

**When history and museum collaborate:
The mobilization of students' historical consciousness
through a virtual museum program**

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Abstract

This thesis examined the pedagogical value of a museum-based program designed to mobilize the historical consciousness of students enrolled in an Indigenous history course at university. A key concept in history education research, historical consciousness is understood as the ability of individuals to use the past to orient themselves in time, and it can be developed in the context of formal education (Rüsen, 2004). More specifically, the study was guided by Grever and Adriaansen's (2019) proposal for the operationalization of the “effected” historical consciousness (Gadamer, 1963) in education. According to these researchers, the “effected” dimension of historical consciousness requires, among other things, the development of two competencies: reflection on the nature of disciplinary knowledge and the adoption of diverse perspectives in examining the past. This conception of historical consciousness was used because it refrains from imposing Western disciplinary conventions on the historical study of non-Western societies (such as Indigenous ones).

The museum's pedagogical approach was favoured to stimulate the two skills of "efficiency" historical awareness in students. Certain features of museum education, relating to heritage, materiality and sociability (Smith, 2006; Dufresne-Tassé, 1996; Jacobi, 2012), suggested that it was a fertile experimentation ground for the mobilization of students' historical consciousness. The research was articulated around two phases: 1) the collaborative design of a virtual and critical museum program in an equal partnership between the parties; 2) its implementation in the university classroom. Given the coronavirus pandemic at the time of the research, the field research was carried out exclusively remotely, using the Zoom platform. The

research involved a group of 10 undergraduate students enrolled in a history course at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), in the presence of their lecturer and teaching assistant, as well as the McCord Stewart Museum's education department. Students were invited to discover the permanent exhibition "Wearing One's Identity. The First Peoples Collection" while the McCord Stewart Museum's process of indigenization was highlighted.

The analysis was guided by Grever and Adriaansen's (2019) proposal on the operationalization of "effected" historical consciousness to better match Indigenous perspectives and methodologies in history and education. This research represents an important contribution to higher history education, particularly through its combination with museum education and the decolonization of historical knowledge and practice in the 21st century. Participation in the museum program brought out multidimensional learning (knowledge, know-how and interpersonal skills) in both students and institutional collaborators.

Résumé

La thèse a examiné la valeur pédagogique d'un programme muséal visant à mobiliser la conscience historique d'étudiant.e.s inscrit.e.s dans un cours en histoire des Autochtones à l'université. Concept-clé dans la recherche menée en enseignement de l'histoire, la conscience historique est comprise comme la faculté des individus à recourir au passé pour s'orienter dans le présent et le futur et peut être développée dans le contexte de l'enseignement formel (Rüsen, 2004). Plus spécifiquement, l'étude a été guidée par la proposition de Grever et Adriaansen (2019) portant sur l'opérationnalisation de la conscience historique « de l'effcience » (Gadamer, 1963) en éducation. Selon ces chercheurs, une compréhension « de l'effcience » de l'histoire nécessite notamment de développer deux compétences chez les étudiant.e.s : la réflexion sur la nature des savoirs disciplinaires et l'adoption de diverses perspectives dans l'examen du passé. Cette proposition a été retenue parce qu'elle s'abstient d'imposer les conventions occidentales disciplinaires dans l'étude historique des sociétés non-occidentales (comme celles autochtones).

L'approche pédagogique du musée a été privilégiée pour stimuler les deux compétences de la conscience historique de « l'effcience » chez les étudiants. Certaines caractéristiques relatives au patrimoine, à la matérialité des objets et à la sociabilité au musée (Smith, 2006, Dufresne-Tassé, 1996); Jacobi, 2012), suggéraient, en effet, qu'il s'agissait d'un terrain d'expérimentation fertile. L'étude de cas qualitative et instrumentale a été articulée en deux phases : 1) la conception d'un programme muséal en trois moments (Allard et Boucher, 1985) dans le cadre d'un partenariat interinstitutionnel; 2) la mise en œuvre du programme muséal dans la salle de classe universitaire. Cette recherche a impliqué un groupe de 10 étudiant.e.s de premier cycle

inscrit.e.s dans un cours d'histoire à l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), en présence de leur chargée de cours et de leur assistant d'enseignement, ainsi que des professionnels en éducation du Musée McCord Stewart.

Compte tenu de la pandémie de coronavirus qui sévissait au moment de l'étude, la recherche sur le terrain s'est déroulée exclusivement à distance par l'intermédiaire de la plateforme Zoom. Les étudiant.e.s ont été invité.e.s à explorer l'exposition permanente « Porter son identité. La collection des Premiers Peuples » par le biais d'une vidéo préenregistrée et d'un commentaire d'une muséologue en direct. Les perspectives autochtones et le processus d'autochtonisation du Musée McCord Stewart ont orienté les activités collaboratives offertes aux étudiant.e.s.

Cette étude constitue une contribution importante en enseignement supérieur de l'histoire, ce pan de la recherche en didactique demeurant quasi inexistant. La recherche fournit des pistes intéressantes quant à l'utilisation du musée en enseignement supérieur, l'élaboration de programmes éducatifs destinés aux clientèles universitaires, la décolonisation de l'enseignement de l'histoire et l'enseignement à distance. La participation au programme muséal a fait ressortir des apprentissages multidimensionnels (savoirs, savoir-faire et savoir-être) tant pour les étudiant.e.s que les collaborateurs du musée et de l'université.

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The completion of a doctoral thesis is the fruit of countless hours of questioning, reading and discovering, annotating and writing, meeting and bonding, creating and marvelling... and no doubt also, a little, if not a lot, of mental torment and wondering if I will ever manage “to submit”. The pandemic that swept away the initial research plans and the mad rush of the last few miles are conducive to these moments of doubt. In the end, I got there because I am well supported, academically, financially, professionally and personally, which leads me to write this page with a lighter pen, driven by a deep sense of gratitude.

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Finally, I want to thank the Indigenous communities and nations in Canada for forcing us, the non-Indigenous, to revisit our ways of thinking and doing right now. It is transformative to my own relationships to Earth and place as a (spiritual) human being in the whole universe.

Preface

I am the sole author of this dissertation: I was the only researcher and wrote the totality of the following chapters. Along the course of my doctoral studies, my supervisor and committee members provided guidance in the form of regular constructive feedback. This dissertation is an original intellectual contribution, except for some of the McCord Stewart Museums' productions and the theoretical and analytic frameworks I employed to make sense of students' learning. Specifically, they refer to:

- the canvas and discourses of the script proposed for the McCord Stewart Museum visit offered remotely to the public, for which the collaborators and I made some amendments.
- the pre-recorded video of their exhibition *Wearing Our Identity. The First Peoples' Collection*.
- the model I developed and used to guide me into the elaboration of the virtual museum program analysis of students' mobilization of the "effected" historical consciousness. I transposed into a chart and the museum setting a number of ideas first advanced by Grever and Adriaansen (2019) about the application of the historically effected consciousness in the history classroom. You may find these questions in: Grever, M., & Adriaansen, R.-J. (2019) Historical consciousness: the enigma of different paradigms, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 51:6, 814-830, DOI: 10.1080/00220272.2019.1652937
- The museum script and video are the property of the McCord Stewart Museum.

Dedication

Given my interest in historical consciousness, I dedicate this thesis to all people that search for a sense of who they are, how they experience time and space, and hope, in the process, to create and make something special that contributes to an understanding of this complex but also very magical world.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Résumé.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Preface	x
Dedication.....	xi
Table of Contents.....	xii
List of Figures.....	xv
List of Tables	xvi
Chapter One: Introduction	17
Part One: Theoretical Justification.....	29
Chapter Two: Historians and their teaching at university.....	29
Chapter Three: Potential contribution of the history education branch to historical training at university	40
Chapter Four: The Museum as this Ideal Place for the Mobilization of History Students' Historically Effectuated Consciousness	63
4.1 Building Historical Meaning in the Museum.....	63
4.2 Enhancement of Multiperspectivity	73
4.3 Stimulation of Metareflection	78
Chapter Five: Decolonizing History in Education and Museums.....	81
5.1 Questioning the Colonialist Past in History Education.....	81
5.2 Decolonization of Museum Collections and Practices.....	88
Chapter Six: An Urgent Need for this History Education Research.....	93
6.1 The Coronavirus Pandemic, Remote Learning and Virtual Museums Visits	100
Chapter Seven: Framing the Research Questions	105
Part 2: Methodological Justification	106
Chapter Eight: Research Philosophies	108
8.1 The interpretivist stance	108
8.2 Meaning-making as a socio-constructivist process.....	111
8.3 Critical research and pedagogy	112
8.4 Indigenous Methodologies and Perspectives on Knowledge.....	112
8.5 My Axiological Position on History, Museum and University.....	114
Chapter Nine: Methodology	117
9.1 An Exploratory Instrumental Case Study	117
9.2 The Design and Implementation of the Museum Program	118

9.3 Recruitment of Participants/Location of Research	124
9.4 Methods and Procedures	126
9.4.1 Phase 1: Elaboration of the Museum Program.....	129
9.4.2 Phase 2: Implementation of the Museum Program in the Online Classroom	134
9.5 Data Analysis	141
Chapter Ten: Ethical Considerations	143
10.1 Potential Harms and Risk.....	143
10.2 Informed Consent Process	145
10.3 Privacy and Confidentiality	146
Part Three: Research Findings	149
Chapter Eleven: The Research Participants	151
11.1 The Participant Students	151
11.2 The Museum and University Collaborators	153
Chapter Twelve: The Before-Visit Activities (HC0 and HC1).....	157
12.1 Multiperspectivity Through the Making of a Concept Map (HC0)	158
12.2 Metahistorical Reflection in Concept Mapping (HC0)	162
12.3 The Plenary on Students' Concept Maps	166
12.4 Activity "Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: A Call to Action" (HC1).....	168
12.4.1 Students' Proposals (Multiperspectivity and Metahistorical Reflection)	169
Chapter Thirteen: The Virtual Museum Visit (HC2).....	173
13.1 The Guide's Museum Visit.....	173
13.1.1 Discourses about Multiperspectivity.....	173
13.1.2 Metareflection on History in the Museum Visit's Discourses	190
13.2 Metareflection in the Activity "Being in the Museologists' Shoes"	196
Chapter Fourteen: The Post-Visit Appreciation Questionnaire (HC4)	202
14.1 The Annual Museum Attendance of the Student Participants	202
14.2 Students' Development of Multiperspectivity according to the Post-Visit Appreciation Questionnaire	204
14.3 Students' Metahistorical Reflection in the Post-Visit Questionnaires	210
Chapter Fifteen: Post-Visit Activity (HC5)	216
15.1 Multiperspectivity during the Post-Visit Activity.....	217
15.2 Metahistorical Reflection during the Post-Visit Activity.....	220
Chapter Sixteen: Students' Interviews (HC6).....	225
16.1 Multiperspectivity in Students' Interviews	227
16.2 Multiperspectivity as Open-Mindedness towards Other Viewpoints	236

16.3 Metahistorical Reflection during the Interviews.....	242
Chapter Seventeen: Students’ Appreciation of the Museum Program.....	256
Chapter Eighteen: Collaborators’ Participation and Appreciation.....	268
18.1 The Course Lecturer’s Participation	270
18.3 The Museum Project Manager’s Interview.....	279
18.4 The Manager of the Education and Cultural Action Department’s Interview	288
Chapter Nineteen: Discussion on Students’ Mobilization of the Historically Effected Consciousness ..	293
Chapter Twenty: Discussion on Museum-University Collaboration and Recommendations.....	304
Chapter Twenty-One: Conclusion	316
Reference List	327
APPENDIX A: Semi-Open Questionnaire of Students’ Sociocultural Data	350
APPENDIX B: Students’ Appreciation Questionnaire.....	351
APPENDIX C: Students’ Interview.....	352
APPENDIX D: Collaborators’ Interview	353
APPENDIX E: Example of a Recruitment Letter.....	354
APPENDIX F: Consent Forms (Students).....	358
APPENDIX G: Powerpoint Slides.....	346
APPENDIX H: Concept Map (Team 1)	348
APPENDIX I: Answer Sheets’ for the TRC Activity (Team 3)	349
APPENDIX J: Answer Sheet for “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes” (Team 1)	350
APPENDIX K: Answer Sheet for “What Lenses for Historians in the 21st Century” (Team 1)	351

List of Figures

Figure 1: Adapted figure of Moisan's Model of Historical Thinking with the Identification and Decentration Poles (2016).....	52
Figure 2: Falk and Dierking's Contextual Model of Learning in the Museum (2007).....	68
Figure 3: My proposed framework to museum program design based on the operationalization of the “effected” by Grever and Adriaansen (2019)	123
Figure 4: GREM model for planning and running educational programs in museum-school collaborations (Allard and Boucher, 1985)	128
Figure 5: Eagle-feather headdress of the Northern Plains, 1900-1930	179
Figure 6: Eagle-feather headdress of the Northern Plains, 1900-1930	180
Figure 7: A traditional mother's amauti, Nunavimiut and a recent model of a mother's amauti, Hauneqtormiut	182

List of Tables

Table 1: Dimensions of metahistorical reflection and multiperspectivity (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019)	59
Table 2: Phase 1: The design of the museum program in collaboration with the history course lecturer and the McCord Stewart Museum.....	131
Table 3: The museum program's activities and implementation in the university classroom and related pedagogical resources	132
Table 4: Topics of the virtual museum visit based on the McCord Stewart Museum's exhibition and adaptations by the research collaboration	133
Table 5: Phase 2: Implementation of the museum program and data collection	141
Table 6: Sociocultural data of the 10 participant students	153
Table 7: The museum and university collaborators who participated in the conception and implementation.....	155
Table 8: List of words identified by the teams in the concept maps for "Canada" and "Indigenous"	159
Table 9: List of words in the concept maps for "Museum" and "History".....	163
Table 10: Objects and visual elements of the exhibition according to their Indigenous communities and territories.....	176
Table 11: Annual museum attendance of the student participants	203
Table 12: Historical consciousness of the students' participants during the 15-minute videorecorded final interview (HC6).....	252
Table 13: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 1).....	301
Table 14: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 2).....	302
Table 15: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 3).....	303

Chapter One: Introduction

In this doctoral research, I have explored how students enrolled in a university-level history course make meaning of history in a museum setting that embraces a socio-constructivist, critical and Indigenous-oriented approach to historical interpretations, to better comprehend how the museum experience may or not augment students' historical consciousness. This idea to tie museums and academic history education together was rooted in a reflection that I initiated more than ten years ago and that was based on my past experiences as a college history teacher, a history graduate student, and a museum education professional.

But, even before that, I always had much curiosity and was often puzzled about our world, what it means to be human. I remember well reading the philosophical novel *Sophie's World* (1991). I was not much older than its main character: I was 17, and Sophie, 14. In this book, Jostein Gaarder writes: "What's the most important thing in life? Every human being needs food, of course. And also love and tenderness. But there's something else we all need: to know who we are and why we live" (p.8). Gaarder suggests that making sense of one's existence is a fundamental need for individuals. Implicitly, he also tells us that history is central to the endeavor of self-understanding: knowing who we are forces us to look back, to understand not only the past and present, but also to envision the future. It is thanks to the narratives about us and the world, played out between yesterday, today and tomorrow, that we can orient in time and formulate goals for ourselves. This is what philosophers of history have called "historical consciousness". We inherit a set of narratives to define and guide us, which we can choose to retain, transform, or reject to construct new ones. We are a product of what has been, we embody what is, and condition what

will be. Our *a priori* individual consciousness has a collective dimension. Historical consciousness is, too, a fact of society¹. When I think about this human condition, this quote from James Baldwin, the African American activist of the Black Movement, always comes to mind: “men are trapped in history, and history is trapped in men” (1955). This study attempts to show, by implication, how this may be so.

I teach college history and history didactics to future elementary and secondary school teachers, and I begin my teaching sessions with Baldwin’s quote. Educators have insisted, over the years, that it is necessary for students to know why our teaching material is relevant to them. The question of relevance became even more pronounced in the 21st century: what is the point of memorizing historical data (dates, events, people), when you have a smartphone at the tip of your fingers... as the eminent American history education researcher Sam Wineburg (2018) put it? So, within the first few minutes of my class, the students are faced with the question of the relationship between humankind and history. History entails a chronology of events from which we cannot escape, and the past determines a lot of our own history. Admittedly, the term “trapped” has a particularly negative connotation, so I put the author's writings into context—the anti-segregation struggles of the 1950s-1960s in the United States. What begins to emerge from my opening discussion is that people can have difficulty freeing themselves from traditions and what has gone before. The past can help us to build ourselves, but it can also limit our actions in the present. These barriers from the past sometimes need to be broken down. It is up to each and every one of us to take action; the future is no foregone conclusion. Whether we like it or not, we are all part of history, and will all leave a trace, of course, to varying degrees, but we will have existed, and

¹ Society perpetuates a memory and stories about the past through their institutions and decides on what should be kept for the future, giving direction to what’s coming next.

played a part in this great flow of humanity. The present moment, brief and volatile, is where everything is played out. Every day. Thus, before I even start to teach about the past, my first mandate is to ensure that my students understand that history, as a construction of situated narratives, has a lot to do with the construction of their own identity, the understanding of present-day societies, and that it provides them with intellectual weapons to break the chains that reproduce yesterday's inequalities in order to work towards a world that resembles their aspirations.

I find it essential to address the nature and functions of history from the outset for several reasons. Students must understand that the past is everything that ever happened in the world before the ever-moving present. It is unknowable and quite meaningless in its totality, and thus acquires meaning only through its embodiment in and through particular oral and written narratives that people have created (and may have disagreed on) about the past (Stearns, 2020). Understood in this way, history reflects different purposes for different people: of orientation in time, identity construction, social cohesion and civic participation, etc. (Stearns, 2020). Given that the study of history often resonates with the present and current issues, students must acknowledge that our recourse to history is not without consequences for our intercultural relations and democratic health (McAndrew, 2013). The situation in the Quebec province is quite particular in North America in that most members of the various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups, whether they identify primarily as a Francophone, Anglophone, Indigenous, Italian, Arab, Muslim, Jew, or any other, perceive themselves as a minority (within Québec or Canada), and this creates multiple tensions on a daily basis, particularly at the political, educational and linguistic levels. So, college students need to understand that history is more than important “stuff” that occurred in the past; and, as significantly, history is not *only* about the past, either. It leads to various questions such as:

“What is history for? How do historians work? How should we talk about the past? Why are stories about history so controversial? What impact do these narratives have in maintaining divisions?”

As a French-speaking Euro-descendant, these questions found even greater relevance to me when I decided to study at an English-speaking, highly multi-ethnic university, such as McGill. I have been made more aware, through my intercultural contacts, that our identities and comprehension of the past impact our understanding of our society. Those influences are a point of origin for my doctoral research. Addressing the nature and functions of history also seemed paramount when I relate back to my undergraduate and graduate training in history. My academic studies in the field introduced me early on to historical knowledge and scientific method but neglected (for the most part) these questions about the uses of history in society. In historical research, the questions brought, method pursued, evidence used and world representations of either the historian or the student of history are firmly rooted in the present (Berger, 2019). Students must be aware of the danger of abusing history, referring to the misuses of the past to support causes (McMillian, 2009). Nationalistic, religious or ethnic leaders who use history to instill a sense of grievance and revenge can cause irremediable damages in our society, particularly if citizens are not equipped to critically evaluate and resist such ideologically driven misrepresentations. On the other side, history can offer examples to inform our decisions in the present and about the consequences of our actions (Barton & Levstik, 2004). Thus, the study of history at university can level up or hinder social justice, and it appears that undergraduate students of history should reflect about it. There was, additionally, an obvious need to investigate, from a pedagogical perspective, the training of future professionals of history in higher education, as research into history teaching and learning has also been largely confined to the lower levels, elementary and high-school

students (Létourneau & Moisan, 2004; Duquette 2010 Seixas, 2004; Éthier & Lefrançois, 2010; Yelle & Déry, 2017; Lee & Ashby, 2000; Shemilt, 1983, Wineburg, 1991; 2018; van Boxtel, 2019). The few studies on history pedagogy in higher education have suggested that historical training is still grounded in a more traditional approach to research and learning (Booth, 2013; Hammerlund, 2015).

The strategy I have chosen for my study is that of education through the museum. There are a few reasons for this, the first of which is my familiarity with this environment, having worked as a museum education professional for many years. From that perspective, I noted three distinctive qualities that could stimulate learning about history (the past, the method, current society): the exhibition as a communication medium that recreates a bygone time and space using multiple objects (Pomian, 1987; Preciozi, 2011), authentic and often aesthetically appealing (Pearce, 1994; Hein, 1998; White, 2013; Chatterjee, Hannan & Thomson, 2016); the museum as a bridge between the world of science, academia, and society (Émond, 2012; Burgess, 2003; Bergeron & Hoffmann, 2015; Dewey, 1916); and the museum visit as a pedagogical approach that is both social and pleasant (Meunier, 2018a; 2018b; Taylor, 2006), allowing participants to develop relationships between peers and history professionals. Again, the idea to bring the museum into higher education history pedagogy was original. There is fairly extensive literature on community groups, adult education, some of which involving university groups' visiting museums, notably from the fields of art and cultural education (Boddington, Boys & Speight, 2013; White, 1998, 2013; Bresler, 2013; Émond, 2012). But in terms of history education, there is scant literature. Most studies about history or heritage education have focused on younger students (Baron, 2012; Wallace-Casey, 2015, Gosselin, 2011; Cardin, Éthier & Meunier, 2010; Grever, van

Boxtel & Klein, 2017). Museum researchers and practitioners have been, as well, theoretically and practically more interested in school groups or other kinds of visitors, such as adults and families (Dufresne-Tassé, 1996; Falk & Dierking, 2007).

I have outlined the origins of this doctoral research project to develop ethical competencies in students using the museum visit as its main pedagogical tool. Throughout my doctoral course load and initial reading, it became clearer to me that I wanted to propose a museum visit that would invite students to question their own past, and also that of others. I was influenced by critical and antiracist literature as well as Indigenous methodologies (Kovach, 2005; 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008) and perspectives. Given Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's report (2015) that was gaining attention and the increasing Indigenous resistance movement (Palmater, 2020; Tuck & Yang, 2012; Vowell, 2016; McFarlane & Schabus, 2017; Sioui, G. D., 2018; Monkman & Gordon, 2017), it was timely to turn to the teaching of Canadian history and the topic of Indigenous issues². At the same time, regarding museums, there were intensifying calls for the restitution of objects, stolen during colonial occupation, throughout the Western world. This wind of "decolonization" was spreading everywhere (Desmarais, 2019; Boucher, 2019; Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018). This political context was also forcing historians in the public and academic spheres to debate more actively their epistemological and methodological positions, leading them to better define their role and to recognize, more and more, the ethical-political dimension inherent in the

²I use the term "Indigenous" in accordance with section 35 of the Canadian Constitution Act, 1982, which recognizes First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples as Indigenous. The McCord Stewart Museum and I employ the term "First Peoples" as a synonym. While the term "Indian" is still in force through the Indian Act enacted in 1876, I will not use the racist term in this dissertation except with regard to this federal law. Noting that "First Nations" has been widely used in Canada since 1980 as a synonym for "Amerindians", I will not be using the latter. Throughout this dissertation, I will therefore favour the use of "First Nations", while endeavouring to designate the specific nations where appropriate (e.g., Wendat instead of Hurons-Wendat).

practice of history (Berger, 2019; Clark, 2011). Thus, there seemed to be an agreement between my doctoral objectives and what was going on in society at large. These sensitive questions about the Indigenous' past, decolonization, and museum curation looked to be of importance for prospective history professionals.

Therefore, this doctoral study closely examined the potential of the museum for the development of historical competencies among university students enrolled in an undergraduate history course. Historical competencies have been comprised, notably, within the umbrella concept of "historical consciousness" (Baildon & Afandi, 2018; Grever & Clark, 2017), that we previously defined as people's faculty to comprehend the past and orient in time, and that is widely known in the field of history education (Rüsen, 2004). As the intellectual faculties of historical consciousness are linked to citizenship (Friedrich, 2014), without being intrinsically critical, my goal was to enhance students' historical consciousness in a way that would align with a conception of history that is "situated" (in time and space) and moving toward a desire for social justice.

Following the quite recent proposal of Dutch historians Maria Grever and Robbert-Jan Andriaanseen (2019), who borrow from the hermeneutic philosophy of Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002) for the operationalization of historical consciousness in history education, I have adopted the concept of historically effected consciousness as a conceptual framework.³ More specifically, the historically effected consciousness focuses on the development of two sets of intellectual operations, which I understand as competencies that students must mobilize and work

³ In education, the concept of historical consciousness has been transposed from hermeneutic philosophy. However, it has never truly been associated with the "effected" condition, which brings forth the "situated" dimension of this faculty of orientation in time.

on in history courses. The first one is often called “multiperspectivity” and refers to the analytical capacity of examining diverse perspectives in the study of the past. The entry points for this competency are numerous in the history classroom: they may occur within the social stratification of a society or between two cultures from the past; through historiographical debates about the impact of an event; in our present society about an event in the past. The second one concerns the pursuit of metahistorical skills: students must, too, engage in epistemological and methodological reflections about the historical discipline (in order to express a critical form of historical consciousness). These competencies appear central to the study of any past, but they appear even more fundamental in the investigation of the Indigenous past. There are two reasons for that: 1) the narratives of the First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples in Canada, and on the past itself, differ from those that we find in the Western dominant cultures (Battiste, 2013). These disparate narratives about the past do not follow the same rules; accordingly, the ability to identify and evaluate the significance of differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous historical narratives demand more attention from educators (Marker, 2011). According to a growing community of education researchers, the study of history must not impose the Western worldviews and interests onto the people of another time and place (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019; Rowinski & Sears, 2019). Thus, the tracing of this “effected” dimension through multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection in the museum and classroom settings have been at the crux of my doctoral endeavor. The intention was to observe how the two identified competencies manifested and to determine what students learned from their participation in the implemented museum program. I wanted to assess if their historical consciousness would appear more critical by the end of this pedagogical experience.

Ultimately, my doctoral study was aimed at determining the educational value of a history museum in mobilizing and developing students' historically effected consciousness. The dissertation describes the museum visit and other related activities for a group of students enrolled in a history class at university. These activities attempted to elicit multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection in the chosen exhibition setting, to help students better perceive the Indigenous' past and contemporary perspectives in Canada. However, a twist developed in my initial doctoral project that should have, unfolded in a physical classroom and on-site at the museum –the coronavirus pandemic. Thus, I adapted my research to fit digital university course sessions and a virtual tour of the museum exhibition. A museum program informed by socio-constructivist and sociocultural theories in history and museum education, Indigenous methodologies, and to a lesser extent, on virtual museum pedagogy, have been developed and tested. It was part of an equal partnership between a museum, a history course lecturer and me, the researcher. The conduct of the research has unfolded in two phases: 1) the design of a virtual museum program, the parameters of which would target the two “effected” dimensions; 2) implementation of the virtual museum program in the context of an undergraduate history course online. Articulated as a qualitative instrumental case study, a Université du Québec à Montréal's history course lecturer and her group of undergraduate students participated in a museum program offered by the McCord Stewart Museum during the 2021 winter semester. Out of the 75 students who were enrolled in the class, ten students accepted to get involved in my research.

Drawing on the McCord Stewart Museum permanent exhibition *Wearing our Identity. The first peoples' collection*, the museum program aimed at raising awareness about the social history

of Indigenous nations and the contemporary issues deriving from Canada's colonial past. Showcasing a non-Western form of relating to the past and other worldviews, this exhibition had, according to the collaborators and me, the potential to highlight students' historically effected consciousness. This exhibition was closely tied to the objectives of the UQAM's course "Histoire des autochtones au Canada" (Indigenous History in Canada), offered in French. The museum was also invested in a process of "indigenization", although my principal collaborators were not Indigenous⁴. As a consequence, my doctoral study has implemented Indigenous methodologies, procedures and protocols, as best it could. The decisions made by the partnership were, too, influenced, on our Settlers' identities and knowledge, the realities of the fields (i.e., the museum and university course), and the participants' schedules and deadlines. Ultimately, it was not possible to break entirely free from the requirements and standards of the Western educational and cultural institutions that my collaborators and I represented. As a French-Canadian settler scholar and someone who has benefitted from Indigenous lands and Canada's unjust political and educational systems, I must admit that the conduct of this study has set forth the complex and continuous negotiation required to tackle Indigenous perspectives within settlers' ways of doing and assessing.

The first part of this dissertation presents my theoretical orientations. Chapter two, "Historians and their teaching at university", clarifies the reasons lying behind the apparent lack of interest among historians for their teaching and history education research and why it must change. Chapter three, "Potential contribution of the history education branch to historical training at university", highlights the alignment between the objectives of historical training at the

⁴The Wendat curator accepted to review the produced documents of the collaboration.

undergraduate level with the pedagogical precepts advanced in history education research. The prime concepts of history education, that is, historical thinking and historical consciousness, are presented. This chapter also provides a more thorough clarification and justification for the historically effected consciousness. Chapter four underlines the museum's potentialities to develop the two identified dimensions pertaining to the "effected", that is, multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection⁵. Chapter five clarifies Indigenous perspectives in history, education and museums. Chapter six brings new elements about the contributions and importance of this doctoral research. The impact of COVID-19 pandemic on the case study is underlined. Chapter seven returns to the main research questions in order to elicit how they guided and shaped the methodological design and execution of my study.

In Part two, I focus on the methodological justification. My researcher's philosophical assumptions, methodology and specific methods are presented in Chapter eight. Chapter nine explains how this project has been collaboratively elaborated on and implemented in the McCord Stewart Museum program for the UQAM history professor and her group of students remotely. In chapter ten, I reveal how I intended to qualitatively assess students' historically effected consciousness based on a model I have produced. Chapter eleven examines several ethical considerations.

Part three of this dissertation exposes the results of this research. Chapters twelve to eighteen detail how the students developed their historically effected consciousness during the whole

⁵Although this research is careful about representation, through an historicized conceptualization of historical consciousness, the literature overview mostly draws on research produced in North America, Europe and Australia. The main reason is that the study, set on the Canadian soil, aims at responding to the standards established for Western universities.

museum program and later, a month after the end, in their interviews. Chapters nineteen and twenty provide the main results about students' learning and recommendations for future museum-university collaboration. The conclusion in chapter twenty-one summarizes the plausible contributions of this doctoral research for history education, museum studies and the wider Canadian communities.

Part One: Theoretical Justification

Chapter Two: Historians and their teaching at university

I begin this first theoretical chapter by emphasizing the importance of this doctoral study, which fills a neglected gap in history education. In fact, very few Canadian and international studies have focused on higher education in this discipline. I would add, building on the argument proposed by Penney Clark, Stéphane Lévesque and Ruth Sandwell (2015), that this dearth is attributable in particular to two “chasms”: on the one hand, historians are often more concerned with scholarship and advancing the field of history than with reflecting on their university teaching; on the other, historians rarely possess research expertise in the field of education, unlike educational researchers. In this respect, although both can help each other, collaborations between historians and history education researchers have remained rather limited in recent decades.

2.1 Little interest in reflecting on the didactic parameters of university teaching and learning

Regarding the first “chasm”, historians tend to understand their professional work in history as primarily related to their writing rather than their teaching, especially at the undergraduate level. Generally speaking, this teaching receives less devolved attention than scientific research (Clark, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2015, p. 193; Sandwell, 2014). Their professional work is primarily concerned with advancing the field of historical knowledge and skills. As Sandwell discussed in another article called “On historians and their audiences: an argument for teaching (and not just writing) history” (2014), historians focus on contributing to a historiographical corpus, sharing their expertise with their peers and asserting their reputation

through lectures at conferences organized by experts, or publications in specialized books and scientific journals (p. 77). Teaching in university classrooms does not engage historians intellectually in the same depth and rigor as this professional work. In this context, teaching can boil down to an explanation of past events through other writings (secondary sources) produced by various Canadian or international historians. Professors who teach at university do not always have the opportunity to discuss the research they themselves carry out and historical topics in which they specialize (p. 78). As Sandwell (2014) has argued, this can sometimes create disappointment and frustration among historians who teach introductory courses to undergraduate students, often enrolled in various programs of study that extend beyond history (p. 78). The relative superficiality of the undergraduate context may thus create a certain disengagement on the part of the historians responsible for teaching courses open to large audiences. Incidentally, these circumstances may affect the historians' motivation to take an interest in history education research (p. 78). That said, this is not the only potential reason for the historical experts' low interest in teaching and learning research.

2.2 The specialization of historical research

Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell have revealed that history teachers' lack of involvement in educational issues is also reinforced by a conception of their historical profession that seems to have become more academic over the last three decades at least (p. 197). Historians have tended to gradually withdraw from the media and, as a consequence, be less involved in educational issues within the state system. The explanation for this partial desertion seems to lie in the historians' fear of instrumentalizing history and, worse still, abusing it, or being accused of doing so (p. 195).

Historians have distanced themselves from a popularized (more simplistic) dissemination of history for this main reason. This historiographical moment in the Western world is well described in *The Engaged Historian: Perspectives on the Intersections of Politics, Activism and the Historical Profession* (2019), edited by English historian Stephan Berger. On the Canadian scene, the retreat of historians to their academic work occurred progressively at the end of the 20th century. As discussed by Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015), before the last decade, from the 1960s to the 1980s, it was not uncommon for historians to participate in political and historical issues in the public sphere (p. 198). This political engagement concerned, notably, the promotion of Canadian studies and national history. This affirmed position to canadianize history involved both the recognition of Canadian and Québécois historical subjects, inside and outside academia, and the hiring of more and more specialists of Canadian origin in history departments at university (instead of British experts, for example) (p. 196-197).

Parallel to this desire to see a history by and for Canadians flourish, Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015) have revealed that historians gave more attention to societal inequalities in society and within their historical accounts of the past. At that time, national history had become plural, more complex and inclusive of many perspectives. The historical discipline was, more and more, emphasizing a social history “from the bottom up” (p. 198). In *Logics of history: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (2005), historian William H. Sewell has reported that this change in the field coincided with the great social protest movements (feminist, trade union, Black, student, hippie, anti-war, etc.) of the 1960s-1970s in North America and the West. The significant evacuation of the hierarchy of legitimacy offered to the great events and political figures of history has had the effect of valuing other histories, those of ordinary and marginalized people. Similar

transformation occurred in historical research in Quebec, taking a 180-degree turn in the 1970's. Historian Pierre Savard (1974) has explained that, while the singularity of the French-Canadian historical experience had once been at the heart of the historical interpretations, the historical work of that era rather showed an opposite tendency that inscribed the evolution of the Quebec province in the groove of other societies by highlighting their shared realities. In keeping with the pluralism of Quebec society at the time, historiography was accompanied by a plethora of ideological points of view: neo-nationalist or anti-nationalist, Marxist or liberal, feminist or not, modernist or traditionalist, etc. Social history became, however, a field of study in its own right, blazing new trails, introducing new fields of research in Quebec's universities (women's history, workers' history, urban history, rural history, etc.) (p. 94-96). In the rest of Canada, the 1970s saw, too, the deployment of new categories of research questions to unearth the blind spots of the past (Clark, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2015). More attentive to individuals for whom orality and artistic expression were the preferred (and sometimes only) means of transmitting their past, historians commonly admitted diversified sources, such as testimonies, myths and stories, artistic and cultural objects linked to the work and daily life of these individuals. This is not unique to Canada: these sources, less valued by historiography in the past, gained the status of substantial evidence about these otherwise inaccessible pasts (Donnelly & Norton, 2020, p. 63-64).

In tune with these national and social concerns, academic historians were keen to occupy a certain place in the public sphere, to have a voice. Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015) have reported that “historians advised the government on policy, gave their informed opinion in the press and public forums, wrote history textbooks and spoke out in various ways on issues relating to the teaching of history in schools” (p. 198). Historians also spoke out on the burning issues of

society: Canadian multiculturalism, Quebec nationalism, the labour movement, feminist struggles and Indigenous politics (p. 198).

2.3 The withdrawal of historians from the public sphere

An explanation brought by Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015), it was ultimately with the retirement of this large number of historians especially interested in national issues at the dawn of the 1990s that, in parallel, the retreat of many historians from the public sphere began to be felt. The new generation of historians proved to be more “skeptical of nationalist narratives” (Clark, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2015, p. 197). In the West, the realization of the impact of nationalism on the great conflicts of the 20th century and the many waves of migration (Eastern, African, South American, European) have had the effect of considerably reducing intellectuals’ adherence to the political ideal of the nation-state (Iggers, Wang & Mukerjee, 2017). From an intellectual point of view, the emergence of critical and postcolonial theories fuelled reticence towards this model of society in the 1980’s. This retreat finally aligned itself simultaneously with universities that wished to open up their perspectives on historical themes and train global citizens (Clark, Lévesque, Sandwell, 2014, p. 197).

In line with the growing suspicion of nationalist narratives outline above, Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015) have underlined that historians have become increasingly wary of grand historical syntheses of all kinds. The major concern is that such narratives homogenize disparate and competing perspectives, thereby smoothing and oversimplifying the rough edges of the concept of “change” in history. By contrast, historians increasingly insists that historical

developments are best understood as “multiple, uneven, contested, ambiguous, non-linear and profoundly complex” (Clark, Lévesque, Sandwell, 2015, p. 199). Increasingly, historians have taken a dim view of attempts to interpret the past that focus on long trends and the dominant perspective (when this is the only one taken into account). The validity of interpretations of the past now depends on the objectives pursued, the questions formulated, and the methodologies advocated by researchers (Iggers, 2013, p. 18). There is not just one truth, but many truths about the past. And these truths, depending on the context in which they are established, can be explored further, or even partially or totally challenged (Jenkins, 2003).

These epistemological transformations of the discipline have led to a splintering of research themes and an even greater specialization of experts at the end of the last century (Clark, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2014, p. 197). Generalizing explanations of the past - those often offered in the public arena - have become less and less attractive and tied to the skills of the specialist historian. What's more, the fear of treading on slippery ground – history having become more open to negotiation and reinterpretation – convinced historians to distance themselves (Stephan Berger, 2019; Sandwell, 2014, p. 80). As Sandwell (2014) has argued, historical researchers began to dialogue primarily among experts and abandoned the idea of addressing a less knowledgeable audience, or even the general public. This lack of interest in taking a stand in the public arena has been reinforced, moreover, by the growing importance attached to scientific publication, supported by the financial pressures and outreach functions of universities (Sandwell, 2014, p. 198). This does not mean, however, that historians were all in agreement with the transformations of the discipline and this cleavage with public history. Sandwell (2014) has mentioned that this dissociation between the academic historian and the public was seen by English-speaking historians, more

conservative in their historical approaches, as an important cause of Canada's political fragmentation. For example, Michael Bliss (1991) criticized historians for excluding broader national, political and economic issues oriented towards the common interest. Then, in the scathing *Who Killed Canadian History?* (1998), J. L. Granatstein accused historians who were similarly adept at social history of “trivializing” history by examining subjects of secondary importance that fit poorly into a unifying narrative of the Canadian past. Nevertheless, by this time, Granatstein was resenting a position that social history advocates had no intention of changing. The majority of historians “were not ready to re-establish a conservative, unified and national vision of what Canada was or what its history had been”, as Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015, p. 199) relate.

The specialization of history has not been without consequences for the perception of the role of the historian who teaches at university. Through the mission of making the subject as digestible as possible for students, academic content is lightened in relation to historians’ writings. The students’ generally low level of knowledge, and the constraints associated with covering a broad period, in an introductory course for example, contribute to the evacuation of specific historical data, the very data so dear to the historian-academic (Sandwell, 2014, p. 85). Finally, if teaching seems secondary in the eyes of historians, it is not surprising that very little research has been carried out on their teaching practices, here as elsewhere. In fact, research into history teaching, whether at university or in other branches of education, has mainly been carried out by educational researchers. Admitting that their initial training was most often directed towards teaching at primary and secondary levels, priorities in this field of research have largely concerned these two levels of education, which may explain the scant attention paid to post-secondary education. It should also be noted that, with the exception of a few cases, historians appear to have

played little part in these studies, even though this field of research has been very active in Canada since the 2000s. This is another aspect that now deserves our attention, enabling us to better circumscribe the relevance of this doctoral research.

2.4 The lack of collaboration between history and history education research

Historians have not been much involved in research into history education (Stearns, Seixas & Wineburg, 2000; Sandwell, 2014). Most of historians have little knowledge of educational theories and history education approaches, which are associated with another discipline, the educational sciences. This reality (of not being up to speed with didactic research in one's discipline) is not unique to historians: certification in pedagogy is not a prerequisite for teaching at university. So, it is not surprising that studies in history education are instigated by educational researchers, often themselves graduates of teacher training programs (and not history). This frank dichotomy between the bearers of these disciplines no doubt partly explains why research collaborations have remained excessively restricted between education researchers and historians.

In the opinion of Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015), the situation is not exactly rosy given that a gulf developed between the two disciplines from the 1970s onwards in Canada. Academic historians submitted more inclusive narratives which became less direct, synthetic and obvious in the eyes of the public. These stories, more fragmented than the great syntheses, appeared less relevant, as they were too complex and narrow, for primary and secondary school students, who need to develop a global understanding of the national and international historical fabric. The multiple interpretations of the Canadian past, for example, could also conflict with the

wishes of ministries of education, an aspect reported by Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015, p. 200). Therefore, historians began to associate school history teaching with a “positivist nationalism of history” (p. 200), a retrograde vision of history, which hindered their dialogue with teachers from lower levels of instruction.

This vision on the part of the historians, however, is not necessarily consistent with developments in history education research since at least the 1980’s. As far back as 1960, the influential work of American psychologist Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education*, offered educators a more academic approach to learning; students would acquire knowledge through the practice of the disciplines. This contribution has been the impetus for the creation of history education as one branch of the educational sciences, which modelled its teaching methods on the historian’s profession. Thus, in my view, and as Sandwell (2014) has pointed out, there is a missed opportunity between the two fields of history and history education right now. Historians and pedagogues each have strengths and weaknesses that, through collaborations, they can manage to either reconcile or lessen in terms of teaching. On the one hand, historians, who tend to be attached to more traditional modes of teaching (i.e. transmission of knowledge) (Booth, 2003; 2015; Hammerlund, 2015), have everything to gain from certain theories, methods and more recent approaches to teaching stemming from the practice and research in history education. On the other hand, for the real advancement of higher education, history education cannot carry out meaningful studies without the presence of historians: research must be aligned with the needs, realities, practices and even preferences associated with university training; the level of complexity of the subject matter to be taught and the skills to be developed is higher than that of expected in primary and secondary schools. There is another argument in favour of teamwork between historians and

history educators, which has been stressed by Stearns, Seixas and Wineburg (2000). These authors have underlined that the gulf might be that historians fail to perceive school history as a “memory project” (p. 2), an increasing topic of investigation in history. In accordance with this, the collective has stated that the “classrooms, not just monuments and commemorations, become the places where the contending voices in the debate over what history means, or should mean, in a democracy come together” (p. 3). Historians should see history classrooms as important places, as much as museums and other cultural sites, to discuss the purposes of history for our society.

That clarified, this lack of interest in history-teaching research on the part of historians must be qualified a little bit. There have been some rapprochements between historians and other history educators in the 1990s and especially since the 2000s, notably with the work of American and Canadian education researchers Sam Wineburg and Peter Seixas. Thus, there are some nuances to the “chasms” between the two disciplines, particularly in Canada and the United States, as evoked by Clark, Lévesque and Sandwell (2015, p. 209). For example, in his article “On the reading of historical texts: Notes on the breach between school and academy” (1991), American education researcher Sam Wineburg has presented the results of a study comparing, using the “thinking out loud” method, the intellectual operations mobilized by historians with those of secondary school students in analyzing the same historical documents. He found that historians and students have different epistemological conceptions of how to read a text. This initial research led him to propose a method for analyzing historical sources at school, in order to develop students’ “historical thinking”. Similarly, Peter Seixas' efforts have focused on teaching skills linked to historical practice (2000; 2004), helping to consolidate this same historical approach to history. His contribution was not only giving tools for schoolteachers, but it also initiated the wave of

Canadian research carried out in history education during this decade, in which a number of historians collaborated (Peck, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2015, p. 209).

Indeed, reflecting the growing interest of Canadian and American historians in this field of research, several publications on history teaching and learning appeared in the first decade of the new millennium, such as: *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (Steers, Seixas, Wineburg, 2000), *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Seixas, 2004), *To the Past: History Education, Public Memory, and Citizenship in Canada* (Sandwell, 2006) and *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada* (Clark, 2011). Moreover, to promote research-based history education and pedagogically informed history practice in Canada, historians, educators, teachers, and other public history specialists have also joined forces to create The History Education Network / Histoire et Éducation en Réseau (THEN/HiER) (Peck, Lévesque & Sandwell, 2015, p. 209). The university classroom has stayed, however, peripheral to the expanding literature in history education. This gap is not exceptional to Canada, and I argue that it must be addressed. In the next chapter, I intend to highlight theories and recent advances in the field of history education, from the country to other international ramifications. This will help clarify why historians should invest more attention to their teaching of history and how they can do it in a way that would strengthen their practices according to the 21st century expected outcomes of historical training.

Chapter Three: Potential contribution of the history education branch to historical training at university

Historians have much to gain from familiarizing themselves with teaching practices supported by research into history education, and from collaborating with educational researchers to advance knowledge in the field. Education research has offered pedagogical avenues that are in line with the professional work of historians described in the previous chapter. A growing body of recent educational research aligns curricular and pedagogical recommendations with the historians who have championed a constructivist approach to the teaching and learning of history through the development of historical thinking. Referring to “thinking like a historian”⁶, historical thinking is a polysemic and pragmatic concept that has been the subject of extensive research in the branch of history education for the past forty years. As French researcher Sylvain Doussot (2011) put it, “in history, there is no fixed, procedural know-how that can be easily transmitted; rather, the classroom must be the place where students gradually develop a ‘know-how’, where content and practice are inseparable” (free transl., p. 15). To achieve this, it is essential for students to be put in learning situations where they investigate themselves the past through evidence. Closely tied to the scientific method, historical thinking, thus, refers to the school endeavours to develop students’ capacities of reasoning to produce critical accounts about past societies.

⁶In French, “historical thinking” or the ability of “thinking like a historian” would respectively translate to “pensée historique” and “pensée historienne” (meaning the “historian’s thought”). In other words, in Molière’s language, two terms are unclearly used by scholars referring to historical thinking. University of Montreal scholars such as Marc-André Éthier, David Lefrançois and Alexandre Lanoix and Belgian scholar Jean-Louis Jadoulle seem to prefer to use “pensée historienne”. Sabrina Moisan and Stéphane Lévesque appear to rather use “pensée historique”. Canadian anglophone researchers tend to employ “pensée historique” in the translation of their books; Peter Seixas and Tom Morton are such examples. As this doctoral research is grounded in Quebec, this clarification seems desirable.

This concept of “historical thinking” shares a lot of resemblance and overlaps with that of “historical consciousness”, which is second umbrella and complex term widely used in the field of education. By comparison with the former, historical consciousness not only encompasses the intellectual capacities based on the historians’ work but also that of people making sense of the past in the society. Historical consciousness appears to include a moral dimension, connecting more with peoples’ lives and the uses of history at large. That said, ministerial curricula all over the Western world have envision the development of historical consciousness as one of the finalities of school history. It must also be mentioned that although there is a huge literature about historical thinking and historical consciousness, in Canada and internationally, these concepts have been understood and applied in many ways for the history classroom. This has created and still creates overlaps. In the following section, I intend to review history education research around these two concepts and clarify their attunement with historical training in higher education. I will then elicit why the concept of historical consciousness has been retained for this doctoral study in particular, and not historical thinking. I will clarify how this former concept might be useful in the teaching of history at the undergraduate level.

3.1 Historical thinking

I will start the review of the literature on the two concepts of historical thinking and historical consciousness by stipulating that both terms have been issued from two distinct academic traditions, one being Anglophone and the other Germanophone. Originating from the 1980’s British school history project, historical thinking has first contended that students, from elementary school to university, must build their capacity in developing a set of competencies associated with

doing history professionally. These competencies referring to the historical method used by historians follows the same process: 1) problematization of the past; 2) analysis of primary sources; 3) interpretation of a collection of data; 4) production of a critical account. Based on this adapted-to-school form of thinking scientifically about the past, students are invited not only to learn “about” but also “how to write” history. This proposal has come as the debates on history teaching in the 1970s fuelled the development of a revitalised national history curriculum in England. This revived conception of teaching has marked a 180-degree shift in the understanding of history education. History was first conceived in a way that was serving as a nationalistic tool to guarantee the preservation of the state and reproduction of its dominant culture (Carretero, 2017); as from this period, history would ideally serve citizenship differently by the development of critical reasoning about the past⁷. English studies then have showed that traditional approaches to history teaching, involving the use of textbooks and a pedagogy centered on the authoritarian transmission of official narratives by the teacher, do not allow students to “do” history, since they have nothing in common with the work of history itself (Dickinson & Lee, 1978; Shemilt, 1980; Dickinson, Lee & Rogers, 1984; Ashby & Lee, 1987; Dawson, 1989). With the memorization of historical facts and official narratives, students are put in the position of passive observers of history rather than active constructors of a complex body of historical knowledge. British researchers, thus, have called for a reassessment of the purpose and methods of history teaching in schools.

⁷ Thus, at around the same time that the historical discipline was rupturing with the predominant “political” stance and was taking on a social history (as we discussed in the prior chapter), history education research and practices undertook similar metamorphosis.

During this period, one of the most predominant British researchers, Peter Lee has led an empirical study about the progression of students' ideas about history or about historical accounts and their relation to the past. The study has demonstrated that students' participants, aged from 13 to 16 years old, did not share the same vision of what history can achieve as per revealing the past and how it does so. Moreover, the age was not the factor that impacted the most their epistemological conceptions but rather the teaching they received. Sometimes, younger students had better grasped the nature of history than older students. Based on his empirical data, Lee has then elicited six different levels of understanding (the last one being the closer to the historians' comprehension). Students may conceive:

- 1) the past as given;
- 2) the past as inaccessible;
- 3) the past as determining stories;
- 4) the past as reported in a more or less biased way;
- 5) the past as selected and organized from a viewpoint;
- 6) the past as re-constructed from a question to an answer in accordance with criteria.

Problematization of the past and encounter with primary documents have been crucial to the variations in students' levels of understanding. It is important to note that students do not necessarily go through the six levels in their progression; the process of learning is messier and more uncertain. From that empirical research, Peter Lee (1983) has developed a procedural typology, modeled on the historians' work, that allows students to investigate the past beyond particular people, events, and issues as well as to look at contemporary realities by taking a historical perspective. He has set forth five second-order concepts to support history teachers in

the critical development of students' relationship to the past; they are evidence, empathy, explanation, change, and historical accounts.

In the following decade, American research has echoed the English precursors, but has delivered authentic themes themselves (Seixas, 2017, p. 62). If the British scholars' research has been central to the establishment of historical thinking, the School of Stanford has best understood how the different procedural concepts related to the historian's habits of mind manifest themselves during the analysis of primary sources (Yelle & Déry, 2017, p. 25). As in other disciplines, A figurehead of this School, Sam Wineburg (1991) has claimed that scientific thinking is not a "natural" act, as humans typically spontaneously go for simple, quick explanations, typical of a pre-scientific way of thinking. It must be acquired and developed through critical literacy and analysis to a variety of primary documents (Wineburg, 2001). This education scholar has identified four heuristics of history associated with the analysis of sources: sourcing, contextualization, corroboration and close reading. These heuristics organize students' thinking in their process of making sense critically of historical texts, exactly like historians do. This model of historical thinking provides clear steps to follow.

Canada has also produced its share of research into the concept of historical thinking in the last two decades, especially through the work of the Vancouver history education researcher, Peter Seixas. In a Canada-wide history education project called The Historical Thinking Project, Seixas has "approached the problem of facts-driven, positivist and boring education in the schools by asking 'what constitutes an increase in historical understanding and how can teachers assess it?'"

(Sandwell, 2014, p. 83). According to his model, historical thinking is developed and measurable through six second-order concepts, guided by a specific question:

1. Historical Significance: How do we decide what is important to learn about the past?
2. Cause and Consequence: Why do events happen and what are their impacts?
3. Continuity and Change: How do we make sense of complex flows of history?
4. Historical Perspective-Taking: How can we better understand the people of the past?
5. Ethical Dimension: How can history help us to live in the present?
6. Evidence: How do we know what we know about the past?

His model, especially with the concepts of historical significance and ethical dimension, has stressed that students must learn about the “epistemological”: the inherently political dimension of history, the inevitable positionality of the historian, in order to be more critical and avoid presentism.

The three historical thinking models presented (Lee, Wineburg and Seixas) are foundational in the field. Distinct understandings of historical thinking can be read from these frameworks: it can be understood either as a relationship to knowledge (Lee, 2005), a method (Wineburg, 1991) or a means of evaluation (Seixas, 2017). Although the three definitions possess their own peculiarities, advantages and shortcomings, Quebec history scholars Frédérique Yelle and Catherine Déry (2017) have recently suggested that these models intermingle in many respects (p. 33). For instance, the three models bring forward the critical analysis of primary sources and

the necessity of historical perspective⁸. Notwithstanding the variants in the meaning given by the three key researchers, the concept of historical thinking has been integrated into several provincial and national curricula, including Canada and Quebec⁹, as well as European (Portugal, Greece, etc.) and Asian (South Korea, Singapore, etc.) countries (Baildon & Afandi, 2018, p. 45).

3.2 Historical consciousness

On the German side, historical thinking has been assimilated within the concept of historical consciousness (Rüsen, 1993; Thorp, 2014). History education research and curricula applications in this country have remained closer to the philosophical conception of historical consciousness, in the sense that it did not only stress formal historical competence at school alike historical thinking, but prioritizes orientation in time, connecting the past, present and future¹⁰. This branch

⁸To adopt a point of you that is not our own or that of the present.

⁹Seixas' historical concepts have been added into the curricula of several provinces and territories in Canada. Four concepts (out of six) are of particular relevance in Ontario. In 2013, they were incorporated into curricula for grades 1-8 Social Studies, History, and Geography, and for grades 9-10 History. In 2015, they were integrated to curricula for grades 11-12 History. They are called *concepts of disciplinary thinking* in the curricula (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2013; Ontario Ministry of Education, 2015). In Quebec, while Seixas has had an impact on the perspective dimension advanced in the work of Robert Martineau and Christian Laville, the model of historical thinking in history curricula has favoured the hypothetico-deductive method, rooted in the French history education tradition. Consult: Catherine Duquette, Through the Looking Glass: An Overview of the Theoretical Foundations of Quebec's History Curriculum. In Amy von Heyking, & Ruth Sandwell, dir. *Becoming a history teacher: Sustaining practices in historical thinking and knowing* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p. 146.

¹⁰In the philosophy of history, historical consciousness refers to the collective capacity of remembering the past. Grever & Adriaansen (2019) explains that historical consciousness is that "part of modern consciousness concerned with the past" (p. 815). Initially presented as a historical phenomenon, notably by Hans-Georg Gadamer (1975), historical consciousness was conceived as the result of a radical break with tradition caused by the Industrial Revolution of the 18th century and accentuated by the spectacular technological and societal transformations of the 19th and 20th centuries. The "modern man" became aware that the present is different from the past, and that the future will be no less distinct from the present. Moreover, outlined by Reinhart Koselleck (1985), the birth of modern historical consciousness has generated a new conception of history associated with a holistic process of progress. In line with that, Hartog (2015) has explained that a linear history had replaced cyclical humanistic notions of time, which conventionally viewed the past as a pool of lessons that could guide future action (p. 72). From there, this perception of no longer having access directly to the past aroused a nostalgia, which has been transformed into a desire to know, study, objectify the past (Seixas, 2017, p. 60). Thus, the appearance of historical consciousness, as understood as a historical phenomenon, coincided with that of the historical discipline.

of history education research focused on three interdependent aspects of cognition that were absent or underestimated in the concept of historical thinking (Seixas, 2017): 1) the relationship between disciplinary historical knowledge and everyday life; 2) the historical orientation of people; 3) and the moral dimension of any narratives about the past. In the German perspective, historical consciousness goes beyond the framework of a relationship to knowledge linked to the acquisition of a critical method of relating to the past to include a reflection on its functions and uses¹¹. Conceiving historical consciousness as both an act of making sense of a particular historical time or event, and a state of mind, Rüsen (2004) has developed an ontogenetic model of the procedures of historical consciousness (p. 79). Its view on the development of historical consciousness with its four hierarchical stages (traditional, exemplary, critical, genetic) has had a strong resonance in the international academic community. These stages equate with diverse forms of historical narrations and their uses by people: 1) traditional narration upholds past traditions; 2) exemplary narration guides how the individual chooses to live their life today; 3) critical narration concerns the critique of contemporary societies and cultures based on the past; 4) genetic narration serves to explain both continuity and change in historical and present-day societies and cultures. The latter stage (genetic) is seen as the closest to the process of thinking historically taught in schools and desired outcome in terms of historical understanding. Rüsen's theories has inspired the "FUERmodel" which guided not only the development of German school curricula but also, more broadly, the curricula of the Netherlands and Sweden (Baildon & Afandi, 2018, p. 23-24). I should add, too, that history education research conducted in Germany has reverberated elsewhere,

¹¹The earliest efforts in German history didactics can be found in the work of Hans Jürgen Pandel (1987) and Bodo von Borries (1997), who provided models having in common the comprehension of historical consciousness as a status, a given form of a person's relationship with the past. Subsequent theoretical work shaped historical consciousness as both a state of mind and a process, which found some resonance with the Anglo-Saxon's definition. Rüsen's theoretical contributions are the most known.

notably through the framework of historical thinking espoused by Canadian, Peter Seixas. As we evoked earlier, with “historical significance” and “ethical consideration,” Seixas’ model reiterates, indeed, the close relationship between past and present.

Parallel to the formal acquisition of historical consciousness in schools, a range of history education research has embraced a socio-cultural approach to historical consciousness within the everyday world. This side of history education research has had ramifications in both European and American countries in the last decade. These studies have attempted to better articulate people’s relationship to the past¹². To this particular academic branch, historical consciousness has mostly equated to the resulting state of mind of making sense about the past, so we find a greater distinction between this conception of historical consciousness and historical thinking. The sociocultural studies in history education have shown that, in the ordinary life, people’s historical consciousness is manifested informally either through contacts with other people (family members and friends) or through social institutions (media, museums, religion, etc.)¹³. The studies have also brought to light the disjunction between professional and everyday history. The tension often extends into the history classroom, as students’ narratives often clash with the official narrative of textbooks or curricula, or even with the nuanced historical interpretations of historians. Young people prefer to retain interpretations of the past learned in the family context or through the media rather than build their understanding of the past through classroom-based historical thinking (van Boxtel, 2019, p. 66). This relates well to Wineburg’s initial observation that historical thinking is not a “natural” act and requires efforts and practice.

¹²This shift has been motivated by the growing popularity of socio-psychological theories, such as Lave and Wenger's (1991) idea of “situated learning” and Wertsch’s (1997) socio-cultural analysis of “mind as action”.

¹³According to large-scale national surveys conducted in the United States, the Netherlands, Australia and Canada. See: Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Grever & van Boxtel, 2014; Ashton & Hamilton, 2010; Conrad & al., 2013).

In this vein, Canada has produced its share of compelling studies on students' historical consciousness. The research conducted has revealed wide disparities in the relationship to the national past between Canadian students of French and English descent, Indigenous and allophone, as highlighted by studies by Jocelyn Létourneau and Sabrina Moisan (2004), Jocelyn Létourneau and Christophe Caritey (2008), Paul Zanazanian (2010; 2015), Carla Peck (2010), Stéphane Lévesque and Jean-Philippe Croteau (2020), among others. According to the first researchers, Francophone students often generate a conventional account of the Quebec adventure based on founding landmarks that seem difficult to shake, and which is based on a traditionalist discourse of cultural "survival". The relationship to the past of these students is in line with the collective memory of Quebecers as explained in the national survey by Conrad & al. (2013). In contrast, as Paul Zanazanian explains, students of Anglophone affiliation and/or from other cultural minorities in Quebec tend either to adopt with resignation, resist and oppose, or totally discredit this narrative, which often poses the Other, especially the English, as an anti-hero. Finally, these studies have suggested that a majority of students, on either side of the Quebec history coin, have not often developed a critical understanding of history in high school history programs, or even in other college and university courses. I would like to pinpoint that Létourneau's research have included university students in his research, and the findings were not strikingly different in substance from secondary and CEGEP students.

