spend considerable time to help local residents understand the eco-museum and their own culture. The power for assistance and guidance must come from outside the community. In accordance with the Chinese system, the government and experts are suitable to take on this role. The government's work is not only to furnish policies, but also to provide funds to develop and safeguard the eco-museum. Experts' work is not only to afford guidance in community participation, but also how to assist the community to develop rational profitable tourist activities. In short, the sustainable development of eco-museums in Guangxi cannot come to fruition without the support from the government and experts. Only through their fair guidance can the capacity for “active” instead of “passive” community participation emerge.

6 CONCLUSION

Since 2003, the construction of Eco-museums in Guangxi has lasted for 9 years. In these 9 years, basing on the principle of the Eco-museum concept, we have formulated our own charac-

teristics and approaches and have achieved preliminary results as well as encountered many difficulties and challenges. We believe that to address these challenges along this long and arduous path it is necessarily to maintain interaction with local residents, raising their degree of community participation. We firmly believed that only with the support from government, experts, all society, and residents' active participation this significant far-reaching undertaking can be surely realized.

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Media enhanced curation of heritage in mixed urban environments. Design for audience participation between *actual* and virtual spaces

S. Radice

Politecnico di Milano, Indaco Department, Milan, Italy

ABSTRACT: The paper aims at describing the impacts and implications of public curation and audience engagement enabled by digital technology, within the framework of urban ecomuseums as facilitators of intercultural practices. These issues are regarded from a design perspective, distinguishing between participatory design methods and design for participatory experiences, with the overall aim to investigate the shift from the role of museums as provider of content and designer of experience, to the role of facilitator of experiences around content.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Museums and audience expectations for an effective engagement in cultural heritage*

The subject discussed in this paper moves from the general framework of the European project MeLa - European Museums in an age of migration, an European FP7 project about museums and the way they represent histories, memories and identities. The main objective of MeLa research is to define novel museum practices that reflect the challenges of the contemporary processes of globalization, mobility and migration. In fact, as people, objects, knowledge and information move at increasingly high rates, a greater awareness of this inclusive identity is needed in order to facilitate mutual understanding and social cohesion. Involving an interdisciplinary group of nine European partners with heterogeneous competencies and backgrounds, the MeLa project reflects in a multidisciplinary way on the role of museums and heritage, by addressing contemporary issues of migration, multiculturalism, identity and memory, in order to envision scenarios for the 21st Century Museum for transnational societies.

Within this general framework, this paper focuses on describing the impacts and implications of public curation and audience engagement enabled by digital technology, within urban ecomuseums as facilitators of intercultural practices. The topic is framed in a contemporary cultural background that sees the emergence of new patterns of culture transmission, and in which interactivity, sharing and common authorship (Cleary, 2006) are becoming the key features of the emerging paradigm of knowledge transmission in the contemporary participatory culture (Jenkins, 2009). The creative Renaissance enabled by digital technology tools, that led to the prevalence of online distribution of cultural contents and to the transformation of educative processes (American Association of Museums, 2008), implies that cultural institutions more and more need to move from the idea of audience as visitor - or cultural consumer, to that of "cultural producers, participants in the process, decision makers, and protagonists in the creation and dissemination of a new museum discourse and practice" (Bodo, Gibbs, & Sani, 2009), no longer delivering a master narrative line. In fact audience expectations for civic and social engagement

are profoundly changing museums' scope, reach, and relationships, opening to new possibilities for participatory approaches in the design of cultural experiences. This approach implies a change in the traditional top down way of communicating to the visitors, in favor of a multidirectional flow of information between the institution and its users, letting the audience to move from passive to active roles. This relatively new role assigned to the public, questions the traditional model of the visitor experience, based on an individual and one to one relation between visitors and contents, promoting on the contrary a model of user experience, based on social interaction with other visitors, both physically and virtually. The so called process in five step "me-to-we design" (Simon, 2010), theorized this shifting from an individual engagement of visitors, to a social experience, in which the fifth steps describe the museum as a place of social encounter between diverse people, that can effectively coordinate the actions of individual visitors to create a collective result.

Based on these considerations, to consider only demographic inquires for the analysis of museums audiences, currently do not provide enough information to understand how the museum can respond to the needs and expectations of the public, when designing the visit experience. So, in recent years, many museums and cultural institutions defined audience profiles based on personal motivations, taking into account the individual needs of visitors and the role they choose to take during the visit, rather than demographic characteristics. For example one of the possible motivational profiles indicates five segments (explorer, facilitator, experience seeker, professional/hobbyist and recharger) in which to divide the public of the museums (Falk, 2009). The recognition of motivational profiles (Arts Council England, 2008; Sachatello-Sawyer, 2002) highlights how learning is rarely the only reason to visit, and the desire to establish social relationships is an essential element for almost all visitors (Black, 2005).

1.2 *The urban ecomuseum as a place of cultural encounter*

Within this background, museums contribution in learning through participatory processes, is based on the concept of 'affinity spaces' (Gee, 2005), that are public and shared environment, both *actual* and virtual, in which we can detected processes of appropriation among peers, based on firsthand experiences. In understanding this pedagogical approach, is useful the Giroux's concept of 'critical pedagogy' as a cultural practice engaged in the production of knowledge and identities that "ruptures the dominant notion that culture as pedagogy is about transmission and consumption" (Giroux, 1992). This concept differs from that of communities of practice, shifting the focus from belonging to interactivity, because the sense of community in the latter case is not associated with a sense of affiliation, but it is understood in terms of a facilitator of inter-related activities for a potentially unlimited global community.

Under the assumption that learning is a social activity (Hein, 1991), it is necessary to ask whether and how the museum could encourage visitors to engage socially each other and to share the experience of visit, understanding the educational function of the museum as a collaborative activity in which it "builds" (hence the term constructivism) the meaning of new concepts by the comparison within different perspectives (Cataldo, 2011).

According to the constructivist theory of learning in fact, the interpretation of the objects can only be derived from the experiences and the prior knowledge of the visitor, and the meaning attributed to the collections is given by the dialogue between the viewer and the object (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000), as a result of continuous and sustained interactions (Giaccardi, 2011). A discursive approach (Affleck & Kvan, 2008) to heritage is also particularly fertile ground for the development of projects that aim to promote intercultural practices between diverse audiences, in museums that needed to be considered as contact zones (Clifford, 1997), enabling the participation "through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media" (Tilden & Craig, 2007).

Besides questioning the relationship visitor-visitor and visitor-content, participatory practices within museums, require a rethinking of the relationship museum-contents and museum-visitors, which should provide a sustained re-negotiation of the meaning of objects and collection and of the idea of the museum itself and of the notion of community to which it addresses its programs (Bodo & Mascheroni, 2012).

The post-museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000) shifted the perception of the museum from order and control to interpretation and flexibility and museums which present knowledge in a linear

manner no longer hold the same authoritarian position that they traditionally had (Corsane, 2005) and linear communication models are often replaced by transactional model (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995) in which messages were formulated, exchanged and interpreted in a continuous process.

Within this framework, museums, and especially ecomuseum, due to their own mission to exhibit local communities and their territory, can be experienced as contact zones (Clifford, 1997), or dialogic places (Tchen & Sevchenko, 2011) intended as a space for cultural encounter, exchange, negotiation and communication between diverse culture and subcultures, letting the audience to move from passive to active roles. In this context, the mission of the museum to collect, preserve and interpret the heritage is not enough to encompass the task of audience engagement in museum collections in a more conscious and inclusive manner.

2 AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION IN URBAN SPACES

2.1 *Emerging technologies as enabler and mediator of participatory experiences around heritage in actual and virtual urban spaces*

Starting thus from the idea of an urban ecomuseum as a third space of cultural interaction, innovative forms of heritage experience in urban environments, can positively affect the relationships between communities, heritage and the contemporary city. Within this framework, digital technologies are taken into account as enabler and mediator of participatory experience within cultural heritage and virtual communities as places where questions are raised and debate is facilitated, fostering the dialogue among diverse cultures.

In fact more and more, museums are integrating emerging technologies and approaches such as social media, open content, and crowdsourcing as a means of engaging their communities both internally and externally on a deeper level (Johnson, Adams, & Withey, 2011). There is therefore the need for a greater understanding of the relationships, the differences, and the possible synergies between the diverse technologies in order to effectively respond to the rising expectations of the visitors for an active experience of the heritage, thanks to an integrated use of different media in a continuum of *actual* and virtual spaces.

The use of social media to build communities of fans and reaching a wider audience is a social marketing strategy already widely used by many cultural institutions, although in most cases these tools have proved to be insufficient to trigger real involvement, beyond such superficial and fragmented conversations (Billings, 2011). In fact social media turn out to be effective when they are used as a tool to support the activation of a sustained dialogue with the public, providing different levels of creative control on content to users. While a first level of involvement is the opportunity to share opinions about a particular exhibition, a deeper level of involvement include the opportunity to create personal collections online, that can even become the basis for projects of remote learning.

Sharing knowledge and the collaboration online between users in creating content using the tools enabled by the participative web, are however only a part of the strategies that cultural institutions are adopting thanks to digital technologies. Six areas can be identified (Johnson et al., 2011) in which technologies can be a great potential both educational programs and interpretation of heritage within museums: mobile Apps, tablets, augmented reality, electronic publishing, digital preservation and smart objects. By 2015, the 80% of Internet access will be through a mobile device (Ericsson, 2011) and is therefore essential to consider mobile technology as a major means by which more and more visitors will expect to access resources of the museum and receive services. Mobile technology is also used to implement projects that foresee an experience of cultural assets in augmented reality, even if this kind of experience, while providing a high level of involvement, in most cases do not include a participatory approach because visitors can only see the virtual contents over layered to the *actual* environment, but can not add a personal level of meaning. Moreover, the use of augmented reality in the museum generally does not stimulate a social experience, as the contents are seen individually through the interface of a personal device that acts as a filter between the physical environment and virtual reality.

The interest here is to explore how the use of digital technologies could have significant implications on the planning, the organization and the management of heritage, both in virtual and in *actual* urban environments, when they enable audience engagement in cultural heritage in a more conscious and inclusive manner, by means of processes of appropriation among peers, and introducing different ways of relating to the public through participatory models.

2.2 *Participation vs. curation*

Opportunities for audience to participate in the curation of visitor experience, both their own experience and the ones of other onsite or online visitors, spark a debate about user generated contents and open to issues of mediation, access and control (Gere, 1997) entailing thereby a rearrangement of relationship between museums, content and visitors. Watching, sharing, commenting, producing and curating, arranged in this order in a pyramidal shape (Proctor, 2012) are in fact five actions that describe the possible behaviors of visitors with regard to their interaction with museum contents; ecomuseums, that are traditionally understand as places designed to ensure the participation of the audience, with the ultimate goal to develop the sense of community, need to carefully consider these curatorial issues, especially when in an urban space, intended as a complex interaction between places, people and the representations of these spaces that citizens create, transform and share (Villa, 2011).

For these reasons, the experiences of heritage by practice through both models of participatory design and models of design for participation can be defined using the term “public curation” (Satwicz & Morrissey, 2011) that describes the ways audience is collaboratively involved in shaping museum products, process and experience in contributory, collaborative and co-creative projects (Simon, 2010), corresponding to a certain level of creative control on contents given to audience, varying from curatorial to interpretive, to inventive (Brown, Novak-Leonard, & Gilbride, 2011).

When participatory practices, involving communities and museum professionals in the developing of sharing programs and exhibitions, promote an effective dialogic approach to heritage, the visitors/staff dichotomy tends to dissolve around the “community-generated content”, a term that refers “to content produced by visitors, staff (including guards, guides, curators, educators, marketing specialists, cleaning personnel, volunteers), as well as external researchers, artists or designers” (Salgado, Saad-Sulonen, & Díaz, 2009).

In the case studied described below, different approach in the curation of user generated contents can be recognized, although in the selected projects the goal is to be inclusive and participatory, without giving up to create a meaningful and engaging experience for visitors.

3 CASE STUDIES

3.1 *City of Memory*

City of Memory is a participatory, dynamic story map of New York City, defined as “a democratic arts initiative that invites participation” (Zeitlin, 2011). The project attempts to map stories, memories, imprecise recollections and tales of neighborhoods, related to New York City and its history, including video clips, images, and text-based stories. The project has its inception in 2001 with the project Memory Maps: a system of enormous borough maps of New York City that allowed visitors to share their stories of the city by pinning memories written on small pieces of acetate to the spot on the maps where their stories took place. The entire project is based on a participatory approach in audience engagement: the stories and the memories are in fact personal and first person narrated episodes related to a specific place of the city in a specific time and context. On the website some stories (represented by a blue dot), are curated by City Lore, while others (represented by an orange dot), are submitted by website visitors, although all entries are reviewed for avoiding inappropriate or crude content.

The way the stories can be accessed enables visitors to rediscover the city through the memories of others. The narrative approach is that of a multicultural storytelling in which each story (both curated and contributed) is presented as a single narrative unit: in this way different cul-

tures are represented through New Yorkers' memories, but without highlight the possible interconnections among different memories. Also when the site connects curated stories geographically as well thematically through virtual tours, creating synergy among them, the modality of memories representation, which brings together some episodes narrated in different places of the city by the same author, did not promote a real intercultural dialogue approach. It is eventually up to users create their own map of interlocking memories and parallel interpretations among represented stories.

As the site is structured, is not possible to add an external comment to the stories and therefore it cannot be see any reaction from the audience, nor neutral, nor from dissenting voices, and so, the proposed model of interaction does not permit individuals engage with other nor physically, nor virtually. If observed separately each story is then a unitary representation with no possibility of debate, while the site as a whole could be seen as a repository made of plural representation of New York City different community, each of them self-represented through one or more memories ad places, but the conclusion people draw from hearing other people's stories or telling their own, can have no effect at all, or even confirm their worst prejudice.

3.2 *MappaMi at the Ecomuseo Urbano Metropolitano Nord Milano*

The Ecomuseo Urbano Metropolitano Nord Milano (EUMM) is the first urban ecomuseum on the territory of Milan and through several projects has the general aims to facilitate the socio-historical knowledge, relating it to daily experiences, to observe and interpret territory as an opportunity for cultural exchange between the diverse generations and populations that inhabit it, and to develop among citizens, behaviors of active protection of tangible and intangible cultural heritage.

In this case, participatory mapping techniques allow the neighborhood of the city to collect local memories and preserve their cultural heritages. The results are the building of both a physical map of the community and the geoblog MappaMi, using the web as a tool to incrementally continue gathering information on a local map that can be constantly enriched with content generated by citizens.

The geoblog MappaMi is an interactive platform that allows any citizen to represent a trace of his presence in the places of his memory, with the goal to promote the protection of territorial heritage. Stories are divided among three section, identified on the map with different colors: "yesterday", about the past of the city; "today", about places of everyday life; and "tomorrow", about ideas, desires and plans that citizen want to share. Even if there is a comment board below each story, only few of them have a comment, maybe also due to the fact that on this website stories are presented substantially without any interpretative filter, as contributors send them, a raw material without any curatorial intervention: the comparison among different stories and a deeper inquiry about cultural issues of narrated memories are missing in thus this storytelling practice and there is no evidence of a further level of interpretation of these memories or of a renegotiation of narrated identities. All these issues are instead carefully faced in the physical map of the community, built with the community itself during the project "Mappa di Comunità", that was developed before the website. This participatory map brings out the personality of places, representing some specific features of the territory and its history through a process that involves the community of citizens in a path of co-construction and appropriation of the sense of the place.

4 CONCLUSIONS

These case studies highlight the tension between curation and participation; in fact the analysis underlines that a tool (in these cases a website and a geoblog) that allowed all contributions and where stories are presented without any interpretive key, would probably become simply the sum of its parts and would be an unsatisfying experience for visitors. This approach, here used for a wide exploration of NYC and Milan history and culture through the construction of a participative "urban database" (Shapins, 2009), can however be used as a model helping museums re-imagine their relationship with visitors, who ask for conversations about heritage meanings.

The practice of urban storytelling enabled by diverse media is thus considered one possible tool to enhance the experience of heritage within the context of an ecomuseum, as it offers the possibility to explore the personal background of the individuals who come in contact with it. In this sense, the Internet of Things is seen as a potential media for enhancing tangible and intangible heritage in an urban environment, as smart objects become recognizable and acquire intelligence thanks to their ability to communicate information about themselves and to access information aggregated by other users, with the aim to give things and places in the physical environment an electronic identity.

A further research is needed to deepen the analysis of participatory design programs, involving communities and museum professionals in the developing of sharing events and exhibitions, which seems to better promote a dialogic approach to heritage, with the aim to transfer these models to programs of audience engagement that can effectively involve people not only in the creation of contents, but also in their interpretation, through the use of digital media.

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Batana Ecomuseum, Rovinj-Rovigno. Croatian ecomuseology “at the backdoor”

D. L. Ratković

Muses Ltd for consulting and managing projects in culture and tourism, Zagreb for Ecomuseum Batana, Rovinj - Rovigno, Croatia

ABSTRACT: In Croatia, a country of four million people, which has only relatively recently emerged from a defensive war and which in its recent history has faced drastic ideological, political, social, economic and cultural changes, the reality of the ecomuseum has only existed in theory until quite recently. The appearance of the Batana Ecomuseum, launched in 2004 in the multicultural town of Rovinj in Istria, the westernmost county of Croatia, saw the first emergence of ecomuseological principles in Croatia. The aim of this text therefore is to present it to the wider ecomuseology community, as well as to give an evaluation of its work, using, although not explicitly and linearly, the methodological analysis and comparisons with the ecomuseological principles known under the title of the “21 principles”.

1 INTRODUCTION

The ecomuseum represents a visionary, development oriented concept of safeguarding, interpretation and presentation of heritage, which is not subject to dogma, but is in its essence committed to diversity. It is a legacy which has been passed down to us from its founders and pioneers G.-H. Rivi  re and H. de Varine, and that has been creatively developed over the last 40 years by many numbers of museologists and local communities around the planet (Davis, 2011). Growing bravely facing the challenges of modern life, the vision of the ecomuseum has actualized itself anew with the intensifying effects of globalization, environmental pollution and the destruction of natural resources, climate change, economic crisis, migration, ethnic tensions and military conflicts. At the same time, it has become stronger with the growth in the awareness of the importance of the role of cultural heritage in sustainable development (Galla, 2009), and the growing understanding in the importance of the integral connection between man and his environment.

1.1 Croatian Context

In favour of better understanding the context of only recently appearing with ecomuseums in Croatia, I will begin with a quote from Tomislav Šola: “....how museums often only reflect the state of society, the time for direct museum action (outside of traditional models) in our country has yet to come....” (Šola, 1989). This top Croatian museologist, torchbearer of theoretical ecomuseology in Croatia and pupil of G. H. Rivi  re “from first hand”, did not think at that time that it would take more than a decade for the first ecomuseum to be established in Croatia.

Croatia is a country of amazing natural beauty, located on the shores of the Adriatic Sea, with a rich and layered cultural heritage where the influences of various cultures and civilizations are encountered and pervade vibrantly, forming a unique conglomeration of Mediterranean, Central Europe and Balkan cultural influences, which is still under-recognised or interpreted. Certainly

contributing to this are the historical circumstances of the discontinuity of Croatia statehood which also reflects in the discontinuity in relation to its own identity, but also the extremely difficult conditions that characterize its recent past. Only 20 years ago the country emerged from the relatively "soft", but totalitarian regime of Yugoslavia, which did not support the freedom to nurture, not to mention creative and innovative expression, interpretation and presentation of local, and even less national identities. And so on the doorstep of the 1990s it had to defend itself from aggression, with serious after-war consequences and demanding processes of ideological, political, social, economic and cultural transition.

At the start of the 21st century over the wider cultural practices in Croatia there gradually began to develop the awareness that a national cultural identity (until then mostly exploited for short-term political aims and superficial daily political manipulation at the expense of expertise and the monitoring, recognition and nurturing of deeper values) can systematically develop and evaluate as far as nurturing and developing the awareness of its own local, micro-cultural identities of its citizens. This together means that for this process it would be necessary to make a big step and gradually encourage a flow of communication and coordination in the direction *top-down* (national government) and *bottom-up* (local government and civil society). In fact, as often happens, the strongest incentives and innovation came from the latter.

1.2 *Multicultural Istria*

In the mentioned incentives and innovations, especially in the 1990s, the westernmost Croatian county of Istria took the lead. The Istrian peninsula, situated on the north-east Adriatic, with the greatest part located in Croatia, whilst a smaller part falling within neighbouring Slovenia, and the smallest part in Italy. In fact today's three country split peninsula is reflected in its tumultuous history; the constant changing of borders and rulers are the symbol of Istrian history. From the Middle Ages the governance of Istria was divided between the Venetian Republic on the coast, and Austria, which ruled the interior of the peninsula. The mortality rate of the inhabitants, especially from hunger and the plague in the 16th and 17th centuries, spurred waves of immigration, particularly from Dalmatia, Montenegro and Albania. The results of this migration can also be seen in the great variety of dialects and cultural elements from various origins, and they are the basis of the specific Istrian ethnic hybridism (Nikočević, 2001). The circumstances of the first half of the 20th century in Istria were reflected in two waves of strong ethnic tensions. The first wave occurred after WWI when Istria became part of Italy after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and culminated in a period of fascism when the Croatian language was suppressed, Croatian schools were closed, Croatian surnames were Italianized, and great numbers of Croatian families were displaced from Istria. The second wave occurred after WWII when the new totalitarianism replaced the existing. Yugoslavia communist rulers proselytized only the Croatian population, and members of the Italian community were considered as a threat and enemies. Under pressure, tens of thousands of Italian families emigrated from Istria leaving its towns (especially coastal areas) abandoned, which were then inhabited by people from all parts of Yugoslavia.

All of this was the base for local county government since the start of Croatian independence vigorously withheld by its specificity, nurturing its Istrian identity. A significant number of the population of Istria identified themselves simply as Istrians. Because of their own complex and ethnically mixed origins, they did not want to identify themselves in the context of any national group (Nikočević, 2001). The regional political party also strongly supported the Istrian cultural identity, fostering the values of multiculturalism, bilingualism (equal administrative use of Italian and Croatian languages), as well as a high degree of political autonomy. The process which the people in Istria began was a kind of catharsis accumulated from the traumas of the past, but also creating a climate for the beginning of dealing with the problematic remnants and misunderstandings from the past, and "pain and shame" which they carried inside (Logan & Reeves, 2009).

1.3 *Rovinj, Rovigno, Ruveigno*

From the many extremely pretty and culturally rich Istrian towns, one stands out for its beauty. And that is Rovinj. Located on the western coast of Istria, situated directly opposite Venice. It is

first mentioned under the names *Ruigno*, *Ruginio*, *Revingo* noted in the Ravenna Cosmography from the 6th and 7th centuries, and today it is equally used in various forms of its name in Croatian (Rovinj), Italian (Rovigno) and the local Istriot language (Ruveigno). For many centuries it had a primarily a fishing, shipbuilding and small sailboat role within Istria, and its sailors created some of the main Adriatic sailing routes. Today it has 14,367 inhabitants, of whom 2,000 belong to the Italian national community. It is an important tourist and economic centre in this part of Croatia. And it is the hometown of the first ecomuseum in Croatia.

2 WOODEN BOAT AND ECOMUSEUM

The unique and enchanting connection of the charm and beauty of the Rovinj historic town centre is inseparable from the particular world of this little, but durable wooden fishing boat - the Batana, the sole survivor of a vessel that bears witness to the centuries-old tradition of shipbuilding and maritime tradition of Rovinj. This is a little boat which over the years has evolved into a symbol of the town and its residents who wanted to devote it to a small museum.

2.1 *Batana, symbol of the local community*

Everything, in fact, began in the middle of 2003, when I, as a conservator at the Croatian Ministry of Culture finished the set up of a permanent exhibition in Rovinj's Franciscan monastery. With the completion of the work I received a call from the long-time Rovinj "minister of culture" and prominent historian Marino Budicin, researcher at Centro di Ricerche Storiche di Rovigno or Centre of Historical Research, that I help the town of Rovinj to form a little museum dedicated to the town's most prominent symbol – the Batana. Although as a heritage expert I had not dealt with maritime culture and tradition, I immediately recognised that behind the Batana there hides an infinite treasure which in my professional experience I would long to uncover and witness, and that is alive and a vital connection of the local people and their heritage. It was clear from the start that the Batana preserved the memories of the rich maritime tradition, but also held and reflected the continuity of the identity of the local everyday life and that the specific relationship between the people of Rovinj towards the Batana is equally, if not more important, than just the vessel as the maritime heritage artefact.



Figure 1 - The Batana and Rovinj; photo D. Fabijanić 2004

2.2 Commitment and shared ownership

With a wish for professional change, which was mostly derived from my personal dissatisfaction with the institutional framework and predominately bureaucratic approach to the preservation of heritage, I decided to leave the secure place in the state office and dedicate myself completely to the project in Rovinj. Although at that time I was only connected with Istria and Rovinj in a professional sense, I very quickly established a direct and warm relationship with numerous local people whose love of the Batana was the key for me to get to know more intimately the culture of the town and its people, which led me to the heart of Rovinj's *sense of place*. Soon this project became a case study for professional training in cultural management under the auspices of the Council of Europe and the Marcel Hicter Foundation in Brussels (European Diploma in Cultural Management). Holding onto the wider view of culture which went further than my narrow sector of heritage, the European cultural management education helped me, and I transmitted that knowledge later to the people of Rovinj, to be aware of the very important measures in the development of our little ecomuseum, and that was its potential to raise awareness in its European dimension, which will be discussed later on.

So all of us together, united in an interdisciplinary team with over eighty experts and stakeholders: shipwrights, caulkers and fishermen and their families, local researchers and historians, musicians and singers, chefs, modeler, batana owners, donors, designers, photographers, videographers, historians, linguists, volunteers and enthusiasts, and with my professional contribution in the field of cultural management, museology and heritage interpretation, created a 'critical mass' for the realisation of the nucleus of the future ecomuseum. After almost two years of intensive work, the ecomuseum's interpretation and documentary centre, simply called The House of Batana (Kuća o batani/Casa della batana), was opened in the autumn of 2004 with the support of the local government and authorities. During its very moving opening ceremony, which was attended by many of Rovinj's people and prominent museum expert representatives from other parts of Croatia, the inaugural sentences from Rovinj's mayor reverberated with me the most. He honestly admitted that he did not fully understand at the beginning what in fact was happening with the opening of "Batana's house", but with his fellow citizens he shared the intuition that the permanent exhibition was only the first step in a process that would be of great importance for Rovinj and its inhabitants in the future. For me personally it was a sign that the work which I had truly professionally but also emotionally dedicated myself to, took the roots, and that for the first time in my professional career I have witnessed that the ownership of one heritage project was truly divided amongst all of its stakeholders. It was the moment of the birth of the first ecomuseum in Croatia!

2.3 The House of Batana

The concept of a permanent exhibition in the House of Batana interpretation and documentation centre rests entirely on the testimonies of the living purveyors of tradition and their personal emotions attached to the Batana; the vessel has been the main link and the thread leading the interpretation and presentation of Rovinj's *sense of place*. The location of the House of Batana is in a simple two-story building from the 17th century, with a surface area of only 100 square meters. On the upper story it is still occupied by a Rovinj family, and that from the start emphasised the integrity of the Batana in the everyday life of the people of Rovinj.

The exhibition in an authentic way proves that the Batana has been adopted as a symbol by the residents who come from various backgrounds, regardless of whether their ancestors had lived here for centuries, or migrated from the interior of Istria, or if they originated from other parts of the former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the exhibits and messages from the permanent exhibition unambiguously witness the deep roots and meanings that the Batana has in the local indigenous Italian culture. This is particularly evident as the contrast in relation to the silence of Italian traditions in Istria in a number of permanent exhibitions of municipal museums throughout Istria, although the situation over the last few years has begun to change. The honest and direct methods which the exhibition communicates primarily to its own citizens, acted in a way that through the process of its creation that was based on participation and inclusion, an even deeper awareness of a communal identity was achieved which absolutely crossed over nationalities and ethnicity. "If the Batana and the coast around the city belong to any group, the

Batana Ecomuseum seems to suggest, it is to the Rovignesi – here understood as including all those in the town, whether Italian, Croat, Albanian, or Bosnian Muslim.” (Ballinger, 2006)

During the whole process of the setting of the permanent exhibition, I was aware of the confidence and trust I’ve been given by the community to be the leader of the interpretation process with such a subtle task, although I came from another environment, moreover the capital Zagreb. That namely in smaller communities is not a great advantage. I developed sensitivity for intercultural dialogue, based on pure listening and creating atmosphere of respect and gratitude. People opened up, donated objects, shared family moments; they were motivated to participate in the process which was new and unknown to them. For me their stories always had the last word; I only helped them to remember them and provide them with the attention. Although my contribution would be significantly less if the previously mentioned Marino Budicin, the real *spiritus movens* of the project, had not watched over the entire process, a person of immense human and expert integrity, who enjoys great trust and respect of his fellow citizens. His confidence reposed in me, and later in the design team members, opened all doors, and helped the whole process to develop smoothly, in the atmosphere of openness, trust and respect. Therefore special attention in the exhibition is dedicated to the transfer of the “first voice”, and these are used in the museum for innovative solutions in various media: in the carefully recorded films, in the slideshow which explains the process of building a Batana, photographs for family albums, in the narratives and testimonies which appear in audio or text forms.

From the beginning, I had on the other side a clear image that the permanent exhibition must be told with the help of creative museographical solutions so that the strong stories and beautiful cultural identity of the people of Rovinj and their Batanas could be presented adequately, contributing in strengthening their self-confidence, reflecting their uniqueness and supporting community empowerment. Therefore in installing the permanent exhibition a top creative team was chosen, led by architect Aleksandar Paris, keen photographer Damir Fabijanić, designer Mirna Petrešević and multimedia artist Ivan Marušić Klif. Particularly poignant comments were made after the ceremonial opening of the permanent exhibition by many people from Rovinj: “How great it was that the people from Zagreb felt for us! It shows that they understand and respect us, our Batana, our tradition and our identity!”



Figure 2 - The House of Batana permanent exhibition; photo D. Fabijanić 2004



Figure 3 - The House of Batana visitors & stakeholders, photo: D. L. Ratković

3 FROM OIKOS TO ANTENNAS

Around its own *oikos*, the House of Batana, the ecomuseum, along the town's wider territory and waters, quickly developed a number of 'antennas' of revitalised points of heritage and encouraged activities which are primarily based on the re-creation of intangible culture. Rovinj's ecomuseum was founded and developed in an atmosphere of creation and ratification of UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. Since the beginning the model and vision of the ecomuseum principles has been embraced as the course of all our activities, the intangible heritage of Rovinj's territory and its people have become an important part in the overall mission of the Batana ecomuseum (Boylan, 2006). Although many aspects of intangible culture which has developed around the Batana have been presented and displayed in the permanent exhibition, the actual re-creation of intangible heritage is happening "here and now", in the real context of the town's life. So "SpacioMatika", Rovinj's version of a tavern, then "Little shipyard" known locally as "*Pećiosquero*" and "Rovinj's regatta of traditional boats with lug and lateen sails", the main annual ceremony celebrating maritime culture became the constituent elements of the Batana Ecomuseum.

3.1 *SpacioMatika*

Rovinj's *spacio* is a place where, as far back as can be remembered, wine was stored, tasted and sold on tap, as well as for socialising, eating and singing. It was located on the ground floors of family town houses who owned vineyards and olive groves surrounding the city. Here with a quart of wine and a few fish on the grill, Rovinj's fishermen shared adventures and commented on important events. Sometimes they would play cards, *briscola* and *tresete*, and, of course, sing *bitina* songs, an indigenous Rovinj fisherman's song in the local Istriot language, which is derived directly from Vulgar Latin. In the past almost every street in Rovinj had a *spacio*, but today they have been converted into storerooms, handy workshops, and all the more commercialized, thus the cultural life in the *spacios* began to rapidly disappear. Therefore an important part of safeguarding the maritime cultural life of everyday life in Rovinj was to also safeguard Rovinj's *spacios*, both its material and non-material components.

Thanks to the activities of the ecomuseum, the authentic '*SpacioMatika*' owned by one Rovinj family, has been authentically preserved. Since 2006 became ecomuseum's integral part in which throughout the year authentic musical and gastronomic events are organised, as well as celebrations of the important days in the daily lives of members of the community, such as weddings and christenings. Alongside *bitina* songs as authentic forms of Rovinj's musical tradi-

tions, cookery is also an integral part of the local intangible culture, and so the first publishing project of Rovinj's ecomuseum was in fact the book recipes, and it features dishes which can be tasted in '*SpacioMatika*'.



Figure 4 - Peĩciosquero, photo: D. Talajić, 2008

3.2 Little shipyard

The Little shipyard- *Peĩciosquerois* an extremely important activity for Rovinj's ecomuseum. The set up of a 'batana-building' site, located in front of the House of Batana, has for the eighth consecutive year, been building new and repairing old Batanas. This is a direct action which works on the safeguarding of the intangible heritage of the building skills of Batanas, which is included in the Register of intangible heritage of the Republic of Croatia. Batana construction at the same time is also one of the most attractive cultural-tourism events aimed at Rovinj's visitors of various age groups, and due to this original concept it is unique in the Adriatic as well as in the Mediterranean. The constructed Batanas are donated to Rovinj's fishermen families because the Batana only "lives" when it is at sea and when it "serves" its master – the fisherman. All of them are used in the educational and cultural-touristic programmes, such as sailing around the old town's centre. Also included in the programme is the manufacture of lugsails so that newly built Batanas are able to participate in the Regatta of traditional wooden sailing boats.

3.3 Regatta

The 'Rovinj regatta of traditional wooden boats with lugsail and lateen sails' is held with the aim of restoring the tradition of sailing with lugsails on the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea, as well as to continue cultural cooperation on both sides of the Adriatic (Croatian and Italian) with the aim of preserving the common tangible and intangible maritime heritage of the Adriatic Sea. The regatta was first held in June 2006, and the project has expanded over the years maintaining gastronomic and musical programmes, along with the reciprocal participation of Rovinj's-Batanas at the Venetian '*Vela al terzo*' regatta every year in September.

4 MANAGEMENT AND COOPERATION

4.1 *Legal framework*

In the first two years from the opening of the interpretation centre, the Batana Ecomuseum was carried by the enthusiasm and motivation of its thirty plus active members, enviable spreading its work. Although from the beginning the interpretation centre of the House of Batana was placed under the management of Rovinj's Municipal Museum, it soon became clear that its fixed, traditional concept could not integrate the living processes of the ecomuseum. A specific problem was presented by the wide partnerships, which are the main basis for the actions and realisation of the annual programmes of the Batana Ecomuseum. Together we had to experience the dichotomy between traditional and ecomuseological approaches, the permanent theme which is repeatedly actualised since the birth of ecomuseological concepts to date (de Varine, 1978; Rivière, 1992; Boylan, 2006).



Figure 5 - SpacioMatika; photo D. Fabijanić 2004

There were difficulties in finding a legal model for the activities of the Batana Ecomuseum brought on by the fact that to date no legislation exists which regulates the activities of ecomuseums in Croatia. Therefore in 2006 the Ecomuseum was registered as a non-governmental organisation (NGO), and within that legal framework operates still today. The ecomuseum is conducted over two levels: immediate management (president, secretary, professional-programme manager, activity coordinator and accountancy) and a working unit level which performs the various programmes and activities (museology unit, historical and archival research unit, enology and gastronomy unit, educational unit, Batana building unit, souvenir unit and so on). Since the beginning of the ecomuseum, the consulting and project management company Muses Ltd from Zagreb has been collaborating in the museum's management, which I founded encouraged by the success of the Batana Ecomuseum project, aware that my mission in Rovinj was to share the gained experience with other communities in Croatia which are ready for the adventure of searching for their own identity.

4.2 *European cooperation*

In addition to all the benefits that the ecomuseum has given to its people, also very important is its contribution in linking Rovinj's community with the large family of traditional vessels and its related local communities, especially on the Adriatic and the Mediterranean. At the same time raising the awareness of their own identities and distinctiveness, Batana Ecomuseum's mission is also in highlighting its strong Mediterranean and European dimension. And in fact this sense of belonging to the wider picture, a far larger mosaic, was and still is a powerful support for the

development of the project from its very beginning till today. Indeed, this aspect was important in many ways for the enhancing the feelings of self-worth and pride with the local people, as well as capital with which the Batana Ecomuseum became visible not only in its own community but known within the wider Croatian context.



Figure 6 - Ecomuseum Batana fleet and AMMM members, photo: D. Talajić, 2009

International cultural exchange is from the beginning an important part of the strategic plan in the development of Rovinj's ecomuseum (created within my education in cultural management). Accordingly, from 2005 the Batana Ecomuseum became a permanent member of the Association of Mediterranean Maritime Museums (AMMM), and I as the representative of the Batana Ecomuseum, at the Association's Forum held in Rovinj in 2009, was elected a president of the AMMM with a four year mandate. Within the cooperation under the auspices of the AMMM, the Batana Ecomuseum developed an extensive bilateral collaboration, including amongst other things, from 2010 a twinning with the Museodella Marineria Washington Patrignani from Pesaro, a town on the Italian side of the Adriatic.

