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REPRESENTING ETHNOGRAPHY AND HISTORY, INTERACTING WITH HERITAGE:
Analysing Museological Practices at the Huron-Wendat Museum

Master's Thesis

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Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 17 June 2020 Hélène Bernardot

Abstract

Práce analyzuje specifika reprezentací a interakcí v moderních etnografických muzeích. Cílem je ozřejmit muzeologické přístupy k lokálním indigenním kulturám a zjistit, jak se veřejnost zapojuje do utváření specifických diskursů o kulturním dědictví a jak tyto diskursy vnímá. Zvláštní pozornost je věnována transformaci muzeí z autoritativních center vzdělávání v sociálně inkluzivní prostory. Identifikována je role profesionálů v oblasti kulturního dědictví a jejich zpřístupňování tohoto dědictví pro veřejnost, a to ve vzájemné interakci. Případovou studií je Huron-Wendat Museum ve městě Wendake (provincie Québec, Kanada). Skrze tuto studii a s využitím sekundární literatury bude zkoumána problematika identity, kontinuity a jednoty v kontextu nové postkoloniální muzeologie.

Keywords

etnografická muzea; nová muzeologie; kulturní dědictví; reprezentace; interakce; sociální inkluze; původní obyvatelé; postkolonialismus

Abstract

This master thesis is an analysis of the current specific actions on representation and interaction taken in contemporary ethnographic museums. The aim is to highlight museology pathways used to represent local Indigenous culture and to explore how the public is involved with and relates to these specific discourses on heritage. Special attention will be devoted to the study of the shift of museums from authoritative places of education to socially inclusive spaces. The mission of heritage professionals in terms of representation will be analysed, as well as their work on the notions of accessibility and involvement for and with the public. The Huron-Wendat Museum in Wendake, Québec, serves to investigate these museum practices. Drawing from thorough fieldwork and extensive secondary literature, this master thesis will further probe the prevailing notions of identity, continuity and unity of the new museology in a postcolonial context.

Keywords

ethnographic museums; new museology; cultural heritage; representation; interaction; social inclusion; First Nations; postcolonialism

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List of abbreviations

CMC – Canadian Museum of Civilisation

ICOFOM – International Committee for Museology

ICOM – International Council of Museums

ICME – International Committee for Museums and Collections of Ethnography

HWM – Huron-Wendat Museum

MINOM – International Movement for New Museology

NAGPRA – The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

UN – United Nations

UNESCO – United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization

SMQ – Société des Musées Québecois

Presentation and writings conventions

In this thesis, I use interchangeably Indigenous Peoples, First Nation Peoples and Indigenous Nations. All these terms are intentionally capitalised. I recognise that there is no consensus but out of respect for the right to self-determination, I also primarily use vernacular ethnonyms rather than exonyms. In this text, the term 'Wendat' will be preferred to 'Huron-Wendat'. In Canada, according to the 1982 Constitution Act, the term 'Aboriginal' is a generic which applies to the First Nations, the Inuit People, and the Métis Nation. However, for this thesis the term 'Aboriginal' is avoided since it may blur the distinction with the Native Peoples of Australia. The word 'Amerindian' is not used since it refers to a conflation.

All quotations whose sources are in a foreign language are free and non-literal translations and are placed in square brackets. Quotations and the bibliography in French are not translated.

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Introduction

Development of the research topic

My experience as a museum visitor has strongly influenced my relationship to culture and the transmission and reception of knowledge. I have long considered museums as elitist temples of culture, like cathedrals embodying sacred knowledge and perfect aesthetics. If the definition of the museum is in full flux, the 'real' physical museum, the one that we think of when it comes to occupying ourselves on rainy days or visiting as part of a school trip, a tourist or family outing, remains a large and sometimes confusing building. Although my interest in museology has grown and been heightened by my studies in cultural heritage, the museum is a place that can discourage me because I do not always agree with its discourse and because it does not satisfy certain expectations. However, it is necessary to qualify this point: my museum experience does not meet these expectations because it does not always stimulate my intellectual pursuits, cultural interests and perceptions of the world.

Our environment, our education, and our concerns play a key role when it comes to experiencing a museum tour. It was during a visit that I understood the importance of cultural mediation[1] and the difficulty of reaching out to segments of the population who are generally not attracted to museums. Although now museums seem to me fundamental in knowledge building. The development of an accessible and stimulating museum where everyone would meet their expectations deserves to be developed in a broader format and by all cultural institutions, and especially by museums themselves. Precisely because they are actors in the politicisation and popularisation of knowledge, museums have responsibilities: they should present a certain understanding of the world; they should take a stance in local and global issues; they should make efforts in popular education; and they should be entertaining, but at the same time rigorous in terms of scientific content.

1 The term 'médiation culturelle' is widely used in French museological theory and practice. However, we have not found an appropriate and satisfying translation in English nor in anglophone readings. 'Interpretation' seems to be the closest term. Although the mission of *médiateur·ices* are embodied in museum professions in most museums, they rarely share the same label from a museum to another. Interestingly, even if the term does not exist in English, we believe that it is generally in English-speaking countries that mediation work is succeeding the most. Based on a French understanding of 'médiation culturelle' we will define 'cultural mediation' as a means of interpretation helping the visitor to make links between the context of the object, the ways to understand it and the visitor's knowledge and culture.

Thus, the initial aim of my research was to examine how culture could be made more accessible to a lay audience and a broader public with inventive solutions. While clarifying my research topic, I therefore concentrated on the notions of representation and interaction in ethnographic museums based on the case study of an Indigenous museum in Canada: the Huron-Wendat Museum (HWM) located near Québec City.

I have elected to carry out this study with the help of these two concepts (representation and interaction) because they are today an integral and important part of museum practice. These concepts have been chosen since they embody museum functions: with representation, museums produce a certain view of the world; with interaction, they allow different stakeholders to be engaged and participate. Representation is a concept and a practice which aims at portraying someone or something with signs and symbols. As explained in the heart of this research with references to cultural studies, it is an ideological choice. Museums are a tool for representation: by extension, they are a type of media. Interaction is a mutual or reciprocal action. It is an interpretative tool that supports museological practices. In the museum context, it calls for engagement and makes the learning experience more profound. Consequently, my research deals with the representation of Indigenous culture in the context of the new museology with a postcolonial perspective. In other words, the main goal is to understand the museological practices used to highlight a specific cultural identity and how the public is affected by and receives this discourse.

Most studies of ethnographic museums have dealt with museums created by Western experts, transmitting a Western discourse on Indigenous Peoples. Recently, Aboriginals in the Americas and elsewhere have begun creating their own institutions. They have taken the means of telling their own stories in their own words. I have selected the HWM in order to better understand this new decolonised practice in museology. In this way, we will be able to investigate an ethnographic museum owned and managed by the ethno-cultural group itself, the Wendat. The objectives of the inquiry therefore are (1) to investigate the ethnographic museum as part of the representation of a local, unique culture and heritage; (2) to critically reflect on the museological actions taken by the museum practitioners and evaluate the participation of visitors.

Defining the museum

Museums are *par excellence* places where cultural, artistic and / or scientific heritage is gathered, studied and exhibited. They exist in order to acquire, safeguard, conserve and display objects, artefacts and works of art: they are repositories of tangible and intangible heritage. The museum is also a forum, a place of debate, as well as a tourist attraction. Museums also allow visitors to experience a moment of entertainment and pleasure. Furthermore, museums are actors of the politicisation of history, heritage and culture; they institutionalise memory as an emotional account of the past. Ideology, as a body of ideas articulated by a group of people and a system of power relationships, is mobilised and reinforced. Thus, museums are not neutral: they deliver messages, make arguments and provide interpretations of the world.[2]

This reference definition, which will be used as a basis in this research, relies upon the official International Council of Museums (ICOM). Created in 1946 as a branch of UNESCO, ICOM assembles standards and guidelines for museum professionals, as well as maintaining a Code of Ethics for Museums. This code includes basic principles for museum governance, collections, and professional conduct. ICOM is also responsible for defining the museum, which is determined as "a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment."[3] An ICOM proposal was issued in 2019 based on a general call for participation to define the museum in current terms. This new statement established museums as "democratising, inclusive and polyphonic spaces for critical dialogue about the pasts and the futures"[4] – an interpretation which enhances the notions of social justice, equality and global interest. However, the motion was rejected and ICOM thus reverted to the earlier definition quoted above. Although discarded, this recent statement expresses a desire among museum specialists to move towards a more democratic, inclusive and critical museum involved in global issues.

The definition of the museum as established and standardised by ICOM is dense and illustrates the complexity of different interests within the field of social sciences and

2 See Tony Bennett, *Museums, Power, Knowledge: Selected Essays*, Routledge, 2017 and Michael Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, UBC Press, 1992.
3 "Creating a new museum definition – the backbone of ICOM," *International Council of Museums*, accessed 18 March 2020, https://icom.museum/en/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/
4 *Ibid*.

culture. Furthermore, debate happening in current museology questions the viability of equitable social representation. This means that the definition is flexible and contested; it is far from being universal and it appears to be quite difficult to define the museum in the context of the 21st century. More generally, the debate which surrounds heritage, opposing a progressive vs. a conservative approach (popularising museums vs. preserving their traditional role) has been revived. The museum as a topic has been subject to contestation mainly due to the development of a global, connected and visual society which aids the rise of alternative voices, and to its inability to improve on its elitist authoritarian origins.[5]

Current discussions are centred on the challenges of new technologies, the concept of experience and more recently on the museum as an agent of democracy and human rights, especially when it comes to the issues of decolonisation and repatriation.[6] As a fairly young discipline, museology has not yet explored all the new intertwined concerns of museum studies which involve a series of issues and actors, from governments to popular interests and academia.

In a postmodern and postcolonial world, the influence of the global economy and popular culture has led in museum studies and in contemporary cultural politics to a shift involving issues of power, authenticity and citizenship. Museums were seen for a long time as public and authoritative institutions imbued with authenticity, neutral and free-value facts. They used to hold symbolic power, monopoly and control of knowledge. But the museum evolved from temple to forum: it is now a space for opinion and meaning making. The museum is a media genre, and it can become a strong element of public space as far as cultural mediation is concerned.

Essentially, we believe that museums are subject to a paradigm change which involves adaptation to the contemporary world. Indeed, from collecting, conserving, studying, interpreting and exhibiting, they are nowadays focused on communication, experiences and commodification. To the traditional functions of museums have been added new concerns like marketing and financing with the purpose of placing the public at the heart of approaches to heritage. This shift takes place in a world challenged by global flows of ideas, people and technologies. The debates that have emerged over the last ten years prove that in a global, connected and hyper-visual society, heritage must engage in welcoming and intelligible democratic movement, by and for all. It is becoming more

5 Susan Ashley, "State Authority and the Public Sphere: Ideas on the Changing Role of the Museum as a Canadian Social Institution," *Museums and Society*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 2005, pp. 5-17.
6 See Janet Marstine (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, Routledge, 2011.

urgent and necessary to tell stories of hybridity and cosmopolitanism with the participation of diverse voices. Now actors rather than passive receivers, museum audiences are also eager for participation and interaction through popular knowledge, new technologies and culturally sensitive experiences. However, in practice, it is far more complex to put these practices in place due to the limitations of human and financial resources.

Purpose of the research

The story of the ethnographic museum has been a tale of exclusion. As a scientific project, ethnographic collections were institutionalised within the context of the emergence of the discipline during the 19th century, according to the imperial agenda of European nations. Museums sponsored research and promoted ethnography with a particular responsibility to document Indigenous ideas, concepts and aesthetics, and to distinguish art from artefact thus securing ethnographic theories of the time, dealing with race, evolution, ethnicity and the civilizing mission.[7] However, this documentation and distinction were made without the involvement of the people in question. It was not before the 1990s that concerns over the processes of appropriation and ways of producing cultural values and imaginations in collaboration with Indigenous Peoples arose.[8] If the museum can define culture authoritatively, then inclusion and greater attention to the myriad of emerging voices are crucial. Indigenous communities (among ethnic, social and sexual minorities) have finally been given a voice to claim their cultural sovereignty on how to represent who they are and what they do within institutional frameworks. The study of ethnographic museums also enables examination of the symbolic relationship between heritage and nation, to investigate the notions of cultural identity, collective memory and social inclusion, to redefine ethnography as 'Us' rather than 'Others' and to shed light on current developments in museums.

With the rise of Indigenous voices and the dispute over the definition of the museum, what is the 21st century ethnographic museum? And more generally, how can the

7For example, the 'civilising mission' of the 15th – 20th centuries was a motive used by hegemonic imperial nations to justify colonisation. As explained by the Scottish anthropologist Jean Comaroff, "anthropology is anti-hegemonic in many of the questions it asks, and is threatened in many places. But the ideas produced within anthropology are still generative far beyond the discipline." See Jean and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, University of Chicago Press,1991 and *Ethnicity, Inc*., University of Chicago Press, 2009.

8In Canada, Michael Ames and Ruth Phillips have been the key figures of interdisciplinary research on Indigenous communities and museums. See Ames, *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, cit.; Ruth Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast*, 1700-1900, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998 and *Museum Pieces: Toward the Indigenization of Canadian Museums*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

study of ethnographic museums contribute to a better understanding of museums today? Are the processes of representation established in ethnographic museums still circumscribing culture? And how are Native Peoples creating, managing and financing their own museums?

It appears useful to highlight the current state of ethnographic institutions and to propose avenues and 'good practices' which could inspire museology based on a concrete case study. The purpose of this research is thus to critically survey the practices of representation and interaction in the ethnographic museum, by undertaking a case study of an Indigenous owned and managed institution. It is a study of the approach and not an analysis of material culture: we are not willing to challenge Wendat culture or question Wendat national consciousness, but to analyse how this culture (and by extension identity) is displayed and how visitors understand and interact with it. This specific research on the practices of representation and interaction will be centred in the Canadian context.

As for the central topics of the research, representation and interaction, they are interdependent. The functions of the museum cannot be treated separately since museum professionals with different responsibilities work together and new voices are raised to get involved. These new voices, i.e. members of Indigenous communities, are currently challenging the historical errors of museums and taking part in museological debates. It is the duty of Indigenous heritage professionals to master the interpretation of representation in order to convey their identity. They must actively participate in the museum to make it their own. As social engines, museums should also be focused on the notion of interaction for and with visitors. These actions will encourage practices of collective memory and identity, understanding between communities, and will shed light on the current challenges of museology.

Museology, an expanding field of research

Museology can be defined as the science which studies societies' history by the way museums inform about social and cultural life. Museum studies,[9] as an inquiry on museums, combine a significant number of disciplines, mainly from social sciences. They constitute a multidisciplinary approach to museum research; firstly because they can

9The term 'museum studies' is mostly used in anglophone literature. Although the label 'études muséales' or 'études patrimoniales' can be used in French, their content is generally theory-focused because it rarely emphasises the professionals' aspects of museum practice. Source: André Gob and Noémie Drouguet, *La muséologie. Histoire, développements, enjeux actuels*, Armand Colin, 2010.

borrow from several types of methodologies, secondly because they can draw from different theories and schools of thought. The historiography of museum studies is related to the cultural and reflexive turns which happened in humanities and social sciences during the 1980s.

This critical turn in sociocultural disciplines brought tremendous changes to both anthropology and ethnography, which later on influenced approaches on museology. It has been affected by the ideas of postmodernism, reflexivity, deconstruction and poststructuralism. Anthropology's responsibilities in European colonialism were questioned thanks to the development of postcolonialism and the contributions of feminism. The classic *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*[10] became central for looking at ethnographers' methodologies, subjectivity and objective authority. It critically attempted to express the possibilities and limitations of ethnographic writing and analysis. Therefore, it is in this perspective that we will try to realise a critical museological analysis.

James Clifford's *Routes: Travel and Translation*[11] is also a milestone in critical cultural studies and aligns in postcolonial perspectives. His concept of 'contact zone' (an expression borrowed from the writings of Mary Louise Pratt, professor of linguistics and literature) refers to a space of colonial encounters. Clifford implements this term to rethink the museum as a contact zone where 'Other' cultures can communicate with the institution. He denounces the asymmetric relationships of power between the museum, which should be a space for collaboration, discussion, negotiation and exchange, and 'Other' cultures. His intention is to challenge and rework that relationship, which is normally perceived as that of one-sided imperialist appropriation. He proposes instead that the museum can become a space which benefits both it and these cultures. As in Clifford's model, museums can collaborate with their publics based on reciprocity and exchanges, i.e. dialogue and trust. Contact zones authorise the replacement of the one-way relationship and guarantee a work of scientific interpretation.[12]

Since museum studies are becoming increasingly popular, the literature in English and French is constantly growing. Publications feature a Western approach to heritage since the majority of the authors are from the United Kingdom, France, the United States,

10 James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California Press, 1986.

11 Clifford, "Museum as Contact Zones," in Clifford (ed.), *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1997, pp. 192-193.

12 See also the study of Laurier Turgeon on heritage as a contact zone: *Patrimoines métissés. Contextes coloniaux et postcoloniaux*, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2003.

Australia and Canada. Thus, most of the literature is applied to Western contexts by Westerners and few publications are produced by Indigenous scholars. First Nations and other Indigenous communities have only produced a small amount of material. Although they are at the centre of current discussions, their works on the topics of museology, ethnography and heritage are usually aside and not taken into account.[13] How then can this debate evolve if the voices which used to be marginalised are not involved?

Museum studies intersect with many elements and common references of social sciences such as the idea of tradition, heritage and the past. These notions are generally identified and analysed by historians and anthropologists, although museology is becoming a discipline in its own right with its own university training.[14] While notions of democracy, diversity, decolonisation, ethics, and participation are prevailing, the museum is changing and it is necessary to investigate the current meanings and interpretations applied to museums today.

Marxism has often been implemented to the study of museums and heritage.[15] However, Marxism is limited to defining the museum as instrumental. Indeed, museums are considered part of a framework stemming from a materialist interpretation of historical development. Although it still has a strong hold on social sciences and humanities in general, additional and alternative perspectives have come into play to the understanding of museums.

Postmodernism is the movement which corresponds to the current globalised, decolonised, digital, visual world in which museums are evolving and being studied.[16] It encompasses the collapse of traditional cultural hierarchies: boundaries between high and low culture are eroded. Postmodernism does not recognise this distinction and consequently

13 As for the situation in Québec, see for instance Georges Sioui, *Les Huron-Wendat, une civilisation méconnue*, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1997 and Jonathan Lainey, *La monnaie des sauvages : les colliers de wampum d'hier à aujourd'hui*, Septentrion, 2004. In terms of Indigenous methodologies in social sciences, see Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Zed Books, 2012 and Maggie Walter and Michele Suina, "Indigenous data, Indigenous methodologies and Indigenous data sovereignty," *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2019, pp. 233-243.

14 Darko Babić, "Bridging the Boundaries between Museum and Heritage Studies," *Museum International*, Vol. 269, No. 270, 2016, pp. 15-28.

15 See Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, Verso, 1994; Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Routledge, 1995 and *Pasts Beyond Memory. Evolution, Museums, Colonialism*, Routledge, 2004.

16 See Robert Lumley, "The Debate on Heritage Reviewed," in *Towards the Museum of the Future: New European Perspectives*, edited by Roger Miles and Lauro Zavala, Routledge, 1994, pp. 57-69 and Françoise Choay, "Du temple de l'art au supermarché de la culture," *Villes en Parallèle*, No. 20-21, 1994, pp. 208-221.

implicate a fascination for the popular and anti-elitism. In this context, anything can become an object of curiosity. Hence, there is no difference between museums, heritage centres and theme parks. Within a consumer and post-industrial society dominated by technology, science and leisure, they all are considered as industries.[17]

Postcolonialism, critical race theory, feminism and queer theory are becoming increasingly important in the scientific literature.[18] This movement was born out of an interest and reinterpretation of the cultural legacy of colonialism and imperialism by founding authors like Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, Franz Fanon and Gayatri Spivak. It also examines social and political power relationships, narratives that sustain colonialism and neocolonialism. In postcolonial museum studies, collecting methods are challenged, as well as the authority of anthropological discourses which, over the years, have tried to explain and recontextualise 'Other' cultures. European museums' practices are those that have traditionally characterised museum institutions. But this is today the core of lively contests, particularly in old colonial powers and empires like the United States, India, Australia, Canada, Brazil and Mexico.[19] In the postcolonial perspective, it is necessary to balance the discourses and representations of genders, ethnicities, different socio-cultural groups and minorities to write an inclusive history. The postcolonial perspective will therefore have an essential influence on this research. Indeed, it will contribute to reveal what are the exhibition processes of alteration and differentiation and how Indigenous Peoples are involved in these operations.

Historiographic issues

The paradigm change taking place at the moment encourages us to analyse museum practices with a new eye. The process of democracy starts with diversity within the museum structure and practice, in addition to opening multiple voices and perspectives. Decolonisation is the upfront challenge of museums in order to decentre the white Euro-centric view and to value the narrative that has been 'othered' throughout centuries. It is thus necessary to question ethnographic museums' ethics: for most of their history, they

17 Lumley, *The Debate on Heritage Reviewed*, cit.

18 See Ames, *Cannibal Tours*, cit.; Christina Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Museums, Curation and Heritage Preservation*, Routledge, 2003; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge, 2006; Karen Coody Cooper, *Spirited Encounters: American Indians Protest Museum Policies and Practices*, Rowman Altamira, 2007; Kreps, "Indigenous Curation, Museums, and Intangible Cultural Heritage" in *Intangible Heritage*, edited by Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, Routledge, 2009, pp. 193-208; and Laurier Turgeon, *Patrimoines métissés*, cit.

19 Élise Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées et Premières Nations : la trace du passé, l'empreinte du futur," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, Vol. 28, No. 2, 2004, pp. 7-18

have been a place of exclusion which aimed at studying the culture and way of life of exotic peoples. What we are interested in is how, in the circumstances of the 21st century, Indigenous communities exploit and adapt ethnographic museums for their concerns.

Considering that the sources and literature are lacking, it was necessary to meet the Wendat community and undertake fieldwork in the museum. Actually, there are very few critical and up-to-date studies of First Nations museums in Québec and Canada in general.[20] In Québec, it is only recently, with the works of Élise Dubuc, Laurier Turgeon and Elisabeth Kaine that attention has been drawn to Indigenous involvement in museology.[21] The three researchers have adopted an observant-participant methodology to investigate intercultural initiatives. In English Canada, Ruth Phillips, art historian and curator specialised in North American Aboriginal art, has begun studying the formation and practices of Indigenous museums, especially in relation to material culture. She has expanded her research to include the changes in representation by looking at the contestations and postcolonial critiques of the 1980s and 1990s. The following history of Canadian Native museums will be based on their works. Museum studies generally draw from experiences in other countries stemming from the former British Empire to study how they are dealing with Native approaches on museology. The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand are the notable postcolonial societies which are currently within the scope of researchers.[22]

This thesis aims to draw a parallel between scientific discourse and museology in practice, by documenting the literature with ethnographic data collected in the field. This contribution to the research on ethnographic museums and more particularly to Indigenous owned and managed museums will be based on the HWM example. Until now, very few Indigenous museums have been created and the HWM is one of the very first ones in Québec. This institution offers a unique opportunity to do an ethnographic study on an Indigenous ethnographic museum. It is believed that the study of ethnographic museums,

20 About this topic, see Phillips, *Museum Pieces*, cit. and *Trading Identities*, cit.

21 See Dubuc and Élisabeth Kaine, *Passages migratoires : valoriser et transmettre les cultures autochtones. Design et culture matérielle*, Presses de l'Université Laval, 2010; Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées et Premières Nations," cit.; and Julie Bibaud, "Muséologie et Autochtones du Québec et du Canada," *Cahiers du MIMMOC*, No. 15, 2015. *Mémoire(s), identité(s), marginalité(s) dans le monde occidental contemporain*, pp. 1-15.

22 About the United States, see for instance Coody Cooper, *Spirited Encounters*, cit.; in Australia, see Emma Waterton and Anne Clarke's study of Indigenous places and heritage, "A Journey to the Heart: Affecting Engagement at Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park," *Landscape Research*, Vol. 40, No. 8, 2015, pp. 971-992; and about New Zealand National Museum, see Paul Williams, "Te Papa: New Zealand's Identity Complex," *New Zealand Journal of Art*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2003, pp. 11-24.

illustrated by the case study of the HWM, can contribute to a better understanding of current discussions, debates and controversies in museology. The contribution of this example also aims to alleviate the academic gaps in the study of First Nations museums in Québec.

The sole and central study about this institution is Annette de Stecher's "Integrated Practices: Huron-Wendat Traditions of Diplomacy and Museology."[23] By connecting the story of the HWM to Wendat traditions of culture keeping, heritage preservation and knowledge transmission, she draws a portrait of Indigenous museology based on historical sources. This article is therefore an excellent starting point for our research. However, her approach is essentially historical while ours is anchored in the present and is based on critical and reflexive ethnography. Indeed, our aim is to analyse the practices established by the HWM, here considered a scientific research centre, a tourist enterprise and a cultural asset carrying out social, political and ideological discourse.

The HWM is a national institution of Wendat people created in 2008. Its principal mission is to conserve and enhance Wendat heritage, as well as to share and make accessible the history and culture of the community. The museum is also a research centre since it contributes to increasing expertise about the Wendat. The permanent exhibition, entitled *Territories, Memories, Knowledges*, deals with Wendat history based on material culture and oral sources; temporary exhibitions are focused on art or ethnology. In the permanent exhibition room, each window display is centred on and organised around one of the themes and arranged in a great circle. This part of the exhibition is very much about material culture, but the guided tour and the audio guide can give more information on the intangible aspects of the collection. They present and explain the significance of objects in relation to Wendat culture and identity. Most of these artifacts are not historical, thus preventing rapid deterioration. The longhouse, inaugurated in 2013, is a reproduction of a traditional dwelling and represents Wendat lifestyles and intangible heritage. It is also possible to visit Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi's house within the museum complex. The museum offers individual, guided and audio guided tours for a single price, as well as special packages with integrated educational and recreational activities.[24] Konrad Sioui, Grand Chief of Wendake, is the current president of the board of directors which includes six members of the Wendat community out of ten people. 2018 was a pivotal year for the

23 Annette de Stecher, "Integrated Practices: Huron-Wendat Traditions of Diplomacy and Museology," *Journal of curatorial studies*, Vol. 3, No.1, 2014, pp. 48-71.
24 *Huron-Wendat Museum*, accessed 31 January 2020, https://tourismewendake.ca/en/activities/cultural-events/huron-wendat-museum/

museum since it reached 22,000 visitors for the first time and was labeled with a governmental certification, highlighting its quality and relevance on a national level.[25] Its uniqueness resides in the fact that the museum is a First Nation's initiative aimed at serving Wendat people and located at the heart of their Indigenous reserve. The museological methodology is centred on self-representation and autohistory,[26] and all the exhibited content is controlled by the Huron-Wendat National Council and Tourisme Wendake. Created and managed by and for the Wendat in cooperation with non-Native professionals, the HWM is mostly a touristic product paired with a four-star hotel and a restaurant offering Wendat inspired cuisine that has become an economic engine for the local community.

Method and sources

Methodology in museology remains little developed.[27] Since museum studies are multidisciplinary, study procedures and fieldwork can differ from a researcher to another depending on their training.[28] But the methodology chosen in this study is derived from ethnography: it is about describing and explaining the systems of representation and interaction within the ethnographic museum by investigating discourses and practices. This analysis is applied to a specific case study; in other words, the purpose is to establish the link between statements (hypotheses) formulated from a critical reading of the literature and results in the field (data collection and analysis). Moreover, one avenue privileged in this study is relativism, i.e. the view that ethical truths are relative to differences in perception and consideration.

Along the same lines as new museology, critical museology is a trend in museum studies addressing issues of power, ethics, political concerns, and social justice in order to respond to the 'whats' and 'hows' of exhibiting. Thus, surveying the HWM with a critical

25Rapport annuel 2018-2019, Musée Huron-Wendat.

26This concept was developed in the Huron-Wendat context by Georges E. Sioui in *For an Amerindian autohistory: an essay on the foundations of a social ethic*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

27Virginie Soulier, "Problématiser en muséologie : quels paradigmes sous-jacents?" *Approches inductives*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2014, p.211.

28For instance, Sharon MacDonald conducted a study on the physical inscription of visitors' bodies within the exhibition thus adopting an anthropological methodology (Sharon MacDonald, "Un nouveau « corps des visiteurs » : musées et changements culturels," *Publics et Musées*, No. 3, 1993, pp. 13-27) while George Hein advocates for behavioural methods inscribed within psychological perspectives (George E. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, Routledge, 1998). As for John Falk, he builds his model on psychological, leisure and recreational studies, educational and learning theories (John H. Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, Left Coast Press, 2009).

perspective will highlight the museological processes used to represent ethnohistory. It will also shed light on how the public is involved with and relates to these specific discourses on heritage. The analysis of history, theory and practice allows the exploration of phenomena happening in this environment at various levels: firstly, from a historical perspective; secondly, in the scientific literature and in the normative discourse; and finally, on the ground with the HWM actors. Consequently, it invokes empirical research and data collection from fieldwork thanks to communication between the researcher and the museum practitioners and public.[29] Although it will not be coming from this cultural and ethnic group, the outlook on the HWM encourages collaboration on the ground with the Wendat. Thus, First Nations' literature will meet Western theoretical approach; and a dialogue between academia, professionals and local groups will be initiated, thus promoting diversity.

