

Special Issue of the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*

City Margins, City Memories: Berlin, Milan, Paris

Nadia Kiwan, University of Aberdeen, UK

n.kiwan@abdn.ac.uk

Remembering on the City's Margins: The *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*¹ in Paris

This article explores the role played by the Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration (MHI) in the broader political debates relating to collective memories of immigration in France. In particular, the discussion focuses on the ways in which the MHI, as both a national institution and a civil society network, engages with diverse publics from Paris, the Ile-de-France banlieues (suburbs) and other French regions which have historically been the site of significant migrant settlement. The analysis will therefore explore the manner in which the museum's national project of remembering immigration is inscribed in localised urban or sub-urban contexts. The main question underpinning the article's discussion is as follows: how and to what extent is a 'dialogic' and 'polyvocal' approach to the history of immigration in France reflected in the networks and partnerships which the institution fosters with diverse and urban populations? After providing a brief historical introduction to how the MHI came to be established, the article then focuses on one of the ways in which the MHI has recently sought to seek greater visibility as a cultural institution in the Parisian museological landscape via a high-profile publicity campaign in the summer of 2013. The third and main part of the article discusses the different ways in which the MHI seeks to move beyond a centre-margin paradigm within its own museological practice, whilst at the same time remaining constrained by the very centre-margin paradigm it otherwise seeks to displace. This part of the article will be concerned with the ways in which, in some respects, we can see the MHI as a dialogic museum whilst in other respects, it appears to remain wedded to an older model of the museum which could be regarded 'as a space that is inscribed with dominant discursive meaning' (Message 2006: 18).

KEYWORDS: Paris, Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration, memory, heritage, networks.

This article explores the role played by the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* (until 2013 known as *La Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration*) in the broader political debates relating to collective memories of immigration in France. In particular, the discussion focuses on the ways in which the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*, as both a national institution and a civil society network, engages with diverse publics from Paris, the Ile-de-France *banlieues* [suburbs] and other French regions which have historically been the site of significant migrant settlement. The analysis will, therefore, explore the manner in which the museum's national project of remembering immigration is inscribed in localised urban or suburban contexts. The main question underpinning the article's discussion is thus as follows: how and to what extent is a 'dialogic' and 'polyvocal' approach to the history of immigration

in France reflected in the networks and partnerships which the institution fosters with diverse and urban populations?

Two conceptual frameworks are especially useful for thinking through these questions. First of all, the urban or city frame can be a particularly illuminating entry point into discussions about historical memory. Such debates are often closely imbricated with discourses about cultural and national identity. However, if we think about identity through the city rather than the nation, as Kevin Robins (2001) invites us to do, we can therefore begin to problematise some of the assumptions that are made about identity and memory in academic, political and ‘everyday’ language. As noted by Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2008) in their work on methodological nationalism or Ulrich Beck (2008) in his work on the cosmopolitan perspective, themes such as identity are often discursively constructed within national parameters, involving little acknowledgement of *transnational* and multiple forms of identity which go beyond a ‘container model of society’ (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2008, 105-106). On the specific question of memory, recent research such as that carried out by Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard and Sandrine Lemaire (2005) or Fiona Barclay et al (2013) has also demonstrated that the *national* paradigm dominates both scholarly and political discussions of France’s collective relationship to the past.² So by taking the urban frame as a starting point for an investigation into memory and identity, other hitherto marginalised voices may be more likely to emerge: ‘If the nation is fundamentally about belonging to an abstract community, [...] then the urban arena is about immersion in a world of multiplicity...’ (Robins 2001, 87). Or, as Anne Querrien argues with regards to the French intellectual approaches to the city: ‘...la ville est le plus beau des biens collectifs, l’incarnation *locale* de la république...’ [‘...the city is the most beautiful of collective assets, the *local* manifestation of the republic.’] (Querrien 2000, 359, added emphasis).

The second conceptual framework which can be fruitful for discussions of historical memory concerns the notion of the margins, since, as Russell Ferguson asks, ‘When we say marginal, we must always ask, marginal to what?’ (Ferguson et al 1990, 9). Ferguson’s question invites us to think about how margins exist and develop in relation to dominant discourses about culture, memory and identity. In spatial or urban terms, the margin or periphery exists in relation to the city centre—historically the locus of cultural, political and social prestige and legitimacy. Ferguson further underscores the dialectic nature of centre and margin, stating, ‘Margin and centre can draw their meanings only from each other. Neither can exist alone.’ (Ferguson et al 1990, 13) It is perhaps the relationality that is implicit within the very notion of the margin that means that we should envisage the margin as a fluid and

moving entity, or as bell hooks puts it ‘the site of radical possibility, a space of resistance [...] of counterhegemonic discourse’ (hooks 1990, 341). In French urban studies, the study of marginality in the contemporary context has chiefly focused on the *banlieue* (see for example, Marchal and Stébé 2012, Tissot 2005, Dubet 1987), however, even within studies of the ‘ville’ *intra muros*, urban thinkers such as Lefebvre or de Certeau have been engaged in a critical investigation of the social dynamics found within cities and the tensions which exist between unity and difference, isolation and encounter, plurality and praxis (Querrien 2000, 363). It is this understanding of the margin or marginality in terms of tensions, social fluidity and political potentiality which informs my discussion of the *Musée de l’histoire de l’immigration* (MHI).