Rovinj's ecomuseum has been the winner of many awards and honours, which have evaluated various aspects of its past work and strengthened the self-confidence of its members. In 2006 it won the prize for best presentation of a museum project in The Best in Heritage Excellence Club at the Exponatec event in Cologne, in 2007 it entered the selection for best European museum of the year (EMYA) which is given by the European Museum Forum (EMH). Its candidacy for the EMH was accompanied by the following description: "The social responsibility and influence of this small charming museum in the town cannot be over-estimated. With enthusiastic backing from the municipality the museum has gathered some 100 volunteer collaborators, with many activities taking place on the quayside and throughout the town. It is a striking example of public and individual commitment to a project!"

4.3 Torchbearer of ecomuseology in Croatia

The ecomuseum programme was assessed by the jury of the Croatian Tourist Board as the best tourist product on the Croatian coast in 2007, and that same year the Istrian Tourist Board awarded it for its achievements in the tourism industry with the *Golden Goat/Capra d'Oro* award. The ecomuseum's website received an award from the WSA (*World Summit Award*) for the best website in the field of culture, and in the same year it was declared the best site in the category of science, education, culture in the Vidi Web Top 100 Croatian national awards. This was also an important confirmation that new technology and media can indeed contribute to achieving the ecomuseum's mission by spreading the principles of ecomuseology to the wider audience.

In addition to the prizes and awards, the most important fact is perhaps that the ecomuseum has been successfully operating for the past eight years, encouraging local communities throughout Croatia with the application of ecomuseological principles in recognising, interpret-

ing, presenting and safeguarding their own heritage and cultural identities. The establishment of new ecomuseums in the last 4-5 years in Komiža (on the island of Vis), Mošćenička Draga, Lepoglava, Tar in Istria, and Rakovica near the Plitvice Lakes National Park, has certainly contributed to the democratization of dealing with identities outside of classical cultural institutions. On one side, ecomuseums open the perspective in raising awareness and the presentation of their own heritage values in communities which don't have the financial resources for opening classical museums (primarily relating to overheads and personnel which according to law every museum needs to have), and how it most commonly concerns communities which are affected by economic and demographic decline, and the great potential of heritage in the sense of developing cultural tourism is becoming more recognisable to the strategic direction of their sustainable development.

In the case of the island fishing community in Komiža on the island of Vis the potential of an ecomuseum was also recognised by the UNDP – Croatia and their Project for the sustainable development of the Croatian coast (COAST), which in the last two years has financed a number of activities so that the newly formed ecomuseum could encourage sustainable development of this outermost island of the Croatian Adriatic coast. With the likely funds from the European Union, it is believed that this project will also raise awareness and prompt the implementation of the ecomuseological approach through Croatian national museum legislation in order to create models of co-financing and expert monitoring on a national level with the aim to support local communities who build ecomuseological principles and methods into their sustainable development processes.

5 CONCLUSION

In countries which do not have integrated ecomuseological principles within their cultural policies, and that has been the case in Croatia until now, innovative and creative grass-root projects, such as the Batana Ecomuseum from Rovinj, can have a role as movers and purveyors of the voice of the importance of valorisation of cultural identities of local communities, and serve as flexible models for their safeguarding. Surely this path of development would be passable with the nominal and concrete support from national policies. By formal regulation of the status of ecomuseums in Croatia, the mission of its first ecomuseum would be completely accomplished. It is hoped that this text will also help accelerating this inevitable process.

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Closer to community: an approximation to include other groups in museological practices

F. B. Rey

University of Vigo, Ourense, Spain.

ABSTRACT: In this paper, we discuss a recent experience under the Open Museum Program 2010. The aim of the program is to bring cultural heritage and the functions of the museum closer to groups that do not have an easy access to a museum or other cultural activities. The program's goal is to show the particular visions of three groups, as well as to present to them the cultural heritage the museum works on. The Open Museum Program is an initiative by the Museo Etnológico de Ribadavia (Ribadavia's Ethnological Museum) as part of its role as a public museum at the service of society. This is a determined and innovative step towards the inclusion of certain groups into activities they are usually excluded from. In addition, it promotes both the insertion and visibility of these groups within a conscience and self-recognition as part of diversity in our society. The program implements workshops specifically designed for three groups: inmates from the jail of Pereiro de Aguiar, Alzheimer patients who attend the workshops from the association AFAOR from Ourense, and learning impaired people who are cared for at the Red Cross day centre in Ribadavia. Each of these groups and organisations we work with -Penitentiary Centre Pereiro de Aguiar, AFAOR and the Red Cross- needs a tailored design in order to work with the Museum's heritage. Therefore, the Museum staff develops every year three different workshops targeting each of these groups, and following the same topic related to the Museum's collection. The paper I am presenting is a preview, since up to now we have not published on the methodology and experiences of the Open Museum's 2010 edition. Throughout 2010 we have generated a vast amount of research material that we are still analysing. Nevertheless, the outstanding results achieved by the program encourage us to share this experience.

1 INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to present the first results of the Open Museum Program 2010. Before describing the results it is necessary to know about the Open Museum Program and to locate its venue, the Ethnological Museum in Ribadavia.

Ribadavia is a small town in the province of Ourense in Galicia (Norwestern region of Spain). This museum belongs to the Spanish public museums. The museum opens in 1969 as the Museum of Arts and Popular Customs and later it becomes the ethnographic section of the Archaeological Regional Museum of Ourense. In 1993 it achieves its own organisation as an autonomous museum managed by the autonomous government of Xunta de Galicia. The new museum status was possible because the autonomous government had all the cultural competences transferred by the Spanish government. It has collections from all over the province of Ourense and its activity is not only circumscribed to the small area of Ribadavia council, but it

plays a significant role as the only museum of this subject matter in Galicia under the management of the public sector.

2 THE OPEN MUSEUM PROGRAM

The program started in the year 2005, with the objective of creating specific projects for minority groups and with the idea of taking advantage of the imminence of the collections in relation to the alive social memory in order to help patients with Alzheimer (Iglesias, 2006). Therefore, from its origin the intent of the Open Museum Program has been to bring together cultural heritage and excluded groups which are in a situation of difficult access to cultural programs. All departments in the museum take part in the program.

In the 2007 edition, the person in charge of the program in the museum requests the collaboration of an anthropologist. This first collaboration focused on the design, execution and analysis of techniques for obtaining data in order to create a project for the prison center of Pereiro de Aguiar. The subject for this work was craft trades, paying attention to the perspective of gender in regards to the attribution of the feminine and masculine roles in the different traditional trades selected to take part in this exhibition. But right now what we are most interested in, is the production of the 2010. This edition is of great interest since we made a joint design with the Education Department of the museum and the Anthropology Department of the University of Vigo. In this edition we intend to work with three communities in a consecutive way. Although in previous editions different subjects were chosen in every community, this time we thought it would be of interest to go into a wider subject and in greater depth, and therefore with each workshop we can have a different approach.

The general title of the program this year (2010) was The body which talks about us. Under this topic we wanted to underline the impact of culture in the practices of body transformation and their meaning in relation to the building of the personality.

With this idea and in collaboration with each of the institutions involved, it was designed a project or a specific workshop. Obviously, the objectives for each community are different as for the structure and execution of the workshop (see chart 1). Each of the projects also had a specific name according to the general objectives of all the editions and according to the community aimed at. The projects to be developed were designed for workshops with a duration adapted to each community and the objectives in each community.

Chart 1: Comparative of the three projects included in the Open Museum program 2010.

Target Community	Project Name	Objectives	Subtopic	Duration
Alzheimer patients – Association AFAOR	Remembering in the Museum	Stimulation of the short term memory by inducing positive memories	Clothing and personal cleanliness	8 sessions – Two months
Mentally handicapped- Red Cross in Ribadavia	We see ourselves in a mirror	Acquisition of knowledge and routines	Clothing according to the calendar. Cleanliness in relation to the stages of the day.	6 sessions – One month and a half
Interns from the penitentiary center of Pereiro de Aguiar	The museum in the prison	Design and creation of an exhibition	The tattoo	15 sessions – Three and a half months

In the case of the project Remembering in the museum the name mentions the basic objective. It was meant to achieve the creation of a pleasant atmosphere in each of the sessions so we could use the cultural heritage as a catalyst of positive memories. Eight weekly sessions of two hours each were designed. The whole project was planned with the aim of strengthening the links between the patients and the members of the Association of family and patients of Alzheimer of Ourense (AFAOR). The subtopics were in connection with the recognition of their

own image in different circumstances through photographs, which we requested to their families, we also examined their tastes, changes and fashion in hairdressing, make-up, clothing and complements.

With the objective of stimulating all the senses we designed activities which included sight, touch, hearing, smell and taste adapted to the participants' contexts of reference. Thus, we took into account their origin with special interest for their age, the rural and the urban background, their profession and hobbies. In such way we selected items and objects adapted to the times where most participants were between 25 and 45 years old. And so, besides the mentioned photographs, we worked with cutouts, with sets of make-up, perfumes, mothballs. Additionally we also worked with music and songs that we would sing at the end of each session. This provided the perfect ending which would allow the experience to endure, to advice them about the upcoming end of the workshop and to leave with a more emphasized perception of group. The song was chosen in the first session among songs they previously knew. In this case the selected song was *Carolina*, a very popular and ironic song that tells about Carolina's skirt which has an image of a lizard, and how it gives the impression that the lizard moves when she dances.

Given the characteristics of this community we had special care with the quantity of stimulus presented in each session in order to have enough to keep their interest, but not too many, since overstimulation could induce the participants to frustration and tiredness. It is worth mentioning amongst the eight sessions, the visit we made to the museum with volunteers, families and members of AFAOR. The visit to the museum in this workshop is a complex task, since the premises for the workshop were in the city of Ourense and the Museum of Ribadavia is 35 kilometers away. This means that apart from the trip, the patients need to leave their everyday and familiar environment and transfer to an unknown place. Besides the risk it involves for these patients to move or to set new challenges, the truth is that every single time we observed the enthusiasm that the visit would evoke in them and how satisfied they were afterwards. This visit was of course adapted, and it did not mean a tour around the museum but a session where they would be seating in one room and having access to items they had previously seen in photographs in previous sessions.

We also need to point out the last session, when we meet with the family, staff and of course the participants. This session allows us to make the relationship grow by extending it to the family and their carers. We also gain access to the assessment from the families about the workshop so we can improve it for the following editions.

Regarding the assessment, apart from the exchanges during this session, we also carry out a survey with all the people linked to the project, except in this particular case the participants, who give us their valuation out loud in a more informal way. With this method we might lose the evidence of their opinion, but we are in fact winning by not confronting the patients with a survey and the frustration of writing, since many of them cannot write.

In short, at the end of the eight sessions the participants were able to know and recognise several items of the museum related to the clothing and cleanliness. They were also able to give their valuation and interpretation of these items and the context of its use. It is then a way of collecting the cultural meaning, the memory of those items, but it is also a way to dignify the lives of the participants and their vision and interpretation of reality. This valuation is made through the association of the self with the common cultural heritage. We should not forget that what we call cultural heritage has a very deep symbolic and positive burden regarding selection of exceptional items to represent (Prats, 2007) a certain vision of identity.

The project We see ourselves in a mirror is similar to the one just described, but with the particularity that it has a more educational approach. In this project the memory is not the central theme but the activities which deal with the past, present and future, inviting all the participants to make a tour around their personal experiences in relation to certain funds of the Ethnological Museum. This is the only project where all the sessions can be held at the museum as all the participants live in Ribadavia or nearby, and arrive by public bus or with volunteers from the Red Cross. It is also the shortest program. The participants, except for some enrollment or absence for personal reasons, are the same people in all the editions of the program due to the fact that they are members of the Day Care facility of the Red Cross in Ribadavia that they attend regularly.

The 2010 edition was aimed at analyzing the changes of clothing and cleanliness regarding the annual calendar, where we work with the festive and working clothes, the daily agenda,

paying special attention to routines and ways of dressing according to the activities we are going to undertake. This edition covered ceremonies and rites of passage as well as the festivities in Ribadavia. This way the workshop was held in the museum rooms, analyzing and interpreting the pictures that in many instances portrayed the own participants' friends and family members. As with the community of the Alzheimer patients, the final session was with the participants, their families and the volunteers of the Red Cross, and we obtained information for the following edition by trying to find out what sessions they remembered the most in a positive way and the reason why.

Next, I will continue by explaining about the project The museum in the prison. This project is the longest of them all, and the main objective is to go into the subject in depth and to create an exhibition about the subject. For three and a half months we worked with a group of prisoners carrying out all the tasks that a professional must accomplish in order to produce an exhibition. This endeavour was divided into six work phases: presentation and selection of the subject, documentation and analysis, design of contents, museographic design, and assembly and opening. In the following section I will be providing details for all phases and finally I will be sharing the interesting results of this project.

3 THE MUSEUM IN THE PRISON PROJECT

This project took the longest of all programs and was the hardest to develop as the theme chosen was a very delicate matter in this context. At the same time it seemed to us as a rich topic with plenty of opportunities to get to know more about penitentiary life and to show how museums and penitentiary can interact to meet their objectives.

As mentioned earlier this project consisted of six phases. The project started with the presentation, allowing us to have a first recognition of the participants as a working team, but moreover to find out more about the proposed project and to introduce ourselves to the participants as coordinators and members of a wider team who belongs to the institution of the Ethnological Museum. Therefore this phase tries to set the basis for a mutual recognition and the first knowledge about the meaning of a museum and its function. In this edition under the generic name of The body that talks about us, we thought that the possibilities of doing an exhibition about it were very wide. So we decided we should select a more precise subject just as we did in the workshops previously described. In this case, we thought that the selection of the specific subject should be made by the participants according to their interests and preferences. We proposed a focus group about body and their transformations, and how this transformations can show or hide information about people.

The group discussed to great extent of how they way one dresses can transform the body or the person. Some of participants argued work clothes are a resign of self in order to accept social rules, for others that kind of clothes are not significant. They were talking about getting ready inside the penitentiary. This idea shows how important it was for them the spaces and the borders between public and private inside. Another point for discussion was the transformations in order to hide oneself; an exemple they gave is relevant to show the participant's points of view: some policeman has rastafari hair just not be identified in suspect criminal contexts.

After the first discussions it was necessary to focus on one topic, which is why we opted for introducing some techniques like brainstorming so that the group would clarify and choose a subtopic easier to grasp for an exhibition. The technique was firstly applied as an open round just to bring out concepts in relation with the main theme. Secondly, we asked the participants to evaluate those concepts in accordance to their personal importance and meaning.

This was very surprising to us, since we could appreciate the most different valuations to modifications. They showed us their interest for modifications, which went from losing weight, shaving, piercing, waxing or the most surprising one, their teeth. The chart 2 shows the most important concepts and ideas the participants shared about corporal meaning and transformation. As it can be seen, the most valued was the tattoo. The second place was taken by teeth and mouth, the third place by hairdressing and jewels are at the four place.

Chart 2: main concepts selected by participants though the brainstorming technique.

Concept selected	Points given
Tattoo	120
Teeth	117
Hairdressing	110
Jewels	89

In a gender exam of these results it is necessary to know that the project was made by four women and eleven men. Women chose, with the same frequency, jewels and teeth in first place, and for the second place they pointed hairdressing and tattoo with the same frequency too.

For the participants the teeth and mouth was the second most significant and important body modification after tattoos. After this surprise, we suspect the reason had a relation with health and dental care and drugs. At the penitentiary there is just basic treatment and the inmates usually present several damages in their mouths and teeth (Harvey, S. et all, 2005), in addition to the fact that the mouth and teeth can contribute to identify an addicted person and therefore it implies the possibility to be discriminated against.

Consequently, the tattoos were the subject for our search of documentation. In this second phase the library of the museum collaborated in a very decisive way because they did a selection of works and collected the petitions of the group, trying to respond to their demands for information about very precise questions.

The participants learn in this phase the importance of documentation, bibliographic citation and the extent of the channels of information that a library has. Besides this, they can make first contact with the subject from different points of view.

In this phase, combined with the one of the analysis besides the bibliographic and electronic documents we have the collaboration of people who, from different perspectives, work with tattoos. In this edition a tattooist and a dermatologist helped us for free.

The tattooist presented to the group his way of work and the materials he needs to make a tattoo. He explained how he started on this art and the training he needed to practice it. He explains the tattoos are not a sign of delinquency as a lot of people believe. He told about his experience and in his words we can understand the tattoos as a way to show our self on our skin. So the significance of tattoos seems, at this moment in the project, quite relevant in order to be included in the future exhibition.

The dermatologist told about the adverse effects of tatoos for the health, and about the hygienic minimal conditions. He showed a considerable amount of injuries caused by tattoos and the most frequent ones.

The analysis of all this information allowed us to make a classification according to the interests that the members of the group showed and to ask questions which needed new documentation to be answered. Furthermore, the phase of analysis provided us the opportunity to revise how every participant lived and understood the practice of the tattoo. It shows the belonging to one group, it reminds of the people we love and it is a sign of important moments in life, were the most important meanings of tattoo for the project participants.

After knowing what tattoos are and represent for the group, the participants decided this project needed to obtain more information about the tattoo practice in jail. So one person per module (block of cells) did a small survey in order to know how many people had a tattoo, how many tattoos had one person and if these tattoos were made inside the penitentiary or outside. Let us remind you that this practice is widespread in jail but in Spain it is forbidden inside the prisons, and that is why the information gathered in the workshop was a bit subversive in regards to the order and intern organization of the prison.

The results of our small enquiry were relevant. In total, the group obtained information about 274 inmates, being the total population of the penitentiary of approximalety 471 in 2010 according to data published in the local press. They sourced the data from the only female module and about four male modules within the penitentiary.

More than 70 % female inmates have not tattoos. The 29,16 % has tattoos on their skin. Between 3 to 5 tattoos is the media for women who had tattos, and 42, 85 % were tattooed inside prison and outside.

Among men the tattoos are more usual than among women. In one of the modules, of all the people who had tattoos at least one of them was made inside. In general, the number of tattoos made inside was greater than the tattoos made outside. The men who had been tattooed inside are more than the women. With small differences between modules, two thirds of the inmates in each module had no tattoos. The number of tattoos the people have are between 3 to 6.

The conclusion of this small research was that the number of people tattooed is larger than the people that have no tattoos. In addition, the number of tattoos made inside is superior to the tattoos made outside. To have an explanation of these results we would need more data and time to explore this reality, but one of the causes for these results could be the amount of time people spend inside. Some possible reasons are that being a tattooist could be a good way of make an earning for people without resources both inside and outside, a fashion of changing our body, the meaning of the tattoos, and the dramatic reality of some inmates who deal with their frustration through self-inflicted injuries and tattoo could be the best option to liberate themselves in some sort of way, since it is a usual practice inside and is social accepted, and the risk is less than other practices as injecting oneself with air or water.

The formulation of new questions led us to design a collection of information in four modules about the practice of tattoos by the interns. The results cannot be included in this brief description but it was very revealing to note down that most of the interns had been tattooed in more than one occasion and most of them had been tattooed, at least once, in prison.

Once reached this point of the project development, a lot of the inmates, both participants and not participants, know our topic and the objective of creating a exhibition.

So we were visited during the sessions (two hours per week in a education module) by people to ask about tattoos or who wanted to show their tattoos. We managed to obtain different materials for the exhibition. The penitentiary management lent us a confiscated tattoo handmade machine, tattoo sticks, and the collaborators lent us a professional machine to set up a reproduction of the table of a professional tattooist.

As we had gathered enough information it was necessary to organize and select what was more relevant and that allowed us to build an expound discourse. It was during this phase when all the contents that the exhibition was going to have were designed. The first thing we did was to pick the most relevant elements we had seen among all the participants. From this selection we designed the sections that the exhibition should have: definition and history of the tattoo, types of tattoos, legal and professional regulations in the practice of tattoos together with the risks, the tattoo in the prison which included how to make the "prison" ink or the making of one with the stick for the tattoos, and the results of the surveys and finally the meanings of the tattoos of the participants and some volunteers from the prison who, when they learnt about the exhibition, they wanted to be portrayed and show their experience.

Once the contents were defined we could start to design the necessary elements to illustrate in three dimensions the information selected, adapting it to the space we had. In the education module there is a big corridor that communicates with the central yard. In the first edition of the project *The Museum in the Prison* the participants chose it to exhibit their work because is a good place where all inmates can view it.

The phase of museographic design also needed the support from the members of the museum team and their regular collaborators in carpentry, labeling, designing, painting, and so on. With their advice the color of the walls of the corridor in the education module where the exhibition was going to take place was picked and the panels and windows needed were ordered according to the design established. In the sessions, small groups of participants selected the way to display the message.

When we had all the material we started the assembly that we carried out with the help of the professionals from the museum and the prison along with the participants of the workshop and the collaborators, who always gave a hand for the final touches. The end of the workshop came with the opening of the exhibition under the title: *The tattoo in prison: past and present*. With this title the participants wanted to frame all the topics of the exhibition that as we saw earlier it was focused on a general explanation of the tattoo practice but especially of the tattoo practice in prison.

To the opening of the exhibition in the prison we invited the press, collaborators, and other prisoners as well as the authorities involved in the project: Provincial Delegation of the Government of Spain, Provincial Delegation of Xunta de Galicia, authorities in the Ethnological

Museum, authorities in the prison and mass media. For the opening the participants of this workshop presented their work for these guests and finally we made the photographic sessions and carried out a similar evaluation to the ones mentioned for the other projects. They are meant to collect evidences which allow us to assess if the workshop has achieved its mission and in what way, or which are the questions that need to be improved, and lastly, if every single project really meets the users' needs. The exhibition was on display for around three months in the Penitentiary and after this period it went to the Ethnologic Museum of Ribadavia where it was on for one year. Some of the members of the workshop were able to come the exhibition opening at the museum and it was a great opportunity to show them their work in another context.

The result of the project was incredibly successful. All participants would like to take part in new editions of the program and they state they learned very much about museums, the Ethnologic Museum in Ribadavia and the tattoos. Most of them consider that this workshop was quite interesting not only for them but also all the rest of the prison inmates. We could confirm this as we dealt with a lot of inmates who did not take part of the workshop but wanted to collaborate with us.

In the evaluation test (see chart. 3) the participants valued the exhibition as the best part of the workshop (44 point in total) followed by the museology sessions (40 points).

Chart 3. Points given from participants to value different aspects of workshop.

Information before workshop	27
Topic	33
Documentation sessions	35
Analyzing sessions	38
Personal satisfaction	39
Museology sessions	40
Exhibition	44

In order to interpreting this chart is necessary to know that the maximum point possible to give was 45.

At the evaluation some participants stated that initially they did not like the topic but as they got working about it they appreciated the information and the knowledge they acquired throughout the project. This could clarify the low punctuation achieved by the topic, as seen in chart 3. Other participants informed us that they were interested in taking part in this project because they wanted to use their time positively, and they considered interesting the work group methodology. We find particularly significant the comment of one of the participants "We thank and appreciate the effort of those people who arrive with their will and respect". It seems to us greatly relevant since one of the objectives is to consider the collective point of views that have been excluded, and it looks like we achieved it.

4 IN CONCLUSION

As we can appreciate in the summary of the program and the projects through which it is carried out, it is the different processes which take part in the configuration of both the personal and the group identity, that allow us to establish a link between the experience and the everyday vision of every participant and the presentation of different heritage elements. This link leads to a bidirectional relationship between the cultural heritage that the museum guards. We work with this cultural heritage in different ways in every workshop, and the experience and meaning that this heritage has for the participants as they comment on this throughout the development of the sessions. In this way, by registering and analysing every session we add new meanings to the collections in the museum, as well as we give an authorized voice to people that are relegated of attention and authority in their everyday lives. We must take into account that part of the processes of exclusion have to do with relegation and disavowal of people's capabilities for interpreting, judging and acting with criteria in their everyday lives. Therefore, one of the im-

provements made by this type of program is achieving a connection among identity processes of reverse sense. On one hand, the ones that refer to their positive positioning in relation to groups of reference evaluated by the dominant establishments symbolically attributed to the cultural heritage. And on the other hand, in relation to the place where they are framed, through the eyes of the others, as they are attached to new identifications of liminal character from processes of illnesses and/or privation of freedom. Therefore, the development of the program combines the processes of the identity configuration of the people who participate, insisting on the positive character of the articulation of its personal and group identity, including the exclusion values within this configuration and resolving them as positives from valuing its own vision and linking it with the values of the cultural heritage.

At all times the developed program has been inclusive because of the reasons explained earlier, but it also was so in its internal development, since although every design is aimed at an homogeneous and reduced group in relation to the institution which assists them, these groups are also heterogeneous in origin, and rich in diverse experiences. In this sense the evaluation of a nice atmosphere and a respect for all the demonstrations and forms of participating in a way that has been called in the school sphere, another of the keys for the success of the Open Museum is the inclusive culture.

As I have pointed out before, this program also represents a bridge between social and public conception of the cultural heritage to the individual and personal. This is through the revision of the goods of the cultural heritage presented in the projects. The participants gain positive stimulus and they are asked to express the relation with their journeys and personal projects. This transit from the social to the individual allows us to have a theoretical approach of great interest, in my opinion, regarding the definitions of cultural heritage. In the definitions we have in anthropology of cultural heritage we include the terms of authority and identity because cultural heritage is a social construction which makes it possible for certain objects to be selected and they get assigned social values through the academy and dealing with different identity versions which are interesting for certain social groups. This way the goods of the cultural heritage can be analyzed in its symbolic value in a way that they work as representations of identities. In any case, the idea of social construction along with the typical concept of cultural heritage opposite old names such as antiques, or historical heritage, etc. refers to its public character in the sense of common heritage. From this idea there are authors who talk about unwanted, uncomfortable or dissonant heritages in reference to those little interesting for the vision or the dominant identity version and even though they have a social value they have been excluded from the spaces of the historical memory (Reventós, 2007; CriadoBoado, 2011). In this sense, if the social and group knowledge of the cultural heritage transfers to the personal and the individual in the same way as the recognition of the values assigned to heritage goods it implies an ascription to the groups which that heritage identifies we can understand the relationship between the uncomfortable heritage in terms of the social and the heritage of the excluded in terms of the private. We would be then in two different levels of analysis that we should take into account when designing educational programs in relation to the cultural heritage, and through them we can appreciate how the cultural heritage has emerged not only as a powerful tool at the service of interests but also as a tool for the inclusion and social politics.

Therefore, the Ethnologic Museum in Ribadavia recognizes the heritage of the secondary cultures (GarcíaCanclini, 1999). The heritage and dominant discourses with other secondary discourses, however not less important for the cultural representation of a community.

What we can appreciate here about the Ethnological Museum is that is showing us that it can be appropriate to work with this kind of collections for the mixed public. Even more, since its objective is to promote equality and to carry out activities which are aimed at the inclusion and visualization of excluded groups.

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Ecomuseums: from institution to cultural firm

R. Riva

Politecnico di Milano, Department BEST Building Environment Science and Technologies - Milan - Italy

ABSTRACT: In this period of crisis, the ecomuseum may assume an active role in order to generate gain and economic flows, to reinvest in cultural, formative and productive activities, becoming a “cultural firm” of public utility. For this aim an ecomuseum has to develop strategic and design skills, competences, stability and a governance model. Currently these peculiarities do not find full correspondence in the majority of ecomuseums. The “frailties” are lack of common directions, auto-referentiality, absence of scientific and juridical acknowledgement, difficulty in promoting a continuous involvement of local communities, discontinuity of initiatives and shortage of economic availability. These are the reasons why the proposal of a meta-project can support the operators with technical guidelines. The meta-project becomes a tool for managing the ecomuseum process, able to fix rules and procedures that may be repeatable, in spite of different conditions of the context. This is not a physical model but a “practice”.

1 THE ROLE OF ECOMUSEUMS IN THE LOCAL DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Cultural mediation, education to participation, enhancement of knowledge, protection of collective interests, sustainable use of land, creation of landscapes, planning, promotion of responsible tourism, are the areas in which ecomuseums can probably offer their most significant contribution in order to spread innovative technologies (“smart technologies”) for local development.

An “evolution” of the ecomuseum as it was conceived in the ‘70s: from cultural institution with social values, to a continuous process aimed at the formation of a new active citizenship (Maggi, 2005) and at the offer of quality integrated services. Services for the enjoyment, accessibility, slow mobility, hosting services, widespread receptivity, reduction of environmental impacts, innovation and promotion of local products, education, study and promotion of cultural heritage, dissemination and exchange of knowledge. This role has changed over time due to the significant transformations in the context.

Today, the globalization of markets and the financial crisis emphasize and accelerate the competitiveness of the territories, which becomes a demand for greater quality, efficiency and stability of local systems. Europe is responding to these solicitations promoting a bottom-up development, which starts from local communities according to principles of sustainability, participation, accessibility, provision of services to individuals and businesses, enhancing of identities. For medium and large cities, this led to the creation of “smart cities” (with regard on energy efficiency, economy, mobility, environment, people, living, governance). Even if most of Europe’s population resides in urban areas and this trend is significantly increasing (Bertello & Blanchetti, 2012), the real change in the government of the territory can only be achieved with a capillary involvement of the existing diffuse settlement, which characterize most of the European landscape, and especially the Italian one, arriving at the concept of “spread smart city” or “smart region” (Bolici & Mora, 2012). At this level, “global” strategies cannot be trans-

ferred (in terms of quantity and resources) with a socially-sustainable cost. On the other hand, especially at this scale, the culture - that means both tangible and intangible heritage and sense of responsibility and awareness - becomes the distinguishing feature that is able to add value to the system, promoting creativity, "networking" of resources, allowing to limit the social costs of development (Florida, 2003). At this level the action of ecomuseums can be more effective. Firstly, they can facilitate the transition from what Marc Augé calls "non-places", where the relationships between subjects and territorial resources are casual, to the "places" where relationships between elements are coded and traced within a structured logical pattern (Augé, 1992). And, in addition, they can create conditions for promoting the participation and development of new economies.

The contemporary context requires to change horizon, a cultural "revolution", covering all the areas of civil life, and the need to renew the tools that have traditionally managed the transformation of the territory. This transformation must not be sectorial or limited to singular projects, but it requires a "district" logic, spanning all disciplines, in order to combine the "memory" of places - made of landscape, materials, people, knowledge - with advanced technological innovation - made of artificial intelligence, nanotechnology, ICT. The district logic regulates the production of goods and services, systematizing the territorial capital with the production system and pushing the further step of integration with all the levels of the community. Therefore, a system that is not organized on macro-functional areas, but on widespread polarities, integrated with the territory and connected together in a network. This can be represented in the action of ecomuseums. For such a change there should be a renewal of the design of the local system. The project should be multidisciplinary and multiscalar, and should involve the process's technological innovation, strategic planning and management of complexity. The separation of roles is no longer adequate for the management of contemporary society. The point is to mutate a system based on mandatory rules and limits to a system of consultation, based on comparison, compromise solution and balance. This means mediation between positions and interests of all parties involved, individuals as well as communities, without referring to administrative boundaries, but to wide areas with variable geometry and networks of relationships between subjects. These tools are founded on shared objectives and on a common methodology, and thus imply a high and mature level of awareness and active participation of local communities in decisions. But communities, especially in "minor" realities, are often unprepared for this responsibility. Therefore, it is necessary to configure processes with a gradual approach, with actions targeted on education and awareness, in order to bridge the gap between the social sphere, the productive sphere and the political sphere. From this point of view ecomuseums can become "laboratories" of participation, experimentation of best practices, and education for the "smart city" concept, defined as the development of a "smart management" of the territorial capital. The added values that the ecomuseum can offer are the close relationship with a specific area, with the *milieu*, the small size of the territory to which it refers, the flexibility and the creativity that allow the ecomuseum itself to innovate the social-economic context.

The current severe economic crisis caused the lack of public funding: in this context ecomuseums turn out to be important resources in order to innovate in local economies. The profits and the economic flows that they generate ensure local self-sufficiency, and can be re-invested in cultural, educational and productive activities (primary objective of an ecomuseum) (de Varine, 2011). The European funding policy for culture has abandoned the welfare logic and actual works with co-financing systems and tax breaks. In this sense the ecomuseum should overtake the non-profit institution approach, based on a volunteering system, and act as a "cultural firm of public utility". The culture contributes to the "competitive differentiation" of the territories: cultural investments produce profits that justify the private intervention. In 2006, during the Winter Olympic Games, a survey conducted by the Università di Torino for the Fondazione CRT and the Compagnia di San Paolo, has estimated that for each euro "spent" in the field of culture, there was a five time return investment. Today private investment is necessary especially in contexts such as the Italian one, where the size of museum collections and the consistency of the cultural heritage make public funding insufficient to ensure a proper management of the system. For this reason, it is necessary to stimulate policies of balanced public-private partnership, at the aim of offering a "social service" based on the achievement of shared objectives, irrespective of the nature of providers.

The ecomuseum operator, and the whole community, must therefore be an “entrepreneur”, meant as the one who, from the start-up moment of his own company, is always expected to introduce innovation in the production process (as Joseph Alois Schumpeter, Austrian economist naturalized in the United States, stated in the late XIX century). Clearly, the ecomuseum is a “cultural firm” not only in the meaning of “enterprise”, but it considers the social context in a broader view, as Gianfranco Dioguardi, Italian engineer and theoretician of “network enterprise” or “macro-enterprise”, strongly emphasizes. Transferring in the ecomuseum what Dioguardi says, the “ecomuseum network enterprise” should represent a business in which the same community, through some of its representatives, assumes the role of “entrepreneur” of their common heritage, introducing innovation in the process of sustainable development and participation, strengthening the cultural identity and the sense of belonging to the local system (Riva, 2008). The ecomuseum, as a cultural firm, has to create the conditions to encourage private investment and, at the same time, ensure economic and social benefits to the community.

2 CRITICAL ASPECTS AND WEAKNESSES OF ECOMUSEUM SYSTEMS

The role of “cultural firm” which nowadays can characterize the ecomuseum action implies strong connections with the institutional, social and productive sectors and, therefore, it has to express their capacity to promote strategic planning, multidisciplinary, stability and a well-defined system of governance.

These characteristics do not find a complete correspondence in many of the existing ecomuseum realities. The reason is the lack of common guidelines, which sometimes led to a strong gap between theoretical principles and practical outcomes. Other “weaknesses” can be found in the auto-referentiality of some of these structures, with the use of merely localistic and folkloristic approaches and with the consequent “musealization” of the local culture; in the lack of a scientific and legal recognition, with the risk of distortion; in the difficulty of a continuous promotion of the local community participation; in the discontinuity of initiatives, often managed exclusively by voluntary structures and, therefore, heavily dependent on the capabilities and willingness of individuals; in the general lack of economic resources; in the technological “backwardness” that leads some ecomuseums to look only to the past, both concerning the cultural content and the means of communication and interaction.

The Italian context represents an exception in the international one because it has a specific legal system which define the policies of recognition and co-financing of ecomuseums (nine regional laws were approved). But even here there are risks of a lack of authority, closure and inability to communicate with the different subjects and projects that interest the local system.

The ecomuseum should be able to create “differentiations” inside the community, expressing a clear and independent interpretation of the local *milieu*: this requires the presence of adequate knowledge, based on scientific research, established and recognized experience and to be part of a network. These skills allow them to go beyond the complex and articulated management activities, ensuring an ability to innovate and build a strategic vision in the medium and long term, integrated with the territorial and economic policies. Furthermore there is the necessity of a shared language that allows ecomuseum to relate to the other projects about the territory, to compare and integrate objectives, methods and tools. Therefore, it is necessary to control the “quality” of the system: this role cannot be entrusted exclusively to the local government or the management committees of the ecomuseum, but to the community itself.

Today, this need is definitely evident, considering the rapid changes that interest to civil life - from land management to environmental protection, from the production of goods and services to the enhancement of culture - and that creates the demand for a systematization and optimization of available resources. A possible solution is the top-down control from the higher institutional levels - in Italy there is still an ongoing debate on a national coordination framework law, and regional networks for cooperation between ecomuseums have already created - or forms of local self-evaluation - for example the forms drawn up by the community Local Worlds (Borrelli et al., 2008), or the Regione Lombardia’s grid with the minimum requirements for ecomuseums - or even with the certification of external structures, with the voluntary submission to quality systems - for example the Herity certification already experienced by the ecomuseums of the Provincia di Torino, which assesses the quality of cultural heritage management. All solu-

tions have limits. Even if the institutional control of the ecomuseal action coordinates the complexity of the programs promoted within the local system, it penalizes the “subjectivity” and creativity expressed by the bottom-up approach. On the other hand, the self-evaluation can be ineffective in the most problematic structures, that presents a lack appropriate and specialized skills, or in those ecomuseums who are in the start-up phase. Finally the use of external certification structures often leads to the adaptation of procedures developed for their application to other situations (such as museums) that do not allow to highlight of the significant return of the ecomuseum action in terms of inputs to the local development.