With a given theoretical framework, the methodology is oriented towards an inductive approach (reasoning from the specific to the general, i.e. using the HWM as a sample to draw conclusions on Indigenous and ethnographic museums). Indeed, analytic generalisations, since they are based on a theoretical framework, establish a logic that might be applicable to other situations.[30] It thus involves a set of research questions, from specific local interrogations in the HWM to general considerations based on museum studies. Eventually, this ethnographic fieldwork in an Indigenous museum will contribute to a better understanding of current museology.

Firstly, a descriptive analysis is used to investigate the museum's discourse on representation. This leads to a better comprehension of the strategic choices made by the museum to convey a vision of Wendat history and identity. The analysis starts with a reading of the means of representation (the guided tour speech, the cartels texts, and the use of audio guides and other audiovisual tools). It is important to consider which words are preferred and used, which are avoided or missing, as well as the shortcomings of the permanent exhibition. This data collection was gathered through direct observation in the museum. All the information was recorded in a fieldwork diary, organised according to a grid (see Appendix I).[31] These observations were focused on the museum space and

29 Ivan Karp, Lynn Szwaja, Tomas Ybarra-Frausto, *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, Duke University Press, 2006.

30 Robert K. Yin, "Chapter 1. A (Very) Brief Refresher on the Case Study Method," in *Applications of Case Study Research*, SAGE Publications, 2011, p.18.

31 The observation grid is based on the observational checklist of Sudbury and Russell (Figure 6.5), cf. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, cit., p.109.

organisation, but also on predetermined behaviours and visitors' spatial and temporal actions. The observation grid allows us to create a narrative based on what is represented and what is experienced by participants.

The idea of representation is conceptualised at another level, which includes the advertising and promotion by the museum itself and Tourisme Wendake and by third-party organisations such as tourist guides and the city's tourist institutions. Observation onsite and online was carried out and recorded in a diary as well. What these different actors say about the HWM communicates an idea of what the museum represents in a particular space and during a specific time. In other words, they convey a vision of the contemporary Indigenous community of Wendake's history and ethnic identity.

This qualitative analysis is developed on a third level, and perhaps the most political one: the institutional discourse produced by the museum board and staff. Evaluating the definition of Wendat's identity and heritage and how these are museified may provide an outlook on the conceptualisation of representation. This is why the interviews with a small group of professionals, including the director, as well as the annual reports encompassing the museum policy, mandate and missions are central in this research. Five people working at the museum have been interviewed: two guides, their team leader, the history researcher and the director. At the time of the research, the HWM was in the process of recruiting a curator. These interviews took place in their offices and in the permanent exhibition room. They were semi-directed and open-ended, using the same set of questions for each informant, prepared beforehand by the researcher (see Appendix III). They were established from a pattern, addressing the following themes: work environment; challenges, strategies and perspectives; the visitors' experience according to the staff; and identity relationship with the museum. These interviews sought to provoke narratives of practice in order to articulate a reflection on the practitioners' personal and professional trajectory, the skills and knowledge used in practice and their significance. Thus, by discussing the prominent concepts of the research disseminated in these themes, the interviews make it possible to assess which tools are elaborated to enhance the museum experience, and if interaction affects the way history and ethnography are represented.

In the second place, interaction is investigated. Therefore, it was necessary to proceed to a descriptive analysis of the interactive instruments, both in the physical and virtual spaces in the fieldwork diary. An inventory of all the visible interactive means, such as cartels, signs, audio guides, screens, video games, and background sounds were listed to

evaluate the extent of engagement potential. In the theoretical framework of the research, interaction is defined as an interpretative tool that supports the museological practices of the museum. Interaction allows communication and intervention; it also implies sensory experiences.[32] Thus, the data collection includes the observations and analysis of all the events and behaviours occurring during tours. Platforms of feedback covering the guest book in the museum as well as social media (see Appendix I) were particularly useful to analyse the point of view of the public in terms of perceptions, affinities and satisfaction. A map of the museum including the interactive tools of the exhibition was sketched, enabling a better understanding of the display layout and the possibilities of interaction between people, objects and media (see Appendix IV).

The only source of quantitative information is the questionnaire established and conducted by the researcher (see Appendix II). Questionnaires remain the most common and efficient tool to carry out surveys on visitors because the data is simple, direct and reproducible, although they are limited by the lack of in-depth responses.[33] The questionnaires used here were completed by the HWM visitors between November 20, 2019 and December 15, 2019, with a total participation of twenty visitors in the presence of the researcher. They are divided into six sections. Firstly, the participant is anonymously asked to identify themselves in order to draw a personal profile. Then, the second section "before visiting" aims at understanding the motivations, expectations and prior conceptions of the HWM. The third section is dedicated to the content of the visit and more particularly to what the visitor does and appreciates throughout the visit. The fourth section is an assessment of satisfaction and experience. Eventually, the last two sections are focused on qualitative questions, asking the visitor what is their personal relationship to cultural heritage and Wendat culture, and leaving a feedback space for other remarks and suggestions. To questions related to visitors' identity, needs, interests and satisfaction, it is relevant to compare what is highlighted in the questionnaires, on social media and in the guest book with the practitioners' perception in the interviews. The questionnaires are supported by the statistical data established in the visitor satisfaction survey conducted by the museum practitioners during summer 2019 among 454 visitors. The inferential analysis of these sources allows an assessment of the HWM visitors' profile and their level of satisfaction, i.e. their experiences and the museum's impact on the person.

32 Andrea Witcomb, "Interactivity in museums: the politics of narrative style," in *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum*, Routledge, 2003, pp. 128-164.

33 Hein, "Chapter 6: Studying visitors," in *Learning in the Museum*, cit., pp. 114-116.

Plan and chapters overview

The first chapter defines the theoretical framework of this inquiry. It presents an analytical review of the scientific literature. By critically considering the secondary sources, from the general to the specific, it confirms the relevance of our research questions. The theoretical framework contextualises museum studies within heritage theories, but also specifies the definition and meanings of the ethnographic museum by exploring its history as well as the museological movements that inform its present states. Special attention will be dedicated to the development of Indigenous museums in Canada and more particularly in Québec.

The second chapter gives an introduction of the case study in its context. This part mainly takes into consideration the constituent elements of Wendat identity and its connections with the idea of territory. The relationship between Wendat people and heritage, leading to the creation of the HWM in 2008, will also be investigated.

The third and fourth chapters are dedicated to data analysis and interpretation. As announced in the method, both embedded subcases, representation and interaction, constitute the concepts analysed in detail during the fieldwork. Each subcase will be discussed in a specific chapter. As follows, Chapter III will focus on the following argument: that representation practices shape the museum experience. Chapter IV will address this hypothesis: interaction affects the way history and ethnography are represented. We will explain how the data was treated and studied in order to understand the museological processes used in terms of representation and interaction. To avoid redundancy, we have chosen to analyse and interpret the data in the same chapter and therefore to directly confront the field with the theoretical considerations and the initial questions.

In the conclusion, we will synthesise the research and its results, while including the difficulties of the fieldwork in order to understand if the objectives have been achieved. The limits of the postmodern and postcolonial ethnographic museum will also be discussed. We will see to what extent the HWM can be defined as an example of ‘good practice’ regarding other institutions owned and run by Indigenous groups. We will also consider if it will be possible to apply our interpretations to all ethnographic museums. Eventually, the limitations of our study and avenues for future research will be discussed.

Chapter I — Theoretical framework

The reflexive turn of humanities and social sciences associated with postmodernism and postcolonialism has raised awareness in power and race relations within the museum context. In addition to other intellectual movements, the discourse on human rights has tremendously evolved. Since the 1990s, the discussion is centred around the idea of acknowledging the voice of Indigenous people and other minorities. This chapter in particular draws attention to the transformation and expansion of ethnographic museums from a historical and social perspective in order to demonstrate how the study of ethnographic museums echoes current changes in museology. The evolution of the museum and its relation to heritage concepts demonstrated are supported by a significant and extensive secondary literature. Primary sources will be used to set up the case study in the next chapters.

The definition of the ethnographic museum is formulated in the first part. It firstly concerns heritage-making as an instrumental selection of symbols to convey an appreciation of culture. It secondly underlines ethnographic museums as 'territory museums', inherently related to the concept of identity as well. Special attention will be given to the conception of the ethnographic museum as a territorial milestone. Eventually, the current crisis that ethnographic museums are facing will be discussed.

In the following non-exhaustive history of the museum, the transformation of treasured and limited collections into cultural marketplaces will be studied with a special emphasis on the idea of exhibiting culture as a topic. Studying the historical development of museums will highlight the actual fact that museums are a Western product and that this history is a tale of exclusion. The 19th century is featured as a key period in the management of heritage and the emergence of ethnographic museums. The development of Indigenous museums will be introduced afterwards.

The third part of this chapter will enable a deeper understanding of the stakes of museology. By focussing on the social role of the museum, the challenges of new cultural institutions in terms of engagement and participation will be investigated. We will then explain how integration and collaboration are becoming significant in current museology, especially in the postcolonial context.

1.1 Defining the ethnographic museum

1.1.1 Etymology and meaning

The etymology of the word 'museum' is derived from the Ancient Greek *musaeum*, a mythological setting inhabited by the nine goddesses of poetry, music and the liberal arts.[34] It literally means 'the dwelling of the Muses' (*mousa* signifying muse and *mouseion* as seat of the muses). It also referred to the library of Alexandria, devoted to scholarship and research.

The word 'ethnography' comes from the Greek *ethnos*, meaning people or nation, and -graphy, meaning 'writing'. It is a science claiming to represent cultures. It started as a scientific process of perception of cultural richness and diversity of exotic and remote peoples, with a particular focus on tangible and intangible heritage.[35] Interest in social organisations and the ordinary came later on and has recently been introduced in scientific and museological concerns, transforming the popular into heritage.[36] However, as "a translation of experience into textual form"[37] ethnography is a problematic object of description and critique. If ethnography corresponds to the narration of culture, it does not interpret it. On the other hand, ethnology explains the people studied in ethnography and contributes to the understanding of society and culture. Both disciplines predated the establishment of anthropology.

Traditionally, museums are a source of expert knowledge and visitors are the recipients. However, cultural democracy has repositioned the institution: indeed, the democratisation of curatorial processes gave the floor to multiple voices and perspectives, especially those of Indigenous Peoples. A museum can never be read as a single text: in the age of participation and collaboration, it is inherently polysemic. Attendance is encouraged and so is cooperative programming on a small scale. As a form of collective public memory, museums also start to serve as spaces for sharing private stories, at least in theory.

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34 Dominique Poulot, "Des collections au musée," *Patrimoine et musées, l'institution de la culture*, Hachette Livre, 2001 and Paul Rasse, "Aux origines de l'institution muséale," *Le musée réinventé : culture, patrimoine, médiation*, CNRS éditions, 2017.

35 Henrietta Lidchi, "The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, London Thousand Oaks, 1997, p.160.

36 Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-settling 'the heritage,' re-imagining the post-nation," in Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo (eds.), *The Politics of Heritage, The Legacies of Race*, 2004, pp. 30-31.

37 Clifford, "On Ethnographic Authority," *Representations*, No. 2, 1983, p.120.

Ethnographic museums are the best example of this paradigm change. The ethnologist Anette Rein even argues that "[they] have a special mission within the museum scene. [...] One principal duty of an ethnographic museum is to be a forum for the presentation of the concepts of different traditions, cultures and individual voices within different cultures, traditions and identities in different time periods. This means that [...] human beings themselves should be the focus of research and mediation."[38] Ethnographic collections are the consequences of cultural, spatial and temporal displacement. As an embodiment of colonial and imperial heritage, one of the main critiques of the ethnographic museum is that tangible and intangible are included in collections as the result of unequal relationships of power. Before the 1980s, museums of ethnography prevailed as authoritative and exclusive institutions. But the current trend is to remove overtones of Western superiority and transform them into inclusive spaces, based on a multidisciplinary, feminist, and postcolonial input.

1.1.2 Exhibiting culture

Culture is one of the most difficult concepts to define in the humanities and social sciences. It can be summed up as a set of 'shared meanings'[39] within a people, social group, community or nation. Culture is a melting pot of space and time, identity, intangible and tangible, differences and similarities, practices, productions and symbols. Every culture needs its mythology and common interpretation of the past to develop a distinctive way of life, as embodied in the 'imagined community' and 'invented traditions' theories.[40] Cultural manifestations are linked to people, embodied in performances, actions and doing.[41] Institutional focus on people and sociocultural practices, processes and interactions has led to the creation of a specific category: intangible heritage. Culture is composed of contested codes and representations – the poetic and the political are inseparable. And rather than being fixed and bonded, it is always evolving.

38 Anette Rein, "Competences and responsibilities of ethnographic museums as global actors," *ExpoTime!* Spring issue 2013, p.43.
39 Hall, *Representation* cit., p. 1.
40 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, 1991 and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, 1983. Both are discussed later in this chapter.
41 Raymond Williams, "Culture is Ordinary," in John Higgins (ed.), *The Raymond Williams Reader*, Blackwell, 2001, p.11.

The role of ethnographic museums has been and still is to exhibit culture. Their method is to organise principles of difference and similarity to produce a certain idea of the 'Other' either by exoticising (emphasise differences) or assimilating (highlight similarities).[42] The danger of exhibiting culture resides in the rigidity of representation, which does not necessarily highlight heritage as lively nor celebrate cultural diversity. Indeed, exoticising predominated the discourse in popular culture throughout history, while assimilating appeals to the sense of familiar and natural. Curating culture tends to fix it, although culture is adaptable, flexible and evolving.[43] It is necessary to explore the history and development of ethnographic museums in order to recognise how its role has evolved and led to the crisis which is taking place at the moment, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

1.1.3 Reifying identity and territory

As repositories of patrimony, museums embody the values of heritage: they are agents of identity formation. They can be considered as instrumental because they are used to determine a national, regional or local narrative and limit voices. Ethnographic museums perform official nationalism or regionalism based on common symbols. Traditionally, nation states are represented as homogeneous, natural, stretching back in time, representing who belonged and who did not. On the other hand, space and place are fundamental to anthropology and ethnology;[44] space (the creation of a territory) and time (periods of history used as references) are identity markers. Consequently, ethnographic museums exacerbate the fascination for places and communities, which encourages the rediscovery of patriotism and local identity. They reflect a sense of collective identity and self-awareness; they tell societies about what they are and what matters at a certain moment in history. They show how people, at a given time and in a given space, live, imagine, and make their nation or community. As 'territory museums'[45], they pretend to display a local and unique

42Karp, "Other Cultures in Museum Perspective," in Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991, p.375.
43Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "From Ethnography to Heritage: the Role of the Museum," SIEF keynote, Marseille, 28 April 2004, p.2.
44MacDonald, "Ex-siting and insighting: ethnographic engagements with place and community," in *Epistemische Orte: Gemeinde und Region als Forschungsformate*, Institut für Kulturanthropologie und Europäische Ethnologie, 2011, p.29.
45A term coined by the French museologist Serge Chaumier in "Musée de territoire. La délicate construction d'une identité introuvable," *Musées en quête d'identités : Actes des rencontres*, le Conservatoire de l'Agriculture, 2003, pp. 14-22.

character, in addition to connect people and sustain place identity. Thus, they allow a population to re-seize their identity or to showcase a particular culture.

In the process of territory construction, territory museums "have been important in attempting to re-create identities for whole areas, promoting a local or regional form of patriotism and aiming in the process to make them more attractive to investors."[46] Indeed, the museum is an important site in the topography and local memory of a particular place, especially in the conception of identity. The museum is thus a resource to rethink, rebuild and revive the territory and its social bonds. It puts society and the local economy in a cultural and commercial dynamic: museums have a strong role in local development, tourism and heritage projects.[47]

These museums develop ideas about the specificity and characteristics, which in its most extreme manifestations can lead to 'ethnostalgia'[48] i.e. a symptom of national decay and romanticisation of the past which only serves for economic profit under the label of authenticity. But it can also be undertaken as a productive force by restoring a sense of continuity and belonging thanks to stable and bonded elements. The problem is that these museums brand a positive and distinctive way of life which deserves the creation of mythological knowledge, memories and history. Heritage remains an aspect of a society obsessed with tradition and protective illusion of a territorial identity. Moreover, it seems that ethnographic museums struggle to represent evolution. Indeed, if history remains the discipline studying rupture, then ethnography is only about describing nations of people with their customs, habits and points of difference and thus to construct a lateral presentation of an ethnic identity as it was in the past.

According to Chaumier's understanding of a territory museum, ethnographic museums tend to glorify a place and emphasise a sense of belonging and local pride.[49] However, he questions the reification of identity through three criteria: space, time and community. Wherein, he maintains that the frontiers of identity are porous: where do the artefacts come from? How is the territory defined? What is local and what is not? What is

46Lumley, "The Debate on Heritage Reviewed," cit., p.62.

47Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage*, University of California Press, 1998, p.151.

48Chaumier, "Musée de territoire," cit., p.15. Emotional identification with the past has been debated from the 1980s notably by Pierre Nora in *Les lieux de mémoire*, Gallimard, 1984 and Samuel in *Theatres of Memory* cit. Lumley's "The Debate on Heritage Reviewed" and Rebecca Wheeler's "Local history as productive nostalgia? Change, continuity and sense of place in rural England," *Social & Cultural Geography*, Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 466-486, also deal with the relationships between heritage, nostalgia and romanticisation.

49Chaumier, "Musée de territoire," cit., p.16.

produced according to a 'tradition'? As for time, he contends exhibitions that amalgamate objects from different periods call into question the idea of continuity. Finally, he highlights that the definition of community is problematic and dangerous, because it assigns and thus excludes. In this respect, it is necessary to investigate the notions of 'imagined community' and 'invented tradition' in order to grasp their use by ethnographic museums.

Imagined communities

Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism[50] is a major study on the origins of nationalism. Benedict Anderson, implementing an anthropological approach, depicts the nation as a modern, universal and influential construction based on the rejection of premodern ideas, values and systems. Nationalism is rather pictured as utopian, built on mental images hence the term 'imagined'. He defines the nation as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. The idea of belonging and experiencing an emotional identity with other presupposed members of a community is the core of nationalism. Nation-ness is thus founded on cultural artefacts and stereotypes as the result of historical processes such as revolutions. The nation is an imagined political community: it is limited in a territorial and social space inherited from the past, and sovereign because it is in possession of ideological assets. Additionally, nationalism gives emotional legitimacy to the masses.

This sentimental idea of belonging to a community based on presupposed similarities with other members is the exact substance of museums showcasing the idea of a modern identity. This has been said by the Canadian scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: "Having a past, a history, a "folklore" of one's own, and institutions to bolster these claims is fundamental to the politics of culture: those who are concerned with demonstrating the possession of a national folklore, particularly as legitimated by a national museum and troupe, cite this attribute as a mark of being civilised."[51] The very concept of ethnographic museums is to feature communities as homogeneous and continuous; although they are diversified, these ethnocultural communities are legitimised because of their historical and territorial settlement. The visual and aural representation of an imagined reality is enhanced by the museum experience in a positive sentiment. By picturing a harmonised way of life and organised society, ethnographic museums adopt a narrative which promotes a sense of

50 Anderson, *Imagined Communities* cit.

51 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures* cit., p.423.

belonging to a territory, most commonly a geographic or cultural region. Because they are confronted with a specific community within the museum, people can think about themselves in relation to others.

Invention of traditions

The British historian Eric Hobsbawm is the author of the 'invention of tradition'. The fundamental idea of this publication remains open to criticism for its ambiguity and raises many questions about the notions of identity, nation, history and authenticity. The term 'invented traditions' refers to "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[52] These traditions try to gain legitimacy by referring to the past, even though their social and political goals are modern. The transformation of social groups, their power and their relations required the use of new means of cohesion and a unified cultural identity. To put it in a nutshell, the creation of identity frames through invented traditions legitimises unity and homogeneity and gathers people around common values and references, past, language, space, heroes, symbols and practices, which justifies mass communication from the elite.

The continuity of tradition is imagined and constructed on symbols, and so is heritage. Like invented tradition, "Each national heritage stemmed from a checklist of essentials: a common language, past, future, fate, folk culture, values, tastes, landscapes."[53] The principal duty of ethnographic museums is to represent the concepts of distinct traditions associated with localised communities, like a nation or a region. Thus, the meaning of invented traditions is similar to the content of these institutions. Ethnographic museums tend to establish and symbolise social cohesion and membership: they bring together local visitors and communities around common values and a sense of belonging to a group or a nation. They allow socialisation and the instiling of beliefs and value systems of a particular collectivity, an 'imagined community'. As national institutions, museums provide historic connections which had to be invented in order to ensure a functioning society through cohesive identity, unity and continuity.

52 Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, cit., p. 1.

53 David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.63.

The role of ethnographic museums is to concentrate on a particular story, using museology to tell it. If these museums have the goal of displaying and explaining 'invented traditions' of 'imagined communities', how can they focus on unprecedented values such as social justice, equality and wellbeing?

1.1.4 An institution in turmoil

Hitherto, ethnographic museums have been defined through the prism of their own history. They are also understood as instrumental in the assertion of identity. Firstly because they reify the idea of territory and community; secondly because they connect people, space and time; and thirdly they showcase a particular culture through its symbols, at the risk of confining it. However, since the 1990s, these characteristics have been reconsidered by museologists, ethnologists and anthropologists who claim that ethnographic museums are experiencing a crisis. This goes in hand with the global paradigm change discussed above.

As a genre of museum featuring the characteristics of one group or the exoticism of another, ethnographic museums are disappearing to the advantage of a new tendency, 'society museums'. Indeed, the last two decades have witnessed colossal ethnographic institutions fail and shut. This is the case of the Musée national des Arts et Traditions Populaires, formerly located in Paris, which closed in 2005 and was replaced by the Musée des Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée (MuCEM) in 2013.[54] Although it became a heritage landmark in Marseille, the MuCEM does not gather all the city's social strata; in terms of museology, this society museum neglects ethnography to the advantage of sociology and contemporary art.[55] However, some of these 'society museums' managed to modernise ethnography thanks to a multidisciplinary approach and the addition of elements of popular culture, like the Musée de la Civilisation in Québec, the Museum of the Romanian Peasant in Bucharest and the ethnographic museum of Neuchâtel in Switzerland.[56]

Ethnographic museums and museums in general are still perceived and recognised as elitist. Because they are constructed by a small group for a certain public, instead of a

54 See Rasse, *Le musée réinventé*, cit., p.180; Yves Bergeron, "Le « complexe » des musées d'ethnographie et d'ethnologie au Québec," *Ethnologies*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 2002, p.69; and Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées d'ethnologie : nouveaux défis, nouveaux terrains," *ibid*, p.7.

55 Martine Segalen, "Des ATP au MUCEM : exposer le social," *Ethnologie française, nouvelle série*, T. 38, No. 4, 2008, pp. 639-644.

56 Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées d'ethnologie," cit., p.7.

diversity of publics, they cannot gather larger parts of society. Collaboration has been hardly accepted in the past. Indeed, although efforts on accessibility, participation and inclusion are made in theory, some argue that "the museum is clearly not a public space equally accessible to all"[57] and remains a highbrow space, as demonstrated by Pierre Bourdieu in his canonical study of art museums in the 1960s.[58] The museologist Yves Bergeron even argues that ethnographic museums in particular generate less and less interest, especially if they are not able to renew themselves.[59]

As mentioned earlier, most museologists agree that ethnographic museums can also struggle to display a greater disparity of identities, as well as multiculturalism. Indeed, museums tend to circumscribe culture for the purposes of the 'imagined community'. The idea of a fixed and bounded identity is fantasised by the museum, which maintains and assures the existence of a cultural specificity.[60] Moreover, in the postmodern context, museums have been affirming, controlling and reasserting their narrative about identity. But these narratives are nowadays challenged by alterNative voices.[61] The notion of identity shaped by the museum should thus be reappraised.

Another approach to the shortages of ethnographic museums related to identity is the lack of diversity. At the time of social justice, equality and global interest, they do not fit in with the values of cultural democracy although their responsibilities are tremendously important. Andrea Witcomb, Australian professor in Heritage studies, argues that the aim of museums nowadays should be focussed on the acceptance and representation of 'Others' in a fair and inclusive way in order to be fully democratic. This argument is coming from the premise that museums are "institutions which actually produce the very notion of community and culture."[62] Christina Kreps, American professor in Anthropology and leading figure of the postcolonial movement in museum studies, also insists on the accountability of museums in representing diversity:

57Ashley, "State Authority and the Public Sphere," cit., p.7.
58Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *L'amour de l'art : les musées et leur public*, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1966.
59Bergeron, "Le « complexe » des musées d'ethnographie," cit., p.48.
60Chaumier, "L'identité, un concept embarrassant, constitutif de l'idée de musée," *Culture & Musées*, No. 6, 2005, pp. 21-42.
61James M. Bradburne, "Visible listening. Discussion, debate and governance in the museum," in *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, cit., p.276.
62Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., p.80.

> "In general, museums are now viewed as "contested terrain" where diverse communities debate what culture is, how it should be represented, and who holds the power to represent culture. [...] As products and agents of social and political change, museums are now viewed as sites for the struggle over and assertion of identity."[63]

In the postcolonial context in particular, ethnographic museums have to emancipate and detach themselves from the ongoing legacies of European colonialism and obsolete ideologies of the 19th century. As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett puts it:

> "Museums are being asked to deal with their fraught colonial past, to address cultural claims, and to be responsive to the new immigration and social inequities associated with colonialism. Museums are increasingly being held accountable for their own histories as institutions and to those who once lived far away from the metropole but are new in their midst. Ethnographic museums, historically dedicated to displaying ethnographic knowledge, are being asked to address their own relationship to their collections at the same time that they address their relationship to those who identify with those collections, whether this means the repatriation of objects or a movement from ethnology to heritage."[64]

In postcolonial societies, museums timidly start including new – traditionally marginal – voices. Indeed, Indigenous Peoples, along with women, immigrants and LGBTQ+ members, have started to challenge the power of museums to be recognised and valued.[65] It echoes the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples which stipulates that Native Peoples have the right to self-determination as well as the authority to manage their own institutions, including cultural organisations, to practise and encourage their traditions and customs, and to take care of their heritage.[66] Museum issues, particularly in the context of ethnographic museums which bear a heavy past and an

63Kreps, *Liberating Culture* cit., p.2.
64Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Reconfiguring Museums: an Afterword," in Cordula Grewe (ed.), *Die Schau des Fremden: Ausstellungskonzepte zwischen Kunst, Kommerz und Wissenschaft*, Transatlantic Historical Studies, Vol. 26, 2006, p.374.
65Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées et Premières Nations," cit., p.6.
66"United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," United Nations, Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 13 September 2007, 61/295.

unprecedented accountability towards Indigenous Peoples and other marginal groups must therefore become active, open, democratic, diverse and inclusive spaces.

1.2 Historical perspectives on ethnographic museums

1.2.1 A short history of ethnographic museums

A cabinet of curiosities

In Western societies, the very first museums were established by scholars for the European elite. They were instituted as vehicles for adult education and as media to convey an appreciation of their own shared culture compared to exotic civilisations. The primary role of the museum in Early Modern Europe was hence to collect and to research in order to fulfill a civic and elitist framework. The first collections started with the plundering of Ancient Times treasures. They expanded being a multidisciplinary encyclopedia of tangible objects gathered by scholars to which exotic artefacts were added and knowledge produced, hence the designation 'cabinets of curiosity', 'cornucopia' and 'theatres of nature'. During the Renaissance, museums were not created as actual locations but rather as collections of treasures and knowledge. They were also a place to live and work for great thinkers.[67] Opened in 1683 as part of the university, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford is considered to be the first museum in the world, designed to strengthen knowledge of humanity.

Museums developed in the 16th and 17th century in Europe, mostly in Italy and England. Indeed, notable aristocratic Italian families were motivated by the embellishment of their *palazzi* and *studioli* while English elites opened galleries for educated Europeans. The main purpose was to dispel ignorance and to ensure the prosperity of the country. In the 18th century, conservation work began to define a corpus of objects belonging to a family or a country and consequently to affirm its excellence and to prevent departures abroad. The selection of objects and artefacts was based on their rarity and uniqueness. At the same time, these rare things were also valued because they were in vogue. During this time collections were assembled under a process of transfers and confiscations to exaggerate patriotism and later on democracy.