Létourneau and Caritey (2008), moreover, have interviewed groups of Indigenous students as part of the same work on the narrative of the Quebec adventure. These young people have denounced the static and backward-looking vision of the content representing them in the school

curriculum and emphasized the feeling of being on the margins of history and contemporary society. In addition to these perspectives from Quebec students, Carla Peck has highlighted the complex relationships between the identities of students from ethnic minority communities in Canada and their understanding of history. As she pointed out, these young people tend to negotiate their own identity, seeking to connect with their families as well as with the Canadian nation. Perhaps to nuance these Canadian collective memories, often presented as quite homogeneous narratives, we might note the research conducted by Barton and McCully (2005) with groups of high school students in Northern Ireland. These researchers have, in fact, supported the idea that prior knowledge is varied within a group of students from the same community.

These non-critical accounts of the past in Quebec's classrooms are not surprising, as they evoke the ethnocultural and linguistic tensions (or nationalistic passions) observed in the public sphere (historical consciousness outside in the public arena). On the one hand, Francophones in Quebec constitute a "fragile majority" (McAndrew, 2013), and learning history in schools can sometimes be seen as a powerful lever for preserving its linguistic, institutional, cultural and religious features or historical gains. On the other hand, the more nationalistic pretensions of some Francophones are creating further friction with Quebec's various ethnolinguistic and religious communities who, by contrast, are demanding greater recognition of their contribution to Quebec history (Valiante, 2018). Thus, since the early 2000s, there have been heated debates regarding the redesign of the history programs at secondary level, particularly about the "History of Quebec and Canada" program. Since the pedagogical reform, initiated with the Lacoursière report in 1995 but introduced in 2005, this program of national history has been revised three times, in 2007, 2013 and 2016. It is constantly criticized for being either too inclusive or not inclusive enough, cultural affiliations determining the camps, for the most part. Quebec society is not an isolated example,

but its particular situation within the country tends to heighten the divisions. Similar dissensions have arisen elsewhere in Canada (Osborne, 2011) and everywhere in the Western countries (Grever & Clark, 2011).

Acknowledging these competing narratives about the past (or historical consciousnesses), a few history education researchers in Quebec have attempted to propose innovation solutions to reinforce historical understanding in the classrooms. Notably, history education researcher Paul Zanazanian (2019) has offered a new open historical framework to facilitate the integration of the young Anglophones in Québec, allowing the personalized construction of specific narratives by the students. As compelling, history education scholar Sabrina Moisan (2016) has proposed a model of historical thinking, rooted in Seixas's framework, that takes into account both the perspectives and identities of the people studying the past and the people studied in the past. As she explained, the development of students' capacity to make sense of the past requires a balance between poles of identification and decentration¹⁴, itself supported by the use of historical method, as shown in Figure 2 below. Because of that, her proposal connects quite well with the understanding of a situated historical thinking, which may allow to go from a noncritical to a critical historical consciousness. In line with the sociocultural lens, historical consciousness is understood as the state of mind – the result, being contrasted with historical thinking, a form of academic reasoning.

¹⁴As Moisan (2016) has explained, the pole of identification is based on peoples' experiences, and includes several informal and normative relationships to the past. Among them, collective memory, identity and belonging, common culture, and a certain vision of the collective past are manifestations of "popular" historical culture. These public expressions of the past contribute to defining the student's identity and offer him or her some reference points regarding the collective past. Decentration is mostly developed in the formal history education classroom. Decentralization refers to putting one's own person and ideas at a distance to consider the past from the point of view of other people or from hitherto unexplored angles.

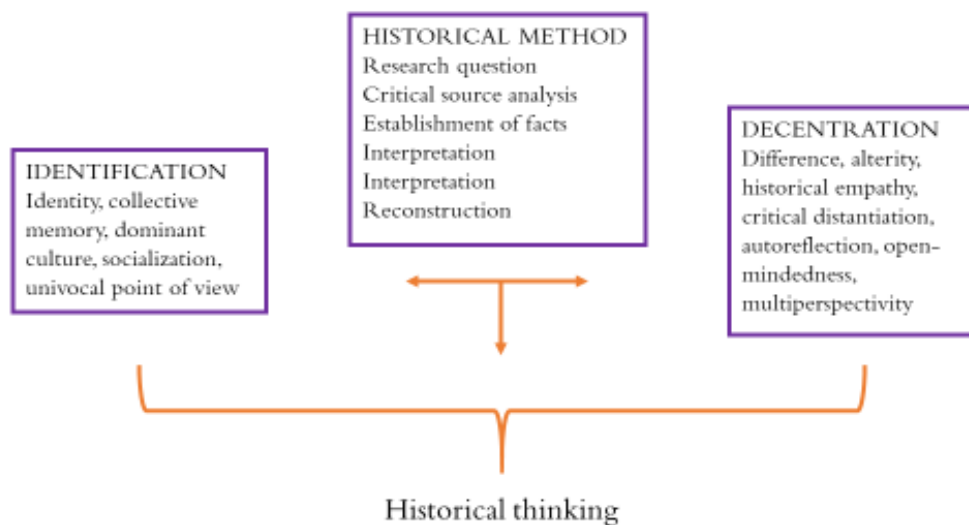


Figure 1: Adapted figure of Moisan's Model of Historical Thinking with the Identification and Decentration Poles (2016)

Additionally, regarding the antagonistic historical consciousnesses that we may find in the classrooms and in the society, in an article called “Doit-on enseigner d’abord l’histoire nationale à l’école?”, Moisan (2019) has entered in a discussion with the historian Éric Bédard, well known in Québec to defend a more “classical” view of teaching history. Moisan’s conception of history education is again very interesting. She has stressed that history education should emphasize the intercultural encounters in the Quebec and Canadian history. She has argued that those encounters could be entry points to help students adopt a critical eye on the past and understand the history of the Quebec society as “composite”. Her argument is significant, presenting leading principles for history teachers, such as:

- The concept of nation and representations of the Quebec nation are social constructs.
- The diversity of historical experiences of First Nations, women, Jews or Blacks, etc., must be taken into account in the study of the past.
- The dominant national memory impacts students’ conception of the past.

- The teaching of the relationship between history and memory can shed light on past issues or contemporary national conflicts.
- Students must know about the dangers of a single perspective and abuses of history when relying on memory.
- The points of encounter between groups are important and not just the “salient facts”.
- Students must learn the rules for constructing historical knowledge. It should go beyond the sole acquisition of “knowledge” about a collective identity.
- Students should learn about the history of other parts of Canada.

Moisan’s list of topics are not only concerned by the inclusion of others; it also questions the construction of historical accounts and functions of history. Moisan, therefore, admits that students must question why they think like they think about the past. Her suggestions are quite certainly inspired by her work over the last decade, carried out in collaboration with other researchers such as Geneviève Audet and Sivane Hirsch, who have paid attention to the teaching of sensitive themes in schools, including that of genocides and the Holocaust (Moisan, Hirsch & Audet, 2015). Recently, Moisan touched on the teaching of feminism (Moisan, Brunet & St-Onge, 2019), and of Indigenous peoples (Moisan, Maltais-Landry, Hirsch; 2022; Warren & Moisan, 2022). The contributions of these researchers have been central to the reorientation of history education and research in Quebec in the past few years in order to develop students’ critical historical consciousness, that is, one concerned by inclusion of other perspectives than our own and produced within a specific culture.

Having a look back at international studies, educational research has, too, stressed students’ resistances in the history classroom, and highlighted the difficulty for teachers to deconstruct previous representations (Barton & McCully, 2005; Bain, 2005; Wertsch, 2000). Historical consciousness is not something developed as separate from students’ prior identities and experiences; nor does it emanate in concentric circles from the individual and family to the nation and the world, or vice versa. The recognition of the “political” in history education has drawn

attention on the need to reframe civic education, with respect to the role of historical narratives in the construction of citizens' culture and identities in the last decade (Haste & Bermudez, 2017, p. 427). At the moment of its foundation, in the 19th century school history was positioned as a tool for creating and maintaining coherent national identities, seeking to infuse, in students, a positive view on the evolution of the country and an appreciation of institutions. Studies in education has underlined that this kind of school history alienates students who do not feel represented, hindering their sense of civic action and feeling of belonging (Epstein, 1994; Peck, 2011). This is why many scholars and educators worldwide are now advocating for the construction of historical narratives that are more inclusive, pluralistic and critical representations of the past, preparing students for multicultural, complex and rapidly changing societies (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Seixas, 2000). They also state that "classrooms, not just monuments and memorials, are a place where the competing voices about the debates of history should meet" (Barton & Levstik, 2004, p. 3).

3.3 The repositioning of historical thinking and historical consciousness in history education

The socio-cultural approach to history education, which has insisted on the importance of prior knowledge in the meaning-making of the past, has been crucial in repositioning the concept of historical thinking and historical consciousness. We now know that students' thinking process about the past cannot be detached from peoples' context, in time and space. Therefore, the theoretical models of historical thinking and historical consciousness have been found more and more problematic by the researchers in history education, especially when students must assess the past of another culture. The two concepts have been grounded in the Western academic

tradition, which stresses the importance of “reasoning” and conceive the product of history as something scientific. The theoretical models of historical thinking and Rüsen’s historical consciousness, for instance, propose clean-cut competencies to develop and gradual typologies of critical thinking. Promoting a set of predefined competencies linked to the Western mentality, the models can hardly take into account non-Western conceptions of history. These proposed concepts impose an evolutionary understanding of time in which epistemological relationships and “modern” procedural competencies are superior to other forms of relation to the past and meaning construction. Lee and Seixas themselves have acknowledged these issues for some time now and foresee that future research should aim at addressing them¹⁵.

The argument, that I borrow, stipulates that given that other Western and non-Western societies have not shared, or still do not share, the Western conception of past, it is important that history education works with a ‘situated’ conception of historical consciousness. Questioning about the “outside of time” models of historical thinking and historical consciousness – Western practices and understanding being “the” universal ways of doing, thinking, learning – have been notably the results of an increased interest in the Indigenous’ past and struggles in Canada: How do we decolonize our methodologies and perspectives in history education? There was a discrepancy that needed to be addressed.

¹⁵Peter Lee had already some doubts about Jörn Rüsen’s ontogenetic model as from the early 2000’s (2004, p. 5). Peter Seixas has revealed, more recently, that the multicultural and Indigenous conceptions of historical knowledge have called into question the models of historical consciousness developed in Europe and elsewhere (2017, p. 68-69).

3.4 The concept of historically effected consciousness

At the time of this dissertation, the field of history education has only begun to develop around these problems of definition and application. Moisan's proposal on historical thinking was a valuable effort, but there was another contribution coming from the German academic branch, on the concept of historical consciousness, that receives my attention. My doctoral study was inspired by a theoretical proposal issued by two history education scholars from the Netherlands. In order to break the impasse, Dutch researchers Maria Grever and Robert Jan Andriaansen (2019) have distinguished "historical consciousness" from another important third concept in the field, that is, "historical culture". Historical culture is understood as "a reflective attitude to temporality and identity, belonging to the metahistorical approach to dealing with the past, nourished by academic and popular, material and immaterial, ceremonial and everyday uses" (Clark & Grever, 2018, p. 184). By the inclusion of the concept of historical consciousness within a historical culture, as they explained, the former concept becomes a relationship to the past that is inextricably tied to historical, geographical, social contexts. These researchers did not stop there. From this first step, Grever and Andriaansen wished to assist educators in teaching second-order concepts that would foster critical historical consciousness (that is, conscious of its affiliation to a historical culture) in the classroom. These researchers draw on Georg Hans Gadamer's understanding of historical consciousness. Especially, Grever and Andriaansen were concerned by the effected dimension of Gadamer's conception, presented in *Truth and Method* (1966). According to Gadamer, historical consciousness is not timeless; it is highly dependent on the conceptual and interpretative framework of the person who reflects on the past (Gadamer, 1996, p. 290). This German philosopher insisted, in fact, on the horizon of the encounter between the interpreter (in

the present) and the interlocutor (in the past). In the dialogue that infers the study of history between an interpreter and the interlocutor found through the analysis of historical sources, the interpreter of the past does not put his or her preconceived ideas in brackets, on the contrary, he needs them to build up his knowledge on the interlocutor, and these can even be transformed in the encounter and process of making meaning. The way the interpreter questions the documents is influenced by its own values and contemporaneity and can be modified by discoveries. The (re)-positioning of the historian is thus an integral part of the work of interpretation. He writes (1996): “To believe that one can make [...] an abstraction of oneself testifies [...] to the naivety of historical objectivism [...] Truly historical thinking must include thinking about one's own historicity.¹⁶” (p. 321). To Gadamer, interpretation is a reflexive behaviour focused on tradition. Historical consciousness implies a clarification of “the condition in which understanding takes place” (Gadamer, 2006, p. 295, in Grever & Adriaansen, 2019, p. 823). Based on this comprehension of historical consciousness, the hermeneutic circle of understanding is not a methodological circle. It even seems erratic to speak of a strengthening or improvement of historical consciousness through the imposition of predefined steps (Gadamer, 1996, p. 318).

As a result of these postulates, Grever and Adriaansen came with the idea that a teaching of history that considers the effected dimension of historical consciousness, as exposed by Gadamer in his notorious book, will primarily stress two open competencies: It will allow for a meta-reflection on history and promote multiperspectivity (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019, p. 823-824). The first one involves a methodological reflection on the tradition of interpretation in which this teaching is situated. Concretely, training in history should present students with learning situations

¹⁶It is our free translation from French: “Croire que l'on puisse faire [...] abstraction de soi-même témoigne [...] de la naïveté de l'objectivisme historique. [...] Une pensée vraiment historique doit inclure celle de sa propre historicité”.

in which they can examine questions relating to nature, customs, accepted conventions, the relationship between history and identities, the historian's preconceptions and prejudices, and so on. Students should, thus, acquire knowledge about the past that moves through the flow of historiography and society, while being wholly aware that they can revisit these ideas.

Second, multiperspectivity, defined as the examination of a diversity of viewpoints (Stradling, 2003), leads students not only to investigate various levels of understanding around a historical object in the past, but also to substantiate their personal positions and listen to those of others in the present. Multiperspectivity can obviously lead to peer debate and even to the abandonment of previous beliefs in a context where those beliefs would prove untenable. As Grever and Adriaansen (2019) have pointed out, students do not always have to give up their interpretation in order to consent to another point of view, but they must come to understand why there are disagreements in people's representations (of the past or in relation to the past) and be able to defend, with solid arguments and evidence, their personal perspective (p. 824). On the other hand, proponents of multicultural education in history didactics have repeatedly stressed that a multiple-perspective stance develops students' empathy, which can strengthen their democratic attitudes and skills. As both an ethic of caution and a safeguard of democracy, the multiple perspective helps to relativize the views of individuals. It helps avoid a dictatorship of the majority, whose perspectives may otherwise be considered irrefutable truths, and the exclusion of minority and dissenting voices. Hence, the multiple perspective has much to do with a flourishing participatory citizenship¹⁷ (Barton & Levstik, 2004). I propose Table 1 to expose the dimensions

¹⁷As clarified by Barton and Levstik (2004), participatory democracy relates to a new civics' paradigm and multiculturalist ideologies. It is, to me, a more equitable form of democracy than the liberal one, born in the outdated context of the nation-state primacy, and which promoted power more than social justice (p. 32-33). In terms of competencies, extending the notion of historical thinking to the social sphere, Keith Barton and Linda Levstik (2004)

of metahistorical reflection and multiperspectivity in the history classroom according to Grever and Adriaansen's explanation (2019).

Table 1: Dimensions of metahistorical reflection and multiperspectivity (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019)

Metahistorical reflection	Multiperspectivity
Historical knowledge is constructed.	Examination of various perspectives on past events.
The historical method is situated.	Examination of the evolution of practices over time.
Existence of a plurality of uses of history.	Diversity of perspectives about past events or history in the present.
Ethical considerations related to the past or history.	Diversity of perspectives between class peers.

3.5 The alignment between the finalities at university and history education research

At the end of this chapter, it is understood that the field of education has modulated itself around the practice of history, and that the concepts of historical thinking and historical consciousness, even if they were primarily formulated for primary and secondary school teaching, can support pedagogical reflections in higher history education. This field of educational research has clarified not only history-related competencies, but also certain approaches to teaching them in the classroom and for citizenship purposes. Research on students has also clarified how learning takes place both inside and outside the classroom. For a variety of reasons, not least the preconceptions held by students that affect their understanding, research has tended to invalidate

have supported the fostering of “participatory democracy” in the history classroom as a form of practicing empathy towards others. Closely associated with the new civics’ paradigm and multiculturalist ideologies, students are invited to deliberate about the past and present in a way that is more equitable than it has been traditionally with the liberal definition of the “democratic”. They confront the problem with the perspectives of all before attempting an understanding or a solution. Though there might not be consensus, the exercise should not stifle the minoritarian voices, and students should resist imposition by a majority vote (p. 32-33).

more magisterial teaching practices in favor of the active development of knowledge in the construction of meaning in history. Recent research has also warned against the universalizing pretensions of the historical method and the pedagogical models that stemmed from it. Studies have begun to suggest ways in which the teaching and learning of history can be better linked to non-Western methodologies for interpreting the past. They have reiterated the importance that should be attached to the various levels of perspective that exist, on the past, and in the present about the past.

At this point, I would like to establish more directly that contributions coming from education are in line with expectations in university history training. Peter Stearns, in his article "Why study history?" (2020), argues that the study of history at university should provide experience in processing and evaluating various types of evidence, those that historians use to shape the most accurate pictures they can, in order to draw interpretations about the human realities of the past. Critical analysis of a combination of documents of various kinds, such as public statements, private documents, digital data, visual material, including works of art and film archives, develops the ability to present coherent and nuanced explanations of the past under examination. By corroborating and contrasting primary sources, the student develops the ability to sort out the various interpretations of the same event, for example, which may be very different, or even contradictory. The author goes on to mention that study helps to curb partisan ardour for the glories of identity and blind commitment to ideologies and groups of any kind. It does not necessarily undermine loyalty or involvement, but it does teach the need to evaluate arguments and weigh up pros and cons. Debates about sources offer an opportunity to adopt a reflective

perspective, one that is less based on personal emotions and desires than on the (often shifting and malleable) memory of a collective.

Beyond the work of academic history, I recall at this point that some students taking courses in history (a majority) will go on to teach in primary and secondary schools, work in professional settings related to history or, even more broadly, in the public sector (Sandwell, 2014). Other finalities of historical training must be acknowledged as well. Booth (2013) has stated that, in the United States, historical studies generally focus on six-end-of-program goals: to provide a broad and liberal education; to develop a thorough understanding of history and a critical mind; to train future historians; to boost skills for future employment (in the field of history or otherwise); to promote lifelong learning; and to foster personal or social emancipation (p. 4). These goals vary in importance from one department to another, but they strongly align the development of the historically effected consciousness. Historical training fosters critical thinking in the study of the past and the understanding of the present, the formulation of complex interpretations of the past that can guide choices in the present, and a construction of identity for students that remains open to other perspectives. The skills and aims of history training at university are clearly in line with those put forward by educational research.

Finally, as part of this doctoral research, which aims to strengthen the historical consciousness of university students, I chose to use Grever and Adriaansen's model, mainly because of the alignment between my objectives of consolidating historical skills and the context in which the study took place, namely an Indigenous history course and a museum involved in a process of indigenization of its practices. The model of historical thinking put forward by Sabrina

Moisan (2017) could have been an interesting alternative, but I considered it more attached to Western historical method. Even more, Grever and Adriaansen (2019) offered a theoretical justification for their conception that came to include the concept of historical consciousness within historical culture, defending itself better in the context of the examination of Indigenous societies. What's more, they did so without completely breaking with the academic standards of the university. In another respect, the theoretical definition of historical consciousness establishes clear links with the broad functions of history, including its moral dimension and orientation in time (the past serving to make decisions in the present and future). In my view, this definition is closer to Indigenous methodologies and perspectives on history, which is often about learning from the past and strongly rooted in identities.

Chapter Four: The Museum as this Ideal Place for the Mobilization of History Students' Historically Effected Consciousness

4.1 Building Historical Meaning in the Museum

As Phaedra Livingstone and Viviane Gosselin (2016) have pointed out, the museum and historical consciousness instinctively go hand in hand, the former being a physical and public space for reflection about the past and the latter constituting the state of reflection at the individual level (p. viii)¹⁸. The museum offers a historical education that can approach historical consciousness surely even more easily than the university classroom. First, museum education is said to be “informal”¹⁹, as distinct from that offered by the so-called “formal” university. Defined around “free choice” and “lifelong” learning, informal education is recognized for a greater didactic flexibility, learner autonomy and more playful character (Meunier, 2018, p. 16-18). In the context of the museum visit, visitors are free to browse through an exhibition that aims at recreating a whole universe, multiplying material, visual and sound clues about past actors as per what they experienced, thought, and felt. As visitors move through this immersive space, social mediations, coming from objects, texts, devices, guides or exchanges between visitors, reinforce the construction of meaning. Museographic strategies facilitate mental operations of a cognitive,

¹⁸A few studies have examined the development of historical thinking and historical consciousness of students and adults in museums. Read: Gosselin, 2011a, 2011b; Wallace-Casey (2015); Baron (2012).

¹⁹Interestingly, in English, the word “informal” is used to designate the sort of education the museum is providing. In French, the expression “non-formal” (“non-formelle”) has been preferred in relation to museum education, although the term “informal” (“informelle”) exists. The latter seems to be used to describe learning that happens even more unconsciously – in front the television or the computer, for instance – than the one that we witness in the museum setting. Given this doctoral research is occurring in an English formal education setting, I will be using the term “informal” for “non-formelle”.

emotional and imaginative nature, enabling the development of know-what, know-how and know-to-be.

In fact, the museum visit offers learning opportunities related to informal education as an added value to formal education, or to put it differently, forming something in-between. As defined by *Culture et éducation non formelle*'s author, Daniel Jacobi (2018), informal education concerns “all spaces, facilities, institutions outside the school, and its academic learning, that promote the dissemination of knowledge, education and acculturation of children, young people and adults; acquisition of knowledge is done unconsciously, or implicitly” (p. 5). Applied to the museum, scholars like John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking (2000) have argued that informal education is often associated with free-choice and lifelong learning and other researchers, such as Edward W. Taylor (2006, p. 305, cited by Meunier, 2018, p. 19) have stressed that the liberty to interact with a bunch of proactive mediators (objects, didactic panels, exhibition labels, technological devices) makes learning more playful for visitors. As socio-constructivist theories generally maintain, pedagogical differentiation augments the visitor's probability to actually learn something.

Extending Jacobi's definition, Meunier (2018) has pointed out that the purpose of informal museum education concerns the development of the individual at all stages of life, for one to acquire intellectual, motor and socio-affective knowledge that echo one's interests and aspirations (p. 16). Through informal museum education, students may develop an appreciation or a taste for an activity that promotes self-growth in the long run. Accordingly, numerous academics (Anderson, Lucas, & Ginns, 2003; Anderson & Shimizu, 2007; Anderson, Storksdieck & Spock, 2007) have stressed the enduring value of museum experience, its transformative potential. Jacobi

(2012), in particular, has insisted on the fact that the museum experience has never been more engaging and multifaceted than in the 21st century²⁰, as the contemporary museum has transformed into a "museum-spectacle" (p. 137). The result is a museum experience that is performative, unique, social, flexible, lifelong and multidimensional in terms of learning. Despite the blurring of the voluntary nature in this "formal delocalized education", the implemented museum visit promotes pedagogical approaches that appeal to all senses and come as bridging the gap between academia and society, and in this way meeting John Dewey's (1859-1952) "experiential continuum". Dewey wrote a century earlier: "the measure of the value of an experience lies in the perception of relationships or continuities to which it leads up"²¹. Thus, the collaboration between the museum and history represents a most important and transformative educational possibility, thanks to its expanded spatial and temporal ramifications. The museum experience brings something that goes beyond lectures and the confinement of the university classroom, though it is still considered as a formal activity (Meunier, 2018).

As presented by Colette Dufresne-Tassé (1996; 2015), the many intellectual operations (identification, memorization, distinction, etc.) mostly emerge naturally in the museum setting. They often overlap, not necessarily structured in a coherent and thorough manner. The quality of the questions, i.e., the sequence of thoughts, connections and judgments made, varies enormously from one individual to another, depending on many factors, including familiarity or unfamiliarity with the content of the exhibition (Darbel & Bourdieu, 1966). In fact, the authenticity of the object

²⁰With the increase in the volume of tourists, the invention of new technologies and the Internet, as well as the inscription of museums in the increasingly competitive neoliberal economy, the museum is compelled to put on an educational offer that attracts and surprises the visitors.

²¹Dubuc (2012) noted that the museum is "a utopia essential to the understanding of the world" (p. 162), I fully embrace her vision.

tends to facilitate another category of mental activities, the imaginary functioning that occurs when visitors make representations in a pictured way (“representative imagination”) by associating past experiences, such as memories or knowledge (“reproductive imagination”), to an object or an element of the exhibition (Dufresne-Tassé, 2015). As a result of this linkage between the visual and the imaginative, students may anticipate and conceive what has happened or might happen (“constructive or creative imagination”) (2015). For the visitor, this intellectual operation allows him or her to fill around the museum object the void left by the passage of time and oblivion. For example, a student might recreate what no longer exists, mentally bridging the gap between what is visible and what is missing. This knowledge is deepened through various mediation strategies that can be used in the museum and which allow contextualization of one’s initial perceptions: such as exhibition writings (panels and cartels), comments delivered by a guide or by the professor during the visit, experimentation with technological devices, etc.

Hand-in-hand with imagination, the emotional functioning occurs when the visitors react according to “positive or negative states,” including “emotions, feelings, sensations, pleasure, desire, empathy or even expression of personal tastes” in the encounter with museum objects. Dufresne-Tassé has revealed that these reactions often occur in the first moments of the face-to-face contact. Although sometimes relegated to the background in relation to the historian’s more “rational” practices, this emotional dimension plays an essential role in the perception of objects, proving to be not only a carrier of sensations but also “felt” and “intuitive” preludes that can lead to subsequent imaginative and cognitive activities of great interest. These three functioning together help students to develop their abilities to detect and translate relevant visual information for the construction of a coherent statement about the object and exhibition. As mentioned too, a

combination of materiality, authenticity and proximity with the museum object awakens and facilitates the imaginative functioning of visitors.

Applied to history, the tridimensional museum favors students' capacities to embark on historical inquiries. Learning about history is problematized through *in-situ* visits and activities. Since at least the 1980's, scholars in the field of primary and secondary history education have stressed critical analysis of a wide variety of primary documents, including pictures, films and movies, adds and posters, caricatures, objects, and so on (Wineburg, 2001; Seixas & Morton, 2013; Martineau, 2010; Jadouille, 2015). Moreover, a growing worldwide literature on museum-school collaborations (Allard & Boucher, 1985; Allard, Larouche, Lefebvre, Meunier & Vadeboncoeur, 1996; Marcus, Stoddard & Woodward, 2017) has shown that history and museum educators have long supported the use of artifacts and visits to exhibitions to consolidate students' historical learning. In addition, according to history educator Hassani Idrissi (2005), imagination is crucial to historical work, guiding its multiple phases. The capacity to imagine allows the professional to: formulate relevant questions, determine where to look for answers, infer what is lacking (vanished forever, consciously or unconsciously hidden by the museum), create connections between the parts and the whole, link new data to prior knowledge and ultimately foster the construction of historical interpretations, among other things. In fact, research on the museum experience depends on the personal, physical and socio-cultural context of the visit (Falk & Dierking, 2007).

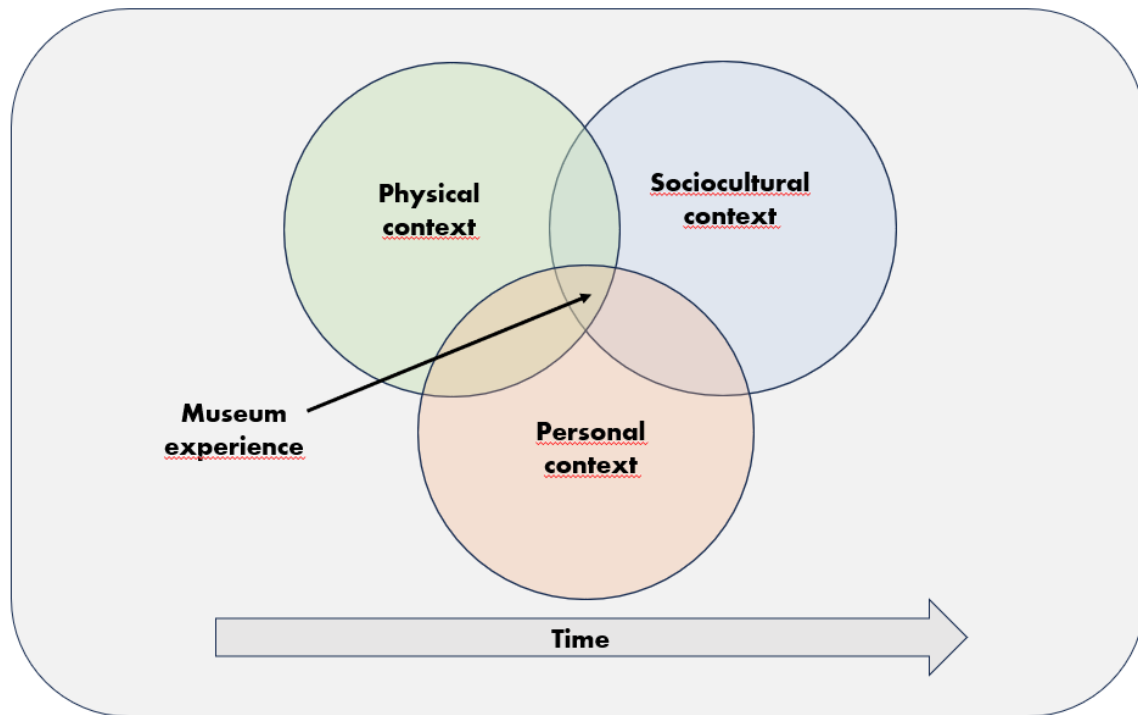


Figure 2: Falk and Dierking's Contextual Model of Learning in the Museum (2007)

It should be noted, however, that in the context of a visit orchestrated by the university – understood as a form of formal education that is “delocalized” (Meunier, 2018, p. 19) – rather than informal in the strict sense of the term, certain parameters related to objectives, types of learning and the “path of desire” (Mastai, 2007) are altered. Nonetheless, the museum offers an education that is more “experiential” (Kolb, 1984) than a virtual presentation of artifacts and an abstract discussion of the past in the university classroom that is as impersonal as it is static, certainly inhibiting interaction and perhaps imagination. In addition, informal education in the museum increases the chances of engaging, in a more spontaneous and less regimented way, in a variety of reflections, both from the exhibition medium and from social encounters between visitors.

Museum education is different from that of university for another reason, which relates back to the creation of the museum institution and its central missions of preserving heritage and building citizenship. It is, thus, impossible to fully comprehend museum education's potentialities without clarifying the purpose of heritage and its conception of citizenship. As American historians David Lowenthal (1996) and Kenneth Nordgren (2016) have explained, museums' primary functions have traditionally been the use of the past to transmit a set of values to the next generations and to construct national identities. In line with that, French historian Dominique Poulot has reported (1983; 1997) that museums *per se* were born in the 18th century from a collective impulse to develop a national feeling toward the emerging Western states, and to shape an identity a *contrario* to the Old Regime's institutions. For almost three centuries, museums have thus aimed to select, conserve, restore the monuments seen as witnesses "of the Beautiful, the True, the Authentic", to quote Bernard Schiele (2002, p. 221). Materialized in the displayed objects and immortalized by the cultural institution, those values of the past have been transmitted through exhibitions (Hein 1998; Pearce, 1994).

While history tends to be seen as the product of a rigorous investigation of the past, based on the study of primary-source documents, heritage is, instead, associated with a more political and emotional process of relating to the past (Gable, 2006; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Lowenthal, 1996). Smith, 2006; Pearce, 1996)²². As Lucie K. Morrisset (2010) explains:

Heritage is the form of fossilized signs at different times throughout the various identity quests of a nation which in hindsight have in common building on a monument, a site, an

²² In that sense, Australian archeologist Laurajane Smith (2006) has stated that heritage is a culturally directed process of intense emotional power that is both a personal and social act of making sense and understanding the past and the present. Heritage is not only the display of rare, magnificent and hard-to-execute objects; more significantly, it perpetuates the roots of humanity, of who we are, by preserving fragments, particles of the past. This is why it is practically impossible to separate heritage from human sensibilities. Heritage is at the very basis of our collective identities.

object, whether historical, cultural, material or intangible, in short, on a place, like those of [Pierre] Nora, which embodies (free transl., p. 17)²³.

In other words, heritage is constituted through historical objects that have meaning for us in the present and from which we also take pleasure²⁴. The act of conferring “heritage” status to “historical” objects – appears as a “struggle” (Schiele, 2002, p. 232) “by those who feel they are the descendants and heirs [of that heritage]” (Nora, 1992, p. 46). In fact, heritage can be understood, in some ways, as the materialized derivative of a collective memory, a more fluid form of relating to the past (Nora, 1992, p. 30-34). However, unlike collective memory, critical feedback is part of the process of patrimonialization (Davallon, 2002). In the museum, visitors have the opportunity to question the existing forms of collective memory, in the present, and to confront their previous knowledge and hypotheses, valid or partially erroneous, with historical interpretations containing a value of scientificity. Because heritage connects collective memory and history, identity construction and critical distance, mixing “public” and “academic” history, the museum institution has an intrinsic faculty that can spark questions regarding metahistorical knowledge.

This seems all the truer since museums have begun to review the postulates of romantic (or modern) citizenship, with the current criticism of “colonial museums” and the denigrating of commemorative statues by anti-racist activists as explicit evidence of this. These attacks against the museum's elitist practices are not entirely new. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were museum

²³Here is the Morrisset's integral citation: “Le patrimoine se forme des signes fossilisés à différentes époques au fil des quêtes identitaires variées, de nation ou d'autonomisation, qui ont en commun, rétrospectivement, d'avoir pris appui sur un monument, un site, sur un bien historique, culturel, matériel ou immatériel, bref, sur un lieu, comme ceux de Nora, qui incarne”.

scholars (Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, 1994, 2000; Michael Ames, 1986, 1987, 1992; Barringer & Flynn, 1998; Sandell, 2002) who started to denounce the fact that museums have favoured a predominantly white, male and heterosexual Eurocentric perspective. Other studies have looked at the museum from the perspective of power relations even before that. One example is Bourdieu and Darbel (1969) who have highlighted, with *L'amour de l'art*, the traditional elitist character of the museum as well as its extensive propensity to classify, hierarchize, normalize and, ergo, marginalize.

The push to rethink the civic mission of museums has led to the definition of a new museological paradigm, called “critical museology”²⁵. Museums that adhere to this vision support a citizenship of solidarity based on participatory democracy. Based on community engagement, dialogue and acceptance of diversity, this paradigm invites museums to play a much more active role in changing attitudes and promoting social justice (Knell, Macleod, Watson, 2007; Maczek & Meunier, 2020). Museum researchers have campaigned for museums to provide much greater opportunities for visitors to criticize and rupture with ideal and false representations of the past and present (Trofanenko, 2006; 2010), matching British historian Alan Munslow’s vision of history as deconstruction (2007). To paraphrase Swiss museologist Jacques Hainard (2005), museums must now expose prejudices by recording the evolution of practices and exposing different perspectives. In line with this, other researchers have urged museums to design and present “polyphonic” (Soulier, 2012) or “porous” (Gosselin, 2011) exhibitions, reaching out to previously excluded audiences and seeking their collaboration in curation, production and

²⁵In Quebec and other French countries, the terms “muséologie citoyenne” or “muséologie communautaire” (Meunier & Soulier, 2010) are both employed to refer to this critical paradigm. Also, museums cannot be restricted to one ideology or put in a single operational box – there are always various museological trends co-existing.

evaluation of exhibitions (Lindauer, 2007). Interested in the representation of history in museums of contemporary art, Claire Bishop (2013) has argued for a radical museology with “more experimental, less architecturally determined, and offering a more politicized engagement with our historical moment” (p. 6).

Museum education can contribute to the development of a situated understanding of history as advocated by the field of history education (especially the sociocultural approach). Cohering with decolonisation and Indigenisation, museums that affiliate with the “new museology” or “critical museology paradigm” (Vergo, 1989; Macdonald, 2011) offer more educational opportunities than ever to encounter and discover Indigenous cultures of the past from their respective worldviews and conceptions. In a complementary way, the redefinition of their social mission is stirring museums to design and present more “porous” (Gosselin, 2011), and less authoritarian practices in framing exhibitions to encourage visitors to construct their own interpretations. The shifting priorities in museum practices can help university students examine different levels of perspectives: in the past; between the past and the present, and in the present on the past.

The mediations orchestrated by the museum can also echo the professional and civic identities of visitors, and the public functions of history and museums. This can lead to addressing ethical considerations of history, recognising current tensions related to the past in a multicultural society, and the complex issue of redressing past wrongs in the present (Savenije, Grever and van Boxtel, 2014). All in all, museums are taking the opportunity to make particularly visible the Indigenous stories of survival, their current struggles and artistic resilience.

The educational context of the museum fulfills the four basic conditions for the development of the two effected competencies purported by Grever and Adriaansen (2019, p. 825). The museum is an environment that involves: 1) a privileged access to a historical topic, incorporating different perspectives; 2) a dialogue open to a variety of perspectives often presented by a competent person; 3) a voluntary participation of the visitors to engage in a conversation; 4) a recognition that consensus is not the goal of understanding. Having clarified the relevance of the museum to our objectives, I will now consider what kind of questions can be encouraged in the context of a group of history students that visits an exhibition based on Grever and Adriaansen's (2019) proposal meant for the history classroom.

4.2 Enhancement of Multiperspectivity

On a second level, the museum constitutes a genuine *milieu* to approach multiperspectivity according to its three temporal layers (Wansink, Akkerman, Zuiker & Wubbels, 2018, p. 3-4). These layers refer to either: 1) past perspectives of different actors on the historical theme being treated; 2) diachronic perspectives, i.e., perspectives that change over time; and 3) current perspectives with subjects taking different positions with respect to a historical object. Multiperspectivity is, thus, an extremely rich tactic to help students develop an acute sense of history. For example, students can learn explicitly about these three layers, find them through the museum discourses, and explain how their sound examination is crucial to historical interpretation. Moreover, attention to a diversity of viewpoints can correct ethnocentric knowledge that some

students may have²⁶. It can enable students to look at the balance of power in their society. In particular, they can better understand how the dominant social group manages to write and transmit the authoritative stories that enter the canon. The exhibition may even reveal various means used by silenced groups to maintain a parallel narrative of official history during a period of oppression. Informally passed down through the generations, their stories often become salient when change is possible (Haste & Bermudez, 2018, p. 438).

The social dimension of the museum experience could be strategic in bolstering communication and social skills that intersect with multiple perspectives. Indeed, the museum is considered, since the communication turn of the 1960's, as a major media institution. In consonance with a sociological vision, the symbolic operation of museums is, according to museologist Jean Davallon (1992), to act "as social devices with the particularity of linking social actors to social situations" (p. 103). Ergo, the museum presents itself as an environment open to the public, for which it organizes exhibitions and multiple events (conferences, workshops, guided visits, or other cultural mediation activities), and where multidimensional encounters (with the artists behind the artworks; with the museum staffs; with the peers, etc.) are an integral part of the museum experience. Notwithstanding, this social orientation does not always appear so evident in a formal delocalized educational context where, in a somewhat hypothetical way, students would silently move within the exhibition space with the aim of observing, reading or memorizing information about the objects made available to them.

²⁶Studies have shown that racialized students may have different views on the exhibition. See for example: Burgard, K. L., & Boucher, M. L. (2016). Same story; different history: Students' racialized understanding of historic sites. *Urban review: Issues and ideas in public education*, 48(5), 696-717.

While this approach resonates with traditional forms of museum visits and may even enhance a personal appropriation of the place and delectation, the history museum often inaugurates assorted strategies to energize its visits. When embracing, for example, a learner-centered educational mission, which is called “hands on” or participatory, like the one I conceptualize for my doctoral project, preferred educational activities are commonly articulated around discussions, workshops and debates (Meunier, 2011). In addition to fostering contact with others, these activities help to raise questions and grounded reflections. In the museum, the object and the exhibition, observed through the prism of an educational activity, may promote encounters with the Other, further openness to differences and redress erroneous reasonings about the past. Interactions, perhaps leading to other discussions than those that are selected and compartmentalized by lecture-based teaching, have this power to facilitate the work of co-construction and deconstruction of historical knowledge.

The museum visit is an outing that breaks with the ordinary: it has a playful or cheering potential, and it tends to instill spontaneous sharing (Meunier, 2011). Without getting into the caricature of Stendhal syndrome - it should be noted that powerful emotions, especially positive ones, have an ability to maintain or rekindle pleasure and interest in the arts and history, or even pique the curiosity of the student and generate a taste for investigation. In addition to possibly strengthening relationships between students, cooperative activities offered on-site encourage students to verbalize what they think or withhold from the museum exhibition. In fact, not only does reformulation prove to be an effective pedagogical approach to learn deeply, to assess one's level of understanding or to receive constructive feedback in return (Proulx, 1999), but also students have the possibility to work on their speaking skills as they are invited to express

themselves with accuracy and clarity. Moreover, within small teams, students get the opportunity to listen to their colleagues and the museum staff and respond in a courteous manner. They may present their views without imposing or using intimidation. Of importance, students may develop rhetoric to advance their diverse opinions. Faced with genuine problems from the historical discipline, students can discuss potential solutions. Especially, the above-described activities meet Keith Barton and Linda Levstik's (2004) participatory democracy as it should be enacted in formal education. Like these authors, I understand participatory democracy associated with a new civics' paradigm and multiculturalist ideologies as a more equitable form than the liberal one, born in the outdated context of the nation-state primacy and betting more on power than social justice (p. 32-33).

Of course, I do not insinuate that formative group activities cannot occur in the classroom. My stance is rather that the tasks and social situations at the museum are more authentic (direct contact with the objects, moving around with the people), contextualized (immersive space, disciplinary discourses, real-problem situations) and complex (student-centered learning, discovery approach according to scientific method), to recall the fundamentals of socio-constructivist principles. In short, I believe that the social dimension associated with museum experience is permitting informal education to almost naturally address "transversal competencies" or "soft skills" (Schulz, 2008). These are certainly relevant to historians for passing on knowledge and being understood however, above all, to the human beings that we are who do not live, work or decide alone, etc. After all, our lives are constantly negotiated by others. The museum visit thus facilitates capacities for know-what, know-how and know-to-be far beyond academic benefits, contributing in fact to the personal growth of individuals, thus joining the most

fundamental aims of education echoing Dewey's philosophical essence of democratic education (1916) –, whether the latter is formal, informal, museum-related or historical.

Cooperative on-site activities may encourage students to verbalize what they think or withhold from the museum exhibition. Students have the opportunity to use rhetoric to express their various opinions, interpretations, and solutions. The museum activity thus may allow the strengthening of both intellectual and communicative capacities, as well as other types of knowledge referring to solidarity-based citizenship practices. The contemporary desire of museums to democratize knowledge, promote inclusion and act in favor of social change could have the power to positively influence students' own political or social agendas. The benefits of this reflection initiated at the museum may extend far beyond the walls of the institution. On the other hand, I do not rule out the possibility that debates over multiple historical interpretations may provoke conflicting and disturbing collective memories in a multicultural group. Yet, as many scholars have argued about sensitive topics in history, if these memories are carefully confronted, they open up opportunities to learn about these traumas just as they can begin to repair them in the present (Hirsch & Audet, 2019; Grim, Wickens, Jecha, Powell, Hawkins, & Flanagan, 2017; Barton & McCully, 2005).

Tied to this idea, renowned art educator Maxine Greene (2000), also pointed out the role played by imagination in the arts: It is vital in soliciting empathy. In other terms, museum education holds the potential to develop historical perspective, that is, the ability to understand and represent the experiences of people of the past. Often summarized as “historical empathy” or “multiperspectivity”, historical perspective refers to the historian's capacity to read between the

lines and adopt the points of view of various actors of the past. It is very close to this idea to feel what is like to be in other peoples' shoes without losing ourselves in the process. On that matter, two of the most famous history philosophers, Jörn Rüsen (2004b) and Frank Ankersmith (2005), believe that this human skill is essential, even central, to historical work. Nevertheless, if personal identification helps to better grasp the past, historical perspective simultaneously requires avoidance of "pure sympathy"²⁷. One must keep some "sane distance" in order to foster critical and valid historical interpretations. Historical perspective indeed avoids prejudices, presentism and emotional outburst. With this in mind, a study by art educator Liora Besler has shown that museum activities structured around "multiperspectivity" in an art museum have enabled graduate students enrolled in a qualitative methodology course to develop competencies necessary to the social scientist such as conceptualization, problematization, interpretation and empathy. Although this example concerns encounters with art objects, I argue the historical objects can develop these competencies too.

4.3 Stimulation of Metareflection

Students' metahistorical skills have the potential to be reinforced in a variety of ways in the context of an orchestrated museum visit within an undergraduate history course. First, the information provided in an exhibition can initiate innovative questions and alternative explanations to question social practices that are often taken for granted. Depending on the themes presented, students may become familiar with other conceptions of time (and, consequently, of the world). For example, in the context of an exhibition on Mesopotamian society or a Indigenous tribe, the

²⁷As David Swanger pointed out in *Essays in aesthetic education* (1991), sympathy is inwardly focused (on oneself) whereas empathy is outwardly focused (on the other). In addition to an affective component, it has a rational, instrumentalist orientation—to address the problem.

visit may offer an opportunity to learn about relationships to the past that are quite different from students' predominant Western conception. They can be asked: "According to you, should this society be analyzed using our current referents, previous preconceptions, set of methodological skills?" By remaining open to impressions of strangeness and avoiding imposing their own historical consciousness on societies of the past and elsewhere, students come to recognize the historicity of historical consciousness (including their own), to relativize what they judge to be objective and natural facts, which is a first step towards a deeper knowledge of the nature of history. Reflection on content can raise a spectrum of sub-questions, allowing for a better analysis of the exhibition discourses. Thus, students can think about the historical significance of the exhibition's topics and selected museum objects (Mayo, 2013). They may pay attention to the narrative strategies and voices "implicit in labeling, lighting or sound" (Mason, 2009, p. 18). They may even posit a distinction between textual and spatial narratives and the ways in which they may contradict the overall discourse of the exhibition or museum, to recall literary scholar Mieke Bal's (1992) contribution on the possible discrepancy²⁸. It helps to understand museum experience as "drama" and "performance" and the museum as a "theater" in which "power" is negotiated. (Fraser, 2004). They may ponder the lessons they learn from the museum's methodological and discursive practices of history.

Immersed in a place aimed at heritage awareness, students can also explore the various uses of history. The role of identities in historical construction then deserves special attention. For

²⁸ For example, students may examine whether or not the exhibition designers used Western historical competencies, embedded in linear historical consciousness, centred on technical and human progress, to describe an Indigenous conception of time, rather marked by a circular temporal movement of divine essence. In this case, they can look at whether the museography respects the historical consciousness of the societies represented; whether this cleavage may be detrimental to the understanding of visitors (Western and non-Western); and whether it reflects an injustice to non-Western historical consciousness.

example, official historical narratives and cultural stereotypes are highly relevant resources for understanding how they are used to categorize individuals and impose norms between “us” and “others”. In addition, the exhibition can be examined in relation to certain current themes or political issues, which can spark stimulating intellectual debates for students. The introduction of the notion of social justice in history allows for the linking of a relevant set of meta-historical questions such as: “What is history for?”; “What place should be given to the ethical dimension, to reparations, to commemorations?”; “Can the historian be an activist?”; “Students can be called upon to position themselves in relation to the aims of academic and public history”. They can finally discuss concepts such as inequality, racism, exploitation in history and promote concrete actions in favour of improving the quality of life of those individuals still marginalized.

Chapter Five: Decolonizing History in Education and Museums

5.1 Questioning the Colonialist Past in History Education

Integration of the plural voices of minorities within the already-existing collective accounts of the dominant group have been central to the practice and teaching of history. I have also explained that historical consciousness is a key concept in education, as both a process and result, that is not detached from identities, hence the importance I give to the effected dimension and the related mobilization of multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection. I have also explained how the museum is a fertile ground for enhancing a situated comprehension of the past and of the historical practice. I have also argued that an historically effected consciousness may allow us to investigate non-Western perspectives of doing history and understanding the past. A hallmark of my review on the sociocultural approach in education, there is the notion of Indigenous perspectives in history education. Considering the field of inquiry of my doctoral research, I now propose to focus more closely on Indigenous peoples by addressing the question of decolonization in our academic/museum institutions and Indigenous perspectives on history.

It is generally recognized that Canada's Indigenous peoples have suffered enormous destruction of human and spiritual capital over the past four centuries. They have experienced many forms of intolerance, discrimination, and racism from the Euro-Canadian populations (the French and English) (Battiste, 2013; Yuck & Tang, 2012). Since the beginning of the European settlement in Canada, Indigenous peoples were unable to compete with the westernization of the territory and society (Sioui, 1989). Reservations were created as early as the 17th century to

facilitate the colonialist enterprise that forced Indigenous peoples to convert to the European values (Ouellet, 2020, 2021), Christianity and capitalism, which severely hindered the perpetuation of Indigenous traditional modes of living and thinking from the outset²⁹. Being a central instrument of Indigenous assimilation in the 19th century Canada, the formal education system has had devastating effects on them. The system of residential schools, that existed from 1867 until 1996, has played a major role in the denigration and dispersal of First Nations cultures, as children were removed from their families and given a Western name. Alongside with the reservation system, the Indian Act, implemented in 1876 and still active today, has been the main piece of legislation enabling the federal government to administer Indian³⁰ status (who gets to be “Indian”), First Nations local governments and reserve land management. To be more precise, through the Department of Indian Affairs and its Indian Agents, the Indian Act grants the government broad powers over First Nations identity, political structures, governance, cultural practices, and education. The applications of the Act over time resulted in diverse traumas for generations of Indigenous members and communities (Ghosh & Galczynski, 2014, p. 43-51). Policies from the successive federal and provincial governments have created significant wealth disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous, educational inequities, disproportionate incarceration rates and significant health problems. In the name of this Act, human rights violations were even perpetrated. Although the amendments to the Indian Act (1951, 1985) have intended to progressively eradicate discriminatory articles, in the second half of the 20th century, Indigenous peoples are facing many

²⁹At first, missions were created for the conversion of Indigenous peoples by the religious communities. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 laid the foundations for interaction between the colonial administration and First Nations people for centuries to come. This text guaranteed certain rights and protection to First Nations people and set in motion the process by which the government would acquire their lands. Additional policies were implemented in the first half of the 19th century. These were designed to assimilate First Nations people into the growing population of settlers. The Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada of 1850 is one of the first pieces of legislation to include a series of criteria that must be met before an individual can be considered an Indian in the legal sense of the term, a definition that precedes the concept of “status”.

³⁰They are now referred as First Nations.

issues³¹. With the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other increasing fights for human rights and equality in the 1980's, Indigenous peoples began to raise their voices louder to fight against oppression. With the Canadian adoption of a series of laws on land and fiscal management, for instance, they have been able to “circumvent” the Indian Act and gain more economic power³². Regarding the Indian Act, there have been debates within the Indigenous circles about whether it should be abolished³³.

Indigenous claims for territorial acknowledgements and restitutions have increased and received more attention in the past years, in the context of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. The report issued 94 calls to action “to redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation” with First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, parag. 1). Its report has stressed that education can help restore more justice, self-confidence, and pride, but that any effective and long-term improvement will require education to be more reflective and responsible to Indigenous interests. In the wake of this document, many formal educational institutions, such as universities, and cultural establishments, like museums, have expressed the desire to decolonise and indigenize their knowledge and practices. The concepts of “decolonisation” and “indigenization” have become

³¹ Among other things, in the amendment of 1951, bans on ceremonies such as the potlatch and the sun dance were revoked. In addition, communities were now able to file land claims against the government. As for First Nations women, thanks to the 1951 Act, they can now vote in band council elections.

³² Here are a few examples of laws that were passed in Canada: First Nations Land Management Act (1999), First Nations Fiscal Management Act (2005), First Nations Oil and Gas and Moneys Management Act (2005), First Nations Commercial and Industrial Development Act (2006), and First Nations Property Rights Act (2009).

³³ Indigenous people who hope to dismantle the Indian Act want to remove themselves from the federal control and reconstitute themselves as Indigenous peoples and nations with inherent fundamental human and political rights. Other Indigenous people fear that its abolition will affect some protections such as those relating to Indian status. The Indian Act still provides the structure for local governance and community life.

central to the reflections on Indigenous rights and perspectives in education but also more broadly in academia and society (Gaudry & Lorenz, 2018).

Scholars have proposed various understandings in Canada and the United States; therefore, a clarification of both terms is needed at this stage. I understand decolonization as “the researched deconstruction of ideological, legal, legislative, operational, textual and other institutionalized structures sustaining unequal and discursive relations of power between non-[Indigenous] and [Indigenous] citizenries” (Binda & Caillou, 2001, p. 2). This concept is “larger” and more “disruptive” or is more about “breaking with the Western thinking” than the second one. Returning ancestral lands to Indigenous peoples, Indigenous political autonomy and reforms of Western institutions (political, economic, social, educational) are constitutive of the definition of decolonizing Canada. By contrast, indigenization is defined as the “practice that aims to transform institutions whose cultural character is primarily non-Indigenous, so as to make possible ways of being, knowing, and acting that are specific to Indigenous peoples” (Melançon, 2019, p. 44). To my understanding, indigenization concerns more specific actions, and is about “building from Indigenous perspectives” and “operative transformation by inclusion”. At the heart of emerging actions related to decolonization and indigenization are the collaborative practices, essential to this epistemological paradigm shift in education (Boucher, 2019, p. 15). In conformity with Indigenous studies, collaboration refers to the active participation of Indigenous members or communities in the deployment of the profound institutional transformations (Dion, 2009; Kermoal & Gareau, 2019).

The current state of decolonization and indigenization vary from one field to another, which justifies my research. These processes of transformation have appeared to be less intensively underway in Francophone universities in Québec than elsewhere in Canada, although the actions are rapidly increasing (Boucher, 2019, p. 15). In Quebec, the desire and efforts of historians to decolonize and indigenize their academic practices, teaching and staffs vary according to individuals and institutional contexts. Some universities have followed suit by hiring Indigenous professors, creating certificates in Indigenous Studies, proposing Native language courses, and increasing university services to its Indigenous students' populations (Boucher, 2019, p. 16). However, indigenising actions in history departments remain modest. To recall the recent study on the propensity of historians to include diversity, Moisan and al. (2020) have noted a reluctance on the part of Quebec historians in particular to break away from a historiography oriented around the status of Quebec within the greater context of Canada³⁴. This all may be hindering their actions in the direction of decolonisation and Indigenisation. The difficulty in reconciling Quebec's cultural preservation interests with the Indigenous past should not, however, prevent historians from recognising the necessity of opening spaces for Indigenous stories (pp. 118-124).

Historians' actions currently appear insufficient in light of the paradigm shift induced by decolonization and indigenization, which is "not just a metaphor" (Tuck & Yang, 2012). With respect to Indigenous studies in education, integration into the existing framework does violence to Indigenous knowledge, perspectives and methodologies for a few reasons: it refuses to

³⁴As the collective of scholars has noted, Francophone historians are more inclined to modify the nation-state discursive construction, which is Francocentric and tied to provincial borders. For instance, they may accept to incorporate new themes (e.g., points of contact, power relationships, political pressure movements) or combine different fields of research and approaches (e.g., coupling the history of the Indigenous peoples with cultural history) more than to dismiss the framework itself, viewed as crucial to the identity of French-speaking Quebec.

acknowledge that the Indigenous historical framework offers milestones different from those of the history of Canadian settlers (Kermoal & Gareau, 2019); Indigenous perspectives about the world (relationships to the territory, or between humans and animals) and their particular relationship to the past (conception of time, modes of narration) (Marker, 2011) remain subordinated; academic objectivism is not challenged (Deloria, 2004); it rejects a critique of settler colonialism; nor does it promote self-determination and territorial repatriation for the Indigenous (Tuck & Yang, 2012).

These educational considerations reverberate with those in the field of history education in Canada. The deconstruction of the colonialist collective imagination is paramount, as the official narrative of Canadian history has long adhered to a paternalistic approach that justified government's colonialist laws (Kermoal & Gareau, 2019)³⁵. To fight against Canada's assimilationist conceptions, Mi'kmaq researcher Marie Battiste (2013) has notably emphasised that "educators must help students understand the Eurocentric assumptions of superiority with the context of history and to recognize the continued dominance of these assumptions in all forms of contemporary knowledge" (p. 186). By readjusting teaching alongside such flexible "skills", history professors may be able to implement compelling lessons about Canadian history in which the historical lens is Indigenous and, thus, break with a progressive linear thread punctuated by the conventional Eurocentric historical markers.

³⁵Historically, there were stereotypes in textbooks, where Indigenous people were depicted as backward, lazy, cruel, unscientific, superstitious, dirty, alcoholic. Historical facts have been distorted and interpreted to suit the colonizers. Over the past five decades, this has resulted in changes in textbooks to provide a more accurate portrayal of Native history and culture, with more school time designated to learning about Canada's First peoples.

The proposal to develop the effected historical consciousness juxtaposes well with the teaching of the four themes of the Indigenous historical consciousness, introduced by Lummi Nation researcher Michael Marker (2011), which do not easily fit into Western historiography. These themes are: 1) the circular nature of time and how oral tradition incorporates recurring events into its narratives; 2) Indigenous relationships with landscape and non-humans in relating to the past; 3) the local landscape as containing both the meaning of time and place, and 4) Indigenous perspectives on histories of Western colonisation. An incorporation of these themes may help university students capture the distinct ways historical consciousness can be expressed, while acquiescing to a vision of a decolonised and Indigenised history. My proposal meets non-Indigenous history education researchers' latest proposals in Canada³⁶ and elsewhere. As suggested by Brett and Guyver (2021), the critique of history education from postcolonial perspectives stresses that:

- A demystification of history and history education is required. Calls for curriculum renewal tend to gain traction as a natural upshot of obtaining independence from erstwhile colonial powers.
- There needs to be an acknowledgement of land or liberty taken from Indigenous peoples and support (drawing upon history) for processes of land hand backs (or appropriate compensation).
- Colonial languages have been privileged over local languages and writing privileged over orality; insufficient voice has been given to Indigenous peoples, cultures and perspectives.

³⁶My reflection on history education additionally coincides with recent precepts of teaching history from an Indigenous perspective put forward by Brett & Guyver (2021) and Rowinski & Sears (2021).

- And there is a need for histories which challenge hegemonic, top-down and nationalist discourses and complacent narratives of progress.

Moreover, Grever and Adriaansen's understanding, that I borrowed for this doctoral dissertation, is extremely close and in tune with Rowinski & Sears (2021)'s recent suggestion on the need to expand and theorize on the concept of "historical mindedness" in history education. Shifting away from the settler grammar many Indigenous scholars are concerned with, Osborne (2006) has previously described "historical-mindedness as "a way of viewing the world that the study of history produces... it is the result of the enlargement of experience that arises from the study of other times and other places [and] it is the ability to situate the immediate concerns of the present in some kind of comparative perspective and to see the world as it appears to others" (p. 125, cited in Rowinski & Sears, 2021, p. 118)³⁷.