As a cultural institution, the MHI occupies both ‘margin’ and centre. It is located on the geographical margins of tourist Paris and cultural Paris, and is situated on the south-east periphery known as *La Porte Dorée* on the edge of the 12th *arrondissement* [district], whereas most of the established museums are concentrated in and around the central 1st, 4th and 7th *arrondissements*. The sense that the museum is not within the mainstream museum landscape was confirmed during research visits to the site in 2013 and 2014 where it was evident that visitor numbers were not as significant here as in the main touristic museums in Paris. Indeed the current director of the *Palais de la Porte Dorée*, Hélène Orain claimed in a 2016 media interview that the museum is not well marked out in tourist guides and its location in the eastern periphery of Paris means it gets left out of tour operators’ circuits (Rahal 2016).³ The MHI’s ethnographic and historical collections and its overarching remit as a social-historical museum of immigration can also be seen to place it on the ‘margins’ of mainstream politics in so far as it celebrates the positive contributions of immigrants and their descendants in a national context which tends to construct immigration as a social and political ‘problem’.⁴ In their study of how the then-CNHI should attract its publics, Poli, Louvrier and Wieviorka (2007) point out that the sensationalised climate in which immigration was framed from the early 2000s onwards (the 2005 riots, protests against article 4 of the 23 February 2005 law requiring education programmes to emphasise the ‘positive’ aspects of colonisation, restrictive measures regarding the education rights of clandestine immigrants and civil protest against these measures), required great sensitivity and care so as to be able to move beyond the contemporary-focused debates about immigration, since, as they put it: ‘...who wants to visit a site signalling the existence of a “problem”?’ (Poli, Louvier, Wieviorka 2007, 15).⁵ As Marie-Hélène Joly points out, until the opening of the CNHI, museum exhibitions dedicated to immigration were extremely rare in France, possibly due to the perception that the subject

is a politically sensitive one (Joly 2007, 72). Furthermore, Nicolas Bancel and Pascal Blanchard also suggest that the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* was in some ways, already a marginal site when it housed the *Musée des arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie* (Bancel and Blanchard 2007, 120).

Yet in some ways it seems to be very much part of the 'centre' given that it is a national museum with funding from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Culture and Communication and Ministry of Higher Education and Research and due to its legitimisation of certain versions of French nationhood and integration-led models of citizenship. As has been shown by numerous researchers (such as Costa-Lascoux 1999, Favell 2001, Hargreaves 2015, Laborde 2008, Noiriel 1988, Wieviorka 1997, Schnapper 2007 amongst others) integration lies at the heart of the French national self-understanding, whereby citizens are first and foremost individuals, whose cultural, religious or regional origins are secondary to their statuses as culturally 'neutral' citizens in the public sphere.⁶ Grognet (2007), Joly (2007), Bancel and Blanchard (2007), Poli, Louvrier and Wieviorka (2007) all concur that a paradigm of integration lies at the heart of the aims of museum, whether that be in the objective of developing a '*collection nationale*' (Grognet 2007, 30) or whether it is in the fact that the museum clearly does not adopt an ethnicised 'communities-based' approach to its work (Joly 2007, 75). It is this central tension in the work of the MHI that I focus on in this article and I argue that it is possible to understand this paradox in terms of two interrelated processes: internal and external marginalisation. Hence I am working with the notion of the margin as both a *space* (cultural, geographical, intellectual, political) as well as a *process* (i.e. processes of marginalisation as leading to the exclusion of certain narratives about immigration in France which take place both within and beyond the museum itself). This central tension within the MHI, namely the ways in which it discursively, politically and geographically occupies both margin and centre can arguably be seen to lie at the heart of the main dilemma underpinning the museum's mission: how to recognise France's cultural diversity whilst maintaining an overarching and teleological narrative about the integration of France's immigrants into the nation. Indeed as Brigitte Jelen points out, the publicity announcing the opening of the CNHI in 2007 contained the slogan 'Leur histoire est notre histoire' [Their history is our history], thus perhaps unwittingly articulating this dilemma as well as a problematic and enduring separation between national self and immigrant other. (Jelen 2005, 101).

From *Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration* to *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*

Established in October 2007 and marking a first within the broader European context, the opening of the *Cité*'s doors marked the culmination of a long planning process which began in 2001 when the *Parti Socialiste* Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, commissioned the association *Génériques* to prepare a feasibility study regarding a future space dedicated to the history and cultures of immigration (El-Yazami and Schwartz, 2001).⁷ The choice of location for the *Cité* – the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* – was not without controversy since it had been built as a permanent structure for the 1931 *Exposition Coloniale* [Colonial Exhibition] and its human zoos, referred to as 'expositions ethnographiques'.⁸ It then went on to house a number of ethnographic museum collections from France's colonies, such as *Le Musée Permanent des Colonies* and subsequently *Le Musée des arts africains et océaniens*, until the collection was moved to the *Musée du Quai Branly* which opened in 2006. The choice of building was criticised by those experts who argued that it would be difficult for the wider public to imagine immigration in France beyond its colonial and post-colonial dimension, thus exacerbating public's lack of awareness about the more long-term history of migrant settlement in France extending well beyond the period of colonial expansion. Indeed, the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* is a vast space originally dedicated to the glory of France's colonial exploits, with 1130m² of bas-relief designed by Alfred Janniot running around three facades of the art deco palace paying homage to the colonial 'civilising mission'. However, defenders of the choice of building, such as Patrick Bouchain, the architect appointed to transform the site, have argued that many buildings go through different phases of use and that to change the *Palais de la Porte Dorée*—former palace of the colonies—into a museum of immigration would, on the contrary, allow the public to confront and deconstruct France's past in a critical manner.⁹

This process of historical deconstruction was to be facilitated via the overarching missions of the CNHI, set out on the project's webpages as follows: 'to bring together, safeguard, give value to and render accessible issues relating to the history of immigration in France, notably since the 19th century, and to thereby contribute to the recognition of the integration trajectories of immigrant populations in French society, and to change attitudes and mentalities regarding immigration in France.'¹⁰ Beyond a heritage role then, at the heart of the project is a concern for social education and cohesion. Interestingly, when the *Cité* was set up, the *Génériques* feasibility report insisted that the institution be more than a museum, arguing that, whilst the future centre would have a museum dimension, it should avoid too strong a 'heritage' approach, which could lead to a tendency to freeze narratives of

immigration as though it was solely an historical issue rather than a contemporary and shifting phenomenon (El-Yazami and Schwartz 2001, 15). The overarching name *Cité* as opposed to *musée* was to evoke a space of interaction and engagement with diverse publics via diverse media. In this respect, it is intriguing to see that the name of the institution has changed to *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration*.¹¹ According to the 2013 annual report published by the MHI, the change of name to *Musée* affords a simplification and greater transparency of the institution's mission statement vis-à-vis the public. (EPPPD 2013).