With the rise of nation states during the 19th century, heritage was thus considered a patriotic symbol and proof of good administration. This enhancement of fervent patriotism

67 Poulot, *Patrimoine et musées* cit.

carried on during the Enlightenment, the nation being based on heritage. Museums became emblems of modernity because they corresponded with the discourse of republican nations, representing their virtues and power. They emerged as public spaces for education and preservation of accumulated treasures because governments took direct care and control of these institutions. Indeed, the main purpose and function of museums during the 19th century was to offer adult education and popular schooling.[68] Centralised state museums arose in France, while civil society became directly engaged through contributory associations in England. The museum was also a place to display and promote art; thus defining modern aesthetics and norms by the administration of scholars. By opening to those who could afford time and express their tastes, it turned out to be a form of leisure for the privileged.[69] The upper middle class went to the museum in order to cultivate themselves and become informed, to feed and build their vision of the world and to be involved citizens. However, the access to the museum remained limited to a small audience of amateurs, connoisseurs and artists.

The showroom of the 'Other'

The 19th century was the golden age of museums. The evolution of the museum in this time was part of an effort to define nation states as hegemonic educators and civilising powers. During this period, the structural development of museums varied from country to country. Interest in aesthetic values rose with the beginning of scenography and some research on the cultural background of objects and artefacts. International exhibitions, fairs and department stores implied, just like museum institutions, a unique mixture of culture, commerce and entertainment. It was also the outset of ethnographic museums as such. These came into being during the second part of the 19th century. Indeed, during this period, ethnography developed as a scientific project, a form of praise for diversity and difference, catering for increased interest in Indigenous societies in order to dominate them according to the imperial agenda of European nations.

National identities were spectacularly staged during the International Exhibitions by the presentation of reconstituted popular interiors embellished with costumed models. These representations prefigured ethnographic museums which opened in the following decades. They are perceived as manifestations of national identity *par excellence*, their realisation being given as a major patriotic and civilising task. Museums popularised a

68Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory* cit., p.80.

69Poulot, *Patrimoine et modernité*, L'Harmattan Paris, 1998, p.44.

narrative of Western society as the pinnacle of civilisation.[70] Featured in the museum was also the idea of progress: by exhibiting material objects from different cultures, nations could show how technologically advanced they were and how they established their hegemony around the world.

The characteristic of ethnographic exhibits featuring ethnic peoples was to visually present a form of racial hierarchy: "The Darwinist basis for anthropology at the time provided the theoretical framework for ethnographic displays both in museums and in the international exhibitions."[71] International exhibitions also created a sense of modern cosmopolitanism and gave a contact with the exotic, as well as mingling popular and official culture together. 'Natural peoples' as opposed to 'cultural peoples' were at the core of ethnographic research, which was based on a concern for the foreign context and experience, the unknown and the exotic. Ethnography was established as the interpretation of cultures, the description and translation of customs, and people became ethnographic objects.[72] It should not be confused with anthropology, which is about the construction of eternal and universal theories on humanity based on culture as an assemblage of texts. Museums sponsored research and promoted ethnography with a particular responsibility to document Indigenous ideas, concepts and aesthetics, and to distinguish art from artefact thus securing ethnographic theories. The ethnographic museum thus came from the tradition of exhibiting the other as a performance: the quotidian was turned into spectacle. But the priority of 19th century museums was to differentiate themselves from circuses: although they drew from exhibiting approaches of International Exhibitions, ethnographic museums were rather driven by the restitution of a historical discourse through scientific methods.[73] Ethnography made culture disappear in the world and then reappear in the exhibition by borrowing or even stealing material artefacts, intangible heritage and sometimes sentient people.

By categorising these cultures, ethnographic museums also excluded them and transformed them into the 'Other', a strange but sympathetic and dominated exoticism. Analysed through a conceptual historical approach, the development of scientific knowledge was extended without respect for individual personalities nor groups. It set up the construction of a particular self/other relationship and an imposition or negotiation of

70 Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., p.102.
71 *Ibid*, p.18.
72 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," cit., p.398.
73 Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory* cit., pp. 15-16.

power structures. This is fully part of the processes of ‘othering’ in heritagisation in order to constitute a collective identity. Effectively, the interpretation of the 'Other' depends on self-definition and allows the construction of difference. Difference then, is what contributes to the definition of the ‘self’ and social identification.[74]

Performing 'Us'

The end of the 19th century also gave rise to another type of ethnographic museum, one showcasing the self, that is local rural traditions hidden in remote folkloric places of the nation state. The first forms of museographic self-understanding and representation date from the ethnographic villages of National and International Exhibitions of the late 19th century in Europe.[75] With the rise of industrial techniques, the loss of rural ways of life, the shift in popular culture and the affirmation of nation states, there was a desire to gather the heritage of traditional societies of Europe. Folkloric ways of life, traditions, mores, customs, as well as rustic style buildings were reconstructed and exhibited to satisfy the imagination of an already known society and culture. These exhibitions, focused on 'Us' as opposed to the 'Other', appealed to emotions with romanticism and nostalgia for pre-industrial times. Because industrialisation was blotting out the past of some regions, it became necessary to collect the material and intangible traces of a vanishing rural society. Ethnographic villages can therefore be considered the ancestors of open air museums.

In the United States likewise, the modern concept of the ‘early American village’ was created in 1929 by John Rockefeller in Williamsburg, Virginia.[76] This type of village was also established to share the details of social life and savoir-faire of local people in a nostalgic atmosphere. Featuring guides with costumes, demonstrations of crafts and ancient jobs and traditional food, they served an educational purpose. During the same period in France, some pioneering work in ethnology recognised popular culture, the peasantry and the labour force as worthy of study. Based on the extensive fieldwork realised between the 1920s and 1940s, museologists focused on local peoples and cultures in the 1960s and 1970s. The heritage interests of the late 20th century mainly concerned the social and economic aspects of history as a discipline, as well as the history of mentalities, anthropology and sociology. The explicit policy of popular representation led to the

74 Hall, “The Spectacle of the Other,” in Hall (ed.), *Representation*, cit., pp. 225-277.
75 Rasse, *Le musée réinventé*, cit., pp. 172-174 and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” cit., p.401.
76 Poulot, *Patrimoine et musées* cit., p.145.

creation of ecomuseums, a particularly advanced genre in France.[77] However these new museums failed to entertain and teach: indeed, the museological practices put in place were far too shrewd and established on a complex system of taxonomy.[78]

The appearance of 'Us' as a topic has also been continued by the increasing mediatisation of social sciences and national focus to redefine identity after the 1980s. Heritage has become a resource in the project of fashioning the self, as a mark of civilisation and modernity.[79] Heritage practice also transforms the relationship of people to what they do, their understanding and perception of their culture and themselves, and the conditions of cultural production. Since the second half of the last century, ethnography has looked at all collective arrangements including 'Us' in order to make "the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian."[80] It questions the boundaries of cultures, classes, races and genders, order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion, innovation and structuration. It also invites 'Us' to collaborate with 'Others' in order to develop a 'contact zone' and get the excluded involved. This is what leads to the creation of Indigenous institutions.

1.2.2 Origins of Indigenous museums

Postcolonial societies

Indigenous communities have had their own curatorial practices and ways of perceiving, valuing, handling, caring for, interpreting and preserving their cultural heritage long before the implementation of Western museology – Indigenous curatorial traditions are unique cultural expressions and intangible heritage in itself.[81] Actually, museology is not only a Western invention. For instance, in New Zealand and Polynesian societies, the *marae* is a sacred communal place which serves social and cultural purposes, such as preserving and exhibiting *taonga* (treasures) and *tapu* (sacred) objects. Current ethics wish to impose an ethical and responsible representation and participation of these bodies. Moreover, although the museum is a Western concept, First Nations Peoples reuse it to defend their identity. Thus, Indigenous museums are essential to the processes of decolonisation because they reflect their values, worldviews and concepts; they are spaces

77 Poulot, *Patrimoine et modernité* cit., p.57.
78 Rasse, *Le musée réinventé*, cit., pp. 176-178.
79 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *From Ethnography to Heritage* cit., p.2.
80 Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture* cit., p.2.
81 Kreps, "Indigenous Curation, Museums, and Intangible Cultural Heritage," cit.

of dialogue and learning, as well as supporting continuity and identity.[82] They legitimise the narrators of stories and challenge the authority of Western museums, while valuing the interests of the originating community and their traditions. In this sense, the recognition of Indigenous knowledge is the first step to take for a 'quiet' decolonisation by museology.[83]

Until recently, Indigenous Peoples have been brought into Western museums to perform their ethnicity. They were considered as 'objects' of the ethnographic museum. By the 1990s, community-driven initiatives of Indigenous heritage became more common. In 1984, *Te Māori* became the first international exhibition in which Indigenous protocols informed the exhibit planning, display and programming.[84] The exposition was about Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous People artwork, elaborated with a Māori sub-committee and involving Indigenous guides and *kaiārahi* (hosts). This exhibition firstly took place at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and eventually toured the United States. It is a milestone in the recognition of Indigenous People's involvement and the importance of collaborating and acquiring knowledge in Indigenous management of material and culture and protocols. Parallel to the advent of museums (in the Western sense) in postcolonial societies, Indigenous Community Centres began to be developed in North America; in Australia, collaborative initiatives for the protection of cultural heritage have been implemented by Aboriginal communities and the National Trust.[85]

In the wake of the Indigenous cultural identification movements of the second half of the 20th century, Indigenous Peoples worked on strategies to exercise control over the way their culture was preserved, interpreted and valued.[86] This desire to control the safeguarding, representation and enhancement of their culture is reflected partly by the repatriation of sacred objects and human remains, the creation of cultural centres and Indigenous museums as well as by renewed collaboration between these communities and ethnographic museums. In this process, recognition, restitution, representation, reconfiguration and respect of their knowledge are central. These notions are part of the process of democratisation of culture (broadening of access, inclusion of new actors and publics) and cultural democracy (transforming the structure to be more inclusive).[87]

82De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., pp. 51-52.
83Bibaud, "Muséologie et Autochtones du Québec et du Canada," cit., p.1.
84Conal McCarthy, "Museums - Museums expand and diversify, 1945 to 1990," *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, accessed 12 April 2020, http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/video/43883/te-maori-exhibition-1984
85Bryony Onciul, *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice: Decolonizing Engagement*, Routledge, 2015, p.5.
86Bibaud, "Muséologie et Autochtones du Québec et du Canada," cit., p.2.
87Ashley, "Museum and globalisation: ideas on recognition, restitution, representation and

The normative discourse has therefore taken hold of the involvement of Indigenous People in cultural heritage management. As discussed above, several articles of the 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples deal with the right to self-determination. Regarding the issue of cultural rights, articles 11 and 31 clearly state the authority of Aboriginal People to preserve, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage.[88] Indigenous Peoples' self-determination applies to the museum and affects the level of control that they can have on exhibitions and collections concerning them. Originally rejected by Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, they have all finally reversed their positions and expressed support. Today, the Declaration remains the most inclusive international instrument on the rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The Canadian context

In the 19th century, natural history and ethnographic collections formed the basis of Canadian museums. These early institutions offered an Anglo-centred view of culture and the world. Until the 1970s, First Nations' self-determination was practically non-existent or represented through the anthropological gaze. They were often isolated within natural history museums, or in separate anthropological museums.[89] With the rise of Native North American cultural activism in the 1980s, representation became a goal in political agendas and museums were exerted as effective places for contestation and historical revisionism. Gradually, cultural pride and activism resulted in the creation of museums devoted to expressing Indigenous perspectives on culture and heritage by Indigenous Peoples themselves.[90]

Several events in Canadian recent history have shaped the approach on Indigenous participation in museology. It is relevant to mention Expo 67 as a key moment in the development of an activist Native cultural politics.[91] The 1967 International and Universal Exposition, or Expo 67, was a World Fair held in Montreal during Canada's centennial year. Featuring an 'Indian Pavilion', it established a new national self-image of Canada as a plural society. But until 1988, Canada struggled to define its own multicultural profile because of issues around identity, diversity and public representation. The 1988 Act for the

reconfiguration," paper presented at London Debates, SAS, University of London, 15 May 2009.
88"United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples," cit.
89Ashley, "First Nations on View: Canadian Museums and Hybrid Representations of Culture," *Hybrid Entities, Intersections 2005*, Annual Graduate Conference, 2005, p.32.
90Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit.
91Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit., p.28.

Preservation and Enhancement of Multiculturalism in Canada decisively recognised First Nations and other ethnic minorities like immigrants' culture as fundamental characteristics of Canadian heritage and identity. The indigenisation of museology, i.e. the "incorporation into the mainstream museum world of concepts, protocols and processes that originate in Aboriginal societies"[92] was thus approved. Albeit this process involves dialogue, negotiations, hybridity and equality among voices.

The proper point of departure for Canadian postcolonial museology was undoubtedly the boycott by the Lubicon Lake First Nations of Glenbow Museum's exhibition, *The Spirit Sings: Artistic Traditions of Canada's First People*. Scheduled in 1988 on the occasion of Calgary Olympics and sponsored by the oil company Shell (responsible for land claims disputes in Alberta), this exhibition of Native art was severely criticised by Indigenous Peoples. Indeed, they denounced the inappropriate display of ceremonial items and the disrespectful retention of human remains and called for the return of cultural property. This event marks a breakthrough in terms of Indigenous role, voice and power in issues of representation.[93]

In 1992 the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples was published. Inspired from the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)[94] and the events of 1988, it transformed the face of museology in Canada. As pointed out by Phillips, it "reconceptualised the ways in which Canadian museums and Indigenous Peoples should work together in the future."[95] Members from Indigenous communities and non-Aboriginals working in museums, cultural centres and heritage organisations gathered "to develop an ethical framework and strategies for Aboriginal Nations to represent their history and culture in concert with cultural institutions."[96] This roundtable of national importance highlights the stakes of postcolonial and critical museology: to foster dialogue between communities and to stimulate new practices. Symbolically, this event took place during Columbus quincentenary year, highlighting an

92 *Ibid*, p.10.

93 *Ibid*, p.68.

94 NAGPRA is a federal American law recognising the dignity and respect of Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects and cultural heritage. Passed in 1990, this law encourages a continuing dialogue between museums and Native Peoples. Source: *Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act*, accessed 13 April 2020, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nagpra/index.htm

95 Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit., p.12.

96 Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples. Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples. Canadian Museums Association; s.l., Assembly of First Nations, 1992.

opportunity to contest settlers' historical narratives. The Task Force report also had a great impact on museum and university spheres across Canada.[97]

The establishment of the First People Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilisation (CMC) in 2003 contributed to the development of a new sense of identity and a shift in the relationships between Indigenous Peoples and Euro-Canadian institutions. As the CMC board endorsed the Task Force report, the museological practices used tell a story of hybridity, based on Western ethnology and archeology, with the addition of Indigenous oral traditions.[98] Although the CMC had worked with many Aboriginal consultants before, this project marks a break with the traditional curatorial authority. The theatrical display of the First People Hall encourages its visitors to understand Indigenous perspectives on land, history and culture, and to think critically about contemporary issues.

Nowadays, Canadian museology is characterised by collaborative methods with source communities, i.e. the communities from which museum collections originate,[99] and has become an example of good practice at an international scale. By working with museums, Indigenous communities are given a safe space in which they can come together, identify common goals, collaborate on projects, forge bonds and form networks. As British curators and anthropologists Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown argue, the concept of source communities recognises:

> "[...] that artefacts play an important role in the identities of source communities members, that source communities have legitimate moral and cultural stakes or forms of ownership in museum collections, and that they may have special claims, needs or rights of access to material heritage held by museums. [Museums] are no longer the sole voices of authority in displaying and interpreting those objects, but acknowledge a moral and ethical (and sometimes political) obligation to involve source communities in decisions affecting their material heritage."[100]

97 Bibaud, "Muséologie et Autochtones du Québec et du Canada," cit., pp.3-4.
98 Phillips, "Double Take: Contesting Time, Place, and Nation in the First Peoples Hall of the Canadian Museum of Civilization," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 107, No. 4, 2005, p.700.
99 Alison K. Brown and Laura Peers (eds.), *Museums and Source Communities*, Routledge, 2003, p.1.
100 *Ibid*, p.2.

Furthermore, Ashley identifies three types of Indigenous participation in the Canadian context.[101] Firstly, whether current practice is a question of alterNative constructions of identity, using European museum techniques. This option does not represent a full emancipation from colonial frameworks. The authority is kept by the Western-type museum. The second is multi-vocal depictions of identity where both Euro-Canadian and First Nations bodies occupy the same space, thus collaborating on the museum 'contact zone'. This framework highlights the potential of hybridity and the involvement of source communities. The ultimate option is the construction of a new identity, using the museum space by and for Indigenous Peoples. The HWM is part of this framework.

In Québec

The province of Québec, in Eastern Canada, brings together 11 Indigenous Nations.[102] The museum network is coordinated by the Société des Musées du Québec (SMQ). However, the SMQ barely mentions Indigenous Peoples in its Code of Ethics[103] nor in its history of Québecois museums. Indeed, Québecois museologist Yves Bergeron does not refer at all to Indigenous museums or Native contributions to Québecois museology in his *Histoire des musées au Québec*.[104] Although to date, several Aboriginal museums have been counted and documented by such authors as Elisabeth Kaine, Elise Dubuc and Laurier Turgeon. The three of them have been inquiring into the creation and development of Indigenous museums in Québec regions such as Shaputuan Museum in the North and heritage and artistic workshops in Inuit territories. The shortages of mainstream museology in Québec shows that the research on the HWM is relevant and urgent, specifically in recognition of the work accomplished by Indigenous communities. The museums introduced here have not been surveyed in-depth; this presentation thus mainly relies on the marketing tools of the SMQ.[105]

101Ashley, "First Nations on View," cit., p.34. A division also supported by Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées et Premières Nations," cit., p.11.

102"Amérindiens et Inuits: portrait des nations autochtones du Québec," Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones, Gouvernement du Québec, 2011.

103See article 3.3.8 "The museum institution ensures, when conducting research on Indigenous peoples, that their representatives have given approval, involves them in the research process, and respects their cultural particularities and various rights." SMQ Code of Ethics for Museums, 2014.

104Yves Bergeron and Cyril Simard (eds.), *Histoire des musées au Québec*, Société des Musées du Québec, 2017.

105"Explore Aboriginal Know-How," *Société des Musées du Québec*, accessed 13 April 2020, https://www.musees.qc.ca/en/museums/museum-corner/explore-Aboriginal-know-how

In the early 2000s, the lack of interest in ethnographic museums in Québec was juxtaposed to the growing need and demand for Indigenous Peoples' involvement in museum affairs in Canada and around the world. This is what Bergeron calls 'the bad patch of ethnology in museums'.[106] Nonetheless, it became the advent of inclusive and participative museology. At that time, four important sites of conservation and transmission of Indigenous heritage were already created in Québec; they can be considered pioneers in Indigenous museology. Founded in 1965 by the Abenaki community and housed in the old Catholic school of Odanak, the Abenaki Museum is the pioneer of Aboriginal museums in the province.[107] As a testimony to Abenaki culture and committed by and for the community, this museum displays its history, traditions and know-how. It is a reference in the Indigenous museum landscape of Québec. Founded by Carmen Gill-Casavant in 1977, the Amerindian Museum of Mashteuiatsh is focused on the history and culture of the Pekuakamiulnuatsh, the only Native community of the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region. Located in Oujé-Bougoumou, a village recognised by the UN as a remarkable example of community growth, the Cree Cultural Institute Aanischaaukamikw is another example of Indigenous cultural heritage development. The Institute is highly focused on interaction and community-driven practices. Opened in 1998, the Shaputuan Museum of Uashat shares Innu culture and wishes to facilitate the dialogue between Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals through intercultural exchanges. This museum is therefore a crossroad between the Western model and the takeover by the community.[108] However, Dubuc notes that members of the community did not frequent the Shaputuan Museum, because they could not recognise themselves.[109] At the dawn of the 2000s, the challenges remained significant for the Shaputuan Museum, both in terms of social inclusion and financial resources for exhibition developments and maintenance.

The 2000s, therefore, correspond to the significant consolidation of museums and cultural centres in Indigenous communities. In Odanak, Mashteuiatsh, Oujé-Bougoumou, Uashat, and since 2008 in Wendake, these institutions revitalise the cultural life of their communities by proximity approaches.[110] They allow community and territory development

106Bergeron, "Le « complexe » des musées d'ethnographie," cit., p.48.
107*Musée des Abénakis*, accessed 13 April 2020, https://museeabenakis.ca/en/
108Dubuc and Turgeon, "Musées et Premières Nations," cit., p.16.
109Dubuc and Réginald Vollant, "L'implantation d'un musée dans une communauté autochtone : les cinq premières années du musée Shaputuan à Uashat mak Mani Utenam," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 155-166.
110Guy Sioui Durand, "Un Wendat nomade sur la piste des musées : pour des archives vivantes," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2014, p.279.

and the growth of the tourism industry. The desire for Indigenous museums in Québec was motivated by Indigenous Peoples themselves, willing to share their culture and display their heritage in their own terms and their own land.[111] These museums exhibit relevant archaeological or ethnographic objects according to Aboriginal points of view in order to understand the history, culture and society of Indigenous Peoples. These places are either developed by members of First Nations themselves or in collaboration with Euro-Québecois museologists. They claim to explore Native cultural heritage, to showcase the convergence of tradition and modernity, and to offer unique experiences. Moreover, Indigenous Peoples have realised that museology could constitute a powerful tool for the cultural development of their communities and enhance the richness of their past.[112]

Studying the HWM more extensively will allow us to nuance this marketed approach to heritage. It will also be an opportunity to explain the role and function of Indigenous museums and to add information on the development of these institutions in Québec. But in order to understand the development of Indigenous museums, we must analyse the use of critical museologies which support the sharing of powers, the act of decolonisation and collaboration with source communities. An outlook on the dominant trends which shape and influence postcolonial museology can help us define and analyse current practices in Indigenous museums.

1.3 Developing a critical museology

1.3.1 New museology: a turn to the public

Museology was popularised in the late 1970s, when history became a 'lively experience' enhanced by the multiplication and availability of animated archives and the extension of the notion of heritage to modern concepts, objects and facilities.[113] The new museology emerged during this period as a reaction to social changes all around the world and as a movement of contestation and renewal. It marks a rupture with the traditional museology, imbued with conservatism and elitism, and emphasises the transfers between ideas, objects, people and the environment. It very much focuses on new perspectives about exhibiting, criticising and deconstructing the museum. The new museology was developed

111 *Ibid*, p.280.
112 André Michel, "Muséologie autochtone : le passé retrouvé," *Continuité*, No. 92, 2002, p.44.
113 Samuel, *Theatres of Memory*, cit., p.14.

as a multidisciplinary project involving a collaboration between social and human sciences. People became the centre of attention of museologists, instead of objects.

The term 'New Museology' was coined by the French museologist André Desvallées in 1981,[114] although new forms of museology emerged earlier in Europe under the reorganisation of exhibiting methods by George-Henri Rivière, considered the 'father of French museology'. Indeed, as the first director of ICOM from 1948 to 1965, Rivière's intention was to develop more open and inclusive museum practices.[115] It notably birthed the concept of ecomuseums, a proper and permanent educational and social museum integrated in the community, through collaboration between educators and museologists.[116] Desvallées largely contributed to the development of the International Movement for New Museology (MINOM), thus institutionalising the principles of the new museology.

Later on, Peter Vergo, editor of the journal *The New Museology* published between 1989 and 1997, introduced the concept in the English-speaking intellectual world. He pointed out the lack of consideration for society and the political, social and educational aspirations and preconceptions of the museum. Both Desvallées and Vergo conceptualised the new museology as opposed to the 'old' one.[117] Elaine Heumann Gurian's analysis in Karp and Levine's *Exhibiting Culture*[118] was also significant in the development of new museology as she raised the question of self-examination to museum professionals in order to get insights that would enable museum studies researchers to approach exhibitions in a new way, taking into consideration visitors. Experts realised the importance of identifying ways to be more reflexive about museum practices and to study museums in both the material and the psychological levels to acknowledge interpretative complexity. In this way, Michael Ames' *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes* and James Clifford's *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late 20th Century* question the role and responsibility of museums and anthropology.

The new museology entered into a global context of political and ideological tensions as well as transformations in the relationship between politics, society and social

114"Muséologie (nouvelle)," in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Supplément, T.2., 1981, pp. 958-961.
115Bruno Brulon Soares, "L'invention et la réinvention de la Nouvelle Muséologie," *ICOFOM Study Series: Nouvelles tendances de la muséologie*, 2015, p.58.
116François Mairesse, "La belle histoire, aux origines de la nouvelle muséologie," *Publics et Musées*, No. 17-18, 2000, p.45.
117See André Desvallées and *al*, *Vagues, une anthologie de la Nouvelle Muséologie*, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1992 and Peter Vergo, *The New Museology*, Reaktion Books, 1989.
118Elaine Heumann Gurian, "Noodling Around with Exhibition Opportunities," in *Exhibiting Cultures* cit., pp. 89-116.

sciences. Alongside academic debates, the essential outlines were elaborated by UNESCO during the conference of Santiago in 1972. Unnoticed at the time but fundamental now, this regional seminar held by Latin American experts raises several topical issues. The role and place of the museum in society, the intensification of scientific research and the growth of art production, the diffusion of culture for a wider audience and the management structure of cultural institutions were discussed. The outcome of this roundtable was to elevate the notion of an integral museum in order to reconnect with society, the ecomuseum being the heir of this innovative concept. The conference of Santiago also defined the museum as an instrument for change in need of creative resources and as a bridge to associate the past and history to current issues.[119] What made the conference unique was its regional format applied to underdeveloped countries, but also its reflection on the topics of education and integration within society. The full list of resolutions heavily influenced the development of the new museology.[120]

New museology emerged as a movement of rejection and rupture because it became urgent to transform museums into sites for social inclusion and to distance them from the 19th century model of cultural and elitist homogeneity. Primarily dedicated to equality, education and the environment, it puts the public at the centre of its actions . Nowadays, it is an effective strategy of attraction for museums in terms of commodification and entertainment. By extension, it can draw attention to small towns as well if they thrive on the events and activities offered by cultural institutions. It also allows people, to some extent, to have control over their cultural heritage, its preservation and perception. Because it serves as a global instrument of social and cultural development, the new museology lays the foundations of the democratic, educational and social role of museums.

1.3.2 Integrative museology: a turn to society

Since the rise of new museology in the 1980s, collaborations and engagements between museums and communities have become increasingly common with varying results and levels of success. With the new museology bringing people at the centre of museological approaches, their social role has generally been improved. Museums as social actors focus on audience-centred actions, development of visitor services, and engaging

119Mairesse, “La belle histoire, aux origines de la nouvelle muséologie,” cit., p.44.
120See SHC-72/CONF.28/4, UNESCO Regional Seminar, Final Report of the Round Table on the Development and the Role of Museums in the Contemporary World, Santiago de Chile, 20-31 May 1972.

people with their collections and the stories they tell through interaction. They implement favourable circumstances for interactions and relationship-building by encouraging conversation within the physical and digital space. The social role of museums is to work on inclusion as well. Connections with a diversity of actors and publics contribute to cohesion. But these do not necessarily resolve issues of inequality or exclusion, as opposed to the promotion of national unity which is expounded by museums. Cohesion needs to include a social force based on an ethical basis and to involve intercultural engagement. Museums are making efforts to become more inclusive of diverse perspectives of curation. They are also becoming more sensitive to the rights of people who should have a voice in how their cultures are represented and their heritage curated.[121]

Long standing issues on participation and belonging which have contributed to the long-term concern of equality, have been extensively criticised by museum experts. Indeed, participation, dialogue and involvement with audiences ensure equality and strengthen social cohesion. Thus, it is necessary to reinforce political and social actions. Inclusion must be implemented both within the space of display and the very infrastructure of the museum. Museums have the ability to become stakeholders, i.e. critical sites of dialogue and engagement to debate and respond to current social issues. As Brenda Tindal shows with a case study in North Carolina at Levine Museum, the field of public history largely promotes the museum as a place of cooperative reflection on current matters: "As mediators of culture, all museums should commit to identifying how they can connect to relevant contemporary issues irrespective of collection, focus, or mission."[122]

The term 'integrative museology' as a postcolonial term has not been coined by museologists.[123] Nonetheless it directly refers to overcoming the lack of cohesion and to strengthening the social role of museums, i.e. turning the museum into a 'contact zone'. It can be a solution to postcolonial museology because it must cause professionals to consider and challenge the role of museums in contemporary society, particularly in the presentation

121 Ashley, "'Engage the World': Examining conflicts of engagement in public museums," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 20, 2014, pp. 261-280.