Hugues de Varine, “father” of ecomuseums with Georges-Henri Rivière, offered a collection of cards with practical hints, with brief questionnaires designed to assist the process of local development (particularly for the creation of an ecomuseum), that should be used to stimulate the internal debate of the local community (de Varine, 2002). These cards are undoubtedly an effective tool but imply the existence of a reference group that has already established a role of leadership in the process of enhancement of cultural heritage. But particularly in the social and administrative Italian context, this condition already needs a level of organization and consensus that is difficult to achieve. The local intervention in Italy is often hindered in the definition of a partnership that should guarantee stability and continuity, and be sufficiently versatile to be able to edit and transform itself *in itinere*, even considering the duration of administrative mandates, the desirability of extensions or downsizings of the considered area, the synergies with other projects that affect the same territory, and the involvement of private sector. The creation of this consensus is difficult considering the absence of a clear framework for the activities and requirements that must be met in the short, medium and long term, in order to develop the ecomuseum project. Even more difficult is to involve of the private sector, seeking certainties, as a guarantee for the increased business risk. The private operator responds to the logic of the economic gain. The culture of the “common good”, above all in Italy, is still missing. These goods, maintain private property and bring benefits to the community at the same time (as the landscape or more generally the cultural heritage), and therefore require shared decision and responsibility for its management. It is necessary, therefore, to find tools to enhance, organize and qualify the ecomuseum action following a business and “smart” logic.

3 THE META-PROJECT PROPOSAL

The necessity to innovate ecomuseum processes, in order to meet the changing needs of the context, has already been detailed by several points of view - economic, social, museological - but a significant contribution may arise from the disciplinary skills of architectural technology and design. It is possible to transfer the principles of environmental design to the ecomuseal field, as well as the principles of management of complex projects, of communication and techniques of involvement and participation, and a meta-project approach for the definition of the ecomuseum itself. Meaning as “meta-project” the activity for identifying requirements and constraints for the project, came from the synthesis of the needs of a variety of subjects that constitute their referents, as an active part of the process (residents and stakeholders) or simply as its ideal reference (potential users). The aim of creating a “meta-project of the ecomuseum” is to model and to reduce the degree of complexity of the system needs / requirements / performances, and provides a technical support to the operator, with guidelines that allow the control of ecomuseum activities in their entirety, from the definition and establishment phase to the management one, in a long term time horizon. At the same time to offer a panel of design alternatives and a reference grid to evaluate the effectiveness of the process undertaken (Riva, 2008).

The concept of meta-project has derived from the renewal of the construction process that was developed in Italy since the ‘60s, with the gradual transition from the description of project constraints and standards, to the recognition of the needs and the performances that the project must meet. It is, therefore, the definition of activities’ spatial needs, of their detailed description and interpretation from the economic, geographic and socio-political point of view. Tangible aspects - related to the interaction between people, spaces and objects - and intangible ones - related to the decision-making and communicative relationship - coexist in the meta-project. It includes a temporal dimension, an interdisciplinary nature and the variability, directly proportional to the degree of freedom that you choose to ascribe to the aggregation of elementary

activities (Magnaghi, 1973). The centrality of the relations system appears clearly with the transfer of the concept of meta-project from the building to the industrial product, and in particular with the transition from the materiality of the “product” to the immateriality of the “product-system”, which includes the relationships that refers to the object, in terms of strategy and tools for consensus construction and decision-making (Deserti, 2003). From this point of view, the meta-project can be transferred to a different scale, one of the wide area, like the “management” of a local development process and consequently to the management of the ecomuseal process, that means ability to set rules and procedures that can be repeated in order to build a not accidental process, despite different and specific boundary conditions, and therefore ability to design a “place”, a landscape. The meta-project is not the definition of a type or a physical model, but a “procedure”. A procedure which, starting from the explanation of the needs of the community, translates those needs into requirements, and, finally, into ecomuseum performances. This is a systematic decomposition and modelling of the problems and of the design issues, that aims at orienting the strategies and the choices of public or private operators, without having prescriptive values.

The meta-project of the ecomuseum breaks down the process into “phases”. It distinguishes an initial start-up phase, that consists in the definition and establishment of the ecomuseum, and a subsequent phase of development and management. For each phase the meta-project underlines the characteristic “actions”, as well as the “expected results” and a first declination of “articulations / design alternatives”. Basically the ecomuseum cannot be represented by a sequential structure, but, instead, by a complex and circular process. Many activities are in fact placed in both phases (as anticipations or revisions), with different contents and objectives, and they establish explicit references between them. The same can be said for some operational tools that are appropriate for more than one activity. In addition there is a transversal phase that should attend the whole process: a phase of design and promotion of structured forms of involvement and participation of local communities to the management of the ecomuseum.

The modelling of ecomuseum process makes it more clear. It can constitute the basis on which to develop further studies and researches, and to enhance the framework of the studies and experiences that have already been completed. The meta-project forms a “grid” of elementary actions, on which it is possible, for example, rearrange de Varine’s cards with practical hints, or the self-evaluation ones, in order to make the general framework more explicit to those who are called to do a critical examination of the process of local development undertaken. Only a clear framework makes possible to adequately weight up the choices, attributing priorities to the various initiatives and actions, identifying the pilot actions that should begin in order to attract resources (financial ones, but not only) and trigger a positive multiplier effect of spreading good practices in the territory.

A well structured framework can be the first step to prepare a social budget. A conclusion budget to evaluate the effectiveness and efficiency of the activities, with a cost / benefit analysis made for strategic goals, but in addition an estimation balance, a tool to support the development decisions. Significant, in this sense, is the experience of the network *Mondi Locali del Trentino* that from 2010 has started the process for the redaction of the social budget both of singular ecomuseums and of the ecomuseums network in its entirety. For an effective support to planning and strategic choices, the meta-project can further push towards the development of a sensitivity analysis, that means the study of how the “optimal solution” - the project of the local system - varies with the variation of predetermined coefficients, such as the social costs of development, or the subjects involved. This further step would make community participation actual and substantial, and thereby facilitate the involvement of the private operator in the co-management of the cultural firm.

As it is structured, with the exception of some specific references to ecomuseal field, the meta-project can be applied to any process of local development which shares ecomuseums’ cultural principles (participation, enhancing of widespread cultural heritage, sustainable local development, integration with the social and economic system). Each development project may be divided into elementary actions, expected results and design alternatives. It is therefore possible, afterwards, to reconstruct the singular local actions promoted by the subjects, even using different operative tools (including the ecomuseum), in a strategic framework, and thus identifying the common elements, that are usually present but which are only occasionally systematized. The creation of synergies between actors, resources and projects allows to operate scale

economies and to proceed with singular interventions - that are more easily fundable and feasible - while maintaining a shared strategic vision. In this sense, the meta-project becomes a tool to assess whether or not to continue toward the development of an ecomuseum, or to identify more appropriate tools based on the characteristics of the local system (Riva, 2008).

Table 1

PHASE OF DEFINITION AND ESTABLISHMENT		
ACTIONS	EXPECTED RESULTS	ARTICULATIONS / DESIGN ALTERNATIVES
Territorial definition and characterization of the ecomuseum	Identification of the boundaries and identity elements	<i>Features of cultural, geographical and landscape homogeneity / Networks of established and to be implemented relationships / Verification of the presence of common goods with a fundamental value for the local community itself</i>
	Identification of territorial specialization	<i>Selection of themes which express local identity / Activating forms of participation to recognize cultural heritage</i>
	Identification of possible synergies with other initiatives in the area	<i>Mapping of initiatives aimed at improving cultural and local development / Verification of potential overlap and interference / Evaluation of possible unifications</i>
Definition of objectives and cultural project	Definition of mission and objectives	<i>Enhancement of community / Economic, touristic and cultural development / Scientific research / Consultations functional to the design of the project</i>
	Drafting a multi-year development plan	<i>Goals / Cultural activities, interventions, initiatives / Partnership / Financial plan / Sustainable economic activities / Goods, routes and itineraries to be enhanced / Training programs / Matching among programming tools / Human and financial resources / Methods of evaluation and monitoring</i>
Establishment	Verification of the procedure of establishment	<i>Formal establishment / Legal recognition / Other conditions of approval (agreement protocol, statute) / Scientific recognition</i>
	Identification of the manager	<i>Local authority / Agent involved in the management of protected areas / Non-profit cultural association / Foundation /</i>
	Choosing a name and a logo	
	Finding of a base	
Accreditation and scientific recognition	Preparation of a regulation document	
	Collaboration with local authorities, schools, universities, public and private entities	<i>Presence of agreements or arrangements already established or expected</i>
	Collaboration and cultural exchange	<i>Accreditation with structured networks of ecomuseums</i>
PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT		
ACTIONS	EXPECTED RESULTS	ARTICULATIONS / DESIGN ALTERNATIVES
Definition of the internal organizational structure	Identification of subjects and roles	<i>Project manager / Technical staff / Ecomuseum animators / Ecomuseum facilitators</i>
	Definition of decision-making procedures	<i>Participation of local community / "Users" committee / Scientific committee / Management committee / Advisory board</i>
Identification, monitoring and resource acquisition	Organizational resources	
	Human resources	
	Financial resources	<i>Public funding / Co-financing / Structural funds / European financial programs / Specific programs (Life, Culture, ...) / Private resources / Revenues generated by the ecomuseum</i>
Research	Identification of common goods	<i>Cataloguing, census and survey / Participation inventory / Collective inspection / Participatory exhibition</i>
	Reconstruction of social, economic, cultural and environmental changes of the territory	<i>Collaboration with universities and research centres / Parish maps</i>
	Collaborations	<i>Bank of knowledge / Partnership projects</i>
Conservation	Restoration of traditional living environments	<i>Reuse of buildings with social, fruition or touristic purposes / Implementation of accommodation supply / "Alberghi diffusi"</i>
	Transmission of the memory, and tangible and intangible culture	<i>Study of traditional building techniques / Restoration of ancient craft knowledge / Rediscovery of oral traditions / Creation of a memory bank</i>
	Landscape protection	
Enhancement	Interpretation of the landscape and cultural heritage	<i>Landscape interpretation / Identification of routes and itineraries / Creation of a network of interpretation centres / Installation of information signs / Implementation of self-guided paths / Organization of guided tours / Collections of objects / Theatrical representations of past events / Promotion of photography competitions / Organization of public festivals / Organization of temporary exhibitions / Creating educational programs for schools / Writing scientific and popular publications / Publication of historical novels</i>
	Production of goods and services	<i>Creation of new job opportunities / Sale of local products / Promotion of responsible tourism / Proposal for sport activities</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Training, information, communication	Didactics	<i>Activities with schools / Action-oriented learning / Lifelong learning / Agreements with universities, specialized institutes, research institutes</i>
	Updated staff	<i>Organizing specialized training courses</i>
	Communication plan	
Monitoring	Involvement verification	<i>Attendances control / Involvement of the ecomuseum in other initiatives</i>
	Self-evaluation	<i>Self-evaluation forms / Suitability of the structure</i>
	Definition of quality indicators	<i>Defining quality certification systems spontaneously abided</i>
PHASE OF INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION		
ACTIONS	EXPECTED RESULTS	ARTICULATIONS / DESIGN ALTERNATIVES
Definition of the local community	Identification of local actors	<i>Founders / Ecomuseum technical staff / Inhabitants / Local administration/ Institutions / Associations / Non-profit institutions / Firms / Socio-economic organizations /</i>
	Roles definitions	<i>Direction and design of programs / Programs approval / Monitoring and verification / Determination of strategic objectives / Training of local leadership / Enhancement of local peculiarities / Production of cultural services /</i>
Awareness campaign	Training of the local community	<i>Environmental protection / Landscape preservation / Cultural heritage protection</i>
	Information	<i>Definition of the general project and basic motivations / Verification of interest of potential users</i>
	Promotion of the debate	<i>Cultural exchange / Workshops ideas</i>
Involvement and promotion of permanent participatory activities	Creating a forum	
	Introduction of traditional and innovative participatory methodologies	<i>GOPP Goal Oriented Project Planning / Metaplan / Open Space Technology OST / EASW European Awareness Scenario Workshop / Appreciative Inquiry / PLA participatory Action Learning / Research-action /</i>
	Introduction of ecomuseum participatory methodologies	<i>Parish maps</i>
	Promotion of permanent participatory activities	<i>Forms of cooperation or permanent consultation / Conventions / Permanent round table / Delphi method</i>

4 THE MANTOVA CASE

This approach to local development management, focused on the detection of needs and on the provision of community services, guides the Provincia di Mantova, where Politecnico di Milano has one of its territorial venues, with some Bachelor and Master of Science programs in Architecture, and a PhD program in “Design and technologies for cultural heritage”, in which was developed the proposal for a meta-project of the ecomuseum.

In cultural and environmental terms, the mantuan province has a unique territory, with relevant historical connotation. Provincia di Mantova is spread over an area of 2.350 km² in the eastern tip of Lombardia, with over seventy municipalities and 400.000 inhabitants. This system is divided into many small local entities, at the social, institutional and productive level, and it is therefore an extremely fragmented territory. In this context, it is possible to find resources of great cultural value, such as Mantova and Sabbioneta, which joined the Unesco World Heritage List in 2008; a comprehensive system of protected areas such as the Po river and Mincio and Oglio river parks; a diffuse tangible heritage related to agriculture; a variety of landscapes generated by the river Po plain, north moraine hills directly connected to Garda lake, two rivers crossing the province from north to south, a central system focused on Gonzaga’s historical-artistic heritage; a social creative network that allows the matching of cultural heritage and small and medium-sized enterprises located in the area (VV.AA., 2006; Camera di Commercio Industria Artigianato e Agricoltura di Mantova, 2006; Censis, 2006).

At the geographical and socio-economic level, the structure of Provincia di Mantova is divided into sub-areas (the Area Morenica in the north, the Oltrepò in the south and the Gonzaga’s cities in the centre). Around these sub-areas, private and public sectors built “alliances” and consolidated their partnerships, implementing several projects to promote local development. Today, the complexity of the context led to overlap these sub-areas to a different level of relationships, that means networks of different subjects which operate for the local development in a delocalized and widespread way: trade associations, local tourism businesses, museum systems, ecomuseums (three of them are officially recognized by Regione Lombardia), landscape observatories, protected areas, cultural associations. These networks operates on parallel levels,

even with similar goals, but still with limited moments of integration and exchange. A double matrix where territorial polarities and an organized system of individuals are interwoven.

In this context the scientific collaboration of the University - with the Laboratory TEMA (Technology Environment and Management) - with authorities, local institutions and the production system (Provincia, municipalities, Camera di Commercio, trade associations, Unesco), has led since the early 2000 to the achievement of initiatives with the aim of promoting such contacts and integrating projects and subjects around the theme of cultural, environmental and landscape heritage, innovation and technology transfer and human capital formation. These experiences are characterized by the promotion of listening and the involvement of local stakeholders from the needs detecting phase to the elaboration of strategic visions (VV.AA., 2011).

The opportunity to start this successful collaboration occurred with the development of two different Plans of strategic territorial marketing - one for the nine municipalities of Area Morenica in 2004 (Schiaffonati et al., 2005) and one for twenty-three municipalities of Oltrepò in 2009 (Casoni et al., 2008). It was a new way of approaching the territorial project, systematizing environment, economy, society and culture. The result was a panel of strategic priorities and flagship projects (including an Area Morenica Ecomuseum), which have positively influenced the subsequent development actions, with projects that have been funded, allowing to experiment innovative forms of territorial planning. The project "Mantova Commercio & Città della Cultura" (Commerce and City of Culture) in 2009 is one example: it investigated the feasibility of making the historic centre of Mantova a "natural shopping centre", with a strong integration between trade and culture. Other examples are two cultural districts (ongoing) co-funded by Fondazione Cariplo, for Oltrepò and "Regge dei Gonzaga".

Contextually, the framework program of Area Morenica promotion, funded by Regione Lombardia and the Union of the Camere di Commercio, has been particularly significant. It ended in 2009 and aimed at produce the feasibility analysis to create an ecomuseum (Schiaffonati et al., 2009; Bolici et al., 2009). The feasibility study, positively welcomed by the Regione Lombardia, has been reached through a careful analysis of the area and stakeholders. Local identity and related resources have been identified through workshops open to the community, which allowed the listing of "projects", already existent initiatives, acting in a synergistic way; the "heritage" conceived as both cultural and environmental resources (artistic and historical, architectural, ethnology-anthropological, archaeological and landscape); "events" and therefore the intangible aspects of culture, in particular fairs, festivals, and events connected to education; the "hidden treasures", that is the less popular cultural assets. The further step was the organization of a design workshop, involving researchers and local stakeholders with the objective to develop fifteen "flagship projects". All information collected through workshops, field surveys, meetings, interviews, and initiatives promoted - for example the "Giornata del Paesaggio", an initiative launched by Local Worlds, with a program of walks in the countryside that have allowed to set up some flagship projects - have found a place in the meta-project grid, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of the proposal and the actions to be done in order to achieve the goals of the institution and the recognition of the ecomuseum. The choice made from socio-political conditions has subsequently led to the abandonment of the project, meant as the realization of the ecomuseum, but not of principles related to landscape and cultural heritage improvement and sustainable development. The use of the meta-project allowed to choose the most appropriate tool for achieving the goals, considering the conditions and the opportunities of the territory. It allows to override the route undertaken, with the possibility to converge and merge the actions aimed at establishing the ecomuseum with other programs of local and territorial development. The achievement was strengthened by the synergy among the level of territorial government of local authorities, the production level expressed by the branched system of SMEs and trade associations, and the level of enhancement of culture by means of ecomuseum and museum systems that work in a network in order to optimize resources and ensure the quality of the service to the community. It was thus possible, for example, to extend the experience of the "Giornata del paesaggio" throughout the province, with the direction of cultural districts and associations for local tourism promotion. The initiative represents a first step for the adhesion of the Provincia and all the municipalities to the European network of local and regional authorities for the implementation of the European Landscape Convention (ENELC), as indicated in the agreement signed in 2010 between the PhD program and the Provincia di Mantova, aimed at promoting integrated actions of research and experimentation. Among the actions in-

tended to promote cultural heritage, the territory and the landscape, the opportunity to coordinate all ecomuseums located in the Mantova area has been identified, with the aim of creating a network of “centres of excellence” for local participation. The twofold objective was to promote concrete initiatives to enhance the cultural capital and to spread smart technologies for land management. The goal is to bring occasional territorial capital enhancement experiences, which are often promoted by isolated ecomuseums or entities operating in Mantova, into a more organic framework of policies and structural land management measures. The Plan of tourism has been structured with these premises: an integrated tool built for the hosting policies, the enhancement of the landscape and the cultural heritage of the territory, the promotion of responsible and sustainable forms of tourism, respectful of local identities, in a chain logic and with a close collaboration with local manufacturers. A tourism that moves with new logics, with direct experiences in the territory, and that becomes a form of cultural exchange and dialogue. Ecomuseums can represent a strengths in order to built not-seasonal tourism and to articulate the supply and the demand of the territory.

The aim of these actions goes beyond the recognition of ecomuseum systems, or their coordination: the whole province should be coordinated by centres of excellence, whose target is to enhance local realities in the medium and long term, and to define common and integrated actions. The formation of a stable network of subjects and the development of a district management model for the complex territorial capital constitute the conditions for local growth (Riva, 2011), in a logic of “smart region” (Bolici & Mora, 2012). In this context the ecomuseum can be an element of synthesis and stimulus for the promotion of new cultural, social and economic values. In the “Mantova smart region” ecomuseums are not the only entities that are able to control the system, but they can certainly offer a significant contribution in the specific direction of raising awareness and of creating a “smart community” of individuals who take the responsibilities of land management, without leaving them to a political system that is ruled by outdated administrative logics, or relying exclusively on new technologies. An operating model certainly replicable and adaptable to other areas.

5 DEVELOPMENT PERSPECTIVES

The increasing level of complexity that the project must meet and the articulation of the system of needs, and therefore of requirements and performances, asks the local system for flexible, participatory, rapidly updateable and editable tools. These new paradigms have radically changed the relationship with the territory. The centralization of functions in rigid urban schemes is now completely outdated. It is necessary to work on spatial and not-spatial relationships between subjects and territorial resources, that should be implemented in order to improve local systems competitiveness. There are emerging systems that are organized around different polarities throughout the territory, which are closely related to each other (very similar to ecomuseum “antennas”), who constantly exchange data and information inside and outside the network. “Smart” systems where the culture and the human mind must maintain a supervisory role in the development process, even with the support of the most modern technologies.

The ecomuseum uses the same logic for the enhancement of the territorial capital, with the active participation of the community and providing innovative and creative keys of interpretations of the local system. Arguably, ecomuseums should be updated and strengthened, providing them with a solid structure in order to be perceived as a proper enhancing tool and at the same time they should not be forced it rigid models of development that restricts the dynamic of creativity. They should have an open and bottom-up structure, operating as cultural firms with a public purpose. Moreover, they should promote a socially responsible development process, communicating with local authorities in charge of territory management, stakeholders, the community, and external actors. A structure that expresses the voice of community and offers a tool for the interpretation of the regional system and of its data, continuously produced and exchanged. This is an area where ecomuseums can express their design skills in order to enhance identity resources. It is necessary to look to the future, not to the past, addressing the issue of the local cultural heritage renewal, using the capacity of managing the relationships between elements, the interaction with new technologies, and the empowerment towards sustainable forms of land use.

The meta-project can be a support tool in the management of the structure in a broader logic of synergy with the local system of governance, involving local businesses: the research for a wider participation becomes a guarantee of growth and development of the local community. Development that means introducing innovation in the local system obtaining appreciable results in different levels: the quality of the natural and built environment, the system of communications, the financial support, the strategies of promotion of human and cultural capital, civil and social infrastructuring (Fusco Girard et al., 2003).

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The development of ecomuseums in Spain. Between crisis and redefinition

X. Roigé

Universitat de Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain), Universidad del País Vasco (Euzkadi, Spain), Ecomuseu de les Valls d'Aneu (Catalonia, Spain)

I. Arrieta

Universitat de Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain), Universidad del País Vasco (Euzkadi, Spain), Ecomuseu de les Valls d'Aneu (Catalonia, Spain)

J. Abella

Universitat de Barcelona (Catalonia, Spain), Universidad del País Vasco (Euzkadi, Spain), Ecomuseu de les Valls d'Aneu (Catalonia, Spain)

ABSTRACT: This text¹ deals with the recent development of ecomuseums in Spain, analyzing their characteristics and process of renewal. We will deal with the conditions in which ecomuseums originated in Spain, presenting some of their key characteristics and the sociopolitical and museological context in which they have developed

1 INTRODUCTION

As in other countries, ecomuseums in Spain have widely differing characteristics and origins, ranging from those adhering to the tenets of the ecomuseology movement to those created more recently which use the concept as a label to draw attention their somewhat innovative character. In Spain there are currently around 40 museums which describe themselves as “ecomuseums”, although we could say that there are in total around 60 museums inspired by the ecomuseum concept in one way or another. A feature of the ecomuseums in Spain is the fact that they appeared considerably later than in neighboring countries, from the 80s onwards, and just at the time when other countries were bringing their museums up to date. For this reason Spanish ecomuseums have a wide range of characteristics, subject matter, and organizational models.

After looking at their principal characteristics and considering some examples, we will deal with the main challenges facing ecomuseums, which are being subjected to a process which we could describe as placing them between the twin pressures - hence the title of this article - of the economic crisis and the need to redefine themselves.

2 ECOMUSEUMS AND ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUMS IN SPAIN

To understand the current situation of ecomuseums and what they deal with, it is helpful to analyze how they developed and the conditions in which they originated. This development can be broken down into three broad periods.

The death of Franco in 1975 and the transition to democracy brought about a tremendous cultural outpouring and a renewal of interest in heritage at both a regional and a local level. One of the characteristic elements of this local identity-related discourse, and the reworking as folklore as a means of sociocultural stimulus, was the creation of local or county museums which harked back to tradition and local identity. The proliferation and refurbishment of these local museums was doubtless the most distinctive characteristic of museography in Spain in the early years of the transition to democracy, especially between 1975 and 1990. Although most of these institutions had limited resources, many of the initiatives were an important element of social aware-

ness-raising and museological renewal, and were in line with the theoretical underpinning of “the new museology”, which included owing their existence to local or cultural associations.

Two closely connected facts contributed to the expansion of these museums. On the one hand a new democratic political system was established in Spain which was based on decentralization and the division of the territory into autonomous communities. These autonomous regional governments had powers to manage and organize museums and cultural heritage, so the different regions fostered the creation of a large number of local museums as a rapid way of making their mark on their territory. At the same time, the old town councils from Franco’s time were replaced by new democratic town councils, which in many cases saw in these museums a way to shape their own local identity. In addition, the creation and organization of the autonomous regions was accompanied by a veritable explosion in processes of identity creation. Following the Franco dictatorship, under which the identity of the various regions had been denied, demands were made for local and regional identities to be recognized. All this contributed to the emergence of a large number of local museums, almost always created with limited resources and with a good deal of volunteer activity. But despite the strong influence of the new museology in the creation of these new museums, nobody referred to them as “ecomuseums” at the time.

At the end of the 1980s there was a significant change to the local museum scene in Spain. The large number of museological initiatives meant that many of them ended up being unviable, and even the most dynamic ones were neglected. This made it necessary to regulate museums, and also to limit their proliferation (Prats, 1997:112). The various autonomous regions – which had all the necessary powers over museum policy – regulated their own museum systems and committed themselves to creating regional museums (called National museums in the Basque Country and Catalonia), which would be the symbols of the new regional identity (Roigé & Arrieta, 2010). Local museums started to specialize, and looked for new ways of lending their projects greater originality and modernity, whilst a new generation of university-trained museologists suggested new territorial museum projects, looking to museums in other countries as their examples. It was within this context that at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s the first ecomuseums were developed, examples of which are those in the Ebro Delta and the Ecomuseu de les Valls d’Aneu, (both in Catalonia) the last composed of a number of satellite sites and created by a local association in the Catalan Pyrenees in 1994. Following these experiences, a variety of different ecomuseums were developed which were still close to the tenets of the new museology.

But it was at the end of the 90s and in the first decade of the new century that the greatest explosion of ecomuseums took place. Spain underwent a period of unprecedented economic development, which together with the support of European Union programs and subsidies, fostered the development of a large number of local initiatives. There was what could be described as a “museum boom”, with the construction of a large number of local museums, ecomuseums amongst them, created as symbols of modernity, and at the same time, as elements designed to foster internal tourism. Within this context, these new museums, unlike during the first two phases, weren’t always the result of local initiatives, but in many cases elements planned by public institutions with the aim of developing tourism. Often conceived with greater professionalism, frequently with good museographic approaches, these museums are based more on the idea of exhibitions than on the idea of a more social and participative museology. The search for new concepts has led to the use of new labels and new concepts, amongst which the notion of “ecomuseum” has been used in various projects with differing characteristics. The development of cultural tourism has generally been a priority.

The emergence of ecomuseums in Spain is, to a degree, part of a wider development of local and ethnological museums, and for this reason it is helpful to get an overview of this type of museum. A quick look at the situation of ethnological museums in Spain tells us that, whilst the development of state or regional ethnological museums is fairly weak, on the local level there are a great number of more or less well established projects, many of which are of great interest (Arrieta&Roigé&Fernández, 2008).

According to the 2010 Statistics of Museums and Museum Collections produced by the Ministry of Culture there were 256 museums on anthropological and ethnographic themes. Two contradictory figures demonstrate the nature of ethnological museums in Spain: on the one hand it is the type of museum with the greatest number of museums, whilst on the other hand it is the type which receives the fewest visitors (the average is 9,617). One has to stress also that the

public is particularly low when one takes into account that almost half of these museums have free entry (48%), and that amongst those which charge entry 66% charge less than 3 euros. In no case does the ticket cost more than 5 euros. On the local level the most visited in Spain are the following: the Museo do Mar de Vigo (Maritime) (25,000), the Museu de la Pesca de Palamós (Fishing) (24,936), the Muséu del Pueblu d'Asturies de Gijón (Ethnographic) (23,000), the Ecomuseu de les Valls d'Àneu (Ecomuseum) (22,018), the Museu dera Val d'Aran de Vielha (Ethnographic) (20,316) and the Museo Massó de Bueu (Maritime) (20,071).

As far as subject matter is concerned, one can define three types of ethnological museum. Firstly there are those one could call "traditional ethnographic" museums, conceived as representations of traditional society along the same lines mentioned earlier. There are a great many museums of this type. Called "museum of ethnology" or "ethnological museum" or "Popular arts and customs", simply "Municipal Museum" or something similar, the majority of these museums offer brief local experiences created to safeguard the collective memory, using agricultural tools and articles used in festivities and ceremonies. All these museums have a similar museographic approach. Secondly, we have those called "museums of synthesis" which give a historical account of a locality or county. In these museums the ethnological content plays a dominant role, but not to the exclusion of all else. Originating mainly during the 80s, this type of museum often has a strong connection to the territory and is much more a local institution designed to develop social awareness and economic activity than to care overly about museography or content. Lastly we have the specialist museum which deals with subjects as diverse as butchery, traditional games, transhumance, wine, oil, shoes, milk and cheese production, fishing, ceramics, shepherding, music, windmills, ironwork, arms, heraldry, drum festivals, and wind, amongst many other subjects. The characteristics of these museums are highly diverse, and run from simple collections of generally obsolete objects to innovative museums with original and up-to-date presentations. Finally we should point out those museums which have used new forms of museology, from ecomuseums which we will expand on below, to interpretation centers on a variety of subjects.

3 A "MAP" OF ECOMUSEUMS IN SPAIN

The term "ecomuseum", as Hugues de Varine-Bohan himself pointed out in 1985, lends itself to multiple interpretations. "It is difficult for me, who –almost by chance– invented it, to understand the fate of the word "ecomuseum". As to its content, despite the efforts of Georges Henri Rivière to give it form and meaning, it varies from one place to the other, from interpretation center to development tool, from museum-park to craft museum, to ethnological repository to center for industrial culture" (1985:185).

Although the exact definition of ecomuseums is difficult to pin down, there are currently 42 museums in Spain which give themselves this name. Although they have a wide range of different characteristics, many use this concept exclusively as a label, and there are more than a few cases of this title being used in ways which bear no relation to its accepted use. On the other hand there are other museums which do not call themselves "ecomuseums" but do in fact have the characteristics of a museology intimately bound to the community and territory, and so we could speak of some sixty museums inspired by the ecomuseology movement.

As one can see in the adjoining map, these ecomuseums are distributed throughout Spain, although the majority are located in Catalonia, Castile and Leon, and Andalusia. These three autonomous communities are home to half of the ecomuseums in existence. The vast majority of these are relatively recent, created at the end of the 90s and during the first years of the 21st century, and for this reason are younger than ecomuseums created in other countries. They originated well after the new museology and frequently bear more resemblance to cultural tourism projects.

What do these ecomuseums deal with and what are they like? At the risk of oversimplifying, one can define five broad types.

3.1 *Ecomuseums specializing in representing rural society.*

Although these ecomuseums no longer adhere to the romantic objectives of conserving “traditional” society and now use new approaches, they do generally take a nostalgic look at the rural past, as do many of the ethnological museums mentioned above.

In the classic model, the rooms contain spaces devoted to agricultural activity, with exhibitions of implements, reproductions of furniture and rooms of various types, craft workshops, collections of folk costumes and other folkloric elements. Conceived often as a nostalgic look back to the rural past, the purpose of creating these museums is to respond to the process of globalization and the fear of losing elements of rural culture.

One of the most frequent uses of these museums is the reconstruction of the traditional house, above all in areas such as the Basque country, Catalonia and the Pyrenees, where the farmhouse was the center of social life. To some extent these museums follow the open-air museum model, or ecomuseums such as Marqueze, but they are generally confined to just one house. There are no ecomuseums conceived as an open air park, nor indeed, with the exception of occasional activities, is there an explanatory museology with the presence of actors in the houses’ rooms.

These house reconstructions have developed from being clearly nostalgic and exclusively based on objects to being more like narratives in which a society’s way of life is explained using different technologies, as in the Ethnological Park in Montseny in Catalonia (where the function of each room is put into context using a sound system) or in the Caserio Museo Igartubeiti (Basque Country), in which an interpretation center with multimedia elements explains the way of life in the Basque farmhouse. In this last case, the definition is particularly explicit.

“The Igartubeiti Farmhouse Museum enables one to get closer to the history and development of Basque farmhouses and to the way of life of the people living in them. The visit offers us the chance to get to know the appearance, atmosphere, furniture, and tools in a farmhouse from this period, as well as seeing a working beam press from the 16th century. The interpretation center demonstrates the history, customs, characteristics and development of the Basque Farmhouse using the very latest exhibition resources.”

There are many other ecomuseums which demonstrate domestic life in houses, such as that in Somiedo in Asturias, consisting of three thatched houses which show the visitor “*what they were like when they were inhabited (up to the mid-80s).*”

We can also make mention of the Ecomuseum of the Bata Caves in Valencia (which offers a route through eight cave dwellings “which allow one to discover what the houses of our ancestors were like and the objects that they used”), and the Ecomuseum of Rural Habitat and Tradition in Sinarcas Valencia (“which reconstructs the habitat of a family who made this building its home and place of work. Here one can see original objects and furniture”).

The presentation of all these houses raises both a conceptual and a technical problem. Conceptual, because of the problems of representing rural society, with fundamental decisions concerning which historical moment to be reproduced and what content to be explained. Technical –or museographic– in that there are also dilemmas in having to decide if the object itself is to be given priority or not, and which procedures will provide the most effective explanation.

3.2 *Ecomuseums specializing in demonstrating industries.*

It is worth highlighting the emergence of ecomuseums specializing in industrial heritage. This type of heritage was not spoken of before the 1980s and there are three reasons for the rapid expansion of this type of museum. Firstly, there is the fact that with industrial change a large number of industries, workshops and crafts which gave economic identity to an area have become obsolete, which has not only left many areas in economic difficulty, which the industrial museums have tried to alleviate in a search for new sources of income, but also left them with problems related to their identity, which these museums have helped to pin down. Secondly, their uniqueness and attractiveness, for example the chance to see working machines or to go down mines with a helmet, have helped to attract visitors. And thirdly, industrial heritage is intrinsically much easier to understand than agricultural societies of the past.

There are, broadly, two types of ecomuseums specializing in industry. On the one hand we have the ecomuseums devoted to pre-industrial technology, with plentiful examples of old mills, textile workshops, sawmills, coal ovens or disused mines. The Montaña Coto Musel Mining

museum in Asturias is one example; another is the Ecomuseu de l'Oli i el Camp in Catalonia, which explains how oil is made, and a third is the Benahema Water Museum in Andalusia, which is devoted to explaining the ecology of water:

"Water Museum is a telling witness to the uses which man in these mountains has given to this element from prehistoric times through to the present day. During the visit there is a demonstration of the ecological importance of climate and the water cycle in the Sierra de Grazalema. Moreover, one can see reproductions of traditional buildings and the tools related to the world of oil and flourmills, of fulling houses for the treatment of wool on which the textile industry in Grazalema was based, along with bakeries and other trades which depended on the force of water in the past".

The Ecomuseu-Farina in Castelló d'Empúries (Catalonia) is an interesting project set up as a satellite of the Museu de la Ciència i la Tècnica de Catalunya, which aims to "study the territory, and the relations between the territory and the society living there, and to be a driving force in the community and its surroundings", and is thus in keeping with the original ideas of the ecomuseology movement. Opened in 1997, it has made a museum of the production area of a late 19th century flour factory, and it also aims to create an interpretation center, an educational kitchen garden, and to restore and provide walks along the "Rec del Moli" (the watercourse of the mill). Other examples are the Ecomuseo de la Sal (Basque Country) and the Ecomuseo del Molino de Zubieta (Navarra) which has three working windmills, two used to mill corn and one for wheat.

Secondly we have museums specializing in industrial production, such as mining museums or in industries which have been discontinued recently. Thus, the Ecomuseu del Valle de Samuño (Asturias) "*illustrates the history and identity of these places through the activity of coal mining*". In the same way, the Ecomuseum Mining Interpretation Centre in Aliaga, Aragon makes it possible to visit the inside of a coal-fired power plant and to understand how it operated. The advantage of these ecomuseums is that they give us the chance to gain a different view of past societies, a more comprehensive and diversified understanding of society, which bring us closer to the present day.

3.3 Ecomuseums specializing in natural heritage

Although the interrelation between culture and society is a basic component of the concept of ecomuseum, in some cases the concept refers first and foremost to explaining natural heritage, be it in interrelation with natural parks or as a presentation strategy for the natural environment in other areas.

Thus the Ecomuseu del Parc Natural del Delta de l'Ebre in Catalonia introduces us to "the human and natural values of the Ebro Delta" and is structured around circuits through spaces which reproduce the area's natural environments, such as the river, rice fields, riverbank and woodland, with explanations about activities such as fishing, river navigation, the construction of sequias and canals, and rice cultivation. There is also an aquarium. The Ecomuseo de los Pirineos in Jaca, Aragon is structured around four circuits which enable one to get to know the environment with the help of guides who live in the natural heritage area of the Aragon river valley.