It is arguable that behind this change in name and 'institutional identity' lies a desire to make the institution more visible within the Parisian museological landscape. The aspiration to improve the visibility of the CNHI can also be regarded as one of the factors behind the launch of a major publicity campaign during the summer of 2013, an initiative which was delivered by a well-known Paris-based advertising and communication agency. The campaign took the form of four black and white sepia photographs which were highly visible in the Paris métro and urban transport network. The 2013 MHI Annual Report refers to a tangible and positive impact on the institution in terms of significant visitor numbers increases over the summer of 2013 which were up by 88% in July compared to July 2012 (EPPPD 2013, 93). The award-winning publicity campaign included two photographs by Gérald Bloncourt, the French-Haitian photographer, known notably for his black and white photographs of Portuguese immigrants taken between 1954 and 1974, in Ile-de-France and in Portugal. The first of the photographs by Bloncourt in the publicity campaign features a close-up of a Portuguese builder, and thus alludes to the vast numbers of Portuguese construction workers who were instrumental in the re-building of post-war France's infrastructure. The caption which accompanies the 1965 photograph, 'Ton grand-père dans un musée' ['Your grandfather in a museum'] is intended to be humorous whilst underscoring the message that one in every four French people has immigrant ancestry. The message that about 25% of the French population have an immigrant background is indeed given its own spotlight as the following caption accompanies a further Bloncourt photograph used in the campaign showing a group of young people gathered around a map of the world: 'Un Français sur quatre est issu de l'immigration' ['One in four French people is of immigrant origin'].¹²

The third photographic image to be used in the campaign depicts North African immigrants disembarking from a ferry named *Le Liberté*, which has made the crossing from Algiers to Marseille. The photograph, taken by Jacques Windenberger is accompanied by the following caption - 'Nos ancêtres n'étaient pas tous des Gaulois' ['Our ancestors were not all

Gauls’]. This can be regarded as a further light-hearted allusion to the way in which the national curriculum’s approach to history in the colonial era adopted a misleading approach to cultural diversity.

A fourth black and white photograph used in the advertising campaign was that of a dancing couple and was taken from a series of photographs exhibited at the *Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration*, entitled *Vie quotidienne d’une bonne espagnole à Paris* [Daily life of a Spanish maid] by photographer Jean-Philippe Charbonnier in 1962. The accompanying slogan is ‘*L’immigration ça fait toujours des histoires*’ [‘Immigration always makes a story’]. The choice of this slogan is, of course, a significant one since it invites us to think carefully about the polysemy of the term *histoire*. On one level, *histoire* here is referring to stories in the sense of adventures to be told and passed onto the next generation. *Histoires* could, of course, also refer to *histoires d’amour* – given the photograph of the dancing couple who, we imagine, may be romantically involved with one other. On another level, *histoires* may suggest a more tumultuous or negative notion – the facial expression of an onlooker in the dance hall looks with disapproval, dismay even, at the dancing couple, thus seeming to suggest that the *histoires* linked to immigration are not always without conflict. Finally, *histoires* can also be understood as referring to the history or histories of immigration, which are narrated within the *Musée de l’histoire de l’immigration*. It is arguable that there is a further way in which we can understand the word *histoires* and this is in the sense of the ripples or impact that a socio-political issue make and I would like to suggest that whilst the CNHI/MHI has consistently endeavoured to engage with diverse publics through its curatorial and audience development programmes, the very existence of the 2013 advertising campaign that featured the slogan ‘*L’immigration ça fait toujours des histoires*’ is indicative of a process of communication between the Museum and the general museum-going public which is not without its challenges. The Museum has not succeeded in attracting hordes of visitors since opening its doors in 2007 (according to the Annual Report relating to activity in 2012, the *Palais de la Porte Dorée* attracted 296,013 visitors, with 68,886 of them attending the *Cité* and 227,127 attending the tropical aquarium, housed in the building’s basement) and in a way, the institution has been unable to create the *histoires* or public interest around its collections and exhibitions which it would have liked (EPPPD 2012). For example, in 2010, *Le Monde* published an article entitled ‘Le musée fantôme’ whereby the journalist claimed: ‘C’était une belle idée, généreuse, inédite. [...] Mais pour l’instant, le public ne suit pas.’ The MHI readily admits that it is challenging to attract typical

museum-goers (*'le public culturel'* or 'cultural public') who only make up 11% of their visitor numbers (EPPD 2012, 83).

The relative invisibility of the MHI has, of course, not been helped by the fact that it was not officially inaugurated by a president until François Hollande did so in December 2014, seven years after it opened, as remarked upon by Benjamin Stora, president of the MHI steering committee in an interview with Marie Poinot (Poinot 2014).¹³ Indeed, the MHI is the only national museum in France to not have been officially inaugurated when it opened its doors. This of course reflected the context in which the CNHI emerged – marked as it was by the election of Nicolas Sarkozy as President of the Republic. First as Interior Minister then as President, Sarkozy consistently foregrounded an anti-immigration agenda, reflected most clearly in his establishment of a Ministry of Immigration, Integration, National Identity and Co-Development in May 2007 and the launching of a debate on national identity by Eric Besson, the Minister of Immigration in 2009. (Gastaut 2012, 334; 338). Furthermore, it could be argued that the fact that the MHI project was even completed was a positive outcome given the negative political stance on immigration that surrounded its establishment once Nicolas Sarkozy was elected on an anti-immigration platform in May 2007. Indeed, as Lebovics points out, Sarkozy did not attend the official opening of the CNHI and was far more interested in attempting to establish his own presidential museum in the form of the aborted museum of national history (Lebovics 2014). Nevertheless, the challenges regarding the visibility of the museum do not detract from innovative and dialogic aspects of the MHI - an issue to which I turn in the next section.

A dialogic museum?