122 "Joint Statement from Museum Bloggers and Colleague on Ferguson and Related Events," *The Incluseum*, 22 December 2014, accessed in June 2019, https://incluseum.com/2014/12/22/joint-statement-from-museum-bloggers-colleagues-on-ferguson-related-events/ About this topic, see also Brenda Tindal, "K(NO)W Justice K(NO)W Peace, The Making of a Rapid-Response Community Exhibit," *The Public Historian*, Vol. 1, No. 40, 2018, pp. 87-96.

123 However, it echoes the concept of 'appropriate museology' developed by Christina Kreps in "Appropriate museology in theory and practice," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 2008, pp. 23-41 which promotes participatory approaches, local Indigenous museological traditions and new technologies according to specific cultural contexts.

and engagement with First Nation Peoples. In this process, the integration of source communities is key, as well as their empowered engagement.[124] Tangible actions on integrative museology can be the creation of Indigenous working groups and the involvement of First Nations members not as exhibits, but as curators, guides, storytellers and visitors. The integration of people must not become a means of appropriation but an act of co-creation, producing cultural values and dialogues, where source communities have a voice and are heard first and foremost. As with collaborative museology, integrative museology must decolonise the museum's discourse, promote the sharing of powers and go beyond the hegemonic discourse which relies on the Western self-referential vision of heritage.[125]

1.3.3 Collaborative museology: a turn to communities

As mentioned earlier, collaboration with actors on the ground is necessary to inclusion and participation, two fundamental notions of the social role of museums. Moreover, this collaboration has to be enacted with Indigenous Peoples to ensure a decolonisation of knowledge and research. In this way, institutional bodies and governmental support (like NAGPRA, Task Force report and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples) are fundamental. The consideration of collaboration and partnership gives way to engagement and guarantees the ethical responsibility of museums. Collaboration is a debating point in current museology.[126]

Collaborative, or cooperative museology, questions the way museums deal with multiculturalism and pluralism, decolonisation and globalisation. It can also demonstrate participation in the changing relationship between museums and the societies within which they operate. Collaboration is more complete than integration, as developed above, since it contributes to a cross-cultural understanding of museology. Since museological theory and

124 Robin Boast, "Neocolonial collaboration: museum as contact zone revisited," *Museum Anthropology*, Vol. 1, No. 34, 2011, p. 60.

125 This has been conceptualised by Laurajane Smith under the label of 'Authorised Heritage Discourse'. See Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, cit.

126 Clifford's 'contact zone' was the starting point; about current discussion, see Ashley, "Engage the World," cit.; Graham Black, "Meeting the audience challenge in the 'Age of Participation'," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 4, No. 33, 2018, pp. 302-319; Boast, "Neocolonial collaboration," cit.; Brown and Peers, *Museums and Source Communities*, cit.; Cathy Neal, "Heritage and Participation," in Waterton and Steve Watson (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*, Palgrave MacMillan, 2015, pp. 346-365; and Marie Nuala Morse's thesis *Museums and Community Engagement: The Politics of Practice within Museum Organisations*, Durham University, 2014.

practice are Western-based, it combines the inputs of traditional care and cultural protocols from Indigenous methods with Western professional practices to find the best and the most appropriate.[127] Collaboration also implies shared authority, thus source communities and curators engage together to shape scientific knowledge. The notion of 'shared authority' derives from oral history's reliance on experimental history: it is a process of stakeholders' involvement.[128] Eventually, it can make a difference of perception, treatment and possession of cultural heritage.

A concrete example of collaborative museology implemented in an ethnographic institution is Michael Ames's work at the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) of Vancouver. The Canadian museologist and anthropologist endeavoured to transform the MOA into an open, responsible and accessible museum. He also participated in the establishment of new collaborative practices and worked to recognise and promote the rights of Indigenous Peoples, in order to make their voice heard and respected.[129]

The methodology of collaborative practices in archeology has been developed by Stephanie Moser *et al*. and can inspire museologists.[130] It firstly concerns communication as a key priority and starting point, followed by employment and training. Then public presentation, interviews and oral history from source communities, as well as the development of educational resources, the proper archiving of projects and the creation of community-controlled merchandising can eventually improve the local economy.

The main criticism of collaborative museology, however, remains a lack of openness to dialogue. Putting aside museum professionals' reluctance to collaborate, the fact remains that the establishment of a cross-cultural dialogue is necessary. It is therefore important to work in raising awareness of museum professions with source communities and to promote university training and professional opportunities for young Indigenous People wishing to get involved. Since there is a lack of hybrid profiles, dialogue is key to the construction of collaborative museology. Moreover, as Phillips points out:

> "Does the growing popularity of collaborative exhibits signal a new era of social agency for museums, or does it make the museum a space where

127 Kreps, "Appropriate museology in theory and practice," cit., p.23.

128 Brown and Peers, *Museums and Source Communities*, cit., p.2.

129 Dubuc, "La muséologie coopérative : Michael Ames et le UBC Museum of Anthropology," *Anthropologie et Sociétés*, Vol. 2, No. 28, pp. 167-171.

130 Stephanie Moser *et al.*, "Transforming Archaeology Through Practice: Strategies for Collaborative Archaeology and the Community Archaeology Project at Quseir, Egypt," in Brown and Peers, *Museums and Source Communities*, cit., p.214.

symbolic restitution is made for the injustices of the colonial era in lieu of more concrete forms of social, economic, and political redress?"[131]

Eventually, collaborative museology can have impacts on community development in the areas of education, cultural preservation and the tourist industry. A reorganisation of the museum into a social forum challenging marketisation motivations and structures is necessary to host democratic engagements. A collaborative dynamic is essential: heritage professionals need to cede power to civilians and involve society at large.

To conclude this first chapter, we have to remember that heritage-making is sometimes the result of dialogue and collaboration; sometimes of domination, imposition or exclusion, especially in the context of the ethnographic museum. Both heritage and museums are affected by political purposes, remakings of history, innovative technologies and commodification. Although they remain repositories of the past and carry their history with them, ethnographic museums are shifting their traditional values to greater social missions, beliefs and practices.

If the museum remains a Western structure, it is tending towards an empowerment of Indigenous practices. Eventually, museums can support the public good and have an impact on society. They also have the potential to support efforts of decolonisation. Their primary and current concern is democratisation and citizen participation in all aspects of museum practice, from the choice of exhibitions and their designs to their creation and diffusion. In this regard, ethnographic museums have a particularly important responsibility. The story of ethnographic museums is a micro example of the heritage discourse; it is a tale of belonging, sharing, excluding. For centuries, ethnographic museums have been centred on what 'they' (i.e. white, male, Western, upper-class, wealthy generators of high culture) deemed valuable. The new approaches to museology imply that museums and communities have to work and build relationships and perspectives together. But it also deals with a set of crucial issues, such as power, authority, commitment and control. A case study of the museum practices developed by the HWM will enable us to better understand how and to what extent the Wendat, as an Indigenous group of Québec, has managed to build a museum and take control of the narrative of its heritage.

131 Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit., p.189.

Chapter II – Introducing the case study: the Huron-Wendat Museum as a territorial and identity marker

The HWM is a national institution of the Wendat people supported by their National Council. It is therefore an important milestone in the acknowledgement of Indigenous people's history and culture in Québec. The museum offers a modern outlook on ethnography. It portrays the formation of a unified cultural community and offers possibilities of interaction with cultural heritage. Like in other First Nations museums, representatives of the Wendat community are involved in the management of the museum and the design of the exhibitions. Visitors can also enjoy entertainment centred on Indigenous lifestyles. This young institution has not been studied yet and still holds very few archival records and studies to document its history, policies and practices. Hence the relevance to carry out fieldwork on site.

In this chapter, Wendat history and identity will be defined succinctly in order to grasp a sense of their culture. The traditional modes of heritage conservation, preservation, and exhibition methods will be investigated, as well as the origins of the museum establishment in Wendake. Finally, we will make connections with the concepts defined earlier, in particular that of ‘territory museum’. The study of this ethno-historic museum will allow us to understand critical insights into issues of ethnicity and identity, and especially how the colonial legacy has shaped the way Wendat people see themselves and perform their history. This should situate the relevance of the HWM as a case study, confirming how this independent Indigenous cultural institution fits and answers the research questions, before proceeding to the analysis and interpretation of the fieldwork.

2.1 Constituent elements of Wendat identity

In order to grasp the concept of how the discourse on representation is formed in the following chapter, it is necessary to present the central identity elements of Wendat culture. As a reminder, this research is not conducted by an Indigenous community member, neither is about calling into question Wendat national consciousness or identity. However, it seems relevant to depict some aspects of Wendat distinctiveness from autohistory writings. In this regard, the work of Georges E. Sioui[132] and the observations of Annette de Stecher[133] will be carefully studied. Their ethnographic epistemology, based on the stories of missionaries and European visitors (which, in the case of Sioui, deconstructs religious and colonial discourses), will allow us to depict a portrait of Wendat identity. The complementary approach to Indigenous museums used by Guy Sioui Durand[134] also brings interesting elements to the museology of the Wendat, which will be defined later. To a lesser extent, their traditions of cultural sharing, display of their treasures and their heritage preservation will be investigated.

Wendat means in the Wendat language "dwellers of the island" since they consider the world an isle carried on the back of a turtle.[135] Wendake, "where the Wendats live," but also "the island / country apart," "the country of the peninsula," and "the unique village,"[136] corresponds to the heart of the Wendat country, at the centre of the extensive pre colonial commercial network in North America. Before the arrival of the Europeans, Wendake was one of the most densely populated areas north of Mexico. The history of the Wendats (like the guided tour at the HWM) begins with its origins, and therefore with its mythology. The founding story of Aataentsic is a complex myth that illustrates the circular relationship between deities, animals, men and women, and the environment. Wendat creation myths, like the remarkable stories and tales that punctuate their daily lives, are part of a morality that traditionally supports popular education. These constitute a 'moral code'.[137] Wendat

132 Sioui, *Les Wendats, une civilisation méconnue*, cit., represents one of the most complete works on Wendat autohistory and spirituality.

133 De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit. and "The Art of Community," *Continuities Between Eras: Indigenous Art Histories*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2017, pp. 54-71 both address Wendat culture and traditions; the first article focuses on the museological practices while the second one is about significant elements of their art and folklore.

134 Guy Sioui Durand, "A nomadic Wendat on the trail of museums: for living archives," *Anthropology and Societies*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2014, pp. 271-288.

135 Sioui, *Les Wendats, une civilisation méconnue*, cit., p.11.

136 *Ibid*, p.177.

137 *Ibid*, p.72.

people, who originally did not use writing, conceptualise life as immaterial and timeless. Sioui particularly insists on the concept of the circle of life, which corresponds to the circular form of time and egalitarian sacred relationships. The idea of a circle recurs frequently in Native North American spirituality and philosophy. Kinship is another important element of Wendat culture, which operates according to a matrilineal clan system.

As a people of the linguistic and cultural family of the Iroquoians, the Wendat were originally from the Great Lakes region and the St. Lawrence valley. They established the community of Wendake, in Québec, after a dispersal of their people in 1649. This scattering was probably due to the destruction of Wendat homelands by the Haudenosaunee nations. However, analyses vary depending on researchers, disciplines and oral tradition.[138] The Wendat lived in fortified villages and their economy was based on corn, beans and squash, also known as the three sisters. Extended families occupied longhouses and the village affairs were organised by two councils. During the 17th century, the Wendat were able to develop international relations with the French as well as diplomatic practices and trade relations. This was based on the political traditions of eastern Great Lakes nations around issues of peacemaking, trade and military alliance.[139] Wendat people also worked hard to establish alliances and trade connections with European partners, while adding to the reputation of Wendake. They became one of the most important suppliers of furs to the French, in exchange for French goods. They thus became familiar with European customs.

Wendat heritage is based on material and intangible culture as an expression of community-based knowledge.[140] Art and culture are the business of the whole community. As De Stecher explains, “the art of community – a complex of visual arts, social practices, and ceremonies – structures Wendat systems of relationship in clan, nation, and international spheres in ways that were and are integral to the future preservation of national identity.”[141] Europeans and Euro-Canadians have been interested in Wendat culture since the end of the 18th century.[142] In the 19th century, Grand Chiefs’ meetings with European figures shaped the relationships between Wendat people and the colonial upper

138It could also be a series of epidemics or climate change. According to the archaeological work done in autohistory, the Wendat would have mixed with other Iroquoian groups around the St Lawrence. Source: Louis Lesage, “Se réapproprier son histoire,” conference given at the HWM on the 6 November 2019.
139De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.53.
140De Stecher, “The Art of Community,” cit., p.58.
141*Ibid*, p.55.
142De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.58.

class, as Indigenous dignitaries welcomed British and other European leaders to Wendake and travelled to the United Kingdom. Since this period, a tradition of collection exhibition according to European fashions has been running at the Tsawenhohi House, with the purpose of passing on knowledge of Wendat culture and traditions, and recalling and maintaining the history of shared relations with European nations. Rapidly, the Wendat developed a market for souvenir wares, considered a "cultural intermediary, active within the art of community as a means of maintaining and transmitting cultural knowledge, while also extending knowledge of the Wendat nation far beyond the borders of Wendake and its territories."[143] Even today, technical crafts are still based on traditional skills, methods and materials and are a testament to Wendat's sense of communication and hospitality.[144] As demonstrated in Chapter IV, the 21st century visitor still experiences the hospitality of Wendat people at the HWM through the use of diplomacy, the focus on the audience, the display of the wampum[145] and the story telling style of the tour.

Nowadays, the Wendat are one of the most urbanised Indigenous Nations in Québec. Administratively, they live in a 164 hectares First Nations reserve in Wendake. They are primarily Catholic in religion and speak French as a first language, although the Wendat language is undergoing revitalisation. As of 2016, some 2,100 Wendats lived in Wendake. Tourism is a very valuable economic contribution to the community, which can attract thousands of visitors a year. The Notre-Dame-de-Lorette Church and the hotel-museum bring together the most important pieces of Wendat heritage. Wendake's economy is principally based on tourism; Wendake's moccasin, canoe and snowshoe industries manufacture internationally recognised products, which among other locally produced crafts contribute to the community's booming economy. The Government of Québec and the Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation signed a framework agreement in February 2000. This agreement serves as the basis for specific negotiations on subjects of common interest such as hunting, fishing and taxation.[146] Contemporary Native writings, as in Wendat people's attitude, express great anger at the historical treatment of their peoples. For

143De Stecher, "The Art of Community," cit., p.59.
144*Ibid*, p.57.
145Wampums are traditional sea shell beads woven on strings, used by Native Peoples of Northeast America, which played a fundamental role in diplomatic meetings as a public record of a contract or agreement. It could be part of a gift exchange or returned to the community as an archive. Mutually with oral tradition, wampum transmitted cultural knowledge and history from generation to generation. Later on, it was adopted by the Europeans as a currency. Source: Lainey, *La Monnaie des Sauvages*, cit.
146Amérindiens et Inuits - portrait des nations autochtones du Québec, 2ème édition, Gouvernement du Québec, 2011, pp. 24-25.

instance, the use of the term 'Huron' is denounced since it refers to the boar's crest in French and was implemented by French settlers. Additionally, it represents a denunciation of the civilising mission, as a commitment against historical injustice. Furthemore, as a reinvestment of social and spiritual values, the cultural shift to 'autohistory' highlights the Indigenous right to speak about their own identity, history and culture.

Since history is an instrument of power, because it promotes a narrative about the past, Native intellectuals have tried to reclaim the discipline in order to shift its long-lasting destructive effects on memory and heritage. This phenomenon of reverse assimilation is called autohistory and was conceptualised by the Wendat historian and sociologist Georges E. Sioui.[147] Amerindian autohistory is the study of correspondence between Indigenous and non-Indigenous sources. It is an ethical as well as socially responsible approach to history. It aims to demystify socio-political discourses on Native history. Autohistory was theorised by Sioui as a rejection of conventional history because "[it] has been unable to produce a discourse that respects Amerindians and their perception of themselves and the world, one that would be appropriate to harmonising society."[148] The historian's duty here is therefore to bring Indigenous perspectives and traditions into the discourse of history. Our objectives in the case study is to see how autohistory fits into museology.

2.2 Creating a museum by and for the community

Unlike institutions where Indigenous collections have been separated and decontextualised, and in which stories behind the objects remain untold, the exhibits of the HWM are in their original setting. Since the 19th century, Wendat works of art and material culture have been preserved and displayed at the heart of Wendake by Wendat people themselves. They have been able to use the concept of the 'cabinet of curiosity' and turn it to the advantage of their community within the community. This ingenious use of white museology does not go against Indigenous values and methods of conservation, exhibition and transmission:[149] Wendat culture and heritage are museified according to their ethno-historical context, because they are manipulated and integrated in their authentic milieu according to traditional customs. The Western curatorial understandings of collection and exhibition are thus embedded in Wendat values.

147 Sioui, *For an Amerindian Autohistory*, cit.
148 *Ibid*, p.98.
149 See Sioui Durand, "A nomadic Wendat on the trail of museums: for living archives," cit.

As mentioned earlier, throughout the 19th century the Wendat community maintained a visible and dynamic presence in the political, social and commercial environment of Québec.[150] The establishment of Wendake as a tourist attraction was developed by Wendat people themselves for Québec residents and foreign visitors. Wendake, also known as Lorette by the French, was a fancy destination for aristocratic travellers, mainly due to its exotic environment (the Kabir Kouba waterfall is located beside the site) and the hospitality of Wendat families, as shown during ceremonies and *sagamités*.[151] There, tourists could come to see the displays of heritage objects and art, listen to the stories of the culture-keeper, and purchase souvenirs.

The Tsawenhohi House is a tangible example of this extraordinary sense of heritage display and of diplomatic relationships to foreigners. Built in 1820 on an 1807 former house and named after the first Grand Chief living there, Nicolas Vincent Tsawenhohi, the House was the home of chiefs and community leaders, notably the Vincent-Picard family.[152] It had a special position in the keeping and passing-on of the nation's history, as a place where diplomatic meetings were held and wampum kept. The House was well-known among European visitors. Thus, it became a symbol of Wendat international relations. As De Stecher explains, "the story of Tsawenhohi House and its traditions provide evidence of how the Wendat nation successfully adapted their pre- and early-contact customs to a new social environment, developing innovative forms of diplomatic gifts, transmitting cultural knowledge, displaying heritage and art, and fostering commercial expansion."[153] Architecturally, it is a prime example of a French-Norman house. It was acquired by the Huron-Wendat National Council in order to preserve it as a piece of built heritage of Wendake.[154] Later on, the Tsawenhohi House was adapted to modern Western museology and today, it is an interpretation centre as part of the HWM complex.

In 2006, the Québec Ministry of Culture and Communications recognised the importance of Wendat unique heritage protection and displaying traditions, and classified

150De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.55.

151The *sagamité* was originally a feast, "an event that brought together community, ceremony, protocol, dances, visual arts, songs, and games, and which required the participation of young and old alike. The sagamité itself was a rich stew made in a large copper cauldron shared by all the community and their guests." Source: De Stecher, "The Art of Community," cit., p.55.

152Michel Gaumond and Roger Picard, *La Maison Nicolas Vincent à Lorretteville*, Québec, Ministère de la Culture, Direction du Patrimoine, 1993.

153De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.53.

154"Formulaire de demande, Vieux-Wendake (Québec)," *Commission des lieux et monuments historiques du Canada*, in H-3-60, *Reconnaissance et mise en valeur du patrimoine de la Nation huronne-wendate*, 1999, p.8.

close to 350 objects from the Wendat collection “cultural heritage of Québec”. The HWM is responsible for the ongoing management of these collections and their enhancement. Since the 1980s, many professionals in Wendat culture have been appointed by the Huron-Wendat National Council to ensure continuity in conservation. Many identity cultural goods have therefore been inventoried and grouped by and for the community, consolidating the basis of the current museum collection. The safeguarding of this heritage led to the creation of the museum in 2008 and since that day, the museum’s management has been working to enhance and teach Wendat culture.[155] The museum was, according to one informant of the interview conducted with the staff, a long-awaited project to preserve and conserve the heritage of the nation.[156]

The creation of the HWM is part of this historical connection between the Wendat, their material culture and community-based knowledge, and the 'Other' i.e. the tourist. As explained by a Wendat community member who participated in the active life of the museum since its creation in 2008, several attempts were made by members of the community to set up a museum, or at least an interpretation centre featuring the ethnohistory of their Indigenous Nation. But the HWM, as one of the first Indigenous museums of Québec, is the most significant initiative to succeed in establishing itself within the tourist circuit of the city and as a Wendat territory museum and heritage site: “with its pedagogical mandate to convey and spread knowledge about the culture and art of the Wendat people, the museum takes a notable stand in Wendat self-determination, demonstrating the community’s agency in defining their past, present and future.”[157] The museum is attracting Québecois, Canadian and international visitors. More importantly, it is an achievement for the community and for the transmission of heritage, history and culture to the Wendat. The hotel-museum institution animates the cultural life of Wendake. The proximity approach confirms its role as a cultural actor in the community. This anchoring allowed the expression of a uniqueness for the Wendat, to which is added an obvious interest of attraction of the tourist.[158] The sense of community is much stronger than in a non-Indigenous museum. This is also an advantage for the HWM in terms of attractivity. The original pairing of the HWM with a hotel is also an interesting and successful choice. The exhibitions and the creation of events within the community prove a dynamic local

155“Historique, mission, mandats et objectifs revus,” Rapport annuel 2018-2019, Musée Huron-Wendat, p.8.
156Interview Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
157De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.59.
158Sioui Durand, “A nomadic Wendat on the trail of museums,” cit., p.279.

activity. But what makes the HWM special is also the evidence that the conservation, protection and enhancement of Indigenous heritage are no longer the monopoly of big, urban museums of civilisation.

The HWM methodology follows the principles of autohistory by researching, safeguarding and welcoming according to Wendat values and principles. The museum collections and exhibitions are made of and built from archeological findings from collaborative projects between Indigenous Peoples and Euro-Canadians experts, and are documented by the museum's historian and curator based on Wendat sources. However, French written sources, like religious testimonies, remain used for research and the exhibitions. Indigenous oral tradition supports the speech of the 'Other' – this time the European settler – about the Wendat. The colonial and religious ethnographic narrative, Indigenous archaeology and mythology, which is given a scientific value, contribute to the rewriting of Wendat history in the first person.

Nowadays, the HWM's board of directors president and Grand Chief of the Nation, Mr. Konrad Sioui; the CEO of Wendake Tourism; and the museum director, proudly and enthusiastically present the museum as a modern, accessible, welcoming, and popular site.[159] The museum is under the authority of the Huron-Wendat National Council and the board of directors is constituted of ten members, six of which are from the Wendat community. The National Council is at the head of the collections' constitution and the opening of the museum. The collections development committee is now responsible for new acquisitions. The mission of the museum is:

> "to preserve, conserve and make accessible the material heritage of the Huron-Wendat for future generations; to conserve and increase knowledge related to Huron-Wendat heritage and culture and its space-time journey; to present and transmit the richness of this heritage to members of the community in order to resourcing and resuming contact with culture, in its tangible and intangible aspects; to promote the rich heritage of the Huron-Wendat nationally and internationally."[160]

159Rapport annuel 2018-2019, Musée Huron-Wendat, pp. 3-5. The HWM employees will not be named and will remain anonymous. We are committed to respecting confidentiality clauses in the research carried out in collaboration with museum staff and the Huron-Wendat National Council.

160My translation. *Ibid*, p.8.

As a national institution of the Wendat people, the HWM highlights the current projects of self-determination and sovereignty along the same lines as autohistory. Its objective is to showcase current Indigenous purposes and systems of representation, histories and cultural traditions. The authority of the museum discourse is held and claimed by the Wendat, with political connotations and a proud attitude. With Western curatorial practices and collection customs originating in Wendat traditions and values, the HWM adapts its museological practices to the fashions, needs and expectations of the 21st century.

Figure 1: Front and entrance of the Hôtel-Musée des Premières Nations. The Huron-Wendat Museum is located in the round building on the left. © Lemay Michaud

Figure 2: Map of the Hôtel-Musée des Premières Nations complex, in the heart of Old Wendake. The place is preserved in its natural environment, in an enchanting setting. An on-site large parking is provided and a bus station leading to Québec City is a few minutes walk away. © Lemay Michaud

2.3 'Territory museum'

The HWM is a territory museum, as defined in the first chapter, because it performs a sense of belonging and pride and exacerbates local identity. By looking at the geography and topography of Wendake, then relating the Wendat nation with heritage and community, the relationship of the HWM with territory will be investigated. This will allow us to conclude on how, as an ethnographic museum, a Wendat national institution and a Canadian Indigenous museum, the HWM bears unprecedented responsibilities.

The reserve of Wendake has been established on dry and rocky land, thus limiting agricultural activity. It belongs to the great suburbs of Québec City. Wendake is mildly populated with small houses and bungalows oriented south east. The town structure reflects the social logic of space, lifestyle and traditional Wendat values.[161] A few restaurants and craft shops constitute the living urban elements of the centre. The nomenclature of places, named after great Wendat historical figures, as well as their translation into Wendat language, shows a certain attachment and pride into their history, collective memory and culture. The HWM is located beside the Akiawenrahk River, close to the Kabir Kouba waterfall in Old Wendake. The waterfall has been fitted out with a painted mural, thematic gardens as well as walking trails beside the river. The adjacent Kabir Kouba interpretation centre features documents, photographs, fossils and other elements found on the site, which has been occupied for 400 years. Near the river, the Onywahtehretsih square is a public space dedicated to the Wendat myth of creation: the key elements of the story are materialised through sculptures. The most important building of the town centre is the church, built in 1730 and listed as a Canadian historical monument since 1957. One of the guided tours of the HWM offers a commented trail around these two main attractions – the waterfall and Notre-Dame-de-Lorette Church, in addition to the Tsawenhohi House. The HWM, built in the circular form of a traditional smokehouse by the architect Lemay Michaud (an architectural firm with no ties to the Wendat or any Indigenous People) and funded by the Québec government, is part of the hotel, which has a longhouse structure. The museum has two exhibition rooms: the permanent historical exhibition, *Territories, Memories, Knowledges*, and the Yadia'wish Room (Turtle Room), where contemporary Indigenous art or thematic exhibitions are displayed. The gift store offers Wendat crafts for purchase. Added to these is the outdoor space where a fortification has been reconstructed,

161 "Formulaire de demande, Vieux-Wendake (Québec)," *Commission des lieux et monuments historiques du Canada*, in H-3-60, *Reconnaissance et mise en valeur du patrimoine de la Nation huronne-wendate*, 1999, p.11.

as well as a traditional longhouse, the highlight of the museum. The restaurant called ‘La Traite’ is part of the hotel-museum complex. Based on local products, including wild game, it serves traditional dishes in an elegant atmosphere. In fact, it is the restaurant that attracts most people and brings in the most revenue. The traditional Huron site is the other main heritage place of Wendake frequented by tourists and local schools.

The HWM was instituted in an environment that represents a certain Aboriginal pride. The very establishment of the cultural institution and the hotel is the result of a need to exhibit Wendat heritage, to collectively remember the pre-colonial past and to share this unified memory and heritage with the 'Other'. The tensions that may have surrounded the involvement of Indigenous subjects and actors in other contexts, such as the Glenbow Museum in 1988, do not seem to apply here.[162] On the contrary, the HWM presents itself as a place of warm community life which contributes to the modernisation of the Wendat nation as well as to its influence within the museum sphere and the regional touristic landscape. If, as the Canadian museologist Onciul points out, “museums can imbue strong emotional responses [for many Indigenous Peoples], from anger and sadness to joy, because ethnographic collections are connected with the traumas of colonial conquest and yet provide a direct link to precolonial life,”[163] it is not the case of the HWM which intensifies Indigenous pride. Indeed, among the professionals interviewed, two people claimed to have bonds with Wendat members and Indigenous identity, and both repeated that the museum contributed to the evolution and renaissance of Wendat culture.[164] Thus, studying the HWM implies examining the cultural revitalisation of the community.

162 Soulier, “Analyser la reconnaissance du point de vue autochtone dans une exposition muséale,” *Éducation et francophonie*, Vol. 43, No. 1, 2015, p.97.