The creation of ecomuseums by natural or national parks, typical of French ecomuseology, is also a phenomenon which has developed in Spain, especially during the last decade. An example is the Ecomuseu dels pastors de la vall d'Àssua in Llessui (Pallars Sobirà, Catalan Pyrenees), which was created, and is managed directly by the Parque Nacional d'Aigüestortes i estany de Sant Maurici, and the Ecomuseo dels Ports which is part of the Parque Natural dels Ports in Catalonia, which was created before the park was established but which in the end has become directly connected to the park in the current management structure. The majority of these ecomuseums have become spaces –in some cases with a very high quality of museography – for the presentation of the territory, some specific aspect of the territory, or of the park itself. Thus, they lose some of their direct connection with the local population, which is so central to the concept of ecomuseums.

3.4 *Satellite ecomuseums*

During the third phase in the development of ecomuseums there emerged a new type of museum called a satellite museum, of which there are various examples in Spain. These are museums made up of various facilities offering a range of different aspects of rural life and industry, as well as natural, historic and even archaeological heritage.

Thus, the Ecomuseu de Cap de Cavalleria in Menorca is a museum for visitors to the area. It is based in an exhibition hall in which there is an exhibition on natural and cultural heritage in the north of Menorca which uses various audiovisual systems, models, and exhibitions of archaeological materials reproduced from archaeological digs. The exhibition "Discover the North!" opened in 2005, gives a general view of the both natural and cultural elements of the landscape (lighthouse, tower built by the British, Roman town, Roman military camp, mosque, etc.) The museum has plans for research, chiefly archaeological, such as the excavation of a Roman necropolis and a prehistoric cave, as well as underwater surveys. For this it has an underwater archaeology school and offers visitors the chance to take part in these activities.

The Ecomuseu de les Valls d'Àneu in Catalonia is one of the most noteworthy satellite museums. Opened in 1994, it defines itself as

"A living entity which, on the basis of research into and conservation of our entire heritage as well as its dissemination and reinstatement, aims to participate in and influence economic and social development in the Aneu valleys and the rest of the Pallars region. The ecomuseum of the Aneu valleys takes as its starting point a new conception of museology and museography which the visitor can participate in and enter fully into the way of life in the Pallars at the beginning of the century."

The Ecomuseu has a total of 12 spaces and includes the reconstruction of a traditional rural house (Casa Gassia), various churches which demonstrate both religious ways of life and natural heritage, a sawmill, various archaeological remains and even some bunkers from the Spanish Civil War. It also stands out – in keeping with the ideas of economuseology – for its cheese production workshop, and its area to promote the crafts of the area. The museum is thus a good example of work with the local community. It is conceived as an element for local development and, although, logically, its facilities are designed for cultural tourism, there are also a series of activities meant for the community itself, and it is thus a leading cultural provider in these Pyrenean valleys.

Although all these museums aim to serve the community, many ecomuseums have developed somewhat set apart from the community which houses them, despite their excellent museography, which is often carried out by specialist companies. In some museums, on the other hand, the community element is the most important, more so than its museography or the elements which make up its exhibition. In Galicia, for example, the Rivadavia Ethnological Museum has become not only just another tourist attraction but also the place where all cultural and economic communities take shape. Another of the most important and outstanding examples is that in the Maestrazgo region in Aragon. The relationship between territory, heritage, and community is one of the keys to the work undertaken here. The Aragon Law for Cultural Parks has had the effect of causing everything planned in this territory and with this heritage to be for the (economic and social) benefit of the entire community. As this is not an area with much tourism the park became an important tool for the territory by opting for a more controlled and specialized tourism. Another example is the Ecomuseu Vernissa Viu in La Safor, Valencia, which is characterized more by its community action and social activities than for its museographic presentations or its visitor areas. It gives the museum a very direct role in standing up for the territory and defending the valley's environment and its culture against globalization.

4 THE CHALLENGES FACING ECOMUSEUMS IN SPAIN

In this third part we will tackle the role of ecomuseums today and their main challenges. How are they to renew their discourse and approach as a response to the changing needs of today's society? How can they reach new audiences? How should they explain change as it happens? How are they to adapt their structures to the socioeconomic changes and the economic crisis?

4.1 *New museums, old theories*

In Spain, as in all countries, the museum scene is changing profoundly, and will continue to do so in the years to come. All museums are facing important challenges with regard to their objectives, their functions, and their organizational models. Following Davallon, we can say that museums are facing three types of change. The first is organizational. This is a result of a change in scale and facilities, and this is noticeable in the renovation of museums, in their growth in surface area, in what they offer and in visitor numbers. This change has meant, as in all organizations undergoing change, a change in the organization of museums, which require greater professionalism, outsourcing, and increasingly complex management. The second change is political, as museums become increasingly subject to new rationalizing cultural policies. This has forced museums to think more and more about the visitor as a source of information in evaluating how well they operate, as well as to come up with new ways of exhibiting material and attracting visitors. This search for visitors has led many museums to get more involved in cultural tourism and to centre their objectives around it. At the same time, new tendencies in cultural policies lead museums to seek their own forms of finance and not to depend so much on public support. The third change is theoretical and comes from diversification in the way we understand heritage, which includes the heritagization of new elements and the constant updating of experiences of heritage. Davallon considers this third change to be deeper than the first two, as it is “situated at a social and symbolic level”, although the three changes have the same rationale implying a profound change in museums.

The problem facing many local museums, and ecomuseums in particular, is that these changes are being carried out very rapidly, whilst on a theoretical level the concepts being used are those formulated by the new museology movement in the 60s. But the museological renovation started over forty years ago and those concepts –which played such an important part in museological renovation – will themselves have to undergo a deep process of renovation. It is necessary in the current situation to seek new discourses which are appropriate to current reality and which make it possible to overcome the tensions which museums are experiencing between the desire to serve the local community and the economic exigencies which lead them increasingly to seek new audiences.

From this point of view, it is worth reconsidering the three basic concepts which characterized ecomuseums when they emerged (heritage/territory/local community). These concepts continue to be key, but developments in society mean that these notions no longer have the same meaning as when they were conceived in the 70s and 80s. We no longer think of heritage in the same way, nor is the notion of community the same, in a context in which identities are shaped in the context of a process of globalization. So, which elements of local heritage are most appropriate for heritagization or for inclusion in museums in order to best reflect current reality and diversity in the community? How is the idea of territory to be understood in the era of globalization and the construction of new identities? What audiences are we to work for within a context of changing and diversified local communities and in the context of museums often constructed to attract tourists?

As Oscar Navajas (2008) stated, ecomuseums are facing “excessive politicization in decision-making when they create social and cultural projects. There is little community involvement and cultural democracy. It is largely a question of the imposition of a political decision”, and this means that museum policies continue to derive from within the museum and are not a dialogue between inside and outside. This means that the revolutionary ideas of the New Museology “have lost their momentum by being sunk in a country based on the consumer society”.

4.2 *New societies, new subjects, new audiences*

Heritage, in its most commonly accepted sense, is a view of the past. How can we go beyond the outdated image of ethnological heritage and deal with new realities? Ecomuseums should cease to see themselves as offering a nostalgic look back at the past and instead consider themselves as an option for the future. Without altogether abandoning classic subjects, this includes incorporating those current-day subjects which, although they are part of the anthropological curriculum and research, have little exposure in exhibitions. Aspects such as immigration, cultural diversity, relationships between cultures, nationalisms, conflicts, changes in the family,

tourism, urban spaces and new ceremonies, to cite just a few examples, should be included in exhibitions, in museums situated in both rural and urban areas. The advantage of ethnological heritage, as against other forms of heritage, lies in being able to deal with contemporary subjects at the heart of social concerns. Obviously, these themes are often contentious and generate debate, but they will be essential for the continued growth of ethnological museums.

Ecomuseums must explain the past, but also the present. They must be places where memory can be preserved and knowledge transferred, and above all instruments of active policies for social cohesion and the integration of cultural diversity. Projects of this type – doubtless difficult – do not only mean renewing content (above all in temporary exhibitions) but they also act as a guarantee, or rather an antidote, against the tendency to mercantile tradition, against the reduction of cultural elements to elements for cultural tourism. Subjects which concern today's society should be explored in greater depth, subjects such as multiculturalism, gender inequality, issues of identity, religious conflicts, the great migratory movements, the origins of violence, etc. Insofar as this makes it possible to convince the authorities of the strongly political and social interest in these themes it will be possible to find resources to undertake investment in these museums.

But beyond strictly economic questions, as Jean-Yves Veillard (1985) has pointed out, the true ambiguity of the ecomuseum lies in the issue of whether it is a true re-appropriation of heritage by the population or rather the refuge of new classes resistant to socioeconomic change.

A further issue is the question of whether the local ethnological scene should be given a shake-up. One of the aspects that we pointed out earlier was the existence of a large number of, generally small, local museums, with limited resources and in many cases overlapping with one another. Within the context of the process of globalization it seems that people wish to have one foot in the global and the other in the local, and consequently the proliferation of local museums is a response to processes of local identity creation. Just as a village without a church seemed to be outside society in the past, now it seems that a municipality without a museum is cut off from the world. Local museums are much more than simple museums, as in many cases they are conceived of as cultural institutions to provide social and economic stimulus. But if they are to meet their objectives more effectively, the function of local museums needs to be rethought, with greater attention to their uniqueness, and a search for new solutions with regard to their objectives. Ecomuseums will need to seek new audiences, new subject matter, and new objectives.

4.3 *The need to work in networks.*

The small size of ecomuseums and their unique characteristics makes it necessary for them to undertake projects together, to work in networks, or in cooperation with one another. One good solution appears to be the creation, and necessary resourcing, of networks of museums ready to work together and to complement each other.

In Avila a rural development network called VAGEM (Valorización y Gestión de Ecomuseos) has been set up, whose commitment is to raise awareness of heritage and community, environment and sustainable development. This is a transnational initiative with European funding from the Interreg III-B Sudoe programme which has brought together four entities from three different countries: : Avila District Council (Valle Amblés), in Spain; ADRAT (Barroso ecomuseum) and CORANE (Montesinho Park), in Portugal, and the Marguerite ecomuseum, in the French Haute-Auvergne. Together, these territories have joined forces in order to boost the idea of the "ecomuseum" or "territorial museum" so that all the aspects a region which makes it unique can be shown to the visitor to their full potential. The Ecomuseum network aims to unite the efforts of the different territories to promote the wealth of heritage which make these regions unique.

The Ecomuseum network is an instrument to promote the different territories of which it is made up. These are regions which invite one to deepen one's knowledge of historical and cultural heritage. The best established is the Network of Ethnographic Museums of the Principality of Asturias, which was started in 2001 and which is made up of 14 museums, based out of the Museu du Pueblu d'Asturies, which coordinate the work in managing collections, dissemination, research and training. The majority are small local museums, either county or specialist museums, created by town councils, cultural associations or individuals. Staffing and finance for these museums is limited, and consequently their amalgamation makes it possible to share

services and experience with the aim of getting better results in conserving cultural heritage and offering a better service. There is a similar network in Galicia (created in 1993) which has its "*symbolic and spiritual home*" in the Museo do Pobo Galego.

In Catalonia a Network of Ethnological museums was created in 2008, a process which took many years to achieve and which was made up initially of 8 museums, some of which define themselves as ecomuseums and others which hold to the theses of the new museology. Although there are no other networks of ethnographic museums in other autonomous regions in Spain, there are general museum networks, for example in Castile La Mancha, Andalusia and Extremadura, and there are provincial networks of local museums, such as the Barcelona District Council Network of Local Museums.

Networks can be conceived as one of the strategic approaches in Spain for meeting the new economic context. The reduction in investment for each individual museum and the current widespread sensation of uncertainty is responsible for the initiation of important processes of restructuring and cooperation between museums. These processes range from sharing investments to reduce costs and setting up structures as a means of exerting pressure on public administration and political decision-making bodies, to creating joint products such as travelling exhibitions, or indeed sharing advertising and promotion costs, making it possible to reach new audiences and achieve greater presence and visibility.

Networks, beyond being more economically efficient, also entail important processes of reflection, participation, and discussion amongst the museums themselves, which in some cases are reconsidering traditional museological objectives and including new challenges, future perspectives and management approaches. The old ways, based almost exclusively on conserving and disseminating the museums' own collections, are being substituted by the setting of new objectives based on concepts such as local development or territorial action plans.

5 CONCLUSIONS. ECOMUSEUMS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ECONOMIC CRISIS

There are a number of question marks hanging over the future of ecomuseums in Spain, as a result of characteristics we have been discussing. These derive from certain weaknesses and problems which might jeopardize their future, but at the same time the museums also have great potential which makes it possible to contemplate the coming years with a certain optimism. What should be considered, however, is a certain change of direction in several aspects.

In the case of Spain, the crisis which the country is currently undergoing is having a profound effect on small local museums. During the 90s and much of the first decade of the new century there were numerous museums constructed and developed, but in the coming years public support will be extremely limited. As Hubert (1985:190,) pointed out, the impact of the economic crisis makes it possible to foresee that the museums have less to fear from that process of neglect/recovery undergone by society, than the transformations themselves. The new context in which we find ourselves will doubtless generate new management and organizational models which we may not be able to foresee, but which we might perhaps be able to guess at. The reduction in public investment will entail important changes in museums as we know them today. The lack of finance will make it necessary to rethink many of their objectives, functions, management strategies, and ways of presenting heritage.

The new situation may involve roughly the following scenario:

- 1) New systems of financing. Financing and the maintenance of ecomuseums will be increasingly dependent on the efficiency and sustainability of its management. The direct dependence on a particular administrative body responsible for all the financing, above all, local ones, will be more and more difficult, and thus if one is to define and attract new systems of finance, it will be necessary to create more agile, dynamic and cross-disciplinary structures. Less dependence on public structures will also put greater demands on management and above all necessitate a greater capacity for analysis and action using locally-generated resources. It will be essential to share staff and experts, to make the very most of investments, to share products, and create coherent and sustainable structures.
- 2) Analysis of the failure of tourism-based heritage. With the exception of some outstanding examples of heritage products capable of attracting large numbers of tourists, in general it has become clear that investment in cultural heritage exclusively as a tourist product 'per se'

(above all is it is not accompanied by a coherent action and maintenance plan) has not been a success. This new perception contrasts with the increasingly widespread idea that on the other hand, and in keeping with their original definition, ecomuseums can become real centres for community action and activities. This new approach may make it possible for the museums to be more accepted by the population and to justify maintaining the museum in times of crisis.

3) New ways of communicating. It seems that the large investments in permanent exhibitions to which we were accustomed may be replaced by much smaller investments shared between different facilities. This process may inspire a type of exhibition which is more agile, more mobile and less hermetic. A greater agility may generate renewed discourses, dialogues, and narratives on the part of the museum, and consequently a greater interest and involvement from different sectors of the local population.

4) New partnerships and agreements with other sectors. The economic crisis is affecting the majority of economic sectors and institutions linked to both the public and the private sector. This new situation doubtless implies certain moves to redefine partnerships between administrative bodies, structures and sectors, alliances which have been difficult up to now. The opportunity to receive dedicated, top-down resources for individual projects may tend to disappear in favor of new, more horizontal and collective systems of financing. This new situation will make it necessary to create new partnerships which up to now may have been difficult or unnecessary. These new approaches may generate, for example, new strategic relationships between the universities and ecomuseums, relationships which up to now have been rare. Or indeed, there may be relationships between ecomuseums and local economic sectors, such as the primary, craft, food, tourism sectors, etc... creating direct relations and links, in some cases without the involvement and pressure of local political power, which may lose weight, the capacity to finance, and influence in this process.

Beyond the direct economic and financing problems which this crisis may entail, and which may mean traumatic processes, with the closure of some of these museums, it may contribute – to lend a touch of optimism – to a new generation of ecomuseums, which are renewed, agile and efficient, in a both local context and further afield, more open to networking and less influenced by political interests, and in which their role as stimulators of processes of local development may be more objective and visible, and less theoretical and ideological.

At any rate, we have yet to see what the future will hold for this type of museum, but what appears evident is that the current crisis is increasing and making more evident the various tensions sensed in recent years in the ecomuseums in Spain. We will see tensions coming out, for example, in the balance struck between service to the community and tourist use, between the construction of local identities based in the past and current communities of a very different nature, contradictions between the local and the global, and the demotivation of professionals who often have to deal with limited resources.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ This text is part of the "Patrimonialization and redefinition of rurality. New uses of local heritage" CSO2011-29413 (Ministry of Science and Innovation, Spain)

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Museums System – a management tool and coordination in support of Community Museums and Ecomuseums

L. F. dos Santos

Secretaria de Estado de Cultura do Rio de Janeiro / Sistema Estadual de Museus, RJ, BRASIL.

ABSTRACT: Rio de Janeiro, capital of the country during the empire period, stands out in the Brazilian scene as cultural diversity state. The State Secretariat of Culture of Rio de Janeiro has in its chart Superintendence Areas divided by actuation. Thus, the participation of the Superintendence of Museums in the Rio de Janeiro Museums Setorial policies comprises the Museum as a key management tool to meet the Sector's desired needs. In January 2009, the System began operations from a series of guided technical visits to 92 cities in the state, identified several museum institutions, and evaluated their strengths and difficulties. Later, in March of that year, it was presented in the First Museum Forum, organized by the Superintendent/System, the draft Decree of Creation, and discussed the guidelines for the actions suggested by the System participants. Thus, technical visits and guidelines adopted guided the planning of the actions of the System. In the last two years, the Department of Public Safety initiated the Project Pacification Police Unit seeking to install Communitarian Police inside slums, as a way of dismantling the gangs that once controlled these urban territories. The System is approaching these communities in order to understand and support the legitimacy of its manifestations. Public Policies of inclusion and sustainability are being designed to, without interference in local and cultural identity, to collaborate in a technical way with the community agents in building their memory spaces. In summary, this study aims to show the trajectory of the System, some of the Community Museums and Ecomuseums in their peculiarities, and especially to share the actions that are being considered for the next years.

1 MUSEUMS SYSTEM: A BRIEF HISTORY

The Brazilian Museum System, established by Decree No. 5264 of November 5, 2004, aims to:

- create, strengthen and institutionalize Regional Museums Systems- the promotion of dialogue;
- the articulation of thematic networks of museums and related institutions. In recent years, several Brazilian states have implemented their respective State Systems for museums, with a view to the development of actions linked to the appreciation, preservation and management of cultural heritage.

The State Museums System aims to integrate a wide and diverse network of museums - public and private - so that together they join efforts for the development of actions linked to the appreciation, preservation and management of cultural heritage at the regional level. Currently, the museums, committed to the democratic and participatory management, should also be units of guard, research, interpretation, mapping, documentation and cultural preservation, communication and presentation of evidence of man and nature, with the goal of providing the expansion of identities build and critical awareness about the reality of Brazilian culture.

Established by Decree No. 42306, published on 02.23.2010, the State Museum System of the State of Rio de Janeiro – SIM-RJ began its process of creation in July 2008, however, their

work begins in January 2009 by a planned route of technical visits to ninety-two cities in the state of Rio de Janeiro, with the purpose of identification and recognition of museum institutions.

Technical Visits: The methodology used by the System Coordination was to initially make a sample of each of the eight Regions Political-Administrative of the State of Rio de Janeiroⁱ. The visits were scheduled with the manager of the area where culture was involved, and for all counties it was the Coordinator Museologist of the Systemⁱⁱ who toured and interviewed the cultural centers. We don't have Secretariats of Culture in all counties of the State of Rio de Janeiro. The most common is the Secretariat of Culture to be in the same Education, Tourism, Leisure, Development or other. Sometimes it is represented only by a Department. We have up to the present to date – July 2012 – twenty-six countiesⁱⁱⁱ with an exclusive Municipal Secretariat of Culture. During these visits, the State System of Museums presented the new structure of the State Secretariat of Culture organized by Superintendents of Areas, particularly the Office of Museums and its Museums System. It was important to talk of this new structure placing the State System Museums as a channel of direct communication from the municipal museum institutions with the Superintendence of Museums. The System declared the Statute of Museums^{iv}, the decree establishing the Brazilian Institute of Museums^v, the decree creating the State Museum System^{vi}, and its guidelines. Besides legislation, were made available through digital media, Technical Manuals for museums professionals produced by the Vitae Foundation and edited by the Publishing House of University of Sao Paulo - EDUSP.

It was fundamental to be in each city, to visit the institutions and also to get to know the type of professionals working in these institutions. It was found that in the State of Rio de Janeiro only the cities of Rio de Janeiro, Niterói, Duque de Caxias, São João de Meriti, Vassouras, Valença, Resende, Araruama, Petrópolis and Campos dos Goytacazes have a museologist at the institution. In the other cities institutions the predominance is of historians, teachers, librarians, educators, architects and many mid-level education professionals from various fields. These then are the interlocutors of the Museum System for the museum issues. Knowing them in their places of work was essential for the diagnosis of strengths and weaknesses of each of the institutions.

The fundamental questions that have been made to professionals working in museum institutions dealt with the origin of the collection, if it was documented and how this documentation was made available, what actions were taken for the preservation of the collection and the institution's building, if it had ongoing projects, and especially on the institution's budget proposal and its sustainability.

After this first sampling, we returned to the north^{vii} and northwest^{viii} regions that are most distant from the capital, to complete them, and then immediately continued the visits to the end of the planned route.

During these visits, we found that thirty-seven from the ninety-two cities in the state have no museum, nor any other representative institution of local memory. In these cities the technical visits had a specific goal: to understand the reason for the lack of a museum.

Lack of appropriate building? Lack of deployment project for the museum? Lack of financial resources only? Lack of political interest and/or lack of understanding about the importance of collections in their cities?

The technical visits were concluded on December 21, 2010, leaving the city of Rio de Janeiro for the year 2011. The Coordination of the State Museum System planned an action in partnership with the Municipal Secretariat of Culture of Rio de Janeiro, to optimize the visits having in mind that the city of Rio de Janeiro has a concentration of museums which reaches nearly 45% of total of three hundred and six institutions identified in the State of Rio de Janeiro. In the temporary impossibility of this partnership, the SIM-RJ began visiting the institutions of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Prioritized those who were in difficulties of all kinds: financial resources, personnel, location, having conceptual and technical difficulties, those who had not yet been formally identified by the National Register of Museums^{ix} and those under implementation and/or newly created.

During the First Rio de Janeiro's State Museums Forum on March 11, 2009^x, was presented the SIM-RJ creation protocol for public discussion, and taking advantage of the significant number of professionals present, were also discussed guidelines for the actions of the State Museum System. At that moment, the very beginning of the SIM-RJ activities, it was crucial to

know the public expectations in relation to the Museum System and its performance. In 2011 during the Second Rio de Janeiro's State Museums Forum^{xi}, the Museum System brought the results of two years of work outlining a museum perspective of the state of Rio de Janeiro. Certainly this diagnosis substantiated the action planning of the Superintendent of Museums.

1.1 *The Museum Overview: Who we are.*

It was identified in the State of Rio de Janeiro three hundred and six museum institutions. They are named Museum Institutions because they include Museums, Cultural Centers, Centers of Memory, Memorials, Houses of Culture, Research Institutes and Natural Parks. The highest concentration is still in the state capital, the city of Rio de Janeiro. But we found that the North-west Region is investing in new and old areas memories, reconceptualizing and consolidating its museum institution.

Another region that has been taking care of the local memory is the metropolitan area, except the city of Niteroi which already had important museums: Antonio Parreiras Museum, Museum of History and Arts of the State of Rio de Janeiro, both state administered, Solar do Jambeiro and MAC – Museum of Contemporary Art in Niteroi, both City Hall administered, the Museum of Archaeology in Itaipu, Federal administered, and others. Cities such as São João de Meriti, Nilópolis, Nova Iguaçu, Duque de Caxias, are investing in projects to implement museums, institutions of legal regulation and dissemination of their collections.

It was detected during these two years of technical visits the demand for technical training especially in the area of project design, museologic plan and collections conservation as areas most sought during discussions with managers and technicians. Only 9 cities have museologists^{xii}, we then begin to promote Technical Workshops, Workshops for the preparation of projects, and the Superintendence of Museums launched in 2010, two Notices^{xiii} to the area. It was the beginning of the state museums area development. In 2011 these actions were repeated and in 2012 it was innovated with the publishing of a Notice^{xiv} that contemplates the Institutional Development. Each year the institutions become more mature and begin to plan their actions with proposals for sustainability.

In 2008 the State of Rio de Janeiro through the State Department of Public Safety, creates the Pacification Police Unit Program (UPP – Unidade de Polícia Pacificadora), occupying the slums with the intention of ridding the community held hostage by drug dealers and militiamen. The UPP was first installed in the Dona Marta^{xv} slum in November 20, 2008.

Located in Botafogo, south zone of the city, and located next to the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, Santa Marta was the first community to receive the UPP. Until August 2012 there are 28 slums occupied by the UPPs being seven in the South Zone, fifteen in the Northern Zone, two in the Western Zone and four Downtown. The program was criticized for beginning the occupation by the city's richest area, the south zone. However, the explanation given by the government is that communities population in other areas of the city were much higher than those of the south zone and that would require a bigger task force and certainly most other strategies as well. The feeling in the city was of surprise with the success of the program. The slums long suppressed by the traffic began to experience a sense of freedom. It's in this scenario that many cultural manifestations, which already existed in those communities, come to be known and studied by many that see the opportunity of venturing into the communities.

Rocinha was already developing its Memory Project with the perspective of creating a museum that would represent the history of its people, with the richness of its existence, long before the UPP Program arrival, the Rocinha Sankofa Museum of Memory and History. The name Sankofa has a complex meaning, which says much about the proposal, from what the members of the movement understands that what the museum has to represent. It's a name with African origins, more precisely from Ivory Coast and Ghana, and it represents a bird with that has its head turned back and its feet facing forward. It's means that if you want to build a promising future, you have to look at your past.

According to Firmino, *the idea is not only important to the community, but also to the society of Rio de Janeiro. He says that it's not by neglecting the past that we will build our history. Firmino explains that official history already do that to us, neglects the Indian history and African history.*

"The proposal is to be space for contestation and to answer questions like, why Rocinha exists? How to contextualize with the past and point the present having people think about it?" – says Firmino.

The members of the Pro-Museum Movement are: Firmino, Ronaldo, Maria Helena, Fernando Hermiro, Cláudia from Instituto Reação, Rose e José Martins. The museum proposal activities began in 2005 and many documents were found and are being organized for publication.

"Who we are? We are a perennial group of slum's intellectuals and not seasonal slum's thinkers. What we do? We think from our gaze, the slum, our experience and our problems as residents, militants and acting people. For who? We think in us and for us. And for more 20% of Rio de Janeiro's population that sums 1,092,783 people that live in slums. We believe that different people must be treated differently.

The democracy is made of different. Like the State that defends its own interests, we must defend ours, this is the rules of the democratic game. We must leave the defensive stance of poor people and stop waiting for the care and protection of the State. We must accept the fact and hold it in our minds that we are citizens. We must mark our position as different; we are inserted in the formal city, so what? Like what?

We must propose and direct our proposal to the state. The state is large and has great concerns. It has neither competency nor ability to deal with problems from this specific sector that is the slums. Our mission is to propose to the state policies of our interest and necessity."

Fernando Hermiro – Rocinha resident, November 2011.

We begin to see that the desire to see themselves represented, how they want to be seen, is coming out strong in the slums of Rio de Janeiro. The Rocinha slum launches the Tea Museum, where residents meet and bring something personal from their home that represents part of their history. A significant collection is being made with the oral histories and research already done in this community. Initially recognized as the Culture Point, the community organizes itself to establish the museum.

Another interesting case is MUF – Museu de Favela (Slum Museum) – the museum occupies the hills of Pavão, Pavãozinho and Cantagalo, located in the most noble and valued area in the city, Copacabana and Ipanema. This community has dared to create this MUF in the format of an NGO, and their concept is of territory museum, where the entire slum is the collection. Territory, people, activities and knowledge made there are presented in guided tours. The inauguration tour was in 2008, slightly before the occupation by the UPP. It was a bold move to show that culture has its cross-cutting nature and that the local memory of this territory will not be oppressed.

The MUF has participated in Public Notices for Museums and has been contemplated in the Federal and State sphere. Its governance proposal is of self-management. The team consists of people from the community, who are enabling themselves, including the Workshops of the State System of Museums to conduct the management of the museum. The creation of services networks in the community is an essential tool for local promotion for that territory. The SIM-RJ has been closely following the development of this institution that every day surprises with its dynamics and ability to perform.

The *Museu Vivo de São Bento*, in the metropolitan area in the city of Duque de Caxias carries the stigma of being in the Lowlands, violent region of the State of Rio de Janeiro. The peculiarity of this museum is that it's based on the concern with education. Emerged from a group of history teachers, accustomed to the social struggle to obtain basic rights of citizens, who wanted to know and convey the history of the Lowlands. They joined in a task force of professional qualification understanding that they needed to be prepared to train others. Among them, those who didn't qualify to public universities had their studies funded by the group. They graduated Masters and PhDs in search of legitimacy of the transmission of this knowledge. Thus was born a network strengthened and conscientious of teachers of history that assume the mission of presenting to that local community, the history, the importance of knowledge and activities of that region. The lessons begin with paths wandering through history and were thus consolidating a community with critical knowledge to look at their region, their strengths and needs. The Museu Vivo de São Bento, a Route Ecomuseum develops programs from the Centre for Reference and Historical Heritage of the city of Duque de Caxias, such as: Community Educator Project, Imprints of City Project- Installation Revitalization Cores of places of Memory and History, permanent exhibition "Xerém: Seat Memory, History and Work" - 2007, Coffee with History, Re-

search Expedition of Neighborhoods / Communities. In 2011 the museum gained a head office that it shares with some union movements, believing that the museum, above all, is a space for the exercise of citizenship.

1.2 *A counter point: Museu da Roça (Countryside)*

The Feira da Roça was founded on February 10, 1985, when the city of Quatis was still a district of the city of Barra Mansa. It soon became a local and regional attraction, where the farmer offered their product, providing a simple and attractive leisure to the people from the city. This communitarian enterprise receives an area in 1988 to deploy its headquarters. In this moment comes the opportunity to reserve a space where would be possible to group a collection that rescued the memory of the Roça. Beyond the reserved space, the whole area of 15,048 m², being 1,166.45 m² constructed area (stalls of merchants / associates, gazebo, dance floor, animal nurseries, park toys) and free space 13,881.55 m² is part of the Museum.

The Community Museum in the urban area of Quatis, middle Paraíba region of the State of Rio de Janeiro is an important territory museum, whether for economic or leisure activities and the blending of knowledge and traditions, from the Feira da Roça is considered by Riotur the most authentic in the entire state. Works in the second and fourth Sundays of the month and has an impressive attendance of people from around the state, but has regular visitors from the region.

The Museum has undergone a process of reconceptualization and in 2010 reinaugurated its headquarters with an exhibition proposal, defining its mission and visual identity. In the same year was awarded by the Notice of Modernization of Museums of the State Secretariat of Culture of Rio de Janeiro, with the project for creating a Technical Reserve and implantation of an Educational Project Core. The association of Feira da Roça is supported by volunteer members of the Council for Culture and Heritage in the conduct of their projects. The Museum is developing year by year and we verified the potential of the institution in the presentation of projects, implementation and accountability presented. The City Hall of Quatis has shown interest in helping more effectively the Feira da Roça Museum, a unique example in the state of museum that tells the story of the countryside in an urban space.

The State System of Museums closes to these community institutions with the intent to guide them technically, to not permit interference in the way they want to be seen. It is essential that the Secretariat of Culture in its State Culture Plan and Sectorial Plan, in this case the Museums, look after these institutions in their particularities and specificities that need to be preserved and respected. We do not want to have an explosion of Community Museums "suggested" or created by outside institutions that may often be completely unprepared to say how museums should be in those areas. The role of the Department of Museums and specially the Museums System that act directly in the institutions is to serve as advice and support to the ideals of these communities. The Public Policies for the Museum Sector are being worked on so that the State Culture Plan is a tool capable of strengthening and to ensure the compliance with the proposal for the area.

ENDNOTES

ⁱ Political Administrative Regions of the State of Rio de Janeiro: Northwest Fluminense, Fluminense North, South-Central Fluminense, Serrana, Downloaded Coastal, Metropolitana, Middle Paraíba and Costa Verde.

ⁱⁱ Lucienne Figueiredo dos Santos, museologist, post-graduate degree in public administration from UERJ and specialization in Public Policy Management, drafted the creation of the SIM-RJ and since then coordinate their actions.

ⁱⁱⁱ Municipalities with Secretaries of Culture: Cabo Frio, Carapebus, Lamb, Eng ° Paulo de Frontin, Itaocara, slab Muriaé, Marica, Nilópolis, New York, New Freiburg, New Delhi, Parati, Portiuncula, Burnley, Resende, Rio de Janeiro, St. Fidelis, Tanguá, Teresópolis, Three Rivers, Volta Redonda. Total: 26

^{iv} Establishing the status of Museums: Law No. 11,904 of 14/01/2009

^v Creates the Brazilian Institute of Museums Law No. 11,906 of 20/01/2009

^{vi} Establishes the State Museum System of the State of Rio de Janeiro - Decree 42306 of 02/23/2010

- vii Northern Region comprises the municipalities: Macae, Conception Macabu, Carapebus, Quissamã, Goytacazes Fields, St. Fidelis, St. John's Bar, and San Francisco Cardoso Moreira de Itabapoana.
 - viii Northwest Region is comprised of municípios: Itaocara, Aperibé, Cambuci, St. Anthony of Padua, Miracema, San José de Uba, slab Muriaé, Itaperuna, Itabapoana of Bom Jesus, Nativity, and Scans Portiuncula-Sai.
 - ix The National Register of Museums is an instrument of the Brazilian Museum created with the aim of identifying and integrating the universe Brazilian museum. It was in this spirit that, since its launch in March 2006 to the present day, the activity of the National Museum has already mapped more than 3,000 museum institutions around the country.
- His strength and importance are related to the ability of wide dissemination of Brazilian museums census and character of their action. In the survey of institutions through print and digital media, partnerships with systems for museums and the Departments of Culture contact, data collection relied on work done by local research assistants trained.
- The National Register of Museums is an initiative of the former Department of Museums IPHAN, current Brazilian Institute of Museums - IBRAM in line with the actions set out in the National Museum. Its implementation and development are sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, in partnership with the Spanish government, through the Organization of Ibero-American States.
- x I Forum State Museums of the State of Rio de Janeiro made by the Secretary of State for Culture / State System of Museums in the 26th and March 27th, 2009 at the Palace Capanema in the municipality of Rio de Janeiro
 - xi Second Forum State Museums of the State of Rio de Janeiro made by the Secretary of State for Culture / State System of Museums in the days August 31 and September 1 at Teatro João Caetano - Tiradentes Square s / n ° - Downtown - City of Rio January.
 - xii Municipalities with museologists: Rio de Janeiro, Niterói, St. Johns Wood, Resende, Fields of Goytacazes Araruama, Petrópolis, Valencia and Broomsticks. 11,904 of 14/01/2009
 - xiii Notice of modernization and preservation centers and museums and Memory Streamlining Call Centers in Museums and Memory.
 - xiv Notice of Support for Development of museums and museum institutions that forecast presentation of the Institutional Development Plan for evaluation.
 - xv Favela Dona Marta, located in Botafogo, south of the city of Rio de Janeiro, near City Hall Municipal.

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The Tagus Estuary and there riversides: an ecomuseum complete system

F. Silva

University Lusíada of Lisbon, CITAD - Research Centre in Territory, Architecture and Design, PI ESTEJO, Portugal

R. Dias

University Lusíada of Lisbon, CITAD - Research Centre in Territory, Architecture and Design, PI ESTEJO, Portugal

ABSTRACT: Tagus Estuary is a nuclear territory of Lisbon Metropolitan Area and a strategic one. This territory is a complete system made by natural structures, transformed in time by human identities, since the first gatherer populations until the services and leisure facilities of nowadays. This Estuarine territory, beyond RNET, Natural Reserve of Tagus Estuary, has not been looked at as a territory by itself, but as a complement of a riverside that configures its limits; For that reason our research project has as its main purpose on the contribution to the development of an integrated way of understanding and to achieve a more complete knowledge about it. One of those identification researches show us that the dynamics promoted by the social and economic structures have their reflection in the physical organization and participates actively in this landscape construction, as a cultural identity one; in Alburrica physical structure, this turns to be a very clear fact, and future interventions should have this in mind. The interesting example of Alburrica is an industrial and morphological heritage in this estuarine system with this potentiality to reintegrated the daily live, not just for the local population but also involving the main system.

1 INTRODUCTION

Tagus Estuary is a nuclear territory of Lisbon Metropolitan Area and a strategic one. This territory is a complete system made by natural structures, transformed in time by human identities, since the first gatherer populations until the services and leisure facilities of nowadays. This Estuarine territory, beyond RNET, Natural Reserve of Tagus Estuary, has not been looked at as a territory by itself, but as a complement of a riverside that configures its limits; For that reason our research project has as its main purpose on the contribution to the development of an integrated way of understanding and to achieve a more complete knowledge about it. All the administrative and planning authorities have looked at this Estuary mainly from a local council's point of view, their programmatic development interests, even when supported by the concept of sustainability; most of the times are redundant and contradictory. With such a context, it becomes imperious to elaborate strategies and policies that can develop criteria for a sustainable planning, which must be an integrated one made with the understanding and collaboration of all "actors" related to the site area, mainly those who have their riverside in the Estuary.