In his analysis of New York's Chinatown History Museum, John Tchen argues that a dialogic museum is one which accommodates a 'multi-vocal history' and which brings together 'members from [our] various constituencies' (1992, 286). Tchen observes that a 'dialogue-driven museum' will involve 'mutual exploration' of 'memory and meaning' (291) and disrupt dichotomies of historical personal memory versus academic scholarship. In a related move, Viv Golding and Wayne Modest seek to eschew museological paradigms which situate the curator in binary opposition to the communities they supposedly serve or seek to educate in order to think through the conditions which favour the emergence of 'new collaborative paradigms within museums and at their frontiers' (2013, 1). Thus the notions of multiple voices or 'polyvocal practices' in museums are foregrounded in Golding's and Modest's discussion of a shift towards 'the sharing of curatorial authority' (1).

It is of course arguable that the *Musée de l'histoire de l'immigration* has indeed moved beyond such dichotomies of institution versus civil society since, from the planning stages onwards, the national centre for the history and cultures of immigration was conceptualised as being both a physical space as well as a network of civil society stakeholders. According to the founding text which marked the official establishment of the CNHI by the French Ministry of Culture, the network associated with the CNHI and now the MHI is defined as: 'consisting in particular of associations, territorial collectivities, cultural and scientific institutions, businesses and trade union organisations pursuing similar objectives'.¹⁴ Former Director of the Network department, Agnès Arquez-Roth, describes the network as sitting 'at the heart of the project, being represented on the executive committee and sharing responsibility for co-producing the project through collaborations and partnerships throughout France' (Arquez-Roth 2014, 110). Roth explains that the MHI Network builds collaborations via 'a participative and collaborative process with the network, an official role for civil society, through the network, to take part in the decisions of the steering committee, an innovative set of cultural, educational and citizenship programmes and a presentation of co-productions with the Palais de la Porte Dorée and/or in the regions' (2014, 114). Specific examples of collaborative work involving the Network include a 2007 exhibition on Spanish immigration in France, a 2010 exhibition focusing on North African cultural history in France and a three-year programme collecting oral archives from Portuguese, Spanish, Moroccan and Spanish migrants in towns and cities of the Aquitaine region from January 2008 to September 2010. The 2007 exhibition, entitled *Portraits de Migrations, un siècle d'immigration espagnole en France* [Migration portraits: A Century of Spanish Immigration in France] involved the then-CNHI working alongside the Federation of Spanish Emigrant Associations and Centres in France and took place in Saint-Denis, a town well-known for its extensive history of migrant settlement and which sits on the geographical and socio-economic margins of Paris. The project emerged from a financial and academic partnership between the CNHI and an association for the history and memory of immigration in Aquitaine, known as *Rahmi* [Aquitaine Network for the History and Memory of Immigration] (Arquez-Roth 2014).¹⁵

The concerted attempts made by its professionals to reconcile what is referred to by Roth as the 'history and memory of immigration, acting between knowledge and recognition' (2014, 113) is yet another way in which the MHI has moved beyond centre-margin models in terms of its museological practice. This is evidenced by the various partnerships and collaborative projects which have emerged over the years. Of particular relevance here is the

triennial partnership between the MHI and the General Council of Seine-Saint-Denis signed in September 2011, and an agreement between the Departmental Tourism Committee in Seine-Saint-Denis and the MHI (CNHI 2011, 47). Seine-Saint-Denis is a department based to the north-east of Paris and which has the highest concentration of immigrant-origin, working class and unemployed populations in the Ile-de-France region (1.5 million inhabitants across 40 towns, INSEE 2014 Census).¹⁶ The Agreement between the MHI and the Seine-Saint-Denis department has run from 2011 to 2014. It has involved a subsidy of 15,000 Euros to finance entry to the MHI and access to themed workshops at the museum for the inhabitants of Seine-Saint-Denis; awareness-raising regarding the history of immigration aimed at social workers, culture professionals, managers, civil servants and educationalists employed in Seine-Saint-Denis; outreach work with the libraries of Seine-Saint-Denis to mark the *Bande dessinée* exhibition, *Albums: Bande Dessinée et Immigration 1913–2013* which ran from October 2013 until April 2014,¹⁷ and the temporary loan of a multimedia installation *La Zon-Mai* to the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Saint-Denis. (EPPPD 2013, 166–167).¹⁸

Further ways in which the MHI can be seen to be working within a collaborative paradigm is through the development of its collections. In this respect the reopening of the *Galerie des dons* [Gallery of Gifts] as part of its permanent collection on 1 April 2014 is particularly interesting in relation to the question of the extent to which the MHI can be considered a dialogic museum. The *Galerie des dons* displays 250 objects in a 450m² space and includes 40 autobiographical statements from individual donors. The objects and accompanying *récits de vie* (life stories) are intended to represent the experience of migration for individuals and families. The objects on display include immigration travel documents, suitcases, musical instruments, photographs and family heirlooms which have been passed down from one generation to the next. Any visitor can make a donation to the gallery. Ethnographic collections coordinator at the *Galerie des dons*, Hélène du Mazaubrun points out that - as argued by anthropologist Marcel Mauss - the act of gift-giving is highly symbolic in that it implies a process of social exchange which creates social bonds through the associated expectation of reciprocity (Mazaubrun 2014). For Mazaubrun, the principle of reciprocity within the *Galerie des dons* is social in nature because it is via the act of the 'don' [gift] that an individual story becomes part of a collective history (Mazaubrun 2014, 124). Du Mazaubrun highlights the fact that the *Galerie des dons* at the MHI is an original and indeed unique concept in the French museological context whereby it is extremely rare for objects to be used in a testimonial form in museums and if they are, they tend to be restricted to

temporary exhibitions rather than as part of the permanent collection as in the case of MHI. It is useful to cite at some length the definition and presentation of the *Galerie des dons* as presented on the Museum's website:

The Museum of the history of immigration is conceived as an interactive space. Any visitor who wishes to entrust the migration trajectory of his/her family is invited to present a part of their personal history to the museum, be it individual or collective, private or unique. Objects and photographs, often passed on from generation to generation, are thereby displayed in the Gallery of Gifts. In this original and unique space, they become part of a collection at the heart of a common national heritage in order to tell life stories which make history.¹⁹