163 Onciul, *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice*, cit., p.26.

164 Interviews Inf#1 and Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.

Figure 3: Entrance hall and lobby of the Hôtel-Musée des Premières Nations. The lobby of the hotel is located near the actual entrance of the museum. The warm welcome and the elegant decoration are particularly appreciated by visitors. © Lemay Michaud

Figure 4: The permanent exhibition room is rather small but feature an interesting selection of historical and modern artifacts. A multimedia environment composed of screens, trees, nature sounds and a starry sky on the ceiling immerse the visitor in a calm, mystical atmosphere. © Société des Musées du Québec

Figure 5: The restaurant La Traite is located underneath the lobby, with a terrace next to the Akiawenrahk river facing the longhouse. The restaurant is praised for its original concept of Indigenous inspired cuisine and the staff's care and attention. © Lemay Michaud

Figure 6: The Huron-Wendat Museum is surrounded by nature and divided into three parts: the permanent exhibition room on the floor level, a temporary exhibition room and a shop downstairs, and a reconstructed traditional longhouse oustide. © Lemay Michaud

Figure 7: Replica of an Iroquois longhouse. Long and narrow, this bark-covered single-room structure used to host several families. The longhouse of the museum is smaller than the actual traditionnal buildings, but the structure includes storage spaces and fire pits.
© Québec Original

Figure 8: A view from the inside of the longhouse. The use of authentic materials, such as local wood and furs from hunted animals, generally impress visitors. The fires are always lit and managed by a guardian, i.e. one member of the museum staff.
© Québec Cité

Because the HWM reifies Wendat's uniqueness, it also recognises the collective identity and memory of this First Nation group. Collective identity refers to the creation of spheres in which a homogeneous and united identity is performed. Collective memory is the ensemble of representations that a group shares from its past.[165] Moreover, the HWM echoes the theories of 'imagined community' and 'invention of traditions', primarily because the Wendat people, as a sovereign colonised nation, (1) is trying to emancipate itself by establishing a national institution and to exhibit a homogeneous history and culture there; (2) is presided by a group of representatives constituted of the National Council, of whom are in charge of collective identity and societal functioning. In this way, the next two chapters are going to be especially interesting as far as investigating the ethnographic practice of emblem manipulation – language, religion, tradition – to affirm the permanence of the Wendat nation and its culture. The notion of representation as a powerful concept and practice has to be emphasised here alongside the emergence of a community-owned cultural identity. These questions will assess the level of continuity and unity within Indigenous history and culture as shown by the museum, as well as the meaning of Wendat identity.

The reasons that steered to the creation of the HWM are political desires which emerged from a socio-cultural tradition of story-telling. This initiative can also be considered a means to dynamise Wendake territory in terms of tourism and business. The museum belongs to the socio-economic landscape of Wendake and possesses a territorial impact for the Wendat community. Thus, the HWM can be regarded as an identity marker and a *lieu de mémoire* for the Wendat community. The next two chapters will focus on the fieldwork and verify if museum professionals and visitors share and understand these statements. In the ethnographic discourse of the HWM, who speaks and writes? When and where? With or to whom? In other words, what is the discourse of the museum and what are the museological practices put in place? These questions will provide insightful tracks of research in order to understand the political, economic and social missions, policies, purposes and concerns of the museum.

165 Pierre Nora, "La mémoire collective," in Jacques Le Goff (ed.), *La nouvelle histoire*, Retz-CEPL, 1978, p.398.

Chapter III – Analysing representation

Historically, the representation of Indigenous Peoples within museums has been marked by little collaboration and involvement by the people in question. As outlined in normative recommendations, they have to be able to represent themselves and their own stories. Issues of representation have become a central point in the discussion between museums and First Nations. In the case of the HWM, because Indigenous identity and culture are defined by the Wendat themselves, the narrative is considered authentic by experts and visitors. Nevertheless, community groups in charge of this 'authentic' representation have to be defined, as well as the message conveyed. One of the strengths of the HWM is its ability to represent the Wendat in a perspective of evolution and adaptation, unlike other ethnographic museums which only succeed in displaying a lateral presentation of an ethnic identity coming from the past. This lateral display consists in exhibiting ethnic or national communities as homogeneous and historical. On the other hand, the regional confinement on Wendake territory and the narrative based on the past prevent any type of circulation to a more global and contemporary context: it may seem that the Wendat example is isolated from the history of North American Native Peoples up until today. Throughout the analysis of the fieldwork and the subsequent conclusions, the HWM might be considered a model of 'good practice' in representing an ethnic group's identity to the general public. So how does this museum operate an institution at the image of its people? What are the cultural representations in the ethnographic narrative? How does the heritageised past of Wendat people represent the fundamental values of identity, continuity and unity? And more globally, is it achievable to establish a legitimate representation?

Evaluating the definition of Wendat's identity and heritage and how these are museified may provide an outlook on the conceptualisation of representation. In order to illustrate the HWM's strategic choices for self-representation, a descriptive analysis will be used in order to analyse the data produced by the museum. Thereby, the museological practices as observed during the fieldwork and discussed in the interviews with a small group of professionals, as well as the institutional discourse, will be interpreted. Third-party organisations and other actors' narratives about the HWM also communicate an idea of what the museum represents, that will convey a particular vision of the contemporary Indigenous community of Wendake.

3.1 Definition of representation

3.1.1 A discursive practice

The concept and practice of representation has been subject to numerous interpretations, but the definition and understanding presented here are Stuart Hall's theories. Hall was a British Marxist sociologist and cultural theorist who mainly worked on the notions of cultural identity, hegemony and race. According to him, representation is a picturation of an event (denotation) and the application of one or several meanings (connotation) onto it.[166] The power of representation is to mark, assign and classify. Representation refers not only to imaging, but also to critical inclusion which implies narratives. In the heritage context, representational systems are characterised by rules and conventions. Heritage is a discourse driven by motives and ideas because it makes sense of experience in the present and serves to propagate identity. From this conception, the museum has to develop a constructed narrative between historical realities and mythologies. Museum objects represent ideas using texts, audiovisual tools, performances and arrangements in space. The politics of representation are influenced by the museum institution as a whole. The representation of heritage is socially determined by a mutual understanding established between the institution and the visitor: they have to share common cultural conceptions and perceptions in order to interact. Visitors can understand what is represented in the museum because of their prior conceptions.[167] These conceptions are embedded in everyday life and make sense; they may involve emotive attraction, classification, or personal stories. These patterns of cultural imagining involve creative interactions between visitors and exhibitions. Museums have an evocative responsibility: representation may affect how people think, value and act, based on the museum narrative.

In museums and ethnographic museums in particular, models and curatorship practices have been mostly based on Western concepts and values until recent times. Thus, some representational practices of museums can be seen as 'coercive' or 'enforced meaning'. As Hall denounces, "The questions – 'Who should control the power to represent?', 'Who has the authority to represent the culture of others?' – have resounded through the museum corridors of the world, provoking a crisis of authority."[168] Indeed,

166 Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other," in *Representation*, cit.
167 MacDonald, "Cultural imagining Among Museum Visitors: A Case Study," *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol. 2, 1992, p.401.
168 Hall, "Whose Heritage?" cit., p.25.

displaying people is an act of power. Several museologists, such as Kreps and Ames, agree on the colonial authority of anthropology and ethnographic collections regarding the Western and exclusive conventional paradigms of cultural representation and preservation.[169] The purpose of ethnographic texts is to make the unfamiliar understandable through translation, transposition and construction. Ethnographic museums produce certain types of representations and mobilise distinct classificatory systems, constitutive of difference in accordance with a specific understanding of the world. But as Karp explains:

> "No genre of museum is able to escape the problems of representation inherent in exhibiting other cultures. The two perils of exoticising and assimilating can be found in the exhibitions of virtually every museum that devotes any part of itself to exhibiting culture. Nor are museums that restrict themselves to examining diversity within their own societies able to escape the difficulties described above."[170]

Some representational practices might even resemble stereotyping, which consists in essentialising, reducing and naturalising cultural characteristics and differences of ethnic groups or races of people in particular.[171] Stereotypes can be positive or negative but they are always simplistic and generalising. Native Americans especially have been and still are exposed to stereotypes in popular culture.[172] Stereotyping is also part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order by setting up a frontier with difference.

Hilde Hein, a philosopher working on museum ethics, argues that the ethical identity and central function of a museum is representation.[173] Using feminist theory in convergence with postcolonialism, critical race theory and queer theory, she defines representation as "a common practice indulged in by all people as a means of navigating

169 See Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, cit., p.3 and Ames, "How Anthropologists Stereotype Other People," in *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*, cit., p.54.

170 Karp, "Other Cultures in Museum Perspective," in *Exhibiting Cultures* cit., p.378.

171 Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other," in *Representation*, cit., p.249.

172 Examples of derogatory images of "the Indian" are numerous. Their portrayal vary between the fascination with the noble savage and the villain and uncivilised of the traditional Western genre. As for women, the dichotomy lies in the "Virgin - Whore paradox" i.e. the opposition of the hot-blooded Indian Princess and the stolid squaw. These exogenous representations have been and still are "self-serving, biased, inaccurate, and/or incomplete." (Coody Cooper, *Spirited Encounters*, cit., p.1)

173 Hilde Hein, "The responsibility of representation. A feminist perspective," in Marstine (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, cit., pp. 112-126.

the world."[174] Thus, museums are often labelled as 'authoritative voices' since their rightness and accuracy are assumed. But the 'Other' as well as the marginalised and the disadvantaged, who traditionally were excluded in the establishment of representational practices, have to participate in the development of a creative theoretical discourse. Questions of power and authority concerning who has the right to speak for and represent whom are at issue. The interest in representing the lives, cultures and contributions of more diverse communities is growing too, sometimes with explicitly activist positions, since communities want to have a word in how their cultures are represented.[175] On the other hand, there is also a need to relativise the museum and avoid defining representations purely as a result of governmental discourse and strategies. Curatorial processes applying representational practices must be seen as a set of exchanges between different communities, i.e. 'contact zones' or 'polyvocal exhibits'. Hall regrets that this inclusion of the 'Other' within the heritage field has become conventional to fit administrative requirements, especially in post-colonial societies, at the risk of transforming professionals and volunteers who are a visible minority or representatives of a community into exhibition objects themselves.[176] Only a significant enhanced programme of training and recruitment for heritage practitioners from these backgrounds will lead to a more culturally diverse, socially just, equal and inclusive society and culture industry. In the case of Indigenous Peoples, "[non-Natives can] provide better opportunities for people to represent themselves within the established museum context, through collaboration, joint curatorships, commissioned programmes and exhibitions, and other forms of 'empowerment'. This requires a 'reoriented point of view', one in which First Nations individuals take on an identity as speaking subject rather than as the traditional object of museum classification and interpretation."[177] Members of these communities can bring their knowledge and experience in order to change the dominant curatorial and exhibitionary practices. But they will also have to participate in cultural policy making at higher levels in order to recover and preserve their rights.

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174 *Ibid*, p.113.

175 For instance, Levine Museum of the New South set up a rapid-response exhibit and programme co created with community members in the aftermath of the police-involved shooting of Keith Lamont Scott and the protest that ensued in Charlotte, North Carolina, in September 2016. Source: Tindal, "K(NO)W Justice K(NO)W Peace," cit.

176 Hall, "Whose Heritage?" cit., p.27.

177 Ames, "Introduction: the critical theory and practice of museums," in *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes* cit., p.6.

3.1.2 Exhibiting as cultural production

As explained across the concept and practice of representation, all language is political and museology is a political act. Representational processes call to imagine, and so do exhibits. Indeed, exhibitions can be regarded as a 'technology of imagination': "It is an ordered site where the sensory and the cognitive are brought together; and where, through experience, visitors may extend and reinforce or reshape their knowledge."[178] By articulating objects, texts, visual and sound depictions into a representational system, the multimedia environment of the HWM is focused on communicative strategies and display techniques which produce ways to perceive the world as the Wendat do. Exhibitions are a visual media, a communication tool and a discourse telling a story, devoted to the construction of a collective memory and the production of a community. Throughout time, museum exhibitions have been established as "a key area of cultural production with important agency in the inscription of constructs of nation, citizenship, race, and gender [contributing] to the formation of the universalist ideologies and nationalist power structures that inform modern societies."[179] The greatest challenge of exhibitions is to explain and communicate artifacts and their stories to both the group to whom they belong and outsiders, either by highlighting what makes them different or familiar. In the case of the HWM, the emphasis is on uniqueness, as a way to underline difference. Indeed, objects are labelled according to their exceptional value in relations to Wendat worldviews.

Exhibitions are also agents for the display of objects. The selection of objects going in the museum is based on visual, historical, cultural, religious or scientific interest. They are artifacts created by ethnographers and they become ethnographic because they are defined, segmented, detached and removed from their original environment.[180] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's analysis of ethnographic objects does not apply here, since in the case of the HWM the artifacts are preserved in their originating environment by source communities. That is essentially what makes it significant in the museum landscape and important in the acknowledgement of Indigenous cultural institutions. However, the museum management did not wish to share the collection policy. The National Council was originally at the head of collections; the newly created collections development committee is now responsible for new acquisitions. Most of these acquisitions are based on individual donations from members of the Wendat community or donated by the Musée de la

178MacDonald, "Cultural imagining Among Museum Visitors," cit., p.401.
179Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit., p.185.
180Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures* cit., pp. 386-388.

Civilisation in Québec.[181] Collections are managed by the curator, an unoccupied position when the fieldwork was carried out in November 2019. As developed later, the HWM's permanent exhibition modes of installation and assemblage, and the messages communicated through design show the cultural, social and political interests of the Wendat nation. As Sioui states, "the portrait of a culture depicts the ideas that are most important to its people."[182]

3.1.3 An Indigenous approach on representation?

What makes the HWM a unique and unparalleled institution is precisely the redistribution of narration, since for one of the first times in Québec, a First Nations community succeeds in transmitting its political message, while taking care of the media and aesthetic aspects. The museum's exhibits reflect Wendat experiences, art and culture, as well as colonial pasts and current struggles. The collections are inscribed within different traditions and practices, free of white, national, cosmopolitan patrimonies. As mentioned before while dealing with the ethnographer's role, the exhibitions of the HWM are not based on the anthropologist' discourse but on Wendat archeological findings and perceptions of history. In other words, the HWM is an ethnographic museum without the ethnographer. As explained in the cartels' texts and noted throughout the observations, the notion of a unified or linear history of Québec colonisation is challenged by local Indigenous narratives: all historical references are based on Wendat autohistory works or non-Aboriginal writings as long as they earn the approval of the Huron-Wendat National Council.[183] The researcher of the museum, in charge of historical documentation, denounced the strong veto of the National Council: all content produced by the HWM must obtain the Council's support. The tacit agreement with the Nionwentsïo Office, based on respect for the Wendat Nation, therefore defines the Indigenous narrative framework for museum practices.

The HWM grants participants the autonomy and skills to represent themselves, through the choice of mediums and content as well as the creation of representation

181Email exchange with Inf#5, 6 December 2019.

182Sioui, *For an Amerindian autohistory*, cit., p.20.

183Interview #Inf2, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019. They indicated that the most important influences in relations to historical research were Québecois authors and historians Alain Beaulieu, Denis Veaugeois, George E. Sioui, and Denys Delage.

tools.[184]Indeed, museology is a development tool where community cohesion and cultural revitalisation can be achieved. Cultural affirmation is a major issue for Indigenous Peoples and ideally, the museum should correspond to the expectations and interests of the communities for which it is established. However, as we specifically asked how museum practitioners identified themselves during the interview under the question "are you a member of an Indigenous Canadian community?" (see Appendix III), only one person out of five responded in the positive, saying they were Wendat.[185] One of the respondents also mentioned the lack of accessibility to museology for First Nations and the fact that the workforce is not always Indigenous.[186] Although in theory the HWM is managed by the single source community, it remains under the authority of the Wendat only through the National Council which is in control of the HWM's narrative and museological practices.

Representation is self-determined by the National Council but the museum reveals a willingness to appeal to Western education and museology. In the meantime, Wendat People demonstrate far-reaching efforts to maintain Indigenous participation and assert their voice, and this since the 19th century. It seems like Wendat heritage display is developed to please external visitors and reinforce the idea of an Indigenous hospitality, which works in favour of the community.[187] Thus, the HWM can be considered hybrid: it uses Western practices to express Indigenous perspectives with the involvement of diverse and non-Wendat partakers. The HWM comes across as a translator and translation of Wendat identity and culture for the 'Other'. It is also important to remember that the representations that result this community museum are those of particular sections of this community,[188] i.e. a minority of the Wendat population holding power.

3.2 Identity

This part is dedicated to the analysis of who speaks and writes, and about what – the components of identity, i.e. material culture, territory, language, and intangible heritage. The HWM does not introduce itself as an ethnographic museum but as an authentic national

184Dubuc and Kaine, *Passages migratoires* cit., p.6.
185Interview Inf#1, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
186Interview Inf#5, Huron-Wendat Museum, 28 November 2019.
187Every informant interviewed agreed on this point when responding to the questions related to the visitor's museum experience (see Appendix III).
188See Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., p.101, referring to Anderson's 'imagined communities'.

institution created "to conserve and promote the heritage of the Huron-Wendat Nation."[189] However, it demonstrates the functions of an ethnographic museum since it represents the idea of a nation through its ethnic, historical and territorial identity. The museum presents ethnohistory from the Wendat Nation point of view and draws visitors into a Wendat understanding of space. As explained by Chaumier and according to the objectives of this particular Indigenous museum, identity is a matter of emblematic interpretations and a performative discourse which aims at the legitimacy of a people.[190] In this regard, two editions of the annual report of the HWM (2017/2018 and 2018/2019) transmitted by the director are going to be analysed. These reports encompass the museum organisation and administration, as well as the history, mission, mandate and objectives of the personnel. In addition to these reports, the official website of the National Council and the interviews are also going to be used as sources in order to designate who speaks and write about Wendat identity.

Identity resides above all in beliefs in its representations, which is constructed by the National Council and the board of directors, of which six out of ten are Wendat. Among those are only men, including the Grand Chief of the Nation and his son, as well as another Wendat family chief.[191] This group of men holds a political role and has the dominant voice within the community. The National Council was at the origin of the opening of the museum. Those responsible for temporary exhibitions are mostly Indigenous artists and intellectuals. The reports deal with the participation of many Indigenous figures in museum works: Guy Sioui Durand and Manon Sioui, both Wendat, set up the April 2019 exhibition *T-T-T-T de la terre tremblante à la tente parlante en art autochtone actuel*; visual artist Hannah Claus, from the Mohawk community, participated to Québec Biennale at the HWM during spring 2019; and seven Indigenous artists co-created the itinerant exhibition *Microcosme* in November 2017 with non-Aboriginal artists. Therefore, generally speaking, it is members of Indigenous communities who compose the message conveyed by the museum. However, external stakeholders can interfere and as mentioned earlier, when the interviews with the staff were carried out, only one person self-identified as Wendat. Thus, the current employees are mainly non-Native practitioners. Nonetheless, the National Council remains responsible for the institution and has the final say on what to exhibit and

189 2019/2020 Official Tourist Guide, Tourisme Wendake, p.18.
190 Chaumier, "L'identité, un concept embarrassant, constitutif de l'idée de musée," cit., p.26.
191 Source: "Grands chefs et chefs familiaux," *Conseil de la Nation Huronne-Wendat*, accessed 31 May 2020, https://wendake.ca/cnhw/qui-sommes-nous/grand-chef-et-chefs-familiaux/

how to document it.[192] Members of the boards of directors, who can also be affiliated to the National Council, are the decision makers at the HWM.

The most important concepts in Wendat identity are, as described in the second chapter, the dynamic participative nature of ancestral customs and genealogy, as well as learning, teaching, and passing on cultural knowledge of the community. Oral tradition, the 'circle of life' approach to spirituality and visual arts, such as embroidery and wampum display, are also fundamental. Heritage as a whole contributes to the strength and resistance of Wendat people.[193] In order to discern what the message is in terms of displaying an identity, there will be a focus on the fieldwork notes about the guided tour and the observation on site. The official tourist guide produced by Tourisme Wendake and the activities offered for schools and the general public, indexed in the *Cartable 2019/2020*, are also going to be used for the descriptive analysis. Both documents highlight some elements of Wendat identity for the purpose of attracting tourists and developing meaningful educational activities.

The speech of the guided tour is very much focused on identity, based on history and genealogy, and trade. The visit, just like the audio guide's speech and the guided tour, begins with the creation myth and tells about social ties between individuals, families, clans and nature. Myths and legends are at the heart of cultural mediation activities. Throughout the visit, the idea of kinship is also central in the narrative. Then, the guide usually explains the major historical events related to Wendat territory: 1697 as the sedentary establishment of the Wendat in Wendake, 1760 refers to the Huron-British Treaty signed by James Murray, and 1990 for the Sioui case. The timeline displayed near the entrance barely refers to pre-European history. Rather, it presents the major events highlighting the relations between Wendat and Europeans (explorers, missionaries, settlers, trade, establishment of cities, epidemics...). However, the timeline gives a historical perspective from a Wendat point of view instead of a settler vision, although some Euro-Canadian time marks are displayed. It represents a politicised discourse on colonisation and on the events of the 19th century from a Wendat point of view. In the permanent exhibition room, the snowshoes, potteries and canoes are featured as the 'star' artifacts of the collection. Indeed, in addition to being locally crafted for several generations, all three are significant identity markers for Wendat people. The wampum is also a prominent element of the exhibition and its paramount historical, diplomatic and social importance is explained at length in the cartel,

192Interviews Inf#2 and Inf#5, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 and 28 November 2019.
193As expressed by Jean Sioui in De Stecher, "The Art of Community," cit., p.54.

by the guide and by the audio guide. The activity *In the footsteps of the turtle and the bear*[194] offered for elementary school students is an exploration of Iroquoian artifacts dating from the 16th century, to be analysed in comparison to the Algonquian material culture. Pupils are therefore encouraged to study the organisation of Wendat society, to open up to the diversity of Indigenous Peoples and, by extension, to structure their own identity.

On the other hand, neither the exhibition, nor the visit packages and activities deal with the circle of life. Only two activities reserved for adults are concerned with this central element of Wendat spirituality.[195] *Making the invisible understandable* is a package designed for groups which introduces the public to Wendat myths, religion, philosophy and cosmogony. *Taking your place in the circle* is an activity focused on the social roles and values of Wendat People. It allows participants to express themselves on the topics of circular thinking, their roles in society and their impact on the environment. However, the observation of these activities could not be carried out since the demand was nonexistent at the time of the fieldwork.

Territory is significant in the assertion of identity, especially for Indigenous Peoples, and territory museums grant an affirmation of this aspect of identity.[196] It is also a central theme of the permanent exhibition *Territories, Memories, Knowledges*. We explained in the second chapter and more particularly in the brief overview of the history of the Wendat that they are from the Great Lakes region. Constrained to a mass exodus eastwards, the Wendat have been living in Québec for almost 400 years. The presentation of maps would therefore be interesting in order to explain to museum visitors these migrations and the potential reasons for their displacement. But interestingly, as recorded in the fieldwork diary, there are not many maps in the permanent exhibition room thus limiting the contextualising of Wendat territories which have changed over time. Despite this the exhibition highlights connections to the land and proclaims the relationship to Wendat territories, also known as the Nionwentsïo. Since territory is the source of agriculture, fishing, hunting, trapping and harvesting, these human activities appear as key words in the cartels. Land is also the origin of the three sisters, the heart of Wendat economy; territory therefore is vital and essential. The exhibition space is surrounded by multi-media images of the Nionwentsïo: the

194My translation. In Cartable 2019/2020, offres grand public et scolaire, Musée Huron-Wendat, p.13.

195*Ibid*, pp. 6-7.

196To see Indigenous territories in relation with museums, see Paul Liffman's "Huichol Histories and Territorial Claims," in Susan Sleeper-Smith (ed.), *Contesting Knowledge: Museums and Indigenous Perspectives*, University of Nebraska Press, 2009, pp. 192-217.

soundtrack (animal and nature noises), the reconstitution of a small forest (twelve trees with a symbolic charge and a constellation on the ceiling) and the three large screens displaying pictures and clips of local fauna and flora contribute to create a mystical atmosphere which immerse the visitor in the Wendat world. This space takes a round shape (which gives a convivial aspect; it is based on the architecture of a traditional smokehouse) and is plunged into darkness. The atmosphere, more than the actual interpretative tools, convey the idea of the Nionwentsïo.

Within the museum, intangible heritage converges with the material to express identity, tradition and transmission. It was noticeable through the observation of the exhibition and the guided tours. As part of intangible heritage, Wendat language is a very important element of museography, since it is fairly well used in and by the HWM. Although it is not widely spoken, Wendat people have begun to promote the study and use of their language through primary school but also through arts and during festivals, thus contributing to a feeling of pride for 25-30 years. Symbols of Wendat language are noticeable around Old Wendake as well, with street names and road signs translated into Wendat. According to an interviewee working as a guide at the HWM, the museum reappropriates Wendat language and culture for political purposes.[197] Indeed, they stated that the mission of the museum is to achieve a reappropriation of Wendat language and culture. Although the museum offers a good historical framework, it mainly serves for the reappropriation and revitalisation of Wendat culture, the reconnection with traditions and authenticity. In this way, Wendat People might retrieve sovereignty on their heritage. As observed during the visit, greetings are made in Wendat, both in the audio guide and with some Native guides who introduce themselves in their Native language (not all guides are Wendat). It is not a policy of the National Council or the HWM direction, but the stakes are high since it may convey a strong representative idea of Wendat culture and by extension identity. Most cartel titles are translated into Wendat, and for instance the membership form is entitled *onywatenro*' i.e. 'we are friends'. Another element of intangible heritage is the longhouse. The longhouse is located outside; a high spruce palisade recalls the traditional organisation of Iroquoian villages which used to be surrounded by fields. Inside the palissade are reconstituted a watchtower, a vegetable patch, a smokehouse, a wood warehouse and a grave. Here, the guide explains how Wendat families used to farm, trade and fight. This is also where the activities related to traditional craft, like bread baking, take

197Interview Inf#4, Huron-Wendat Museum, 2 November 2019.

place. In the longhouse, people usually sit around the fire and listen to the guide who explains how Wendat society used to be arranged. It is also a great place to introduce other myths, legends and stories from Wendat heritage. Built in 2013, the longhouse is a tiny replica of historical longhouses, constructed with traditional materials. It brings added value to the authenticity of the nation's cultural demonstrations. The longhouse is also branded as an unmissable experience and heavily promoted in heritage trails.[198]

At this point of the guided tour, the discourse changes. Previously too didactic and based on formal explanations, the guide's speech becomes more personal. The time spent at the longhouse can be extended to take more time speaking with visitors about Wendat culture and social representations. It is also the place where visitors feel most comfortable and are really steeped in heritage. This is confirmed in the feedback from the surveys, guest book, and media platforms. Indeed, according to the feedback analysed in the visitor satisfaction survey conducted in 2019 by the museum,[199] people seem to be asking for more information on the longhouse. On TripAdvisor, an online travel company, 'longhouse' is a popular mention; visitors generally say that the longhouse tour is worth it and enlightening, and that the guide becomes a real animated storyteller.[200] As said before, in the case of the HWM, heritage is kept in its environment thus not decontextualised. It gives people an idea of authenticity especially since the rhetoric used is based on exchange with visitors. As explained in the next chapter, it is also the only place where they can take pictures and manipulate objects. However a question about the longhouse function arises: as a 'time travel'[201] medium, was it conceived as a touristic product or an authentic copy?

As far as publicity is concerned, the HWM is auto-labelled as the leader of Indigenous museums.[202] Several marketing tools and websites have been examined (see Appendix I). These tools are established to promote tourism in the region, and Aboriginal tourism in particular. They are generally created by official or governmental channels such as Ministries, the SMQ, and even the Huron-Wendat National Council in the case of

198"Musée Huron-Wendat," *Museum routes for exploring First Nations and Inuit cultures*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://itineraires.musees.qc.ca/en/premieres-nations-inuits/musees/huron-wendat

199Visitor satisfaction survey 2019, Musée Huron-Wendat. Graciously transmitted by the museum's director on the 29 November 2019.

200"Musée Huron-Wendat," *TripAdvisor*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.tripadvisor.ca/Attraction_Review-g1498925-d2021369-Reviews-Musee_Huron_Wendat-Wendake_Québec.html

201"Le Musée Huron-Wendat et ses composantes," Rapport annuel 2017-2018, Musée Huron-Wendat, p.10.

202*Ibid*, p.14.

Tourisme Wendake. The latter is a non-profit organisation active since August 2006 and was created by the National Council. It is the leader of tourism within the community and the museum is actually operating through the agency of Tourisme Wendake. Overall, many of these organisations make a list of Indigenous cultural institutions and suggest their audiences to explore this facet of Québec identity through heritage trails.

Figure 9: The logo of the Huron-Wendat National Council (left) represents a plant crown, topped by two snowshoes (snowshoes being a symbol of First Nations sports culture and the main economy of Wendake). In the crown, a beaver builds its habitat and three geese hover above. These animals are all characters from the Wendat creation myth of the world. Underneath, four animals are drawn on a canoe. Each of these creatures represents the four Wendat clans: the deer, the turtle, the bear, and the wolf. Each clan has its own history and its own role within the community. The logo of the National Council is therefore very descriptive of the constitutive elements of Wendat identity. Both logos of the Huron-Wendat Museum (centre) and Tourisme Wendake (right) depict a turtle, which is one of the most respected animals in Wendat culture. The turtle is also a character of the founding myth, symbol of patience and sacred mother earth. It directly refers to Wendat roots and icons. The catchphrase #IamWendake, used by Tourisme Wendake, is used to include the visitor along the community and to convey an idea of unity between the Wendat and the 'Other'.