5.2 Decolonization of Museum Collections and Practices

On another level, Indigenous education advocates for a holistic framework of education and informal learning, and museum education connects perfectly with this conception. In the previous chapter, I presented the museum's critical paradigm. It is now important to acknowledge that museums and research in this field are experiencing the same questioning about decolonization and indigenization as historical research and education are. It has been said, too, that museums are instruments of colonisation and affirmation of the Western knowledge supremacy. They have historically been sites of national identity construction, invested in the legitimisation of power and

³⁷Given I started this research long before the publication of this article, I kept Grever and Adriaansen's proposal of the historically effected consciousness. Also, these Dutch scholars had proposed concrete examples of questions I could ask students to develop the "effected".

a normative definition, and its counterpart, the exclusion and devaluation of “the Other.” Thus, in a settler colonialist country such as Canada, Indigenous cultural and artistic collections have been traditionally seen as “primitive” and “exotic” (Desmarais, 2019)

Collaborations between museums and First Peoples is a theme that has been widely examined in Canada and the United States, and that is not entirely new. As from the 1980’s and 1990’s, Michael Ames was a leading figure in research into the inclusion of Indigenous perspectives and methodologies in museums (1986, 1987, 1992). This scholar’s contributions coincided, at the time, with the publication of the report “Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples” by the Task Force³⁸, which is known, also, to have been a milestone in the development of relationships between museums and First Peoples (Bolton, 2004). This document had a huge impact on the renewing of government cultural and museum policies and deontological rules in the last three decades³⁹. Some researchers have brought insight, as well, on the deployment of collaborations between Indigenous communities and museums. For instance, Ruth B. Philipps (2002, 2011) is known to have brought two models for designing exhibitions as “community-based exhibit” and “multivocal exhibit”. Bryony Onciul (2015) has redesigned the relationship between museums and Indigenous communities through the concept of “engagement zones”, stressing the importance of intercommunity work with the Indigenous. The “engagement zones” model is concerned by a power sharing between the museum

³⁸The Canadian Museums Association and the Assembly of First Nations jointly organized the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. The Task Force consisted of arts professionals and scholars, Natives and non-Natives, along with concerned community members and elders. The group published a report, *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples* (1992).

³⁹See, for instance: Canada, Ministry of Communication. (1990). *Canadian Museum Policy*; ICOM (2017). *Deontological Code for Museums*. Paris: ICOM; Québec, Ministères des Affaires Culturelles. (1992). *La politique culturelle du Québec*. Québec: Ministère des Affaires Culturelles; Québec, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications. (2000). *Politique muséale. Vivre autrement... la ligne du temps*. Québec: Ministère de la Culture et des Communications.

professionals and Indigenous communities, leading to “adaptation of curatorial practice; community participation or influence on policy and advisory boards; co-produced exhibits; co-produced programmes and the employment of community members, the role of guides” (2015, p. 82). A Wendat scholar, Elizabeth Kaine (2010, 2016) suggested collaborative and co-creative work in museums, with the development of museum projects that are desired by, developed in partnership with, and produced for the Indigenous peoples⁴⁰.

In 2015, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has issued 94 calls to action “to redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation” (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015, p. 1) with First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples. In the wake of this document, museums have wanted to make amends with their racist past. There is, thus, an increasing acknowledgement that the museum institutional structure is often not compatible with Indigenous ways of thinking (Mithlo, 2004), and that structural transformations are needed. This is what is understood generally by indigenization and decolonization processes in museums. The question of indigenizing and decolonizing is relatively recent in the museum studies literature in Canada. It has originated from the work of authors, like Chelsea Vowel (2017), Deborah Doxtador (2001) and George E. Sioui (1989), who situated the First Peoples in colonial and colonialist history, as well as from the contributions of Margaret Kovach (2009), Thibault Martin (2013), Leanne Betasamosake Simpson (2018), who revealed that indigenization and decolonization of thought systems cannot be separated from indigenous epistemologies. History professor Amy Lonetree is another important name in this international

⁴⁰These scholars and transformative cultural policies have then had a considerable impact on research combining museology and Indigenous perspectives. See: Dubuc, 2004; Dittmore & Robitaille, 2014; Nicks, 1994, 2003; Soulier, 2012; Dubuc & Vollant, 2004, Jérôme, 2014).

movement, supporting the idea that museums' decolonization must assist in the survival of Indigenous peoples in history through recourse to "truth telling" (2009, 2012).

The question of decolonization in museums has also been the focus of artists who denounced Canada's past and colonialism, such as Guy Sioui Durand (1997, 2002, 2014, 2018) and Kent Monkman (2019). There are still significant shortcomings, but some museums have taken important steps in curation and museum education, such as the McCord Stewart Museum (Franco, 2019), the Royal BC Museum (CBC, 2021) and the Royal Ontario Museum (Rivet, 2019). Marie-Charlotte Franco's doctoral thesis (2020) focused on the indigenization of the McCord Stewart Museum, which has played an important role in the process of decolonization and indigenization of the knowledge and cultures of the First Peoples in the last thirty years, especially in comparison to other museum institutions.

In conclusion of this chapter, I would like to recall that my doctoral study, to be discussed in more detail in upcoming chapters, explores the teaching of Indigenous history in the context of a course offered at university. The objective was to help students understand Indigenous past from a critical standpoint. The museum is used as a pedagogical approach to enhance students' historically effected consciousness. Applied to Indigenous history, I intended to stimulate students' competency to examine Canada's past from various angles (for instance, by contrasting the Indigenous perspectives with the Western point of view) and to reflect on the historical discipline as per Indigenous perspectives and methodologies. My research was thus a starting point to decolonizing historical and teaching practices. To ensure the proposal would be conducive of these doctoral objectives, the selected museum would have been indigenizing its curatorial and

educational practices. I will now clarify why this research matters for history education at university and how it has adapted to the coronavirus pandemic.

Chapter Six: An Urgent Need for this History Education Research

Before I conclude this theoretical section, I would like to clarify the clear research imbalance in history education that my paper has suggested. While there is a plethora of studies that have focused on the teaching and learning of history, a real *vacuum* exists in the study of history education at the university level. The majority of research from here and elsewhere has focused on primary and secondary school students, their teachers, or individuals in their daily lives. To this asymmetry, I must add the fact that museum education has often formulated similar priorities, since young adults in training are not necessarily the public targeted or valued by museum theorists and professionals⁴¹. Yet this lack is perplexing. The next generation of historians and history professionals will be called upon to provide the historical interpretations on which society will base its decisions. Is it not then imperative to ensure – through on-site studies and not just academic assessments – that this new generation has developed a critical historical consciousness?

This research is even more urgent given the actual state of teaching at university, more or less attuned to the 21st century research principles in the philosophy of history and education. Studies of history teaching at university are still exceedingly rare (Booth, 2013, 2015). Based on my proto survey of 14 Canadian history departments⁴², the development of a historically effected

⁴¹Here are some studies about museum-school collaborations that concern elementary and secondary education: Martinko, 2017; Marcus, Stoddard & Woodward, 2017; Marcus, Levine, & Grenier, 2012; Wallace-casey, 2015; Greene, Kisida, & Bowen, 2014; Lebrun, Larouche, & Meunier, 2012; Moisan, Hirsch & Audet, 2015; Moisan, 2009. Some studies have looked at higher education generally or at the training of preservice teachers. See: Boddington, A., Boys, J. & Speight, 2013; Salazar-Porzio, 2015; Bélanger & Meunier, 2012; Baron, 2012; Coffey, Fitchett, & Farinde, 2015; White, Sameshima, & Sinner, 2015; White & Lemieux, 2015.

⁴²An examination of the list of courses suggests that their primary goals concern the acquisition of knowledge about various pasts and application of historical method. Although, I have remarked that most departments include courses

consciousness conception of history appears peripheral to the classical objective of the acquisition of knowledge and historical method (associated with its disciplinary pretensions). My survey, however, is based only on their institutional websites and there is no study to confirm or invalidate it. Within these history departments, however, the list of courses is often addressing social-justice oriented topics (i.e., Indigenous history, gender history, colonialism and postcolonialism, cultural history, slavery, Black history, etc.), which indicated that historical training is concerned to foster in students' a "situated" comprehension of historical knowledge and, perhaps, what historical practice may potentially bring in terms of challenging prejudices in our society. It is not difficult to imagine that a few history professors could envision my doctoral study as being relevant and helpful. Moreover, an American historian, Alan Booth (2015) has noted that lectures have been at the center of history teaching and the analysis and production of written documents at the crux of students' evaluations. Even more problematic, another historian, KG Hammarlund (2015), has reported that one major issue is that undergraduate history students perceive their discipline more

referring to postcolonial criticism and social justice, as well as visual and material culture. Concordia University (History) (2023). Courses. Retrieved June 11, 2023. from URL: <https://www.concordia.ca/academics/undergraduate/calendar/current/sec31/31-160.html#courses>; Dalhousie University (Department of History) (2023). Course offerings. Retrieved June 11, 2023 from URL: <https://www.dal.ca/faculty/arts/history/current-students/classes.html>; University of Alberta (History Department) (2023). Courses. Retrieved June 11, 2023. from URL: <https://www.ualberta.ca/sociology/courses>; University of British Columbia (History faculty) (2023). Courses. Retrieved June 11 2023 from URL: <http://www.history.ubc.ca/content/undergraduate-students>; Université Laval: Département des sciences historiques (2023). "Structure du programme". Retrieved June 11 2023 from URL: <https://www.ulaval.ca/les-etudes/programmes/repertoire/details/baccalaureat-en-histoire-ba.html#description-officielle&structure-programme>; Université de Montréal : Département d'histoire (2023). "Liste de cours". Retrieved July 11 2023 from URL : <https://histoire.umontreal.ca/programmes-cours/cours-horaires/>; Université du Québec à Montréal (Département d'histoire) (2023). "Course à suivre et horaires". Retrieved June, 2023 from URL: https://etudier.uqam.ca/programme?code=7758#bloc_cours; University of Ottawa: Department of History (2019). "Course sequences". Retrieved July 10, 2023 from URL: <https://www.uottawa.ca/course-enrolment/course-sequences>; University of Saskatchewan (History Department) (2023). "Undergraduate opportunities". Retrieved June 11, 2023 from URL: <https://artsandscience.usask.ca/history/undergraduates/opportunities.php>; Université de Sherbrooke : Département d'histoire (2023). "Horaires". Retrieved June 11, 2023 from URL: <https://www.usherbrooke.ca/histoire/etudiants-actuels/horaires/>; University of Toronto (History Department) (2023). "Current undergraduate Fall/Winter courses". Retrieved June 11, 2023 from URL: <https://history.utoronto.ca/undergraduate/courses/current>; University of Winnipeg: History (2019). "Course listings". Retrieved June 2023, 2023. from URL: <https://www.uwinnipeg.ca/history/undergraduate/course-listings.html>

as a “body of knowledge” than a “form of knowledge” (p. 33). In other words, they learn by absorbing and reproducing narratives more than by inquiring into and building their personal historical accounts. Must we infer here students do not primarily analyze primary sources, but are instead accustomed to build historical meaning using other historian’s interpretations when trained to think and do like a historian? Chatterjee, Hannan and Thomson (2016) have also revealed that “undergraduate students of subjects such as history or literature tend to encounter archival artefacts rarely during their studies” (p. 8). This aspect is, in part, raised by Sandwell (2014), who has posited that introductory history courses are not conducive to active pedagogical approaches around source analysis, given the sheer size of the group, sometimes gathering up to a hundred individuals. What's more, the groups are regularly heterogeneous, made up of students enrolled in a variety of study programs: from history to teaching to a range of other humanities and social sciences. In fact, Sandwell has pointed out that a majority of these students are often destined for primary or secondary teaching and, since their training includes only a few history courses (they do not have a major), the students come away with a very limited understanding of what history is ultimately about, fuelling the gulf between history teachers and historians, which we touched on earlier. Of course, many historians are excellent teachers, remaining committed to quality teaching. On the other hand, many pedagogical approaches have probably been underestimated or rarely exploited due to these constraining factors of university organization. Yet Sandwell (2014) has insisted on the importance of remedying this situation, when she writes that future teachers, for example, and all categories of students enrolled in these courses, who will not become professional historians, are important links in the dissemination of history for society, and that historians “make” history, through their teaching, just as much as, or even more than, through the

dissemination of their scientific writings. The quality of university teaching should not be underestimated.

Clearly, the question of higher education history remains difficult to fully tackle as very little research has been done on teaching purposes and practices in history departments. Even though there is a lack of data, history education research has long supported that students' capacities in relation to historical consciousness cannot be effective through a reliance on a traditional approach to knowledge transmission. This gives plenty of space for researchers to try and test new and much more dynamic approaches to history education at university. If it is true that students are not sufficiently afforded with primary sources during their training, isn't it obvious that museum education is an easy way (or access) to help remediate the situation?

Looking now on the side of studies carried out by scholars interested in museum-university education (outside the history branch), I also find that higher education has maintained a relatively marginal collaboration with museums, especially compared to primary and secondary education sectors and other forms of adult learning. However, the few studies on the topic do insist on the need to extend and deepen cross-institutional collaborations between both educational sectors (White et Constantino, 2013; Salazar-Porzio, 2015; Bergeron & Hoffmann, 2015; Bélanger & Meunier, 2015). As Boddington, Boys & Speight (2016) wrote, their partnerships may “enrich collections, increase awareness of [each other], and nourish those who invest their intellectual capacity” (p. 3). For their part, universities are seeking to create new opportunities of collaboration with other educational stakeholders (American Education Research Association, 2019). They, too, generally recognize that museums can bring something to formal education. The campus museums

that have been established in most Western countries since the end of the nineteenth century would seem to be a subtle acknowledgement of this possibility.

In the same line of thought, in an article entitled "L'historien, le musée, et la diffusion de l'histoire" Quebec historian Joanne Burgess (2003) attempts to restore the importance of the historian community should have in history museums, in response to historian Brian Young's (2001) research study denouncing a decline in the historian's involvement with museum curation and exhibition, as well as in the emphasis on disciplinary knowledge, notably since the advent of museology as a field of research or discipline (as from the 1980's). Burgess has underlined that historians should indeed play a leading role in the development of historical content and exhibition design, that their contribution cannot be confined to end-of-journey external evaluation. Admitting that she is one of the few historians having constantly worked in museums, Burgess also has highlighted the strong links that should exist between the historian's training and possible museum professional integration in the future. I do believe that museum-university collaborations can contribute to the finality of higher education.

There is another aspect that I want to stress, which relates to history students' encounters with visual and material culture during their training. My questioning comes first from my own academic journey, including five years of both undergraduate and graduate studies in history. Only once did my peers and I go to a museum with our professor. The second originates from my graduate studies. My master's thesis was strongly rooted in visual sources, and I wondered so often why historical work was not more often considering non-textual material as alternative sources to the study of the past. The analytical work might just have been alleviated if I had been regularly

exposed to material and visual culture during my undergraduate studies⁴³. From what I formerly experienced, material culture and visual literacy do not seem to get much interest, or the interest it should get. Beyond my assumptions and my disappointments, pointing to this fact are British historians Mark Donnelly and Claire Norton (2010) who assert, in *Doing history* aimed at undergraduate history students, that the prevailing scholarship does not emphasize the sound analysis of visual documents, like photographs, artworks and artifacts (p. 63-64).

As for my academic experiences, my professional work has also pointed to the fact that history groups do not often visit museums in their course of studies. So, another question I have is whether historians have been aware or not of the pedagogical approaches associated with visual literacy and object-based learning⁴⁴? If such awareness exists, why are they not visiting museums on a more frequent basis? Here are plausible explanations for not employing much the museum as a teaching resource. First, historians may recognize the educational potential of primary visual documents analysis and museum visits without fully perceiving the potential for making these artifacts available, or they may consider that both types of activities are time-consuming and logistically challenging to fit into an already extremely tight academic calendar. There is another possibility. It may be that historians and history educators have different views on how history should be taught. Acknowledging this, my understanding is not necessarily that historians reject

⁴³Examining the hidden meaning of space at the end of the nineteenth century in a classical college of Quebec, I felt more than once underequipped in my attempts to demystify the strange elements figuring on the visual documents. I was often puzzled by old drawing maps that do not respect the contemporary conventions, and pictures of people dressed differently doing activities we no longer practice, of architectural components that possess specific appellations, but I had never encountered before, of religious practices and objects less common these days but were part of the everyday life in the past, etc.

⁴⁴ To provide a definition, “object-based learning is a mode of education that involves the active integration of objects into the learning environment. In the museological context, object-based learning describes learners’ active engagement with museum collections within a student-centered framework” (Chatterjee, Hannan & Thomson, 2016, p. 3). According to museum scholar George Hein (1998), object-based learning is allied with discovery learning and constructivism.

or underestimate visual documents and artifacts. Rather, I sense the intellectual tradition, that has always emphasized the written, is still dominating practices at university and history research. In the academic world, texts have been the most obvious and accessible types of sources or seen as the easiest access, the ones they know how to deal with⁴⁵.

To date, attention to the development of visual literacy and the use of the museum to enhance students' learning do not appear to have

been the subject of much research on the part of historians. I argue that a lack of attention to the *tangible* is a missed opportunity to contrast and reinforce historical interpretations. This is also why I support closer and stronger cooperation between history museums and higher education. This brings me back to my very specific history education objectives. As per my implementation of the “effected” in the museum, as I have explained, this is an innovative proposal. Past museum visitors' studies have tended to focus on the consolidation of the competencies of historical thinking in both students and adults (Gosselin & Livingstone, 2016; Gosselin, 2011; Wallace-Casey, 2017; Baron, 2012). The exploration of the nature of history and enhancement of multi-perspectivity have been far less inspected. Thus, this research has the potential to generate a deep reflection about both the university and the museum didactic approaches to history which, in turn, could lead to professional practices that are truly reflecting a participatory democratic education. Perhaps even more importantly, a consideration of the extremely violent wars and mass killings of the last century, of the social cost of nationalist and totalitarian excesses, and of blind adherence to tradition and prejudices should convince us of the necessity for the next generations of historians

⁴⁵As elicited by Chatterjee, Hannan and Thomson (2016), “[m]any subjects in the arts, humanities and social sciences are strongly oriented towards texts as a focus of study and therefore have their strongest discipline-specific relationship with the collections that reside in archives and libraries” (p. 8).

to possess a historical consciousness that aims at inspiring and promoting democratic institutions that are just to all human beings. My research can help clarify reasons for greater cohesion between museums and universities and suggest ways to begin to decolonise and indigenise the historical discipline through museum education.

6.1 The Coronavirus Pandemic, Remote Learning and Virtual Museums Visits

Before I frame my research questions, there is one last aspect that cannot be ignored and has impacted the conduct of my research study. My doctoral study was strongly affected by the coronavirus pandemic, which took place during my entire fieldwork phase. Starting from early 2020, the world was experiencing an unprecedented public health emergency owing to the COVID-19 pandemic. In an attempt to control the spread of the virus, many countries temporarily suspended in-person classes in schools and universities. Museums were closed to the public as well. School and universities, however, soon took action to switch to online education to ensure continuity of teaching and learning activities and assessments. Students were to attend their classes and study from home, using video conferencing tools, such as Zoom. A web platform to connect the teacher with his or her students, Zoom operates as a method of communication that allows connected users to discuss in real time. Teachers and students may share video, audio, files, slides, static images and texts through the platform. Zoom was one of the most popular platforms at the time, with 90 000 schools in 20 countries using it, at the time of the pandemic. Both UQAM and the McCord Stewart Museum were employing this platform for their professional and educational activities. So, it oriented my choice for the conduct of my “fieldwork” in this doctoral study.

By the end of 2020, when I began to meet with my partners, there was little research on how students perceived and experiences online teaching in higher education. The design of the museum program would have to be grounded in prior virtual museum education and be a little bit intuitive. Some ideas about the web platforms were heavily circulating, enabling us to determine what would be optimal parameters to boost students' online learning and appreciation of the museum program. For example, we knew that the tools available in Zooms (e.g., "polling", "raise hand", and "break out room") were helping teachers to properly conduct the classes to make it more lively, interesting and interactive. It was expected that the teacher would open his or her camera to be seen by the participants. There were obvious challenges as well, with "Zoom fatigue" (Bullock, Colvin & Jackson, 2022) being the most prominent. This fatigue arose when the "individual spend too much time looking at computer screens", and "it manifests as emotional, psychological and physical exhaustion" (p. 62). Other issues experienced by faculty and students were the lack of familiarity with the platform's tools and the demand on Internet bandwidth required when using webcams. As a result, teaching kept often a more traditional form and cameras were often shut, hindering the social interactions. There was also this aspect that could not be ignored: the increased usage of the video conferencing tools, in all courses, has made it challenging for students to concentrate in live sessions (all day long). It appeared more difficult for students to be motivated. Shorter classes were, thus, expected to help both students and professors to recuperate from a generalized fatigue and protect peoples' mental health during these stressful times. At the time of my research, the pandemic was reaching the cap of a year of confinement...

Despite the COVID-19 situation, I did not change my conceptual framework. I decided to optimize the same guiding precepts for the online version of the museum program. So, how did

this context of global restrictions impact on the objectives of my doctoral research? All the museums and establishments had been closed for quite some time, and nothing was less certain than that they would re-open soon. Second, the museum visit could therefore not be offered on site and would have to be virtual, carried out remotely. Students were going to attend the history course and the museum visit from the Zoom platform at home. What worried me was that the accepted advantages of the *in-situ* museum experience (previously discussed) would be largely swept aside. Students would not authentically encounter the museum's artifacts, nor access to the didactic panels of the exhibition (with the discourses). They would not be able to move around in a space that recreates an imaginary world. Moreover, Dufresne-Tassé's intellectual operations (cognitive, affective...) might not occur as forcefully as anticipated. Students would not be able to use the museum's facilities to manipulate, hear and create, which limits the simultaneous use of all human senses, known to increase the degree of enjoyment and tenfold the chances of memorizing new knowledge. From a sociability point of view, the class group would not meet directly with the museum guide, which could affect the complicity between experts and students, as well as the quantity and depth of exchanges, substantially reducing the quality of their learning. Conversations between "visitors" would also be limited by the web platform. In short, the disruption was not small as it reduced my field of possibilities.

I counted many good reasons to pursue my endeavours. There was a possibility to amend the museum program, to keep a few features of museum education while stimulating the historically effected consciousness. In terms of contributing to the research fields, museums have largely invested in the development of their virtual offerings in the past two decades and their impact is still under-documented (Gob, 2014). Plus, museum digital offerings are varied, giving access to

digitalized collection and education resources, developing virtual visits of their exhibitions using augmented reality and filming of their museum rooms, organizing conferences with experts on their exhibition-related themes. Some museums even create virtual exhibitions that do not exist physically (Terrisse, 2013; Deloche, 2001). Even more significantly for my study, Quebec research on museum-school collaborations had previously shown that it is possible to operationalize historical competencies using online museum resources allowing researchers to tackle, for instance, historical significance, cause and consequences, change and continuity, historical empathy and ethics (Éthier, Cardin & Meunier, 2010; André, 2014).

The collaborators and I decided to offer a museum visit that would reach the visitor directly. Cyberspace is known for reducing human and spatio-temporal relationships, and this was an issue with the confinement that we hoped to alleviate. Studies have in fact suggested that experience with reality remains predominant and necessary for the greatest number. A live tour showing objects from the collection, while retaining the commentary of an in-person guide on the web platform, seemed also the more feasible proposal. Even if students would not walk through the rooms, they could still feel as if they were entering the premises, as they would observe the objects while listening to the commentary of a museum expert. Pedagogically speaking, the virtual museum visit would not only break with the more classical lecture approach online, but it would appear more visually stimulating than the classic sharing of documents. Cutting the monotony might slightly increase their motivation or concentration. Using the Zoom platform could allow students to see each other (when the cameras are on), ask questions directly to the expert, work in smaller teams in meeting rooms. These aspects would be central to the design of the museum program. We would have to be cautious about limiting the negative effects of the “virtual” on my

doctoral objectives, in particular to the development of the historically effected consciousness. As well, we were keeping in mind students' potential fatigue that often occurs more quickly than in the natural classroom. The methodological section of this dissertation would clarify how we managed these variables.

Chapter Seven: Framing the Research Questions

In light of my theoretical discussion, my doctoral research has been designed to answer the following questions:

- 1) Within the context of a history course at university, how do students participating in a museum program that promotes a critical and Indigenous approach to history mobilize students' historically effected consciousness?
 - a. How does the collaboratively developed museum program facilitate students' meta-reflection on history (about historical knowledge production and dissemination) and enhancement of multiperspectivity?
 - b. How does students' prior knowledge (identities, motivations and aspirations) impact both individual and group learning?
- 2) What is the pedagogical value of the museum activity implemented in a history course at university?
 - a. What are affordances and constraints regarding the implementation and learning?
 - b. What is the overall appreciation of the participants (students and collaborators)?

Part 2: Methodological Justification

The intention of the doctoral project was to assess the educational potential of a collaboration between a museum and a higher education history course to develop students' historically effected consciousness. With this objective in mind, I have developed a pedagogical collaboration between an instructor in an undergraduate course at university and education staff at a museum, both oriented toward the Indigenous peoples in Canada and their histories. The first step in this research has been to approach the McCord Stewart Museum in Montreal and a course lecturer in history at Université du Québec à Montréal to develop a three-phase museum program, with activities before and after a virtual museum visit. The museum program has been created in close collaboration between the museum education staff, the history professor and the researcher, and with the aid of Indigenous members, both directly and indirectly, in the fall semester of 2020. I was responsible for preparing the documents to alleviate my partners' workload and overcome the short deadlines before the implementation of the museum program in the history course, that would be offered in the very next winter semester. These documents were revised for approval by both the university and museum parties.

With regard to our objectives, the culminating moment of our collaborative project has been the implementation of the museum program in the university history classroom in the winter of 2021. To attain the determined goals regarding the consolidation of students' historically effected consciousness, the museum program has been designed to engage the group of students in activities promoting meta-reflective thinking about history and stressing the necessity for "multiperspectivity" in the interpretive process of doing history. These activities have strongly

relied on the McCord Stewart Museum's various historical and educational strengths, such as its display of material culture about the Indigenous past in Canada, its scientific historical discourses that incorporate the perspectives of Indigenous peoples, its online social setting developed in the context of the pandemic, and its social-justice oriented citizenship, as formulated in its educational mission. The museum program offered to the students was developed to fulfill the four basic conditions necessary to the historically effected consciousness, defined in the first part of the dissertation, being 1) the presentation of critical discourses, 2) promotion of dialogues, 3) freedom of participation and 4) acceptance of dissensus.

Before clarifying the conduct of this qualitative case study, the following chapter is intended to reveal the philosophical assumptions underlying my methodology and methods. I position myself ontologically, epistemologically and axiologically in relation to educational research. In short, I clarify how the interpretivist epistemology as well as the socio-constructivist and critical paradigms, in particular, critical indigenous pedagogy, have informed my study.

Chapter Eight: Research Philosophies

8.1 The interpretivist stance

I want to make explicit and transparent my philosophical biases driving the inquiry— being interested in “historically effected consciousness”, “Indigenous perspectives” and “museum experience”. I embrace an interpretivist perspective. Ontologically speaking, deriving from the German tradition of hermeneutics and *Verstehen* (Understand), interpretivism conceives reality as being intersubjective (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). As researchers Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (1994) wrote, interpretivist scholars “celebrate the permanence and priority of the real world of first-person, subjective experience”, arguing “for the uniqueness of human inquiry” (p. 119). Accordingly, I endorse Bruner’s claim (1986) that “there is no unique real world that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language” (p. 95, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 123). I am not saying that there is no real world out there outside of our ideas. As elicited by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), “one can reasonably hold that concepts and ideas are invented yet maintain that these inventions correspond to something in the real world” (p. 125). Everything in this world achieves meaning through intellectual processes. Even hard science discoveries about nature are the products of meaning making. Both the scientific processes and results are, in essence, human creations⁴⁶. In educational research, it means that the individuals

⁴⁶Even mathematic language is a result of the human mind. Take a concept like the “temperature”. Obviously, the Earth and its atmosphere existed long before the appearance of humankind. However, the concept of a “hot” or cold” day is related to the (wo)man’s perception by its senses. Its precise measurement is based on a grading scale using mercury, invented by Dutch scientific *Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit* in 1714. I take on this landmark book on intellectual history: Thomas, Kuhn (1970/1962). *The structure of scientific revolutions*, University of Chicago Press.

are not detached from their comprehension of the world; the researcher and one's research subjects are interwoven in the resulting research interpretation.

It is vital for an interpretivist researcher to appreciate differences between people. So, I recognize that all my research participants, including myself, have brought their own world interpretations to my investigation. Incidentally, I have considered the participants' identities and prior cultural assumptions as well as my own positionalities throughout this study. I also acknowledged that each of the students' museum experiences and collaborators' perceptions were unique, though revealing common themes between one another's. Attuned to interpretivist philosophy, I have emphasized qualitative interdisciplinary analysis over quantitative analysis to provide a rich description of individuals' manifestations of historically effected consciousness. It was consistent with my convictions about the nature of historical consciousness (being situated in time and space). Integration of multiple methods⁴⁷ helped reveal the complexity of history students' experience and learning – in relation to the two dimensions of the historically effected consciousness, for the duration of the museum program and one month after its end. It was also useful to capture the collaborators' involvement, performances, and impressions. Since data is, however, heavily impacted by personal viewpoints and values, I have avoided generalization to other groups of people. As Mack (2010) and others have maintained, main disadvantages associated with interpretivism relate to the subjective nature of this approach and possibilities of researcher bias. This limitation can undermine representativeness of data, validity and usefulness of research to a certain extent. I have addressed to the best of my ability, these limitations, by

⁴⁷ deMarrais and Lapan (2004) have defined "method" as specific research techniques used to gather evidence about a phenomenon, and it typically utilizes such research tools as survey, observations, interviews and the like. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) have conceptualized "method" as "consistent with the logic embodied in the methodology" (p. 35).

referring to Hanz K. Klein and Michael D. Myers' (1999) seven key principles for conducting and evaluating interpretive field studies, a critical and dialogical methodology rooted in hermeneutics. These principles should permeate every step of my methodology and be taken into account in my methods to collect and analyze data. In Kein and Myers' article (1999), these principles are described as follows (p. 72):

- 1) The Fundamental Principle of the Hermeneutic Circle suggests that all human understanding "is achieving by iterating between considering the interdependent meaning of parts and the whole that they form". This principle of human understanding is fundamental to all the other principles.
- 2) The Principle of Contextualization "requires critical reflection of the social and historical background of the research setting, so that the intended audience can see how the current situation under investigation emerged".
- 3) The Principle of Interaction between the Researchers and the Subjects "requires critical reflection on how the research materials were socially constructed through interaction between the researchers and participants".
- 4) The Principle of Abstraction and Generalization "requires relating to idiographic details revealed by the data interpretation through the application of principles one and two to theoretical, general concepts that describe the nature of human understanding and social action".
- 5) The Principle of Dialogical Reasoning "requires sensitivity to possible contradictions between theoretical preconceptions guiding the research design and actual findings with subsequent cycles of revision".

- 6) The Principle of Multiple Interpretations “requires sensitivity to possible differences in interpretations among participants as are typically expressed in multiple narratives and stories of the same sequence of events under study”.
- 7) The Principle of Suspicion “requires sensitivity to possible ‘biases’ and systematic ‘distortions’ in the narratives collected from the participants”.

8.2 Meaning-making as a socio-constructivist process

Like many interpretivist researchers, I take a social constructivist approach and argue that knowledge and truth are constructed (not simply discovered). Based on Nelson Goodman’s constructivist philosophy (1984), I consider that “the process of inquiry is not of somehow getting in touch with the ready-made world; rather, worldmaking as we know it always starts from worlds already on hand; the making is a remaking” (Goodman, 1978, p. 6, cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p. 126). This reconstructing does not simply constitute different interpretations of the same world, it literally represents distinct world versions. Goodman’s understanding means that our frames of interpretation (versions) belong both to a system of interpretation (worlds) and to what is interpreted (phenomena). Furthermore, I acknowledge the social and dialogic nature of inquiry, central to constructivist thinking. According to Guba and Lincoln (1982), the terms by which the world is understood are social artifacts, products of historically situated interchanges among people (p. 129). In my research especially, the social environment and cultural tools (personal identities, collective memories, social exchanges and their virtual encounter with Indigenous artifacts) have had an impact on undergraduate history students’ and the museum-university partners mental activities of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction of knowledge during the whole museum program and later.

8.3 Critical research and pedagogy

My critical stance must also be highlighted in this research endeavor. I have been strongly influenced by critical theory. I maintain that social and political agency is not incompatible with scientific research. Like interpretivist researchers, critical researchers consider that research is not value free, but they go further. The goal of the research is to actively challenge interpretations and values to bring about change. The aim to support a political agenda is often criticized, seen as biased, scientifically risky. However, like critical scholars, I argue that this is a necessary consequence because politics and inquiry are inherently intertwined and, by defining a positive agency, the participants' lives can be transformed for the better (Creswell, 2007). As I am using the museum to enhance an understanding of history, concerned with social justice and Canada's inclusion of Indigenous people, my doctoral project is influenced by critical social research. Matching the common understanding of critical pedagogy, as key thinkers Paulo Freire (2001/1974) and Henry Giroux (1991) defined it, my study definitely targets and promotes: 1) deconstruction of students' prior knowledge (possibly distorted) about a marginalized ethnic group; 2) analysis of hidden discourses in the museum setting; 3) students' arising awareness of being historical agents themselves; 4) solidarity-based civics.

8.4 Indigenous Methodologies and Perspectives on Knowledge

Fundamentally, given my approach to social inquiry, Indigenous methodologies have been central to my reflection on historical research, history education as well as on museum research and education. They impacted my theoretical proposal of historical consciousness, my methods to design and implement the museum program with my museum and university partners as well as

my methods to collect and analyze data. Indigenous methodologies can be defined, indeed, as “[r]esearch by and for Indigenous Peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the tradition and knowledges of those people” (Evans, Hole, Berg, Hutchinson & Sookraj, 2008). As Denzin and Lincoln stated (2020), Indigenous methodologies are critical research, thus always political. Indigenous research is, more specifically, preoccupied with decolonization and indigenization of our Western societies. Indigenous methodologies attest to a recognition of a colonial past and of Indigenous Peoples, resistance to colonial narratives, the resurgence of Indigenous ways of knowing and being, promotion of Indigenous self-determination, and a willingness to fight against the power dynamics inherent in traditional research practices. In terms of values, they highly support community and cooperation, respect for elders, and an oral tradition of sharing their cultural heritage.

Indigenous methods are flexible, open and grounded in the experience of people (more so than in conventional Western academic research). For instance, Indigenous methods prioritise storytelling, personal reflection, visiting, sharing circles, ceremony, art creation, dance, etc. (Kovach, 2009) One aspect that cannot be overlooked is collaboration with Indigenous members throughout the research process. It is vital to the validity of research findings and interpretation. It must be pointed out, however, that implementing Indigenous methodologies in Western educational contexts is often challenging. It can be complex for researchers not to interfere with their own schemes of representations. In educational research, how does one negotiate Indigenous perspectives on knowledge and methodologies while still responding to the Western institutional objectives and standards (deadlines, assessments, etc.)? There is, moreover, the danger of reproducing the unbalance of power or playing the problematic role of “saving” the Indigenous.

To restrain that, as Denzin and Lincoln (2020) put it, the researcher must consider from the outset how his or her research benefits, as well as promotes, self-determination for Indigenous people. Self-determination concerns, notably, issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, and accountability. Indigenous research validity is assessed in terms of the benefits it creates for them, before all else.

8.5 My Axiological Position on History, Museum and University

My values underpin this research. I have adopted an axiological position that rejects “neutrality”⁴⁸. I firmly believe in higher education’s role to promote a flourishing democracy and social justice through critical thinking. Intellectual development and professional training are core constitutive goals of the university institution. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that higher education has always targeted personal and social empowerment of students and pursued their holistic education. History is one fundamental academic discipline that has the potential to accomplish this last goal, as it fosters development of critical minds before anything else, and cultivates understanding and respect for different cultural identities, aversion to and distrust of ethnocentrism, and curiosity about our multifaceted world. Consolidating history and museum education may foster respect and acceptance of differences. History is a fundamental tool to help break down racism, prejudices, and inequalities in everyday life. In Canadian history, the way we have taught this subject over time has impacted our vision of the Indigenous peoples, as I revealed earlier. Reviewing our teaching of this subject may contribute to the emergence of new sensitive

⁴⁸ The latter concept has been conventionally tied to the positivist stance in natural sciences. I argue that my doctoral project is socially, culturally positioned though I am attempting to produce something “scientific”. By way of definition, axiology and its investigative orientations “concern the nature of value and what kind of things have value” (Lukenchuk, 2013, p. 8).

and inclusive discourses about our national past that would benefit these traditionally marginalized communities. Students' historical consciousness may serve a noble cause, that goes beyond the strict "scientificity", by helping the establishment of equal relationships with members and communities from other cultures.

We cannot forget how historical discourses has been "*une arme à double tranchant*", used to abuse people, by justifying repressive systems that spread harmful narratives about minorities⁴⁹. This is why it so important to train the young adults in academia to decipher how their worldviews were shaped: they are, for the most part, a product of dominant ideas constructed by the "privileged" and "victorious". In the same vein, museums appear as a strong educational vector to help make the connection between academic history and this desired open-mindedness and diversity in the Canadian society. The museum experience, being social, connected to personal and collective memory, and betting on the materialized forms of the forever-gone past, might have all it takes to accomplish the disruption needed to shake limited understanding of the existing realities.

This doctoral study has also arisen from my growing awareness of the social responsibility of non-Indigenous historians, museums and education researchers in the decolonization and indigenization of disciplines, the university and Canadian society. I must admit, however, I have not been able to follow all precepts of Indigenous methodologies. Constraints were related to the demographics of participants and collaborators, low employment of Indigenous people in my field

⁴⁹Mass killings and genocides in the 20th century were based on historical discourses, circulating in the society or made up by political leaders from an ethnic rationale to exclude or kill. The Nazi Party in Germany is an obvious one.

of research, limited time and financial resources, virtuality of the encounter with objects, and schedules and other university constraints. So, this study exemplifies the complex and continuous negotiation required to tackle Indigenous perspectives within settlers' ways of doing and assessing. My research has implemented Indigenous methodologies, procedures and protocols, without, however, breaking entirely free from the requirements and standards of the Western educational and cultural institutions that my collaborators and I represented. Although Indigenous methodologies and perspectives have not been flawlessly implemented, my doctoral study still promoted a critical understanding of the past in the online university classroom. The museum activities were based on the discovery of an exhibition respectful in its curation, design and discourses of Indigenous perspectives. I worked with a museum that was embarked in a process of indigenization, open to discuss with the students about their strengthen collaboration with Indigenous communities and current reflection on their museum and historical practices.

Chapter Nine: Methodology

9.1 An Exploratory Instrumental Case Study

I have designed a qualitative singular case study⁵⁰. Focusing on interpretation, the case study perfectly fits my descriptive and explanatory research questions about *what* the phenomenon is and *how* it happens (Yin, 2006, p. 112). Given the wide spectrum of my research questions and scarcity of data reflecting undergraduate history students' engagement in a virtual museum setting, I chose an open methodology to facilitate the collection of abundant details and incorporation of unanticipated findings, such as may occur in the holistic case study. Another reason I was inclined toward the case study methodology is its flexibility regarding the analysis of emerging themes or patterns. Convergences and divergences between participants can be exposed without too much constraint. Another non-negligible aspect I have also considered, the singular case study heightens the possibilities to grasp micro-exchanges between participants, to elicit how they personally and socially construct, deconstruct, reconstruct learning. It enables the researcher to ponder specific contexts, while remaining cautious regarding generalization (Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2003; Stake, 1995).

As well, this case study is instrumental (Stake, 1995), since the participants are encouraged to accomplish something beyond the strict exploration of the museum and university knowledge. Based on Stake's explanation (1995), I claim that "there is a need for a general understanding" of mobilization of "effected" historical consciousness by history students while participating in a

⁵⁰Defined by John W. Creswell (2007) as "a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a bounded system [...] over time through detailed in-depth data collection, involving multiple sources of information and reports in a case description and case-based themes" (p. 245).

museum program, and I feel that I may “get insight into the question by studying a particular case in detail” (p. 7). This case thus plays a supportive role to augment an understanding of what the museum can bring to undergraduate history students as well as to history and museum education more generally. This methodology indeed suits my philosophical interpretive assumptions, as it puts emphasis on experience-as-knowledge. Given its aversion to closed categorization, it coheres with the interpretivist assumption that “[t]ruth with a capital ‘t’ and grounded meaning in any final and transcendental sense are not within our grasp” (Cherryholmes, p. 3, 1991). On another level, this methodology is respectful of Indigenous research, that openly rejects predetermined and strict categories. The qualitative case study allows me to contrast my data with theoretical perspectives that historians, history education and museum researchers judge relevant in their fields while excluding rigid measurement of learning (quantitative methods). I was careful to adopt a flexible approach that would prioritize a museum program that agrees with indigenization of practices and decolonization, as well as qualitative descriptions of students’ and collaborators’ learning with respect to critical Indigenous research.

9.2 The Design and Implementation of the Museum Program

The positioning of this research, at the confluence of three vast intellectual fields, has had a clear impact on the methodology and procedures to carry out this research. Although scholars from these fields have not worked much with each other, especially at the university level, these fields of research are marked by frequent conceptual exchanges, having a mutual interest in what is known as “historical culture”⁵¹. Based on the theoretical justification I have provided, the case

⁵¹Previous studies about a museum-school collaboration have encompassed multiple approaches. While these two areas of research (museum education and history education) have been characterized by an exponential growing interest in the last decades (Schiele, 2012), I have noted that researchers are still assessing methodologies and methods

study is planned with, at its crux, the enhancement of the historically effected consciousness and the postmodern practices of history, but also some foundational museum concepts: the socio-constructivist model for museum-school collaborations proposed by the GREM (Allard, 1999, Allard & Boucher, 1991), contextualized model for learning (Falk and Dierking, 2007, 2015; Bélanger & Meunier, 2016) and object-based learning (Dufresne-Tassé, 1996, White, 1998; Prown, 1982). It will either inspire or directly support the design of the museum program, for the first phase, and organize the case study, step by step, for the second phase.

Critical Indigenous Pedagogy (CIP), a method in Education deriving from Indigenous methodologies, has been very important by providing me with specific guidelines throughout my fieldwork (Lowan-Trudeau, 2019; Dei, 2011; Archibald, 2008; Batiste, 2013; Battiste & McConaghy; Battiste & Henderson, 2000; 2005 Kovach, 2005). Indigenous research more broadly was as fundamental (Thomas, 2005; Kovach, 2009; Steinhauer, 2001; Smith, 1999; Bishop, 1999). CIP aligns well with postmodern history and critical museum studies research. CIP is committed to the ethical, the transformative power of disrupting the dominant discourses, and is participatory. This method, bridging Paolo Freire's and Indigenous methodologies' principles, have impacted my doctoral research on three important levels: the definition of my core educational objectives regarding historical consciousness; the themes, structure and activities of the museum program rooted in the decolonization and indigenization of cultural practices; the direct and indirect participation of Indigenous members for the duration of the fieldwork. There were, obviously, limitations to the integration of Indigenous modes of thinking and doing. As I said in chapter 7,

that have been, to date, carried out. Very importantly, to my knowledge, none have yet operationalized the historically "effected" consciousness. Most of the research about assessing historical consciousness concerned the competencies of historical thinking (Vansledright, 2013; Seixas, 2010)

these were, theoretically, linked to academic research that remained, at times, attached to a somewhat rigid Western structure of learning and models. CIP has been applied by following through Marker's four themes in history education:

1. The circular nature of time and oral tradition as incorporating recurring events into its narratives.
2. The Indigenous relationships with landscape and non-humans in relating to the past.
3. The local landscape as containing both the meaning of time and place.
4. Indigenous perspectives on histories of Western colonisation.

In order to maximize the design of the museum program, based on the core theories in history, history education, museum education and Indigenous pedagogy, I came up with a theoretical model of categories of questions teachers and museum education scholars can ask to develop the historically effected consciousness in the museum setting or in relation to the exploration of an online exhibition. The model provides for the development of metahistorical reflection in the museum through the deployment of questions grouped into four categories. These questions are as follows (see p. 123):

- 1) students' prior knowledge of past representations of society (i.e. What do you understand from this society's relationship to time? How would you describe its understanding of reality and what makes you say that? How would you describe its understanding of reality and what makes you say that?);
- 2) the discourses presented in the exhibition visited or through the commentary of a cultural mediator (i.e. Does the museography respect the historical consciousness of the societies

represented? If no, may this cleavage be detrimental to the understanding of visitors (Western and non-Western)? What lessons do you learn from the museum's methodological and discursive practices of history?);

3) the functions of history in society (i.e. What role do identities play in the development of the exhibition? Why was it considered important to show this object rather than another, or why is it receiving more attention (from the museum; visitors)? Is the exhibition "scientific", "neutral"? Is there a distinction between neutrality and impartiality in history? Should the historian keep a distance from social and political debates? If so, how can he or she become politically involved while avoiding all forms of proselytism? Can the historian be an activist? How do you envision your future action, as a historian or history professional?);

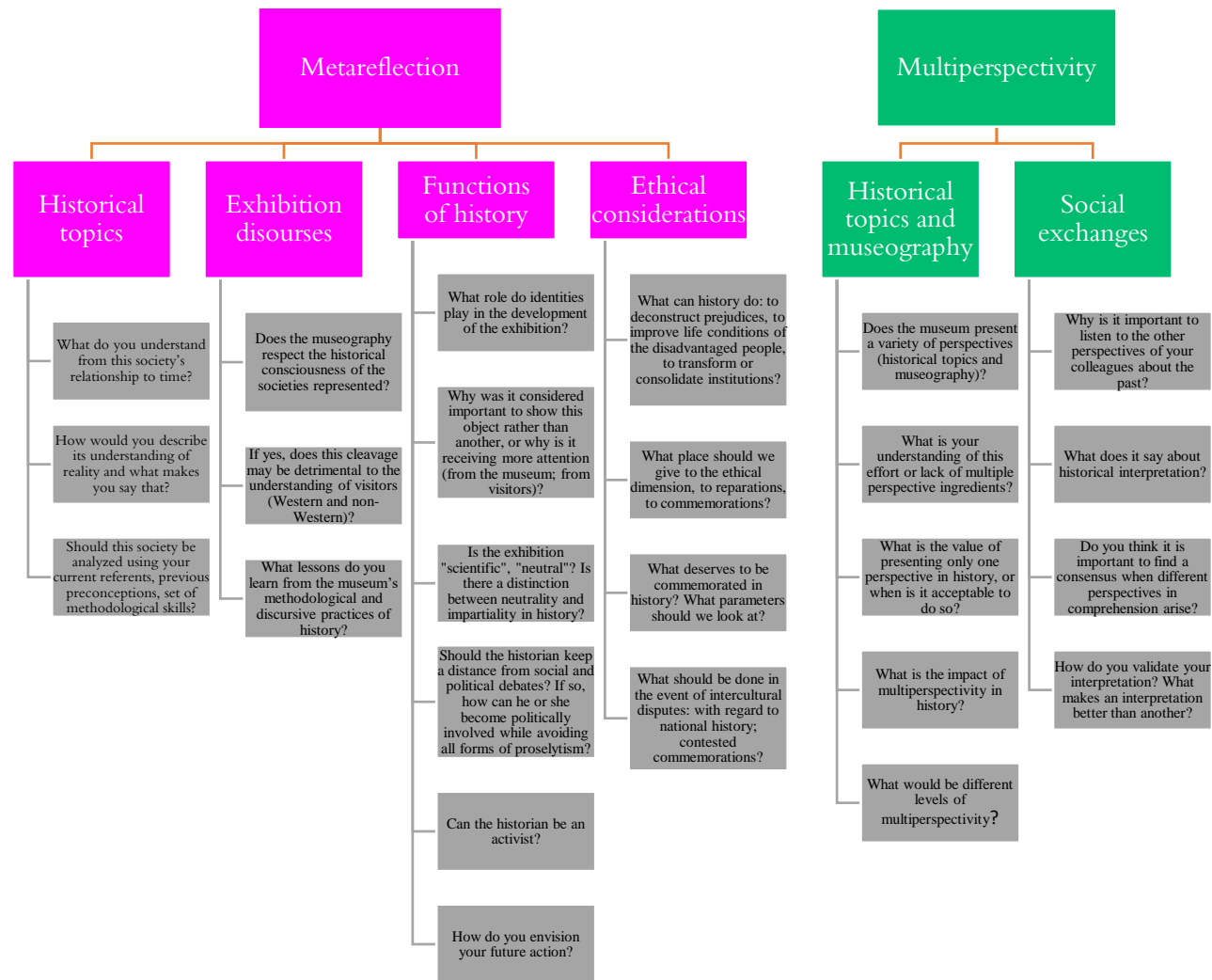
4) ethical considerations related to history (i.e. What can history do: to deconstruct prejudices, to improve life conditions of the disadvantaged people, to transform or consolidate institutions? What place should we give to the ethical dimension, to reparations, to commemorations? What deserves to be commemorated in history? What parameters should we look at? What should be done in the event of intercultural disputes: with regard to national history; contested commemorations?

Multiple perspectives on the past are examined at two main levels. They may emerge through:

1) content and museography (i.e. Does the museum present a variety of perspectives (historical topics and museography)? What is your understanding of this effort or lack of multiple perspective ingredients? What is the value of presenting only one perspective in history, or when is it acceptable to do so? What is the impact of multiperspectivity in history? What would be different levels of multiperspectivity in history?;

2) the multiple social exchanges taking place in the museum space (i.e. Why is it important to listen to the other perspectives of your colleagues about the past? What does it say about historical interpretation? Do you think it is important to find a consensus when different perspectives in comprehension arise? How do you validate your interpretation? What makes an interpretation better than another?).

Figure 3: My proposed framework to museum program design based on the operationalization of the “effected” by Grever and Adriaansen (2019)



9.3 Recruitment of Participants/Location of Research

These avenues of reflection have led to the development of my case study resulting in a collaboration between the McCord Stewart Museum and a course lecturer in history at Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM). The McCord Stewart Museum emerged as a partner of choice for a few reasons. Over the past years, this museum has become a key player in the definition of participatory and citizen-based museological approaches in Montreal. The museum supports “human mediation, based on participation and dialogue, inviting visitors to express and share their perspectives on socially relevant issues” (Bélanger & al., 2019, p. 4).⁵² Preserving an impressive collection on Indigenous cultures, this museum presented a permanent exhibition, entitled *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples collection*⁵³, which invited visitors to understand the importance of clothing in the cultural, political and spiritual identities of First Nations, Inuit and Métis in Canada (Lemay, 2013-2021)⁵⁴. Produced by the Museum Stewart Museum in partnership with an Indigenous Advisory Committee, the exhibition highlighted the cultural diversity and resilience of the Indigenous communities over time. It also revealed some of the negative aspects of colonialist system implanted in Canada and its resonance until now. Fueled by their current reflections about

⁵²Free translation from French.

⁵³This exhibition that has since been replaced in 2021 by another permanent exhibition called “Indigenous Voices of Today: Knowledge, Trauma, Resilience”.

⁵⁴Inaugurated in 1921 and housed in a building donated by McGill University⁵⁴, the McCord Stewart Museum was born under the impulse of a passionate collector, David Ross McCord. Today a museum of social history that celebrates past and present life in Montreal, its collections hold hundreds of thousands of objects, photographs, illustrations and documents, representing tangible evidence of people, places and events that have marked Canadian history over the past three centuries. While the collections initially reflected its founder’s interest in the First Nations and major events in Canadian history, these have since greatly diversified. Positioning itself as a participatory and civic museum, the McCord Stewart institution gives a central place to dialogue and social interaction in its cultural and educational activities. For more information, see: <https://www.musee-mccord-stewart.ca/en/>

their Indigenization process, the museum's education department was keen to explore educational avenues through my doctoral project.

For its part, the history course offered at UQAM caught my attention because of the targeted historical topics and competencies, complementary to the museum's exhibition, but lacking in terms of the Indigenous presence and methods. The content of the course was close to the objects and discourses found in the McCord Stewart Museum's permanent exhibition. From a historical stance, the course syllabus mentioned that the course aims at "the acquisition of the overall event framework of the history of Indigenous nations, from the decline of the Euro-Canadian alliances to contemporary claims" (Course syllabus, Winter 2021). It identified:

...familiarization with sources used for reconstructing the history of Indigenous nations, including the problems of interpretation presented by these documents; development of analysis and synthesis abilities in the study of historical problems; application of critical thinking skills with regard to the historiography of Indigenous history.⁵⁵

Although revealing an openness to the troubled past of Canada through Indigenous perspectives, the historiographical approach to this UQAM course was not entirely breaking with the usual ways of doing things. For instance, none of the few speakers invited to this class during the semester were members of Indigenous nations. The course lecturer was teaching for the first time and was seeing my invitation to collaborate as a way to learn professionally and alleviate her courseload.

The collaboration involved three main partners: an education project manager at the McCord Stewart Museum (Natalie), a course lecturer (UQAM) (Sandra), and the researcher (me). In line with the decolonial and Indigenous methodologies, the collaborators and I espoused an iterative and egalitarian creative design process. There were three other partners engaged in

⁵⁵ The reference is anonymous in keeping with the confidentiality of the instructor (participant in the research).

brainstorming meetings or in the process of reviewing the museum activities and discourses: the head of the museum education department; the history teaching assistant (Antoine-Xavier), the Wendat curator, responsible for the Indigenous collection⁵⁶. Indigenous voices were included in the museum program through the texts and space of the exhibition, which were developed in collaboration with the Indigenous Advisory Committee, and the critical reading and approval of the museum program that had been adapted to my research by the Wendat curator. Indigenous perspectives were integrated with respect to operationalization of the historically effected consciousness, critical museology and critical Indigenous pedagogy through attention given to the critique of Western institutions (decolonization) and the process of indigenization of the McCord Stewart Museum. Natalie, Sandra and I aligned with their discourses and perspectives during the design and implementation processes of the museum activities. Moreover, our trio, together with Antoine-Xavier, clearly stated to the university students participating in the museum program that we were not Indigenous ourselves, and that Indigenous people were peripheral to the conduct of the study, which was a limitation to our own comprehension and presentation of Indigenous objects, stories and approaches, and of Indigenous methodologies.

9.4 Methods and Procedures

Occurring during the coronavirus pandemic, the study was conducted remotely using the online platform, Zoom. Adhering to a virtual rather than a concrete space did not mean that we had to sacrifice our educational objectives. The conduct of the research had two main phases: the design in collaboration with my partners and the implementation of the museum program in the

⁵⁶The curator preferred to remain as an external consultant and has not been given a fictional name to respect his distance from this study: he reviewed the museum discourses in the collaborative script destined for the university museum visit.

online university course. The museum program was developed during the fall of 2020 in collaboration with the history professor and museum professionals. Experimentation of the museum program and data collection (of students' learning and collaborators' appreciation) was carried out in the 2021 winter semester. The pedagogical value of museum activities depended mainly on our ability to transpose our intentions didactically using virtual resources. Thus, we orchestrated a series of interactive activities taking place over three consecutive classes, totalling five hours of the university course. In keeping with the common model of museum-school collaborations in Quebec (Allard & Boucher, 1991), the museum activities took the form of an educational program, consisting of pre- and post-visit activities in the classroom and a museum visit with a museum guide. to suit the model of museum-school collaborations proposed by Université du Québec à Montréal's Groupe de recherche en éducation muséale (GREM) (Allard & Boucher, 1991), which aims at improving the quality of school visits to museums⁵⁷. This model is based more specifically on object-based learning (questioning, observation, appropriation), according to hypothetical-deductive method (questioning, data collection, analysis and synthesis), and corresponding to three phases (preparation, realization, extension) taking place at three different times (before, during and after the museum visit).

⁵⁷ Since the development of this model, as recently purported by museum education scholar Anik Meunier (2018) and other researchers (Paquin & Lemay-Perreault, 2015; Allard, Larouche, Lefebvre, Meunier, & Vadeboncoeur, 1996), empirical research has shown its positive effect on student concept and skill learning and attitude (p. 368).

Figure 4: GREM model for planning and running educational programs in museum-school collaborations (Allard and Boucher, 1985)

<i>Steps</i>	<i>Phases</i>	<i>When</i>	<i>Where</i>
Interrogation	Preparation	Before	In the classroom
Observation	Implementation	During	At the museum
Integration	Extension	After	In classroom

Elements of our theoretical discussion were interwoven into each phase of the design, aiming to stimulate a situated historical consciousness, fostering multiple perspectives (historical topics and museography; social interactions) and metahistorical reflection (historical topics, exhibition discourses, history functions, ethical considerations). We used my proposed template (p. 123) to design the script of the visit and the questions that would lead students' discussions during the online collaborative activities. Special attention was given to Marker's four themes of Indigenous historical consciousness for the museum visit's discourses presented before (p. 87-88): 1) The circular nature of time and oral tradition as incorporating recurring events into its narratives; 2) The Indigenous relationships with landscape and non-humans in relating to the past; 3) The local landscape as containing both the meaning of time and place; 4) Indigenous perspectives on histories of Western colonisation.

9.4.1 Phase 1: Elaboration of the Museum Program

Close collaboration between the course lecturer, the few museum professionals and I made it possible to design a well-suited museum program to develop students' historically effected consciousness. First, we discussed and clarified the specific objectives of the program (in terms of knowledge, skills, attitudes). Then, the pedagogical and research material were developed and reviewed through a close and equal partnership. My first role consisted of making sure that the proposal (museum program) respects the identified research parameters. In other words, I avoided imposing my ideas though I may have introduced some suggestions and produced material. All parties brought their ideas to the "online" table, and would review the documents (calendar of meetings, online museum activities, historical discourses) before adoption. They were able to request meetings and share their viewpoints at any time during the process.

For the pre-visit activity, facilitated by Sandra, we agreed to highlight students' prior knowledge regarding the discipline of history, the role of museums in society, the history of Canada and the Indigenous peoples, and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. For the museum visit, the partners determined that they would present a pre-recorded video tour of the exhibition *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples' collection* to the students. To reach diverse audiences during the pandemic, a 20-minute film follows the circular path of the exhibition, punctuated by the exhibition's central objects (amautis, feather headdress, ulu, regalia clothing...), with the aim of sensitizing visitors to the plural and resilient identities, past and present, of multiple Indigenous communities through their clothing cultures. In this video, objects are shown by revealing detail about materials and traditional know-how of the Indigenous nations. It is

complemented with a commentary by the museum facilitator (often non-Indigenous), designed to create interaction with the student audience as they observe the objects from all angles. This commentary touches on the main themes of the exhibition, such as significance of land for Indigenous peoples, resisting stereotypes, their cultural resilience and adaptation⁵⁸.

That clarified, our collaboration modified this virtual visit to some extent, to better match the university concerns. We added comment about the Indigenous conception of time and modes of narration and the museum's transformative process of indigenization and proposed a workshop at the end of the visit. This workshop invited teams of students to adopt the role of museum experts and to select an object from the Indigenous collection that embodies the messages of the exhibition, after considering different perspectives on history (according to the museum's intentions, history of Canada, history of the Indigenous peoples, personal preferences). A following discussion was created to help students recognise the museum's efforts to move towards inclusive practices and to explain how those practices reflect decolonial questioning. For the post-visit activity, performed by Antoine-Xavier, the teaching assistant, a relatively open exchange around questions allowed students to revisit learning achieved throughout the museum program. It aimed at stimulating reflections upon how historians and museologists work to deepen students' meta-reflection. The integration of these activities in the history course followed shortly upon their elaboration, a month later, with the case study trying to highlight how students manifested situated historical skills. In the following pages, Table 2: Phase 1: The design of the museum program in collaboration with the history course lecturer and the McCord Stewart Museum provides information about the collaboration in the fall of 2020, Table 3: The museum program's activities and implementation

⁵⁸ Note that this museum visit is presented with more detail in Part 3: Research Findings.

in the university classroom and related pedagogical resources offers information about the museum program, its implementation and related documents useful to its realization. Finally, Table 4: Topics of the virtual museum visit based on the McCord Stewart Museum's exhibition and adaptations by the research collaboration provides an idea of the main historical themes that were covered during the museum visits and their relative importance in time, considering the 90-minute visit.