This presentation of the *Galerie des dons* is striking since it appears to encapsulate the main tensions which are at the heart of the MHI project, namely how to foster recognition of post-migrant cultural diversity without displacing the national and nation-state framing of French culture. Mazaubrun (2014; 2012) repeatedly makes the point that the *Galerie* allows an intersubjective approach to the Other because it surpasses the limited notion of a museum of the Other in order to move towards a museum of a 'musée de "Nous Autres"' ['a museum of "Us Others"'] (Mazaubrun 2014, 125; Mazaubrun 2012, 3): 'On entering the museum, the individual trajectories reveal the social mechanisms which give meaning to the collective, the move from the singular "I" to the "we" of the French nation.' (Mazaubrun 2012, 126).²⁰ The transgression of the boundary between Self and Other is what facilitates a subjective and active approach to what Mazaubrun calls 'immigration heritage' (*patrimoine*), which effectively de-centers the national or state-dominated narrative about immigration in France (Mazaubrun 2014, 125), thus contributing to a widening of the very notion of 'French heritage'. Indeed, she claims that via the *Galerie*, the MHI is not just *exhibiting* heritage but is in fact *creating* it in collaboration with civil society. The production of that heritage is no longer solely the domain of the experts, i.e. curators, historians and this significantly shifts and broadens traditional understandings of heritage and the museum, both in material and temporal terms (Mazaubrun 2012).

Despite such claims, it could also be argued that the 'entry' of the Gallery of Gifts artefacts into the common national heritage resonates with Sharon J. Macdonald's claims that historically, 'Public museums [...] were from their beginning embroiled in the attempt to culture a public and encourage people to imagine and experience themselves as members of an ordered but nevertheless sentimentalised nation-state' (2012, 277). Mazaubrun herself

states that the act of donating an object, which testifies to the migrant experience of an individual's family history, in some ways mirrors the very process of integration in that, "the foreigner becomes French heritage". (Mazaubrun 2012, 3).²¹ The emphasis on the term integration is, of course, not anodyne and more broadly reflects the overarching concerns of the MHI, namely to act as a national institution for social cohesion and the integration of immigration history into a one and indivisible Republican national identity or heritage. So while the *Galerie des dons* is clearly a collaborative curatorial practice which foregrounds individuals' diverse experiences, the overarching integrationist narrative of the MHI is, in some ways, uninterrupted as further demonstrated by the following statement about the nature of the artefacts which are included in the *Galerie*: 'Included in the inventory, these assemblages of objects, of diverse nature and provenance, create cohesion by becoming a 'national collection'.²²

Processes of Marginalisation

This overarching integration narrative perhaps serves to marginalise non-consensual issues about the supposed and expected path and goal of integration which is reflected in the main part of the permanent exhibition *Repères* [Benchmarks]. Indeed, in her analysis of the permanent exhibition, Labadi argues that as the museum visitor moves through the exhibition, from the first zone which deals with emigrant arrival in France, through to the second area which deals with living and working conditions of immigrants, before coming to the final zone which foregrounds successful examples of integration, 'the authoritative voice takes over to objectify the experiences of immigrants, thus naturalising their integration and rendering it a taken-for-granted truth' (2013, 320). This linear and potentially reductive approach (also remarked upon by Forsdick 2010 and Dixon 2012) is reflected in the different thematic spaces of the permanent exhibition: 'Emigrating', 'Encounters with the State', 'Country of Settlement', 'Hostile France', 'Here and There', 'Living Spaces', 'At Work', 'Putting Down Roots', 'Sport', 'Religions', 'Cultures'. So for example, under the rubric of 'Putting Down Roots', school is highlighted as 'an essential space of socialisation and integration' (CNHI Guide, 170). Under the 'Cultures' rubric which presents the multiple intellectual and artistic achievements of France's more famous immigrants (such as Frédéric Chopin, Guillaume Apollinaire or Samuel Beckett), the exhibition underlines the link between 'diversity' and 'a common and shared culture' (CNHI Guide, 228). Similarly, the 'encounters zone' seeks to demonstrate that the multiplicity of cultural exchanges and

contributions that have arisen out of immigration in France all feed into ‘the elaboration of the national heritage, an inherited common good’ (CNHI Guide, 244).²³

Whilst integration or inclusion of immigrants into the national narrative is clearly, on many levels, a laudable one, stemming from an inclusive and egalitarian starting point, the MHI’s permanent and temporary exhibitions do not dwell on the ongoing problems of exclusion and non-integration in the contemporary period, choosing instead to focus on these issues in historical perspective. This is perhaps the reason why the permanent exhibition does not have too much to say about the 2005 urban riots and the systemic and inter-generational segregation and exclusion in those *banlieues* heavily populated by populations of immigrant origin. The integration-led and consensual approach perhaps also explains why issues related to the multiple headscarf affairs, religious diversity or the place of Islam are not extensively dealt with in the MHI’s permanent exhibition. Bancel and Blanchard (2007) further note the absence of engagement with the issue of inter-community relations or the ambiguous relationship between anthropology, colonial policy and national identity. The consensual approach to contemporary immigration history may further explain why the illegal occupation of the MHI by immigrant *sans papiers* (undocumented migrant workers) from October 2010 to January 2011 has not yet been tackled by the MHI in terms of a major exhibition or museum event. And finally, as other scholars have consistently argued (such as Blanchard 2003, Labadi 2013, Stevens 2012 and Thomas 2012), the omnipresent images of colonialism within the vast exhibition space have not been deconstructed sufficiently. It is, therefore, possible to refer to a process of internal marginalisation which can be understood as the avoidance of tackling certain difficult subjects head-on within the museum, although the exhibition curated by historian Benjamin Stora and Linda Amiri on the Algerian War in France - *Vies d’exil, 1954–1962* - can be regarded as challenging subject matter. Nevertheless, as Labadi (2013) highlights, the notion of ‘museum friction’ (Kratz and Karp 2006), which points to scenarios whereby certain discourses are disrupted or challenged through a museum’s collections, is not always at work within the MHI.