Considering the Tagus Estuary together with its surroundings, as "(...) a huge human enterprise" (GORDON CULLEN, 1971:10), built as a water "city". In spite of the transposition, we make of a city to this particular territory, is a valid analytic methodology for our work, as it starts from the environment decomposition, dividing it into its components, a methodology capable of recognizing the relative value and the nature of each part separately.

The Investigation Project (IP), "The Tagus Estuary and its Riverside Areas: Strategies for its Sustainability", that runs for four years now, appears as a need of identification, in a integrated way, of the potentialities of this estuary as a central territory of a metropolitan area of Lisbon and of a all rural and urban structure that had grow and developed all around it, and had contributed for the construction of this landscape identity.

Despite the existence of very complete scientific information about this territory, in multiple aspects of disciplinary knowledge, either it is not available or is of very difficult access; therefore it does not allow an integrated knowledge only a partial one. In order to overcome this problem, a simple but systematic collection and presentation of this information is considered as fundamental to enable more conscious and sustainable actions towards the participation of all parts involved in building a common good. For that purpose, it is imperious to define sustainability criteria, as a contribution for future interventions to be made on this territory. In our opinion, one of the strategies to achieve these purposes must be, in first place, a complete identification of all public and private, administrative and planning authorities related to or involved with the site area to understand their scope of action, needs, possible interests to be involved and cooperate in the research project, is to say their availability to act as partners in the project. In second; develop a systematic and particular identification of all elements that composed this landscape as a natural and human one, methodologically by levels. For this we have planned a structure of Seminars of experts on the different areas related to these issues, with active collaboration of all involved parts so that we may profit from everyone's knowledge.

The Investigation Project has three stages, this need to create work phases is closely related to the complex nature and the huge area of the entity now studied.

Therefore, we have been developing this first phase of approach, the ATLAS, according to the main objectives, as a capable tool to show the potentialities of this territory as a gather one, using the sketch as a based tool for this investigation project capable to act as an analysis and communication instrument to the concrete space, in order to build "a file of visual words" (GORDON CULLEN, 1971:197).

This Atlas Work is one way to systematized those information, developing a Cartography of the area, (based on old and updated cartography), with the respective identification of uses and occupation, land owners and land registrations, legal personalities of the entities related to the site area, past and present approved plans for urban design, transport accessibilities to and over the estuary, maritime activities of all sorts, historical events related with the riverside occupation and water plane, administrative and political programs in the last fifteen years, etc. In duo to help this Atlas construction by levels the local micro-scale approach, methodologically in the project, is been developed simultaneously with local studies focus on the riversides along the estuarine boundaries, (with students' and councils collaboration). Our last action was in the riverside of Barreiro in Ponta do Mexilhoeiro - Alburrica. This approach made possible the recognition of a particular situation of an industrial heritage system that could be integrate in an eco-museum concept and integrate a road map of an estuarine local industrial heritage. This close-up view can identify the identity related with the human cultural scale, and recognize the potentiality of these human structures to participate on the sustainability of this natural Landscape Unit. Defending that the sustainability of a landscape or architectural structure heritage is just possible if it can be supported by itself and if it can be able to integrate the territory communities daily lives again; if this could be achieved, it becomes a real heritage, if not, it turns to be a no place.

The dynamics promoted by the social and economic structure have their reflection in the physical organization; in Alburrica physical structure, this turns to be a very clear fact, and future interventions should have this in mind. The interesting example of Alburrica is an industrial and morphological heritage in this estuarine system with this potentiality to reintegrated the daily live, not just for the local population but also involving the main system.

As an ex-libris in this territory; its morphological and humanized structure is the result of a combined interaction between nature and human skills on the socio-economic development, this interaction earns nowadays a vital sense and gives viability to the human community, in its own balance and wellness. In this landscape unit as a complex system, this odd place reinforces the idea that this identity diversity is the balance for the system sustainability, with its capacity of offering services beyond the usual range of leisure, but that remains a vital source of wealth in its biodiversity, energetic potential and acts as a climate controller. Alburrica combines in itself

a potential energy resource, on the legacy of wind mills heritage that still exists, and in its natural landscape structure, the inland beach, the fishing resource and the water sports haven. With a good accessibility facilities, both by sea and land and in the vicinity of one of the most populated urban centers, the belt estuary town of Barreiro, part of the dynamic arc of south coast which also includes Almada and Seixal.

Overall diversity of the territories bordering the Tagus estuary ALBURRICA is as natural formation and assembly landscape relief with in a socio-economic and cultural. Geographically it is placed in Ponta Northwest County Barreiro, limited to the north and west by the river Tagus Estuary and south by the river Coia. With significant occupation of 33 hectares degraded nowadays and disqualified by the obsolescence of the functional system scale that originally gave him life.

In a brief summary of its history occupation we find a initially saline zone, followed by the stage of the milling industry, responsible for all of the industrial heritage buildings in place, four tide mills and their boilers, windmills and the recreation farm of Braamcamp, placed in the center of this area and its construction this farm of which still comes from the time of discovery in a Portuguese family that reconstructs the mill, which was to have a medieval origin.

This farm is assumed as, so we see, like an aggregator and interrelation structure of the rural reality, agroindustrial reality and maritime one, with the urban reality dynamics, of Barreiro, the Capital-Lisbon and the Tagus Estuary.

In a promontory that enters the estuary of Coia where was one of the oldest river ports serving Lisbon, and other important estuary front of the boiler Seixal, drawn up with an inventive and scientific form of exploitation of tidal flows building mills and boilers, coupled with the exploitation of land with cereal crops, and fishing and shipbuilding.

It seems as part of a dynamic industry, that begun in Lower-Middle Ages to the Modern Age transition, as seen in neighboring Seixal, where the century. XIV, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, owned lands, Quinta da Trindade, and the tidal mill of Corroios that is contemporary wars with Castile and the start of the Avis dynasty.

The mill Braamcamp, which should have a similar origin, is subsequently rebuilt after the 1755 earthquake, and the aggregate assets of Crosses Sobral, Lords of Sobral, wealthy merchants Pombaline later Barons Sobral, by drawing up on marriage in Dutch Braamcamp, who later also enters by marriage to the family of Almeirim Braamcamp barons, and the English family Reynolds, who acquires the mill land the Braamcamp farm in Alburrica.

The Alburrica part of as hip building environment, with the medieval shipyards, and the Modern Era, a dynamic grinding units, and summer farms, where Barreiro and river Coia constituted the almost exclusive fluvial ports of the Crown and Nobility supporting the crossings of trips to Spain, hunts in Alentejo, the entourages cardinal, or entourages bridal, wedding actual or devotions and pilgrimages to shrines like Mrs Capespike of Muastone, or contiguous sanctuary of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, unique ground floor Lisbon fellow ship slaves of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, with maritime procession, campfires and bullfight, very busy with high point on August 15.

The importance of this sanctuary up mirrors and reinforces itself in its expansion by decree D. Maria I, will sisterhood and brotherhood of slaves of Nossa Senhora do Rosario, brotherhood widespread in several cities in Brazil, the Queen also offers a body 1515 tubes, which still exists, all this interest with Real certainly influence of Crosses Sobral of Braamcamp farm.

The Braamcamp farm structure among many others such as Quinta da Princesa; Quinta do Álamo; Quinta da Fidalga e Quinta Braamcamp, supports this relationship with this isotropic space and has built it, and should continue to build, this identity landscape.

With this cultural and historical value this heritage should be understood in a larger system of estuarine historical recreation farms as a potential to integrate a estuarine roadmaps and offer a magnificent place to promote this concept of estuarine Eco museum, contributing to a cultural preservation of this estuarine area and to develop a touristic net offer also.

As in the studies made on Benavente, Almada and Lisbon riversides, in Barreiro/Alburrica increasingly confirms the idea that moves this research project, which is aimed to promote a new way of looking upon this water and land territory, not just as an ecological area of unquestionable importance, but a cultural value laid up in time that represents the communities development established and raised on this territory.

Lisbon, with its metropolitan area and all the other surroundings had its support in it. Today this territory not only continues to be a resource of unquestionable value, social, cultural and economic, but is also a space whose identity melts and mixes with the people history molded in and contained in its physical body. A culture of knowledge and traditions (by most not recognized), constitute a touristic and cultural potential reality that justifies its own importance. So, the idea of an Eco-museum space based on a cultural issue and aimed towards a participatory local development based in the community participation, here is very relevant and at a first glance may constitute an important contribution in itself, safeguarding the cultural landscape value which this territorial space represents.

Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset: communicating the landscape concept in a biosphere reserve in Sweden

A. Telenius

Biodiversity Informatics, Swedish Museum of Natural History, Stockholm, Sweden

I.-B. Persson

Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset, Östa, Sweden

ABSTRACT: Ecological, Economical and Sociological factors provide the foundation to human habitation and utilization of natural resources, and the resulting landscape is the expression of man interacting with her environment. Common knowledge of the prevailing developmental processes is essential in order for every stakeholder to understand and to master to the extent possible sustainable usage of these utilities. Offering on-site and virtual information and activities illustrating and interactively demonstrating the forces that bring about landscape structures, Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset (www.gkh.se) will become an integral part of the Biosphere Reserve Nedre Dalälven River Landscape. Its contents are accumulated by a continuing process involving local inhabitants, determined and casual visitors, education centres (schools, universities), local and regional authorities, NGO representatives and private entrepreneurs.

1 CHANGING LANDSCAPES

During the latter half of the 20th century the term landscape became increasingly derided and eventually it was almost neglected by professionals except by art historians (Nørgaard Larsen & Bjørkhof, 2006), by cultural heritage conservationists (e.g. Berry & Brown 1995), and by historic human geographers (e.g. Rackham 1986; Muir, 2000; Clark *et al.*, 2004) in need of a term to scientifically dissect and – sometimes – discard. In recent years a redirected interpretation of its contents and inner meaning has brought along a reinvigorated landscape concept (Olwig 2005; Selman, 2006; Johnson, 2007; Philips, 2009; Thompson 2009; Sarlöv Herlin, 2012).

By the application of modern integrative thinking of pattern and process in regard to the progressive co-evolution of human resource usage and its preconditions, the need for a unifying concept arose. Several terms have been, and are still in use to describe the entire human setting (e.g. culture as opposed to nature, and more recently environment), but perhaps because it is generally considered as less emotive than some other terms used, the landscape concept seems to have (re-)gained interest by politicians and among the broader audience. The landscape is no longer ridiculed but may instead be considered as the epitome of a holistic view of causation, opportunities, explanation and prediction of human resource use: something most valuable to communicate.

Human resource utilization has always rested on density dependent movement and habitation opportunities. The more people at a site, the more profound the local effect, frequently negatively affecting 'the wild' but usually with positive consequences to people (community building, commerce and inventions). The environment took shape – deliberately or not - according to man's needs and wishes (Mels, 1999; Emanuelsson, 2009; Pryor, 2010). Previously, consecutive waves of human population expansion have followed as long as new ground could be colonized and brought into production of goods and other commodities. Gradually almost any habit-

able tract has been turned into cultural landscape whether rural or urban. However, in many societies the strong and rapid urbanization tendency of the past century has led to rural districts with few people left to manage the land by traditional methods, and the majority of those that benefit from the produce of vast areas showing no or minor relation to the productive landscape except as a place for wilderness experiences.

The ecological footprints of cities continue to grow, sometimes alongside increasing local environmental engagement but all too frequently in combination with decreasing immediate knowledge of the forces that create and maintain the socio-ecosystem. Although landscapes generally consist of resilient structures that carry along traces of previous activities for long periods of time they may change in appearance and function quickly enough during one or two human generations for their understanding to fade considerably (Fairclough, 2003). In this presentation we wish to exemplify how sustainable and unsustainable development practices may be effectively demonstrated by reference to a series of interlinked concepts, initiatives and tools pertinent to the development of one actual cultural landscape in central Sweden.

2 USEFUL CONCEPTS

2.1 *Bringing ecology and economy together: Ecosystem Services*

A series of concepts and tools have been developed to handle different aspects of the same problem: that of analyzing and explaining the consequences of resource utilization. Firstly, the survival of man (as of any organism) hinges on the functioning of values that (at least initially) appear to be free of charge. Of course, in fact there is always a cost to an action (Commoner, 1971) and we now need to think twice about the import of the phrase 'sustainable growth' (Jackson, 2009). The popularization of the ecosystem services concept following the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (<http://millenniumassessment.org/en/index.aspx>) helps explaining this to a great variety of stakeholders.

By definition an extremely complex and debatable concept, the ecosystem was early in the history of scientific ecology viewed as a provider of services. Self-perpetuating evolutionary arenas, ecosystems offer commodities produced and used by their constituent organisms to maintain themselves, thus as a consequence they also contribute to gradual or sudden changes in the functioning of the systems. Like any organism humankind has always benefitted from i) provisioning services (food, water, energy), ii) regulating services (waste decomposition, climate regulation), iii) supporting services (nutrient cycling, primary production), and iv) cultural services (intellectual and spiritual inspiration, recreational values). Even the invention of the word landscape indicates our inclination to re-shape our surroundings according to their possibility to suit our purpose. Still, whether the landscape where we dwell ought rather to be considered as deliberately produced (and functioning the way we want it to do), or as the rest-product of our activities constituting the baseline for present and future actions remains an unresolved issue (Frisén & Ihse, 2000; Fairclough & Sarlöv Herlin, 2005; Sarlöv Herlin, 2012). Notwithstanding, using a defined set of ecosystem services to serve as a tool for efficient communication of the idea that to live sustainably we must adopt ecological-economical thinking is probably one of the most powerful means we may use to understand the landscape historically. In Sweden the Ecosystem Services concept is expected to be "known and integrated" in planning matters at all official levels by 2018.

2.2 *The Grand Plan Perspective: Green infrastructure*

Next, by the recent introduction and forthcoming implementation of Green Infrastructure planning, another step is taken to integrate and acknowledge sustainability thinking into societal planning (Selman, 2006; 2008; 2009; Tzoulas *et al.*, 2007; Landscape Institute 2009). At different levels of resolution map views of the landscape clearly illustrate physical infrastructural properties: forested areas, open fields, lakes and streams, cities, towns, villages, houses, major/minor roads, railroads etc. can be seen and interpreted. Green, blue, and grey infrastructures may also be identified, *i. e.* the relative occurrence of biologically more or less suitable habitats

(green=terrestrial organisms, blue= aquatic organisms and so on...) but in more general terms by Green Infrastructure sometimes the existence and functioning of landscape structures and usage that conveys long-term subsistence of habitats, species and ecosystems providing essential ecosystem services are also understood.

In Europe the EC has proclaimed that by 2020 a strategy to implement the latter kind of Green Infrastructure must be in place. Hence national initiatives are built to produce legislation and to create structures that may enforce the integration of 'Green thinking' in planning procedures. In 2010 the Swedish Environmental Protection Agency was ordered by the Swedish government to present a plan to be able to be fully operational in this sense in 2015. As parts of this process later this year (2012) a GIS-based landscape analysis of the whole of Sweden must be presented alongside an analysis of what instruments shall be prioritized in order to reach the expected goal. To considerable extent this is a pedagogical issue, and considering the short time given a tremendous educational effort must be endorsed in order to make different institutions take part in such a commitment.

2.3 *Rejuvenating the landscape concept: The European Landscape Convention*

By the adoption of the European Landscape Convention (http://coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/heritage/Landscape/default_en.asp) the wider perspective of landscape understanding helps raising awareness of long-term consequences of actions taken to utilize and treat natural and social resources, to planning authorities and to the general public (Philips 2009). An overarching European interest to seriously consider the combined aspects of the landscape in regard to protection, management and land use planning was for the first time explicitly expressed with the adoption by the Council of Europe in 2000, coming into force by 2004, of the European Landscape Convention (the Florence Convention). By 2012 most European countries have signed and ratified the convention, expecting to strengthen the fiscal significance of the landscape, to support local and regional commitment to processes and decisions made, and to expound a holistic approach to landscape value interpretation by voluntary means. The European Landscape Convention is obviously an instrument in itself (although by nature not a law), but perhaps more importantly it signifies a change in attitude towards increased awareness that nothing in the relationship between nature and culture must be viewed independently, and that sustainable development can only come about by collaboration and serious local engagement (Sarlöv Herlin, 2012).

3 IMPLEMENTATION TOOLS

3.1.1 *Overview*

Activities abound from the local citizen's horizon to that of governing authorities' perspective in making the notion obvious of the consequences of our actions and of our common landscape related obligations. Proclaiming World Heritage Sites help protecting and preserving valuable objects, places, and areas, Ecomuseums exhibit and explain social and technological process evolution in regional or contextual perspective, and Biosphere Reserves bring in a spatial framework for natural preservation tools, sustainable usage methods and socio-economic explanations and legislation. A number of database infrastructures, *e. g.* GBIF (Global Biodiversity Information Facility), Europeana, LTER (Long-Term Ecological Research)/LTSER (Long-Term Ecological and Socioeconomic Research) and analysis platforms (LifeWatch) in open source networks provide information from which to analyze previous development and forecast the future based on a great number of observations of all kinds.

Slightly different by their professional origin these tools all converge into aspects of the landscape that surround us, and that we all contribute to. They add bridging capacity to locals, to regional and central bureaucrats by strategically interlinking different stakeholders in learning processes. By becoming established as test sites for new or re-invented methods of reaching long-term sustainability, by incorporating sound holistic landscape thinking along the lines described above and by exposing this combination to the public these initiatives may offer the tools we need to as best combine conservation and sustainable development. Taken together

these concepts represent a considerable capacity to mitigate deterioration of the biosphere (local to continental) by communicating efficiently their different but converging aims.

3.2 *Acknowledging landscape constituents: World Heritage Sites*

The idea of creating an international movement for protecting cultural heritage emerged after World War I. By then the National Parks movement for protecting natural sites of outstanding beauty and significance was established and growing, and the two initiatives developed more or less in isolation from one another for many years. In 1965 A World Heritage Trust was called for to protect “the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic sites for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry”, in 1968 the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) developed similar proposals for its members and in 1972 by the adoption of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the innate congruency of nature and culture protection was recognized (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/conventiontext/>). Ever since, the World Heritage Centre has attended to natural, cultural and cross-cutting heritage sites in order to safeguard properties in danger, to participate in long term conservation, management planning, technical assistance, professional training, public and youth education, and awareness-building. As of March 2012, 189 State Parties have ratified the World Heritage Convention and 725 cultural, 183 natural and 28 mixed properties exist.

3.3 *A chain of committed presentation sites: Ecomuseums*

The Ecomuseum concept originated in the early 1970's. The ambition was to create a medium by which to preserve, interpret and manage locally distinctive cultural heritage characteristics, not landscapes (Gjestrum & Maure (eds.), 1988; Davis, 1996; 2011; de Varine, 1196a, b, 2006). Based on a community agreement the underlying ambition is to contribute to responsible and reflective sustainable development of the human society. The word Ecomuseum implies a strong link to the traditional type of museum based on collections of artifacts and specimens, but by adding 'eco' to 'museum' the founders of this initially social environmentalist movement wanted to emphasize the advantage of bringing visitors to the sites of interest *in situ* rather than to fetch objects and put them in a constructed explanatory context. General involvement, shared responsibilities, and interchangeable roles between public officers, representatives, volunteers and other local actors all play vital roles in an Ecomuseum. Each recognized Ecomuseum exists according to its own interpretation of the underlying philosophy in designing actions to change society for improved landscape management. Focusing primarily on expressions of cultural heritage, the conditions by which society has evolved are touched upon merely as preconditions and not necessarily as explicitly integrative parts in the process. Today the number of Ecomuseums has passed the 300-mark, two thirds of which are found in Europe but the Ecomuseum movement is global in scope.

3.4 *Analytical tools: ILTER / LTER / LTSE; GBIF; Europeana; LifeWatch*

Information regarding the biological diversity, ecological parameters, and economical and sociological facets of different landscapes come from an array of sources. During the past decade a number of open source initiatives have started and grown, and easy access to such data and analytical tools are crucial to the development of ecosystem services discussions, and to green infrastructure implementation at all levels. ILTER (International Ecological Long-Term Research: <http://ilternet.edu/>) represents a network of networks of sites based on long-term, site-based monitoring and research located in a wide range of ecosystems worldwide. Data provided through national or regional LTER (Long-Term Ecological Research) or LTSE (Long-Term Ecological and Socioeconomic Research (see review in <http://ecologyandsociety.org/vol11/iss2/art13/>) organizations can help understand environmental change across the globe. Together they are responsible for creating and maintaining a large number of unique long-term datasets. GBIF (the Global Biodiversity Information Facility; <http://gbif.org/>) coordinates a vast number of natural history museum collection, and observational datasets from all over the world presenting biodiversity information and analytical tools.

Europeana (<http://europeana.eu/portal/>) is a single-access point to information from European cultural and scientific institutions, a platform for knowledge exchange for heritage institutions, for professionals and for policy-makers and funders in the heritage sector. Finally LifeWatch is a European initiative for the creation of virtual laboratories where modeling of various types of data as described above may take place in order to understand environmental change across the globe (<http://lifewatch.eu/>).

3.5 *A fully integrated approach? The MAB-programme*

In fact aiming at sustainable development by the unity of natural and social science research (although the term was not officially in use at the time), the interdisciplinary and intergovernmental scientific Man and the Biosphere Programme of UNESCO was initiated already in 1972. It was launched shortly thereafter, focusing on minimizing biodiversity loss by combining ecological, social and economical dimensions of societal development. Based upon local engagement a series of Biosphere Reserves were established - presently more than 580 sites exist - and arranged in a global network (World Network of Biosphere Reserves, WNBR; http://biosfaromrade.org/mab2009/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=46&Itemid=78). Each BR is ideally expected to be geographically arranged in concentric areas of least to most profound human intervention thus reflecting increasing human contribution to the shape of the landscape. Research within the MAB-programme is directed here, and the BR:s themselves thus become conveyors of surveillance measures, best practices, education and increased competence driven by local initiatives.

4 THE STAGE

4.1 *Biosphere Reserve Nedre Dalälven River Landscape*

One of the country's largest watersheds River Dalälven characterizes the natural landscape of a considerable part of central Sweden. The topography of the river varies considerably along the final 170 km before it reaches the Baltic Sea; i.e. the part that constitutes the Biosphere Reserve Nedre Dalälven River Landscape (http://www.nedredalalven.se/nedredalalven/filerdalalven/biosfaransokan_engelsk.pdf). In upstream areas the meandering riverbed is mostly narrow but sometimes its banks extend into fertile sections with deep alluvial deposits. Next, as the water passes a flat area of sub-glacial origin (sediment deposited beneath the surface of the ancient Baltic Sea) with several eroded boulder ridges running perpendicular to the flowing water, the river widens producing shallow lagoons covered in their inner parts by extensive wet meadows. Lastly, a series of rocky thresholds create rapids and even waterfalls before the river ends in a delta next to the sea.

The earliest settlers were hunters and fishermen inhabiting the shores of a prehistoric bay, but shortly thereafter permanent farming was initiated – mostly based on breeding cattle by hay-making in the wet meadows. Thanks to twice-a-year recurrent flooding events those meadows were continuously nutrient-enriched, and considering the latitude an unusually wealthy cultural landscape soon developed. The lower reaches of River Dalälven are also part of the extensive mining and processing industry in central Sweden (iron, copper, silver), hence early on transportation along the river became a significant part in community building. Later industrial logging and afforestation programmes were introduced alongside the emerging hydroelectric power industry of the early 20th century. Over the past three millennia a mixed society developed, consisting of farmland and small and large population centres based on industry and trading.

The landscape of River Dalälven Biosphere Reserve offers plenty of opportunities to expose situations of cause and effect in the relationship between man and nature. The river that already by the beginning of the colonization of its banks provided considerable riches to its user community and tied people together culturally still contributes to the well-being of the population of Sweden but to a wider group of people with less affinity to the area as such. Farming is no longer economically defendable except by the merger of small units in the most favourable sites. Attempts to revive haymaking have been made, but for the production of bioenergy fuel. The re-

gional biodiversity is extremely high by comparison. Remnants of almost pristine forests still exist in remote areas but the majority of forested areas are intensively managed and logged. Some decisive future problems concern the aging population, the low level of education among inhabitants, and the fairly high degree of unemployment making those determined to live in the area depend upon innovative and mixed sources of income. The process of gaining official acclamation to the area as a Biosphere Reserve started as a private initiative organized initially by a group of people interested in outdoor pedagogy, but soon the already existing regional organization for commercial development (NeDa) was approached and a host of private and official stakeholders could be effectively reached. Today four county administrative offices, nine municipalities, private entrepreneurs, small and large companies and representatives from several NGO:s (one of which is Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset) cooperate focusing on sustainable development issues in the region.

4.2 *Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset*

Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset is not part of the Ecomuseum organization by formal standards but considering its combination of in-house and outdoor activities extending over a considerable area in the Lower Dalälven River Landscape it acts much in the same tradition both ideologically and practically. Some Biosphere Reserves have organized physical gateways or visitor's centres but Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset will not aspire to become the official entry to the newly inaugurated Biosphere Reserve. Instead it might humbly be regarded as one out of a large number of different projects and sub-projects in the region run by individuals, NGO:s or private entrepreneurs, that together with a theoretical framework of promoting sustainable development by reference to spatially differentiated levels of human intervention constitutes the Biosphere Reserve. One way or the other these projects – mostly coordinating activities through a loose network of enthusiasts with particular interests in the setting of sustainable development – all focus on issues that are inherently linked to landscape development. By closing the gap between the nearby Ecomuseum Bergslagen (located to the Southwest of BR Lower Dalälven River Landscape) and activities such as Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset a lot could be earned in terms of outreach and transfer of knowledge of landscaping processes.

Thus in Biosphere Reserve River Dalälven Landscape no single point of entry is desired. Instead this quite large area (309 000 hectares) with its mixture of heavily industrialized sites, farmland, forests and completely unspoilt stretches of the river bed, is better served by several different methods of approaching visitors and interested (specifically marked places of particular interest, National Park entrances [‘Naturum’ and signposts scattered throughout the park], and a large number of mobile, trained and individually assigned ‘Biosphere Ambassadors’ etc.). Still, Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset might be worthy of attention as a single example of the process where individual and local initiatives converge with the emerging national and international recognition of the link between landscape development and sustainable – unsustainable natural resource use.

In spite of being a very low-budget project with only part-time working enthusiasts employed, in practice Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset boasts a series of amenities and there are more to come. During the past ten years it has grown from being merely an idea into a physical property and a virtual commodity based on the ambition to explain by demonstrating examples in very basic fashion how man and nature have interacted converting the surrounding landscape ever since the arrival of the earliest colonizers in the region. The long-term sustenance of activity is looked after by linking also to official authorities.

Alongside a number of in-house sub-activities (www.gkh.se) organized in nearby areas and guided tour services further away, some visitor's centre facilities are on offer in a re-built barn with a thematic exhibition hall, an art gallery, a laboratory and practical arrangements for visitors to the area on offer. Bookings of guides and accommodation, transportation by water and on land, hiring of outdoor equipment, local products mediation etc. is also possible using staff services. Among local initiatives it represents the prime point of contact with the centralized Biosphere Reserve administration (and thus with other Biosphere Reserves in Sweden and elsewhere), it hosts an informal group of representatives from commercial interests, local, regional and national authorities and an attached network of scientists from major Swedish Universities. Groups of school children and university students and researchers regularly visit Biosfärum

Gröna kunskapshuset. Examples of what is shown and explained are human habitation and community development, consequences of different types of farming and forestry, damming and water rights employment, mineral extraction and processing, visitor's industry and tourism.

5 CONCLUSION

Communicating landscapes involves integrated temporal and spatial aspects of a great number of views, opinions and facts. By adopting the sustainability perspective of the Man and the Biosphere Programme, apart from fulfilling the objective of promoting development in a considerate and useful way a comprehensive understanding of landscape development is closer at hand than when discussing each facet by itself or in combination with just a few others. Of course on the flip-side of the coin one finds increasing complexity – not the least due to a certain amount of stochasticity in people's expectations and doings. Still, the natural background has always played the major role in the earnings of man, and patterns of natural-cultural coincidences are seldom altogether haphazard in origin. By applying natural and cultural layers atop of one another like in a GIS-model the developing landscape may be portrayed and predicted back and forth. In the future work at Biosfärum Gröna kunskapshuset we would like to try and quantify categories, then integrate levels and finally program and produce a pedagogical tool that might illustrate and explain the causes and the consequences in the appearance and functioning of a riverine landscape at the border between nemoral and boreal vegetation, facing waves of migration of man, and domesticated by her ingenuity in utilizing its offerings.

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Which future for ecomuseums?

H. de Varine

G. Filipe

1 INTRODUCTION

Ecomuseums stemmed out of the museum freedom and innovation movement (the so-called New Museology) of the 1960's and 1970's. Their emergence came about due to local initiatives and in local contexts, without any great formal rules and dialogue between project organisers.

The Ecomuseum concept, because of its origins, remains very institutionally fragile. The concept incorporates a diversity of options over aspects as diverse as its organization, its financing, its relations with the world of traditional museums and with local administrations and governments. Thus, this still represents an opportunity for experimentation and innovation in the museum and heritage fields.

Studying and analysing the theory and practice of past and present ecomuseums may certainly prove necessary and worthwhile, but it is above all necessary to foresee how this movement could and should continue and develop in the years to come. In fact, not only in Europe but also other parts of the world (for example, Japan), the curtailment of public funding, whether local, regional or national, combines with administrative and professional efforts to control and standardize utilisation of the word "museum", even under its "ecomuseum" form.

We must also prepare ourselves for a more distant future, taking the next 20 or even 50 years as our timeframe. Over such periods, the ecomuseum concept will either become integrated into normal museum standards through the transformation of its heritage into a collection, or continue in pursuing its innovation process and accompanying changes in society and the extension of the living heritage concept to include creation and transformation, or even extending its name to many local (mostly anthropological and historical) museums known as "de société" in France.

We may also question the appropriateness of the word "ecomuseum", as it covers so many and so varied realities and without necessarily automatically confirming the presence and interaction of the three pillars – territory, community, heritage – which, by consensus, jointly describe its reality.

2 WHAT ARE THE RISKS?

As happens to all innovative projects that are neither stabilized nor recognized and mostly retain an experimental and consequently unstable character, the ecomuseum is subject to a large number of dangers and risks as a result of their respective prevailing institutional, social and political environments. These risks need taking into account should we seek to protect ecomuseums from destruction.

- Political risks

Conflict or alienation? Newly elected local governments, changes in attitudes towards heritage? Instrumental usage, a democratic alibi to exclude new inhabitants from the local identity?

Changes in budget priorities, due to new and urgent pressures from the social and educational sectors?

- Economic obstacles

An exaggerated dependence upon public or para-public funding. The impact of national or local crises and changes in priorities, which lead to a reduction in financial and material support from public bodies. Fragility of tourism income revenues. Instability in sponsorship and philanthropic aid. Uncontrollable growth in overhead expenses, particularly the salaries of professional staff.

- Generational changes

An ecomuseum is the creation of one specific generation, in a given time. With the passing of time, when new generations take the reins of power, and of decision, the ecomuseum may or may not remain among their interests and priorities. How can we adapt to these changes? Furthermore, there is also the issue of developing the number and quality of volunteers, and their respective relationship to professionally employed staff.

- The power of individual self-interests

Participation may be restricted to the influence of persons or groups whose heritage activism and personal choices differ from general community interests and expectations.

- The risk of irrelevance

Are ecomuseums deemed "useful" by their stakeholders, within or beyond the community? How can they respond to the diverse interests of these stakeholders (community, politicians, tourism agencies, local employers, heritage administration, etcetera)? Are museums able to change with their times and remain perpetually "in motion"?

- The danger of collecting and collection managing

When the collection is considered as the central museum mission, the accumulation and conservation of a treasure of cultural objects, this may contradict the community objective of the ecomuseum. Will the conservation function have to compete with that of service to development? Will care for a sterilized "high culture" lead to forgetting an alive and creative "low culture"? How can we accept and organize the co-existence between the dynamics of ecomuseums and the management of existing collections, even where the latter are of real value to the community.

- The danger of static heritage preservation

The New Museology and the emergence of projects based on community initiatives and identity promotion have in no small measure resulted in the integration of sites, buildings, objects, traditions into the common heritage, in order to ensure their protection and management and frequently undertaken by the local or national authorities or professional institutions.

- The risk of standardization

Museum laws and regulations are usually based upon ICOM definitions, mostly on the model of art and history museums, which are collection centred. Their application may result in the compulsory institutionalization of ecomuseums, without any respect for their essential characteristics. How can we avoid this obsession over collections and collecting? How do we organize the co-existence of a traditional museum alongside an ecomuseum in the same territory?

- The model temptation

Each ecomuseum is unique. Each ecomuseum is a factor of innovation within its own territory. Thus, it is correspondingly impossible to imagine the existence of a model, or of models to be followed obediently to a greater or lesser extent. However, local promoters often, take their inspiration from an existing, and of varying levels of renown, ecomuseum (as was the case with Le Creusot in the 1980's).

- The danger of excessive organization

Any project needs at least a minimum level of organization just as too much organization kills innovation. What is the sustainable formula for an ecomuseum in a given context? Which roles can/should be attributed to the local government and administration? Ecomuseums which happen to be under public rule – directly or indirectly, locally or regionally – suffer from legal and administrative controls which, frequently, play against their autonomy of decision and make community participation and cooperation with the private sector more difficult.

- Misusing professionalization

Ecomuseums are seldom founded by museum professionals and there is not yet a profession of “ecomuseologists” qualified and recognized as such. Voluntary work and heritage activism present good and bad sides. Training and a background in classical museology are not adapted to these realities. Community participation is not a natural practice for museum professionals. The training of community members needs time and continuity. Ecomuseums result from the actions of strong personalities capable of inventing and mobilizing, but who may also become selfish and authoritarian.

3 WHAT ARE THE TRENDS?

Mere observation of innovations ongoing in the “New Museology” domain reveals trends which, although identified to a greater or lesser extent with certain specific contexts or factors, represent promising opportunities.

- Specific legislation

This is the case, hitherto probably unique, with the great number of Italian regions adopting or preparing ecomuseum laws. China seems set to follow the same path, but we lack information on this dimension and their regulatory process seems more administrative than democratic. We can also note the case of Mexico, where Museos Comunitarios are a national INAH (*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*) program, organized in each federal state. These methods might lead to a standardization in the ecomuseum / community museum, which would lose its experimental and endogenous character, and its relationship to its own particular territory and community.

- Networking

Ecomuseum networks are created, either prescribed by regional law (in Italy), or resulting from professional solidarity movements structured to a greater or lesser extent (Italy, Brazil, Japan, Canada, Norway, France). They may end up in confrontation with other networks composed of traditional museums, more interested in coordination and professional training (as is the case of “museum systems” organized at city, district or regional level, as in Brazil). This confrontation may equally result in conflicts or exclusion practices.

- New patterns

There are ever more new denominations for heritage community management programs which display various differences from the usual ecomuseums: street museums, route museums, memory conservatories (Brazil), resource centers (France), heritage projects, heritage education programs (Brazil), community museums (Mexico). Some museums adopt the concept of “museum community”, which implies volunteers and institutions in a cooperative system aiming at social development.

- Mobilizing stakeholders

Changes in public budgeting and spending strategies may lead to a necessary switch from public to private financing. The latter may be obtained either from direct productive activities, or through enterprise contributions (social responsibility). We would also note a new approach to voluntary work, including its coordination and professionalization.

- An appeal to new economic practices

Ecomuseums are increasingly becoming producers of goods and services, just like any other economic actor. There have been various experiences of niche markets (Gemoná), the commercialization of local products (Argenta), and community tourism (Amazônia). In these cases, the ecomuseum is integrated into sustainable development strategies and plans.

- Linkage with environmental policies and sustainable development

A growing number of ecomuseums cooperate, under various formulas, with local Agendas 21.

- Searching for a better and more interdependent regional organization

The present economic situation of local and regional governments in Europe encourages ecomuseums and small local museums to engage in the necessary reflection on a possible moratorium for any new creations and on an organizational structure able to generate greater cooperation and solidarity. For some locally isolated museums, this might mean a need for integration into unified multi-site museums.

- The desirable evolution of traditional museums

According to the principles contained in the Santiago Declaration, some traditional museums have begun to create links and relations with their respective territories, adopting a community dimension, an awareness of their social functions alongside a willingness to play a role in wider heritage management.

4 WHAT ARE THE CHALLENGES?

The present situation and the trends described above oblige ecomuseums identify and accept the forthcoming challenges, make choices and assume the integral approach already recommended by the Santiago Round Table in 1972.

- An evaluation

How can we evaluate the ecomuseum, so that the methods as well as the indicators incorporated pay due respect not only to the necessary community participation, but also to the interests of the other stakeholders. For example:

- Which needs of the local population does the ecomuseum or local museum respond to today?
- What priority is given to cultural heritage by municipal development strategies?
- What space of debate and participation does the local government leave to the community?
- Do citizens / communities play a role in inventory and musealization processes?
- Are museum / heritage professionals trained in local development programmes and methods? How do they react to heritage related tensions and conflicts.
- What are the consequences for heritage organizations, created through community initiative and participatory processes, of their transfer to public responsibility and management?
- How to achieve effective community participation in museum life?
- How to integrate museums into interdepartmental public policies at the local level?
- To what extent do community museology and ecomuseums need a specific legal framework, distinct from the other museums?