Table 2: Phase 1: The design of the museum program in collaboration with the history course lecturer and the McCord Stewart Museum

Phase 1	Methods	Documents (serving data collection)
Elaboration of the museum program	Ongoing follow-up with museum and university collaborators for feedback and modifications	1. Identifying and aligning museum program objectives with the partners
		Course syllabus
		Existing templates for the exhibition virtual visit scenario
		Doctoral objectives and guiding theories and principles
		2. Determining the museum activities and discourses
		Documents presented to the partners
		3. Drafting the script for the virtual visit and the pedagogical guide for teaching
		Script for the virtual visit (for the museum guide)
		Teaching guide (for the university course lecturer)
		4. Design of the pedagogical resources
		Pre-recorded video of the museum visit (produced by the McCord Stewart Museum prior to the research) Powerpoint presentations Students' answer sheets (Word documents)
		5. Approval of the museum program (including the commentaries of the Wendat curator at the McCord Stewart museum)

Table 3: The museum program's activities and implementation in the university classroom and related pedagogical resources

3-phase museum program	Description of the activities	Duration, setting, person in charge	Scripts for teaching and museum visit	Teaching and learning documents
Before-visit activity	Concept map activity (Brainstorming activity on students' preconceptions in small teams followed by a plenary discussion)	40 min, in the virtual classroom (Zoom), by the course lecturer	See the teaching guide (p. 6-12) and Powerpoint 1 "Presentation" (Présentation) in the Education Kit	Activity sheet 1 "Mind map" (Carte mentale) in the Education kit
	Definition of "Museum" and Presentation of the McCord Stewart Museum	20 min, in the virtual classroom (Zoom), by the course lecturer		Appendix 1: Useful museum facts (Savoirs utiles sur le musée) Appendix 2 McCord Stewart Museum (Le Musée McCord Stewart) Appendix 3: Suggestions for conducting research on the McCord Stewart Museum Web site (Suggestions pour le déroulement de la recherche sur le site web du Musée McCord Stewart)
	Activity "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A call to action" (Activité: Commission de Vérité et Réconciliation: Un appel à l'action) Discussion in small teams and in plenary	30 min in the virtual classroom (Zoom), by the course lecturer		Activity sheet 2 "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission: A Call to Action" (Activité: Commission de Vérité et Réconciliation: Un appel à l'action) in the Education Kit See also: The TRC report and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Le rapport de la CVR et la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones) (PDF 1 and 2 in the Education Kit)
	Session conclusion and extension activity (optional): Reading of the article by Bélanger, C., Deveau, M., and Delfino, L. (2019). "Le Musée McCord Stewart un musée ouvert, citoyen et participatif pour aborder les enjeux sociaux du XXI ^e siècle", <i>OCIM la lettre</i> , 183, 40-45.	20 min, facultative homework, by the students		PDF 3 in the Education kit

Virtual museum visit	Virtual tour of the exhibition <i>Wearing Our Identity. The First Peoples Collection</i> (“Porter son identité. La collection des Premiers peuples”) with commentary by a McCord Stewart Museum mediator	60 min in the virtual classroom, by the McCord Stewart Museum mediator (Zoom)	Script for the virtual museum visit (unavailable in the Educational Kit – Property of the McCord Stewart Museum)	Pre-recorded visit of the exhibition (McCord Stewart Museum) (Unavailable in the Educational Kit – Property of the McCord Stewart Museum)
	Activity “Being in the of Museologists’ Shoes” (“Dans les souliers des muséologues”) in small teams and plenary discussion (following the online museum visit)	45 min in the virtual classroom (Zoom), by the course lecturer (the museum mediator can support)	See the script summary (p. 13-20) in the teaching guide. and Powerpoint 2 “In the Shoes of Museologists” (“Dans les souliers des muséologues”)	Activity sheet 3 from the “Being the Museologists” Shoes (“Dans les souliers des muséologues”) museum visit workshop and its answer sheet in the Education Kit
Post-visit activity	Activity “What lenses for the historian in the 21 st century?” (“Quelles lunettes pour les historiens au 21 ^e siècle”)	40 min in the virtual classroom (Zoom), by the teaching assistant (the course)	Script the script summary (p. 21-23) in the teaching guide + Powerpoint 3 in the Education Kit	Activity sheet 4 “What lenses for the historian in the 21 st century?” (“Quelles lunettes pour les historiens au 21 ^e siècle”) in the Education Kit
	Discussion in small teams and in plenary			
	Production of a <i>Slido</i> tag cloud			
	Extension activity (optional): Viewing of the film <i>Nanook of the North</i>	1h20, facultative homework by the students		Appendice 4: Synopsis and critique of the film <i>Nanook of the North</i> (Synopsis et critique du film) (p. 33)

Table 4: Topics of the virtual museum visit based on the McCord Stewart Museum’s exhibition and adaptations by the research collaboration

	Duration
1) Territory: The identity of Indigenous cultures	10 min
2) The Indian Act: Undermining the identity of Indigenous communities	5 min
3) Identity is plural: Stereotype is singular	5 min
4) Nature at the heart of our identity: Wearing the resources we respect	15 min
5) Wearing past and present identities: Cultural identities, present identities	10 min
6) Indigenization process of the McCord Stewart Museum (a new addition)	15 min
Activity “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes” (Parts 1 and 2) (new addition)	30 min
	90 min

9.4.2 Phase 2: Implementation of the Museum Program in the Online Classroom

Based on the museum program that was implemented over three consecutive virtual classes, I developed a methodology that identified six key moments in order to assess how students mobilize historically effected consciousness over time; and to identify the pedagogical value of the museum program (see Chapter Seven: Framing the Research Questions, p. 105). Based on my philosophical assumptions and views on pedagogy, I took into account students' prior knowledge based on a timeline. Here are these six moments (or seven times of historically effected consciousness, from HC0 to HC6):

- 1) before-visit activity – before input (time 0 of historically effected consciousness).
- 2) before-visit activity (parts 1 and 2) (times 1 and 2 of historically effected consciousness).
- 3) during the museum visit (time 3 of historically effected consciousness).
- 4) at the exit of the museum (time 4 of historically effected consciousness).
- 5) after-visit activity (time 5 of historically effected consciousness).
- 6) after the last course of the session (time 6 of historically effected consciousness).

These moments correspond to my data collection about students' learning and appreciation, as well as my collaborators' involvement, learning and appreciation in the museum program. The implementation of the museum program happened over six weeks. I will now clarify how each moment helped me to make sense of students' progression and degree of satisfaction of my collaborators. I will clarify the methods of data collection at each moment and how I also ensured confidentiality.

Before-Visit Activity – Before Input of Historically Effected Consciousness (Time 0 of HC)

The first step, with the students, took place one week before the museum visit. Considering the socio-cultural theories of education (identities influence learning), students first participated in a semi-structured questionnaire (10 min) (Appendix A). I wanted to record student participants' socio-demographic variables to account for identities in the process of building meaning (Dawson & Jensen, 2011). This would help me figure out to what extent students' have learned during the study. These questionnaires were submitted and sent back by email using our protected institutional accounts a week before the beginning of the museum program.

Before-Visit Activity – Before Input of Historically Effected Consciousness (Time 1 and 2 of HC)

Then, I observed students' conceptions on key ideas (to help me grasp their propensity to understand history as situated) prior to any museum program's input. It happened during the first class of the museum program, which was during the seventh week of the semester, almost at mid-semester. In an activity of mind mapping, the students were invited by their instructor to both verbalize and write words or images about history, museums, Canada, and Indigenous people. They worked cooperatively in teams of three or four students for 30 minutes. We were using breakout rooms on Zoom, and students were able to think, discuss, search online. An answer sheet, that is, a Word document that I designed was provided to each team through UQAM's Moodle platform; one member of each team was responsible to download it and add their ideas. A plenary discussion of 10 minutes allowed the various teams to exchange their answers afterward. I did not intervene in any way; I was observing and taking notes on my computer directly. Quite

importantly, I only gathered data about my student participants and my collaborators, even during the whole-group conversations (I emphasize that 75 students were enrolled in that class). I have, thus, examined three teams of students (10 students; 1 team of 4; 2 teams of 3). Research materials were not identified by any students' name. I coded the concept maps immediately after the course (based on a team number). I received their answer sheets by email right after the activity.

During that same class, the instructor carried out the second part of the before-visit activity that helped define museums and museum studies in relation to history and heritage. The activity was meant to prepare students for the upcoming museum visit. Sandra was also presenting the McCord Stewart Museum, although Natalie was also attending the history class, remaining silent during that presentation. Another collaborative activity took place. The content of the activity was closely linked to the permanent exhibition *Wearing our Identity. The first people's collection*, the Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Only the activity sheets of the student participants (working with the same teams as previously) have been kept and analyzed by me. They had the same Word format and were again transmitted through Moodle. Given the spontaneous exchanges of the whole-group discussion that was meant to take place after teamwork, I only noted the verbatim statements of the student participants and my collaborators. They were attributed identification numbers based on their team's affiliation to ensure confidentiality. I did not intervene in any way during this before-visit activity. As previously, I received my participants' answer sheet by email right after the activity.

Museum Visit (Time 3 of Historically Effected Consciousness)

During this key phase, the group of students as well as the course lecturer took part in the 90-minute virtual tour of the permanent exhibition *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples Collections* with the McCord Stewart Museum's guide (who actively participated in the development of the program). The museum guide (Natalie, project manager at McCord Stewart Museum) commented live on the series of objects. The visit included a 60-minute guided visit of the exhibition followed by a collaborative activity called "Being in the Museologists' Shoes". There were two parts. The team activity required, first, for students to think about the Indigenous artifacts that they previously encountered and make conscious choices based on different perspectives on history (the McCord Stewart Museum, Indigenous people, the Canadian society, and their own). The second invited students to reflect on the indigenization of the McCord Stewart Museum and the visit they had just attended. To foster students' development of historical understanding and practice, the museum visit and activities were designed and presented in such a way that it touched on the two dimensions of the historically effected consciousness, meta-reflection on history and multiperspectivity, while promoting the four conditions: discourses, dialogues, freedom of participation and acceptance of dissensus. There was again a plenary discussion with everyone where the various teams expressed their ideas and viewpoints. I only noted the verbal comments and behaviours of the participants (with my usual coded sheet of observations). Answer sheets were also processed the same way as previously (Moodle, coding, emails right after). The teams from the previous week were kept. I did not intervene in any way during the museum visit.

At the Exit of the Museum (Time 4 of Historically Effected Consciousness)

Immediately after the end of the museum visit, I subjected the student participants to a semi-open questionnaire of 10 questions (30 minutes) (Appendix B) in order to collect evidence of the various mental operations they had performed, their learning (personal, social, civic, professional), as well as their general appreciation of the museum experience, which would have otherwise been difficult to perceive. Some questions also referred to the two dimensions of the “effected”. These were seen as potentially useful to contrast our findings with their feelings of the museum program and their own personal understanding. They could, for instance, suggest subcategories (of the two dimensions of the “effected”) that we may not have thought about. Students’ names were not on the questionnaire. They submitted their questionnaire by email, one after each other. Given their tiredness at 9:00 pm (the class was ending late at night), they got 24 hours to send me their questionnaire back. The questionnaires were coded with the same number they received for the socio-cultural data form.

After-Visit Activity (Time 5 of Historically Effected Consciousness)

In the 60 minute after-visit activity, students discussed two questions within their usual teams. The first question asked them about what they learned during the museum program as per the history of the Indigenous peoples. My aim was to distinguish if they were bringing new knowledge (in comparison with the concept maps) and if they felt they learned something on that particular aspect. The second question was meant to help them transfer the knowledge acquired on the indigenization of the McCord Stewart Museum to other contexts: field of history, other museums, society, education. A plenary session occurred in the last 20 minutes. I did not intervene during this activity, as I was collecting the verbatim comment silently in the break-out rooms or

during the whole class exchange. Answer sheets were submitted right after by email. Coding respected the same process as in the two first museum phases (by their team number).

On collecting the data of multiple participants at the same time online

As I have clarified how I proceeded to gather my data, I would like to say a word on the challenge it has represented, given multiple interactions happened simultaneously and that we were confined to the Zoom platform. The primary difficulty was the simultaneous capture of both talk and action, which was crucial to the analysis. The two contextualize each other, the meaning of what is said is dependent in part on what is being done at that moment, the context within which it is said, that immediately preceding talk, and the history of all participants (Rowe & Bachman, 2012, p. 152). I was, moreover, not able to follow each team at the same time on Zoom. So, my observations of how their activities unfolded are somewhat incomplete. However, I was very careful to observe each team equally during the three phases of the museum program, and their answer sheets helped me in making sense of what I missed. Some comments of my participants have not been conserved from the plenary, as they were part of discussions with non-participant students. Fortunately, these instances were rare. Students were also working in teams, and I have been careful to not underestimate power relationships in my analysis of these interactions (Reid, Greaves & Kirby, 2017). Some students were talking much less than others in the breakout sessions or in the whole-group conversations. The two questionnaires and the final interview with me helped me clarify what each student learned and their level of appreciation to assess the mobilization of the historically effected consciousness.

Final Interviews at the End of the Semester (Time 6 of Historically Effected consciousness)

After the last class of the semester, at an opportune moment for each of the participants, I met with them individually and online using the Zoom Video Conferencing platform for a series of 15-minute audio-recorded interviews to better understand the impact of the museum program. Given the duration of the course, I knew that appreciation of the experience could change (Falk & Dierking, 2005), so it was pertinent to wait a little before the interview. Students were invited to reflect on what they recalled; on how the museum program affected their knowledge; what they thought of the museum program and online experience; if it had an impact in their academic progress of their history course or any other course; if they talked about it to other people, if it contributed to personal lives overall (Appendix C). I also invited the history teacher (Sandra), the museum educator (Natalie), the teaching assistant (Antoine-Xavier) as well as the person in charge of Education at the McCord Stewart Museum (Jeanne) to a 15-minute video-recorded interview using Zoom Video Conferencing⁵⁹. This individual talk with my collaborators was intended to obtain their opinions on the museum program's achievement in relation to their initial respective objectives, their general appreciation, and their overall observations regarding the student participants (learning and appreciation) (Appendix D). The answers collected from the interviews made it possible to reinforce, nuance, or invalidate prior data or personal observations. For confidentiality, security and fairness' motives, the interviews were solely for the use of the researcher, and they remained confidential. There was certainly a limit to their anonymity, to which they adhered in their consent forms: in the dissertation, the participants may indeed recognize the

⁵⁹ The Wendat curator dismissed our invitation, as he did not feel he knew enough about pedagogy and the implementation of the visit in the university classroom.

other participants based on their comments made in front other people during the program as well as based on their respective professional functions.

Table 5: Phase 2: Implementation of the museum program and data collection

Phase 2	Methods	Data collection (Instruments)
Implementation of the museum program	Before-visit activity	Socio-demographic questionnaires (10 students)
		Answer sheets (3 teams of students)
		Observation notes (eletronic grids)
	Virtual visit	Answer sheets (3 team of students)
		Observation notes (electronic grids)
		Students' questionnaires about the museum visit (learning and appreciation) (24 hours after the museum visit)
	Post-visit activity	Answer sheets (3 team of students)
		Observation notes
	Individual interviews	Students' interview (15-min Zoom recording) Collaborators' interview (15-min Zoom recording) (1 month after the end of the museum program)

9.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis took place during and after data collection. Data was secured on my laptop as I was receiving them on my protected email. They were also placed in protected files. Data was

transcribed and analyzed using mostly Excel sheets and Atlas.ti. They were also translated from French to English. I analyzed one phase (1 to 6) and moment (t0 to t6 of historical consciousness) at a time. Following an iterative process, I brought out common and divergent themes among participants, as I recognize that learning experiences are unique and dependent on many factors (personal, physical, socio-cultural contexts). The course objectives, the historical knowledge taught, the museum program's documents, the institutional collaborators' answers, my own observation notes, students' answer sheets, the two questionnaires and the final interviews all contributed to the analysis and interpretation of my participants' data. From the collected data, I organized the observed themes based on my theoretical model of the historically effected consciousness in the museum setting, itself grounded in theories in historical consciousness (especially from the contribution of Grever and Adriaansen), museum education and critical Indigenous pedagogy. This framework was perfectly suited to the needs of this doctoral research examining the training of university students (future history professionals). A comparison of the results obtained for each of the moment or phase (HC0 to HC6) have helped reveal the different learning experiences between students, assess the impact of the museum program, and characterize (the development of students' historically effected consciousness (or lack of) over time. The analysis of my collaborators' learning, and degree of satisfaction followed another strategy. I stayed anchored in the structure of their interviews for the reader to better grasp the chain of thoughts. Connections were made with the other partners and students' answers. These have been relevant to formulate recommendations for future museum-university collaborations.

Chapter Ten: Ethical Considerations

10.1 Potential Harms and Risk

Before I conducted my fieldwork, I had to be careful about possible issues arising during the study and to clarify how my research conformed to the ethics requirements at McGill University. My ethical proposals were founded in the work of qualitative methodology researchers, such as Reid, Greaves and Kirby (2016) and Miller, Birch, Mauthner and Jessop (2012), and in Indigenous methodologies, as presented in Denzin and Lincoln (2018, 2008) and Kovach (2009) and Lowan-Trudeau (2019). There was, first, an emotional risk associated with the study of Indigenous peoples in Canada as well as the museum's indigenization/decolonization process that I could not ignore. Some students might have been upset by the sensitive nature of the testimonies (written, oral, digital, etc.) as well as by the fact that their identity beliefs (e.g., calling into question a collective or family memory) and personal values (e.g., superiority of Western civilization's thinking and institutions) might have been shaken. The topic could have been detrimental to students' curiosity about history, as clashes can be difficult to negotiate and may cause grief and anger. Studying history forces one to confront a difficult past that is sometimes not so distant, echoing the present. Addressing the history of residential schools, for example, might also have evoked trauma in some students. Emotional risk could also have psychological repercussions beyond the museum program, which could affect, too, self-definition and self-esteem.

The risk was also social because the museum program was in the presence of others and relied on collaboration and conversation. During the activities, students might have asserted points of view that hurt peers or even the professor and museum professional. Tensions might arise from

this research and persist long after its closure. It was also possible that students would resist speaking out during the activities for fear of being rebuffed, especially in a context where the student would defend a minority and unpopular position. Feeling that one cannot openly and fully participate could create a sense of frustration. A student might also have apprehended later consequences affecting his or her academic performance by adopting a perspective contrary to the majority. Quarrels could have also arisen between the history professor and museum professionals during the development and implementation of the museum program. Conflicts could have been related to emotional (anger, disappointment, feelings of powerlessness) and psychological (personal devaluation) risks. These were certainly acceptable in relation to the potential benefits⁶⁰. History students in their professional training must be confronted with all forms of realities of the past, including those that are violent, upsetting, or disturbing. According to studies in museum education (Grever, van Boxtel & Klein, 2017), this emotional charge was even essential to the development of empathy, openness to others and the questioning of misconceptions. A little confrontation is necessary for the development of a historically effected consciousness.

To reduce emotional, psychological and social risks, the museum program has not incorporated any object or illustration that explicitly showed degrading and horrifying acts. Racist terms associated with the exhibition were defused during the museum program with respect to Indigenous peoples. All participants had the right to speak or not speak at any time. With regard to personal identities, participants were aware that they could refuse to answer certain questions of the researcher or the museum program. No discussion also served to label individuals. The

⁶⁰ In fact, the risks are not much higher than the normal course of a history session in the university classroom. The difficult elements of Canadian history are covered in a "regular" university course. Discussions around texts or primary sources are sometimes used by history professors. Certainly, the immersive dimension of a museum exhibition has a potentially greater emotional charge than an illustration or text presented in class.

various activities sought spontaneous shared responses that were not the result of any kind of pressure. In a case where a student would have liked to leave a discussion, the classroom, the exhibition, or the research project, he or she would have had the opportunity to do so. Should a participant be hurt by elements of the content or even by a peer or adult collaborator, I was ready to discuss with that person and define equitable solutions that correspond to his or her needs. These ideas were in line with the four conditions of the “effected” dimension (Grever & Adriaansen, 2019), or Gadamer’s comprehension of dialogue.

10.2 Informed Consent Process

At the end of the summer 2020, I sent a recruitment email to the person in charge of Education and Cultural Action at the McCord Stewart Museum (Jeanne). I submitted the consent form to her once her interest was confirmed by email as well. I proceeded in the same way with the museum professional (from the educational service) (Appendix E) and the history lecturer. At the beginning of the 2021 winter semester, I attended to the second virtual class of the semester and presented the research study to the potential student participants (Appendix F). The professor was invited to leave the virtual classroom for a while, so that her presence would not influence the students' decision to participate or not in the research. I stressed that, whether or not they participated in the study, it would have no impact on their academic performance and that only data from participating students would be collected and analyzed by the researcher during fieldwork.

10.3 Privacy and Confidentiality

To protect the anonymity and confidentiality of participants, I took several measures; some of them have already been identified in the data analysis section. The anonymity and confidentiality of the collaborators (history lecturer and museum professionals) cannot be entirely secured by the research study. The university and the museum are disclosed in this dissertation. The collaborators were made aware of this condition from the outset. As regards the partners themselves (Sandra, Natalie, Antoine-Xavier and Jeanne), it is impossible to guarantee them perfect anonymity because of their respective professional positions and the history course's objectives and content. To protect as much as possible the history professor's identity, I would not mention the title and abbreviation of the university course. At the time of their recruitment, these collaborators (being, as well, participants) understood the limits of their respective anonymity.

Student participants were made aware of the limited confidentiality of responses, occurring in the virtual museum or in the classroom settings, given the academic and social nature of the interventions. No research material included the names of the participants, only a team number, associated with a code possessed by the researcher on separated protected file. The data from the semi-open questionnaires and the final interview have been strictly confidential. Students have each been assigned an alphanumeric code, only known by the researcher. This alphanumeric code has then been turned into a fictitious first name (according to student's gender) in the thesis.

Regarding data collection at every stage, I have been careful not to record the verbatims and reactions of nonparticipant students. For this reason, I have neither video or audio recorded classroom activities and the museum visit. No collected research data that could lead in the

identification of my participants has ever left my home⁶¹. Online data collection with all participants has been produced and transmitted through protected platforms (institutional email systems, Zoom Video Conferencing on a protected cloud, using a secured WIFI on my computer). Email exchanges were erased as soon as coded and transcribed. The video-recorded interviews have been transformed in mp4 on my laptop. They were transcribed electronically before being kept on the external hard drive. The Atlas.ti software facilitated the confidential data analysis. I only used coded data in Excel sheets. The writing of the dissertation has been done on my laptop using the coded data, ensuring confidentiality of my participants. Also, I was the only one with an access to my secured laptop.

In future publications, research participants, as well as the nonparticipants students, may be able to recognize the individuals, despite the use of fictitious names and of professional positions. Because this confidentiality remains limited, I ensured that the data I am using corresponds faithfully to what the participants wanted to share. I used the interview reformulation strategy and confidentially cross-checking for more ambiguous data. I invited participants to provide only information about themselves that they are not afraid to be divulged to the public. I was cautious about the cross-referencing of personal data that may facilitate the recognition of participants. Data published in the research study could be used as secondary data by others, but it will remain impossible to identify the participants. I will not give access to the research material to anyone, not even the history professor and museum professionals. The museum program has been kept by the McCord Stewart Museum, history professor and researcher as they all share its copyrights. All the research material will be preserved at my home in locked places up to a year after the

⁶¹They were kept on my portative hard drive, which is locked in an office cabinet; they were not kept on my laptop).

publication of my dissertation, including the consent forms, in case I need to contact the participants again.

Part Three: Research Findings

I will now proceed to a presentation of the different forms of learning achieved among the students with reference to the mobilization of the historically effected consciousness. I will first examine the evidence of multiperspectivity and metacognitive reflection on history throughout the museum program, which I have articulated around seven times of historical consciousness (HC0 to HC6) (Chapters 11 to 16). I have decided to present first the tackling of both competencies for the entire body of students at each phase of the program⁶². I will explain what helped or hindered their learning, notably through the comments left by the students in the post-visit questionnaire and the interviews. I will contrast these results with my own observations made during the implementation of the museum program, before, during and after the Zoom visit. Based on my research questions, at a second level of analysis, I will look at students' appreciation of their participation in the museum program (Chapter 17). I will then deconstruct the interviews conducted with the collaborators, to better capture their own observations, the degree of satisfaction with their participation in the creation and implementation of the project (Chapter 18).

In the first part of a discussion (Chapter 19), I will provide an overview (or global view) of each participant's apparent understanding (or lack thereof) of history as a situated practice, as this will allow us to perceive the extent of learning achieved or, on the contrary, the absence of change in their capacities of understanding history as a situated practice. In the second part of the

⁶²At each step, I present multiperspectivity before metahistorical reflection. The structure of the museum visit, that focuses primarily on Indigenous diverse cultures through objects then on the indigenization process of the museum, oriented my choice here. In their article, Grever and Adriaansen (2019) inversely presented these dimensions of the historically effected consciousness (which impacted my model with metahistorical reflection on the left and multiperspectivity on the right).

discussion, I present recommendations for future museum-university collaborations based on this case study (Chapter 20). This component relates directly to my research questions, which explored the relevance of creating museum-university collaborations to increase the knowledge, skills and attitudes of post-secondary students (pedagogical value).

Chapter Eleven: The Research Participants

11. 1 The Participant Students

From the 75 students enrolled in the online history course at UQAM, my study brought together 10 volunteer participants. This small group of students were grouped randomly in work teams of three or four students, and they kept the same peers' group throughout the virtual museum program. The questionnaire that collected their socio-demographic data provides their identities. The sample is far from being representative of a regular undergraduate university class: composed of eight women, one man and one non-binary person⁶³, the ages ranged from 21 to 38 years old, with most of them being 23 to 25 years old. The vast majority, eight out of ten students, also associate themselves with the same ethnocultural and linguistic group: they are French-speaking Canadians or Quebecers. Strikingly, too, all are Caucasian. Seven of them grew up in Montreal or in the Greater Metropolitan area. Three students, however, come from neighbouring regions, the Laurentides and the Montérégie. Only one student is from another country, Switzerland. She came to settle in Montreal during her adolescence. Her mother tongues are both French and Italian. Another student, originally from Montreal, also grew up with two languages at home: English and French. All participants report being from the middle class.

Thus, my students do not fully represent the cultural diversity of Montreal. The low demographic heterogeneity and the absence of Indigenous community members in this sample are noteworthy, as these factors may have an impact on initial representations, learning, and the meaning given to the value of the museum program. The fact remains, however, that the

⁶³This person uses the pronouns “she” and “her”, so I respected her preferences in this dissertation.

composition of my group study is in many ways similar to the reality of many French-language universities, which do not attract a large number of English-speaking, Indigenous, or immigrant students, and tend to be less diverse overall than English-speaking universities in Montreal. The portrait of this sample resembles what might be found, most generally, in other Quebec universities outside of the big city. This greater or lesser diversity may have affected the scope of learning but does not affect the basic research objective, which is to examine the potential pedagogical value of a museum program in any history classroom context at the university level. It will suffice to consider this identity-based background in the analysis of the results.

More importantly regarding this sample is that these participants, without exception, have been taught about provincial and Canadian history during their high school years. They have heard about Indigenous people, although probably to varying degrees. They all have some sense of the Indigenous past and present. In addition, this group of students received our museum program in the sixth week of their history course, so they had built a certain amount of knowledge at this point. According to the syllabus, they learned about the Indigenous political, territorial and legal past from the end of the 18th up to the turn of the 20th century. Finally, at the time this study took place, their current academic training focused on either history, history education or social inclusion of immigrants or Indigenous peoples. Three students were completing their undergraduate training in teaching Social Studies at the secondary level, five were enrolled in immigration and interethnic relations, one was earning a certificate in history, and another was pursuing a short program in Native Studies. Three older students had returned to school, following a previous degree in another field, or entering the labour market. Table 6: Socio-cultural data of the students reveals the

information collected for each participant. They are listed according to their work team membership. Fictional names are used to anonymize this report.

Table 6: Sociocultural data of the 10 participant students

Fictional names of students	Gender	Age	Program of study	Previous degrees	Nationality	Ethnicity	City where they are from	First language	Socio-economic class
Team 1									
Éléonore	F	24	Certificate of History	DEC in Social Studies	Caucasian	Canadian	Montreal	English French	Middle
Daphné	F	24	Bachelor in Teaching Social Studies at the Secondary Level	DEC in Social Studies	Caucasian	Canadienne	Montreal	French	Middle
Charlotte	F	24	Major in Communications and Immigration and Interethnic Relations	DEC in Communication	Caucasian	Suisse	Lausanne	French Italian German	Middle
Julia	F	27	Certificate in Immigration and interethnic Relations	N/A	Caucasian	Canadian	Bois-des-Filion (Laurentides)	French	Middle
Team 2									
Élizabeth	F	38	Short program in Indigenous Studies	Bachelor in Teaching French as a Second Language/Master of Education	Caucasian	Canadian	Montreal	French	Middle
Léo	H	31	Bachelor in Teaching Social Studies at the Secondary Level	Theater Studies and Tourism	Caucasian	Canadian	Mont-Laurier (Laurentides)	French	Middle
Sam	Non-binary	21	Certificate in Immigration and interethnic Relations	Double DEC in Social Sciences and Natural Sciences	Caucasian	Canadian	Saint-Bruno et Saint-Hyacinthe (Montréal)	French	Middle
Team 3									
Alexis	F	23	Certificate in Immigration and interethnic Relations	DEC (Unspecified)	Caucasian	Canadian	Montreal	French	Middle
Joséphine	F	22	Certificate in Immigration and interethnic Relations	DEC in Social Studies	Caucasian	Canadian	Montreal	French	Middle
Évy	F	25	Bachelor in Teaching Social Studies at the Secondary Level	N/A	Caucasian	Canadian	Montreal	French	Middle

11.2 The Museum and University Collaborators

Regarding the museum-university collaboration, I worked mainly with three professionals. For the history course, we recruited Sandra, a new lecturer of French-Canadian descent in her twenties, accompanied by Antoine-Xavier, her teaching assistant, a graduate student in history

(completing his MA) from the same ethno-cultural group. Sandra had just completed her master's degree in history and was ready to take on the challenge of an undergraduate teaching load in history for the first time. The research project would provide an opportunity to experiment with or revitalize her Zoom sessions, help grow her confidence with external expertise and, to some extent, alleviate the planning of her teaching semester. She actively participated in the reflections surrounding the conception of the museum program as well as its animation, especially the first phase, the before-visit activities. Antoine-Xavier agreed to participate in the second phase of the project, the implementation of the museum program in the classroom. His teaching contract specified support of the students' "hands-up" and questions on the chat room to facilitate Sandra's virtual teaching. Sandra asked Antoine-Xavier if he was up to presenting the last phase of the museum program, the after-visit activities, to which he acquiesced.

For the McCord Stewart Museum, we collaborated primarily with Natalie, a cultural mediation project manager, also in her twenties and quite recently hired. Her academic background is in art history and her previous employment at the McCord Stewart Museum gave her a solid background concerning the museum curation and education objectives, Indigenous collections and even its day-to-day operations. Like Sandra, Natalie played a leading role in developing activities and presenting the museum program to the group of students. She was responsible for presenting the museum visit online, thus contributing to the most important phase of this doctoral research pertaining to students' learning or development of historical consciousness. Two other employees from this museum were involved on an ad hoc basis during our project. The Education project Manager, Jeanne, was included, at times, in the Zoom meetings to get a sense of the general progress and to approve certain documents, so that the development of the partnership and the

program would remain in line with the museum's missions and its process of indigenization. The same is true for the Wendat curator, who came in to check if our museum program was written and shared in respect to the exhibition discourses and Indigenous perspectives. We worked with the team that we had, under the umbrella of Indigenous methodologies even though it meant that an Indigenous physical presence was not prominent. This weakness in partnership was partially compensated for by the fact that both the exhibition and script for the visit to the public were initially developed with Indigenous members.

Table 7: The museum and university collaborators who participated in the conception and implementation

Name of the collaborator and professional function	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Assigned tasks in the collaboration (research study)
Sandra, course lecturer in Indigenous history at UQAM	Woman	Twenties	Caucasian	Design and presentation of the museum program in the history classroom (before-visit activity) (Zoom)
Natalie, project manager in education at the McCord Stewart Museum	Woman	Twenties	Caucasian	Design and presentation of the museum program in the history classroom (virtual visit) (Zoom)
Antoine-Xavier, teaching assistant in the Indigenous history course at UQAM	Man	Twenties	Caucasian	Facilitating discussions during the museum program in the history classroom and presentation of the museum program (post-visit activity) (Zoom)
Jeanne, Head of Education and Cultural Action at the McCord Stewart Museum	Woman	N/A	Caucasian	Review and approval of the script for the virtual visit and proposed museum activities (secondary role)
Curator of the Indigenous collection	Man	N/A	Indigenous	Review and approval of the script for the virtual visit and proposed museum activities (secondary role)

It is in light of different complementary objectives and the identity profiles of these participants that I have conducted my analysis of the results and can draw conclusions about the impact of the museum program.

Chapter Twelve: The Before-Visit Activities (HC0 and HC1)

At this point, let us recall the main content-oriented goal of the virtual program developed by the museum-university collaboration. The idea was, indeed, to convey the key message developed in the museum exhibition, i.e., to make visitors aware of the plural and resilient identity, past and especially present, of the multiple Indigenous communities through their clothing cultures. In the context of our formal activities, this objective is subdivided into two very specific aims:

1. Understand the importance of clothing in the development, preservation and communication of the social, cultural, political and spiritual identities of First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples.

2. Analyze the museum's Indigenous initiatives as part of its mission to educate the public.

These two aims pertain to multiperspectivity and meta-historical reflection. The before-visit activities were designed to develop both set of “competencies”.

The remote pre-visit activity occurred between 6 pm and 7.30 during the evening, on a Monday (although the course ended around 8.30-9 pm). After a brief presentation of the museum program as a whole and its core pedagogical objectives, students were sent into breakout sessions to discuss central concepts and produce a map of their brainstorming. It is important to mention that the lecturer, Sandra, did not teach any content prior to the first encounter and exchanges in teams. Examples of Powerpoint slides shown to the students can be found in Appendix G.

12.1 Multiperspectivity Through the Making of a Concept Map (HC0)

Working with their teammates in their respective meeting rooms, the opening activity was about calling attention to words or images related to four central terms, that is, “history”, “museum”, “Canada” and “Indigenous” on a concept map. One of the teammates would be responsible for completing the electronic answer sheet (a Word document designed for receiving students’ answers). The purpose of this activity was for the students to express their previous representations about Indigenous peoples in Canada. Their initial state of mind (HC0) is necessary to assess their comprehension over time (Falk & Dierking, 2007).

An examination of the three concept maps produced by my participants is quite revealing of what they already knew before receiving any museum input. Quite evidently, the maps show that the three teams were very aware of the Indigenous diversity in Canada from the start. Although they could have added illustrations, students decided to only list words, probably as an efficiency measure, given the short time (20 minutes) allotted for the activity. It is through the last two concepts of “Canada” and “Indigenous” that students’ representations concerning the Indigenous peoples can be best read. Below is Table 8: List of words identified by the teams in the concept maps for “Canada” and Indigenous” that presents all these words sorted out by the teams. An example of a concept map can be seen in Appendix H: Concept map (Team 1).

Table 8: List of words identified by the teams in the concept maps for “Canada” and “Indigenous”

Teams	Canada	Indigenous
Team 1: Éléonore Charlotte Daphné Julia	Invention Terra Nullis Theft Territorial and ethnic borders Colonial past Land of freedom	Dispossession Marginalization Multiple Plural Prejudice = uncivilized Claims Sedentary/Nomadic
Team 2: Léo Élizabeth Sam	Colonialism Indian Law Numbered treaties Federation Monarchy Social responsibility Justin Trudeau Positive international image Accountability Two solitudes Official languages Multiculturalism Social inequality Charter of rights and freedoms	Politically correct term, false homogeneity Injustice Racism Inequality Third World Canada Cultural appropriation Relationships to land, family and nature Residential schools and intergenerational trauma Clichés: alcoholism, illness, homelessness Triple marginalized women Dependency (Law)
Team 3: Alexis Joséphine Évy	Territory Province Originals French/English Cohabitation Water Huge Ice Winter Spacious Immigration Pacific Maple syrup Inclusion In the shadow of the U.S.A	First Nations Métis Inuit Oppression Assimilation Reservations Residential school Cultural genocide Culture Self-determination Tradition Relationship to the land Natural care Languages Diversity Resilience Alliance Pride

In this table, it is clear that some words are more “neutral” or “less political” than others. While the words “multiple” and “plural” (Team 1) are mirroring a recognition of the diversity of Indigenous peoples in Canada, “false homogeneity” and “politically correct” (Team 2) are more incriminating towards Settler Canada. They are denouncing an issue with the generalized and inadequate term of “Indigenous” itself to designate the cultural diversity amongst the First Nations,

Metis and Inuit. Other terms such as “dispossession”, “marginalization”, “theft” (Team 1) and “Third World of Canada” (Team 2) even reflect their understanding of a largely negative experience, past or present, of the Indigenous communities within this country. Their views on the First Peoples realities are not trivial and deserve equal attention. They relate to multiperspectivity, in the sense that Indigenous people, as an ethnic group, have a distinctive evolution and narratives about the past that do not align with those of the white majority, Francophone or Anglophone. With this short list of words, the teams of students have touched on the various levels of multiperspectivity (p. 58 and p. 123), adapted to this research field, being 1) recognition of a diversity of cultures and perspectives within the Indigenous peoples; 2) a change in the ways of doing and in perspectives over time within Indigenous communities; 3) different perspectives about the past and Canada between Western settlers and Indigenous peoples. In short, the participants’ lists indicate that students already possess multiperspectivity skills. They can acknowledge general ideas about Indigenous political and territorial struggles. However, the concept maps do not reveal if they know precisely what were or are these struggles for the Indigenous communities as well as if they encompass the historical or contemporary wider contexts in which these struggles occur.

A more thorough examination to the concept map leads to the observation that Team 2, made up of Élizabeth, Léo and Sam, had a relatively broad lexical field about Indigenous peoples compared to the other two teams. This team presented more assertive and pejorative positions on the situation of the Indigenous peoples in Canada. During their breakout room session, it was notable to hear Élizabeth reveal that she was “not inspired by the word ‘Canada’”. The team had only come up with a few terms during my observation, such as “federation,” “monarchy,” “Justin

Trudeau” and “multiculturalism,” although the map they produced shows a more comprehensive list. The team then quickly moved on to “Indigenous people”. The following passage reflects their unbridled flow of ideas, as well as, implicitly, their embrace of the critical discourses and of Indigenous claims that have been made in the media and academia in recent years:

Extract from my virtual classroom transcript for February 24, 2021.

Élizabeth (with an energetic voice): Even “Indigenous” is not a good term, it's still a politically correct word, it means “native born,” but it's not specific enough.

Sam (more quietly): Indigenous, to nature, is a tree trunk that grows on a territory.

Élizabeth: I've already done all the research on terms. “Indigenous” actually “unifies a group that is not a monolith”, it is a “false homogeneity”.

Léo (in a composed manner): The first words in my mind are “injustice” and “racism”.

Élizabeth: “Indigenous” is still determined by an outside group, it's against the self-determination of peoples, like “anti-determination”. It is the “Third World in Canada”.

Léo: “Social inequality” ...

The students suddenly speak at the same time, the conversation is inaudible for about ten seconds.

Élizabeth: No choice but to put “The Declaration of Human Rights” for Canada. Because it brought a lot [to Indigenous peoples].

Sam: We could also say, for Canada, “winter”, “Hudson Bay” ... (she is interrupted)

Élizabeth: Indigenous peoples: “folklore”, “tourism”...

This small group of students seemed to possess a good theoretical background on the origin and meaning of the word “Indigenous”. The mention of the Declaration of Human Rights as a factor of change in the political evolution of Indigenous people is another element that persuades in this sense. In fact, Élizabeth had already lived elsewhere in Canada and has met members of Indigenous communities, a fact that she highlighted in the prior socio-cultural data questionnaire. She was also studying in Native Studies, as revealed earlier; no doubt her personal experiences explain her active participation in this exchange. Similarly, Léo, who was completing his Bachelor’s degree in Teaching Social Studies at the Secondary Level, admitted in his one-on-one

interview, at the end of the program, that he had been very interested in these Indigenous questions for at least two years now. He planned to pursue a master's degree that would address Indigenous' issues in Education. Team 2, but especially Élizabeth and Léo, thus appears to have entered this museum program with a head start about Canada's First Peoples in contrast to the other seven participant students.

The other two teams also had preconceptions similar to those in Team 2, even if they appear less critical in the exercise. For instance, Team 3 did stated that First Peoples in Canada are First Nations, Métis and Inuit. This team provided several words referring to their cultural particularities such as "languages", "relationship to the land", their past by evoking "genocide" and "residential schools", as well as contemporary claims through "self-determination" and "pride" in their identity. In reviewing Sandra's lesson plan, it looks like the material previously discussed in class on colonial expansion and territorial dispossession, changes in Indigenous lifeways in the last century, and Indian politics provided a sound foundation for the discussions.

12.2 Metahistorical Reflection in Concept Mapping (HC0)

During the small-team activity, students also noted their initial conceptions of what "history" and "museum" are, as shown in the chart down below:

Table 9: List of words in the concept maps for “Museum” and “History”

Teams	Museum	History
Team 1: Éléonore Charlotte Daphné Julia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Place, building, duty of memory with capital -Effort to present something specific -A reality (historical, artistic, etc.) -Static, tangible, return to history -Gateway to another world. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Field of study (history); - History of man (relationships of domination) - Oral history - Feminist history - History = passing seconds - Narrative = continuous series of choices - History for political purposes
Team 2: Léo Élizabeth Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Artifact, source, art, interpretation -Theme -History in the city -Chronology -Social responsibility, -Continuing education, -Historical mediation tools, pedagogy, school outing -Must renew -Tourism, attractions, -Danger of misrepresenting culture -State funding, propaganda, subjective 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Date -Past -Fact -Interpretation -Sources, documents -Memories, duty to remember -Telling, narrative, subjective -Plural, several perspectives -War, conquests -Continuities and changes -Rewriting, writing by the victors, subaltern studies -Native agenda -Danger of instrumentalization -Importance to know our biases
Team 3: Alexis Joséphine Évy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -History -Culture -Science -Exhibition -Art -Artefact -Pleasure -Learning -Outing -Sharing -Conservation -Knowledge -Heritage -Variety -Pride 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Past -Secondary -War, Genocide -Political, Economic, Social, Cultural -Conquest -Identity, Nationalism -Cycle

The lexical fields around these two concepts allow for a better understanding of their epistemological knowledge of history and museums. For example, Team 1 attempted to define history as a “field of study” and distinguishes two meanings for history, as both “the seconds that pass” and a narrative as “a continuous sequence of choices”. These students, who saw history as “having political ends,” seemed to contrast “man’s” history with other forms of history, such as “feminist” and “oral.” In the discussion, Éléonore, who was pursuing a certificate in history, and Daphné, a student in Teaching Social Studies at the Secondary Level, were more actively

delivering answers than their colleagues Julia and Charlotte, who were trained in fields other than history. At this stage of the research project, the four students had a more limited vision of the roles that museums can play in our societies. They identified the museum as being a “building” and “static” while making “an effort to present a specific subject”, notably “about another world”, which is obviously a very partial definition. However, it is worth noting the presence of this societal function, the “duty to remember”, on their answer sheet. This response was also found on Team 2’s production. Do these students sense a more emotional character in the relation to the past when it is presented in a museum context? To them, is history less about a “memory”? It is not unjustified to believe so, but it would be hard to confirm, as only Daphné evoked this “duty to remember” in the breakout session, according to my observation grid, and did not develop her idea further. Unfortunately, I did not witness the online conversation about this function of museums in the second team (Léo, Élizabeth, Sam) as well, as I joined their team after ten minutes of discussion.

The concept maps most clearly testify to students’ awareness of the subjectivity of history and the museum, with Team 2 going so far as to highlight the adjective “subjective” in their mind map. Team 2 also emphasized the dangers of history (“instrumentalization,” “rewriting by the victors”) and of the museum, sometimes clearly, sometimes implicitly (“propaganda,” “travesty of culture,” “tourism,” “state funding”) and recognized at this point the “importance of knowing your biases” and adoption of “multiple perspectives”. As per the terms “Indigenous” and “Canada”, the tone in this team’s responses was critical: They again insisted on the negative sides, that is, the potential abuses of the historical discipline and the place of culture that is a museum. It is interesting to ask at this point: where does this very one-sided position come from? I can only

guess that their current history course about Indigenous peoples deeply impacted their epistemological understanding. Another example would be Team 3 who, while presenting a more nuanced viewpoint about the museum, shared the same representation about history.

In particular, Team 3 (Alexis, Joséphine, Évy) stood out by answers that can be interpreted as more “positive” towards the museum and rather “pejorative” for history. They used terms like “pride”, “pleasure” and “sharing” for the museum. This was the only team that distinguished different categories of museum subjects: “history,” “science,” and “art” in their concept maps⁶⁴. With regard to history, however, they used terms that tend to lock history into a rather political conception of the past and abuse of populations: “war”, “genocide”, “nationalism” or “conquest”. In fact, their definitions of history and a museum undertake conventional characteristics. Among the distinctions between history and the museum, students more consistently attached, on one hand, the term “artifacts” (Teams 2 and 3) or “heritage” (Team 3) to “museum”, and on the other hand, “sources,” “documents,” “narrativity” (Team 2) as well as “narratives” (Team 1) to “history.” The museum is characterized by the transmission of a material heritage and history through writing. Team 2 mentioned “mediation tools”, highlighting the multimodal communication function of the museum.

The activity was quite clear in illustrating how students understand history and the museum, and the mind maps indicate that each team already had a good grasp of how representations of the past are situated, in the museum as in history. Although they presented somewhat conventional definitions, and they did not reveal well how history and the museum are

⁶⁴Daphné (Team 1) talked about the diversity of museum topics in the Zoom session, but they did not inscribe it in their sheet.

intertwined, they were able to show the negative aspects of both. Team 2 was even able to clarify how we can remedy misconceptions in history. What seems less natural to the students at this point was the acknowledgement that history starts with questioning an object of the past, whatever it is, and that there is a scientific effort on the part of the historian to remain as much possible critical throughout the research process, using a panoply of primary and secondary sources. How history may help the development of our society was not mentioned at all, and the same can be said for the museum. They did not express that the museum is also “scientific”, rather referring to the emotional, pedagogical, lucrative, and ludic facets of it. Even the political dimension seemed less perceived for the museum in comparison to history. Both history and museums created or used constructed narratives about the past. Narratives are not more historical than museological. A museum accumulates the knowledge surrounding their artifacts and writes their exhibitions contents from or in relation to the work of historians. Museums may even collect written documents, and historians may use art productions, artefacts, filmographic archives as well to make sense of the past. In the end, the answers appear somewhat rigid, and the linkage between history and a museum are not striking.

12.3 The Plenary on Students’ Concept Maps

This pre-visit activity was followed by a large group discussion that enabled students to hear from other class colleagues. Teams 2 and 3 presented to the rest of the group their concept maps using screen sharing (but not Team 1). In the wrap-up of the activity, the course lecturer, Sandra, remarked the persistence in the sheets of the many clichés and stereotypes, testified by the choice of words, notably the phrases “positive international image” and “vast territory” for

“Canada” and “the traditional way of life” and “alliances with the European settlers” for “Indigenous people”. She then expressed her opinion: “It’s strong, you see how they influence our perceptions, they are very powerful”. Léo chose to intervene right after by reminding his classmates that limited understanding of who the Indigenous people are is still present in society:

Stereotypes perpetuate inequality...and they are just stereotypes. Coming from a region [outside of Montreal, les Laurentides], I’m not sure everyone knows that. At university, we know it, it’s obvious, but I wonder if we’re a category. That’s not everyone’s experience, not the experience I have with my family.

Again, as he did more intimately with Sam and Élizabeth, Léo posed a reflection on the current state of Indigenous’ inclusion in the Quebec society. However, this time his comments benefitted all students. The discussion’s angle toward prejudices was consistent with our expectations and aligning with the future museum visit.

This 10-minute discussion was followed by a 15-minute theory lecture, delivered by Sandra, about the various categories and purposes of museums. She, too, introduced the McCord Stewart Museum, its collections and adherence to critical museology. She also presented the objectives of the museum exhibition and upcoming virtual visit (Appendix G). The teaching was efficient, especially regarding the purposes of museums for society and the citizenship mission of the McCord Stewart Museum, which was in respect to the pedagogical guide supporting Sandra’s leading role in the first phase of the museum program. However, there was no interaction with the group of students, and she was not able to visibly create much enthusiasm nor curiosity around the exhibition. Participants’ cameras were open, but students remained silent, listening to their teacher. Sandra did not explain the McCord Stewart artifact, a pair of moccasins, aimed at piquing interest. Time was probably the enemy, there was only 30 minutes left to the before-visit activity at this point. The lecturer concluded this part by introducing the second and last activity “Truth and

Reconciliation Commission of Canada: A call to action”. Following her brief explanation, the students gathered again in the Zoom rooms.

12.4 Activity “Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: A Call to Action” (HC1)

Working in their respective team, the students carried out a 20-minute reflection activity on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, which in the context of the museum program is oriented toward Call to Action 67 that reads as follows:

We call on the federal government to provide funding to the Canadian Museums Association to undertake, in collaboration with Indigenous peoples, a national review of museum policies and best practices to determine the degree of compliance with the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and to make related recommendations.

Students would realize by this call that museums have been invited to revisit their practices to listen and to remediate historical inequality in light of Indigenous contemporary rights and demands. This call is read with the brief article from the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) that “recognizes the right of Indigenous peoples to live free from racial discrimination and the right to self-determination and financial compensation for their confiscated lands”. From these two statements, students were, thus, solicited to imagine how they think museums can implement this call. The next part examines students’ tackling of historical consciousness during this collaborative activity in breakout rooms.

12.4.1 Students' Proposals (Multiperspectivity and Metahistorical Reflection)

So, while it was primarily designed to develop meta-reflection on history, the TRC activity certainly brought out some ideas that explicitly touch on the competence of multiperspectivity. In analyzing their answer sheets, students have integrated a few elements pertaining to the inclusion of Indigenous community members within the museums. For example, Team 1 (Charlotte, Éléonore, Julia and Daphné) suggested “hiring representatives from Indigenous communities” for more than just visibility by “giving First Nations free space in museums to do what they want”. Team 2 (Sam, Léo and Élizabéth) paid particular attention to granting key positions to community members in the design of exhibitions, to using different types of sources (oral, in particular), to rejecting initiatives that tend to homogenize the Indigenous people. Team 3 (Évy, Alexis and Joséphine) mentioned the same ideas as the other teams, but they referred, furthermore, to inclusive museum education and establishment of partnerships with Indigenous museums. Here are their written proposals (Appendix I):

- Include Indigenous people in an advisory committee for the development of exhibits (corroboration of information and highlighting of Indigenous people)
- Have school programs where Indigenous people would go into the schools to present (linked to museums)
- Update “data” to represent Indigenous communities today (not just longhouses, etc.)
- Encourage employability of Indigenous people in museums
- Encourage museums to be near or on reserves, not just museums about Indigenous people. This could bring “visibility” to communities. In the same sense, bring Indigenous museums to the city, away from the reservations, to make more people aware of their situation.
- Develop partnership between an Indigenous museum and a non-Indigenous one to allow for greater exchanges. For example, their exhibits change places once a year.

From the three teams' suggestions, it is fascinating to see the level of awareness of the students, not only about the importance of collaboration and representation, but also how museums can embark upon change on various levels from curation to employment through education; From my understanding, even if they did not fully understand the realities of museums, they seemed to

have transferred their knowledge of Indigenous methodologies and perspectives from other academic and professional backgrounds to apply it to the institution of the museum. From my perspective, they touched on historical consciousness, not only as per multiperspectivity (how the museum can bring in Indigenous perspectives), but also meta-reflective skills on history. They were able to fulfill the task that could have represented a bigger challenge; they found a myriad of actions for the museum to indigenize itself, without any teaching. They agreed on the need to respect the ethical dimension in building historical narratives, although it is inferred rather than explicitly stated.

In terms of multiple perspectives, for the museum's project manager, this last activity had even more resonance in the last fifteen minutes of the course. Natalie had been attending the activity without much input since the beginning of the course, but she would be presenting the museum visit next week, and she wanted to break the ice with the online class during the before-visit activity. She was also taking notes, so her presentation would be well acquainted with the content of the prior evening. The whole group was reuniting again with their course instructor to discuss their answers. Sandra proposed to *give the mic* to Natalie in the end, which was not planned. Natalie accepted the lecturer's invitation, and, among other things, she clarified the intentions of her museum and how they envision their process of indigenization:

The McCord Museum is a social history museum. So, the use of testimonies is central, and increasingly so, ... we value oral history. *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples Collection* is an exhibition that is getting a bit old, it is living its last months. The evolution is fast... the practices, they change quickly in museums. The McCord has undergone major changes in the last year. Testimonies are omnipresent in the exhibition, and it is about Indigenous cultures. However, for the virtual tour [in which they will participate], it is not possible [to include those testimonies] because of copyright. For this reason, I invite you to come to the Museum [eventually]. The new exhibition will put even more emphasis on Indigenous voices and their collaboration. In fact, I am impressed by your proposals in the breakout room sessions. What you said in your discussions is interesting but unfortunately often difficult to implement...

Incidentally, this statement of constraints led Joséphine (Team 3) to reveal that their team had entered a debate about the difficulty of “determining who is Indigenous or not” by museums or cultural institutions⁶⁵. Daphné (Team 1) also wanted to speak about the complex and necessary issue of restitutions of Indigenous artifacts, which was found as a proposal in their sheet but was not expressed earlier in the plenary:

We also need to give back control [to the Indigenous people so they are able] to protect [their] cultural heritage. When you visit [museums], you wonder who they [the objects] belong to. We think of the totem poles that were stolen, it happened [previously], we saw it in the news. We have to offer the possibility [for Indigenous people] of taking them back.

This comment at the very end of the course really demonstrates the broad range and the quality of reflections the participants had during the before-visit activity. The two activities were revealing of where students stand at this point. Both attested to the fact that the multiple perspective is quite strong among those students enrolled in this introductory university course. Students also understand the political component of both history and museums. They could imagine current issues in the museum domain and potential solutions in terms of Indigenous inclusivity and equity. Their historical consciousness is, to a large extent, already, *effected*. One thing has been confirmed: students already have epistemological reasoning that coheres with our main objectives, and it is beyond what we expected as a starting point. The museum visit should, however, continue to expand their historical consciousness, that is, the two sets of targeted “competencies” (multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection dimensions). New and more specific knowledge should graft itself to this “HC0-HC1” intellectual baggage. In the following section, I will be clarifying the spectrum of learning made by the students during the virtual discovery of the

⁶⁵ At the moment, a course lecturer at UQAM was fired after she pretended to be Indigenous, although not being part of any Indigenous community. This event was massively reported in the news. I believe this was the ignition for the debate.

McCord Stewart exhibition *Wearing Our Identity. The First Peoples Collection*. Learning occurring during this phase will be comprehended at the second moment of historical consciousness (HC2).

Chapter Thirteen: The Virtual Museum Visit (HC2)

The museum visit was the most important phase of the research project: The research revolves around the educational value of the museum visit and its suited hands-on activities. It was the stage that most clearly and substantially addresses the objectives related to the skills of historical consciousness, namely multiperspectivity and meta-reflection in history. In this section, I will look at these two intellectual dimensions as we intend to progressively develop in students a more situated and complex understanding of Indigenous history, of the historical discipline and of museums. Before presenting the results, I will circumscribe how the discourse offered by the museum guide, Natalie, was aiming at this historically effected consciousness precisely. The understanding of the content of the exhibition, both its objects and key messages, will aid in making parallels with the answers provided by the students during the collaborative activity (“Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”) and the whole-group conversation.

13.1 The Guide’s Museum Visit

13.1.1 Discourses about Multiperspectivity

The museum visit took place in the virtual classroom the following week, approximatively at the same time slot, between 6 pm and 8 pm. The McCord Stewart museum's project manager, Natalie, was at the forefront, responsible for the animation of the Zoom exhibition video, performing the role of the museum guide. Although Natalie has many years of experience in museum education, this was her first time presenting the script for this university virtual tour. She was slightly nervous at the beginning of the visit but was transparent about her newfound

familiarity with this presentation of the exhibition and, also, because of her Caucasian ethnicity (she is not Indigenous, and she wanted students to recognise it). That said, she delivered a thorough, dynamic talk that was appreciated by the students, according to the post-visit questionnaires; they repeatedly intervened to answer the questions she asked. More importantly, in keeping with the purpose of this doctoral study, there were several visual or discursive elements that addressed the multiple perspective in history during her visit. Generally, she respected the designed script, especially as per the central messages of the exhibition and quantity of objects. Because the script was too long, she made some cuts that may have impacted students' knowledge about Indigenous communities as well as the historical discipline.

In this first part of the chapter, I will attempt to explain how students understood multiple perspective in the context of this museum visit. The tour was designed to bring out the three theoretical levels of multiple perspectives in relation to the theme of the exhibition: the recognition of diversity within Indigenous communities themselves; the distinction between Western and Indigenous perspectives on the past and in the present; the evolution of Indigenous perspectives between then and now. I will present Natalie's discourse that specifically touched on multiperspectivity then I will examine students' responses that pertain to this "competency". The results are drawn from both the interventions that occurred during the project leader's speech and the response sheets to the learning activities entitled "Being in the Museologists' Shoes".

The museum visit was conceptualized around a series of objects in relation to clothing coming from a variety of Indigenous communities, established in different regions of our vast territory called Canada. 29 objects were shown in the exhibition video prepared by the McCord

Stewart Museum and five visual and/or audio elements were commented on by Natalie during the 90-minute virtual tour. Table 5: Objects and visual elements of the exhibition according to their Indigenous communities and territories lists the range of diversity of the objects and communities, as well as it provides their years of production. This list allows us to better understand our analysis centered on the discourse of the McCord Stewart Museum project manager as well as the questions and answers of the students during the visit and the activities proposed in small teams in the rooms. I identified six key moments related to the multiple perspective during the museum visit, threaded through the heterogeneity of the indigenous collection on display in the students' view. I focus my attention on the discourse of the visit more than on the reception of that message, as the student participants mostly interacted in the context of the activities at the end of the visit.