Concluding remarks

In summary, it can be argued that, on the one hand, the MHI is an original and innovative cultural institution mainly because of its network of civil society partners and its collaborative curatorial practices as exemplified by *La Galerie des dons* and joint exhibitions with the Network of civil society partners. Both these elements thus demonstrate a dialogic approach to museum practice whereby hitherto marginalised migrant voices are encouraged

to move from margin to centre—from civil society to cultural institution. Yet, on the other hand, it seems that in some ways the MHI as a cultural institution still occupies the ‘margins’ due to the fact that it is some distance from the main cultural attractions of the central Parisian *arrondissements*, as well as the manner in which its legitimacy has at times been called into question by anti-immigrant political discourse in France. Beyond these processes which are external to the institution, we can speak too of processes of internal marginalisation. These arise from the ways in which the MHI can be seen as an institution which marginalises certain aspects of its own project, such as the colonial past and the colonial dimension of the *Palais de la Porte Dorée*, contemporary postcolonial discriminations related in particular to the *sans papiers* movement or Islam. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the MHI will be able to reflect the 2013 advertising slogan ‘L’immigration ça fait toujours des histoires’ [‘Immigration always makes a story’] in the sense of making waves or ripples through debate, dialogue and the creation of museum friction over what is perceived to be a ‘difficult’ but important issue.

References

- Arquez-Roth, Agnès. 2014. ‘La Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration: A Central Venue and National Network – An Ongoing Challenge.’ In *Migrating Heritage: Experiences of Cultural Networks and Cultural Dialogue in Europe*, edited by Perla Innocenti, 109–124. Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate.
- Bancel, Nicolas and Pascal Blanchard. 2007. ‘Incompatibilité: la CNHI dans le sanctuaire du colonialisme français’. *Hommes et Migrations*, 1267. 112-127.
- Bancel, Nicolas, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, Sandrine Lemaire, Pascal Blanchard, eds. 2011, *Zoos humains et exhibitions coloniales. 150 ans d’inventions de l’Autre*. Paris. La Découverte.
- Barclay, Fiona. ed. 2013. *France’s Colonial Legacies. Memory, Identity and Narrative*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Beck, Ulrich. 2008. ‘The Cosmopolitan Perspective: Sociology of the Second Age of Modernity.’ In *The Transnational Studies Reader. Intersections and Innovations*, edited by Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt, 222-230. Oxford; New York: Routledge.
- Blanchard, Pascal. 2003. ‘Musée des immigrations ou Musée des colonies?’ *L’Humanité*, 3 December.
- Certeau, Michel de. 1972. *L’invention du quotidien, 1/ Les Arts de faire*, 10/18, Paris.
- Cité Nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration. *Guide de l’exposition permanente*.

- Cité Nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration. *Rapport d'activités 2011*. http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/rapport_activites_20120402.pdf.
- Costa-Lascoux, Jacqueline. 1999. 'L'intégration à la française : une philosophie, des lois.' In *Immigration et intégration. L'état des savoirs*, 328-340. Paris : Éditions de la Découverte et Syros.
- Dixon, Carol Ann. 2012. 'Decolonising the museum : Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration'. *Race and Class*, 53 (4). 78-86.
- Dubet, François, *La Galère : jeunes en survie*. Paris : Fayard.
- El-Yazami, Driss and Rémy Schwartz. 2001. *Pour la création d'un centre national de l'histoire et des cultures de l'immigration, Rapport au Premier Ministre*. http://www.generiques.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/centre_national_histoire_immigration.pdf
- L'Établissement public du Palais de Porte Dorée (EPPPD). *Rapport d'activités* 2015. http://www.palais-portedoree.fr/sites/default/files/rapport_activites_epppd_2015.pdf
- L'Établissement public du Palais de Porte Dorée (EPPPD). *Rapport d'activités* 2014. http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/rapport_activites_epppd_2014.pdf
- L'Établissement public du Palais de Porte Dorée (EPPPD). *Rapport d'activités* 2013. http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/rapport_activites_epppd_2013.pdf.
- L'Établissement Public du Palais de la Porte Dorée (EPPPD). *Rapport d'activités 2012*. http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/rapport_activite_epppd_2012.pdf
- Favell, Adrian. 2001. *Philosophies of Integration. Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ferguson, Russell, Martha Gever, Trin-T. Minh-ha, and Cornel West, eds. 1990. *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art; Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press
- Forsdick, Charles. 2010. 'Siting Postcolonial Memory: Remembering New Caledonia in the Work of Didier Daeninckx'. *Modern and Contemporary France*, 18 (2). 175-192.
- Gastaut, Yvan. 2012. 'The "Immigration Question": Mainspring of Sarkozy's Presidency'. *Contemporary French and Francophone Studies*, 16 (3). 333-346.
- Golding, Viv and Wayne Modest, eds. 2013. *Museums and Communities: Curators, Collections and Collaboration*. London; New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Green, Nancy. 2007. 'A French Ellis Island? Museums, Memory and History in France and the United States'. *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (1). 239-253.