Such an evaluation is necessary to preparing the future and to adapting the ecomuseum to the changes taking place in society and in the environment.

- The choice of priorities

Understanding and analysis of risks and of certain trends will drive certain concrete measures, coherent with previously defined priorities of action.

- The choice of strategies

How can ecomuseums respond to the risks they will face and the new situations they will be submitted to? Should they define these answers only at the local level, in relation to the territory and the context? Or should they make their choices depend upon a global and transversal approach, which would be justified by the true internationalization of the ecomuseum phenomenon? How can we plan and work in the short term, without simultaneously preparing the medium and long terms?

- Integrate the movement towards sustainable development

An ecomuseum's strategy for the future cannot be restricted to the cultural domain. It must also encompass the economy and social policies. Ecomuseum activities do contain a political dimension and accordingly cannot ever be separated from political programs and powers.

About the forests

P. Virtanen

ABSTRACT: During the last few years there have been very active discussions in Finland about the museum guests and the role of modern education in museums. From the perspective of ecomuseums, both can or should be very close to each other. Concerning forest museums, the concept of ecomuseums brings many new ideas which are far removed from the older concepts of the mission of (forest) museums. For fifteen years, I have worked in the Finnish Forest museum Lusto as a curator. The museum started in Punkaharju in the year 1994 and represented, in many ways, the "new museum." But the establishment of Lusto was not certain since there were many other potential locations for such a museum. Thus, it had the normal political and economical inputs to its establishment. It was not clear that the people in Punkaharju, and the surrounding areas, did feel that this is "our museum." The architecture was strange, many of the workers were strange, the exhibition language was strange, plus the concept of a new museum was also strange. Punkaharju is one of the top ten scenic travel destinations in Finland, perhaps even the first. What this means, therefore, is that during the summer there are approximately 30 000 travelers who visit the Forest museum (60 000 during the first year). I believe this is one reason Punkaharju was interested in investing money in the project. Most of the money came from the state, some from the forest industry and from other forest institutions. The forest industry has been very strong in Finland and it has also been very important in telling positive things about the forests. Putting together these aspects, the forest museum is seen as a place where you tell about the old ways and practices which are not useful for current living standards and which belong in a "museum" AND the correct ways to function in the forests of today's world. In my paper, I will describe the idea of the different types of forest museums in Finland and also the information different groups want to convey about this important theme. How are these things put together? In Lusto there were many exhibitions and activities where locals and other people, artists, students, working groups and others were involved in activities which started with an idea and followed it through to its conclusion. Examples to mention could be an exhibition which students of environmental art made in co-operation with deafblind people and where different working groups, artists, craftsmen or players participated in projects with the audience. But what would a real ecoforestmuseum be like when the local cultural values would influence innovation via their knowledge of nature and the use of it while working together with the ongoing processes of local culture? I will take examples from many sources and answer some questions: How do we see nature? How do we incorporate ourselves with things in nature? How do we use the natural environment? How can we be consistent with nature? At this moment, there are very lively discussions about the Guggenheim building which is planned for Helsinki. Many of the supporting arguments concern big name brands and well known art? These same perspectives seem to interest the forest industry which is seeking a new vitality. My perspective will emphasize the other side in which I will present the concept of an ecomuseum, the importance of heritage, the value of local culture and the role of the local communities within this framework.

In Finland today, only a few institutions use features of the ecomuseum in their activities and, even then, they do so with caution. Of course, the subject matter of the concept of the ecomuseum is more familiar, but also often misunderstood. In Finland, however, ecomuseum themes, whether museums, cultural heritage or other links, have not been considered at the scale where they should be.

There are some entities which are to some extent oriented in the direction of ecomuseum---the "traditional farms" maintained by the Finnish Forest Board (*Metsähallitus*; Forestry, Natural Heritage services). These farms are located in different parts of Finland and are part of National Parks, together they number 37. Many of them have a "Guiding Centrum" which tells about the nature and culture of the area.

These traditional farms, presently located in nature reserves, are in Linnansaari, Kovero, Telkkämäki, Kortenieniemi, Mattila and Paimensaari. At these farms, a link to the past may have existed for hundreds of years and it existed until the farms were closed down and became the property of the state. Before the 1960's, these farms, the cultural landscape, the buildings and the artifacts, the concept of *mutatis mutandis* applied. It was at this time when the Finnish countryside began to change radically. Early in the 1900s, many traditional uses of the forests were still in use in Finland such as "slash and burn farming" and the use of pasture in the forest. The people were intrinsically tied to the forest in many other ways as well.

During the summer months, these traditional farms of the Finnish Forest Board have a big tourist value. In some places, there may be demonstrations or other activities such as "slush and burn" demonstrations producing a live image of an earlier period farm operation.

There are also local government, other entity funded or self-sufficient "heritage farms." These can be very active, in-depth and up to the minute in heritage continuity-seeking. On the other hand, more often these traditions are loosely tied in another direction---into travel, ceremony, accommodations and/or other activities.

There are no good reasons why we should look down upon the lower-end of the scale. There is also potential there and, perhaps, the ideas and activities of tradition and heritage can gain more power from the ecomuseum way of thinking than if everything was managed from a "higher starting place". Local food markets and growers, organic methods of farming, recycling, eco and other projects could also be good openings for broader and deeper thinking.

In Finland it is important to introduce "heimat" or "homeland" museums, *kotiseutumuseo*, when discussing ecomuseums. I will introduce some aspects about them later during this presentation.

Locally and nationally there is currently a great deal of thinking about cultural traditions, traditions of landscape, heritage, environment, cultural environment, cultural landscape and heritage village etc. in Finland. Again, the ecomuseums concept could introduce many valuable new ideas with its broad concept and its community-based thinking.

1 THE MUSEUMS CALLED ECOMUSEUMS

There are only a few museums in Finland that use, or have used, the name ecomuseum. In Puumala there is the Liehtalanniemi Ecomuseum sometimes also called the "landscape museum" or "museum farm". At its core, it is a farm dating from 1899 located on an island. There are buildings, other historical objects plus fields and forests in the surroundings. Not only is the "slash and burning" practice important but the forest as a whole has had great significance here. Liehtalanniemi is an area currently protected by environmental law. In addition to the objects, buildings and other structures, efforts have been made to highlight the working practices of the people who formerly lived there. This includes forestry labor plus work with the animals and plants within a cultural entity. Sometimes there can be demonstrations of the daily workings that were common on these historic farms.

This farm was transferred to the municipality in 1978 after a short-term ownership by the state. Tellingly, the original loose objects that were contained in the farm were sold at auction even as the value of the farm was rather quickly seen as an important heritage place. It was eventually opened to the public in 1981. Since the museum's location is on an island summer boating route, this fact emphasizes the role of Liehtalanniemi as a tourist destination.

The travel-dimension is removed from the ecomuseum project in Kainuu which started up at the beginning of summer 2012. The main goal at Kainu is to open and understand the meanings of tradition, culture and environment with the community's own thinking as the basis. The goal here is to take advantage of the perspectives of the ecomuseum but not to establish a solid ecomuseum. Even when it comes to the concept of the countryside and the environment, the forest has here no specifically named role in their plan. Turku Kurala is located in the Living History Village, Kurala Village Hill. It is an ecomuseum and is located on a site which has been inhabited for at least 700 years. Because of an old ancient graveyard there, its documented history goes back even further. At this place there is an active farm from the 1950s as well as an experimental archeological working site. Visitors to Kurala Village Hill may participate in this work site.

2 FOREST MUSEUMS

The forest is an important element in Finland, and its importance in nature, the use of wood, its spiritual meanings are stressed almost extravagantly. But the forest is also not forgotten when it comes to the arts, folklore, industry, nature, tourism and culture in general. It might have been such a self-evident part of life that it has been hard to see the forest from the inside of the forests. Perhaps in the 1960s, when people started to move to cities, forestry became mechanized and other social changes shifted attention to a new era, it was not worth remembering the "hillbillies" (*metsäläisyyttä*).

Heimat or homeland museums (*kotiseutumuseo*), heritage farms and outdoor museums are more or less biased about their forest thinking. The main role of "forest museums" is about forestry work as done before "our time". These are the museums in Rovaniemi and Lieksa, the Pielinen Museum with a forest section; both of these are outside museums and they tell about the work in the local forests and the logging traditions. Both museums have "now and then" shows. In addition, there are also some smaller forest museums in other parts of Finland.

However, there are not many forest industry museums. The best example is The Verla Ground Wood and Board Mill Museum which tells about the early days of the Finnish forest industry and the people who lived and worked there. Verla is also a World Heritage site and is a more "traditional" museum as is the Serlachius Museum in Mänttä.

3 THE FOREST MUSEUM LUSTO

During the 1900s there were many articles about the wish to establish a real forest museum in Finland. But it was not until the end 1980s when these ideas were put into practice. I began my work in a forest museum in 1991 when the location of the museum had already been decided to be located in Punkaharju including its architectural composition. The museum started from point zero and after three years the museum was opened to the public. This museum is a cultural history museum but there had also been much thinking, for example, should be introduced as the pure nature aspect in this particular ecomuseum. From those early days, I remember seeing the heading in a brochure "Ecological museum in Punkaharju".

Near Lusto there is a METLA Forest Research Institution's research forest which provides an overview of the long tradition of forest research. Punkaharju is an important national landscape and also a popular tourist attraction. These were also good reasons why Punkaharju was an excellent place for a forest museum.

In many ways, Lusto forest museum has progressed traditionally: big project, new museum building, and including an emphasis on tourism. At the beginning of the museum project much work and planning was done in Helsinki. Of course, at the same time, there were all of the Punkaharju municipality's fathers joining in on the project. But, it can also be said that many features traditionally belonging to ecomuseums were missing. Partly from the perspectives of Lusto, I will next raise some perspectives concerning forests and museums.

1.

Beginning in 1991, I began my working career at the Punkaharju Forest Museum and the architecture competition was already on-going. The aim was to have a modern building where

forest history, forest industry and other things about Finland's "green gold" could be presented to the public. The museum was named *Lusto Forest Museum and Forest Information Centre* ("metsämuseo ja metsätietokeskus"). This name reflects the preconceptions of the concept of museum: 1. there are old and useless things which can be stored away in a museum and 2. there are new things, certain facts about modern forestry and industry which can only be described by reliable sources.

Punkaharju is a famous landscape and tourism area about 400 km north-east of Helsinki. The placement process of Punkaharju was in many ways typical; many localities competed to have the museum not only because of a deep love of traditions and culture, which the museum could deepen, but also because of the increased revenue this new institution could bring to the area.

Now afterwards, it can be said there may have been a different option for Punkaharju. In the village of Putikko there was the oldest working sawmill in Finland which had been closed because of bankruptcy. From the perspective of ecomuseums, that sawmill could have provided a very interesting framework for putting together a museum, a working sawmill, a lively community, plus it also could have brought tourism and new business to the area.

2.

Nunzia Borelli and Peter Davis explained in their recent article about the important role that a municipality has when developing ecomuseums. But do these municipalities always consider everything else that is necessary in addition to the business, social and cultural activities? For example, in the 1910s, half of the matches for Finland, plus exports, were manufactured in Mäntsälä. The whole city was connected to the purchase of aspen wood from the forests to produce these matches. Now this match factory's history is not even good enough to mention along with new businesses.

In Mäntsälä in the 1880s there was, for a couple of years, a small carpentry business which had the idea of making the components for furniture which the customer would buy and then put together at home. Now, more than a hundred years later, IKEA has captured this same concept and spread it around the world. IKEA's Ingvar Kamprad started his career at the age of five in the 1920s selling matches.

With these two examples it could be asked, what kind of knowledge and skills could ecomuseums maintain, strengthen and develop not only to transmit a better identity of the society but also to further the creative process of "business".

3.

However, there could be strong barriers in bringing "ecomuseological" thinking into actual practice by governmental or other influential agencies. For the farmers, it is difficult to accomplish many things because of the EU bureaucracy and because of the trading sector control companies which are very strong in Finland. The forest sector control also has been very strong and it exerts a great amount of control over what is done even in the private forests.

One example of this kind of power was the specifying of EU Natura areas in Finland. These were decided with almost no discussions among the landowners or communities where these forests areas were designated. What would the result have been if there had been, for example, deep thinking about the ecological and cultural diversities of these forest and nature overall.

4.

Sometimes local heritage work is done by only one or two people. How would so few people be able to raise and maintain the spirit of tradition so that everyone, including the municipalities, are aware of these cultural ideas and models?

Ecomuseums, for example, do bring a strong sense of community to a region but there are also several different social groups with long histories who have a similar goals. For example, in Mäntsälä at the Alikartano Manor, which is very similar to some other manors nearby, there is a saw mill. This manor house dates from the 1700s and is now a museum owned by the state but today now closed to the public. In addition to the manors and the some other homes of area wealthy people, there are also many crofts in that same location. Because of historical agendas and various ideas, it still would be hard to construct a "people's" or community (eco)museum around Alikartano. "Crofters Day" in Mäntsälä is much closer to the community's idea of a one-day museum experience which also has many connections to the forest.

5.

Manttä Paper Mill was begun in 1881 and is a good example of how the whole town was linked to the paper plant's operations. Such a continuum could have had great possibilities

when thinking about ecomuseological values. There could still be possibilities when considering the history and the society more deeply but today's companies do not wish to have any issues which compete with their goals. Many companies have abandoned their former museum activity. And if some minor concessions had been made previously, even those have been stripped away because of money concerns or other reasons. In the past, Mänttä Paper Mill held regular public tours but they stopped them because espionage activities by foreign governments and outside companies.

6.

Cultural history museums, natural history museums, art museums and science centers often have their own closed cultures which prevents them from seeing over each other's boundaries. For example, nature is often only seen in a natural history museum as pure nature without any connections to culture.

Science centers could easily decide that they will never have art in their catalogues or exhibits. And a design museum might have an exhibition about wood, and a technical museum might have the wood-related machinery on display, the natural history museum would speak only about the ecology of trees and an art museum would focus mainly on nature as depicted in paintings. Couldn't there be even more wide-ranging thinking that would cross these arbitrary borders.

7.

There are many preconceptions between "high culture" and "low culture." In the forest museum at Lusto we had a "forest theatre" created by professionals but also by local laypeople. How could we put these two different groups together without creating any disagreements or conflicts?

In the Lusto Forest Museum we had an exhibition on the topic of birch bark. Prior to the exhibition, we had held a workshop called "a birch bark laboratory" with students from The School of Arts and Crafts in attendance. Old craftsmen also came to tell the students about the former use of birch bark but our second, and equally important, goal was to find new continuums for the bark. This specific birch bark project is very good example of how the continuum of tradition, craftsmanship, art and technology was able to operate together.

In Lusto, many times, we also had chain saw carvers. Sometimes "real artist" also came there with their chain saws. There were cultural differences and prejudices but, in many ways, both sides ultimately found each other. Currently in Finland the value of Outsider art (ITE-taide) has gone up as have the related "home museums." Many doors have been opened and in many directions as well.

At Fiskars and at Stundars, there are two excellent examples of communities in which there is a good mix of a living community, of museums, of cultural happenings, of art, handicraft, tourism, business and the sale of local products. Many of these pursuits also have their roots in the forest.

8.

Kaustinen is very good example of a village society that has succeeded in putting together its old and new folk music traditions which include a famous annual folk music festival, music courses, a museum plus other cultural continuums.

It is easy to bring "Old" folk music into the current times creatively, but how is it that discovering and presenting "old" folklore is like hunting for magic. Forest folklore has had an important role in Finnish identity and there are good publications about the broad background of forest traditions. But it would be interesting to open a new kind of continuum about the traditions without naive or odd unsophisticated "shows."

9.

Traditional museum exhibitions can tell about the old folklore of Finland but often the books that have been written are more important. Books, in general, have a very important role in the community's identity. For example, in Mäntsälä there are already, in one series, eighteen books that reflect the traditions of the community's activity. What kind of importance do these books have in ecomuseum thinking? In Mäntsälä there are traditional walking paths about which there are written publications and also an internet version. At this time, in Finland, there are over three hundred similar "traditional paths." Therefore, what should the current status of virtuality be concerning ecomuseums?

10.

When opening the secrets of “old” folklore these days, the medium of art has been very helpful. But it can also be said that the discussion about the relationship between art and science has not always been very deep in museums. This is especially true concerning exhibition media themes. Is the same “true” characterization more art when it is moved from the wall to an exhibition theater display? Isn’t it just the exhibition media that gives some possibilities to creatively mix art and science together?

The relativity of science to museums can be discussed as a parallel to art, experience, entertainment and other dimensions. When questioning the importance of science from the perspective of activistisch ecomuseology” and community thinking, this may “not succeed without making scientists feel uncomfortable, forcing them to move outside of their scientific world.” Finnish historian Jorma Kalela has written a very thought-provoking book, *Making History*, which stresses the rights of communities with the formation of the historical knowledge from their own perspectives.

11.

In Finland, the first local museum was established 150 years ago in Raahe. At this moment there are over 1000 museums in Finland, seven-hundred thirty of them are local or home district museum that are managed by local authorities. These associations and foundations do not receive any government subsidies. The exhibitions, events and other activities arranged by them are annually attended by nearly one million people. There are over ten thousand volunteers working on behalf of their local cultural heritage.

Two years ago, The Ministry of Education and Culture appointed a committee to outline a policy and put forward proposals for the development of non-professionally managed local and home district museums plus specialized museums and also to develop ways to uphold the local cultural heritage.

The committee stressed that local museums do wide-ranging work for the cultural heritage plus promote awareness of cultural heritage and the environment and their importance for society. The value of local museums, as a local and regional resource, should be seen against a wider backdrop. The committee pointed out that local museum operations should not be evaluated by the same criteria as professional museums. This local museum work is usually seen more as a hobby and the volunteer work is inspired by the people’s own interest and desire to work for the local cultural heritage.

In its report, the committee proposed a number of ways of supporting and developing local museum activities. The proposal focused on “measures for developing training, giving advice and steering the activity, arranging for collection management, exploring forms of regional cooperation, improving the upkeep and safety of the museum’s buildings, and supporting planned museum management.”

The committee’s report stressed many things that are familiar in ecomuseology. But in those museums there is still much potential to think these matters through more meticulously.

12.

These local and home district museums don’t often tell about forests “directly” but instead about the objects made of wood, the tools, the wooden houses and the other things that so strongly tie the people’s lives so strongly to the forests. The use of the forest has been so visible that the distinction between cultural landscape (for example farms and fields) and nature (the forests) should not been so self-evident it has been. “Traditional landscape” signifies an area that has been used for pasturage or slash and burn practices. There should also be more thinking about historic parks, gardens and other natural areas from the perspective of nature-culture.

13.

We could be thinking that the old forest ideas, which seem to have no importance today, and the new things such as modern industry and technology, do not seem to have very close connections to each other. From the beginning of 2000, forest culture has become more and more distinctive and forest organizations now take better care of the ancient remains in the forest. But at the same time, there is a fear. Does cultural awareness slow business and, if so, who will pay for this?

Can “birch bark culture” (old culture) be dangerous for business? Is the past something we should just forget or, at best, preserve it in “museums?” It doesn’t cost very much to preserve an ancient cairn but what happens if people begin to award too much value to cultural things

and processes. Value chain can be a real shackle. On the other hand, have the innovation seekers and developers wrongly understood how to be aware of the processes from the past?

At the same time, museums have misjudged the future and have not encouraged the birth of innovation or creativity. Could there be something in the middle? For example, what could museums do by way of their exhibitions? Many science centers are doing a lot to involve people to think and innovate. In the museums there are such concepts as pedagogy, involvement and mediation, but there could be even a deeper approach as well.

The birch bark project described earlier is very good example of the continuum of traditions, craftsmanship, arts and technology. But could there be a real ecomuseum around the theme, where nature and the use of nature go hand in hand?

Ecomuseum thinking brings many challenges. For example, how can a manufacturing community create an innovative continuum around its activity? Fiskars' "art community" mentioned earlier has until now been a good example of this "from forest to the products" model but there are also hungry businessmen bringing new ideas about hotels and other different options. And what do we say about heritage and cultural continuums when a paper mill with hundreds of workers closes its doors? Could an ecomuseum projects create a safe, but flexible, basis for production for the community? Should there also always be some kind of ecomuseum thinking in (forest) business?

Place, communities and heritages: case study on ecomuseum practice in southwest China

Q. Wei

Yunnan Provincial Museum, Kunming, China

X. Daoxin

Museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan, China

ABSTRACT: The paper discussed problems ecomuseum encountered in Chinese communities. Using anthropological researching methods especially field work, the author selected two different modes of ecomuseum which located in different province of southwest China, Yunnan province and Guizhou province, to make a comparison, and analyzed people's identity in ecomuseum, community's participation, what effect did tourism cause in ecomuseum. The author wants to present advantages and disadvantages of different modes revealed in ecomuseum's practice, and ecomuseum's application and limitation, so as to enrich ecomuseology study, at the same time to offer some suggestions to help ecomuseum development. Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum of Guizhou province is a village where most people are Buyi minority. It has the same area as the village. However, villagers don't have a clear understanding of ecomuseum, which results in that the ecomuseum could not play an effective role in safeguarding cultural heritages, and the tourism based on ecomuseum turned gradually to mass tourism based on amusement and damaged natural environment. Nuodeng ecomuseum of Yunnan province is located in a Bai minority village, Dali prefecture and it was designed by Museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture. It is a village of Bai people with the long history of salt production over more than two thousand years. The family ecomuseum was built as large as the family. It seems to be too small at the beginning so that scholars suspected that it could not work well, but then it generally overcame many problems and went well. Personally the mode of family ecomuseum could integrate ecomuseum's principles into practice easier. The ownership of family together with the intention of pursuing benefit help people develop a right understanding of ecomuseum. Motive of pursuing tourism benefit can drive villagers safeguard cultural heritages. It is good for sustainable development of tourism and ecomuseum. Although there are many difficulties of the sustainability of the family ecomuseum such as low income, the pressure from the government's policy on developing tourism, the conflict between the commercialization and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage, etc, the key positive point is that the practice of the family ecomuseum helped the family owner to realize the value of local intangible cultural heritage such as oral history, customs, skill of making handicraft and traditional music gradually and to play more and more significant role as a local cultural elite in safeguarding their cultural heritage, for the mode of family ecomuseum can stimulate individual's initiative to safeguard cultural heritages. This is a positive case study which makes people understand how the people have become aware of the culture's value of their own step by step. Through a long-term study for five years, I believe the case study can demonstrate some useful points of ecomuseum which is unique but suitable to many minority places of China. Through making a comparison of these two cases and analyzing problems revealed from the cases, the paper aims to reveal some points about the relationship between ecomuseum and tourism, ecomuseum's developing trend and present. What's more, the paper also intends to present an individual case in which a villager has become local elite from an ordinary villager. Sincerely hope that these points can be helpful to ecomuseum.

1 INTRODUCTION

The conception of ecomuseum was born in France in 1970s. After this, the conception of ecomuseum produced a large effect in Europe, Latin American and Asia. There are more than three hundred ecomuseums located in Europe, North American and Asia.

The first ecomuseum in China is Suoga Miao ethnic ecomuseum in Liuzhi county, Guizhou province, and then the common principle — Liuzhi principle was formed. (Su Donghai, 2005) From then on, six ecomuseums totally were built in Guizhou province, southwest of China.

Yunnan is another province where many ethnic groups inhabited in southwest of China. Scholars hope to develop some community museums and explore a new form of museum which named ethnic cultural and ecological village. They attempt to develop a model to seek ethnic cultural conservation, and ecological, social, and economical sustainable development in rural areas prone to the impact of globalization and modernity. (Yin Shaoting, 2002) In May 2007, the first family ecomuseum was built in Yunnan. Scholars hope to practice the theory of ecomuseum in terms of family.

Ecomuseum is a new form of museum which protects holistically natural and cultural heritage. It records and protects community's culture in different ways, and promotes development of community. Ethnic ecomuseum is a form of museum which protects, transmits and studies minority's natural and social culture holistically. (Chinese Society of Museums, 2006) As a new mode of protecting minority cultural heritages and developing tourism, ecomuseum emphasizes the following ideas: Firstly, cultural heritage should be protected and conserved originally in the community and environment of people's own. In other words, ecomuseum's area is equal to community's area. Secondly, ecomuseum emphasizes 'respect', giving respect to people's culture so that they can form the cognition with self-esteem, self-confidence, pride and self-respect. It is the foundation of long-term culture conservation. Thirdly, ecomuseum is a means of protecting some culture for future, so keep all of relative cultural memory original as a witness of culture continuity and transmission, instead of damage the integrity of community's memory caused by collecting exhibits. Fourthly, ecomuseum emphasizes the participant of local government and people. People in community are the owners of culture and the hosts. We cannot separate them from the community of ecomuseum. (Chinese Society of Museums, 2006) Based on some of the principles of ecomuseum above, we conducted a long-term research on ecomuseums in southwest of China and tried to make some conclusion.

2 PART ONE: ZHENSHAN BUYI ETHNIC ECOMUSEUM

2.1 *Brief Introduction*

Zhenshan village in Huaxi district, Guiyang city, Guizhou province, is a Buyi nationality's village. It was named 'Protecting ethnic cultural village' in 1993 depending on beautiful natural environment and dynamic Buyi minority culture. Then it was awarded 'Zhenshan outdoor folklore museum'. In April 1995, some museum experts from Norway and China visited to Zhenshan and made a plan of constructing ecomuseum in Zhenshan village. In 'Feasibility report of Suoga', experts said: 'Zhenshan village in Huaxi district, Guiyang city, has a large potential to be developed into ecomuseum.' And then Zhenshan was established to be Zhenshan Buyi Ethnic ecomuseum in 1997, which invested and constructed by both Norway and China.

Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum includes two parts: people's living community and information center. People's living community is right Zhenshan village. The information center is located on a hill where it is 300 meters far from the village. Standing in information center can overlook the whole village, the beautiful mountain and lake. It is a very good site to view Zhenshan's scenery. Information center costs 1.7 million RMB totally. It includes an exhibition hall which shows Buyi minority culture such as history, distributing map, pedigree, food, building, costume, wedding, funeral, festivals, local rules, handicrafts and some daily working tools. Moreover, it also includes computer rooms, reading rooms and offices which have been designed for the development of globalization and modernity.

2.2 *Current situation of Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum*

Tourism in Zhenshan has been developing very quickly since ecomuseum had been built. Today, Zhenshan is one of prosperous tourist destination in Guizhou province. Beautiful natural environment and rich minority culture attracts a large number of visitors from different cities and countries. Villagers set a drinking ritual in the entrance of village, perform traditional songs and dances for visitors, and cook traditional dinner for them. Later, they offer some recreation on the water such as boating, swimming and barbeque near the lake to satisfy people's requirement. The running system of Zhenshan's tourism is family management. Every family joins in tourism by different types according to their location and financial condition. For some joint-stock programs they share profit equally. Tourism brought huge profit to community. Before 1993, the equal income of villager is about 300 RMB per year. Until 2005 it has risen to 3000 RMB for every person and increased by ten times. (The Village Committee, 2006) Some families living near lake which has a good location normally earn more and reach 10000RMB/year/person. Tourism in Zhenshan has developed for more than ten years, reached peak of prosperity and then continued declining. Anyway it is a very important tourist destination for provincial tourism industry.

To people's confused, while tourism has developed quickly, the information center has been gradually deserted. Since the information center opened, few visitors came except official reception such as scholars, officials. Because of desolate status and free visit, the worker becomes gradually drowsy. The door is often closed on the working day. It is wasteful and regretful to make the high investment otiose. The director of information center concluded the reason which was that the information center could hardly make an agreement with the travel agency. Several travel groups visited Zhenshan everyday. But they seldom visited information center because of short visiting time arranged by travel agency (about half an hour in Zhenshan). Visitors had to walk around the village quickly and then left. And the information center is free for visitors and it doesn't have any shopping center so that travel agency and tour guide cannot get any benefit from the trip. Tour guide doesn't want to introduce the information center to visitors, even some tour guides don't know where the information center is. Definitely most of visitors don't know anything about ecomuseum and information center.

In author's opinion, the deficiency of information center is as follows:

- Collections of exhibitions are mainly pictures, objects are comparatively few.
- Lack of information about people's daily life and visual display.
- The transition from old lifestyle to electrical communication is abrupt. There is no information about how did the transition happen and how did people feel like?
- The building of information center is comparatively large. But it only has an exhibition room and takes up 20% of the total space. Other space has not opened yet. They plan to use other rooms for reception or something else.

No matter what kind of reason was critical, the information center has become desolated. While we think about the community with ecomuseum's conception and ideas, some deep reasons can be revealed. Does ecomuseum's idea be carried out in Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum? The author offers some analysis as following parts.

2.3 *Villager's understanding to Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum*

The principles of ecomuseum tell: cultural heritages should be protected and conserved originally in the community and environment of people's own. (Chinese Society of Museums, 2006) In other words, the space of ecomuseum is equal to community's space. Ecomuseum emphasizes the participation of local government and people, people in community are the owners of culture and hosts. We cannot separate them from the community of ecomuseum.

According to ecomuseum's principle, Zhenshan Buyi ethnic ecomuseum should include the whole village and information center. Community is more important than information center because it is a place villagers live and create dynamic culture. However, during the author's field work, the villagers who are the owner of ecomuseum don't have a right understanding of ecomuseum. They don't know that they are the owners of ecomuseum. The villagers always told the author: 'Have you been to the museum over there? Go and take a look if you have time.' 'There is a museum of Buyi Nationality over there.' From the presentation we can see that they don't have any consciousness of being owners of the ecomuseum. It seems as if the ecomuseum is

'there', Buyi minority culture is exhibited 'there'. When the author asked something about their culture, they always gave a kind suggestion: 'Go and visit the museum, you will get what you need.' Actually, 'museum' in their discourse is just a building where collected some exhibits and pictures. They don't understand the whole community is also included in ecomuseum, and they are the owners of the ecomuseum. It always seems like all of Buyi minority culture was put 'over there' and has nothing to do with the village and villagers. Once the author talked about Zhenshan Ecomuseum with a scholar, the scholar corrected author that the building is only called information center, not the museum. When author reflected why made this mistake even though she knew this notion clearly, she realized that villagers who are the real owners of the ecomuseum misled the author's consciousness a lot. Ecomuseum in villager's understanding is just a building in front of the village. Their cognition misled the author in daily life, for the author lived with them day by day and accepted gradually their cognition of ecomuseum. According with local people, the author called museum when they talked to the villagers about the information center so that they could understand easily. Therefore, the area of Zhenshan's ecomuseum in fact is different from the area of ecomuseum in villager's cognition. Villagers who are the owners of ecomuseum don't have a right understanding of ecomuseum actually. It is pity that ecomuseum in Zhenshan don't have an interaction with villagers. Information center is separated from village and the same as between ecomuseum and villagers. Thus information center becomes a very common museum which just shows some exhibits and doesn't have any eco-cultural function of ecomuseum.

The ecomuseum is far from people's daily life since it was established, even if the principles of ecomuseum in information center stated clearly that the villager is the owner of ecomuseum. At the beginning, villagers were enthusiastic to talk about it, for they were the images in those photos taken for the exhibition, or they offered their houses to be the place to film a certain ceremony according to the exhibition requirement. Gradually, they seemed to forget the ecomuseum unless someone mentioned. Villagers actually never owned the ecomuseum, or at least the ecomuseum exists without villager's participation.

2.4 *Interaction between ecomuseum and tourism*

From protecting ethnic culture village to ecomuseum, museum projects promoted tourism quickly in different form, Zhenshan became very famous for the museum in the beginning. Tourism in Zhenshan started from 1993 and was based of Buyi minority culture. More than ten years went by, tourism has grown up quickly from soil of ecomuseum and Buyi minority culture. Thousands of visitors spring into Zhenshan weekly. Museum enterprise conceived and gave birth to tourism. The author treated them as matrix and baby.

However, what is a pity, when tourism in Zhenshan made a quite big progress and became increasingly famous, it broke up and departed from ecomuseum gradually, Buyi minority culture isn't the base of Zhenshan's tourism. It is turning to a common rural tourism which is so-called nong jia le in Chinese (a kind of household-based accommodation service). To demonstrate this point, the author raises a question firstly that is 'How many visitors know the ecomuseum in Zhenshan?' From the case as following we can draw some conclusions.

Someday, when the author was talking to worker in information center, some visitors was coming. They are frequenters from Guiyang city and often visit Zhenshan at the weekend since more than ten years ago. They highly praised the information center while they were looking around the exhibition hall. After finishing visit, they walked into office and talked to worker. They complained that the signpost is too hidden, they have never known this information center before until they hit on by accident today. They praised the 'museum' and felt pity that few people know its existence. They believed that it is what they want to visit in Zhenshan. Then they gave some comments about Zhenshan's tourism and the information center. Here is some of dialog as follows:

'You should propagandize this museum. It is too wasteful to leave it unused. Visiting the village only is boring.'

'We can't see anything about Buyi minority culture in the village except swimming and playing Mah-jong.'

'There is nothing special in Zhenshan, except the lake.'

'The villagers only pay attention to money, they don't care traditional culture at all.'

'There is a little scenery, but not spectacular. We can't see any culture. Who comes if there is no lake.'

'There was traditional performance before, but it is canceled now.'

From the dialog we can see, visitors don't know ecomuseum's existence, nobody would like to introduce or guide them to visit the information center. Villagers are just concerned about whether visitor consume in their family or not and how much money they can earn from offering service. They don't care about Buyi minority culture and ecomuseum. Tourism in Zhenshan has departed from ecomuseum and has turned to another direction. However, the information center as a symbol of ecomuseum is almost deserted. The villagers who are the owners of ecomuseum never talked about it. Zhenshan is breaking away from the right developing direction which is based on Buyi minority culture, and turning to offer some recreational programs depending on natural environment (mainly offer food, mah-jong and boating service, the same as common rural recreational destination everywhere). The mode which is based on environment easily lost the most valuable culture and made no differences with common rural recreational tourism. Tourism which mainly depends on natural environment must conceive many dangers. More and more visitors must impose large pressures upon natural environment, which results in water and environment pollution. With ecological environment deteriorating, the community may lose the basic living resources eventually. Meanwhile, ecomuseum doesn't emphasize the interaction with villagers, instead of planning to commercialize the information center, which undoubtedly limits the development of ecomuseum. Tourism in Zhenshan should be based on Buyi minority culture and take ecomuseum as the ideal mode of development. Tourism and ecomuseum in Zhenshan should integrate into a whole and interact with each other. But actually they broke up and detached far and far, which consequentially results in each one trap in embarrassment and is difficult to gain a good development in future.

2.5 Study Case: Cancel of dancing group and performing ground

At the beginning of tourism in 1993, young boys and girls organized a dancing group which performed Buyi minority dance. It was popular at that time. They charged 200RMB for each performance, sometimes 150RMB according to the number of audiences. They performed instruments, traditional shoulder pole dance, dustpan dance, sang some songs. The programs were updated periodically. They retained a professional teacher from Huaxi District to train them. There were 12 members totally. They gave four or five scenes of performance everyday and shared the income equally. Every member earned more than 1000RMB every month. They didn't have fixed site to perform at the beginning, sometime they performed in front of people's house, sometime in receptionist's house. Then government donated a truck and helped to build a performing ground for villagers. The ground faces to lake with stone steps in three sides for audiences. Villagers used it to perform and celebrate festivals. Performing group went on 6 years and was canceled in 1999.

There are three reasons of disbandment: Firstly, female actresses got married and moved to another places, girls in the village were too young to give performance. There were not enough members in performing group. Secondly, with tourism development, every family cooked food for visitors. There was a lack of labor in the family. Because food service could earn considerable profit, members quit performing job and participated family work. Meanwhile, if there were guests in their house, they always refused to mention about performing services lest spending time in performing service. Therefore, visitors didn't know the performing group. Thirdly, programs run short of culture and innovation so that visitors gradually felt boring. After performing group disbandment, performing ground became deserted. Some receptionist set tables and chairs for barbeque and visitor's recreation. Villagers want to rebuild it into a duck, offer more space for visitor's water recreation.

Besides dancing group, there were some cultural programs which were canceled now such as drinking ritual in the entrance of village, selling embroidery and some handicrafts. At present, villagers mainly offer some common recreational programs like having dinner, playing mah-jong, boating and swimming. Sometime visitors should pay for the drinking songs in addition if they ask for the singing service.

Tourism in Zhenshan was born out of ecomuseum, and Buyi minority cultural heritages as a core of tourist attraction are important for tourism development. Taking the mode of ecomuseum

as an ideal mode of tourism in this community has the same purpose of safeguarding cultural heritages. Therefore, whether villagers can understand and accept the concept of ecomuseum becomes very important. In the case study we can see, rebuilding their culture confidence and helping them to understand the concept of ecomuseum is a good way to promote the ecomuseum and tourism, and then eventually the well-developed tourism will benefit ecomuseum in future.