For instance, the Museum Routes website is an initiative of the SMQ with the participation of the Ministry of Culture and Communications and the Ministry of Tourism, offering itineraries for museum visits around the province of Québec.[203] In the "for exploring First Nations and Inuit Cultures" tab, sixteen museums are presented, including the Daniel-Weetaluktuk Museum in Inukjuak, the Amerindian Museum of Mashteuiatsh in Saguenay, the Abenaki Museum in Odanak and the HWM. As observed on their website, what is represented and promoted in these museums is the idea of an Indigenous memory carried by welcoming and warm people. Another example of Native identity branding is the corporation Québec Aboriginal Tourism. This organisation, supported both by the provincial and federal governments, offers resources to learn about Indigenous

203*Museum routes for exploring First Nations and Inuit cultures*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://itineraires.musees.qc.ca/en/first-nations-inuit-cultures

communities of Québec and visit their tourist attractions. As for the HWM, Québec Aboriginal Tourism's website puts the emphasis on the commercial identity of the Wendat: "Huron-Wendat Museum : discover the trading people!"[204] Most of these touristic organs introduce the HWM not necessarily as a national institution of the Wendat people, but rather as an Indigenous, exotic and glamourous place to enjoy folkloric activities and to bond with nature. In this way, touristic enterprises also promote the HWM's packages, contributing to the economic attractivity of Wendake.

Listed as the top attraction of Wendake, it is also described as a sophisticated and beautiful museum by travel guides.[205] *Le Routard* and its website are a French collection of tourist guides dedicated to travel; *Lonely Planet* is an editor of English-speaking travel guides; and both are particularly popular among travelers. They have carefully been studied in their paper and digital forms (see Appendix I) because they convey an interesting labeled image of specific tourist destinations. In the cases of Wendake and the HWM, the presentation of Indigenous heritage is relatively brief and the museum is hardly mentioned. *Le Routard* rather recommends to visit the exhibitions at the Musée de la Civilisation downtown Québec or the Inuit art collection at the Museum of Fine Arts. However, Wendake is described as a North-American looking residential rather than a stereotypical Indigenous village. The travel guide recommends it especially for the historical authenticity of the traditional Huron site Onhoüa Chetek8e, i.e. according to the informants interviewed the main competitor of the HWM.[206] In the case of *Lonely Planet*, local Indigenous identity seems to be moderately understood since the authors indicate that the Hurons and the Wendats are cousins (it is the same community but the first term is colonial). On the other hand, the article dedicated to the museum praises the abundance of artifacts, multimedia support and very informative timeline.

204"Huron-Wendat Museum," *Québec Aboriginal Tourism*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.QuébecAboriginal.com/port/huron-wendat-museum/

205"Huron-Wendat Museum," *Lonely Planet*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.lonelyplanet.com/canada/wendake/attractions/huron-wendat-museum/a/poi-sig/1619958/1005724 and "Québec, la ville : nos 10 coups de cœur. Musée de la Civilisation et pow-wow de Wendake : à la rencontre des premiers Québecois," *Le Routard*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.routard.com/reportages-de-voyage/cid137954-Québec-la-ville-nos-10-coups-de-coeur.html

206All the informers interviewed agreed on the traditional folkloric site Onhoüa Chetek8e being their main competition in Wendake. The question was asked as follows: "do you know other institutions considered to be the HWM's main competitors?" (see Appendix III). This site is completely independent from the National Council or Tourisme Wendake and looks like an immersive attraction, designed as spectacular and lively, rather than a museum.

In terms of the representation of identity, the HWM shows some limits as noted during the fieldwork. The main problem resides in the representation of positive images only. Silences remain on the dark history and difficult heritage of the Wendat, such as their displacement from Ontario to Québec and the violence of colonial powers towards their people. The modern mixes of Indigenous and white culture are absent: there is no representation of métis identity, culture and heritage. If it is missing from the exhibition and the guided tour, it might be because of the pain and wrath against colonialism which are still present within the community.

As for the HWM self introduction online, it never explains Wendat history, culture and heritage although it states it as its main mission. All the basic information on the museum, its permanent and temporary exhibits, the latest events, the different packages, educational and seasonal activities are available, as well as the prices and schedule. The museum website does not introduce Wendat identity but rather very much focuses on selling the hotel-museum as a whole. But on what grounds should a museum personify identity? As Chaumier explains while dealing with the relationship between identity and the museum, heritage is enhanced by exhibiting and interpreting, thus providing a community with a rewarding image that gives it self-confidence and welds the bonds of belonging to a group.[207] Despite the risk of communitarianism, isolation, ignorance of others and being trapped in local traditions, the HWM manages to establish relationships with the otherness and exteriority of the community thanks to tourism tools. Identity results from a self-representation, partly mythical and fictional. In reality, identities are multiple, constantly evolving and transforming, and based on what can be seen and heard within the museum, the HWM only represents a homogeneous, unified and sovereign Indigenous community.

3.3 Continuity

Continuity is the uninterrupted connection with history, bridging the past, present and future together. This part is an analysis of the discursive data produced by the museum in relationship with the notions of modernity, tradition and *savoir-faire* inherited from the past. The temporality of ethnographic museums is governed by long continuities.[208] Unlike Chaumier's argument discussed above or Bennett's qualification of museums as 'fetish

207Chaumier, "L'identité, un concept embarrassant, constitutif de l'idée de musée," cit., p.24, referring to Anderson's 'imagined communities'.

208Bennett, *Pasts Beyond Memory* cit., p.187.

houses of the archaic'[209] heritage processes and practices about the past are not just preservationist, resistant to change and regressive: they can be positive, develop alternative interpretations, and show attachment and acceptance to change.[210] In this way, the HWM celebrates Wendat identity and culture in a defense of the distinctive and authentic. Indeed, pride about traditions is not opposed to adaptation to modern life and lively experiences. The preservation of local identity goes through the establishment of links with the historical or territorial roots. This is the museum's strength, since visitors seem to appreciate the 'time travel' aspect of the guided tour and the longhouse, and recognise their attachment to uniqueness and authenticity. This can be observed on their social media feedback (see Appendix I), the results of the questionnaires conducted on site (see Appendix II) and the interpretation of the museum staff: all informers have discussed the visitors' museum experience during the interview and all of them mentioned the longhouse and/or learning about Wendat history as the main attraction.

In terms of continuity, a study of old collection and display methods compared to those of today would have been relevant but it cannot be investigated here because of the focus on the means of representation and the lack of sources. Nowadays, the museum engages with Western institutional practices in the use of display cases and text labels. Moreover, the emphasis is on aesthetics and tour guides and visitors alike agree that the HWM is a beautiful museum. The permanent exhibition room actually received an award of excellence from the SMQ. As a national organisation representing cultural institutions throughout Québec, the SMQ rewards museum practice based on a particular project – here the opening of the museum and its permanent exhibition *Territories, Memories, Knowledges.* On the other hand, there is no stylistic or visual identity and unity between the two exhibitions or even with the website. As noted while investigating the website of the museum, the design is quite basic and not so intuitive. It does not reflect the elegance of the physical museum nor the prestige enhanced in the leaflets of the hotel-museum. The last copyright dates from 2018, although activities and packages are updated. Less care seems to be given to the online museum presence, compared to the exhibitions on site. An exclusive website for the HWM rather than joint with that of Tourisme Wendake should be created in the coming months.[211] One museum practitioner points out that more importance is given to the means, not to the content or message.[212] According to the descriptive

209*Ibidem.*
210Wheeler, "Local history as productive nostalgia?" cit., pp. 467-468.
211Email exchange with Inf#5, 6 December 2019.
212Interview Inf#2, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.

analysis carried out and the information gathered both in the physical and virtual museums, the rendering better deserves the experience on site in order to please visitors.

The HWM, both on the political and interpretative levels (such as in the *cartable* offer and in the audioguide), introduces itself as a modern museum full of history. For that matter, history is described by the marketing as lively and historical objects are imbued with a tangible memory.[213] This mix of memory, history and heritage is explained by Witcomb as an emotional identification with the past deserving economic profit because it attracts ordinary people.[214] The HWM enthusiastically brands its content as authentic, as shown in the museum's various advertising tools. 'Authenticity' is used as a keyword in the greetings of the Grand Chief and the Vice President of Tourisme Wendake in the official tourist guide;[215] that word was also very present in the museum professionals' speeches during the interviews. It means that authenticity is used by both the decision makers and the practitioners; it is seen as a positive label. It is important to bear in mind that museology causes selection: the elements chosen for display might not necessarily be the most historically significant, but the most attractive instead. Thus, authenticity is not fixed but results from values at a certain moment in time. In this way, continuity questions the notion of temporality: heritage, including ethnographic museums, belongs to the present and serves its purpose.[216]

In the questionnaires too, the notion of authenticity has been investigated. Under the section "before visiting" visitors were asked to evaluate their prior conceptions about ethnographic museums. According to sixteen people who filled the survey out of twenty, i.e. 80% of visitors, the main qualities of an ethnographic museum must be authenticity, realism and accuracy, and the presence of historical objects. These keywords are generally those associated with the concept of cultural heritage. The ethnographic museum therefore seems to be appreciated for its traditional qualities: offering a rigorous and authentic content enhancing continuity with the past. People come to the HWM in order to get an appreciation of Wendat history, explained with exactitude and reliability.

Tradition, as part of continuity, allows individuals and communities to recreate the past based on the knowledge and values of the present.[217] The HWM explains that tradition is not an obstacle to innovation. Blending history and memory together, referring to

2132019/2020 Official Tourist Guide, Tourisme Wendake, p.19.
214Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., p.158.
215 2019/2020 Official Tourist Guide, Tourisme Wendake, p.5.
216Michel Rautenberg, *La rupture patrimoniale*, À la croisée, 2003, p.114.
217Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.53.

immemorial times and ancestral customs, and branding tradition under the label of authenticity, the museum definitely plays semantics to attract visitors and support the representation of a "world where timeless traditions meet modern hospitality."[218] The term 'tradition' itself is repeated several times on the tourist brochures and advertising posters, thus becoming a marketing tool. The warm welcome branded by the staff and commented by visitors on feedback platforms, for instance, is justified by the Wendat tradition of hospitality. According to one of the guides met during the research interview, links of continuity are also expressed by a return to spirituality both in Wendat life and in the museum's programmes.[219] The creation of the HWM in 2008 is a milestone in the acknowledgement of Indigenous Peoples' right to self-determination and the authority to manage their own heritage and institutions. Since then a cultural renaissance has taken place for the Wendat. Thus, the museum largely contributed to the evolution and revival of Wendat culture. Another example is the presence of traditional arts, such as the use of music in audio guides or skills display such as embroidery. The representation of "expertise from generation to generation" is at the heart of temporary exhibitions. The museum organised an exhibition in collaboration with the Maison des Jésuites de Sillery, another cultural institution of Québec City, during summer of 2019 in order to represent these unique and ancestral skills, however well anchored in the present, such as old and contemporary pieces of embroidery. The HWM had also offered three workshops with Wendat craftswomen in winter 2018, presenting the project as a community activity with the guardians of traditional Wendake *savoir-faire*. These activities with women from the community have enabled a development of the cultural mediation offer, as well as the creation of strong links between school audiences and members of the Wendat population. This kind of interactive activity, as well as the exhibition, highlights the relationships between past and present, with the aim of preserving intangible heritage for the future. Thus, the museum's programmes and exhibitions contribute to social change by confirming the continuing presence and energy of Wendat identity and culture.[220]

3.4 Unity

Unity is a harmonious state of being made one, as a people or a nation. In this way, museums are repositories of social bonds and connections, involve a human community

218Welcome leaflet, Hôtel-Musée des Premières Nations.
219Interview Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
220De Stecher, "The Art of Community," cit., p.53.

and constitute a social practice.[221] History and ethnography history are crucial to building a spirit of community. The Wendat National Museum defends the interests of the group that makes up the nation and brings the community together under the institutionalisation and transmission of its culture. Thus, the constitutive elements represented in the discourse of the HWM maintain this national identity and unity. The museification of Wendat heritage thereby contributes to community cohesion and sense of belonging.

The objectives of the HWM's corporate charter maintain that the museum must be a place of unity for the Wendat community but also with the First Nations of Québec and Canada. The missions state that it is also a question of sharing the history and modernity of these Nations. The museum must therefore represent contemporary Amerindian society. However, as analysed through the notion of continuity, the HWM confines itself to make links with its own past, that of the Wendat Nation, and not to establish links with other Indigenous groups. On the other hand, the museum does sometimes refer to external Indigenous stakeholders, not necessarily Wendat. At this point, Indigenous voices unite and form a multivocal and united discourse. The HWM also partners with other Indigenous institutions and heritage trails, thus conveying the idea of an Indigenous network. But the main exhibition of the museum does not deal with Indigenous ethnohistory as a whole, with regret for some visitors. Indeed, thrice in the questionnaires, in the statistics of the museum and online, a few visitors' feedbacks specify that they wanted to learn more about Native American culture. See for instance in the visitor satisfaction survey conducted by the museum during summer 2019 the qualitative question: "please share any thoughts or ideas that could enhance the visitor experience at this museum." A person mentioned that they would have liked to have more information about the longhouse and its items (response #19). The longhouse, or the most specific and striking attraction of the HWM, remains what people seem to remember the most from their visit and what, eventually, represents their visit to the HWM. Some confusion seems to appear when it comes to the boundaries between Native American and Wendat cultures. Several people also referred to the Wendat as the 'Indians' rather than 'Indigenous Peoples' thus confirming the well-rooted image of 'the' Native American as a sole identity or reductive, stereotypical image. Visitors who have had an Indigenous guide during their visit are the most enthusiastic. Thus, the strength of the HWM is its focus on local Indigenous heritage and the presence of community members. Nonetheless, what some people remember from their visit is to explore the

221 Rein, "What is a museum – a collection of objects or a network of social relationships?," *Museum Aktuell*, No. 174, October 2010, p. 46.

heritage of Native Americans, as if the Wendat were representative of the whole continent's Indigenous culture. As explained in the following chapter about interaction, dialogue with Wendat individuals seems to be the key to a successful visiting experience.

Temporal references represent an element of unity since they bring people together around a special event. Thus, the founding Wendat myth is of paramount importance because it gathers the population together and attracts the 'Other'. It is a focal point of Wendat culture. This myth is represented by a contemporary painting, in the entrance hall of the museum, before passing through the ticket office. It is also at the start of the guided tour that the guide explains the story of Aataentsic. It is the starting point of the visit, but also the founding moment of Wendat temporality. Another milestone event is the Sioui case, featured in the audio guide and through interactive elements of the permanent exhibition. Between 1982 and 1990, the four Sioui brothers, including Grand Chief Konrad Sioui and historian George Sioui, were charged and convicted of illegally camping, starting fires and cutting down trees in Jacques-Cartier Park in Québec. However, they argued that they had Indigenous rights to the territory based on a document signed by General James Murray in 1760 guaranteeing the "free exercise of their religion, their customs and liberty of trading with the English" to the Huron-Wendat. Eventually, this episode transformed the understanding of treaty interpretations in Canada.[222] It was also part of the genesis for Wendat socio-cultural renaissance. The ancestral rights, territories, values, history and culture are at the base of the Indigenous political cause, just as the events of the 1980 exhibition the *Spirit Sings* show.[223]

Likewise, unity is reified through the use of personal pronouns and the idea of group and pride. In this way, semantics play a huge role. The methodology used here was conducted directly in the field. While carefully reading every piece of information within the permanent exhibition room, the most meaningful words used in cartels, labels and panels were noted in the fieldwork diary. The noun 'Huron' is hardly used (only twice on its own, otherwise always hyphenated with 'Wendat'). Actually, the use of this term in the museum name is odd but can be justified by a wider understanding which could potentially attract more visitors. Out of a total of forty selected keywords within the permanent exhibition, Wendat is repeated thirty times. Proper nouns attributed to topography elements (the Great Lakes, Saint-Lawrence river, Roreke / Lorette) come second, emphasising the

222"Sioui case," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, published online 7 February 2006, accessed 8 May 2020, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/sioui-case

223See Phillips, *Museum Pieces* cit. and Onciul, *Museums, Heritage and Indigenous Voice*, cit.

importance of territory. The term ‘memory’ is third. But the most striking evidence of unity is that all presentations are written using personal pronouns such as “our people” and “us”. The use of “we” is also present in the guide's speech: it affirms and preserves the Wendat’s own identity. During the interviews, one person identifying as Wendat indicated that the HWM is about respect and knowledge of Wendat ways of life, language, ceremonies, and culture.[224] In their own words, it is about “us” and “our” nation.

Although the museum discourse is very much about 'Us' the Wendat, it is also open to the 'Other'. By 'Other' is primarily considered the tourist, since the museum is widely advertised first and foremost as a hotel before being a museum. The restaurant, the hotel and the museum are a whole and represent a living history, a tangible memory and a dynamic culture. As far as the 'Other' is concerned and interacts with this heritage, a lot of visitors expressed their attachment to the representation of cultural heritage. In the questionnaires, although the vast majority of visitors did not identify as Indigenous, some people indicated that they were fascinated by Native American culture and / or had a connection with Indigenous Peoples of their country of origin, either the United States or Australia in this case. Responding to the question “do you feel a connection or a sense of belonging with the content of the museum regarding your cultural identity?” (see Appendix II), most answers were positive, highlighting an interest and affinity for what they call ‘Native American culture’. If a member of an Indigenous community, the question “To what extent does the Huron-Wendat Museum represent your community?” was asked; according to people’s knowledge and point of view, it is an accurate representation.[225]

Indigenous communities are finally given a voice to claim their sovereignty on how to represent who they are and what they do within institutional frameworks. These communities want to have a word in how their cultures are represented. As shown by the data collected during the fieldwork, the museum staff and public are not necessarily coming from the Wendat community, thus highlighting a problem of access to museology for First Nations Peoples. It can equally be considered a weakness since some comments from visitors on social networks regret not having met “real” Amerindians. But the fieldwork shows the Wendat of Wendake commit to the museum through their official political organ, i.e. the National Council. Only a further investigation on the community’s responsibilities

224Interview Inf#1, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
225Questionnaire 20191130#07, Huron-Wendat Museum, 30 November 2019.

will assess whether it is achievable to establish an equitable social representation and confirm the postcolonial perspective on museology.

However, history and ethnography belong to the Wendat people who represent their identity in their own terms with political connotations. Unlike other Indigenous museums, it is not a question of collaboration but rather of hybridisation of white museology by and for the Natives. Besides, this white museology deserves form more than content. As claimed by an informant, this museum is Wendat identity: it is about their experience and their history.[226] Respondents agree that the museum is representative of Wendat culture and interesting enough. The exhibitions and activities presented at the HWM reflect the identity, territorial and historical claims of the Wendat Nation, but much less their current lifestyles perhaps because of an obsession with tradition. The guide, as an ambassador of the museum and by extension of Wendat People, represents the messages of the museum and the community. The HWM is part of a reappropriation of Wendat culture: it is a resource which helps visitors to shape their interpretation of cultural difference.[227] It is a place where Wendat ethnohistory and heritage can be appreciated and discussed in comparison to 'Other' cultures, those of the visitors.

Therefore, it is now about how the visitor responds to these representations and identifies with their natural and human environment, through interaction. Since the exhibition is designed as a language, the recipients, i.e. the visitors, are supposed to become familiar with the different components of the museum narrative. How is the message conveyed by Indigenous representatives understood and negotiated by visitors?

226Interview Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.

227Richard Sandell, “On ethics, activism and human rights,” in Marstine (ed.), *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, cit., p.135.

Chapter IV – Analysing interaction

Ethnographic museums make a significant contribution to creating a powerful image of place and people. Although museums can be perceived as static, unexciting and requiring passivity in comparison to contemporary media culture, interaction makes them alive. Interaction refers to the processes of communication between people, objects, knowledge and space. By stimulating the senses of the visitor, it largely contributes to the museum experience. Visitors tend to enter the museum with prior conceptions which help them to create a meaning of what is represented there. These conceptions are embedded in their understanding but may be influenced by creative interactions between the visitor and the exhibition. Moreover, the audience is invited to interact when they visit an exhibition. This experience can take the shape of special group tours, talks with speakers, manipulations of objects, educational programmes, new technologies or games for instance. Thus, the museum experience is based on interactions at a personal, physical and socio-cultural level. The main hypothesis of this chapter is that interaction affects the way history and ethnography are represented. Depending on the meanings visitors will make of their experience, interaction with these representations will or will not meet and satisfy identity-related needs and interests.

In this chapter are analysed interactions between visitors and the semiotics of representation, construction and the effects of meaning, as well as visitors' experiences. Consequently, it is necessary to proceed to a descriptive analysis of interactive instruments existing in the museum, both in the physical and virtual spaces. An inventory of all the visible interactive means, such as cartels, signs, audio guides, screens, video games, and background sounds may be listed to evaluate the extent of engagement potential. The level of interaction is extremely important to analyse, since the museum of the 21st century has been defined as a network of social relationships and a contact zone. This is where various social and cultural groups can share, negotiate and change perspectives on knowledge; where the notions of democracy, diversity, decolonisation, ethics and participation are discussed. Most of the research data will be collected from the contribution of participants. Interviews with professionals will be particularly useful for understanding how interactive strategies are implemented. Visitor surveys will evaluate the visitor experience in terms of emotions, understanding and satisfaction. Participants are expected to express their experience of the museum in relation to their own identity. Thus, the data analysis includes

the observations made on site, noted in an observation table and a log book in which all the events and behaviours happening during tours watching have been recorded. Platforms of feedback covering the guest book in the museum, questionnaires conducted with visitors as well as social media might be particularly useful to analyse the point of view of the public in terms of perceptions, affinities and satisfaction. This methodology should enable us to better comprehend the display layout and the possibilities of interaction between people, objects and media, i.e. how publics relate to the specific discourse on Wendat heritage.

4.1 Definition of interaction

Interaction allows people to intervene, make choices and answer questions. In the museum context, it implies communication between the institution and publics.[228] It is very much along the same lines as the new museology and its humanistic approach, namely about giving people control over their cultural heritage and its preservation as part of how they construct, maintain, or support their identity.[229] According to Barry Lord and Rina Zigler, both Canadian museum managers, museum governance has to include communication between people from different times and places.[230] In this process, interaction is a key tool which can lead to decolonisation for instance, because it entails the acceptance and participation of civil society. Interactive experiences are largely advertised as events but, as explained at the end of this chapter, there is a risk of alienating the museum from its main other functions whereby interaction can displease some visitors.

Interpretation is the most recently developed function of the museum. It is part of interactive communication in order to make the museum known and appreciated by the public.[231] Audiences and interpretation were not a priority up until the 1980s. At that point, while the new museology was emerging, the relation between publics and museums shifted thus reflecting greater socio-cultural changes. Researchers realised that people visiting museums were agenda focused and making meaning according to their background, experience and own identity. Elaine Heumann Gurian and Susan Vogel's chapters in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* published in 1991[232] completely changed the approach to the relationship between objects, displays, museums and their visitors. Placing mediation at the heart of museum work, they redefined the main mission of the museum as an instrument of interpretation serving the public. Studying audiences started with a substantial development in France and the United States in the

228 Although this part is going to draw on the reflection of several researchers in museology, no satisfactory description of the concept of interaction was considered, hence the use of the dictionary definition. Museologists prefer the use of the keywords *participation* and *interpretation* to deal with museums' public-centred actions but we believe that interaction is more inclusive and implies synergy between the institution and publics. "Interaction," *Merriam-Webster*, accessed 11 May 2020, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/interaction

229 Kreps, *Liberating Culture* cit., p.10.

230 Barry Lord and Rina Zigler, "Governance: Guiding the Museum in Trust," in Conal McCarthy (ed.), *Museum Practice*, Wiley Blackwell, 2015, p.27.

231 Lidchi, "The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures," cit., p.160

232 See Heumann Gurian, "Noodling Around with Exhibition Opportunities," and Susan Vogel, "Always True to the Object, in Our Fashion," in *Exhibiting Cultures* cit.

1960s,[233] followed by the creation of the Visitor Studies Association in Canada in 1991, the United States Visitor Studies Association in 1992, the Evaluation and Visitor Research Special Interest Group of Museums Australia in 1995 and the Visitor Studies Group UK in 1998.[234]

Since museums are some of the most free and creative work environments, they offer opportunities for imagining storylines and creating actions. This is why the HWM endeavours to offer qualitative experiences to its diverse publics. In this way, interpretation connects people through media that can inspire, move, entertain, delight, or provoke those who experience them. They engage visitors and acknowledge them as active participants in the museum.[235] Thereby, the role of new technologies is primordial and educators are at the heart of the museum experience. An interactive exhibit requires museums to integrate communication (learning), behaviour (doing) and emotions (feeling). In the case of the HWM, these three fundamental principles are established through the guided tour and the experience of the longhouse, as explained later in this chapter. Also, each group generates its own dynamic based on their bonds, their experiences and their discussions.[236] As the American museologist John F. Falk states:

> "[...] each museum visit experience is the synthesis of the individual's identity-related needs and interests and the views of the individual and society of how the museum can satisfy those needs and interests. The tangible evidence of the confluence of these perceptions is the visitor's identity-related visit motivations. These visit motivations create a basic trajectory for the individual's museum visitor experience. [...] the individual uses his or her museum visit experience to enhance and change his or her sense of identity and perceptions of the museum as well as, in a small but significant way, how society perceives this and other museums."[237]

233 See for example the pioneer work of Bourdieu and Darbel, *L'amour de l'art : les musées et leur public*, cit., which looks at the social conditions of museum practices. As for structural changes, the development of ecomuseums in France is an embodiment of the new museology's turn to the public.

234 Graham Black, "Building an Audience for the Twenty-First-Century Museum," in *Museum Practice*, cit., p.124.

235 Kerry Jimson, "Translating Museum Meanings: A Case for Interpretation," in *Museum Practice*, cit., p.530.

236 Rasse, "La médiation scientifique et technique entre vulgarisation et espace public," *Quaderni*, No. 46, 2001-2002, p.90.

237 Falk, *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, cit., p.36.

21st century leisure is about building and supporting identity needs and a sense of place, exacerbated by globalisation and a sense of loss of place, and included in heritage tourism. The idea of experience supports the living character of heritage. Leisure comes with entertainment, pleasure, meaning and learning through experience. In this way, interactive approaches promote accessibility and dialogue. They allow museums to avoid being static, to exchange with their visitors, and to provide deeper layers of information to enable interpretation. Experience in the museum depends on what the visitor does and sees and how it impacts their trajectory. It can be impacted by the context on a personal level (prior knowledge, experience and interest), physical level (exhibitions, programmes, objects and labels) and socio-cultural level (within- and between-group interactions). Then, the visitor starts to construct meaning from their experience.[238] Consumers of the museum are expecting their experience of leisure to meet their own personal needs and interests: museums have to adapt to a large variety of profiles and expectations.

Interaction has also transformed the way curators deal with objects. The goal is to not only realise that there are intersecting histories behind the objects, but also to connect people to these stories in a meaningful way.[239] Objects are not passive nor neutral. Consequently, visitors want to find themselves and to be emotionally engaged, museum content has to be turned into heritage through identification. The result has been a prioritising of narrative: "Objects are understood to be mute unless they are interpreted. Not to interpret has come to be seen as elitist and anti-democratic."[240] Scenography, as the formal, material and aesthetics aspects of the exhibition, has to be elaborated in order to reach the five senses of the visitor. The architectural space has to let enough space to freedom to decide the sense of the course and the time spent at the museum. Welcome and signage contribute to a positive experience, as well as the right to speak in exhibition rooms, to take pictures and to manipulate displays.[241] Moreover, the physical aspects of exhibits can draw more attention and shape visitors' understanding than the content.

238 *Ibid*, pp. 158-160.
239 Joshua A. Bell, "A View from the Smithsonian: Connecting Communities to Collections," *Practicing Anthropology*, Vol. 3, No. 37, 2015, pp. 22-40.
240 Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., p.86.
241 MacDonald, "Un nouveau « corps des visiteurs »," cit.

4.2 From the institution point of view: connecting the museum with visitors

What is the HWM position in terms of interaction?