- Grognet, François. 2007. 'Quand "l'étranger" devient patrimoine français. Les collections ethnographiques à inventer du musée de la CNHI.' *Hommes et Migrations*, 1267. 28-37.
- Guerrin, Michel. 2010. 'Le musée fantôme', *Le Monde*, 19/03/2010, available at http://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2010/03/19/le-musee-fantome_1321510_3224.html [accessed 31/03/2014].
- Hargreaves, Alec. 2015. 'Introduction: Still French?' *Nottingham French Studies*. 54 (3). 227–237.
- hooks, bell. 1990. 'marginality as a site of resistance'. In *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*, edited by Russell Ferguson, Martha Gever, Trin-T. Minh-ha and Cornel West, 341–345. New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art; Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press.
- Jelen, Brigitte. 2005. '"Leur histoire est notre histoire": Immigrant Culture in France between Visibility and Invisibility'. *French Politics, Culture & Society*. 23 (2). 101-125
- Joly, Marie-Hélène. 2007. 'La place de la Cité nationale dans le paysage muséal français.' *Hommes et Migrations*, 1267. 68-82.
- Labadi, Sophia. 2013. 'The National Museum of the Immigration History (Paris, France): Neo-colonialist Representations, Silencing, and Re-appropriation'. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 13 (3). 310–330.
- Laborde, Cécile. 2008. *Critical Republicanism. The Hijab Controversy and Political Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lebovics, Herman. 2014. 'The future of the nation foretold in its museums'. *French Cultural Studies*, Vol. 25(3/4) 290–298.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1970. *La Révolution urbaine*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Lefebvre, Henri. 1974. *La Production de l'espace*. Paris: Anthropos.
- Macdonald, Sharon, J. 2012. 'Museums, National, Postnational and Transcultural Identities'. In *Museum Studies: An Anthology of Contexts*, edited by Bettina Messias Carbonell, 273–286. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marchal, Hervé and Jean-Marc Stébé, *Les Lieux des banlieues. De Paris à Nancy, de Mumbai à Los Angeles*. Paris : Éditions Le Cavalier Bleu.
- Mazabrun, Hélène du. 2014. 'Faire un don au Musée de l'histoire de 'immigration''. *Hommes & Migrations* [online]. 1306. 124-125. URL : <http://www.cairn.info/revue-hommes-et-migrations-2014-2-page-124.htm>
- Mazabrun, Hélène du. 2012. 'La parole et le don'. *Hommes et migrations*, 1300. 126-131.
- Message, Kylie. 2006. *New Museums and the Making of Culture*. Oxford, NY: Berg.

Murphy, Maureen. 2007. *Un Palais pour une cité: du musée des colonies à la Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration*. Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.

Noiriel, Gérard. 1988. *Le creuset français. Histoire de l'immigration XIX-XX siècle*. Paris : Seuil.

Poinsot, Marie. 2014. « Benjamin Stora », *Hommes et migrations* [online]. 1307, published online 16 January 2015. URL : <http://hommesmigrations.revues.org/2918s>

Poli, Alexandra, Joanna Louvrier and Michel Wieviorka. 2007. 'Introduction', *Hommes et Migrations* hors-série, La Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration. Quels publics ? 10-25.

Querrien, Anne. 2000. 'Y a-t-il une « pensée française » de la ville ? In *La Ville et l'urbain, l'état des savoirs*, edited by Thierry Paquot, Muchel Lussault and Sophie Body-Gendrot, 359-368. Paris : Éditions la Découverte & Syros.

Rahal, Sophie. 2016. 'La renaissance du musée de l'histoire de l'immigration, sous le signe de l'apaisement', *Télérama*, 03/02/2016, available at : <http://www.telerama.fr/scenes/la-renaissance-du-musee-de-l-histoire-de-l-immigration-sous-le-signe-de-l-apaisement,137819.php> [accessed 19/07/2017].

Robins, Kevin. 2001. 'Becoming Anybody: Thinking against the Nation and through the City', *City* 5 (1). 77–90.

Schnapper, Dominique. 2007. *Qu'est-ce que l'intégration?* Paris: Folio.

Service de l'Observatoire départemental (SOD) de la Direction de la stratégie, de l'organisation et de l'évaluation (DSOE). 2016. *Decryptage(s). La Population étrangère par nationalités en Seine-Saint-Deins*. Etat des lieux en 2011 et évolution 2006-2011. April, No.2.

Stevens, Mary. 2012. 'Still the Family Secret? The Representation of Colonialism in the *Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration*.' In *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*, edited by Dominic Thomas, 115–125. Abingdon, NY: Routledge.

Tchen, John Kuo Wei. 1992. 'Creating a Dialogic Museum'. In *Museums and Communities: the Politics of Public Culture*, edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D. Lavine, 285–326. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Thomas, Dominic, ed., 2012. *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*. Abingdon, NY: Routledge.

Thomas, Dominic. 2012. 'Object/Subject Migration: The National Centre of the History of Immigration'. In *Museums in Postcolonial Europe*, edited by Dominic Thomas, 126–138. Abingdon, NY: Routledge.

Tissot, Sylvie. 2005. 'Les sociologues et la banlieue : construction savante du problème des « quartiers sensibles »', *Genèses* 3 (60). 57-75.

Toubon, Jacques. 2004. *Rapport de la mission de préfiguration du Centre de ressources et de mémoire de l'immigration remis au Premier ministre en juin 2004*.

http://www.generiques.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/centre_ressources_immigration.pdf

Wieviorka, Michel, ed. 1997. *Une société fragmentée? Le multiculturalisme en débat*. Paris : Éditions de la Découverte.

Wimmer, Andreas and Nina Glick Schiller. 2008. 'Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology.' In *The Transnational Studies Reader. Intersections and Innovations*, edited by Sanjeev Khagram and Peggy Levitt, 104-117. Oxford; New York: Routledge.

¹ The Museum of the History of Immigration. In general, when referring to the pre-2013 institution, I will use the acronym CNHI. Post-2013 references will generally adopt the MHI acronym. All translations are the author's own unless otherwise stated.

² On the question of colonial memory and challenging 'reductively national account', see also Charles Forsdick (2010), p. 187.

³ The author visited the research site in July 2013 and January 2014.

⁴ Gastaut (2012, 334) further points out that between 2002 and 2012, five new restrictive laws on immigration were passed, under Sarkozy as Interior Minister and then as President. On the construction of immigration as a social and cultural problem, see also Alec Hargreaves (2015, 228-228) who discusses the ways in which the changes to nationality laws, increasingly restrictive laws on immigration, the various headscarf affairs and the 2004 and 2010 laws on the veil and burqa also illustrate how anxieties about immigrants and Muslims in particular have become a feature of the political and media landscape over the last thirty years or so.

⁵ Author translation of original French.

⁶ As article 1 of the French Constitution states : 'La France est une République indivisible ...'. Constitution du 4 octobre 1958 (JORF n° 0238 du 5 octobre 1958, page 9151), available online at http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/Droit-francais/Constitution/Constitution-du-4-octobre-1958#ancre2178_0_1_1 [accessed 16/12/2015].