Table 10: Objects and visual elements of the exhibition according to their Indigenous communities and territories

#	Objects	Indigenous communities	Territories
1	Totem pole (1840-1860)	Haida	Northwest Coast
2	Map of Indigenous Peoples in Canada “Borders that are not borders”, McCord Stewart Museum	N/A	N/A
3	Indian Law, DVD video, McCord Stewart Museum	N/A	N/A
4	Wampum	N/A	N/A
5	Bark and aluminum canoe (2002) Nadia Myre	Wobanakis	Eastern Plains
6	Portrait in Motion, DVD video (2002) Nadia Myre	Wobanakis	Eastern Plains
7	Eagle-feather headdress (1900-1930)	Anonymous	Northern Plains
8	Fur coat (1875-1900)	Déné, Dene Tha'	Western Subarctic
9	Hunter parka and trousers (1900-1930)	Inuit : Quilittuq et Atartaq	Innuinaq
10	Snow glasses (1865-1900)	Inuit	Arctic
11	Raquets (1950-1960)	Innu ou Naskapi	Eastern Subarctic
12	Scraper (1870-1900)	N/A	Northern Plains
13	Ulu (Woman's knife) (1900-1909)	Inuit: Nunavimut	Eastern Arctic
14	Thimble (1900-1915)	Inuit: Inuinnaq	Central Arctic
15	Sewing Needles (1000-1700)	Inuit: Thulé	Central Arctic
16	Awl (1900-1915)	Inuit: Yu'pik	Western Arctic
17	Awl Case (1865-1900)	Nehiyaw	Northern Plains
18	Tattoo needle (1700-1800)	Inuit du Labrador	Eastern Arctic
19	Labrets (1865-1930)	Inuit: Yu'pik	Western Arctic
20	Mother's Amauti (1890-1897)	Inuit: Nunavimut	Eastern Arctic
21	Doll	Inuit	N/A
22	Mother's Amauti (1990-1991)	Inuit: Hauneqtormiut	Central Arctic
23	Moccasins (1865-1930)	Innu ou Naskapi	Eastern Subarctic
24	Moccasins (1840-1860)	Wolastoqiyik ou Passamaquoddy	Eastern Plains
25	Moccasins (1900-1915)	Iroquois	Eastern Woodlands
26	Moccasins (1900-1905)	Dene (Gwich'in or Sahtu)	Western Subarctic
27	Kamiik (1972)	Inuit: Nunavimut	Eastern Arctic
28	Kamiik (1972)	Inuit: Nunavimut	Eastern Arctic
29	Mocassins (2015)	Vuntut Gwich'in	Western Subarctic
30	Raven rattle (1865-1900)	Xaniys/Xi xaniyus (Bos Harris) Kwakwaka'wakw	Northwest Coast
31	Regalia clothing	N/A	N/A
32	Pow Wow video (2010)	Anishinabe	Eastern Woodlands
33	Image defining “decolonization”, McCord Stewart Museum (2021)	N/A	N/A
34	Image defining “return of indigenous objects by museums”, McCord Stewart Museum (2021)	N/A	N/A

Note: The nomenclature and data presented in this table are those supplied by the McCord Stewart Museum

The first moment is at the beginning of the visit when the students enter virtually the exhibition space: the map of the Canadian territory, installed on a whole wall, locates more than 50 Indigenous nations in Canada on their respective territories. The provincial boundaries that students are accustomed to do not appear on this glass map. To encourage reflection, Natalie asked the students if they recognized any of the nations and what they saw more generally. Students seemed to notice, right away, the redaction of the nations' names in Indigenous languages. They could also grasp the extent of Aboriginal diversity in Canada and, similarly, see the presence of the 11 communities in Quebec and those near Montreal. The discourse provided the first level of multiperspectivity. A museological choice, Natalie explained that the map does not give the names given by white people, names to which the Quebec education system has habituated us, because it is time "to make the effort to learn the names in the original language". It was also at this point that the project leader distinguished what is meant by "First Peoples" of Canada, clarifying the terms "Inuit", "Métis" and "First Nations". There was very little student intervention at this point, but for those with cameras on, they listened intently to the speech from their computer screens.

The second moment targeting multiperspectivity took place about ten minutes later when the camera presented the impressive eagle-feather headdress from the Northern Plains region in a detailed shot from all angles. It then seemed as if we were really penetrating the exhibition, piercing the heart of the exhibition space. There was a strong contrast between the plexiglass presentation of the translucent map and the short video scrolling the text of the Indian Act on a white background, which was less stimulating to the eye. Natalie pointed out to the students to look closely at the details of this "beautiful headdress" as the camera danced around the display case. The speech reminded students that the headdress has a character of power and respect, "worn

by the leaders of certain nations.” A sign of nobility, the eagle feather is historically dedicated to persons of honor for their warlike exploits. The museum guide used this example, which is identifiable by all the students, to denounce stereotypes related to Indigenous communities. These headdresses were traditionally created and worn in the Northern Plains region and were not made by other Indigenous peoples.

However, as she pursued, these headdresses were so often used as a symbol of “Indianness” by Hollywood movies that some nations ended up adopting them between 1930 and 1960. The Western collective imagination has contributed to the standardization of these Indigenous nations and Western people are hardly aware of it. Worse, as the project leader explained, this over-representation tends to reduce Indigenous identity to primarily this piece of clothing. Natalie then recalled that the wearing of the headdress by non-Indigenous people has led to debates in the news around the issue of cultural appropriation. A few of the students involved in the research project are silent, nodding in agreement, seeming to confirm a memory. The first two levels of multiperspectivity are met with this one example (recognition of diversity within Indigenous communities themselves; distinction between Western and Indigenous perspectives on the past and in the present).



Figure 5: Eagle-feather headdress of the Northern Plains, 1900-1930

The museum guide then continued with the presentation of Nadia Myre's contemporary artwork, "Portrait in Motion", and invited the students to analyze the meaning of the video that unfolded before their eyes. In the video, Nadia Myre is sailing on a lake. The artist struggles to make headway on the water in her canoe, made of wood and aluminum, built by herself and illustrating her identity "at the crossroads" of two worlds⁶⁶. Natalie explained that Nadia Myre had to reclaim her identity, her Indigenous status, Wobonakis by her mother, and Quebecois, by paternal descent. Natalie, here, failed to draw a direct parallel between the Indian Act, introduced earlier, and this claim, as the "Indian" status is not transmitted through maternal affiliation, the Western legal system imposed to Indigenous people being traditionally patriarchal. Natalie stated that Nadia Myre is putting her body to the test, showing through this video the complexity of being at the confluence of two cultures. The Indigenous artist illustrates the struggle and resilience of Indigenous people to overcome their past traumas. Her artwork, composed of the canoe and her navigation on a lake, also illustrates the relationship between past and present, Indigenous

⁶⁶The canoe is kept at the McCord-Stewart Museum.

adaptation to change, the canoe being made of two materials, a composite of the “traditional” (wood) and modernity (aluminium).

Natalie continued her presentation of the video. The hunter’s parka and the two mother’s amautis constitutes a third highlight, touching on the second and third levels of multiperspectivity. They contribute to the understanding of the Indigenous perspectives on the world, different from those of the West, as well as of the evolution of Indigenous perspectives over time. These objects allow for a better understanding of the values of the Inuit communities of Northern Quebec or the Arctic, such as the importance of nature for these peoples.



Figure 6: Hunter parka and trousers (1900-1930)

For the hunter parka, the students were invited to guess the resources used in its fabrication. Natalie supported their answers: “it is caribou fur, and the threads are, in fact, the tendons of the muscles of this animal”. She revealed, as well, that the Indigenous people do not waste sacrificed animals, they use their skins but also the other parts, including organs, such as the bladder. This parka, added to the fur pants, is designed for the Indigenous to look like, take the form, of a caribou, a venerated animal. For the Indigenous, nature and animals are respected, and animals are entities that hold wisdom, which is beneficial to human beings.

Right after, the McCord Stewart video directed its lens on the two exhibited amautis, one being traditional, the other, of contemporary design. The museum guide asked the students the following question: Can you tell who this garment is for? Éléonore (Team 1) took the lead in front of the whole class: “Is it for the mothers and their babies, because they have a big hood?” Natalie approved and completed her explanation: “The back of the amauti is very large. The child is naked and is placed against the mother’s skin and the fur protects it. There is also an amplitude at the level of the abdomen in order to make the mother’s breast accessible. This garment is specifically designed for maternity”. She then asked if there were any differences between the traditional amauti and the contemporary one. Joséphine (Team 3) expressed that the fabric is synthetic. Natalie confirmed that, explaining that Indigenous people have kept their clothing traditions while adapting them to new materials. Through the discourses surrounding the amautis, similarly to Nadia Myre’s artwork (canoe video), it is intended for students to grasp that Indigenous ways of life are not stuck in the past, which corresponds to the third level of the multiple perspective.



Figure 7: A traditional mother's amauti, Nunavimut and a recent model of a mother's amauti, Hauneq̃tormiut

The fourth moment relating to the effected competency occurred after an hour's visit, when other rather small objects (in terms of size) associated with the Inuit people had generated positive reactions from the students, regarding women's contribution to the Indigenous' clothing production (i.e., sewing instruments: ulu, needles, awl, awl case, etc.). The camera then quickly scrolled through the display showing several pairs of moccasins, showing fine details, made of rabbit, fox and bear skins, colorful threads and ribbons, geometric representations and beaded flowers. The video then shows two pairs of fur kamiiks with more subtle patterns. The students identified the moccasins but appear less familiar with the kamiiks. Natalie insisted on one fact: "See, they are not all the same: in the way the leather is folded, the embroidered threads and the beading. She mentioned the influence of the territory on the choice of materials for their design

and demystified the elements of nature that appear on the moccasins: mountains, waterways, flowers. She added that the moccasin is the object that connects the Indigenous people most directly with the ground: the floral beadings and their material allow the feet to marry the earth, which evokes the harmony of these peoples with nature. She associated certain pairs with Indigenous nations or territories: “this pair, with the flowers on the front, is Haudenosaunee, the other one with blue beading is from the Central Plains”. However, she did not explain to the students how she established these affiliations. The presentation of this series of objects, having the same name and purpose but made quite differently in appearance, were meant to reveal the diversity of cultures among the Indigenous communities. The idea was to foster the first level of multiperspectivity about heterogeneity of perspectives among the First Peoples of Canada. The four moments that I have now elucidated offer a better contextualization of students’ exchanges during the activity that immediately followed the museum tour, entitled “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”.

13. 1.2 Students’ Multiperspectivity during “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”

During the activity “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”, which was designed as a response to the virtual and commented exploration of the exhibition, students worked in their respective Zoom rooms for 20 minutes. On an electronic answer sheet, they were asked to answer the following two questions:

- 1) A) If you were to renew this exhibition and select one object to invite visitors to come and see this exhibit (promotion), which one would you choose and why? Answer according to a) the purpose and themes of the exhibit; b) Indigenous perspectives; c) Canadian history; and d) your personal preferences.
- B) If you were to pursue a theme that you felt was not adequately addressed in this exhibition, what question would you ask and why?

- 2) How does this visit to the exhibition fit in with the decolonization of knowledge in the 21st century?

The two questions were meant to develop, simultaneously, multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection. The first one focuses a little bit more on the importance of using diverse perspectives in history while the second targets principally metahistorical reflection. Nevertheless, students' discussions and written answers allowed them to approach both dimensions of the historically effected consciousness with each question.

For the first question about the renewal and promotion of the exhibition, Team 1, formed of Éléonore, Daphné, Charlotte and Julia, pointed to two objects in particular, as evidenced by their answer sheet (Appendix J). It is not clear whether their choices were based on certain sub-points (Indigenous perspectives; museum collection; Canadian history; personal preferences...) or all of them. The hunter parka is useful in illustrating a fundamental Indigenous value, that is, respect for the environment. The reverence towards animals is visible: "the clothing is designed so that the man incarnates the animal, in other words, takes its forms". This message can be transmitted easily to the potential visitors. The team questioned, however, the visual appeal of this object and proposes, as an alternative, the eagle headdress, to denounce "how our collective imagination is out of step with the reality of the First Nations".

In fact, this second proposal deserves particular attention, as it clearly contains a contradiction. While the intention of wanting to deconstruct prejudices by using a feather headdress is commendable, the students chose an object from the collection that does not necessarily and intrinsically reflect the diversity of Indigenous cultures. This is in addition to students' biggest omission, which is the advertising context of the actualization of the exhibition.

Marketing involves the delivery of a simple and unambiguous message. If we imagine a poster in the public space that does not explain the full context: Is there not still a risk of reinforcing the homogenizing stereotype around this headdress? Some individuals will not go to see this exhibition. What impression will these individuals keep on the first peoples? The Hollywood memory... Would the objective of representing their heterogeneity risk being missed? As if the students had fallen into the trap set for them, this example illustrates the caution that must be exercised when it comes to representation in history. It helps to understand the importance of anticipating the impact of our professional decisions when we must represent others (be it their past or their present).

Team 1 was not the only one to make this “mistake”: Team 3 composed of Évy, Joséphine and Alexis also considered that, by virtue of Indigenous perspectives and the museum collection: “the eagle feather headdress allows for some nuance about Indigenous peoples being diverse”. However, for the sub-aspects of Canadian history and preferences, these three young women submit a second proposal: the traditional mother’s amauti. The first reason is to increase awareness of the Inuit of Northern Quebec and the Arctic in an effort to break the traditional exonym “Eskimo” among the general public, and the second reason is their personal fascination with the temporal evolution of this object, which is highlighted in the exhibition, as the traditional amauti is placed next to its more recent version. The fact that it is an object associated with women, motherhood and childhood also seems to have played a role in their choice and general appreciation. This was recorded in our own observation notes of their discussion in the small Zoom room at the time of the visit. As per the chief headdress, the deconstruction of the term “Eskimo” is not likely to be heavily investigated in the context of advertising... well, unless the museologists

resort to social network sharing. In any case, this object however could be used to invite the public to the renewal of the exhibition, not posing the problem of an imaginary agglomeration of cultures. In connection with the multiple perspective competency, the students also note, as an element of response to the second question (on the process of decolonization of knowledge), that the “museum makes us aware that [some] objects we use in our daily lives are typically Indigenous objects”. This response speaks to the cultural exchange between Westerners and Indigenous people and how their ways of life integrate with that of White people. The students demonstrate an understanding that there are distinctions between Indigenous and Western perspectives... and even that there are points of intersection. This exchange is revealing of the second level of perspectivity.

Team 2 also deserves special attention for their coverage of multiperspectivity, as their responses brought out other aspects of the museum visit, some not expected. They were not sure if they had to propose an object for each sub-points or one for all, and they did not agree really on which object fits the most the requirement of the issue. Like Team 3, Élizabeth would retain the contemporary amauti, as it is a traditional garment that has undergone an evolution in styles. Léo noted, for his part, that marketing could focus on moccasins, as they are at the basis of many Indigenous cultures and therefore are more representative of this plural Indigenous identity than other objects in the exhibition. He advanced that perhaps the object can help correct the homogenizing perceptions of museum visitors, as moccasins are a familiar item to Westerners. On her side, Sam came with a more surprising proposal. She liked the idea of promoting the exhibition through the video of Nadia Myre, in her hybrid canoe, struggling to navigate the waters. As this student asserted, emblematic of her own plural identity, both Wonobakis and Quebecois, Nadia Myre’s work expresses the complexity and diversity of Indigenous identity as well as resilience

and adaptation over time. Sam was, thus, aware of the central themes of the exhibition, which is not only the materiality of clothing, but also abstract ideas of identity. Then, on a tangent, Sam shared with her peers that she believed in the necessity of using inclusive marketing to address audiences that are not easily reached by traditional methods. The multiple perspective, in this case, moved away from the Indigenous issue to integrate a broader field: people marginalized or excluded from museums or “culture”. Here, I suspect that her enrollment in the immigration certificate may have played a role in her admission.

Then, as if this statement was the trigger to move on to Part B of this first question, the students interrupted this exchange without addressing the requested sub-points to move on to the second question which, judging from the tenor of the comments, they felt was more meaningful. The students were openly and negatively critical of the way diversity was addressed in this exhibition. Élizabeth argued that the museum would better serve its mandate to focus on one specific matter only. By this, from my observation notes, she meant that the museum could have emphasized the specific ways of life and perspectives of the nations or communities behind the objects presented. She understood, however, that the museum’s collections, that is, their acquisitions, greatly influenced the choices they made for the curation of this exhibition. In line with his colleague, Léo deplored the fact that the museum attempted to cover too much ground, which was detrimental to the complex representation of the identity of these Indigenous communities, ultimately. It seemed to him to be very reductive to limit identity to clothing. Why did the museum choose to focus on “such a small window” to try encapsulating this wide concept? He admitted that the aim was to illustrate the wide range of the 50 nations inhabiting the Canadian territory, but he was hardly seduced in the end. He continued with regard to the museum purpose

of this exhibition: “There is the potential to go in depth with the objects, the collaborations, the public... do we become more knowledgeable about the identities [when we leave the rooms]?” His answer is provided by the simple wording! The analysis of the response sheet that they handed to me adds other notable elements. They recorded that the exhibition does not trace a clear thread, as there are too many nations, territories and periods covered. What do we take from this is that, although the students understood that clothing is a unifying and orienting element, to them, the discourse was not sufficiently structuring.

Ultimately, the museum visit allowed for the multiple perspective to be addressed and developed through the exchanges conducted during the activity “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”. The first level of this competency was not only the most often questioned by the visit, but it is also the one that comes out most naturally during the exchanges. In this sense, the primary mandate of the exhibition fulfills its role of raising awareness of the diversity of Indigenous cultures. It is through the headdress and the moccasins that this understanding was best realized. Where it falls short, however, is regarding the depth of this diversity, as Team 2 members unequivocally point out. The members of this team did not feel they were necessarily able to define these identities. Concerning distinctions between Western and Indigenous perspectives (the second level of multiperspectivity), it appears that the discourses surrounding the headdress and hunter parka have had the desired effect, although it was not necessarily the most correct choice for the marketing context. That said, students showed empathy; they were very sensitive to stereotypes and keen to do something about it. Multiperspectivity has also a lot to do with open-mindedness to others, as explained in the second part of this dissertation (Chapter 3). That was one strong aspect they kept from the exhibition at that point. In terms of the third level (evolution over time),

the amauti and Nadia Myre's artwork were finally in the students' sights, as the collaboration had hoped. Both objects allow for a contrast between the past and present realities of Indigenous people and their ability to adapt to change, which is a central aim of the exhibition *Wearing Your Identity. The First Peoples Collection*.

These results at the second stage of historical consciousness already enable us to see what seems to have had the greatest impact on the students during this visit: the question about the renewal of the exhibition was expressly formulated to unearth what the students considered to be essential to this visit. Through the answers given during the online interactive activity, cognitive learning can be discerned, although we must moderate its extent by accounting for the previous knowledge, manifested during the before-visit activity. Indeed, what appears at the end of this visit is not so much that the students have discovered the notion of diversity of Indigenous cultures, but rather that they are now better able to connect this notion to a few tangible objects and related facts (origins, materials, functions, events, stereotypes). Visual literacy is one of the strengths of object-based learning (Chatterjee, Hannan & Thomson, 2016; Boddington, Boys and Speight, 2016) and a needed transversal competency of the 21st century education (Bourgatte, 2018). It will be important to verify whether this knowledge remains, grows or declines at later stages of this research (post-visit questionnaire, post-visit activity, interview one month later). Other knowledge ignored until now, in view of the adoption of various perspectives in the examination of the past or other societies, will perhaps resurface later...

13.1.2 Metareflection on History in the Museum Visit's Discourses

The developed script for the university museum visit online incorporated several content elements related to meta-reflection in history. The objectives of the virtual museum visit directly linked to metahistorical reflection were to: observe carefully, analyze and contextualize an Indigenous object in order to better grasp the processes of construction of history; understand the McCord Stewart Museum's mission of civic education and the process of indigenization. As with the multiple perspective, it is possible to report specific moments of declarative knowledge during the visit led by Natalie. It is relevant to point out that most of that knowledge transmitted was initially planned, however it occurred that some of it was not.... or even that, on some other occasions, important content relating to this competency was put aside, due to forgetting or lacking time. Students' involvement with this competency was important during the team activity in breakout room sessions, as well as during the plenary. Thus, in this section, I will first describe the elements of Natalie's presentation that were significant to developing meta-reflective skills about history, considering that there were variations between the script and its subsequent application. The performance of the museum guide, naturally, and the presence or absence of certain topics had a significant impact on the students' reception of the messages. I will then present students' major learning from the activity "Being in the Museologists' Shoes". The second question 2) How does this visit to the exhibition fit in with the decolonization of knowledge in the 21st century? has contributed a lot to assessing students' ability to have a meta-historical understanding consistent with what has been taught by the museum guide.

The first museum moment in relation to meta-reflection did not concern an object *per se* but rather a discursive element of the visit's introduction. It is paramount to recall, as we elicited

in the first part of this dissertation, that this competence often implies moving away from the objects to deal with what lies behind their immediate showing, what still irradiates from their encounter but is more dissimulated in the museum setting: the act of collecting, exhibition design and other museological choices. Metahistorical skills are intimately connected to practices, corresponding to the "behind the scenes" of the work of history or museology. In the context of the visit offered by Natalie, as soon as the visit was introduced, once the history of the museum was laid out, she read the territorial recognition statement as written by the institution. She then made the students aware of its importance for the McCord Stewart Museum:

We are a museum that has benefited and built its reputation on these [Indigenous] collections. It is a duty to their cultures. The museum is going through a very rigorous process of indigenization. The recognition [of these cultures] is realized through the functions of preservation, dissemination and education. The process of indigenization has been going on for over ten years now...but, there has been a lot of action, especially in the last year...You have to keep these indigenization issues in mind while you are visiting.

Natalie intended to punctuate her speech with elements related to museological practice in a context of decolonization of knowledge.

The presentation of the video scrolling the Indian Act constituted the second moment where students would be confronted with their representation schemes about the Canadian past, and which could allow them to understand the stakes in relation to decolonization for the Indigenous people and for living together in our society as well. The meta-reflexive competency concerns, certainly, the acquisition of knowledge about the past. However, it also deals with the political rights and socioeconomic status of Indigenous people in Canada, as well as the need for our cultural institutions to show, deconstruct and repair the racist and colonial past. Therefore, the inclusion of this Act in the exhibition reveals the museum's desire to present the Indigenous past in a transparent manner, without attempting to hide the darker sides of Canadian history. It had the

potential to open a conversation about how white colonizers from the past to the present have been responsible for the perpetuation of this unequal and racist system, through which the Indian Act was a primary vehicle. Natalie's mediation thus began with an analysis of the lexical field of this Act with respect to Indigenous people. The students attempted to clarify the meaning of certain words and phrases such as “Indians” and “bands”, which Natalie defused with clarity, mentioning they can be only used in relation to this legal act today. The class notably reacted to the sections of the Act that further disadvantaged women and their lineages. Indian status is passed down through men, which means that the children of Indigenous males with status also have rights under the Act. Women with Indian status lose their rights and those of any future children when they marry a man without status. On the other hand, a man with Indian status retains it when he marries a woman without status. In fact, in such a relationship, the wife and any children of the couple gain the rights of the husband's and father's Indian status as a result of the marriage.

Natalie then attempted to make the connection between this law and the clothing in the exhibit. It is at this point that she defined the notion of “cultural genocide”. Élizabeth intervened spontaneously with a pertinent comment arising from meta-historical reflection: “Presenting the artifacts today allows us not to erase, to save...despite the laws”. Natalie built meaning from this lucid response by adding that one of the goals is to fight against the injustices and horrors of this law. For, in fact, the museum is “the guardian of Indigenous cultures, and it is its duty to bring their contexts to light”, she said. She continued, “White people have sought to suppress these cultures, but there are survivals and skills that have come down to us. It is these symbols of resilience among Indigenous peoples that the museum wishes to unveil to the public”. Natalie's speech was very useful and appeared interesting to the students, according to my observation notes.

I, nonetheless, noted a few less developed issues: She only implied the importance for the museum to be transparent about the abuse of history. As well, she did not clearly reveal what was the harm done to Indigenous people. For instance, there were some data in the script about inequalities, struggles and current fights related to Indigenous communities in Canada. Her presentation spoke of social responsibility and the museum's intentions to redress these harms, but she did not fully articulate why or how the video on the Act achieves this goal.

The third moment proved to be the culmination for the achievement of the metahistorical competence. At the end of the virtual visit, for about ten minutes, Natalie discussed in greater detail the concrete actions taken by the McCord Stewart Museum in terms of collaborating with Indigenous people. For several years, the McCord Stewart Museum has been committed to presenting Indigenous perspectives. She said, for example, that in 2019, the museum dedicated an exhibition to Kent Monkman: *Shame and Prejudice: A Story of Resilience*. A Cree artist, Monkman denounces the abuses of Canadian history towards Indigenous people with his provocative paintings. She explained that the indigenization process in which they embarked involved a thorough review of the way the museum works. The Wendat curator plays a leading role in defining the intentions and actions to undergo. The debates and current issues as well as the claims of the Indigenous communities have a great influence on how they call themselves into question: “Where are we? Are we still relevant? Are we responding to the changes [recommended practices regarding Indigenous methodologies]?” She signaled that the museum is indigenizing in a number of ways: through valuing of Indigenous worldviews, integration of their perspectives in the museum discourses and, above all, by way of true collaboration, that is, the full realization of curation and education projects with several Indigenous members and communities. For

indigenization, to cite the museum guide, does not mean “hiring or collaborating with only one Indigenous person”. She stipulated that “the process is long”, not only to the length of time it takes to find the partners, but also because it is necessary “to integrate their methods and their notion of temporality, which may differ from ours”. She explained that this process also requires curating and presenting objects from Indigenous perspectives and that this requires accommodation, as there may be a disconnect between Western museological practices and Indigenous meaning and relationship to the object. Moreover, the acquisition committee, on which two Indigenous members currently sit, along with the curator, are responsible for verifying the contexts of acquisition and the history of the objects so that it is done in agreement with the Indigenous communities. Natalie then provided information on the museum founder and his own personal collection. The end of the 19th century was a time when ethnology, the comparative and explanatory study of all the cultural characteristics of human groups, was enjoying great popularity. The founder, David Ross McCord purchased and repatriated Indigenous objects to preserve traces of these declining or disappearing cultures. The mediator insisted that, according to the Museum's information on the founder's acquisitions, “nothing has been stolen or seized or caused suffering” to individuals. According to my observation notes, students seem to be enjoying this part of her presentation, some of them nodding in agreement or taking notes.

Natalie carried on with indigenization as being a step tied to the larger movement, of decolonization of the great colonial museums, such as the Louvre or the British Museum. It is at this point that she addressed the restitution of the objects stolen during the imperial conquests, colonization having affected all continents of the globe, North America included. She supported her claim with examples from elsewhere: France has returned objects taken from its former

colonies of Senegal, Nigeria and Benin; Germany has given back artifacts belonging to Italy, Greece, Iraq, Mexico and Peru. Natalie revealed that, within their Indigenous collection, human remains, funerary offerings and objects considered sacred, or still related to rituals and common spiritual practices, are among the objects that could potentially be returned. The McCord Stewart Museum does not have a precise policy on repatriation but is open to discussion. Some Indigenous communities do not want their objects to be sent back. These communities know that the museum holds their objects, takes care of them and controls their access without expecting their return, for now. The museum respects museological ethical conventions and Indigenous perspectives regarding sacred objects and human remains; they have a strict curation etiquette to follow. She emphasized that museum institutions must increasingly work collaboratively, not only with Indigenous communities, but with researchers and universities. Complex issues or “hot topics” must be carefully considered and resolved in consultation and agreement with academic research and interested parties.

In addition to hiring, designing exhibition projects and collecting, “indigenization is about education,” as Natalie pointed out. A place of openness and exchange, the museum strives, through exhibitions as well as educational and cultural programs, to contribute to the process of reconciliation by acknowledging the mistakes of the past and supporting the voices of Indigenous peoples, while promoting exchanges between Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Such is the case with the educational workshop “Tell a Legend, Create and Share a Living Story” with the Wapikoni mobile organization and contemporary Innu storyteller and filmmaker Donovan Volland, or “My Ally Gesture Toward the Indigenous Nations”, a group activity revised by Catherine Boivin, an Anishinabee member who completed a paid internship at the museum. This

workshop engages visitors in proposing concrete citizen actions in keeping with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada and its calls to action. Here is a list of the actions taken by the museum as indigenizing itself, mentioned during Natalie's presentation:

- 1) The "Wearing Your Identity" exhibition was developed in consultation with First Nations. The renewal of the exhibition has intensified these relationships.
- 2) The museum adopts an approach that respects First Nations, Inuit and Métis artistic expression, cultural protocols, Indigenous rights and worldview.
- 3) The museum also ensures that it respects the traditions surrounding the objects in its care through ongoing dialogue with the communities from which they originate. Examples: Storage of certain objects is planned based on community recommendations. When an object is in need of restoration, we follow the recommendations of the community from which the object originated, in order to respect the rituals and traditions. For example, the care and management of collections is done according to indigenous protocols. Some objects such as masks are never shown and annual ceremonies are held to nurture them through rituals, etc.
- 4) Access to the museum for Indigenous communities is part of their mission. The museum encourages visits by community and school groups of Indigenous origin and open the doors of our reserves to researchers, university students, artists and other representatives of Indigenous communities when they request it.
- 5) The museum has amended its by-laws to reserve two seats on its Board of Trustees for Indigenous members. The Museum now has two Indigenous members on its Board of Directors.
- 6) Mediation activities are based on Indigenous practices (e.g., storytelling and legend).
- 7) The museum has created an Indigenous artist-in-residence program.
- 8) The museum offers a workshop on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to school groups.
- 9) The museum proposes an educational workshop entitled "Tell a Legend, Create and Share a Living Story" with Wapikoni Mobile and contemporary Innu storyteller and filmmaker Donovan Volland
- 10) The educational workshop "My Ally Gesture Toward the Indigenous Nations" was revised by Catherine Boivin, an Indigenous artist who completed a paid internship at the Museum. This workshop engages citizens in using concrete acts of allyship in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada project.
- 11) The museography of the exhibition respects the Indigenous relationship to time.
- 12) The museum offers a virtual tour with themes presented in a circular logic.
- 13) The museum has hired an Indigenous curator, Elizabeth Paine, for the next exhibition, which will focus on Indigenous voices of today.

By the end of the visit, students were familiarized with different aspects that facilitate meta-historical reflection.

13.2 Metareflection in the Activity "Being in the Museologists' Shoes"

The three specified moments of the visit, specially designed to facilitate meta-reflection in history, had an impact on the discussions that followed in the breakout rooms around the

question 2. Team 1's answer sheet shows that they understood what the decolonization of knowledge meant, particularly in relation to museology and, more broadly, the practice of history. As a first element, they wrote "collective imaginary vs. reality". Opting for an economy of words with this short phrase, I may infer the meaning by contrasting it with the conversation they had a few minutes earlier, when they selected an object in the context of renewing the exhibition (question 1). I can only guess the girls (Julia, Daphné, Éléonore and Charlotte) were referring to the discourses and stereotypes surrounding the eagle feather headdress and, more broadly, how Western understandings of Indigenous people tend to be reductive and biased, ungrounded in the realities and perspectives of these First Peoples. Their interpretation is also evident in the subsequent written responses: the exhibition "creates a break with the essentialization of Indigenous cultures," "prevents an understanding of the Indigenous relationship to nature that would be one of fetishization," and "breaks out of the classic longhouse/wigwam and nomadic/sedentary" basic knowledge. They also added that the exhibition is in keeping with the precepts of contemporary art, because "they are not extinct nations" and "it is important to keep them alive...".

Team 3 suggested quite similar ideas, but their responses were more specific and in sync with Natalie's speech and the stated goals of the museum program. Alexis, Évy and Joséphine wrote that the McCord Stewart's exhibition "tears down constructed ideas and allows us to re-learn about Indigenous knowledge, traditions, resilience and the diversity of Indigenous peoples". The museum is part of a decolonization process "by the fact that Indigenous people are involved in the conception of the exhibition [...] and there is dialogue, because the museum is giving them back a form of power by representing their cultures according to their own perspectives". Finally,

they acknowledged that “the museum makes us aware that [some] objects we use in our daily lives are [...] typically Indigenous”. With respect to this last aspect, they mentioned snowshoes, moccasins, kamiiks and warm “Canada Goose” style coats with fur hoods. Thus, another noteworthy element of decolonization for these students is the recognition of Indigenous cultural borrowings by Westerners. This trio created an absolutely relevant bridge between their prior knowledge, the objects shown, and the actions undertaken by the visited museum in terms of indigenization.

As in the before-visit activity, Team 2, composed of Sam, Élizabeth and Léo, moved in a diametrically opposed direction. For the second question concerning the decolonization process, these students did not agree much with the museum’s indigenization during their online exchanges. However, they left a less than indulgent paper trail afterwards: “We found that in fact that the exhibition is completely within a perspective of colonization, but perhaps with a desire for recognition and reconciliation. The museum practice is itself a colonial or imperial practice”. It is not clear how they arrive at this understanding of “colonization perspective” or how they define the word “colonization” through the museum visit’s discourses or objects, except perhaps if one goes by the last sentence. The crux of the problem would be related to the invention and function of the museum itself. Once the museum is understood, first and foremost, as a Western and Westernizing institution, the Indigenous perspective can only be eliminated or reduced in favor of a White and, therefore, dominant perspective. The discussion between Sam, Léo and Élizabeth is more revealing:

Extract from my virtual classroom transcript for March 10, 2021.

Élizabeth: You can't be against the good will [of museums], but you're not going to get out of this system of repression that's going on all the time.

Sam: The conservation of objects and heritage, you can't undo...the cultural genocide...

Léo: I'm not saying there's no value, it's necessary though... to educate.

Élizabeth: The museum said it was a process of indigenization, it's not decolonization. Are those two different concepts?

Léo: I'm thinking okay, so what do we do? What do we do? We insert this type of exhibition in what? It's in the era of time, but still? What I'm trying to say is, you know, as soon as it's from the White... Museums, for the Natives, it's not in their priority. We need direct dialogues with people, guests in our classes. Decolonization must start from the communities... but it's very delicate.

Élizabeth: Yes, yes; it [the exhibition] is part of a process of education on colonization.

Léo: I don't know how much, the physical environment, which is particularly very White, and the principle of the museum, which is Western, and the very concept of an exhibition, I wonder how compatible it is in a decolonization process. You know, for the British Museum, it's a big problem in England.

Sam: The concept of the museum doesn't meet all the criteria of decolonization, except that certain goals are met, like breaking down stereotypes.

Léo: You are absolutely right.

Sam: To place the objects in a colonized place [sic belonging to the colonizer on unceded territory] is a symbolic way of giving back territory.

Léo: Absolutely right. But I'm playing devil's advocate: How much conscience does the colonizer have?

Élizabeth: The museum has an educational mandate. If a visitor didn't know, well, they learned. But, I hope it becomes common knowledge. We're starting from the negative now... but we're going to get to a [greater] level of knowledge, to know how to go deeper, to give voice.

Léo: There will be no decolonization as long as the colonizing people do not understand that they are colonizers. The problem is repeated in school programs and textbooks. It's true that it starts with education. The tool of education has its relevance.

Élizabeth: Yes, it's changing slowly. Why are we changing slowly. For whom? The status quo, who does it benefit? There is a lot of change, but it is not that great.

Léo: There is a reason why communities do not want to be part of these processes.

The students' exchanges present several overlapping but very interesting ideas. One senses that they cared deeply about the scope of museums and the role the museum may or may not play in decolonization for Indigenous communities. They also wondered about effective process and

the actual limits. They recognized the educational mandate but did not give much credit to the concrete actions of the McCord Stewart Museum. The students seemed to doubt the museum's very desire for recognition and reconciliation. It was however mentioned twice, before and during the visit, that the exhibition was produced in close collaboration with an Indigenous advisory committee. With regard to their remarks, I advance the hypothesis that the familiarity of Élizabeth and Léo with anti-racist theories, Indigenous methodologies and other political requests, such as land claims, strongly influenced their judgment of this exhibition. Their reflection is sound and pertinent. Nevertheless, I wonder if their already-made positions about the issues of Indigenous peoples do not alter or even block some new understanding. After all, in history education (although for inferior levels of instruction), scholars have long insisted in the difficulty to unbuild prior conceptions (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Wineburg 2001; Seixas, Stearns & Wineburg, 2000, van Boxtel, 2014). If this team offered some nuances in their answers, they were ultimately more negative than positive about this museum's potential contribution to decolonization. Were they not ignoring, at least to some extent, the avowed intentions and the real practices of the McCord Stewart Museum in the conception and dissemination of this exhibition? Does the prior knowledge of these students take precedence over the notions disclosed by the museum guide? Do they discredit too much the "value" of cultural protection and mediation for our society? Although museums are not automatically synonymous with political activism, and their focus is not on changing the laws or giving back the traditional territories to the communities as such – their function is about preserving the past, sharing stories, educating the public – should we not be careful also not to diminish or reject too quickly their potential to social change and action, especially in the long run? This question seems legitimate as a counterpart to these students' conversation.

Overall, regarding meta-reflection, it looked like students understood not only the importance of an inclusive history but also how these perspectives should be implemented in a museum setting. The main ideas of the contents presented in the exhibition as well as the categories of actions that museums can take to decolonize themselves have been retained. Students understood that history is situated, can be deconstructed and more inclusive. Team 2 stood out from the other teams because it noted that the museum “does not decolonize”. The pejorative meaning is linked to the scope of the museum’s actions more than to the intentions or concrete actions of the McCord Stewart Museum. The plenary that followed this activity did not have a great impact on this meta-reflection, the facilitator Antoine-Xavier having only collected the comments of the students, in particular those mentioned above. There was no additional brainstorming. At this third stage of historical consciousness (HC3), I realized that the students have had the opportunity to deepen certain notions already covered during the pre-visit activity. A post-visit questionnaire was submitted to bring to light other elements that the activities and discussions in plenary that could have left out. Especially, it gave an individual voice to all participants about their learning and impressions.

Chapter Fourteen: The Post-Visit Appreciation

Questionnaire (HC4)

The post-visit appreciation questionnaire was made up of ten questions (Appendix B) to better target the learning and personal appreciation of the students. These were formulated in such a way as to also capture the extent to which students have developed multiple perspective and metahistorical thinking in an individual and more holistic way. As mentioned (Chapter 8), it was given to the students by email at the end of the virtual visit. A period of twenty-four hours was granted to complete and return the form to the researcher, which was respected by all ten participants. I attempted to avoid leading questions and gave students the opportunity to express themselves quite freely as they exercised a historical consciousness. This procedure allowed participants to discover, more naturally, what they considered important and what especially caught their attention. The questions also had the advantage of showing the level of appreciation of this visit and of establishing, or not, correlations between the learning and their appreciation of the museum experience. The form made it possible in many respects to call attention to certain blind spots inherent in the activities carried out in class, which focused on declarative knowledge and less on perceptions and interpersonal skills.

14.1 The Annual Museum Attendance of the Student Participants

The first question I proposed made it possible to establish the museum attendance habits of the participants: “How often do you visit museums? Never / Few / A few times a year / Often. Specify if possible”. This data is important because it can help determine whether or not visitor

habits may have had an impact on the data collected (Bourdieu & Darbel, 1969). At first glance, the attendance of nine out of ten students appears quite normal for this age group, varying from very rarely to a few times a year, with most visiting them about once a year, particularly in “special” contexts, during trips outside the country or with their school students. Alexis (team 3) was the most frequent visitor with a confirmed attendance of once a month before the pandemic, which is well above the average for young adults. Attendance fell to zero for all participants in this research during the coronavirus pandemic, if we do not take into account the virtual visit in which they took part. Daphné, who had admitted to working in an art gallery in the socio-cultural data questionnaire, stood out in terms of her appreciation, writing that she “love[s] museums”.

Table 11: Annual museum attendance of the student participants

Team	Name of the student	Annual attendance	Verbatim comment on the museum attendance
1	Éléonore	Once a year	“Since my youth”
	Daphné	A few times per year	“I love to go to the museum.”
	Charlotte	A few times per year	“I like to visit museums when I travel.”
	Julia	Never or rarely	“Unfortunately, I live a long way from Montreal. I used to go there a bit, but because of the distance, the work/study/leisure balance doesn't always work out well.”
2	Élizabeth	A few times per year	“When I go with my students or travel”
	Léo	A few times per year	“2 or 3 times per year”
	Sam	Rarely or a few times per year	“1 or 2 times a year, more often on trips or school visits. I sometimes visit museums in Montreal when there are exhibitions that interest me [...], but not very often”.
3	Alexis	Often	“Once a month before the pandemic”
	Joséphine	A few times per year	“3 or 4 times per year”
	Évy	Rarely	N/A

14.2 Students' Development of Multiperspectivity according to the Post-Visit Appreciation Questionnaire

There were several ways to learn about multiperspectivity in the questionnaire. Questions about their learning and appreciation, very generally, helped me to see what they retained from the primary objectives of the museum visit concerning the diversity of Indigenous cultures, their changes over time as well as distinctions with our Western thinking (the three levels of the multiple perspective competency). Multiperspectivity mostly emerged through questions 2 to 7⁶⁷ listed below:

2. "What did you think of the exhibition?"
3. "What did you think of the virtual exhibition?"
4. "What did you think of the discussion activities?"
5. "Have you learned anything?"
6. "What are the strengths of your experience?"
7. "What are the weaknesses of your experience?"

All the students, except Daphné from Team 1, pointed to an element referring to the diversity of cultures: This was the most common point in the questionnaires. It should also be noted that, while the majority of students learned about the heterogeneity of Indigenous cultures, two participants admitted to knowing most of the objects presented in relation to this diversity.

⁶⁷Question 1 was about their museum attendance.

From a perspective of the diversity of Indigenous cultures, Julia (Team 1) wrote that she found a broadening of her knowledge of the “differences that accompany each nation (by moccasins, clothing)”, although she did not give further details. In question 6, this same student mentioned that she liked being informed about the functions of objects, which can serve the needs of communities according to the territories, spiritual beliefs or political relations with the colonizers (wampum). Therefore, Julia brought out some key ideas of the contents of the visit in relation to the range of objects presented, associated with a plurality of Indigenous nations. For her part, Alexis (Team 3) was surprised by two objects in particular, the amauti having been a “true[sic] discovery” and the ulu reminding her of her childhood. She even added that her grandfather collected ulus at his cabin and that she did not know what they were until she participated in the museum program. Her comment is particularly interesting, evoking a family memory. The emotional connection with the object no doubt explains why she retained the native appellation of the object. The amauti was, moreover, the element selected by his team during the activity on the fictitious renewal ⁶⁸of the exhibition, which may have contributed to this score in the appreciation questionnaire. Another student spoke about the multiplicity of Indigenous cultures. In the form, Sam (Team 2) admitted to not knowing most of the objects presented in the exhibition, such as the parka, the amauti and the ulu. She also did not know “the real name of what she had previously called “totems”, without, however, expressing the expected term, “totem pole”. In addition, she “understood that one of the important objectives of this museum is to undo the prejudice that there is an Indigenous culture, singular”.

⁶⁸I would like to recall that this was part of the activity “Being the Museologists’ Shoes” occurring right after the museum visit. Students had to choose an object as they were museologists who were renewing the exhibition. They had to examine and select according to the perspectives of the a) McCord-Stewart Museum; b) Indigenous peoples; c) Canada; d) their own preference.

On another level, student participants highlighted the fact that those Indigenous perspectives on the past differed in many respects from Western narratives. In fact, the students learned a lot of information about the ways of life of the First Peoples, particularly with regard to their spiritual relationship with nature and their circular vision of the world. Sam (Team 2) set forth different conceptions of Westerners through their material and clothing cultures, territories and borders, treaties and political orientations. They heard and memorized knowledge about the historical dominance of Whites over Indigenous peoples in Canada. Éléonore (Team 1) seemed to have been awakened to this subject. To question 2, she wrote: “I appreciated the circular shape, the reflections on the proposed relationship to the territory and the Canadian map on which were inscribed the self-designated names of the various Indigenous nations without the translations into colonial terms”. To question 4, she maintained that the group activity had allowed her to deepen her understanding of the exhibition, particularly in relation to the stereotypes that are internalized in society and the cultural appropriation of Indigenous symbols by Western people. Then, in question 5, Éléonore recorded that she “learned that the Inuit intentionally wanted to look like the caribou they hunted in order to facilitate a spiritual connection with the animal”. Charlotte who was part of the same team left a similar remark: “Yes! Absolutely! I learned about a lot of clothing items that I was not familiar with. We learn more about Indigenous traditions, respect for nature, the circle of life, etc.”. As for Sam (Team 2), she pointed to an example that underlines the different political conventions between the colonizers and the Indigenous people. She felt that the museum brilliantly uses the text of the Indian Act and the wampum necklace to set forth the written laws and treaties as Western fact, not corresponding to the way Indigenous peoples traditionally made their agreements and treaties of peace with objects. In addition to this point, regarding the inclusion of Indigenous ways of thinking and doing things in the exhibition, Joséphine said she appreciated

"the perspective with which the subject was approached as well as the level of respect that the museum has demonstrated", regarding the strengths of the museum visit (Question 6).

With regard to the evolution of Indigenous cultures over time, comments were rarer, but Joséphine (Team 3) maintained that she had learned "a lot about Indigenous cultures and traditions: the tools they still use shows how they have adapted to their environments" (Question 6). Julia (Team 1) argued in question 2 "that she appreciated the fact that there were modern elements, disseminated through older artifacts". Évy (Team 3) agreed, writing, more specifically about the amauti, that it was "magnificent to see an old and a modern one side by side". Sam (Team 2) also noted that she liked "the comparison between traditional objects and their more contemporary version as well as "the commentary [made by the Museum's project manager] on the appropriation of eagle-feathered headdresses and its impact on Indigenous cultures that did not originally wear it". The last point shows not only the evolution of Indigenous ways of life, but also the negative effect of Western stereotypes on Indigenous nations, who were pressured to adopt headdresses to complement their "Indianness".

Alternatively, some students admitted that they did not learn much new information regarding the diversity of cultures and the objects presented. Such is the case of Évy (Team 1) who, for example, stated that she knew the majority of the objects as well as their functions, with the exception of the ulu and its symbolism, which she particularly appreciated. Two members of Team 2, Élizabéth and Léo, also considered that their learning was limited. Élizabéth "realize[d] that [her] course [has] already exposed her to what the museum has chosen to present in its exhibition", having lived in British Columbia and having visited Nunavik. She even had an ulu.

She stressed, moreover, that the excessive diversity of objects is detrimental to the creation of a coherent whole when discovering the exhibition: “the objects come from different places and from different periods... apart from the fact of belonging to Indigenous peoples, there is not really a unifying thread in this exhibition”. Here, I must recall the comment of this student in the Zoom breakout room regarding the superficiality of the exhibition discourses. If the criticism is rather valid, I must add a caveat to her perception: it is very likely that the virtual visit and the shortened duration of the activity on Zoom, at a distance and without real movement in the exhibition halls, has blurred or disrupted the logic and depth of the contents of the exhibition in contrast to what the usual visitor would have browsed, read, seen and learned. Moreover, to question 3 on the virtual visit, her colleague Léo (Team 2) wrote that the online version did not do justice to the exhibition designed for a physical visit of the premises. He, too, was of the opinion that he had not really learned anything: at the conceptual and theoretical level, he had nothing new to report. He considered that “the whole thing certainly contributed a little to [his] general culture”. The exhibition therefore did not lead to an essential addition, modification or rejection of what he knew a priori about Indigenous cultures⁶⁹.

Regarding multiperspectivity, Léo made a mixed comment similar to that of his colleague Élisabeth, but this one is more substantial:

The bet taken by the McCord Museum to present clothing as representative of identities is particularly successful. It is an innovative historical and cultural mediation proposal that is effective in achieving the objective of combating prejudice and showing the still present vitality of Indigenous identity despite years of oppression. In this sense, the choice of objects and their variety [...] are revealing and relevant to account for the different aspects that the exhibition wants to put forward. Where the bottom hurts concerns the territorial

⁶⁹Carroll (2002) has argued that an experience that reinforces previous learning must also be recognized as learning. The students may have read about Indigenous culture before, but viewing artefacts is different from reading. It is a more embodied form of learning.

and cultural coverage which turns out to be very ambitious. Wanting to represent all nations and demonstrate Indigenous multiculturalism ends up diluting the message. It is difficult to cover with artifacts all the nuances and particularities of all nations in an equitable and equivalent way. Presented[sic] such a large and ambitious portrait using only a hundred objects cannot be representative. Moreover, probably out of a concern for efficiency, the exhibition guide often ends up generalizing the meanings and uses of the objects, relegating the origin and cultural particularities of the artefacts to the background.

Léo refined the reflection initiated during the activity in the small discussion room during the activity on Zoom. His criticisms were concrete and clearer than in class. The limited number of objects to address a vast concept such as that of identity, especially since these objects concern a large number of peoples, constitutes a considerable supplement here. Moreover, he made a strong reasonable point when he mentions that origin and idiosyncrasies tend to be overshadowed: It is quite true that Natalie's speech tended to put them aside. Few objects have been associated with the Indigenous community or the region of provenance, except for the totem pole, the headdress and one of the pairs of moccasins. Many objects have simply been given the "Inuit" label. The meaning of tattoos for the Indigenous peoples as well as the prohibitions on these tattoos by the colonizers in the past were also not well explained, even if the scenario foresaw it. The moccasins could also have been better distinguished with their particularities, because the context absolutely lent itself to them given their number and their diversity in contrast to the other categories of artefacts in this exhibition.

In conclusion of this part, it seems that three students had the impression of having learned less than the others concerning the objects and the diversity of the native cultures. Still, it must be pointed out that the activities in class and the completion of the form allowed two of these three students to assess the multiple perspective within the framework, first, of the exhibition and second, of the museum visit, which joins in many respects with the second skill of meta-reflection in history. The students understood that the question of diversity could have been approached

differently and that the museological and communicational choices had limited their learning concerning multiperspectivity. In the end, I ask this question: Will the visit to the museum and the group activity have contributed to the development of the critical spirit of these students in relation to the way in which we write or disseminate knowledge about the past? Definitely... even if the intentions of the collaboration had in no way foreseen this aspect within the meta-historical competence. It is possible to affirm, at the very least, that the museum program has supported critical reflections on the work of history or museology. This observation leads us irremediably to this metareflective skill on history. How did it manifest itself among all the students, according to the same questionnaires?

14.3 Students' Metahistorical Reflection in the Post-Visit Questionnaires

Metahistorical reflection came also in a range of responses in the appreciation forms. Multiperspectivity, questions (2 to 6) provided interesting answers regarding this competency. However, the last questions (8 and 9) of the form were specifically meant to provide insight on students' metareflection (if applicable):

- 8) Do you think that authentic testimonies of the past, such as those presented in a museum, have an impact on people's understanding and feeling towards history?
- 9) Did the exhibition help you to understand the objectives of museums and history for society?

I classified students' answers in three categories referring to my model of historically effected consciousness transposed to the museum setting. They are the process of indigenization of the McCord Stewart Museum (multiperspectivity and metareflection in the exhibition and museum

visit); the relevance of the exhibition in the current societal context (metareflection on historical practice and wider ethical considerations pertaining to public history); and the museum embodied approach to learning (metareflection on history education, museography and museum education).

The museum program proposed discourses and discussions on the indigenization of the museum and decolonization of knowledge in the 21st century, in society and at the university, to enhance metahistorical reflection among participants. This objective was largely achieved according to the comments left in the post-visit questionnaires. From the outset, the students repeatedly pointed out that the museum had helped them to understand the intentions of museums. This was particularly the case with Éléonore (Team 1) and Daphné (Team 1). The latter, who had already visited the exhibition *in situ*, wrote in this sense (Question 2): “It was the first time that I had seen so many indigenous objects brought together for their importance and not to serve another context (colonization in New France, etc.). Then, with regard to the learning achieved (Question 5), Julia (team 1) wrote that she “also did not know that the restitution process was so ubiquitous these days”, a principle that she perceived as “fair”. Otherwise, she was unaware of the educational initiatives put in place by the McCord Stewart Museum or their collaboration with other Indigenous organizations or institutions. In fact, the student also was curious about other Montreal and Canadian museums, wondering if the belief in preservation, the sense of guardianship of the McCord Stewart Museum and the desire to cooperate with Indigenous communities is shared by other cultural institutions. As for Élisabeth (Team 2), she mentioned that she already understood the goals of history as a situated practice, because each time she visits a museum she does so with the perspective of learning more about the period or the society presented, “knowing that there is always a perspective, choices, biases on the part of the museum” (Question 10). Her comment is

interesting, but she did not explain how museums make these museological, operational and educational choices nor the financial, human or political constraints.

On another level, this metahistorical reflection concerns the relevance of this exhibition with regard to current events. Éléonore (Team 1) supported it in two ways at question 2. She considered, first, that this exhibition fits well in the aftermath of the TRC as well as in the overall context of Indigenous resurgence. Second, she believed art should serve to raise people's awareness and that the exhibition, through the clothes and Myre's artwork contributes to popular education around Indigenous issues. For example, in question 6, Éléonore revealed that the unusual border delimitations of the map had led her to reflect on her own territorial conceptions. Julia (Team 1), who "really loved the exhibition", also informed us on this subject, the museum seeming to maintain "a real desire to respect the history of Indigenous people while not making invisible the fact that there have been problems [*sic* conditions of inequalities] still relevant, causing harm to these populations".

A second level of meta-reflection illuminated in the questionnaires submitted by the participants concerned the contributions of materiality in the learning of history or cultural facts. Five out of ten students wrote that the object-based approach is beneficial for understanding, making content more concrete, facilitating memorization. Among other things, Éléonore (Team 1) maintained that:

material objects make these Indigenous cultures and their stories very tangible and more easily grasped for outsiders. It's hard to always think in abstract or conceptual terms. Objects can participate in creating living historical imaginaries [*sic*] in people and allow [*sic*, to remember] more of what they have learned [...]

At a third level, more related to the practice of history as such, the students supported that museums carry the voice of the people represented. Alexis (Team 3) believed that, in the context of the museum program, we entered the Indigenous world, and not the other way around, which helped us a lot to understand. Daphné (Team 1) insisted on the importance of inserting “the voices of people who have lived the story which is put on display whenever possible [...]”. However, she was not fooled; there are certain recurring shortcomings: “It is often what is missing —the Indigenous voices in the exhibitions on the First Nations”. She continued: “I have rarely seen war museums that do not have testimonies from people who did not experience it or exhibitions on nurses where there is no testimony from nurses.... It is often the testimonies that are missing in the exhibitions on the Native people”. Apart from the fact that the student did not specify where she saw shortcomings, the two comments deserve our attention. First, it is true that the script of the virtual tour did not include extracts or Indigenous testimonies whatsoever on any object, work or film presented. In the actual exhibit, it is possible to hear Indigenous people pronouncing the name of their nation in the Indigenous language; however, the virtual tour removed this element. Then, it highlights the importance of oral primary sources to support the facts and objects presented in an exhibition. The student was aware that the first sources should not disregard the perspectives of the actors of the past, especially those who are at the forefront. She also considered that the voices of the actors, those who are seen as heroes or heroines of Western history are usually presented but, on the other hand, the Indigenous peoples are not heard directly. There is therefore a problem of representation, according to her.

Her colleague, Charlotte, also addressed the importance of hearing testimonies, but added an empathetic dimension to the reflection as well as the need to better train young people at school

by resorting, for example, to the exploration of this exhibition. For question 4, dealing with discussion activities, Charlotte explained that their conversations in small groups often diverged on the place of Indigenous history in the Quebec school system, which she found interesting, because it seems that, privately, individuals do not have the same views on the civic responsibility to educate themselves. She continued in the same vein to question 8 about testimonies and youth in schools:

... Secondary 4-5 students should see this exhibition. Perhaps they would better understand the issues around Indigenous communities. Personally, the testimonies of Indigenous people help me a lot to immerse myself in their suffering, their struggles, their struggles. Obviously, I am of the opinion that only they can educate us on their struggles.

Charlotte seemed to point out that the exhibition can be a breeding ground for addressing injustices, and perhaps suggests that the teaching of history at school does not give enough room to direct witnesses, to the Indigenous peoples themselves, even that the questions of claims leave many people indifferent. The programs have not necessarily paid much attention to them until now. Sam, for her part, recalled the civic mission of the museum, mentioning that the exercise clearly demonstrated the democratization effort of the McCord Stewart Museum, wishing to take into account the testimonies of the people who lived the experience. On the other hand, she was not sure that the authentic testimonies allowed her to understand “the story”, because she would have difficulty associating the objects with specific nations or historical periods. Another interesting point is that Charlotte seemed to have a different understanding of testimonies: objects can deliver messages on the part of Indigenous peoples. Daphné suggested that Indigenous faces, verbal or written testimonies were needed in the exhibition to be fully inclusive of their perspectives.

Her criticism here met that of colleagues regarding the deficient common thread in the exhibition, noted in the previous section with regard to the multiple perspective. I mentioned earlier that the educational visit did not sufficiently identify the nations and origins. But another question comes to mind. This answer is perhaps indicative of a conception of history associated with a chronology, with specific dates... or perhaps with a history that is essentially event-driven or political. Does an exhibition whose emphasis is on an identity or social theme seem less logical or effective from the point of view of achieving historical knowledge in the eyes of these students? Could it be that students have difficulty breaking away from traditional conceptions of what history should be: a continuous narrative around a nation that is situated in time, in space, with its complete conjuncture: political, economic, social, cultural? Is it a defect of the exhibition? Or simply a choice that is methodologically justified? Students' reflections may therefore lack nuance in historical practice. It is also possible that, quite simply, the research context did not allow for such questions to arise. The feedback questionnaire was probably completed fairly quickly given the one-day time limit. In order to have a better understanding of what the students understand about history, the post-visit activity would allow us to go further.

Chapter Fifteen: Post-Visit Activity (HC5)

The post-visit activity “Which Lenses for the Historian in the 21st Century?” is developed with a view to encouraging reflection on history, museology and decolonization. It was the teaching assistant, Antoine-Xavier, who was responsible for leading this activity. The introduction was very brief, given the habits now established. Also, I can explain it, partially, by a lack of familiarity of the assistant with university teaching and the intentions of the research project. He was brought into the process later. The following questions were thus read aloud to the students before they were again grouped together in the rooms, with the same teams:

- 1) Do you think the museum program has helped you better understand the history of Indigenous peoples? Why and how?
- 2) Did the exhibition help you understand how historians and museologists write and present history? Are there similarities/distinctions between the writing and presentation of history between historians and museologists?

The first question aimed to question once again the multiple perspective in history or in the museum, while the second question aimed to bring out their meta-historical understanding of this museum program.

15.1 Multiperspectivity during the Post-Visit Activity

At the fifth moment of historical consciousness (HC5), we learn little new about multiple perspective, except that two out of three groups of students now did not seem to acknowledge having learned so much about Indigenous communities. They did not seem to see the point of worrying about it again. The students had already assessed what they considered to be the important elements during the previous stages of the museum program. This is what the discussions in the small rooms led us to believe, focusing almost exclusively on the second question. At the very least, they provided a few lines in writing, on their activity sheet, probably feeling forced to do so, a box being included for this purpose. For Team 3, made up of Évy, Joséphine and Alexis:

The objects (presented by the museum) make it possible to situate oneself in time and to see the differences between peoples (the example of moccasins). The exhibition also shows the temporal character, or the continuity of culture over time (the example of the maternity coat) and its adaptation to new realities (not the model but the materials used). The objects and the exhibition (museum and its presentation) make it possible to concretize the material.

Two levels of multiple perspective emerged here, with the issue of Indigenous perspectives as distinct from Western ones. The students recalled the primary objectives of the exhibition vis-à-vis Indigenous cultures. During the return to plenary, Évy (Team 3) maintained that the exhibition brings women back into cultures. Political history tends to put women aside, but approaching a cultural angle allows you to see them, literally. This is another element of the multiple perspective and this one can be introduced into the question of Indigenous perspectives, in the sense that women, historically, have a secondary role in Western history and that the cultural approach gives more visibility to women.

On the other hand, the other two teams considered that the exhibition addresses the multiple perspective but that they themselves did not learn much about it. Team 2 still maintained that they had learned little about Indigenous communities and offered a mixed response on the learnings made, again testifying that the exhibition brings together too many varied elements. No significant change was therefore noticed regarding the multiple perspective with regard to these students. Léo mentioned it in front of the class during the return to plenary at the end of the session: for him, clothing is not necessarily the best medium to talk about identity or, at least, that the use of clothing for associating it with a title like “Wearing One's Identity” is reductive in his eyes. Léo's position was reinforced by Sandra, who deemed the comment valid. The course lecturer brought up a point that allows us to deepen Léo's idea: the nature of the exhibition, which puts an object in a display case, outside of its natural context also tends to distort or distance identities, compared to a face-to-face meeting in a community. What we retain here, for Team 2, was once again a feeling of disappointment in relation to the potential of this exhibition, the vision of a rather anecdotal discourse still holds.

Surprisingly, Team 1, made up of Daphné, Julia and Charlotte (Éléonore was absent that evening), provided a more nuanced position with regard to learning than previously during this terminal activity (Appendix K). These young women wrote that they learned about the plurality [of nations], but that the discourse materialized around the objects only concretized what they already knew. Charlotte, Daphné and Julia continued: “we think it was a very broad exhibition, we didn't learn about a particular community”. Their answers make me wonder about this 180-degree turn: Have they already forgotten certain contents in relation to the objects, which now gives them the impression that they have not learned about the various cultures? Is it the wording of the

question that prompts these answers? Basically, they encountered objects and cultures, without being able to fully understand Indigenous identities. This is what I infer from the discrepancy between the following excerpt from Daphné, taken from her assessment questionnaire “[...] I did not know all the elements shown. It was interesting to learn more and better understand” and that of Charlotte, even more enthusiastic, who wrote “[y]es! Absolutely! I learned about a lot of clothing items that I was unfamiliar with. We thus learn more about respect for nature, traditions, circles of life, etc.”. In hindsight, the students seem less charmed by the exhibition. Does the answer mostly reflect the position of one person out of the three? This cannot be ruled out. My presence in the small room, cut short by the need to visit the other teams on Zoom, did not allow me to hear their discussions on this subject. We can also wonder if they have shared ideas with certain colleagues in their class for seven days, which would have changed their perceptions?