The HWM is committed to making the Wendat heritage accessible to its community as well as providing a unique experience to its visitors.[242] To achieve this goal, the museum strives to create conditions of interaction and engagement. The work of the mediator is to help visitors to make links between the object's context of origin and the culture of the visitor with clarity, transparency and simplicity. In this way, the museum is a contact zone where participants develop a relationship with Wendat culture through a warm welcome note, the interactions with the guides, and visual contacts with objects. It also goes through the exhibition and activities but in the HWM in particular, the guides' role is essential. Since there is no person responsible for public programmes, it has been explained during the interviews that the director is in charge of mediation and education strategies, as well as of the selection and validation of contents; the management of material, human and financial resources; staff supervision and logistics.[243] Nevertheless, the director also clearly aims to increase audiences (as part of the museum's general mission to find new customers and resources), retain customers and bring the community together. In the museum environment, visitors are considered clients more than participants, i.e. a source of income rather than collaborators. It is however interesting to note that during the interviews, the staff agreed that diversity and dialogue are integral. Indeed, the professionals seem to be well aware that interactivity occurs at two levels: in the physical space of the museum, which implies sensory experience and movements, and in shared communication and dialogue.[244] The latter is what matters most for people working at the museum and as expressed in the advertising of Tourisme Wendake geared towards the inclusion of the tourist. In this way, interaction is the best asset for the HWM and for the economy of Wendake.

Guides are, as stated by one of the museum workers, "ambassadors of the HWM" and "a bridge between two cultures (First Nations and non-Aboriginals)".[245] Their mission is to promote and share Wendat culture around the world by exchanging with international

242"Historique, mission, mandats et objectifs revus," Rapport annuel 2018-2019, Musée Huron-Wendat, p.8.
243Interview Inf#5, Huron-Wendat Museum, 28 November 2019.
244Witcomb, "Interactivity in museums: the politics of narrative style," *Re-imagining the Museum* cit., pp. 128-164.
245Interviews Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019 and Inf#4, Huron-Wendat Museum, 28 November 2019.

visitors. One guide explained that they often create extraordinary relationships with the museum's public, who shows eagerness to learn. The interviews reveal that the guides generally love interaction and dialogue with visitors, but that collaboration is a challenge. Another person, not working directly with the public, insists that the transmission of Wendat's history and culture is best with the guided tour, since it is an authentic means of communication and engagement. It thus has a positive impact thanks to the relationship with the guide, especially if they are Natives. The team leader in charge of guide and tour management and booking adds that since interaction, participation and collaboration are the best qualities of museums, it is important to dialogue with the public. Although this person does not participate in museology processes, they occupy the closest relationship with the public and are at the heart of mediation. However, another practitioner warns that if the museum wishes to offer a tourist place that aims to explore the Wendat Nation, there is a concern for thoroughness, updating, human and financial resources, and specialisation. Generally speaking, the position of the HWM staff towards mediation is to be open to dialogue. The museum team heavily relies on the role of guides and the greatest strength of the HWM is to give a "total experience" thanks to the guides.

What are the interactive media produced?

Visitors enter the museum through the hotel. They have to cross the little hall where the creation myth is depicted in order to get their tickets at the reception, in the main hall of the permanent exhibition. To get to the temporary exhibitions, visitors have to go through the shop, which makes the museological experience confusing and really splits the visit in two. Moreover, there is no stylistic or visual identity and unity between the two exhibitions. As seen during the observation, the welcoming staff usually recommends getting an audio guide for information and a guided tour for interaction. However, the guided tours' schedule being fixed, some visitors do not have the choice to do a free tour or get an audio guide which, as feedback shows, leaves them quite disappointed about the organisation and the experience. Indeed, according to the questionnaires conducted on site, only 35% of visitors have access to this type of visit because some people miss the beginning of the guided tour. To the question "do you think the kind of visit you did contributed to your understanding and satisfaction of the museum?" (see Appendix II), people mentioned that they wish they could have done a guided tour, considered by people on social media a real

highlight of their visit.[246] Likewise, professionals agree that the tour is better with a guide because it allows visitors to meet the Wendat and thus establish a connection with Indigenous culture and stories.[247] The guided tour encourages interaction.

The audio guide is available in French, English, Spanish, Italian, Mandarin and German. It has plenty of options to get more information about a specific object or topic, and include Wendat traditional music, as well as maps and pictures on a small screen. However, it is not set up for temporary exhibitions. The audio guide is an efficient way to get an overview of Wendat culture and history. Dealing with legends, relationships between the French and the Wendat, livelihoods, traditional transports, war memories and crafts, it features a rather theatrical approach using the voice of actors putting themselves in the shoes of historical figures. This interpretative method is known as living history. Taking-off in the 1970s, living history is considered more authentic than imitation. It is a form of communication par excellence for bringing particular narratives, symbols and performances to be seen and heard by multicultural publics.[248] The use of first person interpretation allows the understanding of behaviour, language and thoughts for instance.

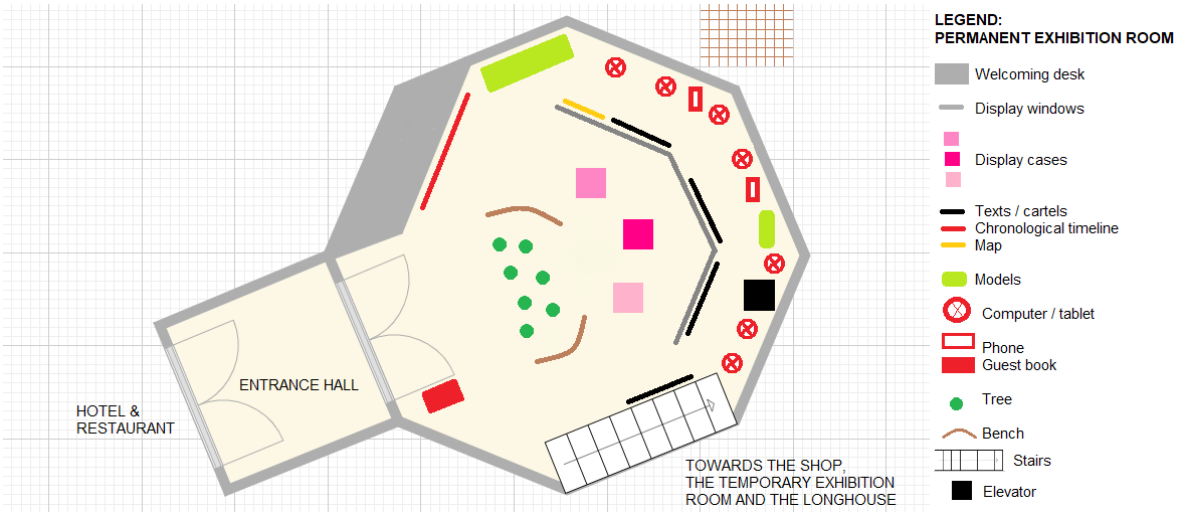

Figure 10: Sketched map of the permanent exhibition room. The entrance hall is decorated with tainted windows depicting the founding myth of the Wendat. Most of the objects are displayed around the centre of the room. All the interactive media are behind the main window, in a back corridor. The stairs lead to the temporary exhibition room, the shop and the outside.

246See "Avis, Musée Huron-Wendat", *Facebook*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.facebook.com/pg/museehuronwendat/reviews/ and "Musée Huron-Wendat," *TripAdvisor*, accessed 5 May 2020, https://www.tripadvisor.ca/Attraction_Review-g1498925-d2021369-Reviews-Musee_Huron_Wendat-Wendake_Québec.html

247Interviews Inf#1, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019, Inf#4 and Inf#5, Huron-Wendat Museum, 28 November 2019.

248MacDonald, "Selling the Past: Commodification, Authenticity and Heritage," in *Memory Lands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*, Routledge, 2013, pp. 109-136.

As for the guided tour, the visit starts with an explanation of the creation myth in the small museum hall. A narrative framework is established on this myth, echoing Wendat oral tradition. It therefore begins with Wendat mythology and continues with an advanced reading of the chronological timeline. Visitors can view artifacts from the colonial period in the permanent exhibition hall. The colonial era is about First Nations' culture and does not deal much with European contact, thus strengthening Wendats' independent, dynamic and lively ways of life. The artifacts cannot be manipulated and the exhibition nor the tour addresses contemporary issues. These issues are briefly mentioned on a panel and through testimonies broadcasted by telephone in the interactive gallery, in the back corridor. The guided tour and the audio guides do not invite visitors to have a look at the back corridor, where most of the interactive media are located. This corridor makes room for testimonies based on historical sources. These statements, presented as quotes on big panels, mostly originate from missionaries' writings. Interactive media such as telephones or headphones also feature personal stories recorded by Wendat people. The back corridor is also the only place where new technologies, such as computers and video games, but also models and maps can be found. Overall, there is a little digital media available for visitors and these tools are not always designed in other languages than French. Thereafter, the guide only briefly presents the temporary exhibition and lets visitors stop by independently. These temporary exhibitions (not more than two a year) usually deal with historical theories based on archeological findings, an approach to autohistory. They can feature video clips thanks to the presence of TV screens.

The short guided tour usually ends at the longhouse. It is forbidden to take pictures in the museum, but visitors are allowed to use their cameras in the longhouse. Most of them thus interact with the artifacts (tools, logs, fur coats, and even the fire) and take more time to observe the objects and the place. Interactions between staff and visitors but also with the objects and tools of mediation were notably observed and recorded in the observation grid (see Appendix I). Based on the observations, the passage through the longhouse is generally where dialogue takes on more space and meaning. Interaction is more elaborated in the longhouse. Because visitors are allowed to sit around the fire with the guide, the tone becomes more relaxing thus leaving space for questions and advanced knowledge transmission thanks to dialogue and informal exchanges. In this way, guides can be considered educators because they are at the heart of the museum experience. They appeal to communication with visitors, behaviours through manipulation with the artifacts and

emotions through storytelling. The long guided tour is an invitation to explore the landmarks of Wendake, such as Tsawenhohi House, Notre-Dame-de-Lorette Church and Kabir-Kouba waterfalls, with special interactions within the public space.

As for online spaces, the website contains the main information essential for the visitor in terms of planning a visit; there is no platform to visit the museum online, to buy from the museum shop or to have access to the collection. The purpose is clearly to give information in terms of access to the physical space of the museum and availability of products such as packages and activities. The website targets foreign tourists as a specific audience, as the availability in six languages shows. Apart from the contact form, there is hardly any space designed for public participation and feedback on this platform. The website's style aligns with the brand Tourisme Wendake in terms of colors, feel and graphics but it does seem outdated, messy and rather sparse, until one clicks on the tabs and gets access to crowded options. Rather formal, it does not reflect the elegance of the museum onsite nor the style of the hotel, which website is much more aesthetically successful and modern. But the website is currently being updated.[249] It should enhance interactivity, participation and dialogue. Nevertheless, social media interactions are quite lively. The museum has an independent Facebook page, liked by more than 2500 people. The basic information on prices and schedule is given, as well as the museum history on the "About" tab, in French only. The page is active by sharing updated news, pictures and events to which people can react. The director, who is in charge of the Facebook page, efficiently responds to people's comments and questions. It is the only active social media used by the museum. The HWM's Facebook page contributes to interaction because people can communicate and exchange with the institution, as well as acquire information about the place and its content.

249Email exchange with Inf#5, 6 December 2019.

What is the HWM experience?

The HWM tour is a holistic experience, especially if it implies an encounter with the 'Other'. It embraces the senses, reflection, knowledge and reactions. The multimedia environment gives the sense of being in the natural world, with videos and sounds of the wild engaging the auditory and visual senses. It conveys a feeling of Wendat's importance of the land and ancient ways of life. Oral tradition also plays an important role for both people in and beyond the community through dialogue. The guides offer an opportunity for exchanges and help understanding the most complex aspects of the exhibition. Through the guide, visitors have the opportunity to ask questions and discuss their knowledge of Wendat social, cultural and political histories and personal insight and identity. As seen during the fieldwork, some visitors tend to interrupt the guide in order to ask questions and make comparisons with their country's situation, leading to lots of exchanges and interest in the other's culture. According to three members of the staff, visitors have many questions that the guided tour should encourage and answer. People also communicate within their group, stimulated by the guide's presentation. This privileging of orality creates a different kind of museology; the experience is personalised and dynamic while encouraging imagination.[250] Through dialogue between visitors and guides (especially when they are Native), conversations are stimulated and people can enjoy a bespoke service. The informality of orality leaves a lot of room for creativity.

However, interaction between visitors and staff is not always bilateral. Sometimes, guides introduce themselves in Wendat or other languages and ask visitors to acquaint themselves too. Some others do not invite people to ask questions but regularly double check visitors' comprehension, although visitors do not necessarily participate either. Visitors can be invited to manipulate copies of artifacts in the longhouse and seem to enjoy sitting down around the fire. They almost all touch the canoe in the permanent exhibition as well, showing a vivid interest in traditional craft – it is the only object that can be manipulated within the museum. The museum staff admits that visitors wish to be involved and physically handle objects, especially in the longhouse. As a matter of fact, it is the only place where visitors are allowed to manipulate items and take pictures. This proves that the longhouse is truly the place of immersion and interaction at the heart of the HWM experience.

If visitors are, according to all professionals during the interview, satisfied with their

250De Stecher, "Integrated Practices" cit., p.67.

experience and retain fond memories of it, it is firstly for the human exchanges and the scenery. They want to get to know a community and have an authentic experience. However, according to two informers, visitors are not very interested in content but rather in rendering, having little interest in objects but in the lifestyle and experience in the longhouse instead.[251] They also seem to like meeting with the Natives. One practitioner explains that the visit helps to erase the typical stereotypes about First Nations people and to demystify Indigenous culture, presented here as dynamic and topical from a historical perspective. If, according to the same informant, visitors seem little interested in the colonial period, it is because they want to "see history in a glass bubble".[252] According to another person, what visitors want to discover are traditional practices and performances like dancing.[253] The museum must also be a tourist site allowing relaxation, thanks to the restaurant and spa. Finally, outside of the HWM, members of the museum and Tourisme Wendake encourage consumption of the Wendat Nation through advertising for Wendake businesses.[254]

Not everyone is unanimous about the effectiveness of interactive exhibitions and activities: it represents "what is best" for the team leader, while another interviewee is rather mixed.[255] There is still a need to develop dialogue with the public, despite some difficulties of engagement either on the guides' side (shyness, English language) or the visitors' (passivity, lack of questions). On the other hand, in order to analyse if interactive media are satisfying and favour visitors, it is necessary to define how and why they participate, to evaluate their motivation and expectations, and to appraise its impact on the community and publics.

4.3 From the participants point of view: involving the community and publics

What does participation mean?

Participatory displays use social interactions to stimulate visitors and also support the process of learning. According to some museologists, to be a visitor should imply to be engaged and challenged, to be inspired and learn more, to connect with the past and to

251Interviews Inf#2 and Inf#3, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
252Interview Inf#2, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
253Interview Inf#1, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.
254See the catchphrase "Wendake, a great place for shopping of all kinds!" in the Tourist Guide 2019/2020, p.45 and the interactive map, pp. 26-27.
255Interviews Inf#1 and Inf#2, Huron-Wendat Museum, 20 November 2019.

create experiences and memories: museums have to reinvent the relationship with their publics.[256] Visitors must be considered cultural participants instead of customers or consumers. In this way, museums should rather work for dynamic and diverse individuals. It requires respect for and interest in visitors' experiences, stories and abilities. Nina Simon, author of the popular and influential *Participatory Museum* (an online pamphlet about working with community members and visitors to make cultural institutions more dynamic and relevant), even argues visitors have high expectations in terms of accessibility to information sources and cultural perspectives and ability to discuss, share, and reuse what they see, do and learn at the museum. Eventually, outcomes of participation may be numerous: attracting new audiences, collecting and preserving visitor-contributed creations, providing educational experiences, producing appealing marketing campaigns, and growing a reputation.[257]

Who visits the HWM?

Actually, the HWM does consider visitors as customers since every professional interviewed referred to them as clients. They are also thought as a mass and not as diverse groups with different conceptions, expectations and interests, converging towards enthusiasm for First Nations' culture. The museum attracted almost 23,000 visitors in 2018/2019. Francophone visitors mainly come from Montreal, France, Belgium, Switzerland and Morocco; the anglophone public is from the neighbouring United States, the United Kingdom and Australia. Other visitors generally come from Germany and Italy. The director reckons that the museum struggles to attract visitors from Asia and that there is still work to be done with this clientele. The questionnaires used here were completed on site during winter; due to the relatively low attendance rate in the off-season, this sampling does not necessarily reflect the museum's usual statistics. However, the distribution and diversity of profiles (almost all age groups are included, as well as many professional sectors, and seven countries are represented) represent a particularly interesting sampling as for quantitative data. All visitors have achieved higher studies, which means that the public of the HWM is well educated.With 45% of foreign visitors, the museum validates its international reputation. The museum also seems to be a tourist site for Canadian visitors,

256See Black, "Meeting the audience challenge in the 'Age of Participation'," cit.; Chaumier, "L'identité : révélateur ou mystification colporté par l'exposition ?" Actes du colloque "Le musée d'ethnographie, entre continuité et renouvellement," 26-27 February 2013, pp. 204-205; and Nina Simon, "Preface: Why Participate?," in *The Participatory Museum*, Museum 2.0, 2010.

257Simon, "Chapter 1: Principles of Participation," in *The Participatory Museum*, cit.

all of them being from the province of Québec according to the survey. Only one visitor indicated to be Wendat. An American woman also specified having Indigenous origins. Based on only one person from Wendake, this does not validate or invalidate the research hypothesis concerning the articulation of identity and production of an 'imagined community'. One museum practitioner interviewed during the fieldwork actually emphasised on the necessity to develop and vary the offer, so that members of the Wendat community would come back. Indeed, the absence of Wendat visitors can be explained by the weariness of the permanent exhibition, the same since the opening, or of the activities which are currently being renewed.[258] A great majority of visitors (90%) were visiting the HWM for the first time – the same statistic as the visitor satisfaction survey conducted by the museum during summer 2019. Despite the popularity of the guided tour, only 35% of visitors chose this option which was sometimes imposed on them; the schedule of the guided tours being fixed, they had no other choice.

What are the expectations of the participants?

In theory, the museum can meet and satisfy identity-related needs and interests.[259] Indeed, depending on these needs and interests, the museum will be considered either a place of leisure and pleasure (stimulation of emotions), a place of discovery (stimulation of curiosity), a place of memory (interactions with heritage and the past), a place of identity (cultural marker of a territory or community), a place of 'pilgrimage' (tourist activity, visiting ritual) or an educational place (didactic and pedagogical function). Depending on the motivation for the visit, the experience they had there especially in terms of education and social interactions, and the subsequent level of satisfaction, the museum will or will not be able to meet visitors' requirements.

According to the questionnaires, the main motivation to come and visit the HWM is curiosity, to learn more about the Wendat. One person also specified that they wanted to learn more about Native American culture. Considering that during the period of the fieldwork, no particular activity or event was set up, it is possible to deduce that the two people who answered coming to see a specific exhibition were in fact interested in the theme of the museum or the temporary exhibition. Thus, the HWM is most importantly a place of discovery. Although the vast majority of visitors do not identify as Indigenous,

258Interview Inf#5, Huron-Wendat Museum, 28 November 2019.

259See Gob and Drouguet, *La muséologie*, cit., pp. 66-67 and Falk, "Attracting and Building Audiences," in *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience*, cit., p.185.

some people indicated that they had a particular interest in Native American culture and / or a connection with the Aboriginal peoples of their country of origin (the United States and Australia). Museums are alternative places for learning and can help the realisation of particular issues and stakes, here the fate of Indigenous Peoples. However, visitors seem to learn and remember a little although they look quite content to learn a few things, even superficially.

In terms of expectations, the vast majority of visitors wanted to discover and learn new things on the Wendat. Thus, the strength of the HWM is its focus on local Indigenous heritage. Although 95% of visitors knew about the existence of the Wendat, 70% of them did not have any specific knowledge about their history and culture. Despite this, only 15% undertook further research before their visit to the museum. The ones who did used internet resources such as the website of the HWM or Wikipedia in order to get information. Interestingly, the museum's website does not explain much in terms of actual historical or cultural facts; the information given online mostly focuses on selling the hotel-museum rather than the museum as a place of learning. 55% of visitors came because they were recommended to do so without specifying by who.

Visitors show interest in the information written firstly, then in the scenarios, reconstructions and demonstrations thereafter. New technologies are not necessarily appreciated; the responses are more polarised. Fewer visitors are interested in games. Only a few have an interest in academic events such as conferences and seminaries. Visitors are detached to interactive activities and do not show a desire to go to the museum for original events. This statement goes against what is argued in theory. Instead, several visitors agree that short videos, especially clips of ceremonies or traditional dances (or other themes studied in ethnography), would be appreciated thus leaving the visitor as a passive learner. One person suggested adding more visuals (images, photographs, drawings) to the texts would improve fluency and understanding. Another person said that a quiz at the end of the visit would contribute to their understanding and satisfaction. If people visiting the museum do not necessarily want to get involved and interact with the content, they are eager to passively learn and develop their knowledge. However, at the end of the questionnaire visitors indicate that interactivity would be welcome to improve the visit, along with more videos and objects. Although a majority was reluctant to have interactive experiences in the previous sections, they eventually use 'interaction' as a key word to enhance their

experience. Eventually, despite an interest for interaction mentioned in the previous questions, not a lot of visitors wish to actively participate in the museums' activity. No one gave any example of initiatives. This means that interaction is not an ideal for all visitors: it can either be explained by a lack of interest, or a generational gap (older visitors might not like video games for instance). Since the HWM is famous for being an Indigenous museum, what people want to do is to learn about Indigenous culture and ways of life rather than play games or watch screens. Overall people are satisfied with the visit just as it is offered.

In general, the guided tour is designated as the best way to visit the museum and have a great experience. It is interesting to see that not all of these visitors, for the most part, visited with a guide but still qualified their experience as satisfying. On a scale of 0 (not at all satisfied) to 10 (perfectly satisfied), the average satisfaction rating is 8.1. No one gave below average rating. Facebook uses a system of gradation based on the opinion of people, out of 5. The HWM page is thus rated 4.9, based on the opinion of 18 persons between 2015 and 2019. These people tend to warmly recommend the place. They are particularly grateful to their guides and to the fact that the staff is Wendat, which shows the degree of attachment to uniqueness and authenticity. Google also uses a 5-points rating and a space for feedback. The museum got a rating of 4.4 out of 115 reviews. These comments mostly put the emphasis on the guided tour as great and the price of the relatively short visit as too expensive. TripAdvisor also uses a 5-points rating, divided between 'excellent', 'very good', 'average', 'poor' and 'terrible'. Rated as the top attraction in Wendake, the museum is graded 4.5 out of 224 reviews since 2016, i.e. 55% excellent and only 2% terrible. Among the most popular terms to describe their experience, people tend to qualify the HWM as a family-friendly attraction, an outstanding change of place, and a highly instructive museum. A majority of the reviews show that visitors eagerly learnt during their visit and most people really emphasise on the quality of the guided tour and the guides' amiability.

As for the bad reviews, one person denounced the place to be fake, another to be 'too' civilised and not authentic enough. People's disappointment also seems to come from the size of the museum, too small, and the price, overly expensive. Overall, visitors tend to be unsatisfied when they did not do a guided tour because of the lack of interactivity and information. On site, the factors that contributed to satisfaction were most importantly the welcoming on arrival and the availability of staff as well as the quality of the content.

Comparing this data to that found in the guest book and on online feedback

platforms, the most important elements of satisfaction are the same. As a book signed within the physical space of the museum, the guest book gives valuable feedback about the experience of the visitor immediately after their visit. Considering the organisation of the museum, the guest book is located at the entrance which makes it accessible to people leaving the place from inside only (which visitors do not necessarily do after a guided tour). The book is punctually filled with positive comments from diverse nationalities, often highlighting the quality of the guided tour and their emotional experience regarding First People's history. What visitors say they appreciate the most is undoubtedly the proximity to Indigenous culture, past and mythology through the staff and the artifacts. For instance, one visitor even identified themselves as an Indigenous, being an immigrant dismissed from their land. A lot of comments show a strong support to Indigenous legitimity, sovereignty and, as one visitor commented, battle. In terms of advice, one of the reviews notably suggests creating a book of the artifacts displayed so people can purchase and study the material more carefully. This implies that the permanent exhibition catalogue is not available at the shop but that it would be worth developing a document for the public.

Among the very few bad critics, one denounced the problem of space and noise visiting while a conference was taking place in the museum. In the questionnaires, dissatisfaction was little expressed. For three visitors, the price of the visit is too high and for two visitors, the choices and prices offered by the museum shop are limited and / or too expensive: interestingly, their socio-economic profile does not necessarily justify this statement. For a visitor, the relationship with the staff was unsatisfying, which is an exceptional event. Another visitor said that they had difficulty understanding some topics displayed in the museum. This person did not suggest any improvement or alternative although it could have been interesting to analyse their needs and interests. A visitor regrets the lack of interactive tablet and one visitor wished to meet members and representatives of the community. Another person expressed their desire to "see the life of the Wendats" without explaining more. Are these visitors coming to the museum with a specific idea of representation or with stereotypes?

How does the museum programme serve the community?

The MHW stipulates in its objectives that as an institution by and for the community it wishes to encourage the active participation of the Wendat population.[260] In her analysis

260"Objectifs de la charte de corporation du MHW," Rapport annuel 2018-2019, Musée Huron-Wendat, p.9.

of how the Wendat artistic production contributes to the continuity and social cohesion of the nation, De Stecher emphasises on the strong presence of rich and varied community events and ceremonies which connect Wendat people together.[261] In this way, the museum celebrated in 2018 its 10th anniversary on June 5, with a special party in the evening and fireworks. Commemorated in the presence of Wendake's population, this anniversary also marked the success of a radiant museum. It should be noted that the year of creation of the HWM was also that of the 400th anniversary of Québec City: the establishment of an Indigenous museum is all the more symbolic, marking the assertion of the Wendat community in parallel to the establishment of the French. Exhibition previews, programme launches, private conferences and other events are often advertised to the community, sometimes attracting Wendat people and more often outside visitors. Wendat personalities and artists are also invited to participate.[262] The National Council also oversees the creation of exhibitions and events. During the survey, only one Wendat and another First Nations member answered the questionnaires because they were the only Indigenous visitors. The museum attracts more tourists than locals, and more Euro-Canadians than Native Americans. It does not seem to bring together Indigenous Peoples and non-Aboriginals, since as observed in the field but also online, the Wendats do not visit, at least not to visit the museum apart for special events. As for the Wendat member who responded to the questionnaires, they explained that according to their knowledge and relatives' points of view, the HWM is an accurate representation of the community. The other Indigenous person mentioned that Native communities of all North America and their differences were special and worthy of being represented in a cultural institution. However, this data is not sufficient to fully grasp the evocative power of representation in the HWM.

Hitherto, the data collection and the methodology organised around research questions highlight a problem: the lack of sources from the Wendat community. How to analyse the territorial and social impact of the museum and the reception of this tourist engine within and by the community? How is it possible to assess if the museum is an identity marker? Also, to what extent is there an Indigenous management of the museum since the majority of professionals are non-Indigenous? What control does the community have over the interpretation of the message conveyed by the museum for its own development? Indeed, the museum staff nor the body of visitors are representative of the

261De Stecher, "The Art of Community," cit., pp. 66-67.
262See for instance the launch of Christmas holidays programming in 2019, in the presence of Wendat singers Fernande and Christiane Gros-Louis.

Wendat community, thus highlighting a problem of access to museology for First Nations people. It can equally be considered a weakness since some comments from visitors on social networks regret not having met 'real' Amerindians. As mentioned earlier, the fieldwork did not address to what extent the Wendat of Wendake commit to the museum, or if this commitment is only represented by the National Council. Only a further investigation of the community's responsibilities will assess whether it is achievable to establish an equitable social representation.

4.4 Limits of the interactive museum

In the scientific literature, interactive museums are often regarded as tacky, closer to amusement parks than to temples of knowledge. Also, 21st century museums are subject to standardisation because of the consumer society. As analysed above, leisure is at the heart of consumption. Thus, museums move to the world of spectacle and mass entertainment, provoking a collapse of distinction between culture and commerce. During the fieldwork, it has been proven that interaction is not necessary for visitors, who, in the case of the HWM visit, would rather meet members of the community and Indigenous guides instead of investing their time in special activities or events. Enjoying a special relationship with tourism, museums have to offer a unique and interactive experience.[263] The HWM is no exception to the rule since as much by its multimedia scenographic proposal as by the staging of the longhouse, entertaining and spectacular effects are imposed on the visitor. However, interaction as experienced during the guided tour seems to be sufficient for the public. People's demands are only concerned with audiovisual tools which only require passivity, thus transforming visitors-actors into static audiences.

The director of ICOM, François Mairesse, regrets that current and mainstream museology is about spectacle.[264] This type of museology is implemented in the HWM since the scenography is about pleasant aesthetics, the funding is guaranteed by the other assets of Tourisme Wendake, i.e. the hotel and the restaurant, and objects can be fetischised as in the longhouse for instance. But the compromise between science and staging is rather successful and satisfying for visitors. According to the Belgian museologist Noémie Drouguet, a compromise between the traditional museum and the amusement park could make it possible to compose spaces of reconstructions with scientific content. This would

263 Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum cit.,* p.13.