⁷ From the start of the 1990s, an association calling for a museum of immigration, the *Association pour un musée de l'immigration* had been set up by historian Gérard Noiriel. (See El-Yazami and Schwatz 2001 for more details).

⁸ On the history of human zoos, see Nicolas Bancel, et al 2011. In their introduction to this volume, Bancel et al highlight the present-day echoes of colonial-age human zoos, citing the polemic which arose in France in 2011, when during the *Année des outre-mer*, an exhibition on 'les cultures ultramarines' from France's overseas territories was organised at the Jardin d'acclimatation – a site, which historically had been used to exhibit populations from France's overseas territories.

⁹ For further discussion on this, see Green (2007) and Murphy (2007).

¹⁰ See description of the project at <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/la-cite/le-projet-de-la-cite> [accessed 01/04/2014]. Author translation from French original.

¹¹ Indeed, according to Dominic Thomas, the activities and approach of the CNHI, which focuses 'less [on] conservation and display, than [on] narrating, documenting and recording a particular history' place it beyond the definition of a museum as set out by the International Council of Museums (2012, 128).

¹² The MHI does not explicitly define immigration in the presentation of its scientific and cultural project (see *Le projet scientifique et culturel de la Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration*, http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/ext_media_fichier_245_psc_cite.pdf). [accessed 18/07/2017] but as part of its pedagogical dimension, it does contain a number of definitions of key terms such as immigrant, refugee, foreigner, clandestine immigrant (*sans-papier*). Nancy Green shows that the definition of immigration was the subject of debate amongst the academic steering committee, with some arguing for a chronological approach to the definition, going right back to the Burgondes and Visigoth population movements. Some have argued that immigration started with the creation of the nation-state, i.e. from the

French Revolution onwards whilst other historians claim that immigration should be defined in terms of the subjective ‘experience of migration’. Finally the decision was taken to focus on immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (Green, 2007, 248-9). Forsdick (2010) and Dixon (2012) also highlight an apparent lack of extensive problematisation of the term immigration, with Forsdick arguing that there is a ‘conflation of different modes of migration, in which there is a risk that the socio-historical specificities of colonial and postcolonial diasporisation are ground down’ (Forsdick 2010, 178) and Dixon claiming that the permanent exhibition leads visitors to believe that ‘the only “authentic” migration experience worthy of note at CNHI involved international movement across cultures and borders’, hence excluding internal migration and migration from France’s overseas departments and territories. (Dixon 2012, 80-81).

¹³ After a period of visitor number growth in 2013 and 2014, aided by the presidential inauguration of the MHI by François Hollande in December 2014 in addition to the 2013 publicity campaign, the MHI 2015 annual report refers again to overall decreasing numbers due, in part, to the wave of terror attacks affecting the capital, especially cancelled school group visits which have principally affected the Aquarium, whereas the Museum continues to see growth. (EPPPD 2014, EPPPD 2015).

¹⁴ Décret no 2006-1388 du 16 novembre 2006 portant création de l’Etablissement public de la porte Dorée - Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, available at http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/sites/default/files/musee-numerique/documents/ext_media_fichier_295_joe_20061117_0266_0025.pdf [accessed 01/04/2014]. Author translation of French original.

¹⁵ See http://www.rahmi.fr/prog/ch_memoire_immigration.php?destina=memoire-immigration [accessed 27/08/2014].

¹⁶ INSEE is the National Institute for Statistics and Economic Studies. See <http://www.insee.fr/fr/ppp/bases-de-donnees/recensement/populations-legales/pages2013/pdf/dep93.pdf> [accessed 2/4/2014]. According to the *l’Observatoire départemental (SOD) de la Direction de la stratégie, de l’organisation et de l’évaluation (DSOE)*, Seine-Saint-Denis had the highest numbers of non-French residents in Ile-de-France in 2011, making up 21% of its population or ca. 300, 000 individuals (mainly from Africa and Asia). See [http://data.seine-saint-denis.fr/politiques/La%20Seine-Saint-Denis/Population%20et%20territoire/Documents/Decryptage\(s\)%20%20-%20La%20population%20etrangere%20par%20nationalites%20en%20Seine-Saint-Denis%20-%20Etat%20des%20lieux%20en%202011%20et%20evolution%202006-2011%20-%202016.pdf](http://data.seine-saint-denis.fr/politiques/La%20Seine-Saint-Denis/Population%20et%20territoire/Documents/Decryptage(s)%20%20-%20La%20population%20etrangere%20par%20nationalites%20en%20Seine-Saint-Denis%20-%20Etat%20des%20lieux%20en%202011%20et%20evolution%202006-2011%20-%202016.pdf); [accessed 17/07/2017].

¹⁷ Often referred to as France’s ninth art, bande dessinée is a French language comic-strip.

¹⁸ A creation by choreographer Sidi Larbi Cherkaoui and photographer/film-maker Gilles Delmas. For more details, see <http://artsvisuels.seine-saint-denis.fr/La-Zon-Mai-13-septembre-28-octobre.html> [accessed 29/08/2014].

¹⁹ Presentation of *La Galerie des dons*, available online at <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/musee/la-galerie-des-dons> [accessed 21/08/2014]. Author translation of French original.

²⁰ Author translation of French original.

²¹ Mazabrun cites Fabrice Grognet, “Quand ‘l’étranger’ devient patrimoine français”, in *Hommes & Migrations*, n° 1267, mai-juin 2007. Author translation from the French original.

²² Presentation of *La Galerie des dons*, available online at : <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr/musee/la-galerie-des-dons> [accessed 21/08/2014]. Author translation from French original. The overarching nation frame which is evident within the name and practices of MHI is replicated in other European contexts, as highlighted by Grosfoguel, Le Bot and Poli (2011) who argue that unlike in the US, European museums in countries such as Denmark, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands or the United Kingdom have been reluctant to tackle the issue of immigration head-on, preferring often to approach it in a piecemeal manner in museum structures which receive community or private funding rather than state-funding. In this sense, the MHI is a unique institution in Europe in that it is a national state-funded museum.

²³ Author translations of exhibition rubrics from French original.

8253 WORDS.