3 PART TWO: NUODENG FAMILY ECOMUSEUM

3.1 *Brief introduction*

Nuodeng is located in Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture of Yunnan Province. It is a Bai nationality's village with over thousand-year history. Nuodeng was well-known as a salt producing site and since then it became a key commercial town of the ancient salt road of west in Yunnan. There are big amount of cultural relics, historical sites and some intangible heritages need to be well preserved. From the last two decades, more and more people started to concern about Nuodeng's historical and cultural heritage. At the same time, tourism promoted the cultural heritage preservation as well. However, what kind of ways is effective to preserve both tangible and intangible cultural heritages? There is no efficient way proved to be successful for long term in our practical experience until now.

There is a family named Yang which keeps many ancient contracts, certificates, agreement of dividing family property and some documents and tools related to salt production from the ancient time in Nuodeng. They kept these items because the owner's father, his father's father and grandfather's father had worked in salt well and brine workshop for many decades. These are important documents for people to understand and to study their family history and Nuodeng's history of salt production and. Mr Huang, a local elite who wins the respect of villagers, collected and wrote a book named 'Thousand-year Bai Minority village: Nuodeng'. The owner of Yang family showed all of these collections and helped collect some materials of Mr Huang's writing. After he passed away, Mr. Huang helped his son, Mr Yang mentioned above, applied for an exhibition in his house. Supported by the local elites and the local Cultural Bureau, family Yang established the family exhibition room and displayed hundreds of their collections to the tourists. By the feedback from the tourists Mr Yang understood more about the heritage and the value of the collections. His cultural confidence was built through praise from many visitors. Since the exhibition room opened, some institutions intend to buy their collections. For example, an institute was interested in buying a family property dividing agreement from the Wanli Period, Ming Dynasty. The institute also promised if the owner sold the agreement to them, they would let his child study in their institute. Another archives department was willing to pay RMB 50,000 to purchase this agreement. There were many businessman interested in purchasing their collections or interested in investing on his house to run business. Mr. Yang refused to sell their collections. He said: "Even though my ancestors were in poverty, they did not sell any of these collections. So I can not sell them today to make my family and ancestors ashamed. I have two sons, though I do not know how they are going to treat these collections in future but at least I will not sell anything." This was the first stage during which people had initiative to build the exhibition room in their house before the program of ecomuseum was carried out and most of work was done by villagers.

3.2 *Principles of Family Ecomuseum of Nuodeng*

In May 2007, based on the family exhibition room, Museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture developed the family exhibition room into Family Ecomuseum. The working group of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture intended to practice the concept of ecomuseum in Nuodeng. The principles of Family Ecomuseum of Nuodeng are as following:

(1) Practice the ecomuseum's concept based on the family. Exhibition room is just a part of ecomuseum. Family ecomuseum shows people's daily working tools, house structure and decorations, people and their daily life. From this family's history and culture people can learn more about the whole society's history and culture. They hope to combine the museum collections with the family's daily life, and combine historical objects with family historical

background tradition and oral history. The family ecomuseum offered a stage for people to see the history and how the family is interacting with it.

(2) The preservation of the culture heritage will financially benefit the owners. Therefore, family ecomuseum has a special managing principle. Family ecomuseum belongs to both Yang family and museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture. They offered money and workers to display the ecomuseum and possessed the property right partly. Yang family obtains all the profit from ecomuseum. The museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture designed the display of family ecomuseum, the family should sign an agreement that they will keep the exhibition room original, if they will change the display then they will ask for the Dali museum's permit firstly. The family charge the visitor's fee and they owns the fee. The family will be financially benefited and they will aware of their culture's value. While other people will also realize the value of cultural heritages through family ecomuseum and it will encourage people to safeguard their cultural heritages.

(3) The design and display should be carried out based on giving fully respect to house owner. The workers must discuss with the family about the family ecomuseum's design and how to exhibit. This is the cooperation between scholars and local people. The team group came to the village and conduct a field work including interviewing the elders, investigating the historical collection in many families. Then they tried to listen to the Yang family owner and to exchange their ideas about the design. Based on the villager's approval, the design and display began to be carried out.

(4) This project of family ecomuseum has three special meanings: Firstly, it is financially benefit the local people. Secondly, it is an exploration and practice of tourism development in Nuodeng. Thirdly, it is an exploration of museum mode which actualizes heritage protection including both tangible and intangible culture, and has important meaning for museum. The museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture appointed this family ecomuseum as their fixed research site, they will do the following study and direct them periodically. It is also the working field they cooperate with other organizations.

(5) The project of family ecomuseum is a practice and exploration for local tourism and museum. But it is can not be a common pattern for whole Nuodeng. So the scholars emphasized family ecomuseum in Nuodeng must be very selective and they will not give permission to establish more. If the operations succeed then they will consider to develop more family ecomuseum but in different theme according to their own condition. They may be combined with the local industry such as produce well-salt, make bean cake, ham and maintain their own character.

There is an exhibition room in family ecomuseum mainly to display the salt production and historical documents. There are 224 pieces collections totally and all the collections have been registered by the museum of Dali Bai Nationality Autonomous Prefecture. These items all related to the salt history such as the contracts, certificates, tools, daily working tools, paper materials, gift lists, funeral lists, family dividing agreement and other decorations. Moreover, scholars also put illustration plates in the courtyard to explain the traditional house with different functions to visitors.

3.3 The first stage of Nuodeng family ecomuseum

Yang Huangde Family Ecomuseum established in Jun 2007 and it has been 10 months until now. The main challenge they are facing is how to charge the ticket fee. On the first hand, villagers are very concern about relationship with other villagers, most of the villagers are not very commercialized and they feel very embarrassing to charge ticket fee with people who they are familiar with. In Nuodeng, the villagers mainly consist of several big families and most of villagers are relatives or friends in someway. They also have many relatives and friends from the county to visit them. So Mr. Yang feels too shamed to charge these people. That means the local community almost cannot financially support the family ecomuseum. The second reason is one of the main visitors group are the officials. At the very beginning the officials were from the local tourist bureau, propagandizing department and other related official departments. Since Nuodeng became well-know, many bureau officers invite their leaders, friends to visit Nuodeng and they take up nearly 70% of the visitors. These official visitors rarely purchase the tickets. Occasionally they pay 10 RMB to show their appreciation. The family does not dare to charge the officers and

just can let it be. Sometimes the villagers even have to offer tea or some snack. The third reason is when the packaged tourists visit Nuodeng, the tour guide does not lead the tourists to visit the family ecomuseum since the guide can not benefit from the family. So they do not willing to spend time to introduce the relic. For tourists from abroad, the guide is also lack of the necessary knowledge to introduce the relic and culture in foreign language to them. That is why usually the packaged tourists would not know the Ecomuseum and also do not have time arranged for the Ecomuseum visit. For family ecomuseum, the main income is from the real tourists who only come for these cultural heritages.

It is a pity, the factors above caused the family ecomuseum do not have good income. Meanwhile, they have to stay at home to look after the heritage so that they can not be able to work on other things. Only rely on the few plowland they can not support the family. Nuodeng's family ecomuseum had a brilliant start and then fall to a difficult condition that challenges the villagers and the scholars. Though the museum of Dali nationality autonomous prefecture tried to solve the no pay visitors with the county officers and it is getting a bit better but still it is hard to maintain a good operation. It frustrated the participant's passion and other villagers who were interested in and expect further development. For the ecomuseum family, they were confused by why there were many people praised their collections but why there were not so many visitors come and brought financially income to them. The family member often watched the culture heritage programs of CCTV and they usually describe their situation with one sentence form the program which is "I am holding a golden bowl to begging!"

3.4 *The second stage of family ecomuseum*

In the second stage of family ecomuseum, Mr Yang has turned from relying on the governmental support to independent running when the number of tourists brought by the local government has declined. Keeping charging fee to those tourists who only come for appreciating the exhibition, Mr. Yang opens the exhibition for free for those who come for accommodation and food. One of the good effects is that he brought the belief of ecomuseum into the business unconsciously. In visitor's eyes, the place he provides for them is not only a simple hotel or restaurant, but also a real museum in which people can see a miniature of Nuodeng. Specialty of ecomuseum endows the small family hotel with special sense of history and the value of experience. Definitely, for those visitors who want to experience different culture, the family ecomuseum is the prime choice. In *Lonely Planet*, which is regarded as the most popular guide book of traveling by western visitors, Nuodeng appears to be a new and good destination and Mr. Yang's family ecomuseum is the only family recommending to be visited. In blogs and web postings, there are many recommendations about it. These are not official propaganda but the main resource of traveling information for tourists who pursue authenticity, which means a deep connection has been formed between Nuodeng and tourists and a real beginning of tourism led by tourists in Nuodeng. Until today, the family ecomuseum is still the main destination of foreign visitors and backpackers, even though the location, circumstances and facilities are too simple to compare with others. For people pursuing authenticity, the experience they get here is much better than they do in those restaurants which are crowded with cars and full of noise of quarreling and playing mahjong.

3.5 *Community's attitude to Nuodeng family ecomuseum*

It is easier to implement a family ecomuseum than to a village ecomuseum. After the museum of Dali nationality autonomous prefecture offered training to the Nuodeng ecomuseum family, Mr. Yang and his wife felt quite easy to show and introduce their house and exhibits to the visitors. 'This is my home, and my home is a museum.' Mr. Yang often invites tourists and says so. 'If you have time, welcome to visit my house.' From this presentation we can see, when area of ecomuseum is equal to the area of home, the ownership of home will be related to the participation of ecomuseum. They began to appreciate the heritages they possessed and took initiative to learn history to enrich their knowledge so as to introduce more to attract visitors. Yang family also offers accommodation and food to the tourists. Visitors can stay with the family and experience to live with the ecomuseum family. By all these factors, the family ecomuseum is

not only an exhibition site but a family possesses an exhibition room. "Family" becomes the keyword.

From whole community's perspective, villagers' attitude towards the family ecomuseum is complicated. They understood the strong support from the government behind the family ecomuseum. Yang family has been financially benefited a lot by the visitors organized by the government. There are many villagers intend to participate in the tourism and wish to obtain government's support. However, what is the most successful of family ecomuseum is the drive of villager's self-construction of cultural confidence. Because the support from government only provide to the family which has cultural enterprise based on protect and exhibit traditional culture. There are many villagers are still waiting and observing family ecomuseum, they may not completely understand the conception of ecomuseum but definitely they understand historical and cultural information hidden in collections and the value of their cultural heritages, and also they know clearly that all these valuable collections belong to Nuodeng and belong to the history of their community.

3.6 Local elites

In some successful cases of ecomuseum, local elites, who is abbot or the head of the elder association, successful businessman or political leader, plays a leading role in community museum and in safeguarding cultural heritages. When the pattern of ecomuseum was introduced into China by scholars, some difficulties appeared, just as we can see from the ecomuseum in Guizhou and Guangxi. Looking back to history of China, Fei Xiaotong, a famous anthropologist described an administrative pattern of traditional China in his book. The political system of traditional China had two parts, the central authority and the local self-government. What the central authorities did was limited, and the local public welfare was not governed by central authorities, but by autonomous groups. On the surface, we could only see the political way from the central to the local carrying out government's instructions, but in fact, once the government decree reached to special institutions of the county-level and the township-level, the political way turned to another one that is from the local to the central. The political way from the local to the central did not exist in the government but was powerful and effective, which was *Shen shi*, a group of very important local elites in Chinese politics. Autonomous groups existed because of some specific needs of local people and they had the power endowed by the locals without being interfered by central authorities. In contemporary China, however, with the cancel of economic and political foundation the *Shen shi* relying on, the local elite who used to acting as the key role in public welfare disappeared. Because now the administrative system can not reach every aspect of people's daily life, there is a lack of local elites in villages and ethnic communities of China.

In China, without participation of non-governmental organization, any enterprise or individual would become powerless without the support from the government. In Chinese communities, some associations which were built to promote tourism or cultural heritages preservation were actually under the supervision of the local government, so that what they can do is only to follow the instructions given by the government instead of playing a role of local self-government. Some people are indeed respected and prestigious in local, but it is difficult for them to act as an organizer or instructor in ecomuseum or tourism development. The result of cooperation between powerful government and weak enterprise or individual is that anyone who wants to break away from the government and pursues development must be difficult. However, unlike economic development, the governmental support on cultural heritages preservation is quite limited, which finally makes the tourism and cultural preservation can hardly be done successfully. Therefore, the participation of local elites is positive to the development of ecomuseum. In most of the ecomuseums governed by the government directly in the village, the participation of the local elites is lacked, which partly results in that it separated from villager's daily life.

Zaohu was a special and important term in Nuodeng history which meant the owner of the brine. Because of the salt production, an association was established to guarantee a well-organized salt production and profit distribution. People elected representatives who were respected and controlled comparative more ownership of brine from Zaohu to be the members of the association and played the role of leaders in community. That is the origin of local elite in Nuodeng. Now, even if the association was cancelled for many years and the Zaohu has become a historical term, there are still some elders to whom people always give a lot of respect. They

experienced prosperity of salt economy and dilemma in many political movements after 1949 so that they know history very well comparing with adults and the young. In almost all of programs safeguarding cultural heritages, the elders played an important role as the key informants because they are the only group who can offer us a lot of oral history. They organize and participate in many projects and perform the local elites in community.

Mr. Yang, the owner of the family ecomuseum, has benefited the most in his thinking from the practice of family ecomuseum. The profit he gets from the ecomuseum stimulates him to think more about tourism. Through communication with different visitors among whom many people are successful businessmen of tourism in Dali and Lijiang, his running ideas and initiative is promoted. Making use of the income, he remade some parts of the house and built a better toilet, bathroom, balcony, guest room and garden, which made the house more comfortable and cleaner. During the reception of tourists, he learned knowledge about antiques and Nuodeng, even his family history. Moreover, scholar including anthropology, archaeology, history, architecture and arts, coming to do research in Nuodeng for these years, is another agent, because they were all guided by Mr. Yang to visit local people and some historical sites. The participation of collecting materials helped Mr. Yang to relate the antiques to history gradually, and then sometimes he would walk around the village to collect some items and exchange ideas with other people who are interested in collecting antiques. In 2009, Dali Prefecture issued the honor certificate of Collector of Antiques to Mr. Yang, which made him become a famous collector in the local. Furthermore, Nuodeng Tourism Association was established in 2009 and Mr. Yang assumed the vice director to organize some activities. From the case of ecomuseum, it is clear to see the change from an ordinary community member to an enthusiastic participant. This is a new exploration of ecomuseum, for local elites is a kind of inner strength which is important in community development, and we believe that it is helpful for the ecomuseum to become an idea mode of safeguarding cultural heritages and promoting sustainable development of tourism.

3.7 *Revival of Cultural Awareness*

Cultural awareness of Mr. Yang's family is changing obviously. Yang couple had led their life mainly by faming for long time, but after ecomuseum was established they gradually learned how to introduce the village and their collection and became familiar with history and traditional culture in a few years. Today, they can talk to visitors from different places freely, using both Chinese and simple gestures to communicate with foreigners. They get used to their daily life staying with different people, bringing them to visit some relatives and places of interested. Their younger son, before a shy boy, has become relax to play with strangers. Mr. Yang said: although my son is only eleven, he has been influenced by visitors significantly, even sometimes he would bring porcelain pieces or copper coins home if he picked any from outside.' Nuodeng ham is famous because of its special making skill and materials. When ham became a popular choice in tourist's menu, Mr Yang encouraged other villagers to make ham and sell to him. To get extra income through making ham, more and more family are willing to make ham and at the same time they also would like to open the door to welcome visitors if there is anyone interested in the making procedures. Traditional music was almost forgotten by young people and adults in the past, but because more and more visitors are interested in traditional music, Mr Yang sent his son to learn from the elders to play instruments. 'I hope our traditional music can pass down by young generation, in future I am looking forward to seeing my son's performance in temple fairs'. Now in Nuodeng, every weekend some young people and adults go to the elders' house and learn instruments.

4 PART THREE: DISCUSSION ABOUT ECOMUSEUM PRACTICE IN SOUTHWEST OF CHINA

4.1 *Ecomuseum and people's understanding*

As an academic concept, it is difficult for ecomuseum to be carried out in communities, especially in those remote and isolated areas, where most of the villagers are not well-educated and cannot understand such an abstract conception. Identity is the main problems in most of the ecomuseums

in Guizhou and Guangxi province because people usually don't know the difference between museum and ecomuseum, and they also don't know that they are an important part of ecomuseum. In most people's understanding, ecomuseum or museum is only an exhibition room with many objects, nothing to do with themselves. How can we turn the concept of ecomuseum into some concrete and perceived principles? From family ecomuseum in Nuodeng we can see that the owner also cannot understand the concept of ecomuseum correctly, but he knows that he is the owner of the ecomuseum because it is his home. They know how to attract people by wonderful introduction and cultural heritages, and they show visitors the house and provide them the food and accommodation. Even though they do not know the concept of ecomuseum exactly, but the mode of family ecomuseum combines successfully the concept of ecomuseum, ownership of family and pursuit of profit as a whole. Meanwhile, the mode of ecomuseum makes an important role in villager's relic education and cultural awareness. It seems work out the problem of understanding effectively which is difficult to be resolved in the ecomuseum built in Zhenshan.

4.2 *Cultivation of the Local Elites*

As the case of Nuodeng family ecomuseum is shown, the family ecomuseum plays an crucial role in transition of individual. Even if the local elite is absent in most of the Chinese communities, Mr. Yang is turning from an ordinary villager to an organizer of tourism business and cultural preservation in the context of the family ecomuseum, which provides a new perspective on how to cultivate the local elites.

4.3 *People's awareness of cultural heritages*

Villager's understanding to their traditional culture, is finishing in cultural relic's classification, trade and presentation. Through preservation, introduction and exhibition of the heritages, villagers understood more about their history and traditional culture. There are many valuable relics in Nuodeng and it was not well-known in the last several decades till the local government regarded tourism and cultural heritages preservation as the key point of their work. Then knowledge about cultural relics became a common sense for the villagers. Businessman who collected some cultural relics helped villagers realized the economic value of these items. Some relics were sold by the villagers who began to regret right after the transaction was done, for during the transaction there was no fair at all because they could not get enough information about the antique market just as the businessman does. Inevitably, villagers were placed in an unfair position. However, family ecomuseum offered another possibility for the villagers to get profit from their collection. They do not need to sell the antiques any more, instead they collect and display them as a way of getting money. From the case of the family ecomuseum, it is obvious that the villagers become more confident about their culture. What is more important is that when cognition of the cultural relics is based on a deep culture consciousness, the villagers begin to have initiative to safeguard these cultural heritages, and it becomes a continuous motivation to preserve their traditional culture. Only when villagers begin to learn and understand their own culture, and when safeguarding cultural heritages are not only for economic benefits, but on the base of culture consciousness, the value of cultural heritages will be the maximum.

4.4 *Experiences of family ecomuseum*

From the comparison of two modes of ecomuseum we can see, making profit as a strong drive plays an important role both in ecomuseum and tourism. We should consider a community's development firstly, especially in southwest of China where distributing extensive ethnic villages. In Zhenshan, pursuing profit drive tourism departs from ecomuseum. In Nuodeng, making profit is built on the base of identifying culture and participant. It seems successful presently and promotes culture protection and ecomuseum's identity. In conclusion, combining profit with ecomuseum, encouraging villagers participate in ecomuseum and culture protection, is an important problem which still waits to be worked out in community.

It is unnecessary to establish many ecomuseums in a village, but we believe that cultural awareness can be disseminated to the whole community. Take an example of Nuodeng, the ecomuseum was firstly established in one family, and then could be applied to another families

based on different traditional handicrafts such as ham making, bean pancake making, salt and salty tea making, folk medicine and embroidery, etc. Make sure that every family ecomuseum is different, so that the tangible and intangible cultural heritages can be well preserved and inherited.

4.5 *New Pattern: From Individual to Community*

Most of the ecomuseums are built in the village. Based on the experience of Nuodeng family ecomuseum, we attempt to discuss the difference between the title of ecomuseum in the village and in the family. In Guizhou and Guangxi, ecomuseum is put into practice in the village with an expectation of permeating from community to individual. However, because of the special background of Chinese society, many attempts including ecomuseum, eco-cultural village or folklore village failed to achieve the goal of preserving the cultural heritages from community to individual. In some villages, short-term participation of cultural activity could not arouse people's culture consciousness, so that the practice of ecomuseum cannot across the gulf between the idea type and the reality. That is why some Chinese scholars criticize the practice of ecomuseum, misunderstanding that it is only the change of a popular name.

In Nuodeng family ecomuseum, scholar's aim is also to build an ecomuseum in Nuodeng, but the difference is the pattern which begins from an individual to the whole community, from a family to the village. When a family realizes that they are the owner of the museum, they will relate the museum to their livelihood, and then cultural awareness will grow naturally in their daily life. When ecomuseum is not an ambitious cause, but a specific livelihood for a family, undoubtedly the owner will devote the most focus, time, energy and initiative. When an individual has grown to be a local elite, he will influence others and the whole community. When different kind of cultural heritages is preserved in forms of family ecomuseum, community member's historical memory and cultural consciousness may be reconstructed gradually. To some degree, practicing ecomuseum from the family to community in Chinese community is more feasible and influential in long term. Whether Nuodeng is entitled 'ecomuseum' is not important, for ecomuseum is only a concept. No matter which pattern is adopted, if the function of ecomuseum can be carried out in the community, it definitely will become the real ecomuseum.

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Historic preservation, museums and community-based approaches to cultural heritage: a comparative perspective from Palau and northern Norway

S. Wickler

Department of Cultural Sciences, Tromsø University Museum, University of Tromsø, Tromsø, Norway

ABSTRACT: Research in Palau on perceptions of cultural heritage has shed light on historic preservation practices and evaluated alternative models for the management and preservation of cultural heritage. Government experts have failed to accommodate indigenous perceptions of cultural heritage due in part to a Euro-American management model. The key to improving this situation lies in local initiatives and examples of community-based groups are evaluated. From my perspective as a museum-based cultural heritage manager in northern Norway, I was struck by parallels in how cultural heritage is approached and interpreted by experts in Palau and Norway. I also see similarities between the philosophy and principles of ecomuseums in northern Norway and community-based groups in Palau. Potential parallels in relations between the larger university museum and local ecomuseums in northern Norway are compared with those between the government historical preservation program and community organizations in Palau reflecting issues such as cultural identity, politics, and funding.

1 CULTURAL HERITAGE PERCEPTIONS AND MANAGEMENT IN PALAU, WESTERN MICRONESIA

My past experience in Palau as a contract archaeologist over the course of several years following Palauan independence in 1994 and a researcher in 2000 left me with the desire to adopt a more introspective and reflexive stance in order to critically assess my role as an outside expert in relation to Palauan cultural heritage (Fig. 1). My intention was to reverse roles and spend time listening to what Palauans had to say about this topic rather than giving advice about what could and should be done to interpret and safeguard the Palauan past. One aspect of this process was to examine the role played by actors within the historic preservation system in Palau, representing the officially sanctioned indigenous experts on the theme of cultural heritage. Another related topic of interest is the paradoxical contrast between the high level of awareness among Palauans of the importance of natural heritage and less developed appreciation of cultural heritage, particularly archaeological remains.

During the course of fieldwork in 2009 (Wickler, in press), I attempted to undertake a broad assessment of how cultural heritage is defined, perceived and valued by Palauans through interviews and informal conversations with individuals from a cross-section of Palauan society reflecting age, gender, ethnicity, occupation, education and socio-economic status. Topics included the importance of tangible versus intangible cultural heritage and the role of natural and cultural resources in preservation / conservation. An attempt was also made to explore and gauge the importance of concepts such as cultural heritage and tradition to individuals. Two major themes emerged from my interviews and conversations. The first reflects the practice of historic preservation in Palau and, more specifically, the role played by the government's Bureau of Arts and Culture (BAC) as authorized agents of heritage management. The second was the

emphasis placed on natural heritage conservation in contrast to cultural heritage which is more often neglected and rarely integrated into conservation measures. Locally situated efforts within natural heritage conservation in Palau have achieved impressive results that can provide a model for increasing awareness of, and concern for, cultural heritage.

My field investigations also documented examples of ongoing community-based efforts that place equal emphasis on natural and cultural heritage and provide alternative perspectives within heritage management. Two of these examples are discussed below.

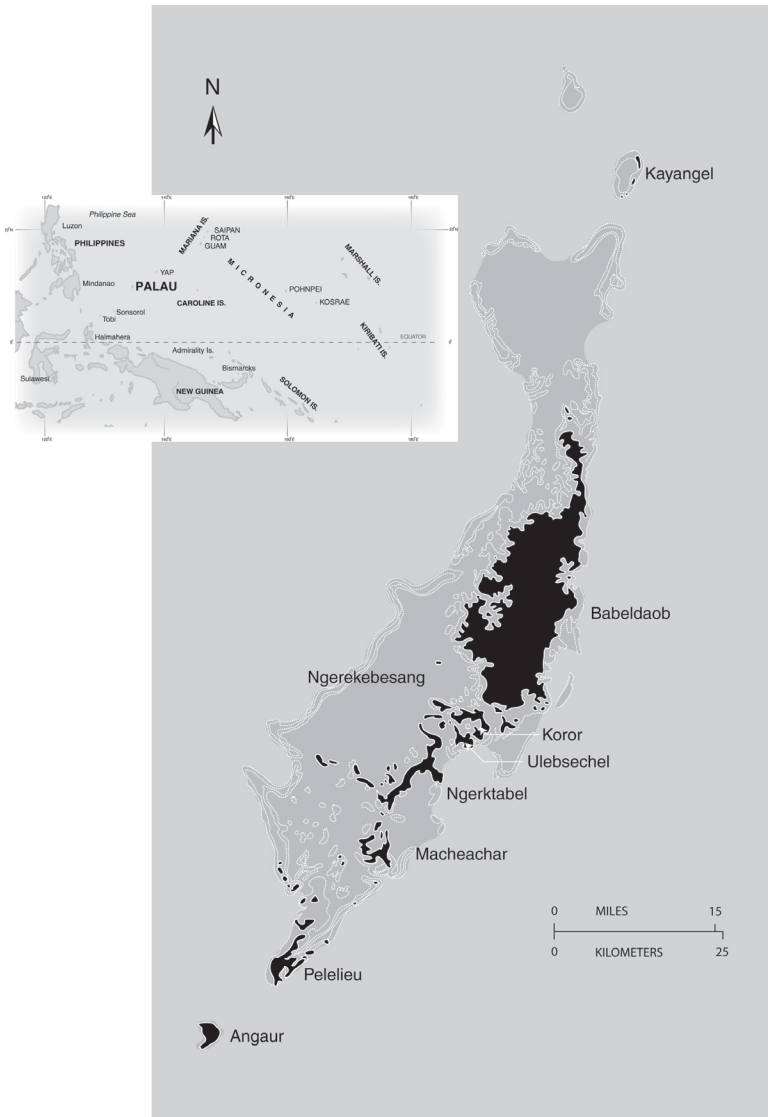


Figure 1. Map of the Republic of Palau, western Micronesia.

1.1 *Ngerusar sustainable ecotourism and aqua farming project, Airai State*

This is an ongoing project in the rock islands run by the non-profit community organization Ngaraklasekl based in Ngerusar Hamlet within Airai State along the southern coast of Babeldaob Island. The project obtained initial financing from the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 2007 for ecotourism development (Ngaraklasekl, 2007). Key project personnel included a former staff archaeologist for the BAC, a local businessman, and a staff member of the Environmental Quality Protection Board. The main objective of the project is to generate jobs for members of the organization and other residents of Ngerusar Hamlet, population c. 200, through the development of ecotourism and aqua farming. The entire project area, including two larger rock islands and a number of smaller islets, is protected by Airai State with a ban on hunting and restrictions on commercial fishing and also includes the Ngeream Conservation Area focused on the protection of mangroves. The project is also incorporated into the master plan for Airai State (Airai State Planning Commission, 2010).

A major component of the project is the development of a foot trail across the island of Ngeream with interpretive information concerning archaeological sites, flora, and fauna. There is a wealth of archaeological resources in the project area with at least 50 sites recorded in the Ngerusar region. These include Yapese stone money quarrying sites, burial caves, a pictograph cave, a traditional village site, a stone dock and cave complex, and numerous Japanese defensive installations from WWII. The second central component of the project is an aqua farm development scheme for both clam and finfish production with allotments of land and marine areas to community organization members. Small scale ecotourism is also planned with kayaking and interpretive tours.

This project is a promising example of what can be accomplished by competent local actors concerned with small scale sustainable development as a future investment for the community. It also attempts to actively incorporate both cultural and natural resources which are given equal emphasis in the overall project framework.

1.2 *The Ebiil Society, Inc., Ngarchelong State*

The Ebiil Society is a community-based NGO established in 2005 that undertakes projects and activities promoting the protection and preservation of cultural and natural heritage from its base at Ollei in Ngarchelong State at the northern end of Babeldaob Island. The organization was founded by a community group that emerged through actions to establish a permanent conservation site at the Ebiil Channel, an important spawning area for grouper species. The principle concern of the organization has been on public education programs teaching environmental protection through cultural practices. A yearly summer camp was started in 2005 to develop ethnic pride through indigenous knowledge training combining culture and environment (Kloulechad-Singeo, 2011a, b). Although the original focus was on local youth, it has since been expanded to include participants from throughout Palau and former campers are encouraged to become councilors themselves. Since 2010, the camp has been divided into 'experience' (11-14 age group) and 'research' (15-24 age group) groups.

Archaeologists from the BAC have also been involved in the summer camp program and directed the clearing of Kukau el Bad, a traditional stone platform, with the participation of the Ollei community (Olsudong, 2006). Other activities included the identification of traditional village boundaries in Ngarchelong. The students and local young people participating in the camp had no knowledge of these boundaries or their clan platforms, which also serve as traditional burial grounds, and were able to gain a greater awareness of their cultural identity through camp activities. As part of the focus on learning by doing, traditional activities such as fishing, designing and constructing stone structures, and taro cultivation have been emphasized.

Society membership is open to everyone and other states have expressed a growing interest in starting similar organizations and camp programs. The society officers and board of directors include highly competent individuals from Ngarchelong with backgrounds from both natural and cultural sciences and a common interest in a holistic approach to protecting local resources. The Ebiil Society represents another example of a grassroots effort with a focus on local heritage issues and concerns here focusing on educating local youth and strengthening their cultural

identity. As with the Ngerusar project, the Ebiil Society explicitly advocates an approach actively integrating a concern for both natural and cultural heritage resources.

A fundamental question arising from my fieldwork in Palau is how concepts of cultural heritage that reflect dynamic, living entities can replace static reified vestiges of the past narrowly defined as something in need of preservation. As illustrated by the community-based initiatives presented above, it is necessary to situate attempts to increase awareness of cultural heritage at the local level in order to develop approaches of relevance and utility to society at large. The plurality of voices in Palauan communities should also be viewed as an expression of strength rather than a negative factor reflecting dissonance. As archaeologists we have an obligation to work towards involving local residents directly in field investigations and inform them of our results. This has been sadly lacking in the essentially extractive domain of both contract and research based archaeology in places such as Palau.

2 THE NEW MUSEOLOGY AND ECOMUSEUM MOVEMENT: PRINCIPLES AND LOCAL EXPRESSIONS IN NORTHERN NORWAY

A considerable amount of confusion has arisen in the literature from attempts to define 'new museology' and distinguish it from the ecomuseum concept. The term has been introduced into the museological literature on separate occasions, in different places, and with different meanings. In essence it reflects a combination of changing attitudes and practices adopted since the late 1960s emphasizing the need for museums to reflect and serve the needs of their communities. This concern for community engagement created a strong bond to ecomuseums and other forms of community museums arising in the 1970s. Since the word 'ecomuseum' was first coined by Hughes de Varine in 1971 (Varine 1996) and formalized by Rivière (1973), it has become firmly established as a practical and philosophical underpinning for numerous museums whose numbers and variety continue to increase on a global scale. The Natural History Committee of ICOM (in Davis, 2011: 81) has provided the following useful definition: "The ecomuseum is an institution which manages, and exploits – by scientific, educational and generally speaking, cultural means – the entire heritage of a given community, including the whole natural environment and cultural milieu." Ecomuseum concepts of central importance include a locally grounded sense of place and a holistic view of local landscapes and environments within the context of community identity and involvement (Davis, 2011).

The ecomuseum movement in France was enthusiastically received in Scandinavia during the 1970s where it coincided with political conflicts reflecting tensions arising between center and periphery and control from a distance versus self-supporting small communities. The growing environmentalist movement also had a considerable impact on attitudes towards museums and their future development. A Norwegian network of ecomuseums was created in 1984 following an international workshop with ICOM and the University of Telemark (Gjestrum & Maure, 1988). A system put in place in 1975 enabling Norwegian museums to obtain state funding with few restrictions spurred the formation of local museums and expansion of existing 'folk museums'. About 80 per cent of the 350 existing museums in 1985 were open-air museums or dealt with rural life (Maure, 1985 in Davis, 2011: 137). Gjestrum (1992) estimated that forty Norwegian museums made use of the ecomuseum concept by the end of the 1980s. The creation of ecomuseums in northern Norway reflects these general trends and I have chosen to focus on two museums with quite different approaches and backgrounds reflecting variation in organizational principles, geography / place and ethnic identity (Fig. 2).

2.1 *The Lofoten Museum, Vågan, Lofoten Islands*

The Lofoten Museum, founded in 1976 as an institution for both Vågan Municipality and the Lofoten region, is located at Storvågan near the town of Kabelvåg. Storvågan was one Lofoten's largest fishing villages (*fiskevær*) in the 1800s and the museum has been built up around the residence of the former landowner with its outbuildings, boathouses and two old fishing cabins that have been moved to the location. Storvågan is also the site of the only medieval urban centre in northern Norway during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The thematic focus of the museum is on (Norwegian) coastal culture (*kystkultur*) and history of the Lofoten commercial cod

fishery built upon the export of dried cod (stockfish) to Europe extending back to the early medieval period. The Lofoten Museum has also recently become one of four museum units associated with the Norwegian Coastal Administration (*Kystverkmusea*) established in 2008 and is responsible for the theme of historical fishing harbor development in Lofoten.

The Lofoten Museum was incorporated into Museum Nord in 2004, one of four consolidated museum units for Nordland County currently comprised of ten museums within the northern part of the county. The professed goal of these consolidated units is to further develop a decentralized museum organization, although consolidation and decentralization are commonly viewed as contrasting forces. This ongoing transformation of the museum landscape is part of a nationwide consolidation process whereby the government has sought to streamline organizational structures and increase financial efficiency. However, Museum Nord has undergone serious financial difficulties since its creation that have had an impact on long-term goals (Museum Nord, 2008). The extent to which The Lofoten Museum has been affected by consolidation and subsequent economic problems is uncertain, but some degree of tension between maintaining ecomuseum principles of community involvement within a much larger consolidated entity would appear to be inevitable.



Figure 2. Map of northern Norway showing the location of museums mentioned in the text.

2.2 North Troms Museum

North Troms Museum is an extreme example of decentralization encompassing six municipalities in northern Troms County (Lyngen, Storfjord, Kålfjord, Nordreisa, Skjervøy and Kvænangen), each with its own museum facility / building complex. The museum is also responsible for many additional buildings and has been involved in the restoration of some 90 structures, over 30 of which are accessible to the public. The museum was founded in 1979 as the first regional museum in Troms County through an initiative by the North Troms Historical Society, and based on an ecomuseum model emphasizing local participation and engagement. The individual museum buildings are preserved in their original environment and the local residents are acknowledged as experts on the cultural identity and values of their community. The museum's goal is to reconstruct and describe relationships and interaction between the ethnically diverse Norwegian, Sami and Kven population by displaying and interpreting physical evidence of the role played by the region as a cultural meeting place. The overarching museum philosophy, which views the entire region of North Troms as a museum, is reflected in each of the main museum building complexes. These include a post-WWII reconstruction period farm, a trading center focused on local fishing activity, a traditional Sami marketplace, a coastal Sami farm, a traditional fisher-farmer farm, and a Kven farm.

Generous government support for local museums contributed to rapid growth of the museum up until the mid-1990s when funding was drastically reduced and the emphasis placed on economic self-sufficiency (Nilsen, 2004). This policy shift provided a major impetus for the museum consolidation process experienced throughout Norway beginning in 1990s. Consolidation was avoided by North Troms Museum as it already covered such a large geographical area. A shift in focus from the active collection of new material towards improved care of existing collections has taken place along with downsizing to a smaller but more professional staff. There has also been an active focus on reducing the number of buildings owned by the museum from 90 in 1999 to 52 in 2010 (North Troms Museum, 2010). Although the large geographical area covered by the museum and its decentralized approach have led to serious challenges for administration and stretch the community-based concept of an ecomuseum to the limit, the overall concern with expressions of local identity and belonging within a multicultural milieu remain as core values.