264 Quoted by Chaumier, "Introduction," *Culture & Musées*, No. 5, 2005. *Du musée au parc d'attractions : ambivalence des formes de l'exposition*, p.14.

attract a wider audience and offer them intelligent entertainment through immersion, emotion and sensations.[265] This is the strategy used in the longhouse because visitors are absorbed by the authentic copy of a traditional dwelling; their emotions are stimulated by the exchanges with the guide; and they can trigger their five senses thanks to the interactive activities offered in the *cartable* (which involve storytelling, spiritual encounters, sharing a meal, learning a craft, and even the opportunity to spend a night in the longhouse).[266]

The limits of the interactive museum could be a dangerous turn to a profit-driven governance instead of a focus on services and quality. As explained in the introduction, we believe that creating social value must be branded as a core museum function. The mission, values and vision provide a reference point for a museum at all times.[267] The HWM states in its mandate that their mission is to conserve and enhance Wendat cultural heritage. However, all the data produced by the museum, Tourisme Wendake and third-party organisations keep emphasising on the idea of a unique experience in a remarkable environment. The hotel and restaurant are advertised as extensions of the museum experience. For example, the restaurant provides access to another type of interaction, this time with Native food and cuisine, as well as with Wendat servers. The night in the hotel and the longhouse give the opportunity to sleep in a beaver fur duvet, to be in contact with rustic, local and authentic elements in a charming setting. This is one of the outstanding originalities of the HWM. In fact, the restaurant and the hotel are intimately part of the museum experience for visitors whose trip is centered on Wendake and Indigenous culture. And these visitors are frequently, as the statistical profile of the questionnaires proves but also the expensive price of the hotel, a financially affluent audience who can afford to spend time in Wendake. Access to further interactive opportunities is therefore reserved for a certain number of visitors, with a purpose to develop the economy and tourist attractivity of Wendake. Thus a new question arises along the debate on the interactive museum: could the financial performance, embodied in the case of the HWM by the pairing of a museum with a classy hotel and a restaurant, could take over the museum experience?

The museum created by interested parties is a cultural product thought of by

265 Drouguet, “Succès et revers des expositions-spectacles,” *Culture & Musées*, No. 5, 2005. *Du musée au parc d'attractions : ambivalence des formes de l'exposition*, pp. 67-68.
266 Cartable 2019/2020, offres grand public et scolaire, Musée Huron-Wendat.
267 David Fleming, “The essence of the museum: mission, values, vision,” in *Museum Practice*, cit.

specialists for the satisfaction of tourists, but also of local inhabitants, here the population of Wendake. The HWM is particularly keen to encourage contextualisation and promote interactive strategies and in this process, museum professionals' keyword is dialogue. The descriptive analysis of interactive instruments shows that opportunities of interpretation, collaboration and participation are limited online but that the physical visit of the museum is an excellent means of encounter with the 'Other'. The museum is generally regarded as a place of relaxation and learning, and the spaces provided for these purposes are privileged thus contributing to visitors' satisfaction. People's relationship with Wendat heritage is based first and foremost on curiosity, with a will to learn and meet members of the community. The HWM is a space which benefits both Wendat people and exogenous publics. As a contact zone, the museum can collaborate with its visitors based on reciprocity and exchanges, dialogue and trust.

Conclusion

Key findings

Understanding the historical evolution and the current state of ethnographic museums allows us to situate the present and upcoming challenges in museology for First Nations. Within the framework of the HWM, the relationships between historical exclusion and domination are reversed. Going beyond the status of 'contact zone', as is the case of many ethnographic museums, the HWM is a national institution where the Huron-Wendat National Council exercises control over processes of representation of, and interaction with its community and other exogenous groups, such as non-Indigenous Québécois and foreign tourists. Through guided tours, temporary exhibitions, special holiday events and other programmes of interpretation, members of the Wendat community are also invited to take part in museum life. The combination of efficient and aesthetic exhibitions with ‘authentic’ cultural traditions makes it a quality museum. Through the integration of First Nations’ voices and the control of their political representatives, the HWM remains an Indigenous museum which serves the community and the territory. In this particular framework, the type of museology and governance developed by the HWM is integrative and participative, through a new form of power sharing within the community.

Museums aim to build nations and groups by providing a shared understanding of place and people. With the careful selection of objects, images and interpretations by the National Council, the HWM defines its owners, tells their stories in their own ways and protects the cultural heritage of the Wendat community. Practices of representation affirm and empower the identity, unity and continuity of the nation and its culture. The National Council retains sovereign authority over the HWM but the museum depends on the intervention of non-Native museum professionals and on the use of Western museology, on the terms of the Wendat community. These modern practices do not conflict with Wendat ancestral traditions of hospitality and treasure display. Quite the contrary, this hybridisation of practices is the strength of the HWM whose identity is distinctive and has a significant impact on visitors, whether they are Wendat, Québécois, Canadian or foreign. The HWM, as a territorial marker and cultural actor, fulfils a political, social and educational role both for 'Us' and for the 'Other'. This can be regarded as the most important ‘good practice’ for an Indigenous museum, and even ethnographic museums in general.

The success of the HWM is tightly linked to the hotel-museum alliance. The HWM is more than just an ethnographic museum because it is designed as a cultural organisation for the Wendat people, and it is conceptualised and managed as a touristic product and economic engine for an Indigenous community on a small reserve, in need of financial resources. The only comparable institution in Québec is the Musée des Augustines, located in Old Québec. This old monastery and hospital is nowadays a heritage centre, half museum, half hotel. What benefits the HWM is mostly its Indigenous label. This taste for the foreign, the unique 'Amerindian' identity, attracts tourists wanting to know the origins of North American Native Peoples through the voice of the Wendat themselves. But the HWM is a cultural institution nestled in the town of Wendake, far from downtown Québec City. It is certainly an identity marker for Wendake but its difficult access for tourists and stiff competition with the attractions of Old Québec, labeled World Heritage Site by UNESCO, limit the profile of visitors to that of middle class tourists and school audiences. The partnership with other institutions like Odanak and Mashteuiatsh Museum, which also includes non-Native museums such as the Musée de la Civilisation and the Arts Museum of la Joliette, makes it possible for the HWM to be part of a larger network and, at the same time, to highlight its unique cultural and educational programmes.

The development of a wide and creative interpretation programme is an asset, since it can represent aspects of culture and heritage which are not necessarily addressed by the permanent exhibition. The guided tour in particular is an important resource. Indeed, the tours allow visitors to be closer to Native cultures because guides are ambassadors of heritage, they interpret material culture through storytelling, and they represent a link between the community's institution and the public. The guided tour is definitely what makes the HWM attractive and appreciated and grants the museum its reputation and uniqueness. Even if interaction might not be a priority for all visitors, opportunities for engagement and participation are provided through dialogue directly with the staff or online thanks to the synergy offered by social media. This leaves some choice to the visitor to get involved or not, according to their interests. Cultural mediation is an efficient tool which attracts school audiences in particular. On the other hand, the creation of temporary exhibits with the participation of other stakeholders, e.g. Indigenous artists and intellectuals, fuels a growing attractiveness of indigenous cultures and the renewal of the museum activities. Regular updates into the programme and the special care given to the guided tour heighten the relevance of the HWM's exhibitions, activities and events.

Limits of the methodology

The fieldwork, the analysis and subsequent interpretations of the data confirm that representation is powerful and shapes the museum experience, and interaction affects the way Wendat ethnohistory is enacted in a participatory manner. The exhibitions' content and the presence of Natives in the museum are factors which have an impact on the visitor's appreciation and understanding of Wendat history and heritage. Representation is influenced by the political body of the Wendat, i.e. the National Council, which means that a narrative is constructed by the source community. On the other hand, visitors tend to enter the HWM without preconceptions because they do not carry out research on the Wendat. Nevertheless, their museum visit, especially if it is done with a Native guide, supports the creation of new meaning of Wendat ethnohistory. Expectations regarding participation and engagement are very personal and depend on the individual. However, according to the museum practitioners, interaction is at the heart of interpretative approaches. Visitors' conceptions are created by their museum experience through emotional attraction and personal stories shared with their guide. The mediation instituted at the HWM succeeds in highlighting the interrelation between the elements exhibited and the aspects of local culture. Thus, my theoretical framework allowed me to properly investigate the ethnographic museum as part of the representation of a local, unique culture and heritage, and to demonstrate the actions of museum practitioners and evaluate the participation of visitors.

However, certain grey areas remain to be investigated, especially through the methodology. Firstly, not having much knowledge of Wendat culture and history before beginning the project, meant that most of the learning process happened in the museum while the observation, interviews and questionnaires with visitors were carried out. Secondly, the fieldwork was of short duration because of time constraints: it could be expanded over a longer period. The observations carried out on site and meetings with the professionals and visitors were conducted during low season, thus not reflecting the prime summer visiting figures of the HWM. The content of questionnaires has a tendency to be too quantitative and not qualitative enough. Overall, the approach would require more direct exchanges with community members with ties to the museum in order to get more substantial qualitative data. To pursue the research, it would be necessary to carry out more interviews with Wendat people in order to strengthen or invalidate the hypothesis related to

the acknowledgement and cultural revitalisation of Indigenous communities in the postcolonial Canadian context. Moreover, further investigations over the long term would certainly reveal a more nuanced picture of the practices of representation and interaction, and would clarify the HWM's mandate and its desire to engage in the development of new exhibitions. A comparison with other Indigenous cultural institutions could be promising in order to compare the museological practices of the HWM with those of other First Nations museums and their connections with identity, continuity, unity and the concept of interaction.

Is it fair for a non-Indigenous person like myself to carry out research on an Indigenous museum? In this particular context, I believe it is. I recognise that the involvement of First Nations members is not only important, but a priority. However, the access to education and practical training for Indigenous People, particularly in the field of heritage and museology, is inadequate since there are today still very few members of the Wendat community trained in post-secondary academic institutions. In light of the absence of trained First Nations reserchers in the field, it seemed to me necessary to look into the case of the HWM to contribute to the academic research on Indigenous museums. This study could be considered what public health expert Michele Suina and Aboriginal Australian sociologist Maggie Walter call a "narrative of deficit for dispossessed Indigenous People."[268] This work is intended to be an objective reflection on the museological practices of the HWM and therefore features new knowledge on Indigenous museums. My hope is that this reflexive study will serve as a path for research on and action in these ethnographic museums. I am also proud to follow the footsteps of women researchers who denounce oppressive and neo-colonial practices. I would like to point out that with regard to postcolonialism, the historiography is essentially composed of works by female researchers, who seem much more active and radical than their male colleagues.

Pathways for further research

Nowadays, the HWM and the Huron-Wendat National Council are involved in a project to develop an interpretation centre located in Stouffville, Ontario, the historical homeland of the Wendat before they moved to Wendake in the midst of the colonial wars during the second half of the 17th century. The centre aims to convey the area's Indigenous history and connect visitors with interactive structures, materials and displays, including a

268 Walter and Suina, "Indigenous data, Indigenous methodologies and Indigenous data sovereignty," *cit.*, p.233.

longhouse.[269] It will be interesting to see how much the Nation is going to be engaged in the project and establish bonds with its ancestral territories, outside of Québec. This will surely contribute to the influence of Wendat cultural actions, as well as to rethinking the identity of Canadian territories in relation to the Natives. It is a way for the Wendat to reclaim and develop a stronger relationship with their traditional homelands. Their presence and their rights in relation to this new interpretation centre will probably grant them greater authority in Ontario, where no Wendat community remains today.

We believe that ethnographic museums have a role and many responsibilities in responding to issues affecting Indigenous communities locally and globally. They can react to these issues in a timely, relevant and responsible manner through engagement. In a society still too marked by racism and the exclusion of certain marginalised communities, academic research and the production of knowledge should support democracy and education for these groups. The decolonisation of museums also affects Indigenous museums, since they should acknowledge the historical and colonial contingencies under which their collections were acquired. The development of relationships with Indigenous groups from which museum content originates is essential. Significant changes will occur once minorities seek and receive increased representation within mainstream organisations. As part of their struggle for self-determination, restitution is central.

What are the perspectives of the ethnographic museum? What identities and territories remain to be explored? Certainly it can represent an opening towards democracy, transparency, fair ethics, pedagogy, to be dealt with in a more inclusive and critical way. Heritage-making and museology methodologies are the result of dialogue and collaboration, which meets the notion of control. The idea of power and domination has been problematic in the creation of the discipline and the development of ethnographic museums. But the contributions of Indigenous museums overthrow the paradigm. Interaction and participation by and for the community, the promotion of an authentic cultural experience and the development of a hotel-museum alliance are promising for the future of ethnographic institutions.

269 Simon Martin, “Stouffville eyes building $3.8-million Huron-Wendat interpretative centre,” *Stouffville Sun-Tribune*, 23 October 2019.

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Appendix I – Observation grids

OBSERVATION ON SITE	DATE/TIME	DATE/TIME	DATE/TIME
Number of visitors			
Time spent in the museum			
Type of visit			
Staff on site			
Visitor / staff interaction			
Interest in cartels and texts			
Manipulation with content			
Visits independently			
Interacts with a group			
Observes others			
Waiting times			
Uses interactive media			
Shop purchase			

This observation grid is based on the observational checklist of Sudbury and Russell (Figure 6.5), cf. Hein, *Learning in the Museum*, cit., p.109.

OBSERVATION ONLINE	
Official website of the HWM • Description of the museum /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Appearance of the website, quantity and content of information	
Facebook	
Twitter	
Youtube	
Instagram	

Platforms of feedback	
Facebook	
Google	
TripAdvisor	
Guest book (on site)	
Marketing tools	
Museum routes for exploring First Nations and Inuit cultures • How is the HWM described? /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Who speaks and writes?	
Tourisme Autochtone Québec • How is the HWM described? /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Who speaks and writes?	
The Indigenous Tourism Association of Canada (ITAC) • How is the HWM described? /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Who speaks and writes?	
Société des Musées du Québec • How is the HWM described? /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Who speaks and writes?	
Tourisme Wendake • How is the HWM described? /!\ What is said in English vs. French • Who speaks and writes?	

Travel guides	
Lonely Planet	
Le Routard	

Appendix II – Questionnaires for visitors

1. Identification de l'informateur
Identity of participant

a. Tranche d'âge : ☐ 18 – 30 ☐ 30 – 45 ☐ 45 – 60 ☐ 60 + ans
Age bracket

b. Nationalité : _____
Nationality

b.i. Êtes-vous membre d'une communauté autochtone canadienne ? *(préciser)*
Are you a member of an indigenous Canadian community? (please specify)
_____

c. Catégorie socio-professionnelle :
Socio-professional category

☐Agriculteur·ice exploitant
Agricultural worker
☐Artisan, commerçant, chef d'entreprise
Artisan, merchant, business-owner
☐Cadre
Executive
☐Profession intermédiaire (instituteur·ice·s, fonctionnaires, employé·e·s administratifs, personnels de services, clergé)
Intermediate occupation (teacher, public service, administrator, service personnel, clergy)
☐Employé·e
Employee
☐Ouvrier·e
Labourer
☐Étudiant·e
Student
☐Retraité·e
Retired
☐Sans emploi
Unemployed
☐Autre : _____
Other

d. Niveau et domaine d'études *(par exemple, dernier diplôme obtenu)* : _____
Level and field of studies (for example, highest educational accoloade attained)

2. Avant la visite
Before visiting

2.1 Quelle a été votre motivation pour venir visitier le Musée Huron-Wendat ?
Why did you choose to visit the Huron-Wendat Museum?

☐ Par curiosité, pour en apprendre plus sur le thème du musée
Out of curiosity, to learn more about the subject of the museum

☐ Pour accompagner quelqu'un, pour faire plaisir à une ou plusieurs autre(s) personne(s)
To accompany somebody, to please one or more people

☐ Pour vivre une expérience unique, parce que ce musée est un incontournable
For a unique experience, because this museum is unmissable

☐ Parce qu'un événement particulier, une activité spéciale ou une exposition m'intéresse
Because I am interested in a particular activity or exhibition

☐ Pour la recherche, parce que je suis un·e professionnel·le du musée
For research purposes, because I am a museum professional

☐ Pour le cadre, parce que le lieu est agréable
For the setting, because the place is enjoyable

☐ Je ne sais pas
I do not know

☐ Autre : _____
Other: _____

2.2 Quelles étaient vos attentes par rapport à votre visite ?
What were your expectations concerning your visit?

☐ Vivre un moment de loisir et de plaisir
Entertainment and pleasure

☐ Découvrir et apprendre de nouvelles choses
To discover and learn new things

☐ Pouvoir comprendre l'histoire et le patrimoine culturel Huron-Wendat
To gain an understanding of Huron-Wendat history and cultural heritage

☐ Connaître l'identité de la communauté Huron-Wendat
To learn about the identity of the Huron-Wendat community

☐ Faire du tourisme à Québec, partir en excursion
To experience tourism in Québec, to go on a daytrip

☐ Avoir accès à du contenu pédagogique
To have access to educational content

☐ Je ne savais pas à quoi m'attendre
I did not know what to expect

☐ Autre : _____
Other: _____

2.3 Selon vous, quelles doivent être les qualités majeures d'un musée ethnographique ?
According to you, what should be the major qualities of an ethnographic museum?

☐ Authenticité
Authenticity

☐ Exotisme et diversité culturelle
Exoticism and cultural diversity

☐ Réalisme et exactitude
Realism and accuracy

☐ Représentation des traditions
Representation of traditions

☐ Beauté du lieu
Beauty of the environment

☐ Médias interactifs et activités participatives
Interactive devices and participative activities

☐ Objets historiques
Historical artifacts

☐ Autre : / *Other:*
_____

2.4 Aviez-vous des connaissances spécifiques préalables sur l'histoire et la culture du peuple Huron-Wendat ?
Did you have any previous specific knowledge about Huron-Wendat history and culture?
☐ Oui / *Yes*
☐ Non / *No*
☐ Je ne connaissais pas l'existence du peuple Huron-Wendat avant de venir au musée.
I did not know about the existence of the Huron-Wendat people before coming to the museum.

2.5 Aviez-vous entrepris des recherches sur le Musée ou sur le peuple Huron-Wendat avant la visite ?
Did you undertake any research about the Museum or Huron-Wendat people before your visit?
☐ Oui *(préciser les sources)* / *Yes (please specify the sources)* _____
☐ Non / *No*

2.6 Comment avez-vous pris connaissance de l'existence du Musée Huron-Wendat ?
How did you learn about the (existence of the) Huron-Wendat Museum?

☐ Guide touristique, blog voyage *(merci d'indiquer le nom de la ressource)* :
Tourist guide, travel blog (please specify the name of the resource): _____
☐ Office de tourisme
Tourist office
☐ Presse et médias
Press and the media
☐ Affiches, prospectus, publicité
Posters, flyers, advertising
☐ Site internet, réseaux sociaux
Website, social media
☐ Par le bouche à oreille, par recommendation de la part d'une connaissance
Word of mouth, recommendation from a relative
☐ Autre : _____
Other: _____

3. Pendant la visite
While visiting

3.1 Est-ce votre première visite au Musée Huron-Wendat ?
Is it your first visit to the Huron-Wendat Museum?
☐ Oui / *Yes*
☐ Non / *No*

3.2 Quel type de visite avez-vous effectué ?
What kind of visit have you done?
☐ Visite audioguide *Audioguide visit*
☐ Visite commentée *Guided tour*
☐ Activité ou forfait *(préciser)* *Activity or package (please specify)*

3.3 De manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'intérêt des panneaux et des textes informatifs ?
In general, how interesting do you find the written information and labels?

☐Très intéressant *Very interesting* ☐Intéressant *Interesting* ☐Peu intéressant *Not very interesting* ☐Pas intéressant *Not interesting*

3.4 De manière générale, jugez-vous pertinent la présence d'acteurs costumés, la présentation d'un scénario théâtral de visite, les reconstitutions et les démonstrations artisanales sur le site du musée ?
In general, how relevant do you find presence of dressed actors, the display of theatrical scenarios, reconstructions and crafts demonstrations on the museum site?

☐Très pertinent *Very relevant* ☐Pertinent *Relevant* ☐Peu pertinent *Not very relevant* ☐Pas pertinent *Not relevant*

3.5 De manière générale, jugez-vous utile l'utilisation des nouvelles technologies au sein des expositions (dispositifs numériques, applications mobiles, installations audio-visuelles interactives, modèles 3D, réalité virtuelle...) ?
In general, how effective did you find the use of new technologies in the exhibition (media devices, smartphone apps, interactive audiovisual installations, 3D models, virtual reality...)?

☐Très pertinent *Very relevant* ☐Pertinent *Relevant* ☐Peu pertinent *Not very relevant* ☐Pas pertinent *Not relevant*

3.6 De manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'intérêt des jeux de rôles et des activités théâtrales impliquant les visiteurs ?
In general, how do you find the use of role play games and theatrical activities involving visitors?

☐Très intéressant *Very interesting* ☐Intéressant *Interesting* ☐Peu intéressant *Not very interesting* ☐Pas intéressant *Not interesting*

3.7 De manière générale, comment jugez-vous l'intérêt des lectures, conférences, tables rondes et séminaires au sein du musée ?
In general, how interesting do you find the use of lectures, conferences, round tables and seminaries in the museum?

☐Très intéressant *Very interesting* ☐Intéressant *Interesting* ☐Peu intéressant *Not very interesting* ☐Pas intéressant *Not interesting*

3.8 Pensez-vous que le type de visite effectué (audioguide, commenté, activité, forfait) a contribué à votre compréhension et satisfaction du Musée Huron-Wendat ?
Do you think the kind of visit you did (audioguide, guided tour, activity, package) contributed to your understanding and satisfaction of the Huron-Wendat Museum?
☐ Oui / *Yes*
☐ Non / *No*

3.9 Quels outils et/ou activités pourraient contribuer davantage à votre compréhension et satisfaction du Musée Huron-Wendat? _____
*Which tools and/or activities could contribute more to your understanding and satisfaction of the Huron-Wendat Museum?*_____

4. Après la visite
After visiting

4.1 Sur une échelle de 0 (pas du tout satisfait·e) à 10 (parfaitement satisfait·e), à quelle degré êtes-vous satisfait·e de votre visite au Musée Huron-Wendat aujourd'hui ? ____
On a scale of 0 (not satisfied at all) to 10 (perfectly satisfied), how satisfied are you with your visit to the Huron-Wendat Museum today?

4.2 Quels facteurs ont contribué à votre satisfaction ? *(précisez si nécessaire)*
Which factors contributed to your satisfaction? (specify if necessary)

☐ Accueil à l'arrivée et disponibilité du personnel
Welcoming on arrival and availability of staff
☐ Tarif de la visite
Price of the visit
☐ Qualité du contenu (objets, textes, activités...)
Quality of the content (objects, texts, activities...)
☐ Explications sur le contenu (objets, textes, activités...)
Explanations of the content (objects, texts, activities...)
☐ Sentiment d'accomplissement
Feeling of accomplishment
☐ Cadre du musée
Setting of the museum
☐ Choix et tarifs restaurant – café sur place
Choice and prices of the restaurant-cafe on site
☐ Choix et tarifs proposés par la boutique du musée
Choice and prices of the museum shop
☐ Accessibilité en transports en commun / le parking
Accessibility with public transports / carpark
☐ Autre : _____
Other: _____

4.3 Quels facteurs ont contribué à votre insatisfaction ? *(précisez si nécessaire)*
Which factors contributed to your dissatisfaction? (specify if necessary)

☐ Accueil à l'arrivée et disponibilité du personnel
Welcome on arrival and availability of the staff
☐ Tarif de la visite (trop élevé)
Price of the visit (too expensive)
☐ Manque d'informations sur place, directions mal indiquées
Lack of information on site, poorly indicated directions
☐ J'ai l'impression de n'avoir rien appris ou pas compris
I feel like I have not learned or understood anything
☐ Choix et tarifs restaurant – café sur place limités et/ou trop chers
Choice and prices of the restaurant-cafe (limited and/or too expensive)
☐ Choix et tarifs proposés par la boutique du musée limités et/ou trop chers
Choice and prices of the museum shop limited and/or too expensive
☐ Accessibilité en transports trop compliquée et/ou mal expliquée
Accessibility with public transport complicated and/or badly explained

☐ Autre : _____
Other: _____

4.4 Comment amélioreriez-vous la visite ?
How would you improve the visit?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

4.5 Avez-vous partagé votre visite sur les réseaux sociaux (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Périscope, Snapchat...) ?
Did you share your visit on social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Periscope, Snapchat...)?
☐ Oui / *Yes*
☐ Non / *No*

4.6 Avez-vous laissé un message sur le livre d'or ou comptez-vous mettre un avis sur le Musée Huron-Wendat en ligne (Facebook, TripAdvisor, Google) ?
Did you leave a message in the visitors' book or are you planning on leaving a message about the Huron-Wendat Museum online (Facebook, TripAdvisor, Google)?
☐ Oui / *Yes*
☐ Non / *No*

5. Relation personnelle avec le musée
Personal relationship with the museum

5.1 Quelle est l'importance du patrimoine culturel pour vous ?
What is the significance of cultural heritage for you?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5.2 Entretenez-vous des rapports identitaires avec le contenu du Musée Huron-Wendat ? Ressentez-vous un sentiment d'appartenance avec le site ?
Do you feel a connection with the content of the museum regarding your cultural identity? Do you feel a sense of belonging to the site?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

5.3 *(si membre d'une communauté autochtone)* Dans quelle mesure le Musée Huron-Wendat représente t-il votre communauté ?

(if a member of an indigenous community) To what extent does the Huron-Wendat Museum represent your community?

_____
_____
_____
_____

5.4 Souhaiteriez-vous participer davantage à la vie du Musée-Huron-Wendat ? Si oui, sous quelle forme ?
Would you like to participate more in the life of the Huron-Wendat Museum? If yes, how?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. Autres remarques et suggestions
Other remarks and suggestions

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix III – Interview outline

Identification de l'informateur

1. Renseignements biographiques
    a. Nom et prénom
    b. Âge
    c. Nationalité
        c.i. Êtes-vous membre d'une communauté autochtone canadienne ? *(préciser)*
    d. Formation académique
    e. Parcours professionnel
    f. Occupation actuelle

Environnement de travail

2. Définition du métier et des missions professionnelles
3. Rôle spécifique du département et/ou de la profession
    a. Votre rôle au sein du musée est-il lié à la fonction d'exposition ?
    b. Votre rôle au sein du musée est-il lié à la fonction de médiation ?
    c. Quelle est votre relation au contenu du musée ?
    d. Quelle est votre relation aux publics du musée ?

Défis, stratégies et perspectives

4. Pourriez-vous définir la mission du musée dans vos propres mots ? Pouvez-vous indiquer les forces et faiblesses de l'insitution dans laquelle vous travaillez ?
5. Quels sont vos défis professionnels principaux ?
6. Comment expliqueriez-vous les stratégies muséologiques mises en place, notamment en termes de médiation (accessibilité, participation, inclusion sociale) ?
7. Quel est l'outil muséologique le plus efficace auprès des publics selon vous ?
8. La participation active du visiteur est-elle souhaitée ? Si oui, comment ? Si non, pourquoi ?
9. A quoi pensez-vous que votre métier ressemblera dans une dizaine d'années ?

L'expérience muséale du visiteur[*]

10. Que pensez-vous des expositions interactives / participatives / collaboratives ?
11. Savez-vous pourquoi les visiteurs sont attirés par le Musée Huron-Wendat ? Pourquoi viennent-ils visiter cette institution ?
12. Connaissez-vous le profil des visiteurs du Musée Huron-Wendat ? Selon vous, comment est-il possible d'attirer de nouvelles audiences et des publics différents ?
13. Savez-vous ce que les visiteurs font dans le musée, et pourquoi ?
14. Quelles sont les demandes du public ?
15. Savez-vous quel impact possède le musée sur les visiteurs ?
16. Savez-vous quels élements permettraient aux visiteurs de revenir au Musée Huron-Wendat ?
17. Connaissez-vous une institution concurrente du Musée Huron-Wendat ? Si non, qu'est-ce qui pourrait vous retirer votre audience ?

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[*] Ces questions sont basées sur le modèle de John H. Falk, « From Theory to Practice », in *Identity and the Museum Visitor Experience,* cit., p.184.

Relation personnelle avec le musée

18. Selon vos connaissances, quel est le lien de continuité entre le contenu exposé du musée et la vie actuelle des Huron-Wendat ?
19. *(si membre d'une communauté autochtone)* Dans quelle mesure le Musée Huron-Wendat représente t-il votre communauté ?
20. *(si membre d'une communauté autochtone)* Entretenez-vous des rapports identitaires avec le contenu du Musée Huron-Wendat ?

Appendix IV – Sketched map of the museum