In short, the multiple perspective is less questioned during this activity compared to past activities and does not allow us to identify new meanings regarding their learning, apart from the commentary on women and the decrease in the feeling of learning for the members of Team 1. Metahistorical reflection, compared to this first competence, obtained more consideration. The post-visit activity brought to light new aspects, which is developed in the next section, on their understanding of the respective roles of history and museology as well as the limits of the program in this regard.

15.2 Metahistorical Reflection during the Post-Visit Activity

The exchanges carried out are particularly revealing of the level of knowledge of the students as to what history is as well as the few clearly established bridges between history and museology before and during the virtual visit. Team 1 has a conversation around this lack of precision between the work of historians and museologists. Here is an excerpt, to which I add my own observations on the process:

Extract from my virtual classroom transcript for March 17, 2021.

Daphné: I didn't think about professions, historians, and I thought more about Indigenous people than museologists... In terms of presentation, there were videos, the object... uh, the object was placed in the center, but there were no photos or testimonials.

After a pause of a few seconds, the student resumed. I notice that the students are exhausted and do not seem motivated by the question. The tone is not as dynamic this week. The question seems to bother or annoy them.

Daphné: I am not able to make a connection with history... The historian works to gather facts and the museologist must have knowledge... uh, he presents the facts.

Charlotte: There are differences.

Daphné: The museologist works mainly at the presentation level, the roles are complementary, you must have knowledge when you are a museologist, otherwise it is difficult to present [content] and the historian is no longer there with knowledge. It sure is related.

Julia: We didn't see the part of the historian... if we had seen that, we could have made a more exhaustive evaluation... the work of the historian... In the social universe, we comment on a document and we put it in context. The work of the historian is more invisible in an exhibition. It must remain attractive.

Daphné: The historian decides what will or will not be transmitted.

It should be noted that Éléonore, who was doing a Certificate of History, was absent during this meeting. Perhaps the question would have seemed more obvious to her, and she could have supported certain statements made by her colleagues, but it is impossible to know. Despite some rather vague choices of terms in the discussion, it seems that Daphné and Julia have understood a key element: the historian conducts research, establishes historical facts and write historical

interpretations, whereas the museologist often exposes and disseminates the historical knowledge through exhibited objects. The students better specify their understanding of these two professions in the answer form. They noted that “[h]istorians think and write history from a very political perspective based primarily on written documents. Museologists generally use more varied sources and will therefore approach different aspects of history (cultural, social, technological, etc.)”. They also added that the object of inquiry is the same, the past, but that the way of approaching it changes. Their comment is not entirely wrong. However, this definition remains strongly linked to a conception of so-called “traditional” history, centered on politics and based on the critical analysis of written accounts. Admittedly, the museum has more didactic means of presenting history than the historian, in his work as a scientist, but the latter does not exclude the cultural, the social, the technological or a varied panoply: photographic, artistic, digital, oral... That said, they are right when they state that the museologist relies more on materiality and the visual than the historian in general.

A point of distinction seems to have received less attention from this team, although it evokes the complementarity of the work of the historian and the museologist. The students did not seem to know that the historian can be hired by a museum to carry out research around the objects and that the museologist is often responsible for popularizing and writing the texts of the exhibition, using research reports carried out by historians first (Burgess, 2003). Given the academic background of this small group, it seems surprising for Daphné, who was in the last year of their baccalaureate in secondary school history teaching, not establishing, by simple deduction, the work of historian. Nor did they realize certain links between the museologist, popularizer and mediator, and their own profession. How familiar are they with historical methodology? They

apparently learned in their history education course that the historian makes a commentary around a source from the past. But that does not seem a very thorough definition of the complex work of the historian. What work has been done in their other history education courses? Do they have the opportunity to work with the archives and write a full research report? Also, shouldn't a history teacher be familiar with professions related to history, such as museologist, or even archivist, ethnologist or archaeologist? If we can attribute certain shortcomings to this museum program, we can also ask ourselves questions about the training of future history teachers more generally. During the return to plenary at the very end, the lecturer, Sandra, mentioned that, in her course, she focuses more on political history than on cultural history, which makes it possible to highlight a complementarity between the museum and its course. Surprisingly, this comment largely agrees with what the students noted in relation to the distinction between history and museology. It is therefore possible that Sandra's course, her fundamental orientations, had a certain impact on their understanding of what history is in relation to museology.

The same kinds of observations are made by Team 3. In their activity sheet, the members of this team mentioned the complementarity of roles or, rather, the importance for each of the experts to have some familiarity with the other discipline, without going any further. Similarly, they admitted to not having thought of the museologists during the visit, their attention targeting the objects, less the preparatory work. They did not have the impression of having approached the profession of museologist within the framework of the visit. Perhaps the group did not fully capture that the project manager, Natalie, was a museologist herself, and that the activities of the McCord Stewart Museum during the visit related precisely to this question. How is it also that they were not able to compare the museum and history professionals' habits of work? Yes, the visit did not

emphasize directly their tasks (pinpointing or defining), but in the context of a university course in history, shouldn't this be inferred easily? For many, it was not their first history course at university either.

Team 2 said the same, that the visit did not really help them to understand the mission of museologists... just like historians. The two “must intersect” and “shed light on things of the past”. However, Sam, Élizabeth and Léo qualified their position by adding that “some people have better understood the mission of the museum and the purpose of the exhibition”. They brought to light the most significant point among all the teams: the museum makes it possible to stop doing science in a “snobbish” way and it is possible to “bring the historian’s method back to a common space”. They suggested the museum would be “one of the best places for historians to meet the public”. They wrote, about museologists, that the difficulty for them is “to combine rigor of presentation and accessibility”. The question of scientificity is at the heart of their thinking. They also succeeded in recalling that there were discussions about the mission of the museum during the visit. How is it that the discourse from the previous week on indigenization and decolonization of knowledge was not clearly mentioned here? It is possible that the formulation of the question, different from the last lesson, and the lack of explanation provided by Antoine-Xavier, before starting this activity in small rooms, limited students’ interactions and reflections. The choice of vocabulary could therefore have influenced the students' ability to deduce answers. Moreover, during the pre-visit activity, the distinction between memory, heritage and history was not made, even if it was planned in the museum program. This may have had an impact also on the understanding of the museum's objectives, in which memory and heritage play a greater role.

Ultimately, when they returned to plenary, the students appeared, according to my observation notes (from March 17, 2021), “exhausted, reluctant to discuss, probably wanting to end the session as soon as possible”. The course took place in the evening between 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. and they may have had the impression of having covered the question”. Notably, Léo offered a comment concerning the distinction between the target audiences and the mediation techniques which are not the same. He maintained that “the museum establishes a bridge between entertainment and history”. His proposals added a crucial element in the distinguishing of the two professionals as a whole group. It is indeed true that historians often seek a more informed public in relation to the museum, which must accommodate the public. Léo also identified the fun vocation of the Museum: we learn more while having fun. All in all, in the light of this last activity of the museum program, it is the difficulties in identifying similarities and distinctions in the work of history and of the museologist that cannot be overlooked. I suggested gaps in the museum program, related to formulations and omissions but also in their historical formation more generally. The lack of interest may also have been caused by boredom, fatigue and the redundancy of questions at this stage of the museum investigation. This last museum activity seems pointing to the fact that some important aspects regarding history and museums should have received more attention during the museum program and that these objectives were not fully attained.

Chapter Sixteen: Students' Interviews (HC6)

The semi-open interviews proved to be extremely rich and made it possible to clarify the learning achieved during the program and in the longer term by each of the students. These interviews also did not neglect to probe the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of the students with the museum program in which they participated. The quarter-hour interviews all took place one month after the museum visit, solo with the researcher. They roughly coincided with the end of their university session at the beginning of April. Four weeks had therefore passed since the museum visit itself. A series of seven questions prompted students to remember, to spontaneously reveal what remains (Appendix C):

- 1) What are the things you remember most clearly from your visit at the McCord Stewart Museum and more specifically about the exhibition *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples collection*?
- 2) What do you remember about the before and after-visit activities in class?
- 3) What did you like most? What did you enjoy least?
- 4) After the visit or the museum program, did you tell anyone about this exhibition? If so, to whom? And where? What was the subject of the discussion?
- 5) Since you visited the museum, have you done anything as a result of this exhibition?
(Prompt if necessary: read a book, watch a documentary, visit another museum, get involved in a public form of historical or social action?)
- 6) Overall, what have you learned—about history; about yourself?
- 7) Anything else you would like to add?

These questions encouraged students to prod their memories and reflect on the impact since the end of the museum program. Among all the stages of the research project, the interviews potentially help me to take a more accurate look at the most substantial learnings, the time interval being quite significant. This approach makes it possible to decide on the relative importance of the content delivered, objects presented, activities carried out as well as the general feeling with regard to the educational value of this school experience. What was the most striking? What do we honestly think about it, in hindsight? What comes up the most from one interview to the next? In this section, the subject is initiated once again with regard to the skills of historical consciousness, i.e., multiple perspective and metahistorical reflection: how did the students tackle it during the program and how lasting is their learning? Are there points of agreement or disagreement? The comments left concerning the general appreciation of their participation in the museum program will then be finely elucidated. Finally, it will be relevant to discern what their testimonies teach us about this sixth time of historical consciousness, in general.

A downside concerning the authentic impact of the museum program must be mentioned: It concerns a summative assessment carried out by the teacher, Sandra, following the museum program, in the week following the post-visit activity. This already allowed each of the students to write a critical commentary on the exhibition and their virtual visit. A document describing the objects of the exhibition and the themes of the visit was given to the students. This activity was brought by the course lecturer outside the framework of the doctoral project. The interviews therefore took place three weeks after their essays, which had been corrected and submitted back to the students. It is quite possible that this paper cemented knowledge that would not have taken

place without it. Question 5, however, allows us to understand somewhat the impact of this evaluation activity on the consolidation of knowledge and, therefore, to contrast the results obtained. This downside does not completely limit the impact of the program: the reflections contained in the essays are still based on the activities carried out during the museum program. In fact, the addition of this academic assessment helps to illustrate the impact of the visit when combined with an evaluative performance, even though we have not examined the content of Sandra's proposal.

16.1 Multiperspectivity in Students' Interviews

The first question of the interview with the students was undoubtedly the most revealing in terms of multiple perspective. The prominent learning for all the student participants is the museum's desire to present the diversity of Indigenous cultures through clothing, to highlight the resistances, adaptations and contemporary existence of Indigenous communities in Quebec and Canada. They stressed, too, the museums' aspiration to include Indigenous perspectives and methodologies while moving away from Western ways of doing things. Students made many connections with the three levels of multiple perspective. I will present students' mobilization of multiperspectivity following their team affiliation, and not necessarily based on the topics. The main reason is that the group of students established, during their individual interviews, many parallels with their museum experience (their answers from the collaborative activities, and excerpts of their conversations with their colleagues). There are more similarities within the teams than otherwise.

From the first question that directly invokes the memory about the discovery of the exhibition, Éléonore (Team 1) put forward the main objectives of the museum program. Her answer, complete and well structured, covers all the facets of the multiple perspective:

I remember that it was an exhibition that focused on identity and that it was a reflection on clothing. We saw a lot of pieces of clothing: their use, their symbolism, their history, showing different Indigenous communities in Canada; I remember having seen traditional clothing, and clothing that had integrated elements... well, uh... resulting from exchanges with Europeans. I saw the transformation of clothing through the history of colonization. I remember the map... hum... with the names of the Indigenous people on it, and the delimitations which were not made in a colonial way, there were no delimitations in fact... and the names of the nations were made according to the designated name, ... well self-proclaimed. Yeah, I remember the museum taking steps to decolonize in light of the TRC.

When I asked her if she had any recollections of the activities, she recalled “mostly the mind map activity and the stereotyped images that often came out,” highlighting the third level of multiple perspective. The same is true when she talked about the activity “Being in the Museologists’ Shoes”: she remembered her team’s discussions and their hesitation to choose the headdress or the parka to highlight the exhibition. Her team did not know whether to deconstruct stereotypes by using an object known or unknown to Western audiences. The exhibition as a mechanism for deconstructing prejudices seems to have stayed in her memories. Her colleague, Daphné, had more difficulty providing a detailed answer compared to her memories. However, for her, it was the moccasins that came to mind more easily, remembering her participation in the program, even if she recognized that “there were plenty of other objects”. I asked her why. She affirmed: “it is a known object. We see it, people, [they are] wearing [*sic* them] like slippers in the houses”. She then explained that the exhibition had made it possible to understand the manufacture, with the glass beads, and the meaning of the patterns for the Indigenous people. Daphné here contrasted the Indigenous meaning with the Western one, like Éléonore, in addition to exposing the fact that

her previous knowledge had allowed her to better remember what she had seen and heard. Julia also emphasized Indigenous perspectives, including spirituality and the role of women in these societies. She added that her main learning relates to the recognition of the diversity of peoples in Canada, going beyond her previous knowledge. She stood out from her team colleagues by the precision of her explanations. Our exchange is presented here in full:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 13, 2021.

Julia: The exhibition and the visit, it was made to be circular to represent the spirituality of the Indigenous people, that everything is circular in life, that we start from the ground and [that] we return to the ground. We were introduced to the objects, the context, the purpose of these objects and how it fit into the environment. Through all these objects, I was able to understand the ways of life of Indigenous nations in Canada. In my head, at the beginning of the course, it was the Iroquois [*sic* Iroquoians] and the Algonquians, through which I detected the plurality. That's not only what I remembered, plurality. I saw a lot of objects, such as Inuit clothing... much more than the [clothing of] the Indigenous who occupy our territory [Québec].

Emmy: Do you remember the objects you saw?

Julia: The parka. the mother's amauti, the moccasins, it was really beautiful. I know there are many more than that. I found it very touching that the amauti allowed women to go about their business, feed their child, while keeping the child warm. The parka as well, we were really told about the extent of the garment, the tendons to split the pieces of skin together... uh it represented what the animal meant, the respect for hunting and using the wholeness [*sic* full use] of the animal.

Julia's commented once again testify to the importance of prior knowledge on learning. A future high school history teacher, she realized during the visit that Indigenous cultures go beyond the two traditional groups that are covered in elementary and high school history lessons. A very summarized conception of the two traditional indigenous societies who occupied the actual Quebec territory before the arrival of the European settlers (Iroquoians and Algonquians) is called into question by the museum visit. Even more, Julia retained objects for which the Indigenous meanings have been largely clarified by Natalie. It seems that this student remembered these objects well also because of their beauty as well as the affect that can be associated with them: for the amauti, it is motherhood, for the parka, respect for animals. Charlotte's response to this same question was off-putting, but she mentioned the first two levels of multiple perspective when she

saw “many virtual objects related to all the Indigenous communities that you can find...some are dated and some less so...”. The last sentence despite its underdevelopment makes it possible to understand that she noted a temporal evolution in the objects presented. It may also refer to the comparison between the past version and the recent one of the same objects (e.g., the amauti).

In Team 12, Élizabeth had a “good memory”, since there were many things, she already knew. Among these are “the totem poles” that she discovered when she lived in Vancouver. She also pointed out that she saw amautis and ulus when she visited Nunavit. She said: “because I knew that before, it is impregnated”. She also told me that the exhibit featured awls and moccasins, but she is unable to say which nation these items belonged to. Élizabeth could identify several objects, especially smaller ones in the exhibition (i.e., awl, tattoo needles). Her teammate Sam remembered the “totem”, or rather the “totem pole”, without remembering the official term, and also gave me a set of objects: “the video with the person in his canoe”, “the map without borders”, “the coat of portage”, “the coat of hunting”, “the moccasins”, “all the tools to work the skins”. She was the only person to talk about Nadia Myre's video in her appreciation questionnaire and her interview. In her questionnaire completed a month earlier, she had noted that she enjoyed learning about the identity of the artist. She had liked the sound aspect of this short artistic production, and she would have liked, in fact, to have had more music during the visit. Did that memory help with her current reflections? If Sam seemed to have forgotten the names of these objects and does not mention any Indigenous nations, she was able to associate the objects with their various functions for the First Peoples. Léo reminded him that he recalls the objects and their uses for Indigenous peoples, like the “amauri” [*sic* l'amauti]. He stood apart from the rest of his colleagues, adding that he remembered that the exhibition approached Indigenous cultures in a “anecdotal” manner and

that the visit “had not made him reflect on the substance of identity”. Léo therefore stuck to his initial positions and immediately adopted a critical attitude to an open question about his memories. The students belonging to this team were less talkative than the previous one. With the exception of Élizabeth, they still had the objects clearly in mind, but they had difficulty identifying them clearly or without being mistaken.

For Team 3, the answers were also quite brief and refer to the objects seen. The same problem in the determinations was observable among these students. Like Sam and Élizabeth, Alexis remembers the “totem” without being able to attribute the name “totem pole” to it. I was surprised by their lack of memory, because of the fact that the students had in their hands a reminder document (pdf) in which the objects are illustrated and provided with the information found on the labels of the exhibition before writing a critical commentary on their experience. As studies have shown before, it is not so easy to modify an acquired vocabulary in order to deconstruct the prior knowledge. This student also mentions the map of Indigenous nations “without the name of the [*sic* given by the] colonizers”, the moccasins, the circular shape of the exhibition and the tools designed by Indigenous women. For Joséphine, the striking objects are “the objects with the babies and the chief's hat with eagle feathers”. Once again, the student's memory is lacking. She probably remembered the objects visually, but she failed to use the correct words for “headdress”, “amauti” and “rattle”. Finally, like Élizabeth (Team 2), Évy mentioned that she knew several objects, such as the headdress, the regalia clothing and the amauti. However, she had never seen a “hunter's outfit”. She finally remembered that the museum presented “old and new models”.

In the end, the memories of the students are particularly revealing of two things. The first unearth that objects are better remembered than speeches, and even activities carried out in small rooms. This finds resonance with the common admission that “we recall more what we see than hear”, which I attribute to the fact that the particularity of museums is to put emphasis on the objects. To the question “What do you remember about your participation in the museum program?” only Sam mentions the museum’s process of indigenization. All the students, spontaneously, listed a series of objects from the exhibition. Rare are the students who tried to contextualize them. Is it because they forgot or because it just seems more efficient to list objects? Two students from team 1, Éléonore, Julia and Évy, stood out from the pack, precisely because they tried to link the objects to the major themes of the museum discourse. Regarding the multiple perspective, they understood that these objects have specific Indigenous names and that they belong to various nations, but only Élizabéth was able to associate them with a territory. A memorization factor is undoubtedly dependent on the familiarity they already had with certain objects. We could also highlight the question of deconstructing stereotypes and objects that have a strong affective character. History researchers have insisted on the importance of introducing sense of dissonance or mild discomfort to enhance meaning about the past (Wineburg, 2001; Bain, 2005), and this example attests to it. The objects concerning women were frequently named by the students, who are women, and even by Leo, who only mentions this single object precisely.

Question 1 did not necessarily reveal how the discourse of the visit and the activities before, during and after the visit influenced the students. However, the seventh and final question “Overall, did you learn anything? What did you learn?” allowed another illumination of the multiple perspective, how the formulation of a question can really bring out varied answers. Do

remembering and learning mean the same thing? “Learning” seems to reveal discursive response and pays less attention to material knowledge than “remembering”. This question also makes it possible, very clearly, to qualify the cognitive benefit of the museum visit and the program, more extensively.

In Team 1, Charlotte mentioned immediately, to that last question, that she “discovered more than learned”. She saw the exhibition as a possibility to come into contact with “universes”, because she could not explain all the objects. However, she understood that the Indigenous communities had different cultures. Daphné, enrolled in the Social Studies teaching program, had an attenuated response regarding the depth of her learning. The young woman told me, in fact, that her knowledge “was enriched of course”. She knew that Indigenous people had a special relationship with nature. What has changed with the virtual visit is that she will now be able to present certain clothes to attest to this relationship more concretely with her high school students. For her part, Julia had an answer that joined Daphné on the little cognitive shock realized during the visit. However, her commentary fell outside the intended framework with regard to the multiple perspective. She believed that the visit refreshed her knowledge, for example “everything that is more traditionally Indigenous, the link to the land, to animals”. She added, however, that this reiteration is important since it “allows us to be more empathetic” and that it forces “an introspection as the descendants of the settlers”. She has even had to question her consumption of meat, she who was in the process of becoming a vegetarian, and gasoline, as she used her vehicle every time that she had to leave the house. Another student offered a similar reflection on her learning at the end of the interview. Éléonore resumed and pushed her first thoughts in connection with the territory to the first question. Her answer corresponded to the third level of the multiple

perspective, like Julia, by the contrast she made between “Indianness” and “Westernness”. Here is the content of our exchange on this subject:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 13, 2021.

Éléonore: Yes, I learned a lot about the extent of how the territory is intrinsically linked with Indigenous identity. All clothes were made of materials that surrounded them or with which they had a deep relationship. It made me wonder about the Western relationship to nature which is completely different.

Me: What relationship are you talking about?

Éléonore: from a disembodied, disconnected relationship... I am very far from the cotton fields. It is often clothes made on the other side of the world, by people I don't know. It's not a very strong identity marker... the student stops for five seconds. Uh, what was I saying?

Me: That you didn't know who produce the clothes you consume.

Éléonore: Women were at the heart of the museum exhibition. Women had an important role in their community. Clothing has greater value. Working in the clothing industry in the West is not very valuable.

Like Julia's answer about animal consumption in food and the use of polluting cars, this exchange with Éléonore is particularly interesting because the question of the manufacture of clothing in the West was not the subject of any discussion during the museum program. The student made this observation by continuing her reflection and perceived it as a central learning from her participation in the program. What she acknowledged is absolutely relevant, as is the comment from Julia, because it falls entirely outside the definition of the objectives of the museum-university collaboration. The remarks of these two students reveal a personal appropriation of the knowledge learned: both link the contents of the exhibition to their own food, clothing and transport realities. These reflections unquestionably testify to an awareness of the distinctions between their Western way of life and that of Indigenous peoples, as well as a respect for these non-Western values, calling into question their own ways of doing things.

On the side of team 2, the critical tone was still part of the interview discussions, which is in line with their previous observations in the other times of historical consciousness (or the research study's data collection). For Élizabeth and Léo, learning appeared limited but, to them, this is due to the lack of depth in the program itself. Gaps were not blamed on the wide range of knowledge already acquired through their academic and professional experiences⁷⁰. The discussions that marked the entire program, around the superficiality generated by the extent of cultures and eras, were thus taken up in the final interview question on their learning, but innovative elements emerged. For example, Élizabeth mentioned the lack of broader learning transfer: "We were not able to explore in depth what a piece of clothing can bring to us in history". Implicitly, her comment joins the vision of Léo who affirmed, both in class and in his appreciation questionnaire, of not having really learned about "identities", a complex concept which cannot be simply reduced to "clothing". Léo did not change his tune during his interview, using the same expressions as before: He still considered that apart from "anecdotal episodes on communities outside Quebec", he had learned little. He considered that if the exhibition supported a "better general culture, the visit does not allow [him] to develop [his] relationship with Indigenous communities and cultures". On the other hand, Sam had a different view on her museum experience, one that was more nuanced than most of the participant students. Her answer about learning was more positive, saying to me, for instance: "The issue with the headdress, I will keep it all my life". However, she was somewhat in agreement with her colleagues. Among the elements she "liked the least" in question 4, she pointed out that her team partners were often very critical of the exhibition, because they had more knowledge. She conceded to them certain aspects related to the "fun facts" of the exhibition, even if she believed that she, personally, learned. To her, the

⁷⁰ As mentioned earlier, Élizabeth had lived in territories where the Indigenous presence is strong, and Léo was in his last year of his bachelor's degree in teaching Social Studies in high school.

McCord Stewart virtual visit made her become more familiar with several cultures through a series of varied objects. I will come back to the shortcomings of the exhibition specified by the group later. However, it seems essential to point out a common element within this team regarding the pedagogical deficit related to the question of Indigenous representations in both the museum exhibition and visit. With this team especially, it appears that the group discussions had a big impact on what the students “chose” to mention as learning, as contributions or limits, in their final interview.

The students of the third team were less talkative about their learning and did not focus much on Indigenous perspectives in the last question. Alexis did not touch on multiperspectivity. Joséphine only formulated that the museum allowed her to learn, through clothing, what “everyday life before and now looked like” for Indigenous peoples, touching here on the second level of multiple perspective. Évy does not attest to much more: She made a relatively implicit connection with the third level of multiple perspective. She told me that, with the virtual tour of the museum exhibition, she both “learned and revisited some notions about Indigenous territories”, a theme that she does not have to teach to her students in secondary two.

16.2 Multiperspectivity as Open-Mindedness towards Other Viewpoints

Multiperspectivity can also be understood by being open to other people living the experience within the framework of this program, fostering sociability through exchanges with the mediator, the lecturer and classmates. This capacity appeared with much less force than during the interviews, at this fifth time of historical consciousness, the students of team 1, above all, felt they

had learned from their colleagues. By their own admission, this was one of the strengths of their participation in the museum program. Question 3 “What memories do you keep of the activities carried out in class before and after the visit?” and question 4 “what did you like the most?” made it possible to underline this aspect for Daphné, Éléonore, Charlotte and Julia. My interview with Daphné about small room activities and her learnings from her interactions with others speaks volumes:

I remember a lot of questions and exchanges with my colleagues, it was still interesting, we were a great group of girls. I remember being still struck by the fact that, you know, since these [students] are not in history, like me, but it is a history course that they took as an option, the knowledge they can bring, and their vision [...], how it is different [...] from people in history. I especially remember the exchanges and [of] how enriching it was. Worse, I started the course telling myself that I didn't know much. I didn't consider myself to be someone who knew much about Indigenous history, but eventually I realized...I don't know how to say this...because I think, like many people in my program, that we realized how people in the population don't know anything, even at university... And I can say that, because the girls [on my team] said so [themselves]. I think the discussions really, that's what I liked best.

This excerpt shows the complicity that emerged between four young women taking different paths and not knowing each other before the research project. Although Daphné is more knowledgeable about Indigenous history, she has learned something from the varied viewpoints of her peers. The lack of knowledge in the general population has been noticed, an aspect to which Charlotte, who is studying for a certificate in communications, returns. She mentioned that during the post-visit, they had thought about how to make this discovery of the exhibition more user-friendly for young teenagers, who are sometimes less interested in learning at the museum than adults. She said her high school education in public school did not introduce her to much more than “longhouses” and knew almost nothing about Canada’s Indigenous diversity. From her discussions with her colleagues in teacher training, she learned that teachers did not have enough time to address First Nations, Métis and Inuit in class. Then she exclaimed: “That's what I found interesting, the

conversations with my colleagues”. Julia agreed, with the same enthusiasm, about what she kept as memories of the activities:

Definitely, the exchanges with my colleagues. I found that really interesting. It must be said that I had been matched with people who knew more than me on the subject. I had a colleague who was teaching history in secondary school... I appreciated the questions that allowed us to elaborate on this, to express our viewpoint while not being bullied in a normative, as generally the school proposes it to us. So, you could approach it in all different ways.

Julia therefore suggested a sense of freedom that derived both from the special and less rigid context of the museum visit compared to university classes and from the creation of small rooms for teamwork repeatedly over three weeks. She also mentioned, unlike all the other participants, the feedback in plenary, which made it possible to present the range of proposals from the class, ultimately contributing to putting their own approach into perspective. Julia was of the opinion that she learned from others at two levels: exchanges in the breakout rooms on Zoom and through discussions in large groups led sometimes by the teaching team (Sandra and Antoine-Xavier) and sometimes by the project manager of the McCord Stewart Museum (Natalie). To the next question, on what she liked the most about the museum program, she reiterated and added that she liked meeting up with the same colleagues all the time for the workshops, because they had developed a “safe space” ... where we could elaborate on absolutely anything we wanted to say”. She provided an example that further highlights the importance of peers in the deconstruction of prior knowledge:

I had made a bit of a criticism of the [history] curriculum in primary and secondary schools. I felt like I had been lied to about everything. My God, why have I never been taught this? My colleague who is a student in education, at one point, she opened my eyes. [She said]: Well, I tried, but the older teachers aren't aware of [the new ways] or they're so used to doing it the same way...

Julia had therefore understood, through Daphné, that if there are certain limits to the teaching of history at school, the issue can be partially linked to the ministerial program, but also in relation

to a training deficit and limited choices by teachers who have been in place for some time. These discussions were not the result of the questions for reflection proposed by the program, they were born of a desire to question oneself based on one's own experience, as well as to open up to others who have relevant and complementary views to ours.

The social dimension as a factor in broadening and deepening learning cannot therefore be underestimated on reading these testimonies. Moreover, when I questioned Éléonore about the activities before, during and after the visit, she informed me at length about the mental map produced at the start of the program and the workshop consisting in choosing an object from the exhibition after the virtual tour, the details being vivid and circumscribed. However, the after-visit activity carried out alone at home eluded her... It was at this point that she pointed out: “Since I had less interaction with my team [...]. In any case, I find that we really remember conversations more in teams... than alone”. To the next question about what she liked the most, she told me, among other things: “I liked hearing people's answers, the fact that it was collective, that it had questions for reflection. There are elements that I would not have seen without the reflections of my colleagues”.

I took the opportunity to question her further with regard to these angles. She then explained to me that the glass beads from European contact, on moccasins in particular, made her perplexed, even “sad”, initially, thinking that these beads came from the loss of traditional knowledge. However, her teammates spoke of the beneficial exchanges that also took place between Europeans and Indigenous. The adoption of pearls is more a sign of adaptation, resilience, and openness to others, which allowed her to alter her first impression. It is true that the project

manager, Natalie, had not specified the context of the inclusion of these pearls in Indigenous artistic know-how during the virtual visit (although there was a section about it in the script). The inter-team conversation made it possible to clarify an element known to the others but not by Éléonore and which had been overlooked in the official speech.

The results for Team 1 are interesting and promising when a “class friendship” is formed among a few individuals. The members of Teams 2 and 3 were, by contrast, less talkative regarding sociability. In Team 3, Joséphine made a comment similar to Julia’s when talking about the first activity of the mind map: “I remember when we had key words to submit. We came back as a large group. Everyone had been on different paths. I found it interesting to then go back in small groups to discuss it”. Within Team 2, Sam mentioned her colleagues in questions 3 and 4, but without taking a position on a contribution or not, she qualified their exchanges. In terms of activities, she remembered the post-visit well, as it was “just a discussion of [*sic* on] how we found it...what we thought of...the indigenization process. I was with two people who were very critical of the museum visit, so our discussions focused mainly on the shortcomings...” Here, it seems that the colleagues pulled the conversation in the direction that mattered to them, as the majority prevails over the content of the discussions. This is also what her answer to the following question suggests: “I definitely have new knowledge about Indigenous peoples. Yes, the visit achieves the goal of raising awareness about Indigenous peoples. [...] My team knew more so [it was] less relevant [for them]. It [the museum visit] was informative and interesting [for this student].”

In this segment, Sam recognized the points of view of her colleagues while affirming her own individuality. Also, her example allows us to see how the various antagonistic positions can

be understood and respected in a pedagogical context in history, which works on the competence of accepting multiple perspectives... in the sense of inclusive citizenship and participatory democracy. The comment of a student, however, allows us to qualify the investment of these teams in the museum program, having noticed in the negative comments, that the teams that did not participate in the research project seemed less invested and their reflections were often less extensive. The desire to please the researcher and look good may have inflated participants' engagement beyond the norm of an academic group (Reid, Greaves & Kirby, 2017, p. 276-277). Another student, Évy, also deplores the length of certain discussions with her colleagues. The reasons are not related to enmities but more to the poorly distributed time for the realization of the workshops and a fatigue felt given the time at which the course takes place online.

16.3 Metahistorical Reflection during the Interviews

Meta-historical reflection was easily discernible during the students' interviews, while taking diverse forms or levels of conversations. In the interview questionnaire, there were questions that aimed at targeting this thinking ability, referring to the use and methods of understanding the past, or in this case study, to historical and museum practices and other societal and ethical considerations. I will address how students mobilized this competency in this section, following certain themes they touched on. Because metahistorical reflection often happened outside of the classroom, my questions were more individually oriented. What follows describes how the interviews unfolded.

First, reflective thoughts on Indigenous history surfaced when I asked the participants about their memories of the museum activities (Question 2). For example, Élisabeth (Team 2) revealed that the before-visit activity on the TRC report and the Declaration of the United Nations on Indigenous Rights supported her learning in another university course. Armed with a new knowledge about protection of Indigenous cultures and a recognition of their demands and rights, she was enthusiastic to get involved in a peer discussion, in which the students were attempting to distinguish “indigenization” from “decolonization”. Natalie’s discourse on both terms at the end of the museum visit showed her clear grasp of the concepts, and she believed they were useful in another learning situation. For her colleague, Léo (Team 2), the tackling of metareflection took another direction during my interview with him. While providing a good example of critical thinking about historical or museum practices, he made constructive remarks about the setbacks of the museum visit. As he claimed, although he did not elaborate much, the program’s focus on

“indigenization” of the McCord Stewart Museum more than on the Indigenous collections exhibited was one aspect that he found rather “unfortunate”. The disappointment was palpable on his face and in the tone of his voice when he told me that, and it was characteristic of the whole face-to-face exchange I had with him. Obviously, hearing this at this point of the research, I was not totally surprised. His feeling of disappointment was not new, repeated at every moment he expressed himself since the museum visit. As a researcher, one wonders what the causes of this greater disappointment would be, especially for that student. Perhaps we did not sufficiently cover the museum program’s objectives at the very beginning. When I asked him about what he liked the least (question 4), he decried the lack of clarity in the instructions given throughout the museum program: “Why are we talking about this? How does it relate to the course’s competencies? How do we transfer this new knowledge?”

But, recalling previous comments, this general negativity seems to be the result of a melding of experiences that cannot be limited to pedagogical instructions. Clearly, Léo had not been cognitively challenged by the collaborative proposal. When I put my last conversation with him in relation with his participation during the whole program, it makes me think about so many important questions. Was it that this student already knew that institutions are decolonizing, including history, so that the museum messages seemed more superficial to him than to the other students? Was this disappointment augmented by the fact that most “regular” history courses emphasize declarative knowledge so that other sorts of knowledge, adjacent to the “factual”, appears secondary, that is, of less importance? There were cultural discussions about the objects; it was specific; some pieces of clothing were used as concrete exemplifications to capture some abstract fundamentals related to their cultural identities. Can this align with the idea I presented in

the last chapter about the importance of chronologies, dates, and the “political stuff” when students define what history is? Maybe it is simply that the discourses were not deep enough. Or was it also the fact that the museum’s visit and indigenization were not doing enough to address Indigenous struggles? This leads me to broader questioning: Are the critical and decolonization frames of thinking, to which this student adheres, contributing to more radical positions on what would be an adequate vehicle and discourse in history and in addressing Indigenous past? I am reminded that he was convinced museums would never entirely decolonize, so does this personal comprehension diminishes the value of a museum program in his eyes? I suggest that this students’ disappointment can be explained as being the result of the accumulation of all these influences.

It should be remembered that Léo’s depreciation of his learning and the museum program appears as an exception in my corpus. Students possessing less knowledge were not, in general, disappointed by the museum experience and online activities. I recall, too, that Sandra’s course in Indigenous history is primarily intended for students with no prior knowledge, open to various programs in the humanities and social sciences at UQAM. Perhaps one conclusion I can take from this student is also that the program is more likely to work with students who are at the beginning of their academic studies or who are neophytes on the topic of history and decolonization. Still, I must put Léo’s disappointment into perspective: Daphné (Team 1), who had a similar academic evolution, and Élizabeth (Team 2), who admitted, like him, not to have learned much from the museum program, did enjoy their experience overall. So, when I asked what she liked most, Daphné emphasized that she appreciated the emphasis given to the museum processes: “I also liked how some questions were formulated to us... how they aimed at reviewing how history and objects are presented in a museum. I thought they were good questions to reflect on, and they made

our team discussions more dynamic”. As for Élizabeth, not only did she express that she understood why this exhibition was important for other undergraduate students and for the public, especially the preservice teachers in her class, but she used our private talk as an opportunity to reflect on her museum attendance and her own teaching practices, which intersects perfectly with the meta-historical competency. Here is what she said regarding question 3:

I realized that it had been a long time since I had been to a museum. So, to have a tour, I was quite happy... a guided tour. You know, the format, the video, it can go forward or backward. I was just happy that it was offered to me. I had no point of comparison: “Cool, I’m on a museum tour”. With the before and after-visit activities, you know, the teacher in me [was thinking]. When I go to the museum by myself, I don’t do that [...]. I read on the website, like eight seconds: “Yes I’m tempted, let’s go”. Then I talk about it to some friends: “You should go”. There, to have something structured, to be part of a team, we fill out our documents, it makes me think about what I do with my own students: how I will prepare them [to the visit], how I use the documents designed for us. [...] It’s been a long time since I’ve experienced it as a student. Would it work with my students? Part of me thought it was fun, because I hadn’t had that role in a really long time. There was a lot of stuff done formally that could be done informally. We have 20 minutes to talk about this, it’s very structured... which I don’t mind. I would have taken more sometimes, taken less sometimes. We force ourselves to have conversations and we don’t know each other. I was curious, we didn’t know each other. I enjoyed the whole experience.

Despite the shortcomings of the program that she highlighted in the previous stages of this research, Élizabeth insisted, during her interview, on the potential of the museum to teach the youth about Indigenous people while underlining some stimulating aspects of the social museum experience that she lived at her level of studies, subtly pointing to the fact that both museum and team activities are less common at university. In the question “After the museum visit or program, did you tell anyone about this exhibition? If so, to whom? And where? What was the topic of discussion?”, she attested to a discussion with one of her friends, who was not taking this course but had visited the McCord Stewart Museum after it reopened (three weeks after the start of the museum program). Her friend had been amazed and delighted by the Indigenous presence in Montreal museums. Élizabeth was happy to explain the political stance of the McCord Stewart Museum, such as why and how they produce their exhibitions, that is, in close collaboration with

many Indigenous members. Through her interaction with her friend, she was able to better understand the materiality of the exhibition, as the male friend described to her the clothing and the rooms. Complementing her own museum experience, Élizabeth seemed excited about this amicable exchange outside of the university context. Showing concern for citizens' issues and optimism about a more inclusive future for Indigenous peoples in Canada, she added:

I think there's going to be more and more of a reflecting pause: How can we seize and represent that perspective? Inevitably, the first few times will be a bit awkward... At some point, it's going to happen. As if we want the women's perspective, there aren't any written texts. As if we want the children's perspective, there aren't any written texts. We're going to have to ask ourselves questions.

While Élizabeth took a few shortcuts regarding women and children's perspectives and primary traces of their past, we understand the idea behind it, which is that the society will be more and more inclined to stop, think and identify angles of entry into the world of the Indigenous peoples in a manner that is entirely respectful of Indigenous perspectives. Élizabeth seizes upon the idea that the sources of genuine questioning and transformation can only originate from the people themselves, from each of us, and she believes that this time will come.

Another participant, Julia (Team 1) advanced similar thinking. In question 4, Julia acknowledged that the visit was too short, not just for her own enjoyment, but because "if we want it to be really associated with a process of indigenization and reappropriation of knowledge", if we want to learn to "communicate it the way Indigenous peoples want, it should be longer". Julia understands that changing mentalities, truly understanding Indigenous conditions, and implementing new equitable practices will not happen overnight. Julia also wondered about the terms of the exhibition's renewal, an aspect that had not received the greatest attention during the

visit with Natalie, due to lack of time: “Why do we renew an exhibition? Why did we wait so long for *Wearing Our Identity. The First Peoples’ collection*? Could the virtual museum visit be at least 75 minutes”? At the end of her experience, Julia appears very concerned about the reception of the visit’s message. She also mentioned that the virtual tour did not always offer enough time to observe and understand the objects in their context, given their variety and the limited time available for viewing. She conceptualized here learning as a long-term process. Julia has sensed, even if she is not pursuing studies in teaching, that the significance of the exhibition will be all the greater if the encounter with the museum is more attentive to the details and circumstances. During their interview, Élizabeth and Julia, thus, displayed a strong desire for social change. In fact, Julia had, too, questioned her food consumption and car use. They were not the only students who demonstrated ethical concerns. This was also the case for Éléonore (Team 1) who interrogated her conception of territory and the environment as well as her personal relationship with clothes. Léo expressed social and political commitment through his critical remarks and disappointment: the museum program did not go far enough...

That said, metahistorical reflection has manifested most of the time, for the students, while they discussed with other people after the museum program. Seven students out of ten had occasion to think back on the visit or discuss it with relatives⁷¹. This is an interesting point, as it denotes the students’ desire to share knowledge and experience, which I also understand as a positive social change action towards history and Indigenous people. Also, the very fact of having talked about their museum experience has the power to boost two of our research objectives: to convey the discourses associated with the McCord Stewart Museum in relation to Indigenous peoples in

⁷¹ Évy, Léo and Daphné were the only ones who did not report their museum experience to friends, family or classmates.

Canada, and to foster an interest in history and cultural milieus within our Quebec and Canadian society. Sam (Team 2) had the opportunity to mention the virtual visit in her tutoring activity. She discussed it with an elementary student and her mother, both of whom were keenly interested in the past of the First Nations and who might now visit the reopened exhibition. The same thing happened with Joséphine (Team 3) who told her family about it. They would now like to go and discover the McCord Stewart Museum. Alexis (Team 3) informed her life partner about this pedagogical activity and invited him to join us on Zoom. Her partner thus participated in the museum visit, without us knowing, behind his girlfriend's laptop screen. Alexis also talked about the museum exhibition at work, notably to her boss who was sensitive to Indigenous issues.

Charlotte's case (Team 1) is interesting, as I learned a little bit more about the content of her discussion with another external-to-the-course person. As she told me in the fifth question of the interview, this Swiss-born student initiated a conversation about history teaching in public schools with the mother of her boyfriend. That woman told Charlotte that there was not much teaching about Indigenous peoples in her day, and that she had not heard about the McCord Stewart Museum before. The mother of her boyfriend even asked Charlotte if she could introduce her to other resources for information, such as documentaries on Indigenous people. According to Charlotte, even though her mother-in-law works in a prison and intervenes daily with different categories of marginalized people, including Indigenous members, this woman did not feel she knew enough about their past, their worldviews and their realities. What Charlotte conveyed here is that some people in society do feel that they do not know enough about the Indigenous, that history in schools did fail in that respect, for a long time, and that this knowledge is very important for fields of work other than history or museum education. Because Indigenous peoples live among

us, it is part of the everyday life, therefore their side of history is relevant for everyone. Her metahistorical reflection is quite sound and stretching away from our specified research objectives. As the museum program was the incubator, her exchange with this relative can be understood as the blossoming of her thinking. It really helps to understand the impact of her museum experience after a month.

Her teammate, Julia (Team 1), has highlighted, in question 5, another element that enables me to better grasp the pedagogical value of the activities spanning over three weeks in Sandra's history course. In a sociology class at UQAM, Julia had intervened in a discussion on Canada's reputation from a political and diplomatic point of view and on the state of decolonization and indigenization. Moreover, training as a social worker with immigrants and Indigenous people, she again criticized the too brief examination of objects and pointed to the lack of information regarding what is coming next in terms of indigenization at the McCord Stewart Museum:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 10, 2021.

Julia: We were talking about Canada a little bit, and how ironic Canada was... Because Canada wants to tell everyone on [...] Earth that it's multicultural and [sic that it] wants to be respectful of individuality. Except, on its own land, there are a lot of people who are invisibilized. When it comes to policy and decision-making, these people are very little consulted. It's a colonialist continuum, a dominant colonialist way of doing things. A colleague said that decolonization had not been achieved, that it would never be possible, but people are becoming increasingly educated. Then we talked about indigenization. [...] Two colleagues [of her team] didn't know what it was. One colleague suggested some readings in the chat room... I then explained the distinction between indigenization and decolonization. I would have liked to learn more about initiatives [during her academic training]. For me, as social worker, that would have been interesting.

Emmy: Hum, okay, I understand the program was useful to another university course. And was the museum visit relevant to Sandra's history course, according to you?

Julia: Yes... hum, on the other hand, I thought it could have been a bit more thorough [in terms of knowledge]. At the undergraduate level, we already had other courses [on this topic]. Well, I could not have pointed and said "this is a parka", but I already knew a lot about [Indigenous] philosophy. But for an exhibition destined to the public, you know, it works. To take the time to present the objects. There was the ulu. [...] This type of object requires more extensive explanations. [...] Indigenization. [...] I would have liked to talk a little more about what was going on, in relation to the new exhibition, what's going on, how are the Indigenous peoples included? I'm going to follow up on the new exhibition. As I was saying [previously in the interview], I miss going to the museum [...]. I'm going to want to compare the two exhibitions.

Although satisfied with the museum program globally (she mostly learned about indigenization), Julia thus explained to me that she was left wanting more. She not only reused her knowledge in another university course, but she is also figuring out the pertinence of these educational activities in her future line of work. Her aroused curiosity about museums and the McCord Stewart Museum in relation to indigenization is prompting her to keep abreast of developments. Ultimately, this interest is there because she understands the museum's educational mission as relevant to our society. To conclude, each of these students contributed, in his or her own way, to extending the messages, like sprawling channels to other parts of society. And that is how we change the world, one person at a time... which is circling back again to Élizabéth's conception of how we will eventually make decolonization happen.

Ultimately, I notice that the students all came up with elements of their relationship with the past and the practice of history, in very broad terms. The memories or aspects deemed important in their experience, which can be understood as forms of learning (knowledge, methodological skills and interpersonal aptitudes), have very little to do with the work of the historian or even the museologist, although they were brought to the fore, both by the museum visit and by Natalie's attendance during the three class sessions. Frequently, in their interviews, students directed what they identified as learning toward questions or uses in their own lives: it was serving as an individual and civic orientation. It is also worth noting that students' learning that related to the exhibited objects, museum speeches and group activities seemed more blurred, less in-depth and more intellectualized in comparison with HC4 and HC5 (right after the museum visit; post-visit activities). For some students, it was even difficult to recall the names of the objects

and the activities carried out in the virtual class⁷². The most-retrieved memories concerned certain types of objects, either already known to them or for which they associated an emotional charge. Nevertheless, they had a lot to say during the interviews. They made plenty of new connections that were not “there” at the end of the museum program (HC5). These findings align with previous research about the museum experience and the impact of time on knowledge (Falk & Dierking, 2007). My methodology enabled me to get this sort of “late blooming of learning” created from other post-program and external experiences.

As well, it equally concerned the McCord Stewart Museum's process of indigenization, as a whole, without circumscribing its multiple and tangible actions. Surprisingly, the activity they remembered most, was unequivocally the first, the one where they had to define the four main concepts (history, museum, Canada, Indigenous peoples). I imagine that the excitement of embarking on a new project, as well as the opportunity to position oneself and to meet your team for the first time, may have something to do with this memorization. Or this occurrence can be explained by the way one answers a question about one's memories. It often requires that one start by explaining the beginning of something— the chronological chain of events— but because the spontaneous flow of ideas is not really organized, one does not necessarily verbalize a thorough account of everything that happened. One may digress, forget where one was going, or put a halt to your conversation because of fatigue with the whole exercise. It seems like the before-visit activity was very important to the students. However, I prefer to take it with a grain of salt. Another point worth presenting before concluding this section on metahistorical thinking during the students' interview: The items and level of satisfaction they personally mentioned are close to what

⁷² This aligns with past findings about memorization of knowledge from the museum experience. For instance: Falk & Dierking (1992).

they experienced in teams on Zoom, but, above all, very similar to their individual post-visit assessment questionnaire. This is four weeks after the end of the museum program. So, time did not entirely change their initial feelings regarding the experience. It enriched the know-to-be associated with metahistorical reflection while decreasing the retention of specific historical knowledge about the exhibition. Indeed, the aspect that has most evolved is the quantity of parallels they were able to make with their personal lives and society, and especially because they talked about it with other people (at university or outside).

Here's a summary table, revealing the state of each student's historical consciousness during the interview. I have summarized the responses to the various questions and attempted to draw out our initial conclusions about the development of the historically effected consciousness, particularly in comparison with their peers. The range of responses is striking and testifies to the difficulty of generalizing or predicting the impact of a museum program on the individuals. On the whole, the students either acquired the core notions Sandra, Natalie and I had hoped for or made other findings that were as interesting and promising in terms of museum-university collaboration. I will draw more extensive conclusions about student's mobilization of historical consciousness throughout the program (HC0 to HC6) in Chapter 16.

Table 12: Historical consciousness of the students' participants during the 15-minute videorecorded final interview (HC6)

Students' name	Multiperspectivity	Metahistorical reflection	Historical consciousness
Éléonore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Map of Canada without borders -Before-visit activity of the concept map -Museum activity "Being in the Museologists' Shoes" (debate about their choice) -Relationship to the Other as a relationship to oneself too 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Call into question her relationship with clothes -Development of historical imagination 	The student has more memories of the objects, exhibition messages and activities than most of the participants. She also offers more in-depth reflections on the meaning of the visit and what aboriginal perspectives bring to her own life than most of her colleagues. Historical consciousness seems to have been mobilized quite exceptionally, in the sense that there is a cognitive and affective gain for this student from

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Different Indigenous and Western perspectives on clothing design -Appreciation of team activities; learning from teammates 		her participation in the museum program. This student feels she has learned a great deal.
Daphné	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Moccasins -Appreciation of team activities -Knowing the in-situ exhibition, the Native voices are not heard as much during the virtual tour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Critical reflection on museum objects and the indigenization of cultural environments -Critical reflection on clothing and Aboriginal issues in Canada -Acknowledgement that Indigenous voices are not sufficiently heard in university courses 	The student has more difficulty remembering the cognitive aspects of the visit, but she remembers the activities well, and the contribution of her exchanges with others. This student has the impression that she revised notions that she knew beforehand. She has more facility to talk about indigenization and decolonization than the objects and the exhibition discourses.
Charlotte	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Before-visit activity of the concept map -Appreciation of team activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reflection on the importance of getting high-school students interested in Indigenous history -Discussion with her mother-in-law about teaching history in high school -Deconstruction of personal prejudices about Indigenous people 	The student was particularly influenced by her colleagues and her own (rather small) encounter with Indigenous history. She often reports reflections on high school history and its shortcomings. Although her background does not point her in the direction of teaching, her social and civic concerns are clearly evident, and can also be associated with her training in inter-ethnic relations. She is the only one to admit that her perception of Indigenous has changed thanks to this museum program. This student feels she has learned a lot.
Julia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Discover the plurality of Indigenous nations and communities in Canada -Appreciation of team activities -Recognition of Indigenous perspectives on wildlife and spirituality -Recognition of Indigenous perspectives on respect for animals and the environment that differ from Western ones 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Feeling betrayed in learning about Canada's Indigenous past at school -Questioning her consumption of gasoline and meat -Questioning the process of indigenization at the museum in a long continuum -Transfer of learning to another university course concerning the indigenization and decolonization of knowledge. 	This student's metahistorical reflections on ethics and citizenship were more diverse and powerful than those of the other students. She greatly appreciated her museum experience and feels she learned a lot.
Élizabeth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> List many objects: totem pole, ulu, awl, moccasins -Indigenous perspectives via the TRC and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples -The exhibition as an anecdotal proposal of Indigenous perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Reflection on her teaching practice and the relevance of the museum program -Discussion with a friend about indigenization in museums 	This student didn't learn much personally but recognizes the value of the museum visit and discussions for colleagues, young people and other members of the public. Overall, she enjoyed her experience although she was critical of the making of the exhibition. Her historical consciousness is quite developed and nuanced. It seems that she was mainly able to transfer his prior knowledge to the museum context.
Léo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Anecdotal suggestion of Indigenous perspectives in the exhibition and museum visit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Process of indigenization -Lack of contextualization and elaboration of certain elements such as: Indian 	This student has had important reflections on multiple perspective and indigenization. However, he does not consider this to be learning from the museum program. It seems that he was

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Before-visit activity of concept maps -Recognition of the museum's aim to raise awareness and recognition of the diversity of Indigenous cultures 	Law, Nadia Myre's canoe, distinction between moccasins	mainly able to transfer his prior knowledge to the museum context or from his assessment for the history course.
Sam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -List many objects: totem pole, parka, map of Canada without borders -Difficulty using the right terms -Anecdotal suggestion of Indigenous perspectives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The social action associated with a visit to an exhibition is limited to the dissemination of information -Mention of the exhibition to a tutoring student and her mother 	The student acknowledges that she herself learned a great deal about the objects, but she shares her peers' view of the lack of depth of the visit. The team discussions seem to have partially shaped her point of view. She has difficulty finding the exact terms of the objects.
Alexis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -List of objects: totem pole, moccasins, map of Canada without borders, ulu, thread, needle, thimble, awl (women's work tools) -Exhibition in the shape of a circle -Before-visit of the concept map -Appreciation of plenary to hear the other teams' answers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mention of visit to partner and work -Reinforcement of cognitive learning through the materiality of objects 	She has difficulty finding the exact terms of objects. She remembers key objects and messages. Her comments are more about appreciation of the objects than learning about the discourses, like Joséphine. Her historical consciousness seems to have developed in terms of "material" or "visual" literacy.
Joséphine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rattle, amauti, baby items, eagle-feather chief's headdress -Museum activity "Being in the Museologists' Shoes" 	-Family discussion about the museum exhibition	She has difficulty finding the exact terms of objects. She remembers key objects and messages. Her comments are more about appreciation than learning, like Alexis.
Évy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -List of objects already known such as: headdress, regalia clothes -Before-visit of concept maps -The visit reinforced her knowledge of Native communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -No discussion outside of the class -She wants to teach more according to the Indigenous perspectives and using Indigenous resources. 	This is the only student, along with Léo, who has not spoken about the exhibition again, except in the context of Sandra's course. This student feels she has reinforced prior knowledge rather than learned from it. Her historical consciousness is quite developed based on a strong transfer of knowledge. It is also important to her to improve her practices of teaching about Indigenous history.

This table is useful in unveiling the characteristics of each student's museum experience. For instance, the members of Team 1 stood out for their attachment to their colleagues' points of view and their great concern for the museum institution and Indigenous people. They showed more interest in discussing with me during the interviews: they were more dynamic, optimistic and their accounts more developed. Éléonore, Daphné, Julia and Charlotte also have more metahistorical reflections touching on various societal aspects than the other teams. Team 3, on the other hand,

is harder to pin down: The students were less focused in their learning; their responses were less concerned with multiple perspectives and metahistorical reflection. In fact, the three students, Alexis, Joséphine and Évy, focused mainly on their appreciation of their virtual experience, which we will look at in the next section. As for the second team, there is a certain divide. Sam has learned a great deal and adopted a nuanced meta-reflexive stance on the museum, while the other two colleagues feel they have learned less, even if their memories appear strong, Élizabéth with regard to the exhibited objects, and Léo on the subject of the museum's indigenization. As I commented earlier, Léo took a more critical stance than any of the others on the museum's potential for decolonization and on the actions proposed so far to decolonize it. He was not seduced by the visit. That clarified, this did not prevent his reflections from having a strong metahistorical component, which shows that he understands historicity and the political stakes that may be associated with it, more than anyone else. Although it was not the McCord Stewart Museum that sensitized him with the nature of history and postcolonial thinking, the fact remains that he has transferred a wealth of prior knowledge about history and decolonization to a new context, with which he was less familiar, that is, the museum space. Léo was also a strong voice in contributing to the learning and questioning of his colleagues during the team and large-group discussions, as he shared his viewpoints at every step of the museum program. His influence was even strong on the museum-university collaborators' lasting impressions of the program's implementation (Chapter 19). About students' learning and their historical consciousness at this final stage of the research, we can state that there are cognitive similarities between members of the same team and, very much in line with socio-constructivist theories in education, that learning is a social affair. Knowledge built in teamwork is what stays with them more permanently.

Chapter Seventeen: Students' Appreciation of the Museum Program

In this chapter, I will be examining how students enjoyed their visit at two different times, immediately after the visit and one month later, as recorded in their individual interview with me. The two instruments were designed to highlight their general feelings about the museum program. A quick analysis of the data reveals that most of the students emphasized the positive aspects of their museum experience; nine out of ten students were clearly satisfied by the museum-university virtual offer. Yet, there were some less generous comments that warrant a closer look. The detailed written and oral responses help to determine the strengths and weaknesses of the program, from conception to implementation, from format to content. In addition, the comments left by the students aid in clarifying if and how the museum program affected their sense of having learned and the skills associated with historical consciousness. Indeed, I have noted a fairly strong correlation. The level of appreciation allows us to verify the museum's contribution to the bolstering of the historically effected consciousness. Additionally, it helps to assess its quality as a pedagogical aid (or strategy) at the university level, generally. It is well known that students' motivation strongly impacts their involvement in the process of learning and ultimately the extent of knowledge developed. In this section, I have ensured an analysis of the results by contrasting the two moments of individual evaluation, right after the museum visit and at the end of the research period. In this section, I clarify students' appreciation by team, as they presented many commonalities within their respective groups.

To start with Team 1, the four female students submitted very positive comments in their questionnaire and in their interviews. It should be remembered that this small group had given

positive feedback on their intergroup conversations, citing this aspect as one of the most important points of their museum experience and having had a major impact on their personal learning. Éléonore and Daphné appreciated how the questions were formulated, enabling them to reflect further on discourses about the meaning of objects for Indigenous peoples and multiperspectivity in history, and on museography and the process of indigenization at the McCord Stewart Museum. Questions on what they liked most or least from their interviews were the most revealing of the numerous facets of their feeling toward their museum experience.

Among the concerns elicited, Éléonore shed some light on the distinction between the *in-situ* museum visit versus the exclusively virtual experience. She would have liked to go and circulate in the exhibition space. Although she understood the Zoom constraints, she deplored the short time allotted to this 45-minute visit. The pace of the visit had to be accelerated. As she told me: “we felt we had to move on”. She wasn’t the only one to raise this issue. Despite the time limitations, Éléonore considered that the objects contributed to reinforcing her historical imagination, which in turn helped her to better grasp the abstract concepts Sandra introduced in the history course. This student also mentioned that she would have liked to have more direct contacts with Natalie when she was interpreting the museum objects, and that learning about the museum’s indigenization had been stimulating. In her appreciation questionnaire, she noted that it was precisely because of the interactivity and auditory interpretation that she had been able to stay engaged. She also revealed during her online interview that she had never had the opportunity to carry out a museum-based educational activity so far in other university courses. A month earlier, she had written that the visit developed her desire to go more often to museums. Thus, Éléonore has a very positive and flattering opinion of the museum proposal.

Like her teammate, having herself visited the McCord Stewart permanent exhibition before the pandemic, Daphné compared her virtual experience to the on-site visit. In her interview, she made a major point about the time it takes to observe the various objects and her own reduced attention span, even though she admitted that the video produced by Natalie was well executed. In fact, her comments clarified Éléonore's idea. Here is what she told me:

Daphné: It's true that in a virtual exhibition, you don't have the instinctive side, as I might say... you know, if you want to look [sic for] four minutes at an object, you look at it [for] four minutes; if one is ten, it's ten, then if for another [it's] 30 seconds, it's 30 seconds. The images were beautiful [in the video], and it's true that I don't lean over [the display cases] of moccasins as much when I circulate [in the museum space].

Emmy: To get a good look at the objects, you mean?

Daphné: Yes. Well, I preferred to see it [the exhibition] in real life. I don't think the video didn't do justice to the exhibition, but there you go... I have to admit that my attention didn't last long in the virtual setting.