3 MUSEUM RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTHERN NORWAY

Having presented community-based approaches exemplified by two ecomuseums, I now turn to an assessment of the role played by Tromsø University Museum (TMU), the oldest (founded in 1872) and largest museum in northern Norway, in relation to these and other local museums. My goal in this exercise is to illuminate aspects of wider issues often framed as structural oppositions such as core versus periphery, consolidation versus decentralization, academic principles versus local knowledge, and museum experts versus the 'museum community'. Although these oppositions are oversimplified and stereotypical, they can provide a starting point for a more nuanced assessment of museum relationships and how we can seek to bridge both real and imagined institutional barriers. My examination of relationships is grounded within the framework of cultural heritage management and my viewpoint as a designated cultural heritage 'expert' at TMU in a position partially financed by the Norwegian Directorate for Cultural Heritage.

TMU has a long tradition of archaeological activity and is a key actor in cultural heritage management within a district which covers most of northern Norway. The museum has been given exclusive authority by the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Act for archaeological rescue excavations within its district and is required to incorporate the resulting finds into its permanent collection. Tromsø Museum established a network of local culture history experts throughout northern Norway in the mid-1930s which grew steadily to include 62 persons by 1956. Although amateurs, these individuals came from the upper levels of local society and were looked upon as equals by academically trained archaeologists (Nilsen 2003: 386). This relationship changed abruptly in the 1990s when a substantial amount of authority for cultural heritage management, including archaeological survey activity, was delegated to the individual counties and the Sami Parliament was given responsibility for Sami cultural heritage.

The demise of the network of local experts and restructuring of the cultural heritage management framework signaled a growing distance between TMU and local communities. This has increased to the point of almost complete isolation from one another today, at least within the realm of cultural heritage management. It is telling that many individuals contact their local or district museum rather than TMU when reporting archaeological finds and are often unaware of TMU's status and authority within the cultural heritage management system. This is symptomatic of a more pervasive loss of legitimacy for TMU in the eyes of the 'museum community' they are supposed to serve.

Gørill Nilsen (2003) has undertaken a detailed analysis of the relationship between local and academic knowledge in how the past is perceived and interpreted by comparing and contrasting the regions of North Troms and Lofoten. One component of her research was a critical analysis of the role played by regional museums, including the two ecomuseums I have discussed. Nilsen points to the 1970s as an important watershed culminating in a clearly demarcated distinction between local and academic knowledge. This decade also witnessed the rejection of academic experts and their form of knowledge by local actors who prioritized their own experience and intimate knowledge of local landscapes in a contemporary context. In contrast, academic knowledge was characterized by a focus on the remote past, ethnicity and the synthesis of historical processes from a broad geographical perspective.

The founding of the University of Tromsø in 1972 and subsequent incorporation of Tromsø Museum into this institution played an important role in increasing the stratification of scientific knowledge and its distance from local knowledge. The challenge is to find ways of bridging the gap between academic and local expertise and generate an integrated approach to knowledge. In order for this to take place, academics must adopt a more reflexive attitude towards their own discipline and actively participate in local communities. Although the general lack of resources available to academic and local institutions, including museums, is a serious impediment to putting words into action, there is much to be gained by simple measures such as improved coordination and information exchange between the actors involved at all levels.

Even with a willingness to actively participate at the local level, there are fundamental structural features of museum organization that increase the difficulty for larger museums such as TMU to engage creatively with locally focused museums such as the ecomuseums I have presented. The dynamic nature of identity, whether rooted in geographic locality, religion, education, politics or ethnic background, leave the museum, which is focused on permanency as both an institution and in the long-term care of objects, in a difficult situation. The presentation of minority cultural identities also requires the museum to play the role of advocate, a difficult task when curators must avoid projecting their own culturally determined values and prejudices. By the same token, it is difficult to speak of a single 'museum community' as any given community can embrace many sub-communities and groups involved in complex multivocal interactions that are in a constant state of flux (see Davis, 2011: 31-35). These problems of representation are experienced by all museums to some degree but the focus that ecomuseums have on place and environment within a specific local community context are better suited to accurately representing their surroundings.

One means of establishing a closer relationship between the academic establishment (TMU) and local experts (ecomuseums) is the initiation of, and participation in, joint collaborative research and public outreach projects. Both Museum Nord and North Troms Museum have specific goals within both of these categories expressed in their five-year museum plans. Museum Nord participated in the project "The management of cultural heritage in marginalized coastal communities" financed by the Research Council of Norway from 2005-2010 (Research Council of Norway, 2010; Bertelsen, 2012). The project also involved researchers from the University of Tromsø, the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research and Nordland County. The objective was to record archaeological sites from all periods in four marginal coastal areas of Nordland and conduct interviews with local residents.

North Troms Museum conducted an archaeological survey project in 2010 and 2011 with financing from the Sami Parliament that focused on recording Sami and Kven sites in Reisadalen in addition to conducting interviews (North Troms Museum, 2012). The main focus was on obtaining a better understanding of indigenous Sami cultural environments and relations with other ethnic groups, particularly the Kven, a minority group with Finnish ancestry. Themes of interest included traditional use of natural resources with a particular emphasis on the role of women.

This is an example of research initiated at the local level and tailored to the overarching goals of the museum and its focus on multicultural encounters.

These two projects demonstrate the importance of research that is locally situated and contributes to the further development of local and district museums. TMU would benefit by contributing to projects of this type as a means of improving contact and participation with local communities and their museums.

4 COMMUNITY GROUPS, ECOMUSEUMS AND THE NEED FOR COLLABORATION: PARALLELS BETWEEN PALAU AND NORTHERN NORWAY

Although the examples of community-based groups from Palau are not museums in a formal sense, their focus on local environments and the importance of place in which both cultural and natural resources are given equal weight has striking parallels with the philosophy and underlying principles of ecomuseums. Parallels also exist in the challenges being faced by community groups in Palau and ecomuseums in northern Norway and I contend that insights can be gained into potential solutions to these challenges through a comparative approach.

The existing situation within cultural heritage management in Palau and northern Norway is a key area where parallels can provide a basis for potential improvements. In Palau and elsewhere in Micronesia, most of the funding for historic preservation comes from the US National Park Service, an agency of a foreign government focused on internal affairs and reflecting non-indigenous Euro-American values. This has resulted in a system that can be seen as remote and unresponsive to the needs of local communities. Parallels exist in northern Norway where TMU is an important institutional authority and repository of academic knowledge with experts in cultural heritage legitimized by the Cultural Heritage Act and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage. TMU has also become increasingly isolated from the interests of local communities more closely linked to ecomuseums and other community museums where local knowledge and expertise is valued.

The key to improving the situation in both Palau and northern Norway lies in increased interaction and collaboration between communities and institutional authorities through joint projects where partners are given equal influence and respect. In Palau this can be accomplished through the increased involvement of local communities in foreign-led research and cultural heritage management projects as well as direct participation in activities led by the BAC. In northern Norway, the increased involvement of TMU in community-based projects focusing on cultural heritage would be mutually beneficial. These efforts could be channeled through ecomuseums and other district museums. Initiatives to increase local access to material in the collections at TMU and the display of objects at the community level can also be improved and expanded. None of these suggestions are novel or unproven but there is clearly room for improvement in the existing situation that will benefit everyone involved.

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Ecomuseum as a tool for preservation of traditional ecological knowledge and practices for sustainable development of landscape

M. Zapletal

Silesian University at Opava, Faculty of Philosophy and Science, Czech Republic

ABSTRACT: Traditional ecological knowledge and associated practices are essential for sustainable development of landscape. The article explores how an ecomuseum can contribute to the preservation of traditional ecological knowledge and practices of local communities for the sustainable development of landscape and the conservation of nature. Based on an analysis of published ecomuseum indicators that refer only little to the protection and preservation of the natural environment, the list of indicators were designed, which were based on five aspects: (1) criteria about conservation, monitoring and non-destructive research of traditional ecological knowledge, practices and use of natural resources and landscape, (2) criteria about inclusion of local communities into the projects of nature and landscape conservation, (3) criteria about education of local communities in environmental training programmes, (4) criteria about participation of local communities in touristic programmes, (5) criteria about participation of communities in sustainable development of villages, landscapes and natural resources. These indicators stress the role of an ecomuseum in maintaining and developing social and collective memory of local community as a specific form of cultural heritage linking cultural and biological diversity. This collective memory develops activities sustaining ecosystem services and the sustainable development of landscape in accordance with The European Landscape Convention and The Man and the Biosphere Programme. These indicators were applied to finding potential location and community of ecomuseum Moravske Kopanice in which the traditional ecological knowledge and practices are preserved.

1 INTRODUCTION

Since 1960s when the idea of an ecomuseum began in France, the term has been applied to the management of social projects dealing with social, economic and environmental development of an area. Museologists have been trying to define ecomuseum on the basis of a list of its fundamental characteristics and on the basis of its comparison with traditional museum. While most indicators and characteristics of ecomuseum that have been published in literature (for example Hamrim & Hulander, 1995; Davis, 1999; Corsane et al., 2007a) specify the relationship of ecomuseums to cultural heritage as well as cultural memory of a community in a great detail, there are also reflections about only little legacy of the existing indicators of ecomuseum relating to natural environment, differences between geographical areas, past and present problems concerning environment, on a role of living collections and their disposition, which ecomuseum takes care of (Corsane et al., 2007a).

Within the framework of philosophy and ecomuseology practises it is possible to identify a range of definitions and indicators that have a tendency to characterize individual ecomuseums,

and can be considered to be the chief principles of an ideal ecomuseum (Rydzewski ed., 1978; Rivard, 1984, 1988; Heron, 1991; Boylan, 1991a, 1992b; Corsane & Holleman, 1993; Hamrin & Hulander, 1995; Ohara, 1998; Davis, 1999, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Joubert, 2005; Maggi & Falletti, 2001; Maggi, 2002; Corsane, 2006a, 2006b; Corsane et al., 2007a, 2007b, 2008), however, according to Davis (2005b), it is difficult to enforce a uniform standard that could be applicable to all ecomuseums.

If we understand a traditional museum as a complex of buildings, collections, professionals, techniques etc. ecomuseum is then a complex of areas, cultural and natural heritage, memory and society (Rivard, 1984, 1988). Heron (1991) suggested three main features of ecomuseum: (1) strong sense of pride of local traditions, habits and people's architecture, (2) connexion of ecomuseum with economic restoration, (3) attempt of ecomuseum to save endangered culture. Boylan (1992b) specifies five criteria according to which people need to distinguish between "classical" museum and ecomuseum. These include size of an area, main study focus and communication of ecomuseum, organizational priorities, customers and management. While "classical" museum is a building, it is concerned with the collections that are documented by professionals, it is also concerned with the customers as the main consumers, and it is managed by specialized personnel; ecomuseum has a whole range of geographical areas from one village up to a whole regional area of cultural heritage, it uses interdisciplinary approach, perceives local inhabitants and tourists, and is managed by the community representatives.

Hamrin & Hulander (1995) published 18 principal characteristics of ecomuseum. In their opinion, ecomuseums are related to certain areas, they preserve and interpret the features of cultural landscape *in situ*, they are based on an existence of a center and several so-called *anthems* spread around the area, preserving and renewing the most important components of local heritage, local community participates on the activities of ecomuseum, encourages the feelings of identity in local inhabitants, strives for active participation of the visitors, who should use their own personal experience to get a better understanding of the area, aims to connect culture with tourism, ecomuseums are based on the cooperation of local authorities, organisations and associations, respectively private subjects. Employees of ecomuseum work as consultants and coordinators. Ecomuseums depend on the work of volunteers, who attempt to make the little known and only little visited places more accessible for the tourists, they also address school audience and implement various educational programmes and participate in research.

Davis (1999) used a modified version of this list to compare ecomuseums with traditional museums and explore some functions that could be used as possible indicators for ecomuseums. According to Davis (1999), the concept of ecomuseum helps to protect a part of complex heritage and also helps the local population, which aids up to this heritage. Ecomuseum is a society-run project concerned with protection of cultural and natural heritage, which mobilizes against possible endangering of cultural and natural heritage and helps to maintain sustainable development of society. Ecomuseum is therefore not limited to a building (buildings) of a museum, it can select its own priorities for protection and its own interpretation of heritage in their own area. Corsane & Holleman (1993) and Davis (1999) introduce 3 main pillars of the idea of ecomuseum: (1) protection of a sense and spirit of the place using a complex (holistic, system) approach to resources of the heritage in their own environment, (2) involvement of the public, (3) idea of ecomuseum can be shaped up and it should react to unique contexts. Ecomuseum is really a "holistic" approach for the sustainable development of landscape and society (Corsane & Holleman 1993; Davis 1999), which puts stress on the importance of a complex and at the same time the cohesion of its single parts, which consequently enables to react to the complex, which is sandwiched provided there are present and impending damages of cultural and natural heritage. Ohara (1998) suggests that ecomuseum consists of three elements: (1) saving various kinds of heritage including nature and cultural and industrial traditions in assigned area (2) management and activities with the participation of local inhabitants taking into consideration their future (3) museum that represents the functions for protection of landscape and traditions. Cultural and natural heritage, local community and museum should certainly be joined mutually.

Joubert (2005) summarized 4 principles of a french ecomuseum – area, its heritage, inhabitants and education. Davis (2005a) emphasized the pride of local people in their own environment as a principal characteristic for all ecomuseums. According to Corsane et al.

(2008), traditional ecomuseum is made of buildings, collections, specialized personnel and visitors, whereas in case of ecomuseum these include area, heritage, memory and inhabitants.

Corsane et al. (2007a) put together a list of questions and used them to evaluate five ecomuseums in Piedmont and Liguria in Italy. The questions are divided into three groups. The questions in the first group examine the conditions before the ecomuseum has been established, in the second group there are questions that identify specific indication signs (indicators) of ecomuseum, and in the third group there are questions indentifying the signs, which are not typical for ecomuseum.

Based on analysis of the indicators that evaluate the functions of ecomuseum, which are published in literature, presented study introduces some indicators that enable to evaluate the function of ecomuseum in preservation, monitoring and non-destructive research of traditional ecological knowledge, activities and ways to use natural resources and administration of local communities in landscape. These indicators consider the social and collective memory of community, which promotes and develops activities that maintain the ecosystem services of the area and sustainable development of landscape. These indicators have been applied when searching for potential localities and communities for ecomuseum, in which traditional ecological knowledge and activities contributing to protection of landscape and preservation of biodiversity and ecosystem services would be kept.

2 ROLE OF ECOMUSEUM IN THE AREA OF PRESERVATION OF TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL KNOWLEDGE AND ACTIVITIES FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPE

According to Pretty (2011), human cultures are formed by local ecosystems. The mankind intensively changes the environment, which results in dramatical decrease of natural and cultural capital. Social-ecological systems are still more and more vulnerable because the sources of consumables, natural and cultural traditions have been impaired. The community uses traditional ecological knowledge to protect and expand nature. Ecomuseums could enable local communities to preserve or attempt to gain back their connection with surroundings and thanks to that improve their resistance. Revitalization projects of ecomuseums can offer the ways of interconnecting the knowledge with activities to be able to reach optimum results for landscape as well as culture. Traditional ecological knowledge of local community in ecomuseum can be potentially important for the preservation of biologic diversity within the range of connected social-ecological system of cultural landscape. According to Cullen-Unsworth et al. (2011), the traditional ecological knowledge is getting lost in the whole world, together with biological diversity. Integration systems of traditional and scientific knowledge is more likely to succeed when there is protection of cultural and natural heritage. Local ecological knowledge and related practises are fundamental for the maintenance and improvement of ecosystem services (Kareiv & Marviuer, 2008). Ecosystem services are divided to supply (such as provision of food or genetic sources), regulation (such as regulation of floods, regulation of climate), cultural (non-material benefit, for example aesthetic or spiritual contribution) and supportive (such as circulation of nutrients, ground formation or pollination of plants etc.). Ecomuseums can be focused on the social and collective memory of landscape, support ecosystem services and examine where and how are ecological approaches, knowledge and experience preserved and passed. Ecomuseums can also help when analysing social-ecological memory of landscape and its individual elements (meadows, fields, fruit alleys etc.).

After 2000 there have been attempts in Europe (especially in Italy) to incorporate ecomuseum to take advantage of and to recover the natural features of landscape and cultural sites in situ, to integrate the local inhabitants with the landscape and environment, to ensure sustainable development of local communities and the environment with the help of activities in which local people and tourists get involved (Maggi, 2002). Maggi & Falletti (2001) expand the community and environmental model of ecomuseum further. In this community model, ecomuseums embark in local communities within the scope of ecomuseum activities. In the environmental model, the base is an open museum of landscape with information and documental centre of park, which takes interest in local community and the relationships between natural and cultural environment. Maggi (2002) defines ecomuseum as a special type of museum where on the basis of an agreement local inhabitants take care of the place they live in. Such agreement means a

long-term obligation of the local people to fulfil ethical liabilities and visions of future development of the place including complex cultural, social and natural values that define some unique local traditions. Corsane (2006b) introduces a role of ecomuseum in sustainable scenarios of development of society, environment and landscape. In some parts of Italy, functioning of ecomuseums has been supported legislatively, encouraging ecomuseums that evaluate culture and local traditions with a view to support the environment, landscape, culture, tourism and economy (Legge Regionale, 2007a). The law has also encouraged the attempts for integration of local inhabitants and landscape (Legge Regionale, 2007b). This approach emphasizes the role of ecomuseum in sustainable development of landscape (Maggi, 2002). Pressenda & Sturani (2007) explore the role of ecomuseum in the management and sustainable development of landscape, especially in historical and culturally geographical relations, relationship of community to the environment is presented on the example of Italian ecomuseums.

Activities of some ecomuseums in the area of sustainable development of landscape correspond with the content of The European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000) and The Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) (Magnusson, 2004). The European Landscape Convention attempts to ensure the protection of individual types of European landscape, natural and cultural values and to support the perception of landscape by local inhabitants with respect to the fact that landscape has its biological and cultural history and is a part of culture in society. Landscape is seen as a part of human culture from the perspective of biological and human history. Concept of biospheric reservations within the programme The Man and the Biosphere rests in the heart area, in which biological communities and ecosystems are strictly protected, they are surrounded by protection zone, in which traditional human activities are monitored, and there is ongoing non-destructive research (Primack et al., 2001). The protection zone is followed by a transition zone, in which some activities of sustainable development are allowed, for example small-scale traditional cultivation together with accessing certain resources, such as woodcutting and a possibility of experimental research. Such arrangement within a reservation can encourage local communities to support the aims of conservation area, and return local community a sense of traditional ownership and responsibility for the resources. One example of ecomuseum participating in The Man and the Biosphere programme is Ecomuseum and Biospherical Reservation Kristianstads Vattenrike in Sweden (Magnusson 2004; Schultz et al., 2007).

3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

In literature (for example Hong Yi, 2010; Nazariadly & Rayaditamavandi, 2011), different versions of 21 indicators identifying ecomuseum have been published; these were proposed by Corsane (2005, 2006a) and Corsane et al. (2007a, 2007b). These indicators are based on three criteria, which are: (1) participation, strenghtening and involvement of local inhabitants, (2) protection, preservation and interpretation of heritage resources, and (3) strategy and management of local sustainable development. Only two of these indicators take into account a role of an ecomuseum in the area of sustainable development of landscape. Based on analysis of the indicators of evaluation of the function of ecomuseum that have been published in literature, which do not sufficiently reflect a role of social and collective memory of ecomuseum community to preserve and develop ecosystem services of the area and sustainable development of landscape, specific indicators have been suggested, which enabled to evaluate the function of ecomuseum with respect of preservation, monitoring and non-destructive research of traditional ecological knowledge, activities and ways to use natural resources and management of local communities in landscape. These indicators have been applied into a search of potencial localities and communities, in which it would be possible to preserve traditional knowledge of landscape protection, biodiversity a ecosystem services. Region Moravské Kopanice has been chosen because of its high concentration of natural heritage, material civilisation sights, preserved local traditions and communities that apply traditional ecological knowledge and practises. The proposed indicators were applied to this locality. Assessment of the location was carried out in two stages. The initial and extensive review of information sources, which included internet sites, project proposals, books, maps, notes, and newspaper clippings was later followed by visits of the location and discussions with key person of local steward groups,

organizations and institutions at the location. Several local steward groups were found that managed and monitored a range of ecosystem services at different spatial scales. Contributions of local stewards included on-site ecosystem management, long-term and detailed monitoring of species and ecosystem dynamics, local ecological knowledge, public support for ecosystem management and specialized networks. Some key local groups were identified, namely Czech Union for Nature Conservation Moravské Kopanice, Ecological Institute Veronica and Tradition of White Carpathians. The centre of proposed ecomuseum is village Starý Hrozenkov.

Two conservation projects are selected to illustrate how local steward groups came together in multilevel networks and collaborated around specific conservation issues. Project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows, which is coordinated by White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area (WCPLA) and project Preservation of old and regional fruits varieties, which is coordinated by Civic Association Tradition White Carpathians (Tradition WC). These and other projects can be linked to ecosystem management at the landscape level through a proposed ecomuseum. The proposed ecomuseum can be flexible municipality organization acted as a 'bridging organization', coordinating and connecting many of the local steward groups to organizations and institutions at other levels.

4 RESULTS

4.1. Suggestion of the indicators emphasizing the role of ecomuseum as a tool for preservation of the traditional ecological knowledge and activities for sustainable development of landscape

According to Corsane et al. (2007a), a desk study carried out by the author addressed the following questions based on their knowledge of the sites gained from earlier visits, promotional materials and the literature. By using the questions to provide 'yes' or 'no' responses, this desk study enabled a first 'score' for each site – a quantitative measure of how many positive ecomuseological attributes it has. Several questions identifying ecomuseum indicators were suggested in 5 different areas:

I. Perseverance, monitoring and non-destructive research of traditional ecological knowledge, activities and ways of using natural resources and management of local communities within the areas

1. Does the social and collective memory of ecosystem service preserve and examine where and how the ecological practice is maintained and passed, does it consider knowledge as well as experience?

2. Are the ecosystems intentionally and actively maintained by local community with a help of some traditional processes (from cultural as well as agricultural perspective)?

3. Are some traditional activities implemented in the conservation area?

4. Are the traditional activities monitored and managed, and is there existing non-destructive research?

5. Are the local peasants inspired to a right management in the area of meadows protection?

6. Is there ongoing decision-making and management of ecomuseum based on understanding of local and regional knowledge of the ecological and social processes, functions, structures and composition as well as the relationships among them?

7. Is the sociological and economic research (of demography, economy and traditional knowledge) carried out?

8. Are the natural values of environment and traditional use of natural resources retained by the local communities?

9. Are the inhabitants supported in terms of growing the local regional crops and breeding local races of farming animals using traditional ways to be able to maintain an essential source of genes necessary for modern cultivation programmes?

II. Integration of local inhabitants in managing strategies and projects of protection of nature and landscape, in which they formulate their own development goals and fulfil them

1. Are the conservation areas used by local inhabitants?

2. Is the use of the conservation areas by local inhabitants and visitors included into the plans dealing with the care and protection of those areas?

3. Do the local inhabitants agree with the intentions of reservations and do they respect the rules of reservation to preserve natural communities?

4. Are the local and regional associations that are aimed at practical protection of nature established?

5. Do the local inhabitants take part in planning, reservation management and are they employed by the reservation management?

6. Do the local inhabitants benefit from the protection of biodiversity and regulation of activities in the reservation?

7. Do the local groups formulate their own development goals?

8. Are the local communities involved in the protection projects?

III. Training and education of local communities within the frame of ecological training programmes

1. Are the local communities and visitors trained (educated) within the frame of ecological or environmental training programmes?

2. Is the purpose of the conservation area (reservation) clearly explained to the local inhabitants?

3. Are there existing resources for environmental education and other public activities (visitors centers, interpretation programmes for visitors and tourists, natural footpaths)?

4. Are there existing community workshops covering environmental, economic and social topics?

5. Are the local communities involved in the research work?

IV. Participation of local communities in tourist programmes

1. Will local inhabitants offer tourists accommodation, guidance services, local products and other commodities?

2. Do the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum and conservation areas increase *genium loci* of the area?

3. Do the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum and conservation areas provide satisfactory experience?

4. Are the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum and conservation areas offered and promoted effectively?

5. Are the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum and conservation areas run and coordinated efficiently?

6. Do the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum or conservation areas support local economy and create conditions for investment and new job opportunities?

7. Don't the touristic programmes related to transport, accommodation, education and visiting ecomuseum and conservation areas stand against natural development of local community?

8. Are the negative and positive effects of tourism on ecomuseums observed and monitored?

V. Community participation in sustainable development of a village, landscape and natural resources and preservation of natural value of the environment

1. Are the job opportunities offered to local inhabitants within the frame of sustainable development?

2. Is the balance between economic development of the area and protection of nature supported?

3. Is there ongoing sustainable administration within the community?

4. Is the participation of the community ensured during the village restoration with the use of local traditions and active cooperation of civil societies and associations?

5. Does the ecomuseum use the best present scientific findings to create a coordinated plan for sustainable use of the area, which includes biological, economic and social components, legislative requirements, interests of businessmen, non-governmental organisations and interests of local community?

6. Are there existing ecomuseal demonstration projects for the sustainable use of natural resources?

4.2. Identification of potential location and communities for ecomuseum

These indicators were applied to a search of potential ecomuseum in which the traditional ecological knowledge and practices were preserved. Proposed ecomuseum lies within the area of Moravské Kopanice, which is situated on the moravian-slovak borderline within a reach of White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area. White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area is involved in the programme of biospheric reservations MAB and it is a part of important European locations of system NATURA 2000. White Carpathians is known especially as a location with the highest diversity and also the very best quantity of orchid plants in central Europe (Mackovcin & Jatiova, 2002). Moravské Kopanice has preserved traditional landscape, existing remainders of traditional crafts and folklore. In the light of natural conditions it is an area cultivated by a man, which also reflects the way how most of local people make a living. The area is situated in the eastern part of the Czech Republic where majority of people have always been of Slavonian ethnic origin, which is a fact not reflected in depopulation of local inhabitants after WW2. So the continuity of the original way of life has been preserved in present lifestyle. The landscape maintained the original signs of material and social civilization. There is a rich concentration of natural heritage and material civilization sights, mostly of village character. Flowery orchid meadows in the area of Moravské Kopanice came to existence thanks to demonstrative environmentally-sensitive work of a man in the area for hundreds years, which was also reflected in sensitive deforestation while preserving groves, introduction of one cut, pasture etc. This approach is a model example of maintaining a sustainable life for next generations. In White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area there are as many as 103 protected kinds of vascular plants, out of which 27 fall into a category of critically endangered, 37 strongly endangered and 39 are in the category of endangered species (Mackovcin & Jatiova, 2002). White Carpathian grass-herbal communities were created over centuries thanks to human agriculture, and their further existence is still dependant on humans. The area has been traditionally managed especially as non-fertilized single-cut meadows. In a smaller scale it was also maintained as an extensive pasture. Only some more humid meadows were mowed twice (Jongepierova, 2011).

Centre area of ecomuseum is situated in Bojkovsko region (see Fig. 1). In the district area of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice, there are 5 municipalities (Lopeník, Starý Hrozenkov, Vápenice, Vyškovec a Žitková). The centre of ecomuseum has been established as the non-governmental organisation Information centre for the development of Moravské Kopanice (IC MK) residing in Starý Hrozenkov. This organisation supports the initiative aimed at the preservation of White Carpathian meadows, projects supporting sustainable development of landscape and cooperates with various organisations. The anthem of this centre are considered to be municipalities Bojkovice and Hostětín. In Bojkovice, Museum of Bojkovsko is a regional museum, which is devoted to the older history of the region, professions and corporations of Bojkovice and surrounded area, country house and farming. In Hostětín, there is Ecological Institute Veronica (EIV) (see Fig. 2), which runs a project Preservation of old and regional varieties of fruits with a consequential production of apple must, which uses some advancements that preserve a natural character of the drink. The aim of the project is especially the preservation of a unique genetic fund of regional varieties of fruit woody species. Another part of the ecomuseum is municipality Vyškovec, which originated as a settlement of a clearing, and was built by areolar system. Typical features include a scattering of houses and cottages and a place to live searched in the most useful location of land that was connected to water, rutted roads and possibility to cultivate fields. Several valuable examples of popular historical buildings have survived in the municipality. Another important location within the ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice is also natural reservation Hutě, in which a project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows is run. This location is especially known for hand cutting. Among other activities, it is possible to mention draining (woodcutting) or planting new trees. Consequently conditions have been created for fast restoration of original varieties of the whole scale of endangered plants in the reservation.

Within the frame of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice two key ecologically oriented projects have been identified. One of them is a project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows, which is administered by White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area, the second is a project Preservation of the old and regional varieties of fruits, which is administered by Ecological Institute Veronica (EIV), and Must-production factory in Hostětín that is incorporated to civil

association Tradition of White Carpathians. Survey of activities carried out within selected projects was reflected in procedural evaluation of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice on the basis of specific indicators that were defined beforehand.



Figure 1. Region of Bojkovsko (in White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area and in Biosphere Reservation MAB) with highlighted border of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice with its centre in Starý Hrozenkov and its anthesis (Bojkovice and Hostětín) and with marked ecological projects, forests, meadows, and natural reservations.

Altogether there were 42 questions put forward that were divided into 5 principal indicators of ecomuseum (see chapter 4.1), out of which 7 questions could not be answered clearly, which was a reason why these were not included in the calculation. The score 74% represents 29 positive answers out of 35 answered questions. By carrying out the research and by application of the indicators it was possible to devone the conditions in ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice. Traditional ecological activities, like for example regular mowing of the White Carpathian meadows associations (Jongepierová, 2011) or growing some old and regional varieties, are monitored and are subjected to a non-destructive research. Local inhabitants are familiar with the biodiversity problems and agrees with the intentions to protect nature, respect the rules of preserving traditional cultural and ecological activities and encourage the ecosystem services (see Table 1). Local inhabitants encourage the tourist programmes, provide accommodation and serve as guides. Organizations and institutions in the area of ecomuseum provide environmental educational and training projects for local inhabitants. One problem is the imbalance between economic development of the area and protection of nature. Figure 2 shows the involvement of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice in the project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows. The interrupted lines stand for affiliation and involvement of the individual participants in the project. Bold lines stand for project financing by the individual participants. The finances are provided by means of grants, donations and financial gifts. The project is financed by governmental organisations (Ministry of Environment of the Czech Republic (ME), Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic (MA) via the Agency for Agriculture and Landscape (AAL)). It is also financed by three non-governmental organisations (Ecological institute Veronica (EIV), Foundation Partnership and Czech Union for Nature Conservation White Carpathians (CUNC WC)). Local inhabitants and organisations view the donations from the Ministry of Environment of the Czech Republic positively, as one of the agents motivating them to k traditional mowing of meadows. Management is formed from administrative and non-governmental institutions. The project also affiliates local inhabitants and peasants, volunteers and universities (MU, UP). Other large affiliated organisations include Tradition of White Carpathians (Tradition WC), Czech Union for Nature Conservation Moravské Kopanice (CUNC MK) and the mayors, whose work is supported by Zlín region. Ecological education and informing the public is shared especially by non-governmental organisations, Museum of Bojkovsko, The Man and the Biosphere Programme (MAB) and Natura 2000. One other organisation, which passes information mainly to organisation CUNC White Carpathians, is

Educational and information centre White Carpathians (EIC WC). Management of the whole area and its protection is carried out by the White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area (WCPLA) and Nature Guard WCPLA. The management is also partly shared by CUNC, Landscape Care Programme and The Brontosaur Movement Mařatice (BM Mařatice) (see Fig. 2).

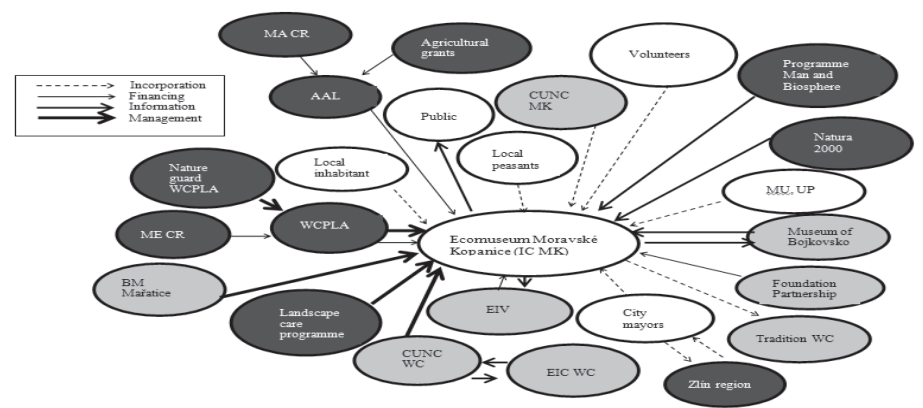


Figure 2. Involvement of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice in the project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows. Interrupted arrows represent the incorporation and active involvement of the individual participants of this project. The dark ellipses represent governmental organisations, which take part in the financing and management. The grey ellipses represent non-governmental organisations, which take part in ecological education, financing or management. The white ellipses represent physical subjects who are not organised. (IC MK = Information centre for the development of Moravske Kopanice, AAL = Agency for agriculture and landscape, EIC WC = Educational and information centre White Carpathians, MU = Masaryk University, UP = Palacký University, Tradition WC = Tradition of White Carpathians, EIV = Ecological Institute Veronica, CUNC MK = Czech Union for Nature Conservation Moravské Kopanice, CUNC WC = Czech Union for Nature Conservation White Carpathians, BM Mařatice = The Brontosaur Movement Mařatice, WCPLA = White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area, ME = The Ministry of Environment of the Czech Republic, MA = The Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic, MAB = The Man and the Biosphere programme)

Table 1. Some examples of local stewards, their management, selected ecosystem services and their effects on ecosystem.

Local ecosystem stewards	Examples of management	Favoured ecosystem component	Examples of associated services
Farmers restoration	Restoration of pastures – traditional mowing	Meadows	Increase of biodiversity, of original composition of species
Cultivators	Planting fruit trees of local regional varieties	Trees	Biodiversity, use of fruit
Breeders	Breeding cattle	Cattle, pasture	Biodiversity, meadows up keep

5 CONCLUSION

The submitted study, based on the analysis of the indicators to evaluate the functions of ecomuseum published in literature proposes indicators that enable to evaluate a function of ecomuseum, which is preservation, monitoring and non-destructive research of traditional ecological knowledge, activities and ways to use natural resources and administration of local communities in landscape. These indicators consider social as well as collective memories of the community, which expands the activities maintaining ecosystem services in the region and sustainable development of landscape. These indicators have been applied in searching for

prospective localities and communities for ecomuseum, in which it would be possible to preserve traditional ecological knowledge and activities contributing to protection of landscape and maintaining biodiversity and ecosystem services. Location Moravské Kopanice has been selected due to its high concentration of natural heritage, cultural sights, preserved local traditions and communities that apply traditional ecological knowledge and practice. Two conservation projects have been selected to illustrate how local steward groups came together in multilevel networks and collaborated around specific conservation issues. Project Preservation of White Carpathian meadows is coordinated by White Carpathians Protected Landscape Area and project Preservation of the old and regional varieties of fruits is coordinated by Tradition of White Carpathians. These and other projects can be linked to ecosystem management at the landscape level through a proposed ecomuseum. Research into activities carried out in connection with these projects was used to evaluate the ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice on the basis of priorly defined indicators. The score 74% represents 29 positive answers out of 35 answered questions. By means of carrying out the research and application of the indicators it was possible to define the conditions in ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice. Traditional activities in the area of ecomuseum Moravské Kopanice include regular mowing of White Carpathian meadows associations and growing some old and regional varieties of fruits. Local inhabitants respect the rules of preservation the traditional cultural and ecological activities. The proposed ecomuseum can be flexible municipality organization acted as a 'bridging organization', coordinating and connecting many of the local steward groups to organizations and institutions at other levels.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are extended to Mrs Tařana Fryřtáková, Mrs Barbora Valošková, Mrs Martina Polomíková, Mrs Anna Vrábliková, Mr Jan Matyáš, Mr Jakub Svoboda and Mr Miroslav Zelinka for technical assistance.

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Ecomuseums 2012

1st International Conference

on Ecomuseums, Community Museums
and Living Communities

Ecomuseums 2012 - 1st International Conference on Ecomuseums, Community Museums and Living Communities aims at gathering scholars, academics and practitioners working in the areas of Ecomuseums and Community Museums.

The ecomuseum movement has its origins in late 1960's France when the roles museums can play in linking people, their heritage expressions and places, as well as affecting social change, were examined. At this time, traditional museum activities, which centered on the collection of heritage to be interpreted by curators and other museum professionals within a museum building, were viewed as both limited and exclusive in approach. In more recent decades, ecomuseums have been established throughout the world and are guided by a variety of differing aims and objectives. For example, an ecomuseum may resemble a more conventional museum in appearance or, in other cases, an open-air community-controlled heritage project, depending on the place.

It can be considered that this wide range of ecomuseological and community-based museological initiatives demonstrates an international interest in alternative heritage management approaches. For this reason, *Ecomuseums 2012* seeks to bring together scholars, researchers, architects and heritage professionals to discuss the commonalities, differences and future of safeguarding practices that are holistic and community oriented in scope.

The Editors