Daphné's testimony is particularly useful here, notably because she is the only participant who can compare the experience in the material world with the online one. She pointed out the same elements in her post-visit questionnaire, however she did not provide a concise opinion such as we read in this excerpt. She was not wrong either about the amount of time allocated to the various objects. It does indeed distort the visiting experience and can cause frustration if one desires more time to observe, understand, question and even marvel. On the other hand, unlike a self-guided tour, visitors to a museum do not necessarily move around as they wish, and they may also feel they "have to move on" from one object or room to another. Still, it is significant that she also addresses the possibility of seeing the details of objects on film, much more so than through direct observation from above a display case. I, myself, argued that in the methodological section of the dissertation. It can indeed be difficult to perceive all the angles and fine inscriptions, especially when taking part in a guided tour in the presence of many people. Daphné gave several other specific indications of what she liked least during her interview. On the whole, she enjoyed her

experience (e.g., the exchanges, the type of reflective questions asked, the beauty of the moccasins), but she probably would have “condensed” the activities, especially those that occurred after the tour. As she attested, the museum program “broke a rhythm”, as Sandra’s history class is normally structured around one theme per session. Finally, she had misgivings about another resource besides the virtual visit in itself: Word documents were not the most user-friendly digital resources for teamwork. She would have preferred to collaborate using a Google doc, as is common in university courses. Although I understand her view on this, in the defense of the museum-university collaboration and my own implication in the conception phase, the idea of using a Google doc was discarded because of the complex task it represented for the museum (to manage the emails of a group of 75 students), and for reasons of confidentiality of the participants.

Charlotte was one of the students most satisfied with their experience, although she too was sorry not to have been able to visit the museum. Overall, she “thought it was a great opportunity to visit the museum when it was closed”. In her eagerness to tell me what she liked about it (Question 3), she stressed how lucky they had been to have “someone [Natalie] who could talk to [them] in detail about this exhibition, that she really knew about it, that she was passionate about it”. Charlotte has greatly appreciated that the museum's education project manager, Natalie, was available for the entire museum program, and that she was able to ask her questions about the objects and the museum. Like Daphné in her interview, this student noted the lack of interactivity at times, but she attributed this to the fact that the activities took place virtually and not to a shortcoming in the museum program *per se*. In other words, to her, “it would have been difficult to do otherwise”. As the researcher, I must emphasize, in relation to this downside, that there were 75 students in the class, adding to the magnitude of the challenge of making these activities

dynamic, in which everyone would feel challenged and take an active part. The class' size may have had a detrimental effect on the plenary discussions, intimidating the more reserved or less self-confident individuals, although it has only been mentioned by one participant in this research, that is, Joséphine (Team 3). Moreover, to the penultimate question on the value of this program as per their academic studies, Charlotte maintained that it is “a very relevant visit to [her] course”. Having discussed primary and secondary education at length with her team, she believed that the exhibition “should be presented to young people”. Her arguments lie in elementary and high-school students' need for visual learning and more anchored contextualization of Indigenous communities through objects and artistic productions. She even argued that “it should almost be compulsory to see a museum”. She, thus, valued the museum's pedagogical approach (delocalized formal education, Meunier, 2012). She claimed that she became less familiar with museums since the beginning of her undergraduate studies, as professors tend to focus more on theory:

I thought it was really cool to do something less academic for a change. That hasn't happened to me since the start of my baccalaureate... and I'm finishing my baccalaureate. It [the museum proposal] was different, like a breath of fresh air in the middle of a semester. I don't go and listen to a lecture, but [rather] visit a museum. University is sometimes too theoretical... it's less practical.

The last member of the first team, Julia, also made interesting comments on her experience. If the program seemed long at times for Daphné, Julia has maintained that the visit “could have taken longer”, in particular to get a better feel for Indigenous perspectives, as we mentioned before, but also “because she found it extremely interesting”. Her appreciation of the program is palpable throughout the interview, even if her sentiment of intellectual pleasure did not stop her from telling me that the post-visit activity had been less polished, carried out at greater speed. It is with worth recalling that Julia would have liked to know more about the museum's upcoming initiatives and

that this closing activity would have been a good occasion to do so. On another level, although the social dimension of educational activities contributed to the development of multiperspectivity and that this team really enjoyed working together, teamwork with people you do not know can cause a little bit of anxiety at first, as Julia expressed, not least because Zoom created a distance. Like the rest of her team, Julia suggested that virtuality does not provide an optimal museum experience, in terms of social exchanges. That said, her position is also nuanced, since she had also revealed, in her post-visit questionnaire, that Zoom had enabled her to visit a museum from her home, Sainte-Adèle, a small town located 1h30 from Montreal by car. She was quite pleased with the result, which lightened her schedule during a very busy semester. In sum, Team 1 greatly appreciated the museum program and seemed grateful for the opportunity to participate in a more embodied, interactive and collaborative pedagogical activity, centered on materiality and primary sources, in the context of a history course online and the coronavirus pandemic, when everyone had been mostly confined to their homes for over a year at that point.

The members of Team 2 were less enthusiastic about the museum experience. Élisabeth and Sam certainly enjoyed the program, although they demonstrated more restraint in their satisfaction than the four previous students. Although she did not learn much herself, Élisabeth stressed the importance for the public to visit the McCord Stewart Museum to familiarize himself with the Native collections. Even though there was no common thread, or at least one that was too diffuse, as she claimed in both the questionnaire and interview., she “enjoyed it”, but “doesn't know if it was relevant” for her course. As she told me when asked “overall, did you learn anything?”:

The exhibition wasn't particularly focused [on the events]. At the same time, these are objects from that period [early sources from the 19th-20th centuries]. [...] We covered a lot. There was a lot of clothing, a lot of territories, a lot of eras. We weren't able to explore in depth what a piece of clothing can tell us about history. Moccasins on the Prairies... Okay, they're great for exploring, but for a history class, the transfer is less obvious. The events we see in the course... the link hasn't been made [with them]. On the other hand, for the future history teachers in this class, there were several... to experiment, to be forced to go to the museum, completely, it's... for their professional development.

As a teacher in French as a Second Language herself, with a strong awareness of Indigenous claims, Élizabeth was keen to recognize the added pedagogical value of museum visits for children and teenagers, as well as the importance of museum attendance and learning about museum education approaches, as distinct from classroom pedagogy, in the academic curriculum of history teachers. Élizabeth also pointed out the museum's efforts at indigenization in an exchange with a friend, which seems to have contributed to her overall positive perception of her participation in the museum program. Speaking of the pedagogical approach in a virtual context, this student has also felt that the experience was “sequential”, “less authentic” and “fluid” due to its format. However, she did not feel that this “denatures” the encounter with the objects and the museum. Sam's position was similar to that of her colleague: “informative” and “interesting” are the adjectives used by them. She also doubted its relevance to the course, as we “learn about historical events in the course”. Sam finally considered that the museum program stretched itself, taking up “a disproportionate amount of temporal space” compared to the course syllabus, which presents ordinary one theme per 3-hour session. Her comment corresponds with that of Daphné's on the post-visit activity, which would not have been necessary.

Léo's views on the museum program differed from the two members of his team and all the other participants. An analysis of his responses to the questionnaire immediately after the visit, and his interview a month later, reveals great disappointment and an almost entirely negative

assessment of his museum experience, as we know it. In the previous chapters, I have dealt extensively with Leo's views of the museum's perceived gaps in knowledge transmission, both in the exhibition and during the visit, as well as his vision of the museum, its role and the potential scope of its social action. Still, there are elements that emerged during his interview, pinpointing a number of didactic weaknesses that needed to be addressed, according to him. To Léo, the structure and objectification of the activities were not clarified. So, he felt left to his own devices: what is to be done, and why is it being done? Ultimately, the mandatory assessment, the critical report, is what helped him deepen his reflections on the exhibition and the museum. The process was "personal", and he "was able to do some research to find out more". While we can concede that objectives were not systematically restated and instructions were often quickly formulated, due to time constraints, the visual presentations included the structure of the activities, instructions for the activities and the reflective questions. Léo seems to be also deploring the lack of learning transfer withing his history course, a concern he held in common with Élizabeth and Sam's verbatims. I must recognize that the course essay may have enabled him to find what was missing in the museum program. But in defense of the museum program (and I say this as someone who was involved in this collaboration): the format of the teaching and learning activity, with the reality of a pandemic and the extremely limited allotted time (3X 90 minutes) could not match an equivalent to individual research on a given subject. Still, I value Léo's viewpoint: the content of the visit could have been more investigated, keeping in mind that participating in museum activities does not entail the same kind of educational objectives as writing an academic paper on a specific topic.

To nuance Leo's vision with a sound knowledge of how much we can say and do during a museum visit, there was still a great deal of information on the collection and the museum: The students were given information on some thirty native objects and a precise discourse on the museum's internal operations in its indigenization process. But many of the specific details were forgotten even before the team discussions in breakout rooms. Would a smaller number of objects combined with a longer discourse on each of them have countered this conception of the museum exhibition's superficiality that had spread within this team? There is a good chance. I must also come back to how they envision history... being very much associated with a specific sequence of events. This understanding, when added to the disruption between the structure of the course, whose tangent is political, and the museum program, focusing on the cultural, the program presented several elements that risked disappointing them. To finish with this team, I guess it is true that the before and post-visit discussions were more concerned with the "form", and that a better explanation of the program's objectives, especially in relation to their history course, could have had a positive influence on their satisfaction levels.

Team 3 presented more positive than negative elements and appeared more in line with Team 1 in terms of their appreciation. For instance, Alexis was very positive when I ask her what she liked best:

What I liked best was the visit to the museum... privileged access to the museum with Natalie. We saw the details [of the objects]. We wouldn't have seen all the details around the glass [on site]. We really talked about indigenization, and I learned a lot. I also liked the group discussions, which were interactive and less passive [than in the virtual classroom]. And even though I'd like to see the exhibition in person, I'd do the virtual tour again.

Then to the next question, regarding the shortcomings, she had very few comments:

Euf, I'm not sure. All in all, it was the participation of the other teams who took it less to heart than we did. As a large group, they didn't think things through as much. The after-visit was less interesting... But I don't really have any negative points [...], that's because you're asking me the question.

It does, however, make two interesting points. The after-visit seems to have had less impact. She goes on to point out how the motivation and energy of a group as a whole can influence the appreciation of educational activities in the classroom or museum. I also recall that, when I asked her if she had done anything since her museum visit (Question 7) in her individual interview, Alexis also said, like Éléonore (Team 1), “that it had really helped her because we cover so many broad periods” and that “sometimes it [she] feels intangible”, having “difficulty anchoring the learning [concepts and historical events taught in her course] in images”. Her classmate, Joséphine, who “likes to spend whole days” at the museum, lamented the lack of time associated with the visit, not least because “it’s more active”, appreciating receiving explanations. She had a positive view of museums, a pleasant space that she associates with “demonstration” and memories with her mother and family. The most significant learning for her was the objects associated with stereotypes, demystified by the McCord Stewart Museum’s project manager. She liked the visual aids: Powerpoint presentations and the video produced by the museum. However, her positive experience was limited by the pedagogical angle:

I thought it went a bit fast. Certain elements were less rehearsed. It was harder to concentrate online and I have a concentration problem too. I’m less likely to intervene online because I find it more uncomfortable. I think it was a good visit for the context, but I prefer to be in the museum for real. It was more concrete than other [university] courses, which are more theoretical... with blurred images. Yes, it was more concrete with what we had in the museum.

Here, it’s clear that the pace of the visit, where you “have to move on”, is a constant and a shortcoming in the implementation of the museum program. Joséphine had also noted this in her feedback questionnaire a month earlier. On the other hand, she had then failed to mention her attention deficit. Knowing that this attention span is even shorter in front of a computer screen, this points to a non-negligible obstacle when museums design their virtual museum programs. It was an aspect that we knew from the outset (Zoom fatigue) but was difficult to control. As with

Julia (Team 1), the discomfort of intervening on web platforms may have slowed down Joséphine's interactions. Physical proximity really does have an impact on our sense of social and intellectual proximity, and on the ease with which we open up to others. It is also worth remembering here that the members of Team 1 had all already demonstrated an inter-group trust that was also built over time. A minimum level of complicity thus appears necessary to maximize learning during collaborative activities.

For her part, Évy highlighted an element that had not been identified beforehand, and even runs counter to some of the comments made by the members of the second team. For her, the cultural dimension of the exhibition complemented well the political approach advocated in Sandra's course. She also appreciated that the McCord Stewart's exhibition did not overshadow the political orientation of contemporary Indigenous perspectives. Trained as a secondary school teacher, she then commented on her knowledge of Indigenous teaching in history, which tends to simplify content, blend communities in the large categories of Algonquins and Iroquoians, and distort the past events, as it is from a Euro-centric perspective more than the Indigenous prism of understanding. Indigenous past complex realities are downplayed in favor of the discourse of good relationship and adaptation, leaving young people confused about current struggles and fights for lands, for instance. In much of current classroom practice, questions of resilience and claims are swept under the carpet, for the most part. Évy illustrated well what the museum program was hoping for in terms of appreciation and understanding. She was able to transfer learning in her professional context and was more aware that she had a social responsibility and was concerned about how to improve her practices, as she, too, admitted to me. She intended to use more didactic resources that have been produced by Indigenous individuals. This student is a good example of

what the collaboration was hoping for in terms of understanding and appreciation of the museum program. It reminds us of Bergeron and Hoffmann's (2015) argument on making more collaborations with museums to boost "le savoir-devenir" of museum students at university. It can serve other categories of students, as we witnessed in this case study.

To conclude this part, the first team seems to have a stronger appreciation although team three is also very positive, the setbacks concerning mostly the format and not the content. The difference between the two teams is that in the first one the members had more vivid memories of what they learned, except perhaps for Évy, in team 3. Team 1 had a stronger set of knowledge from the outset. Based on my analysis of data, Éléonore, Julia, Charlotte, Alexis and Joséphine are the ones who enjoyed their experience the most, and for whom it may have been transformative to some extent. No one experienced extreme turmoil or reassessment of what they knew, but all except Léo became more sensitive to the topics of Indigenous peoples, museums and history in the society, as an outcome of the participation in the museum program. The members of the second team did not have a museum experience that was very moving, in comparison to the other teams, although Sam may have told us that she would keep that learning about the headdress "will remain with her for the future". All in all, the partnership did a good job in generating positive feeling about the McCord Stewart Museum exhibition. Having illuminated the students' learning and appreciation, I will now turn my attention to my collaborators and bring them to the conversation table. My understanding of the museum program remains incomplete without a closer look at their perceptions of their involvement and impacts on the university students.

Chapter Eighteen: Collaborators' Participation and Appreciation

The museum and university collaborators were involved in both phases of this research, the design and integration of the museum program, and gathering their comments on their participation was a natural way of bringing out realities other than those perceived by myself or the students. Interviews were conducted not only with the history lecturer, Sandra, and education project manager, Natalie, but also with the teaching assistant, Antoine-Xavier, and the professional responsible for Education and Cultural Action at the McCord Stewart Museum, Jeanne. While Sandra and Natalie contributed consistently from the beginning to the end of the fieldwork, Jeanne and Antoine-Xavier were involved on an *ad hoc* basis. Jeanne was present initially to give the green light to the research collaboration, including my research goals, and the museum's expectations and limits in terms of implication. She then followed up with me when internal questions arose between the education service, the curatorial department and general management regarding the disclosure of certain components of their indigenization process, while Natalie, Sandra and I were involved in the process of co-constructing the museum program in the months of January and February in 2021. For his part, Antoine-Xavier was responsible for the Zoom platform, ensuring smooth transitions between lecture presentations and discussion groups. He followed the groups in the small rooms from one week to the next and led the post-visit activity "Through the Lenses of Historians and Museologists".

Recorded semi-open interviews, varying in length from around fifteen to thirty minutes, were conducted with these four collaborators. Three interviews took place on Zoom and only one, that of Antoine-Xavier, was conducted over the phone, as there was an issue of connectivity when

we planned our meeting. The main questions were identical for all my partners; however, sub-questions were aligned with their respective roles, following the path traced by their comments at each stage of the interview. Generally speaking, I wanted to gather information on 1) their appreciation of the process, both during development and in the university classroom; 2) their initial expectations (museum and history course objectives) and how these related to the degree to which the museum program had been achieved (finished product, implementation); on their personal observations of the students' appreciation and learning; on their learning as museologist, university lecturer or teaching assistant (whether with students, other collaborators or the researcher). To fully depict the scope of these interviews, here I present the essence of the conversations, first, the comments of the lecturer, Sandra, and the teaching assistant, Antoine-Xavier, and then those of Natalie and Sandra, for whom the interviews were longer, because of their propensity to talk a bit more. They brought to the fore points of view that strayed more from teaching and learning, especially by comparison, to reach elements that have been less addressed until now, the nature of which is specific to reflections on museum education, especially when dealing with university audiences and working in collaboration with university researchers. In the next chapter, the analysis of the data will provide recommendations for history teaching, education at the museum, as well as partnerships with external parties such as university researchers. Here, then, are the main questions submitted to the four collaborators:

1. You were involved in the making of the museum program with another partner and myself, how do you think the elaboration of the museum program went?
2. Do you think the museum program was well implemented? Why/why not?
3. What were the museum program's strengths and weaknesses?
4. Did the museum program meet the course's objectives?
5. Do you think students learned something? Why?
6. Do you think students enjoyed the in-class activities and visit? Why?
7. Did you personally learn something yourself? What have you learned?
8. Anything else you would like to add?

18.1 The Course Lecturer's Participation

Sandra was teaching the history course for the first time and was receptive to the idea of diversifying pedagogical approaches to teaching right from our first meeting. She saw my research proposal as an opportunity to energize her Zoom course, recognizing from the outset that online sessions can appear repetitive and tiring for students at an early stage, especially as her class group was imposing, bringing together 75 individuals behind their computer screens. Indeed, how can learning be personalized and stimulated in this virtual crowded space, where participants' cameras cannot remain switched on for very long without affecting the continuous flow of bandwidth? How can we keep students motivated and focused at this hour of the evening (6:00PM and 9:00 PM)? After a year of the pandemic, and with the news having highlighted the challenges of distance learning, Sandra was apprehensive about the task ahead. Therefore, Sandra also saw the development and implementation of a museum program in partnership as a way of lightening her preparation and teaching by transferring some of the tasks to Natalie from the McCord Stewart

Museum, and to me, the educational researcher. With her lesson plan already developed when we first exchanged views on Zoom, she introduced several Quebec specialists in Indigenous history during the semester. Adding an extra “external” activity like the museum program was almost natural, except that it was spread over three class sessions rather than one. Sandra shared the same epistemological and methodological conceptions of history as mine: she understood the importance of facilitating multiple perspectives and historical metareflection to stimulate an “effected” historical consciousness in students. On the other hand, she did not necessarily know how to go about this competency-oriented goal, or at the very least, she would not have thought of it on her own, having received no prior training in pedagogy. So, I introduced her to a few didactic precepts in history teaching and museum education. With regard to these questions, she placed all her trust in me. From the outset, the amount of work associated with planning a new course, the stress of a first university teaching experience, what’s more, online, as well as her intellectual alignment with my understanding of history and teaching, make it easier to grasp the motivations and expectations behind her approval to take part in my doctoral research. A very cordial relationship developed between us and was maintained throughout the project.

To fully understand the particularities of her teaching situation, however, we need to return to aspects of her academic and professional qualifications, and to an identity component that probably influenced, to some extent, her mastery of content and learning situations (such as plenary discussions), and her relationship with students. It is worth pointing out that Sandra took on this course when she had just completed her master’s degree in Indigenous history, and that she was still very young compared to other lecturers and university professors. She was only a few years older than the average student; some, like Élizabeth and Léo in our sample, are even older

than Sandra. Many studies have shown that years of experience, age, gender, ethnicity and physical appearance influence students' perceptions of their teachers (Freishtat, 2016). For example, a younger or female teacher will, on average, be judged more harshly in terms of her degree of competence than a mature male teacher. However, a government job in Indigenous affairs and a variety of academic and political activities made her well-suited, in addition to her graduate degree, to teach this university history course, especially from a political lens. All these elements set the stage for the analysis of her interview, which took place at the end of the process.

In this section, I will focus on the verbatims obtained during my interview with her to make sense of her contribution to the museum program and to research in general. Here and there, I may bring out examples from the students or from my own observations during the project, to support, nuance or contextualize her statements. When I interviewed Sandra, she had had the opportunity to complete her teaching courseload: she had corrected and handed back the assignments relating to the museum program. Plus, she had received the grades and comments from the students' evaluation of her teaching during the semester. This may have had an impact on her perception of her contribution to the research project, although I did not seek out the details out of respect and confidentiality. At the start of the interview, my first impression was that Sandra seemed ready for the interview, but that she seemed a little more nervous and less enthusiastic than usual. Very naturally, I began with my first question, concerning her perception of the course of the collaboration and the implementation of the museum program. With regard to the program design and the collaboration with the museum and myself, she said she felt this stage "went well", and that she appreciated me taking the time to gather her opinions and comments on the museum visit and pedagogical activities that she led with Antoine-Xavier. She deplored, however, that the

commitment had been greater than expected, that the process was “longer than [she] thought it would be” and that she had not “expected this”. She did not elaborate much, then went on to describe the implementation of the program in her university class, which also “went well”. However, she humbly admitted that she “would have liked to have prepared a little more”. She has reminded me that I was responsible for “setting up the Powerpoint presentations, and that we went back and forth together”, but that she had underestimated the workload, the time required to feel ready, especially during the before-visit activity, the facilitation of which rested solely on her shoulders. On the other hand, she felt that, for a first-time implementation, the students had understood the subject and actively participated throughout the museum program.

During our talk, Sandra told me that the pre- and post-visit activities were an added value and one of the strengths of the proposal. In her opinion, they were necessary to ensure a substantial understanding of the museum visit. As she put it, they have helped to reinforce the students’ knowledge: “the visit would not have been enough”. On the other hand, she found the pre-visit activity too long. The teaching guide was “very dense”; there was too much content to learn and deliver. As she pointed out, it would be wise to reduce the amount of information to the essentials in future attempts, as a teacher may not “have twenty hours” to invest in mastering the material. The knowledge of this pre-visit activity was mainly about museology, which is not her area of expertise, nor that of history professors generally. Although she was criticizing the teaching material of which I was the main author, I agree with her that it comprised too much content for the university collaborator, and I appreciated her honesty, meaning that she felt comfortable enough to open up with me.

Following on from the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the museum program, which do not address the museum visit itself, I asked Sandra how she had experienced the museum visit, to which she replied:

I think as someone who attended [this visit], I really enjoyed it, even if it took longer than I expected. She [Natalie] asked questions, which was great. Okay, there were some technical things [problems], for example, you could hear the [reverb] sound of her audio with your headphones... and I got comments from students [about that], but the tour was fun... and to see the objects with the camera moving around... The map is super interesting, very beautiful and relevant, but you do not see the whole thing. It was fast. The video went too fast. There was no time to look at the objects.

I remember that I found surprising that Sandra, despite her generally satisfying experience, was primarily pointing out the shortcomings of the virtual visit and the scrolling speed of the video produced by the museum. In fact, Natalie had the option of stopping and restarting the video, but it had been designed (prior to the collaboration) to run without intervention. So, the museum project manager did not pause very often. Sandra was the first person to complain about the quality of the sound, as none of the participating students had mentioned it in the questionnaires or interviews. I had noted myself in my observations of the visit: “there is a minor sound problem”. To my recollection, everything was quickly put right. Students that were not participating in this research seem to have influenced her judgement a little.

Then Sandra mentioned that the students had learned during the visit, based on the feedback she received in their written assignments. I asked: “And what do you think they learned”? The students learned that the visit “reaffirms the diversity of Indigenous cultures” in Canada and “that museums are doing their ... best to go through a process of indigenization”. They clearly understood that the situation calls for questions about “who we hire” and “how we work together”. She also has related to Léo's testimony, even if she did not name him: “You know yourself, some people have even said that a museum is always going to be colonially tainted”. On the whole,

relying once again on her students' written papers, she added that the vast majority of her class enjoyed the museum visit, but that they "would have liked to have seen it in person". But as Sandra revealed, "if there was any criticism, it was more about form than content". However, there was the criticism that "there were not enough stories around the objects". A small number of students criticized the exhibition's name-dropping and lack of a common thread. In the light of the course lecturer's analysis, my interview with Sandra reiterated the broad conclusions of my own understanding of learning from my reduced sample of ten participants. It is reassuring that both of our understandings are attuned to each other, allowing me to affirm that there is certainly validity to the collected data and doctoral interpretation so far.

18.2 The Research Assistant's Interview

Antoine-Xavier, Sandra's teaching assistant, was incorporated into the team in the second phase of the research project. He was not involved in designing the program and did not participate in the planning of its orchestration in the classroom. He was only made aware of the activities, during a virtual meeting and through the teacher's pedagogical guide I had produced for Sandra and him, two weeks prior to the beginning of the museum program. For the two first class sessions, his main job was limited to technical aspects on the web platform. He proved to be a front-line witness to what was being said in the Zoom meeting rooms, being able to move around as he saw fit. Like the other partners in the collaboration, he listened to the students' comments and questions in small teams and large groups. He was able to support them with instructions during the activities. His participation culminated during the post-visit activity, "Through the Lenses of Historians and Museologists", acting as the principal facilitator for the plenary session.

Like Sandra, he told me straight away over the phone that he thought the program had been “well implemented, despite the time constraints”. Looking back on the post-visit activity, which he presented himself, he felt that there should have been more time for discussion, as “it would have been worth it”. It’s true that this activity has unfolded more quickly than the others, without the facilitator going back over what had been learned or clearly delimiting the questions asked. The scarcity of instructions and information provided at the start of the activity can also be explained by the fact that it focused on transferring new intellectual baggage into a global context. This had an impact on the students’ understanding of the questions and their commitment, both in small teams and when returning to the large group. As I have already pointed out, the students were less engaged by the questions, and they were tired of tackling the subject (Chapter 14). For the facilitator, it can be difficult to stimulate discussion if neither the interest nor the answers are there... which resulted in the hasty conclusion of the museum program, at least that is the explanation that makes the most sense to me.

The teaching assistant went on to tell me that he had greatly appreciated Natalie’s work in “showing the richness of the First Peoples through the virtual exhibition on Zoom”. Asked about the program’s strengths and weaknesses, Antoine-Xavier pointed out that the program’s first strength had been “to break the program down into several teaching periods, with the visit as the highlight”. Like the course lecturer, he felt it was relevant that there was a before-visit activity to introduce students to the exhibition, follow-up activities in the smaller rooms to see how their thinking had progressed after the museum visit, and a post-visit activity to evaluate what they had finally retained from the whole. The teaching assistant also highly praised the choice of the

exhibition *Wearing our Identity. The First Peoples Collection*, which, although less well known than other permanent exhibitions in bigger museums, is “at the heart of humanity” while reiterating the diversity of Indigenous cultures. He appreciated that it was a “local” exhibition, and not “a general exhibition on the Indigenous peoples”. It is interesting to note that Antoine-Xavier conceived that, through the prism of clothing, the exhibition was focused and not especially diffuse with no driving thread, contrary to what the team of Sam, Léo and Élizabeth argued.

On the other hand, with regard to the points to be improved in this kind of museum program, to him, it would be necessary to review the time framework. Both the museum visit and activities were relatively short, notable because of the shortened teaching online sessions, which cannot span over three hours of lessons as in a regular classroom or museum setting. I took this opportunity to ask him if he believed that the Zoom platform had an influence on the course or reception of the museum program. He explained to me that one of the main impacts of online teaching concerns the “authority figure” of the teacher. Forced to encourage interactions to stimulate a teaching that could quickly become dull – the course cannot be as speaker-driven as in-class, the teacher tends to become more of a guide. As he has indicated, on the one hand, the advantage is that the students “are freer to say what they think...it's less filtered than in class, especially with the small groups...it's more real”. On the other hand, “the negative side of these activities in Zoom [relates] to academic information that is lost”, since the less understood topics are not necessarily clarified in the breakout rooms or in plenary. The assistant has brought attention to an important aspect that I have noted in my observation grids, that “the confused elements are not always rectified” (museum visit) and that the plenary sessions were “carried out too quickly to properly dismantle or explain certain knowledge” (pre-visit) and that “some students risked

leaving with somewhat erroneous ideas about museums and historians” (after-visit). Several opportunities to redirect slightly distorted or superficial reasoning were overlooked by the collaborators, not exclusively because of time constraints, or (according to my notes) lack of practice or training, but out of concern for the possibility of making a mistake about Indigenous perspectives. Has Sandra not admitted that she should have studied more and that the teaching guide was too busy? Has Natalie self-disclosed to the students that she was neither Indigenous nor an expert on the exhibition, which some students even criticized in their appreciation questionnaire? These contextual elements may have played on the credibility and appreciation of the most critical students of the class. Despite some shortcomings in the presentation and the teaching, I remind the reader that this implementation was a first attempt for the three participants in the museum-university collaboration: unlike a professor or a mediator of experience, who repeats the same presentation several times, it is natural that Sandra, Natalie and Antoine-Xavier were not always comfortable going into depth on certain themes. Moreover, given their recent entry into pedagogical practice, the three could not so much count on a long professional experience allowing them to navigate or easily get away with it, in the unbeaten paths, particularly with a large and diverse group of students such as the one they had in front of them.

As I did with Sandra, I asked Antoine-Xavier about students’ potential understanding after leaving the museum program. According to him, the students had “learned about several things”. He “noticed that the reactions were positive, especially after the museum visit”. The students had enjoyed discovering cultures through clothing... and so had he! Personally, the teaching assistant has learned about Indigenous cultures, their clothing, and museums, because “it was something [visiting this exhibit] that he hadn’t seen or done”. Originating from this comment, I asked him

about his own academic and professional background. Antoine-Xavier was completing his master's degree in history, and he had acquired some experience in teaching Social Studies at the secondary level. He even followed the same Indigenous history course during his bachelor's degree; however, no museum visit was offered at that time by the professor. In fact, the sessions "were almost always traditional with the professor presenting the content". Antoine-Xavier added to this that participating in the museum program made him realize that "it's an interesting pedagogical resource, the museum, with the discussions ... that it is a way to better integrate student opinions into a course". In his professional context of teaching, he envisioned that he will propose museum tours to his high-school students and include more peer-to-peer discussions. Like Sandra, Antoine-Xavier would not have thought of offering a museum visit on his own, his academic path followed a fairly traditional structure articulated around the transmission of knowledge. These two admissions point to the fact that the use of the museum to support teaching is not obvious for history teachers, even the younger ones, accustomed to other approaches to learning (they are in their twenties), a potential issue that I addressed in the first part of this study. This was part of my hypothesis: I posed that this collaboration might increase the recognition of the value of museums in history education to the eyes of historians and history teachers.

18.3 The Museum Project Manager's Interview

The discussion with Natalie was the longest of the four interviews, the project manager giving me more information on each question. The conversation being even more fluid, and there were more sub-questions than what I had in mind when I started the interview. Having joined more actively the partnership in January, once the first talks had been made with the course lecturer,

Sandra, and her museum supervisor, Jeanne, Natalie found the process “interesting”, especially because the academic research component appeared at the forefront of the partnership. It was bringing novelties to the virtual visit they had prepared for the public, but not for university classes. She told me why they agreed in the first place: “the work we did together [...] allowed us to address issues that we don’t take the time to [look at], it forced us to observe what researchers in the field of museum studies find important these days”. Here, she emphasized the need for practitioners to become more familiar with the state of research. She explained that the collaboration we had helped refine “the visit templates or scripts”, “which are never as good” as the one we made for this doctoral study. She then clarified a point I have supported as well in the theoretical section: university visitors do not receive as much attention from the educational service at this museum. She said:

We obviously have priority audiences. The Education and Cultural Action service, we are there for the public: the transmission of discourses [...] Academic visitors are not a public that we talk about in our meetings. Administration does not put it forward. They [groups from the university] are there, and they are very real. They frequent our activities. We have developed, in fact... euh... an activity for them. But we don’t take the time to dig deeper, we’re not going to work with them. We will not go to educational advisers as we do for primary and secondary schools.

Natalie is pointing to an aspect I sensed from my own experience in museums and from the scarcity of literature on museum-university collaborations. At the same time, I cannot help but ask where does this idea, that specialized audiences are less important or do not deserve the same attention as young audiences, comes from? Natalie pursued her account, saying that she was satisfied with both the collaboration and the museum visit she offered. However, she declared that she was nervous about my expectations, while she had to simultaneously juggle with those of the museum: “I sometimes felt on the left and on the right. I was giving time to your project so that it would also have positive repercussions for the museum. Also, your [doctoral] project also became a [museum education] project for us. I tried to spend time on it, but it was often lacking”. As with

Sandra, I detected a certain frustration and stress regarding the achievement of my research objectives (they wanted it to be a success) and the hours they could invest. The following passage demonstrates this convincingly:

The process went well, because I find that we had exchanges of documents in a reciprocal way, which made it possible to feed me and you.... I think from that we arrived at something very satisfying, but it's true that I had the impression that it came a lot from you, and I was like "is that correct"? We didn't have time to talk about it. There was a lot of work done by you, and sometimes I have the impression that you might have liked us to contribute more.

I was a little sad that she was worried by my appreciation of the museum investment, but again I really appreciated that she was frank with me during the interview. I would like to use this opportunity to explain my view on this. While we were in the conception phase, I soon realized that my collaborators were giving more energy and efforts than I expected and requested (twenty hours total) when they accepted to embark in the doctoral research. They were there to discuss ideas with me, they were reviewing the produced documents, they got involved in a feedback meeting following the first activity (before-visit), they studied their scripts, they presented their parts to the students, attended fully the three class online sessions, and they approved to contribute in the final interview. It would not have been feasible, given the timeframes and their human and financial resources, to ask them to produce the museum program documents. I had to take those responsibilities on myself. It made me happy, quite honestly, because the museum program is the bedrock of this doctoral research. I felt very responsible for it. Moreover, I was confident I could deliver the documents quickly, given my experience in the three fields (history, history teaching and museum education). This was not my first museum visit template, even if the requirements and structures may vary from one museum to another. This answer from Natalie helps to better understand the dynamics, that are not always revealed on the spot, through emails or even meetings focusing on efficiency and productivity.

Natalie continued her reflection without me having to ask her a new question. She underlined an important aspect, namely the complexity of navigating between the objectives of university researchers and their agenda, and the missions and daily operations of the museum, which often depend on other services, such as curation or general management. The museum is not a homogeneous block, each service and professional can have various points of view on the priorities, the activities to be favored and the positions of the institution in relation to various (current) subjects. It is then that she recalled a “small methodological issue” with regard to decolonization and indigenization, which we had been confronted with before the implementation of the museum program, three months earlier. Without a resolution, it could have modified in a rather fundamental way the aims of my research. To resolve the situation, it was important for me, the researcher, to reassure the museum, by reaffirming my intentions and the state of research on these questions, in particular to Natalie and Jeanne. When the two of them presented my research to other departments, the McCord Stewart Museum was, at first, a bit reluctant to talk about their process of indigenization during the visit (or any visit to the public). They were not sure it was a good context to discuss these questions. Indeed, the “political” dimension could perhaps create tensions, unpleasant experiences, while the museum aims to foster a positive experience of citizenship and social inclusion. The Education department brought the question to the museum administration. In the end, as Natalie reported, the museum stated that “it was important to be transparent” about their approach to designing exhibitions and their collaborations with Indigenous people. As the researcher, I was relieved by their decision. With consideration to the increasing presence of dialogues with and about Indigenous peoples, and other criticisms of colonialism, that affect all spheres of our Canadian society, to me, the museum had to be ready to provide answers to their visitors, and even be upfront to avoid misunderstanding. Natalie agreed with me:

It made us realize how much we need answers [...] even if we are in the process [of indigenization]. Since we had this conversation with you, and we exposed the problem [to colleagues], the general management said that we have to talk about it [...], that we must appoint where we are, when should we communicate it to the outside world. The Questions & Answers document that we shared with you [...] will [be] use[d] to answer questions, until we have produced another one.

Following this description of how the collaboration unfolded, I asked her how, at the same time, she had found the implementation of the museum program in Sandra's university classroom. Even if she perceived that the activities took place properly, she expressed discomfort with the density of the museum program and time management, which must be reviewed. Her response did not astonish me at this point: Sandra and Antoine-Xavier noted the same weaknesses. However, Natalie focused more on the discourse of her own visit. To her, the presentation of the McCord Stewart Museum indigenization process was too sudden, tucked in at the end of the visit. According to her, with hindsight, "we could have worked differently... I found it ungrateful in a way for all of us". She explained her point of view in this segment:

Because the question of decolonization and indigenization, I find that it can be the state of a complete seminar of several master's sessions... and uh, it's as if I wanted to do justice to the museum... but in the end, that question went by so quickly, indigenization, it was at the end of the scenario. And I saw, after that, that it was confused among the students... it was with university-level students, capable of carrying out critical reflections... so criticism, it was there! At the same time, it was without a good understanding of museums either. I thought it was mixed up in their minds. I have a few regrets. It's a shame, they won't get only positive things (from the visit).

Natalie's observation has made it possible to understand why the museum had been hesitant to talk about their operations beyond the discourse of the exhibition: by allowing a talk about their transformative process, is the museum not exposing itself to criticism on the rendering of their work, their choices, etc. thereby making themselves more vulnerable in the eyes of visitors? Natalie's insight matches my personal observations. As I elicited in the previous section, I had also noted erroneous conceptions, noting that the subject had been broached very quickly. There had been a short presentation on museums and museology during the preliminary visit, but it had not

gone into detail either. Here I wonder if the preliminary reading on citizen museology and the McCord Stewart Museum should have been compulsory before the start of the museum program and if it should have been more integrated into the discussion during the visit and the team discussions.

However, Natalie later elaborated on student learning and what she takes away from this *a priori* disappointment. The downsides still bring something to the table:

At the same time, even if it was not necessarily positive, it was interesting to see their critical thinking. We talked about it again afterwards, you and I [having expressed concern after the visit]: it's normal that indigenization causes a stir. We could have done more, so that there was a real discussion, a real conversation, and so that they [the students] did not stay with their conceptions... my visit [to the exhibition] was not really on that [indigenization] and we had to insert it... the pre and post-visit gave focus to that... whereas the exhibition *Wearing Our Identity* has a discourse on objects. I noticed the gap between these political questions and the exhibition, which presents objects in showcases in a more stigmatized way. We would correct in a future program, that's for sure. We could go and work on this question more within the exhibition itself and the visit discourse.

One of the important elements that she brought out, at that moment, was the fact students manifested critical thinking. Moreover, in this excerpt, she is formulating possible solutions for the future, not for the revision of this program as such, but for their next museum projects. Visitors' criticisms, when they take place in an educational context such as the university setting, may encourage improvement of their professional practices. What may finally come as a surprise is that one of the major strengths of the museum program is what ultimately made her the most uncomfortable: as she declared, the strongest element of the museum program consisted of the addition "of topical issues, processes around cultures, Indigenous issues... [so] that the visit [is] much more suitable for the university public". As a project manager in education, she acknowledged that students must "develop their critical thinking and that it can be done through the discovery of [the indigenization process], which is embodied in the real world". Also, during the interview, she maintained that, theoretically, the program met their educational mission. That

said, she did not think that they would have “gone as far in the process of indigenization...with the exhibition in the visit to the public”. She articulated her view as follows: “We did it because it was with you and in order to play the game. It pushed a goal that was there, but that we wouldn’t have dared to do”. Furthermore, she spoke to me about how the program had fulfilled the mandate of the exhibition, around the valorization of Indigenous cultures. It is “a good check” in terms of the museum objectives.

On another line of thought, Natalie proposed an avenue to better approach critical museology in the museum visit. Perhaps an after-visit panel for the students to discuss with specialists could be added sometimes, because museum guides are not the experts of this type of content? I remark from Natalie’s latter comment that mediation and cultural action is conceived, to her, as being attached to amateur audiences. In fact, this is also what emerges from the literature on museum education, right? So, I ask myself this question: Who is responsible for welcoming and delivering messages to university audiences in museums? The professors? But are they connoisseurs of the speeches of the exhibitions and of the objects? Roundtables with various museum experts sound like a good idea, as long as you do not host many adult groups.

Other recommendations formulated by Natalie pertained to the content. She told me, for example, it would have been a good idea to include more Indigenous peoples in the virtual video, or to take into account the history of the museum institution. The museum program also increased her awareness of the importance of adding pre- and post-visit activities, as she “really saw that it made the key moment of the museum visit more enjoyable”. I took the opportunity to ask her if

she believes it would be feasible or relevant to develop a targeted offer to university students. The question of mastering and deepening content was at the heart of her comment:

It is from a very personal point of view, but also with what experience has taught me or what I have learned in museum education courses: it is difficult for a museum guide to know everything... even whether you have a master's or a doctorate. [...] But the mediators, when they see a university group on their schedule, they are paralyzed, stressed... I experienced it, you think: will they [the students] know more than me? To help me, I always tell myself that I am the specialist in my exhibition. No one knows the objects better than I do. But in practice, there is always frustration on the part of the commentator. The university public who knows more about it and who will dare to ask in-depth questions... It's easy with other categories of people: you adapt to a group in francization by changing your speed of speech and your vocabulary. It is similar with children's classes. With university audiences, it's not the same thing... I was stressed before this museum visit, and it was not my first experience... Well, I still felt in full possession of my capacities.

University groups are therefore frightening. How can we circumvent this issue? Is this a sufficient reason enough to abandon these audiences? She is right on this point: Students, lecturers and professors are not necessarily specialists about the topics found in an exhibition and a museum. Certainly, they have their own field of expertise, but are they able to present the exhibitions with the same details as a guide trained to regularly present the same content? Natalie then has reflected on their current offer: “the university groups, it is as if we considered them as adult visitors by default... so we do not question the pedagogical approaches. How do we address this audience in the context of their courses, how do we train our team, what activities should we prioritize?”. The discussion then took another tangent... with the question that was burning my lips:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 15, 2021.

Emmy: You mention the Zoom platform: Do you think it has changed the visitor experience in any way?

Natalie: Phew, yes big question.

Emmy: You who are a museologist...

Natalie: I have no choice but to say yes. We live with the new normal [the pandemic]. I no longer ask myself these questions, but at the bottom, when we decided to adapt the guided tours to virtuality, I was first skeptical. Luckily, we did it, we continued to bring the museum to life and to reach out to the public. The virtual visit allows for a sensory experience...because it is a bit like going to the museum and meeting me in real. I could even see them [the students]. Uh, the ones with the camera on. Cultural mediation is human-centred.

Emmy: From the other perspective, if we think about the students, is the virtual visit impacting the appropriation of the messages you are conveying?

Natalie: In the museum setting, the students will be following me while they will have a wandering gaze. [...] They will look at another object and listen to me at the same time. There [on Zoom] they are just focused on what they see on the screen and what I say simultaneously. There is a loss, I think. We have integrated meeting rooms for exchanges... but we only exchange with whom we are paired... In the museum, we could have a conversation with a person who is next to us... there is more fluidity and spontaneity.

Natalie answered my question by highlighting social relationships and mobility in the museum, these are the main aspects that she sees as being modified by the online program. However, it does not address whether the Zoom platform affects the meaning given to the collection and the visit's appreciation by visitors, the direct contact with the authentic objects being eliminated.

Natalie also agreed with one of the students, Élizabeth (Team 2), on the question of flexibility and spontaneity of social interactions between visitors. Regarding the implementation of the museum visit into the class, she has found that it was a nice complement, as the history course centered on the political past of Indigenous people in Canada: "Sandra told me, from what I understood, that I brought a 'cultural' competence that she did not have". Natalie also asserted that this program was an interesting opportunity "more specifically for students of history" to familiarize themselves with the potential openings of the job market in history. For future teachers, she believes that they may be more inclined "to bring students when they are teachers". She also revealed to me that visiting a museum is not necessarily an acquired practice for students. Since "it's different from a [regular] lesson, they will remember it more". Pertaining to that affirmation, some students, like Éléonore (Team 1) and Joséphine (Team 3) have also mentioned the exceptional nature of the visit as a factor in memorization and transformation. The teaching assistant, Antoine-Xavier, has also underlined that he now plans to include museum visits in his teaching. Natalie therefore seems to have a fairly good intuition as to the strengths and weaknesses

of the museum program, at the very least, she has shared several points raised by the students and collaborators in my sample.

As with the other collaborators, I then asked Natalie if she had personally learned anything during the research collaboration. On a professional level, the project manager has apparently wondered more about the courses offered at university. She was able to see what they know, what they talk about, what they really think. She even thinks that as a project manager at the museum, she could do more of this exercise, that is, of examining the course offerings and training objectives in university faculties. From a more personal point of view, she has had the opportunity, within this collaboration, to take more ownership of the contents of the exhibition and to work with me within the framework of academic research: “You never have the chance to deepen a content as we did. And I had not had the chance to get involved in a research project. I now know how to articulate it [research collaboration] and it works quite well. It makes you want to pursue other projects like that when you have the opportunity.” In short, Natalie saw her participation in the research project as positive, despite some shortcomings. She has also noticed that the weaknesses allow one to learn and rectify the situation. Mistakes are a source of learning, as they say... and it is probably also through mistakes that we learn the most.

18.4 The Manager of the Education and Cultural Action Department’s Interview

Jeanne and I had mainly spoken to each other before starting the project six months before and, therefore, I was very enthusiastic about the idea of talking to her again at the very end, to get her impressions of the museum program and the unfolding of the collaboration, even though her

role was secondary in the design and implementation (the two phases of the doctoral research). She was the one who, after all, had understood my initial doctoral intentions and had guided me through it at the outset: She had presented me with the range of possibilities but also the constraints of the McCord Stewart Museum with regard to its mission and the partnership that we were setting up. I followed the same interview plan since the general questions once again applied to her participation. First of all, during her interview, Jeanne was quite honest about some misunderstandings that arose. She was of the opinion that “it went well”, but that she had eventually realized that she had not fully understood the context of the research project, believing that the McCord Stewart Museum was an experimentation ground among many; that there were several case studies in my doctoral research. She has understood that the involvement would be greater than she had anticipated after the partnership was initiated. She then admitted to me that it “had been difficult for [her] to balance” their involvement, because they “are not used to working with researchers”. Even more, she told me that we should have taken more time to discuss the expectations when we started, not having realized “that we would go deep into [knowledge], not only into learning techniques”. In short, she had not immediately grasped the magnitude of the doctoral project and the extent of the museum program: the museum “had to delve into the contents”. Surprised by her comments, I thought that her answer deserved some clarification:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 15, 2021.

Emmy: When you say that you are not used to work with academics at the museum, are you talking about the educational department or the whole museum?

Jeanne: We don't have so many museum-university collaborations where we study our programs like that. We're not used to working with researchers... uh, I'm speaking for the educational department as part of a research study. We design [projects] with external partners but never with universities. This raises a lot of questions... and [shows] the importance of your project... there would be things to gain. There were concepts that came out, there was the meeting with the [university] students, there was a pre-visit and a post-visit. We don't always have the time, but it made it possible to validate their importance.

Emmy: And the final product, did it meet your goals?

Jeanne: Of course, the program as such, like the exhibition, is coming to an end... less so. But the experimentation, to understand the groups, the teachers and the students... our museological knowledge, we want to bring it to the teachers. So we had the opportunity to go in that direction [with the doctoral research]. The university public is the one with whom we have the least contact. We have more with primary and secondary... and with francization. To take into account an audience that has a whole wealth of knowledge... it was interesting.

It is significant to note that Jeanne has mentioned, like Natalie, that university audiences are less present in their museums and that there are very few questions about the mediation that suits them. That said, to have participated in my research resulted in a positive endeavor: this possibility of reflecting, of deepening, of questioning their practices... and of validating theoretical elements of museum education that we sometimes tend to neglect, such as the importance of offering pre- and post-visit activities. One thing is sure: Jeanne meets with Sandra and Natalie on the vast amount of time invested by the partners. The museum-university collaboration has required more work than expected, even though I produced a good part of the documents. We can also wonder if limiting the survey field to the McCord Stewart Museum did not create greater pressure and some performance anxiety. The objectives and modalities of my thesis had been approached remotely on Zoom, several months before starting the research project. This may explain that there was a misunderstanding or oversights regarding my goals. Obviously, I wonder if I was perfectly clear in the presentation of my study to her.

Continuing my conversation with her, I wanted to know more about the themes of the museum program, which we had grafted, in the context of the visit intended for a university group in history, and this, by virtue of their educational mission. I interrogated her as follows:

Extract from my transcription of her videorecorded interview for April 15, 2021.

Emmy: The program had two parts, one around the objects and discourses of the exhibition, developed by the museum, and the other around Indigenous perspectives and history education, constituting an addition of our three-way collaboration (museum, history course, university research). We discussed the nature of knowledge, methodology, indigenization and decolonization, touching on what is called the construction of history. Did these topics meet your educational concerns at the museum?

Jeanne: These are questions we are asking ourselves now... We want to be close to the discourse of the exhibition or the institution... then to the meta discourse on the museum or on the communities with which the museum works. So, do our programs have to stick to the message of the exhibition or do we want to address the construction of history and how we make the exhibitions? I don't know if I have the answer, but to establish this distinction, the level we want to reach, in relation to the functions of museums, our relations with partners and stakeholders... it may be interesting to bring this kind of discourse... it can be part of a separate project for a specific audience.

Emmy: This type of offer for postsecondary students or adults, can you consider it?

Jeanne: I think so, we already have a program for university groups, future teachers...it's a tailor-made visit, on the museum, the educational mission. This program goes behind the scenes of the museum, it brings another layer. We don't offer it online, we haven't transposed it [since the pandemic]. We did it in the different spaces [of the museum], for certain people.

I continued by asking her the reasons behind this decision not to offer this visit online. Jeanne replied that the demand was not very high, and that the museum had only offered it a few times, to very targeted groups, such as future teachers in primary or secondary school. So, I wanted to check whether these activities were well known by the intended audience. I knew about the activity for having myself brought my university students in history education to follow this visit a few years before. As for me, I had heard about this activity from my own co-director of research in museum education at UQAM, a person very familiar with this museum and its educational potential. I did not reveal anything to Jeanne, who replied: "Yes, of course you have to know that it exists to come and get it. It's on the [museum's institutional] site, but it's not pushed". Jeanne's comment here echoed Natalie's words about the lack of links with the faculties and the little commitment to make their activities known to these potential university stakeholders.

In the end, the partners all benefited from this doctoral research focused on the development and implementation of a museum program for university students enrolled in an Indigenous history

course. The interviews not only revealed that the recommended approach, at the confluence of several disciplinary fields, worked well, despite a few small challenges that were quickly overcome. The collaborators perceive that their work has borne fruit: the students have retained the messages that seemed important to them, corresponding to the objectives that we had previously identified together, and more. The partners were able to identify points for improvement, which meet our personal observations and those of the students, the convergence of points of view allowing us to define several avenues of orientation. They also formulated new questions useful for the implementation of museum-university collaborations, more generally. Before, however, discussing these aspects in a more personal way, the next section offers an overview of the change in students' historical consciousness throughout the museum program and the development of this study, in order to establish broadly the pedagogical value of the museum in the training of history.

Chapter Nineteen: Discussion on Students' Mobilization of the Historically Effected Consciousness

In this section, I will attempt to synthesize and interpret more globally the results obtained with regard to the initial objectives and the theoretical discussion. First, I will analyse the mobilization of historical consciousness of each student and relate their individual learning to their general appreciation of their participation in the museum program. The change in historical consciousness or absence of it will be scrutinized by regrouping students according to the team assigned, having observed many intergroup similarities, both in terms of learning and satisfaction, as I have argued in the past chapters. To better visualize how historical consciousness manifested for each of them, I have designed tables in which their learning is compartmentalized following the seven designated moments of historical consciousness (HC0-HC6) in my study. This chapter helps to circumscribe the achievement of the museum program in relation to our main goal centered on the educational value of the museum to stimulate their “effected” dimension of historical consciousness, which is tied to multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection.

I want to stress that I am tentatively proposing a qualitative explanation of this change for these students, admitting that there exists no valid assessment tool to assess this “effected” in history education research. Moreover, I prefer to be careful about measurement in education research, which is tied to Western thinking more than the Indigenous methodologies of knowing. I understand mostly this change of historically effected consciousness in relation to the students' own perception of gaining new knowledge from HC0 to HC6, contrasted with my analysis of their expressed comments about their prior knowledge as well as the intended objectives and discourses

of the museum program. My qualification of this change is tied to the quantity and quality of details pertaining to multiperspectivity and metareflection that they each gave me individually (although I do not provide statistics). I also discuss the potential factors influencing these changes to better capture the phenomenon (how university students mobilize and develop the effected dimension of historical consciousness).

According to the definition of the historically effected consciousness (Grever & Andersen, 2019), the students of Team 1, namely Éléonore, Daphné, Charlotte and Julia, seemed to experience, on average, a greater change in their initial representation and a stronger use of the targeted historical consciousness' "competencies". Their responses were, most of the time, sufficiently detailed and nuanced. However, what distinguishes this team above all is the richness and abundance of comments pertaining to broader civic considerations, while adopting an optimistic vision of the museum's process of indigenization and the distinctive elements of discourses that were offered to them. Within this group of young women, Daphné appeared to be the one who knew the most about Indigenous history and museums, through her teaching training in Social Studies and her slightly wider interest in the arts, which may explain why the change of her historical consciousness is less marked in her than her peers. Another notable aspect consists in the quality of the exchanges within their small team: through their different and complementary visions, they perceived that they have enriched their knowledge, thanks to the others. This team also distinguished itself from the lot by their very strong desire to learn. The feeling that these students wanted to seize the opportunities presented to them during the museum program and take away something meaningful was visible; they put a lot of efforts into the discussions. The development of historical consciousness is therefore more noticeable within this team, and this

may be due to a combination of factors, the most important being: interest in the subject; the perception that the museum can help to learn or can play a role for society; and the establishment of a trusting feeling between colleagues. Their zone of proximal development (Vygotsky, Veer & Vasnier, 1994) cannot be ignored either: Éléonore, Charlotte and Julia came in with an average level of knowledge about Indigenous peoples and museums. The activities represented an adequate challenge for them, high enough to be able to reflect individually and collectively, to weave threads with what they already knew, and to transpose the new knowledge in other external contexts, in order to meet the intellectual requirements of their university level.

The meeting points between these four students are important, especially regarding Charlotte and Julia, who have testified to several reflections on teaching in secondary school. Éléonore and Julia are also characterized by sound ethical considerations that aimed far from the goals we had in mind. These two students have also provided more in-depth explanations of the messages delivered and, therefore, their individual learning appears to be more advanced than the other two members. Éléonore and Julia are the students who, arguably, have learned and retained the most in terms of our objectives about multiple perspectives and meta-reflection in history. On the other hand, Charlotte is probably the one who was the most surprised by certain speeches and who seemed the most marked by the questions of restoring the truth in relation to the Indigenous past in our Quebec and Canadian society. She demonstrated the greatest desire for social change towards Indigenous people within her team; the social reflections of Éléonore and Julia were more of a personal nature. Daphné stuck more to her prior knowledge in her post-visit responses, so I am not perceiving as much development in terms of the “effected” dimension of historical consciousness.

The second team was quite involved during the museum activities and had a lot to say about what was going on. The tackling of their historically effected consciousness was almost as strong as the other team, though they came to different conclusions. To my understanding, it is the progression in terms of Indigenous knowledge, from HC0 to HC6, that was minor: Élizabeth and Léo were the students who, according to their statements, learned the least, arriving with extensive prior knowledge. Their understanding of the low level of learning is strongly attached to the fact that they did not learn about Indigenous past, within a clear framework, and that the exhibition was not doing enough to confront or to decolonize, although it talked about the museum's indigenization process. The apparent superficiality of the museum program had an impact on their appreciation, especially Léo's. His satisfaction even decreased over time. Between the after-visit questionnaire and the interview, he produced a paper for Sandra's course about the museum visit, from which he apparently learned more about Indigenous cultures and indigenization, and I can only suspect it explains the stronger disappointment at the end of the research. Élizabeth, for her part, saw the relevance of the museum program for the rest of the group and society, although she did not learn much new information. As for the third colleague, Sam told me that she learned a lot but, at the same time, she said that the museum program did not bring deep learning, as it was too "anecdotal". To some extent, Sam brings here a distinction between her own learning and the general quality of the museum visit, based on what they witnessed from her teammates. I am not sure Sam would have the same discourse if they would have been part of the first team, for instance. Additionally, this observation suggests that Sam is more comfortable with traditional lists and facts. She did not seem to realize that stories, or anecdotes, are the first teachers. This is why we read books or watch movies... or write narratives about the past. They embody interpretations,

and those interpretations are a move beyond fact (White, 1973), which corresponds to the historian's work.

Despite their declared reservations, these students have reinforced their historical effected consciousness, whether they liked it or not. They used a lot of their critical thinking skills to make sense of the questions asked and their experience. Sam seems to have learned substantially, making her own conceptions of the museum discourses about the diversity of Indigenous cultures, and borrowing from her colleagues' criticisms on the superficiality of the exhibition and understanding of the process of indigenization, especially its limitations when tied to the wider decolonization stances. The two older students have used their prior knowledge about Indigenous past and cultures to make sense of what is not persuasive in the making of the exhibition and what is lacking in the museum virtual visit. They were able to transpose concepts that were coming from their academic studies or readings in the context of the museum program. They had different and strong viewpoints within their teams, and they were able to express them, with nuances, although Sam could have talked more at times. In the plenary sessions, they were also contributing to the learning of the rest of the class, the museum and the teacher by their criticisms. Pedagogically speaking, these students did not learn much about Indigenous data (or about what they expected or wanted), but they firmly exercised their know-how to think and know-to-be in a democratic classroom and society, which pertained to the historically effected consciousness. This team mostly exercised their metahistorical reflection, and as I supported before, knowledge transfer, is still learning.

The third team enjoyed their participation in the museum program; they are unanimous and unequivocal. The students claimed to have learned a lot, but Alexis and Joséphine were less clear

about what they learned, especially compared to the other teams. It is very complex to access the change in historically effected consciousness, and it shows that the feeling of learning does not automatically equate concrete learning. Évy was more specific about what she had learned, which can be explained by her training in teaching the Social Studies, making a myriad of connections with her internships during her interview. She felt, however, that she learned less, as the content was mainly aiding her in revising knowledge she already possessed through the Quebec and Canadian history curricula. Her appreciation of the exhibition and the objects remained very high, per contrast with the other teachers in Team 2— Daphné, Léo and Élizabeth. Her interview was a little more nuanced in terms of her level of satisfaction, in contrast to her post-visit questionnaire. As for Alexis and Joséphine, they paid more attention to explaining what they had liked about the museum program during their personalized interview than to recalling specific elements of the discourse. Alexis especially remembered the objects they knew about before her participation, such as the ulu, associated with a family memory, whereas Joséphine dwelt more on the most “appealing” objects. Their understanding of the McCord Stewart Museum’s cultural diversity and indigenization is quite positive, their testimonials sharing many similarities with those of Team 1. From the very first activity, their keywords had a less critical and postcolonial resonance than the other two teams. Joséphine attested to the fact that she loved visiting museums, and Alexis visited several times a month; they were among the students who visit Montreal exhibitions the most. Is this why it is more natural to her to focus more on their appreciation of the visit? Their learning appeared to be less in-depth than that of the first team, despite an even greater degree of appreciation. So, one might wonder about these distinctions. I also ponder about their team discussions: In the breakout rooms, the students talked a little less, had more difficulty understanding the questions, and then drew fewer parallels with their professional lives. Évy

thought their discussions were a bit long, sometimes. The discussions were less lively and, as Team 1 suggested (and along with the abundant research on socio-constructivism), we remember above all the conversations we had with our classmates, is this right?

In light of this final overview of students' learning, the development of historical consciousness has been more marked during certain times of the museum program and research activities. The before-visit activity, with the concept maps, the museum visit as well as its related activity in the breakout room (In the shoes of the Museologists) were the most helpful not only in developing students' comprehension of the museum exhibition but making students more conscious of their own evolution (metacognition). From my perspective as the researcher, the post-visit questionnaire and interviews were necessary to fully comprehend the nature and extent of learning, which may take various forms and exceed our expectations. Although the program was not seen as perfect, students generally appreciated the exhibition and the efforts put to make it interesting. There is also a correlation between the level of prior knowledge and their degree of satisfaction at the end of the program. The proposal did not please the students who knew more about the Indigenous past and decolonization. The problem seems less the reflective questions than the attention given to the discourses around the objects: it could have been more thorough, political, controversial. There were some questions, such as the one about the renewal of the exhibition, and the post-visit activity, which, according to some students were ambiguous. Identities seem to have played a certain role in the degree of learning, but not necessarily in their preconceptions of the museum or history. It is their professional training and their real-life experiences that most impacted the reception and appreciation. Overall, the museum program was liked, and the majority of the students showed a change in their historical consciousness. Their

learning was not revolutionary and life-transforming (the students did not leave feeling that they were in total shock about what they learned or that they will take clear action towards the inclusion of Indigenous communities), but the museum program had good pedagogical value to nine out of ten of the students, so I can say that it supported our doctoral objectives. Even when students did not really enjoy it, they had the occasion to work on the competencies of multiperspectivity and historical consciousness, through active critical thinking, prior knowledge being applied to a new territory, the museum. In the next pages, I have produced three tables that reveal the mobilization of each student's historical consciousness during the whole museum program, from HC0 to HC6.

Table 13: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 1)

Student's name	HC1 (before-visit activity: concept map)	HC2 (before-visit activity: CVR)	HC3 (museum visit)	HC4 (questionnaire)	HC5 (post-visit activity)	HC6 (interview)
Éléonore	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Critical vision of Canada's history •Acknowledgement of historical injustice towards Indigenous people •Existence of inequalities between Settlers and Indigenous peoples up to this day 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Museums need to give Indigenous people a place in history museums as well as through arts. •They must value their traditional ways of doing, protect their skills. •They must hire and collaborate more with communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •They discussed mostly on the parka and the headdress. •They were preoccupied by the question of deconstructing stereotypes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She does not visit museums much. •She liked the map, the form of the exhibition and the parka made to look like a caribou: it is in line with the Indigenous perspectives. •She believed that art should educate the public and that the exhibition does this. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •They learned about clothing and know-how, but mostly about indigenization and museums. •Museologists and historians have complementary roles, although their respective functions still appear blurry. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She remembered the parka and headdress, as they chose these objects during the museum activity. •She has learned about the diversity of cultures and indigenization. •She recognized the importance of historical imagination. •She proposed strong ethical considerations about land and clothing.
Daphné	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Short definitions History as scientific; Museums as a space to learn about heritage. 			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She loves going to the museum. •She appreciated that the objects were serving Indigenous purposes. •She enjoyed mostly the discussions with her colleagues because they were meta-reflective. •Time was the principal issue. •Her perception of Indigenous people did not change. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She mostly remembered the objects that she knew before, such as the moccasins. •She preferred the museum visit on site than the virtual version. •She enjoyed the team activities in the breakout rooms.
Charlotte				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She visits museums a few times a year. •She enjoyed the museum visit, but interesting would have preferred to see it on site. •The video with commentary recreates part of the experience, so interesting; enjoyed small-group discussions, getting colleagues' points of view. •The exhibition gives a better understanding and raises awareness about Indigenous peoples. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She enjoyed the visit very much. •She remembered more the activities than the objects. •Her perception of Indigenous peoples has changed (diversity). •She felt like public schools do not teach the truth about Indigenous peoples. •She talked a lot about her experience with her mother-in-law. •She learned a lot from the team.
Julia				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She found the exhibition to be in keeping with what seems to be a real desire to respect the history of indigenous peoples. •She felt that they had some very rich discussions, teaching us a lot about other people's perspectives and how reality plays out in secondary schools, for example. •She learned about the objects with specific details but also indigenization at the McCord Stewart Museum. •She thought the level of knowledge was adequate and that it was not long enough. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She remembered the parka, amauti, moccasins, as well as the discourses around these objects. •She mostly learned about indigenization. •She enjoyed the visit very much. •Her perception did not change about Indigenous cultures, but she knows more about their material lives and traditions. •The discussions with her colleagues are what she preferred the most. •She talked about her experience in another university course. •She presented ethical considerations about clothing, transport, meat. •She wanted to visit museums more.

Table 14: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 2)

Student's name	HC1 (before-visit activity: concept map)	HC2 (before-visit activity: CVR)	HC3 (museum visit)	HC4 (questionnaire)	HC5 (post-visit activity)	HC6 (interview)
Élizabeth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Critical vision of Canada's history •Acknowledgement of historical injustice and racism towards Indigenous people •Detailed definitions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -History of the victors (biased) -Museums representing a danger of misrepresentation/ instrumentalization 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Museums should be about transparency and respect of Indigenous perspectives. •They must avoid homogenization of cultures. •They should collaborate with communities, but they must not impose. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •They focused on the amauti, mocassins and Nadia Myre's artwork •They felt that there was no thread in the exhibition. •The proposal is still coming from a colonialist perspective. •The museum cannot decolonize itself. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She liked the visit, but it was too much coverage superficial (too much coverage) •There was no guiding line in the exhibition. •There was no "confrontation" even if Indigenous perspectives are integrated. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •They did not learn much about Indigenous cultures. •Objects were decontextualized. •Clothing is not the best medium to talk about identities. •Historians and museologists must work together. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •She remembered a lot of the objects because she knew a few prior to the visit. •She thought it was relevant for the students who did not have as much knowledge. •She offered ethical and pedagogical considerations about social inclusion and decolonization. •She talked about her museum experience with a friend. •She is optimistic about decolonization. •She believes in the museum education mission.
Léo				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •He enjoyed the exhibition, but it was too conceptual. •He decried that it didn't tackle colonialism more openly. •He felt instructions were lacking during the group activities. •The greater strength was in the understanding the functions of history and the museum for society. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •He did not really enjoy the museum experience overall. •The visit was too anecdotic. •He did not learn anything. The essay is what really contributed to new knowledge. •The commentary did not help to understand the <i>history</i> of Indigenous peoples. •The relationship between the museum program and his history course was not sufficiently exposed.
Sam				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The museum visit was a pleasant surprise. •Her attention maintained during the visit because the live commentary was relatively short and filled with beautiful images and music. •Questions were good, encouraging critical perspective, in keeping with the democratization of the museum. •She felt she learned a lot about the objects, the diversity of cultures and indigenization 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •They learned about various objects and that there exists a variety of Indigenous cultures. •They understood the importance of deconstructing stereotypes. •They learned a lot about indigenization. •The exhibition was too superficial and anecdotic. •Their team discussions were often on the downsides, because her colleagues knew more about Indigenous' past. •They talked about the museum and the exhibition to their student.

Table 15: Historically effected consciousness throughout the museum program (Team 3)

Student's name	HC1 (before-visit activity: concept map)	HC2 (before-visit activity: CVR)	HC3 (museum visit)	HC4 (questionnaire)	HC5 (post-visit activity)	HC6 (interview)
Alexis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> History as war, genocide, politics; as repeating itself. Canada = French and English divide, and immigration. Indigenous peoples: culture, pride, resilience. Museum: culture, learning, pleasure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> They stressed the importance of the museum presenting up-to-date data. The museum must hire Indigenous peoples. They must develop partnerships. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Their conversation was about the chief headdress and amauti. The museum helps to the deconstruction of traditional perceptions, highlights diversity, Indigenous resilience. The exhibition augments the awareness of clothing in the definition of the Indigenous identity. The exhibition is representative of perspectives because inclusion in the exhibition design and discourses. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Her museum attendance is high: once a month. She liked that the camera was showing the objects from diverse angles. She enjoyed the interactivity of the museum visit. She remembered the ulu because her grand father had one. She liked that the museum visit was offered online despite the museum closure. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historians think and write history from a highly political perspective, based mainly on written documents. Museologists, on the other hand, draw on a wider range of sources, addressing different aspects of history (cultural, social, technological, etc.). Both approach history, so the subject matter remains the same, but the approach changes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She remembered the map, the moccasins, the objects associated to women, the form of the exhibition (circle). She preferred the privileged access to the museum project manager, who well explained indigenization. The exhibition helped her to understand the abstract concepts of her history course. The post-visit activity was the least interesting. She discussed the exhibition with her coworkers.
Joséphine				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Her museum attendance is 3-4 times per year. She was able to see the details on the objects. She liked that they visited the museum from home and despite its closure. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She reminded the most "appealing" objects: the headdress, parka, amauti. She enjoyed the most the fact that the visit aided in deconstructing stereotypes. The exhibition made the course learning more concrete. The visit was going too fast. She would have preferred to visit the museum on site. She talked about the museum with her family.
Évy				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She did not visit museums very often. She found the presentation magnificent, rich in information, interesting and clothing was a surprising theme to approach Indigenous cultures. An on-site visit would have been more stimulating, but time is often lacking. Activities helped to reflect despite the hour and fatigue. She learned about the ulu, museum education and the process of indigenization. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> She recalled regalia clothing, parka and headdress. Time management should be revised. She liked the cultural approach to Indigenous past, which is complementary to her history course. Virtual visits may support teaching at the elementary and secondary levels

Chapter Twenty: Discussion on Museum-University Collaboration and Recommendations

From the analysis of my results, a few observations emerge in relation to the museum-university collaboration within the framework of this doctoral study. The partners of the McCord Stewart Museum and UQAM, as well as the students who took part in this research, expressed strengths and weaknesses about the performance of my collaborators and the museum program implemented. These are converging in many respects, and the observations lead to some conclusions specific to this project. Questions also arise from a more personal stance. As the researcher, I also observed and noticed things that have been done efficiently, even magnificently, and others that would need to be changed; I have sometimes nuanced the perceptions of the participants in my notes, but I have rarely invalidated them. There was always some truth to it. Having actively taken part in the design of the museum program, coordinated meetings with partners, attended all collaborators' presentations and student exchanges, and conducted the final interviews, my thoughts on how it unfolded cannot be ignored at this point. Thus, I intend to elaborate on them in this chapter. Having painted a portrait of the participants' experiences, relying first and foremost on the data provided by them, I feel more comfortable to comment on what I retain at this stage, according to my initial objectives, and also in the light of my new questions and discoveries. I am, moreover, guided by my theoretical and practical knowledge of museum and postsecondary environments in history and didactics.

The first phase, the design of the museum program, although relatively short and completed in less than three months, went smoothly and efficiently. It was easy to discuss between partners, and they were responding to my emails quickly. Everyone brought their ideas and voices to the “virtual” table. On the whole, the parties shared the same vision of the museum program to be produced. They conceived my academic research as a breeding ground for experimentation where everyone would benefit (intellectual and professional spin-offs). There was not much at stake during this phase. However, with hindsight, after the start of the second phase of the research, it nevertheless emerged that the objectives of the doctoral project and the expectations in terms of time could have been further clarified initially, as Jeanne, Natalie and Sandra stipulated in their final interview. In my defense, my partners have been made aware of my objectives, through a consent letter, an introductory Zoom meeting where I offered a formal presentation of my doctoral project, which was supported by slides, and a work calendar. But three months approximately separated the presentation of my objectives and the design of the museum program. Additionally, certain tasks were more demanding than anticipated, and the partners invested more time than expected. I had neglected, for example, the fact that it would be necessary to go back and forth between museum professionals from different departments to validate certain discourses. The preparation for teaching and the museum visit was perhaps the responsibility most underestimated by the collaborators and me. Despite the anxiety shown by the collaborators during the final interviews, I would like to emphasize, at this stage, that I was not disappointed by my partners, because I had understood the workload associated with their job. I teach at the university as a course lecturer, and I have performed similar functions to that of the project manager in another history museum in Montreal for several years. It seemed completely normal for me to produce the documents (mostly write and adapt scripts), and I felt very comfortable. I admit,

however, that I felt a little uncomfortable when the museum was no longer sure if it wanted to address indigenization during the museum visit, since I thought that this objective associated with my thesis had been understood. I then met Jeanne and Natalie together online to talk about this issue. We listened to each other, we clarified our aims and I tried to reassure them by highlighting the importance and the potential social and educational benefits of including this topic in a museum visit for university students. We therefore included the process of indigenization in the museum program and this decision was not regretted, although a few students critiqued some of the museum's weaknesses. Following this little imbroglio, it is clear to me now that it is very important to restate our doctoral intentions with our partners from time to time. As a recommendation, I also wonder if it would not be better to introduce oneself and the proposed research to the people responsible for the other departments. The lack of comprehension that happened along the way, between the museum and me, could have been an obstacle to the whole progress of my case study. I learned that the education department does not work in isolation as well and that it requires frequent support in validating the knowledge transmitted around the objects. As an external party, it must be kept in mind that the museum remains an entity composed of complementary blocks that work towards a common mission, but which may have divergent interests and points of view on the means to be taken to achieve it (Le Marec, 2002). As part of my research, I brought a new discourse about indigenization, a topical one, within their museum visit, and it required the attention of other experts and the approval of higher management. This is also an aspect that was little looked at by me initially.

In fact, it appears that this type of museum-university collaboration in which one develops, implements and evaluates a product can only work if the parties are ready to invest a good number

of hours. In an ideal partnership, funding would support the project, from the researcher and the museum. Otherwise, as was necessary for the completion of my doctorate, the researcher must acquire or already possess the knowledge to develop activities and documents. At this level, not only is the task intellectually demanding, but it also requires great confidence on the part of the partners, which fortunately I was blessed with for my case study. From the outset, it is important to precisely identify the objectives, expectations and resources (human, material, financial) of the parties and, in the event of tension or dissonance, the researcher must be able to suggest solutions, and this, by being conciliatory and diplomatic. It is also appropriate to be flexible with deadlines and to be patient while waiting for approval or answers to questions, especially from the side of museum professionals, who are simultaneously invested in daily operations and other development projects. In the context of this doctoral study, I received a lot of consideration from the McCord Stewart Museum, as well as from the course lecturer, Sandra, which also explains why the program was ready on time and worked well with the university class. I had open-minded and adventurous partners, which made it possible to carry out a museum program linked to current research in the fields of history, history teaching, museum education and Indigenous methodologies. It was not necessarily easy to reconcile everything in theory at first, but also... in practice.

Regarding the implementation of the museum program and its reception by the students, it appears that the museum visit as a pedagogical strategy at the university was greatly appreciated by the majority of the participants. First, the museum visit makes it possible to concretize lessons more attached to the chronology of events or to abstract concepts in history. Whether the objects are aesthetically appealing or relate to affective functions of Indigenous life, or because the exhibit

does not hide a difficult truth, it presented a Canadian past tainted by colonialism and not an idyllic vision of relations between Whites and Indigenous. The students were touched, surprised, sometimes destabilized, which not only increased the acquisition of new knowledge, but also their motivation and their commitment to the activities in small groups. In this sense, this finding is in line with research on museums and the learning of history on the impact that a more embodied teaching of the past can have and the unraveling of false truths that “shock” (although it did not completely revolutionize their prior conceptions in our case). Thus, impressed by the cultural objects and current works of art produced, sensitized by the political and social issues brought to the fore, the students better understood and retained the central ideas the exhibition. Group learning activities made it possible to better retain new information, to recall and consolidate their previous knowledge and to create broader connections with their own lives, their professional fields and society. Some students revealed that they mainly remember these exchanges, which occurred in teams, and if they did not admit it, inter-group similarities suggest that peers more permanently influenced perceptions, points of view and learning. This is what emerges during the individual end-of-program interviews. Collaborators also found that cooperative activities allowed students to stay active and express themselves more freely than in the classroom. They were also very good in grasping the impact of their teaching or speeches as well as intuitively identify what was not understood.

During the interviews with the collaborators, I also noticed that the more critical comments of the students disconcerted the teacher, Sandra and the project manager, Natalie, causing them to doubt their performance a little. Despite a general appreciation of the students for their participation in the museum program (only one student in ten was really disappointed), the

collaborators seemed worried about their contribution and their remarks focused on the elements to be improved more than on the strong points. This is human nature for many of us. Did the reviews slightly alter their overall sense of satisfaction? When we look at the assessment questionnaires and the student interviews, it is mainly trivial aspects that are pointed out: the user-friendliness of the platform and the material resources, the lack of instructions offered or time for the activities. They greatly appreciated Natalie's commentary during the visit and felt lucky to have access to this exhibit during the pandemic. The teaching was more dynamic, and the museum visit provided additional knowledge to the course. They wondered about history and its dissemination, the functions and aims of a social history museum, the process of indigenization in the postmodern and decolonial era, themes with which they were not at all familiar, for the most part. Some have developed the desire to talk about their visit experience to those around them and intend to make them aware of Aboriginal stories and cultures. This may have stimulated, as we hoped, the desire to go on cultural outings, for themselves, with their family or their students. This program can therefore have a very broad impact. Students left this university course with a taste for deconstructing stereotypes and re-establishing certain facts relating to the Indigenous past, which is not insignificant, every action counts. In short, I see criticism as constructive, within the framework of this museum-university partnership, but we must also be wary of it, which can sometimes mislead our perceptions of the real impact of our actions, or even discourage us from pursuing collaborations or to experiment in teaching.

The biggest disappointment conveyed to me by the participating students, but which we could not remedy, was the impossibility for them to visit the museum on site. Obviously, it would be difficult to consider this desire to walk through the exhibition and contemplate the objects as a

real weakness of the museum program⁷³. This mention suggests that the exhibition or the virtual visit has captured their interest and that the museum space, the medium of the exhibition, is not so easily replaced by virtual capsules or pre-recorded videos, even if experts come to comment on them, synchronously or asynchronously. This meets the literature once again on the predominance of the real museum experience for most people (Terrisse, 2013, p. 25). The fact of living a unique and authentic experience, for the students, to see, to move, to manipulate... these remain highly appreciable educational approaches even at university. In fact, the most justified criticism from students concerned the lack of attention paid to historical, aesthetic, cultural, social or political knowledge on the objects themselves, if we exclude some limits associated with a process of indigenization and of decolonization for a Western institution like the museum. If disciplinary knowledge was less present, on the other hand, it is also due to the short time allocated to the visit itself on the Zoom platform and within the time slot of the university course. The lesson to be learned: With university groups, perhaps it is better for a museum to determine a single, specific objective, on which we graft an in-depth discourse around a small number of objects. History educators tend to promote this historical approach for younger students.

I now come to the questions concerning what Quebec museums offer. McCord Stewart Museum contributors have pointed out that their educational mission is not aimed specifically at academic audiences. There are differences in a university's educational goals and those of a museum. As Natalie explained, requests from academia are infrequent, and mediators worry about their level of expertise in dealing with a more knowledgeable public. I wonder: are we not neglecting a very important public by not targeting university visitors more systematically? It is

⁷³ Even in "normal" times, it would have been impossible to have a class of 75 students visit, together, in-person. So, for such a large class, a different strategy would have had to be developed to accommodate in-person visits.

an audience potentially sensitive to lifelong learning and culture. They are the ones who can ask the more complex questions, in order to optimize our practices. They are the future professionals in the cultural but also social fields of work, as we saw with our selected class of 75 students enrolled in various academic programs. They are the ones who can choose to take their students or their clienteles to the museum (e.g., groups of immigrants, groups in francization, groups of individuals with physical or intellectual disabilities, groups of women, groups in social rehabilitation). They are the ones who will have the most influence in society in the years to come. For a museum of history and citizenship... wouldn't intervening with these expert audiences be an excellent way to fulfill its educational and cultural action mission? The museum contributes even more to intellectual training and the development of critical thinking among these young adults; it develops historical consciousness, that is, their ability to define and orient themselves over time, their understanding of the historical method, and other civic and interpersonal aptitudes. In this case study, this historical consciousness was strongly focused on others and social inclusion and, therefore, they were able to work on their democratic skills, all because the museum manages to strike a chord...much more than a flat presentation projected onto a canvas at the front of the class, as evidenced too by the prior abundant literature on museum experience (Smith, 2006; Dufresne-Tassé, 1996; Hein, 1998).

One of the museum's strengths is, indeed, its ability to bridge the gap between education and society. I don't think we should leave museum visits in the hands of professors and lecturers, who despite being highly specialized in their field, are not necessarily experts in all the objects and information available in an exhibition. This is all the truer if the teacher chooses to visit an exhibition outside his or her disciplinary field. For example, will a historian who decides to take

history students to an art museum really be able to explain the paintings on display in front of him... not all of them, anyway? And certainly not without a short visit, research and study session beforehand, which is energy-consuming. Perhaps this partly explains the low attendance of university groups. What if museums created a bigger opportunity for post-secondary groups, and solicited professors and course lecturers more, through e-mails and posters, as they do for primary and secondary audiences? Let's not forget that Sandra and Antoine-Xavier would never have thought of including a museum visit if I had not approached them for this research.

Among the partners' recommendations, Natalie suggested organizing expert panels to address complex issues about decolonization and indigenization. The idea is good as long as the demand is not too great. Otherwise, I wonder if the production of additional capsules by these experts, which can be attached to the visit, not be a possible avenue. Could these experts not provide more training to mediators concerning, for example, the collection of the museum? One thing seems to have been confirmed: The study of simplified scenarios, especially those intended for the public, does not allow mediators to be sufficiently prepared and ready to face university groups, especially students like Léo. Moreover, the live video also greatly appealed to students who lived further from the center. Could museums also create more virtual tours of the exhibit to reach groups from other cities? There is a lot of under-exploited potential with university groups, but also adults in general. In short, the case study and the interviews with the collaborators lead us to propose some ideas or recommendations.

Alignment between theory and practice is one of the fundamental concerns that I have in light of this research. Students who possessed a sound knowledge about history, colonialism and

decolonization were very critical of the museum. These visitors are not, however, necessarily knowledgeable about the museum and teaching constraints. To me, it was important to try, even if the results can be sometimes disappointing. There is no “ideal” environment or project, we are constantly confronted with historical, administrative, human, financial and temporal constraints. As part of this research, I tried to amalgamate knowledge in the field of history, history education, museum education, critical museology and Indigenous research. There were already, from strictly a theoretical point of view, several points of tension between these related disciplinary fields. Then, when one goes with all these ideas to collaborate with individuals and fields of inquiry, with a number of specific requirements, over which one has very little influence, compromises become essential because ultimately, we want to leave a production that is interesting for students or audiences, respectful of everyone’s expectations and effective in terms of deadlines. This is probably the aspect that made me the most anxious as a researcher in this doctoral project. The elements of compromise will probably be exposed to criticism, which can affect the credibility of the participants and their very willingness to dare, to take risks, to experiment in the future. In this study, the question of indigenization and decolonization made the museum partner cautious... and I understood this reaction. The theme has a strong political content and can elicit varied reactions from visitors.

I had my own apprehensions. The methodologies I followed can also be questioned. For example, I am not a member of an Indigenous community, and my main collaborators are not either. My approach remained closely linked to the ways of conducting research in the West. The program did not highlight the traumas associated with colonialism and racism. Nor was there much talk about land claims during the visit. The very institution of the museum, whose function

is to preserve and represent cultures, can even lose a great deal of legitimacy as an instrument of decolonization, as long as it is qualified as a Western invention and above all... as a Westernizing technology⁷⁴. The university also has a set of standards for certification that have little to do with Indigenous conceptions of education. The most critical student who did not appreciate the museum program had a speech that went in this direction. Even if it is intellectually justified, I believe that these more categorical positions – on what must be done and how it should be done, otherwise it is not good or acceptable – risk creating feelings of frustration among individuals generally and, among education professionals in particular.

I do not necessarily have the answers to everything, but I believe that benevolence, generosity, transparency combined to the adoption of a critical stance toward the past are the best set of tools we all need, to continue to move forward and to promote respect and mutual aid in Quebec and Canadian society. My vision is not to be completely detached nor forget, nor to deny the present, nor to drop one's political positions. It is in the embrace of an investigator's gaze before investing the role of the judge in the analysis of the past and present. It is about not reducing

⁷⁴Surely, these students would acknowledge the existence of museums worldwide nowadays. That is also true that the museum as an institution is born in the 18th century in Europe (Poulot, 1983) and that they have been “westernizing” wherever they were opened in the West and their colonies through the transmission of the accepted values of the time by the elite classes. However, we can also tie the origins of museums to the act of collecting, which has not been exclusive to the Western part of the world. Pomian (1978) retraced the first collections as far back as the burials of individuals with objects in Mesopotamia. A brief look at Asia suggests also that collecting objects has existed for millennia as well. For instance, the Terracotta Army is a collection of terracotta sculptures representing the armies of Qin Shi Huang, the first emperor of China. These were buried with the emperor in 210–209 BCE to protect him in the afterlife. If we have a look at other areas of the world, the first museums in Asia, established in the 1870's, were indeed influenced by the Western models. Chinese and Japanese visitors in Europe at that time were impressed by the new museums and they implemented the idea in their countries. But one question remains: was this necessarily a bad thing? For more information on the history of museums in Asia, see Wan-Chen Chang (2012). A cross-cultural perspective on musealization: the museum's reception by China and Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century. *Museum and Society*, 10, 15-27.

the past to simplistic dichotomies. Yes, our Western institutions have been tainted by colonialism and racism and the story is not pretty. Yes, the museum has certainly caused harm in the past with certain exhibitions, ethnological for example, when it came to showing the supremacy of the white race vis-à-vis other cultures deemed exotic. Yes, in the name of history, there has been propaganda and abuse that has fueled ethnic tensions and wars. But let us be careful: Western institutions related to the development and transmission of knowledge have been extremely beneficial to our understanding of the world and to the improvement of living conditions in history and they still have their relevance for changing things. They have just as much power to transform themselves. The museum remains one of the most important vectors of conservation, preservation, research and education for society. It is through these activities that we decide what deserves to be preserved and bequeathed to future generations.

Chapter Twenty-One: Conclusion

This doctoral study has examined how learning occurred in a university-level history class while attempting to assess, simultaneously, the pedagogical value of a museum program aiming at developing students' historical consciousness. Based on a recent proposal in the field of history education, which tried to extend the conceptual frameworks of history education to non-Western cultures, including Indigenous perspectives about the past, the mobilization of historical consciousness became associated with an effected dimension. This notion originates from the German tradition in history, philosophy and education. Initially introduced by philosopher of history, Hans Georg Gadamer (1963), historically effected consciousness was only recently operationalized in history education by Dutch researchers Grever and Adriaansen (2019). The study addressed two "competencies" emerging from the effected condition, that is, multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection. As suggested by the Dutch scholars, the development of these competencies promote an understanding that both historical process (methods) and interpretations (results) have "historicity" themselves. In other words, those competencies support students' "critical" thinking about the past (their meaning-making and recourse of history). My doctoral study was aligned with current objectives of history education in higher education that address issues of decolonization in Canada and elsewhere. The study also drew extensively upon the abundant literature on history education, especially from the sociocultural orientation, which has stressed, over the last two decades, the importance of attention to identities and uses of history in students' construction of historical knowledge.

Central to the study was the introduction of non-Western narratives about the past, perspectives on time and historical practice, to students enrolled in the course. The intent of this introduction was to stimulate the historically effected consciousness, as suggested by Grever and Adriaansen (2019). Indigenous history in Canada was selected as the exploratory historical topic, for two reasons. Based on my prior academic and professional experiences, I am very sensitive to Quebec's history and culture. I was hoping, with this doctorate, to participate in the advancement of the historical discipline and history education, as our narratives about who we are and where we are going, both at the individual and societal levels, may impact the wealth of our democratic institutions and decisions. By extension, my study has a lot to do with social inclusion and justice. More concretely, it seemed important to me to contribute to Indigenous visibility in Quebec— to make their past, contemporary fights and socioeconomic challenges understood through their own perspectives—that is, a teaching of history that would be attuned to Indigenous research.

It has been a very complex but satisfying intellectual task to bring together what looked, at first, not very compatible fields of research, philosophically speaking, such as Western history education, rooted in the modern rationalistic (and colonial) project, and critical Indigenous pedagogy, affiliated to the postmodern (and postcolonial) paradigm. Since I embarked on this doctoral journey, in 2017, I have noticed a growing literature coming from settler researchers that has started to build bridges between history education and Indigenous research. I see these attempts as another kind of political and educational reconciliation in Canada, and internationally; this is quite promising. I believe that the “testing” of the historically effected consciousness, theoretically exposed by the Dutch academics, is one of the nicest contributions of this study. Intellectually, it gives tools to reflect on history education researchers. Practically, my study offers

new and concrete orientations to history professors and instructors at university., In Quebec, it could also inform CEGEP history teachers⁷⁵.

My research investigated higher education practice, more specifically, students' history education and their learning. I observed, in the first part of this dissertation, that the literature on the teaching of post-secondary history education is almost non-existent, as historians tend to see their task as contributing to historical data; and history education researchers have focused mainly on teaching practices with students at the elementary and high school levels. My study has, thus, attempted to fill a lacuna in the post-secondary history education field while at the same time, helping to create a link between two disciplines—history and education. I have shown with this study that the didactic frameworks from history education can be translated to higher education history students. This research has demonstrated that identities and emotions, not only affect the building of knowledge in children and teenagers, but also in more mature adult students enrolled in higher education. How people make sense of the past, as it has been revealed from the sociocultural lens, is not completely different whether one is young or older (Conrad and al. 2013). Thus, one contribution of this study addresses the desirability for more embodied pedagogical practice among historians. There is a need to pursue more theoretical and qualitative research involving history professors and their university students.

⁷⁵CEGEP is an acronym from the French term: Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel, which means General and professional teaching college. In Quebec, they are mainly public schools that provide the first level of post-secondary education. The pre-university and programs lead to a Diploma of College Studies (DSC), better known by its French name and acronym *Diplôme d'études collégiales* (DEC).

My dissertation finds originality, too, in connecting history education and higher education with museum education research and practice. As this study confirmed, museum education is not as close with university students as it is with younger students and community groups. Conventionally, or perhaps since the rise of the museum studies field in the 1980's, their mission has been associated with the popularization of heretofore specialized knowledge. This focus, however, appears to concern history museums and history education research more than, for instance, art museums and art education research, which has devoted more attention to undergraduate students and adult learning.

In the 19th century, many museums affiliated with university campuses to assist teaching and learning were created, thus pointing to the potential contributions of the “concrete” and “embodied” to learning situations”. The McCord Stewart Museum and its initial affiliations with McGill University is one early example of such collaboration. Thus, the current divide between the university classroom and museum gallery appears to be an unfortunate development, perhaps an aberration. In this study, I have shown that the McCord Stewart museum's education program was able, on the whole, to sustain university students' efforts in mobilizing the historically effected consciousness; and the implementation of the museum program developed by the collaboration proved to be particularly conducive to enhanced learning.

Conducted virtually, my research had two parts: the collaborative design of the museum program and its implementation to the university classroom. In the first stage, the museum-university collaboration was initiated to develop the online 3-phase museum program in accordance with the parties' complementary educational objectives (museum, history course

instructor, doctoral researcher). The museum program aligned with foundational museum education models of learning, the operationalization of the “effected” dimension of historical consciousness and critical Indigenous pedagogy. The theoretical model for museum education in the historical classroom that I conceived (p. 123) helped bring the principles from these fields together and oriented the conception of the museum discourses and activities, with various questions regrouped and categorized around the concepts of metahistorical reflection and multiperspectivity. It provides a good pedagogical instrument for guiding teachers and museum professionals in their respective tasks.

In the second stage of my case study, the course lecturer, with her UQAM group of students, enrolled in various academic programs in the social studies (such as history, history education, Indigenous studies, immigration studies and communication) participated in the 3-phase museum program. Conceived around the visit of the exhibition *Wearing Our Identity. The First People Collection*, the museum visit was presented by the McCord Stewart Museum’s project manager. As a central objective to my doctoral research, I carefully examined how students tackled multiperspectivity and metahistorical reflection at each step and tried to clarify to what extent, through a detailed qualitative endeavour, students have built new historical meaning. The assessment of the student participants’ learning was used to establish the relevance of the collaborative museum program in the attainment of my historical objectives and the collaborators’ educational agendas. The study attests to the fact that students have learned about Indigenous clothing and its significance in various cultures; most of the students would not have been able to identify the names and functions of objects prior to the visit. They were able to visualize and seize differences between the objects, which made them realize that there was more diversity of cultures

among the Indigenous people than they had imagined previously. A team of students was, however, critical of the museum visit, depreciating the fact that there were too many objects from too many territories and peoples, leading to a shortage of consistency and orientation in the discourses. A few students asserted that Indigenous peoples were not visible enough in the virtual video of the exhibition. Their examination of multiple perspectives would probably have been more developed otherwise. This competency of looking at other viewpoints have however very well been tackled through peer discussions and students' individual open mindedness to new or ideas different from theirs. Most definitely, it was one of the strengths of the museum program. If history education hopes to contribute to civics and ethics, discussing Indigenous people's past through museum objects, curation and indigenization/decolonization of our Western institutions with their university colleagues, in presence of history and museum experts, is one way to do so.

In short, interacting with the museum artifacts, even virtually, did foster students' metahistorical reflection and empathy toward Indigenous people in Canada. The program gave importance to the concept of culture and preservation of artefacts. The discussions went well beyond the museum and historical fields, with students often linking the discourses to their outside professional or personal lives. The museum is educating people about the past in the society. The emphasis on the museum's civic, educational and social mission made them realize that our historical narratives, spreading through the various social and political institutions, affect social justice and equity for the Indigenous people, but also many other groups, such as immigrants. Some students even reflected on their own values and showed sensitivity in integrating Indigenous perspectives on nature into their reality. The museum proposal furthered, in a couple of students, their desire to visit museums or to learn history through a cultural lens. This suggests, to me, that

museum exploration may help break the familiar notion in students, even at the university level, that what counts as history refers (principally) to the succession of the important events, generally from the political angle, that lead to our contemporary society.

Their commentaries on the museum experience were also another component that deserved particular attention in my analysis. The fact that they enjoyed, or not, the exhibition's museography and selection of objects or its discourses, the designed museum program's activities and their social interactions with the other students or experts have impacted students' learning both in terms of quality and quantity. Findings about students' appreciation touched on many aspects. The majority really enjoyed learning history through the museum activities. Three principal reasons have been evoked: materiality contributed to a better understanding of the history course's abstract historical knowledge; the clothing pieces were beautiful and revealing of traditional Indigenous cultures and craft(wo)manship; it is rare that they have the opportunity to learn outside the university classroom and with other history professionals; the activities developed their critical thinking and increased sociability with their university teammates, which contributed to unexpected new knowledge, based on students' diversified backgrounds.

There were, however, some pedagogical downsides to their experiences. Students thought it would have been more fun to go on site; the museum visit was too short; the video's pace of the visit did not always allow them to contemplate the object as much as they wanted. The most important criticisms, coming from one team of students, concerned two other aspects that relate directly to indigenization and decolonization's finalities. Indigenous representation was not ideal, through the virtual presentation of the exhibition, the discourses were only brushing the surface

of the Indigenous past; and a museum cannot really decolonize itself and the society, based on its rationalistic and ethnological assumptions and its educational mission of sensibilizing the public. Students who were the most critical (only one student disliked his experience) considered that they learned little during the museum program. What is, however, interesting is that these students really participated in the discussions, put efforts in developing their arguments based on their prior knowledge that they transposed in this particular context, and shared their viewpoints to the whole class... who ultimately learned a great deal from them. Their critical stances brought nuance and complexity to the other team's answers. All in all, there were many great benefits to pointing out weaknesses in the proposal and museum's work.

This leads me to my collaborators' appreciation and learning. The study has shown that the individual interviews were helpful in clarifying how each of the collaborators felt, what they have learned and confirmed, or even how they have been challenged with their initial representations during the whole research process. My conversation with them helped me better conceive my personal contributions to this partnership. On one hand, I became more aware of what were my strengths as a researcher; on the other, it made me realize how I can improve my practices in the conducting of a research that involves many parties. All the collaborators seemed to think that the museum-university collaboration and implementation of the museum program was a benefit to their professional lives. They learned as history and museum experts and students appeared to both learn and enjoy the museum visit and activities. They were, intuitively right about what functioned well or less during the museum program, the question of time being an issue, both for the conception and implementation. One take away from this study is that this kind of research collaboration necessitates lots of energy and sets of specific and complex knowledge

to meet the needs of university students. The most important thing I got from my participation with my collaborators is that it raised an interest and awareness about each other's professional pursuits. For instance, both the museum project manager and the education officer would not have thought of developing an educational offer to university students. They would not have initiated a partnership with a researcher from the university to conceive or assess the impact of their educational programs, associating academic research to curation and research for an upcoming exhibition. They would not have considered discussing indigenization with their public in the context of a visit; this led them to reconsider and change their point of view for the future. My work with them questioned their preconceptions, their methods and ways of doing things as well as their conceptions of history.

Since the conduct of my research, the McCord Stewart Museum has renewed its permanent exhibition. Entitled *Indigenous Voices of Today: Knowledge, Trauma, Resilience*, the exhibition embraces a more psychological approach to social history and goes further than the previous exhibition in terms of critical museography. I have recently learned that some of the discourses on indigenization that came from the museum program developed in my research was used in the new script for the exhibition visit (destined to the larger public). Given the public has developed an awareness about this topic through media, the museum thought it was timely to discuss more their process of indigenization and be a little bit more transparent about it. On the other side, the course instructor and the teaching assistant would not have proposed a museum visit to their students, and they did not know much about university pedagogy and history education research. The course lecturer even told me that she grew interested in museums through her participation in

this research, seeing it as a prospective working environment from now on. She got a contract in a museum, after all.

In sum, the case study's findings about the mobilization of students' historically effected consciousness in the museum, their appreciation and collaborators' viewpoints on their participation, and our recommendations for future practices validate the pedagogical value of the museum in higher education. The findings can serve as postulates for future research and professional practices in the field of history education at university and museum education. On a final note, this doctoral research was politically and ethically timely because of its "historical topic" being Indigenous people. They have lived for thousands of years on the territory that we call Canada. However, because of centuries of eurocentrism and colonialism, it is still very hard for many of our fellow citizens to understand that the pages of history, that we wrote and imposed, as well as our Western institutions (the way they function, the values they support), are deeply responsible for Indigenous traumas, struggles, evictions (or absence) and anger. Indigenous peoples are still there, resilient, and fighting, in Canada, but in other countries too, to get their perspectives on the world seen and heard, better recognition of past wrongs, and clearer intentions to repair them, political and legal reforms, better access to education and employment, restitution of their ancestors' lands. And the list of claims is far from being exhaustive here.

Indigenous research is about decolonization and indigenization of our Western practices in all domains of thinking and fields of work. Despite a virtual context that required some adaptation, I believe I have conducted my doctoral research to the best of my capacities, given the numerous constraints, tied to the realization of a project that implicates multiple partners,

deadlines... and a pandemic restricting our most basic moves and daily activities. Of course, it was not entirely decolonized or indigenized (that was not my intention and I specified that in my introduction). The Indigenous collaboration has, unfortunately, remained mostly indirect, too peripheral to what would have been prescribed in academic research. However, I see my research as an experiment, grounded in the realities of the world, that made a step toward decolonizing and indigenizing history and museum education, although imperfect. In life and education, it is very often through small revolutions that we start perceiving changes in representations, before it gets to peoples' integrated practices. Slowly but surely. I have always preferred to adopt an optimistic view on almost anything in my life, so here it is. Like I explained in the discussion, it is through the flow of talks, some more profound, some more spontaneous, here and there, by experts, by amateurs, or even children, by only a few, and then more, and more, and some more people, that ideas spread, widely, rapidly, truly, deeply. Let's multiply the little efforts, accept to make mistakes, learn from it... and build again from the ground. Is it not the circle of life? It is with the multiplication of water drops of understanding that we will get to swim, one day, in an ocean of meaningful practices, inclusive of everyone, totally free of the colonialist past. Because this finality is of great importance for the Indigenous communities' well-being, which is felt through the words of Taiaiake Alfred (2017):

When you are told that you are Indigenous, that this is your land, that you have a spiritual connection to this place and that your honour, health and existence depend on your relationships with that river, those animals, those plants, when you are told that this is the right and good way to live and you are held to account for that culturally and spiritually, and you're not able or allowed to live out any of that... What happens to a person, a spirit, a mind? (p. 11)

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APPENDIX A: Semi-Open Questionnaire of Students' Sociocultural Data

Only student participants will fill this questionnaire during the before-visit activity in class (before input) (15 min). Students will be instructed not to write their names on the research material. Each student's code will be added when they will hand their answered questionnaire back to the researcher. Students will understand that they can fill, partly or completely, or refuse to fill, this questionnaire.

- 1) What is your gender? _____
- 2) What is your preferred pronoun (she/he/they)? _____
- 3) What is your age? _____
- 4) What is your ethnicity (or ethnicities)? _____
- 5) What is your nationality (or nationalities)? _____
- 6) In which city did you grow up?

- 7) What is(are) your first language(s)? _____
- 8) What is(are) the language(s) you are fluent in?

- 9) What language do you use the most in your life?

- 10) Do you have a religion? If yes, what is your religion?

- 11) How long have you been living in Quebec? _____
- 12) How long have you been living in Canada? _____
- 13) What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed so far? In what field?

- 14) Do you have other university degrees? If yes, in what field?

- 15) Have you ever attended school in a language other than English prior to your studies at McGill University?
In what language?

- 16) Have you ever visited a museum? How often do you visit museums?

- 17) If you answered "yes" to the previous question, why do you visit museums?

APPENDIX B: Students' Appreciation Questionnaire

Only student participants will fill this questionnaire after the museum visit (30 minutes). Students will be instructed not to write their names on the research material. Each student's code will be added when they will hand their answered questionnaire back to the researcher. Students will understand that they can fill, partly or completely, or refuse to fill, this questionnaire.

1. How often do you visit museums? Please specify if possible.
2. What did you think of the exhibition?
3. What did you think of the virtual tour?
4. What did you think of the activity (two discussion questions)?
5. Did you learn anything? If so, which ones?
6. What were the highlights of your experience?
7. What were the weak points of your experience?
8. Do you think that authentic testimonies of the past, such as those presented in a
9. Did the exhibition help you understand the aims of museums and history for society?
10. Other comments related to your experience

APPENDIX C: Students' Interview

Hi (Name),

Pleased to meet you again. How are you today? Are you ready for the interview? As I informed you by email, it will not last more than 15 minutes. This is a short interview; there are seven questions. Note that you are free to refuse to answer a question or to remove yourself from this interview at any time. This interview will remain entirely confidential.

- 1) What are the things you remember the most clearly from your visit at the McCord Stewart museum and more specifically about the exhibition *Wearing our identity. The first peoples collection*?
- 2) What do you remember about the before and after-visit activities in class?
- 3) What did you like most? What did you enjoy least?
- 4) After the visit or the museum program, did you tell anyone about this exhibition? If so, to whom? And where? What was the subject of the discussion?
- 5) Since you visited the museum, have you done anything as a result of this exhibition? (Prompt if necessary: read a book, watch a documentary, visit another museum, get involved in a public form of historical or social action?)
- 6) Overall, what have you learned—about history; about yourself?
- 7) Anything else you would like to add?

Thank you very much, (Name), for your time and for participating in this study.

APPENDIX D: Collaborators' Interview

Interview:

Hi (Name),

Please to meet you again. How are you today? Are you ready for the interview? As I informed you by email, it will not last more than 15 minutes. This is a short interview; there are eight questions. Note that you are free to refuse to answer a question or to desist yourself from this interview at any time. This interview will remain entirely confidential.

1. You were involved in the making of the museum program. How do you think the elaboration of the museum program went?
2. Do you think the museum program was well implemented? Why?
3. What was the museum program's strengths and weaknesses?
4. Did the museum program meet the museum's objectives (exhibition and education-wise)?
5. Do you think students learned something? Why?
6. Do you think students enjoyed the in-class activities and museum visit? Why?
7. Did you personally learn something? What have you learned?
8. Anything else you would like to add?

Thank you very much, (Name), for your time and for participating in this study.

APPENDIX E: Example of a Recruitment Letter

Recruitment email to the McCord Museum professionals (Education department)

EMAIL TOPIC AND TITLE: Invitation to participate in the doctoral research project “When history and museum collaborate: The mobilization of students’ historically consciousness through a virtual museum program

Dear McCord Education staff,

By this email, I am inviting you to participate in my doctoral research. My study examines the impact of a museum program to foster the development of history students’ competencies at university. In this qualitative case study, the museum is understood as an educational resource to help deconstruct prior misconceptions and produce more empathetic and critical historical interpretations through the encounter with meaningful “evidence” of the past, resonating with who we are, have been or could become. The primary aim is to develop what is called historical consciousness, that is, peoples’ ability to build narratives to orient themselves in time and society. In order to do so, the project intends to propose a reflection on history itself and multiperspectivity. The museum program will draw on McCord’s permanent exhibition *Wearing our identity. The First Peoples’ collection*.

Principal investigator: Emmy Côté, doctoral student, Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University

Supervisor: Boyd White, Associate Professor, Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University

Participants: Any staff and contractor that: a) is familiar with museum education theories and practices; b) has a strong knowledge of the permanent exhibition; c) is fluent in English; d) and/or may possess other assets: holds a history academic background and is part of an Indigenous community.

Research Procedures: I am soliciting the participation of members of the education team to collaboratively design the educational program with a history professor at McGill University and the researcher, and to guide the museum visit. The members must not feel obligated to be involved in this research.

When: Interviews and discussions will be conducted as of September 2020. The museum program will be developed in August. The fieldwork will occur between January and April 2021. University participants are coming once to the McCord Museum in February or March (TBD).

You will find more information about this research in the document attached to this email. If you are interested volunteering in this study or desire further information, please contact:

Researcher: Emmy Côté

Email: [REDACTED]

McGill University, Faculty of Education, 3700 McTavish, Montreal, H3A 1Y2

This study has received the approval of the Office of Research Ethics and Compliance at Office of Research Ethics and Compliance, James Administration Building, Suite 325, 845 Sherbrooke St. West, Montreal, Quebec H3A 0G4 by phone: 514-398-3991 or email to: [REDACTED]

Kind regards,

Emmy Côté

PhD candidate in Education, McGill University

The attached document:

Presentation of the doctoral study

Project description:

This doctoral project explores the educational value of a museum to enhance the historical understanding and practices of undergraduate students enrolled in a history program. The qualitative case study will examine how the history museum may or may not develop students' historical consciousness – the capacity to use narratives about the past to make sense of the present and envision the future (Rüsen, 2004). Given that historical consciousness is tied with citizenship but is not inherently critical (Duquette, 2010), this project argues that investigating and reshaping prior knowledge is key to fostering students' critical engagement with the past. Drawing upon history education and museum studies' findings (van Boxtel, Grever and Klein, 2017), this project hypothesizes (or proposes) that the history museum can aid in consolidating students' historical consciousness. Based on Hans-Georg Gadamer's (2006) hermeneutics philosophy, this project intends to develop two dimensions, in particular: a reflection on history itself and multiperspectivity (examination of various perspectives). Historical objects may trigger emotions and nurture empathy, which may challenge students' misconceptions and help them build critical interpretations. A postcolonial approach to museum education may facilitate discussions on the nature and (ab)uses of history and (re)think the relationships between majorities and minorities (Mayo, 2013). The consolidation of historians and public history professionals' practices appears paramount, knowing that their social function is to draw lessons from the past for the wealth of society.

Research questions:

- 1) Within the context of a history course at university, how do students participating in a museum program that promotes a postmodern approach to history mobilize students' historically effected consciousness?
- 2) What is the pedagogical value of the museum activity implemented in a history course at university?

Research background:

This proposal fills a gap in history education research; there is a paucity of literature on the training of historians (Körber, 2015; Burgess, 2003) and, to my knowledge, none on the use of museums in history education at the university level. Prior studies in history didactics and museum studies have been mostly interested in elementary and secondary education. In addition, the literature review has identified several important gaps in visitor studies conducted in history museums and historic sites. There is scarce research examining the museum education program's ability (or lack of) to foster historical consciousness. Thus, this project may contribute to the emergent body of museum research on visitors' studies and critical museology. It could also stimulate new debates and museum practice concerned with the participation of history museums in formal education, professional training, and on wider contemporary democratic practices.

Research methodology and methods:

I will conduct fieldwork during the 2021 winter semester. A McGill history professor and his or her group of undergraduate students ($N \leq 18$) will participate in an educational program offered by the McCord museum. Drawing on museum education and critical pedagogy theories, I will collect data based on five foci: before input (90 min), in-class activity (90 min); museum visit (120 min); in-class activity (90 min); end-of-semester interviews (15 min). Selected methods include semi-questionnaires, concept maps, written activity sheets, field observations and video-recorded interviews. Gadamer's dimensions of 'effected' historical consciousness will clarify students' interactions with the past and the impact of the museum program. This study is not an exhibition nor a museum program evaluation. It is not about judging an exhibition's success or failure in communicating specific messages. The study's aim is to propose an enlarged definition of the museum exhibition as a "meaning-making" environment by exploring how it mobilizes and develop students' historical consciousness.

Expectations toward the museum:

This study requires that the museum 1) collaborates in the development of the museum program (two classroom activities and one *in situ* activity) (15 hours for each museum professional), and 2) guides the students' visit to the museum (2 hours). The three-phase program (based on the Groupe de recherche en éducation muséale's model) necessitates the involvement of at least one and maximum three members of the museum team (education). In addition to the museum's educational objectives, the developed program must respond to the critical museology's parameters identified by the researcher as well as to the requirements of the history course. This research project will be conducted in English, although personal communication with the researcher is welcome in French (my first language).

Research potential contributions:

Bridging history, education and museum studies, this doctoral research attempts to establish a myriad of connections between the classroom and the museum setting. This project also broadens horizons in order to better contribute to history education in the Canadian context, where the issues of plurality and respect for differences are increasingly essential concerns. The museum visit may be this ideal place for McGill students to become more aware of the Canadian heritage's fragile status, issues of rival histories and cultural identities, dangers associated with political inaction, etc. The doctoral study may contribute to the education team's strategies for further development of programs tailored to the needs of their visitors. The museum program will also be designed according to the critical and citizenship museology parameters supported by contemporary museum education research. The program may be transferred in other partnerships or visitors' programs, which may globally strengthen their educational offer.

Recruiting method:

- a) Recruiting method for the museum participants: The researcher will send an electronic invitation to participate in the study through the list-serve provided by the chef, Action éducative, citoyenne et culturelle. This message will provide a brief description of the project and explain the nature of their potential participation. Team members should not feel obligated to participate.
- b) Recruiting method for the history professor and student participants: The researcher will personally contact and recruit these individuals.

Confidentiality:

Participants' identities will be kept strictly confidential. Each participant will be assigned a research code number. All research materials will be identified only by code number: no research files will include any participant's names. The recorded interviews and transcripts, and interview notes will be kept in a locked filing cabinet. Participants will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. In the study reports and publications, members of the education team will be referred to by their title and not by their name. Because the study will include an in-depth description of the exhibition and museum profile, it will be impossible to keep the identity of participating museum professionals and contractors entirely confidential. Participating museum professionals will be made aware of this aspect in the recruitment invitation. All research material (other than the museum program) will be destroyed a year after the thesis publication.

Researcher biography:

Emmy Côté is a doctoral student in Education at McGill University. She also holds bachelor's and master's degrees in history from Université de Sherbrooke. Since 2019, she has been offering course loads in history teaching at the primary and secondary levels at McGill University and Université de Sherbrooke. She has also worked in history museums as a project manager (Musée des Hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal) and an educational consultant (Pointe-à-Callière, Archaeology and History Complex). Her academic training and professional experiences in three disciplinary fields – history, education and museum studies, facilitate a myriad of connections between the teaching and learning of history in formal and non-formal settings from childhood to adulthood.

Dr Boyd White's biography:

Boyd White is an associate professor in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education at McGill's Faculty of Education. His areas of expertise include art education, aesthetic education, philosophy of education, issues of culture and values in education. His research investigates the parameters of aesthetic engagement. It is both philosophically and classroom based. The latter are university-level classes, with implications for application at the various levels of formal education and non-formal learning. Current research, into adult processes of meaning making within museum settings, is multi-institutional and multi-cultural.

APPENDIX F: Consent Forms (Students)



Department of Integrated Studies in Education

Participant Consent Form

REB File# _____

Researchers: Emmy Côté, PhD candidate, McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education,
[REDACTED]

Supervisor: Boyd White, Associate Professor, McGill University, Department of Integrated Studies in Education, [REDACTED]

Title of Project: "A museum-university collaboration: Undergraduate history students experiencing a critical museum program to enhance historical consciousness"

Sponsor(s): Fonds de recherche Société et Culture du Québec (FRQSC)

Purpose of the Study: This is an invitation to participate in this research. The doctoral project examines the impact of a museum program to foster the development of history students' competencies at university. The primary aim is to develop what is called historical consciousness, that is, peoples' ability to build narratives to orient themselves in time and society. The museum program will draw on the permanent exhibition *Wearing our identity. The first peoples collection*.

Study Procedures: You have been invited to participate in this study because you are a McGill history student enrolled in the history course (course abbreviation). Data collection in relation to you will include: verbatim comments taken by the researcher in class or during the museum visit, a concept map, written activity sheets, answers to two semi-open questionnaires (socio-demographic data; immediately after the museum visit), and a final individual video-recorded interview with the researcher. The confidential interview will be administered in a relaxed conversational manner and video taped for subsequent data analysis. Data will concern your prior knowledge and identities, your historical knowledge, skills and attitudes, as well as your thoughts on the museum program. With consideration to the COVID-19 situation, the aforementioned procedures could be done partly or entirely remotely. To ensure consistency in the design and implementation of the museum program, your participation in every procedure is required. Only the videorecording of the interview is optional.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time for any reason without consequence. By signing this form, you confirm that you will provide data about your participation in the museum program implemented in your history course (concept maps, activity sheets, etc.). In addition to your participation in the museum program (part of three history courses), you accept to undertake a semi-questionnaire about your socio-demographics (15 minutes), a semi-questionnaire about your museum experience (30 minutes) and an individual video-recorded interview (15 minutes). You agree that I, the researcher, use this data for in this study report and other publications. You consent that the published data may subsequently be used by other researchers.

You consent to be videorecorded for a final 15-minute interview Yes _____ No _____ .

Compensation: A small financial compensation will be offered, a cheque for \$20, for participation in this research. .

Confidentiality: In the study reports and publications, students will be referred to by fictional names. Because the study includes social exchanges in public spaces, with your peers, the history professor and museum professionals, it will be impossible to keep the identity of participating students entirely confidential. In addition, we may use some of your verbatim comments to elucidate the findings of the study in forums such as scholarly conferences, websites about the study and journal articles. Confidentiality of participants in the museum visit and in-class activities (on-site and virtual) cannot be ensured as well. There will be non-participant students involved throughout the museum program. In the event where a videorecorded museum visit is uploaded on Microsoft Teams (because an on-site visit is forbidden), the anonymity of the museum professionals appearing in the video cannot be guaranteed. This video can be preserved by the collaborators, student participants and non-participants, as well as shared with other external parties. In addition, there is always the possibility of third-party interception when using communications through the internet. As per to the final interview, it is solely for the use of the researcher. The meeting link will directly be sent to your McCord email account. Only yourself will have access to this meeting, with a password to gain entry. You will be invited to join using a pseudonym, and to connect in a private area where no one else can view or overhear the interview. This interview will be confidential and locked to other individuals. Although all precautions are taken, as mentioned earlier, there is always the possibility of third-party interception when using communications through the internet. The researcher will be sending you a copy of your interview transcript in the winter 2021. You will be able to remove sections if you feel it is needed. Research material in relation to your participation will be coded and kept either in locked filing cabinets, protected email systems, and password protected files on a secured laptop. They will be destroyed seven years after the thesis publication.

Questions: Questions related to this study are welcome at any time; please direct them to: Emmy Côté, Doctoral student in the Department of Integrated Studies in Education, Faculty of Education, McGill University, 3700 McTavish, Montreal, H3A 1Y2, [REDACTED]. If you have any ethical concerns or complaints about your participation in this study, and want to speak with someone not on the research team, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

Please sign below if you have read the above information and consent to participate in this study.

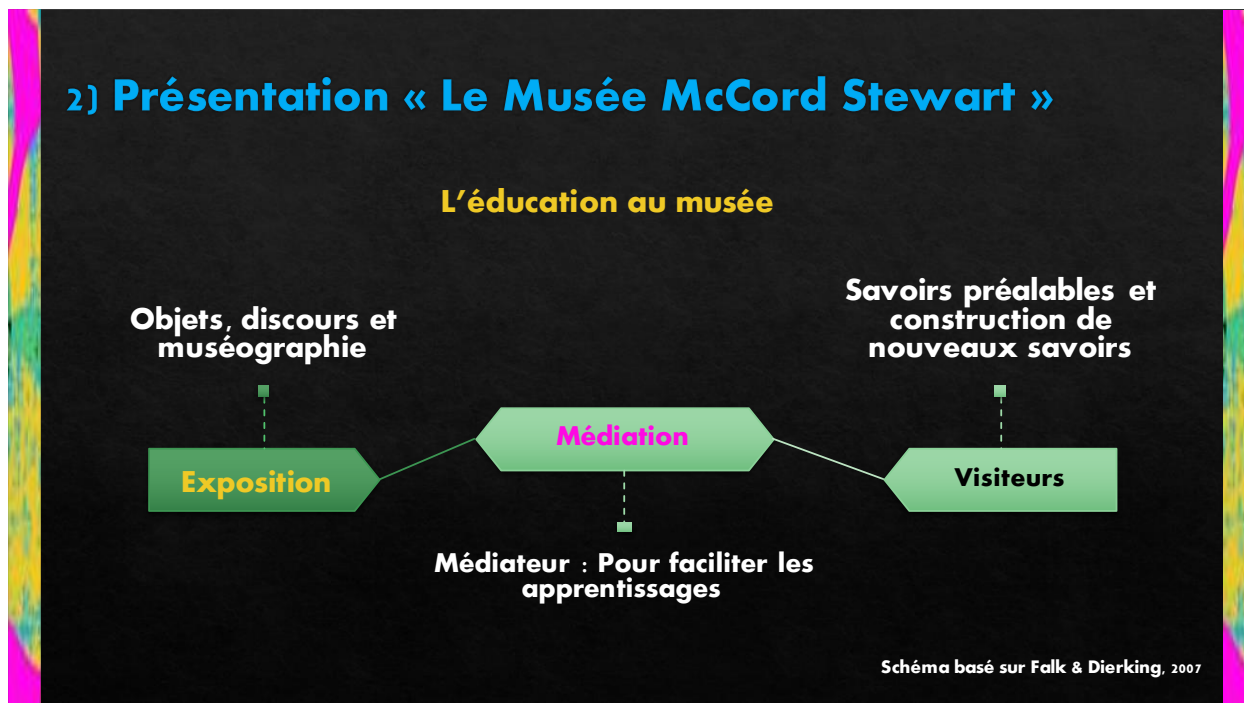
Agreeing to

participate in this study does not waive any of your rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities. A copy of this consent form will be given to you and the researcher will keep a copy.

Participant's Name: (please print) _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX G: Powerpoint Slides



2) Présentation « Le Musée McCord Stewart »

L'exposition « Porter son identité. La collection des premiers peuples »

Un avant-goût



APPENDIX H: Concept Map (Team 1)

**CARTE MENTALE
SUR L'HISTOIRE**

Equipe # 1
(inscrivez vos idées et insérez vos images ici. Soyez créatifs!)

Histoire, musée, Canada et Autochtones

- Injustice

Musée :

- Lieu, bâtiment, devoir de mémoire avec capital
- Effort de présentation sur quelque chose de précis, d'une réalité (historique, artistique, etc.)
- Statique, tangible, retour sur l'histoire
- Porte sur un autre monde

Histoire :

- Champ d'étude (histoire)
- Histoire de l'homme (rapport de domination)
- Histoire orale
- histoire féministe
- L'histoire = secondes qui passent et le récit = suite continue de choix



L'image renvoie à une conception traditionnelle

- L'histoire à des fins politiques

Canada

- Economique
- Invention
- Terra nullis
- Vol
- Frontières territoriales et ethniques

Autochtone

- Deux sortes d'histoire (complexité) |
- Donner ma voix
- Multiple, pluriel
- Dépossession
- Marginalisation

APPENDIX I: Answer Sheets' for the TRC Activity (Team 3)

ACTIVITÉ SUR LA COMMISSION DE VÉRITÉ ET RÉCONCILIATION

→ **L'appel à l'action 47 du rapport de la CVR**

Nous demandons au gouvernement fédéral de fournir des fonds à l'Association des musées canadiens pour entreprendre, en collaboration avec les peuples autochtones, un examen national des politiques et des pratiques exemplaires des musées, et ce, dans le but de déterminer le degré de conformité avec la Déclaration des Nations Unies sur les droits des peuples autochtones et de formuler des recommandations connexes.

→ **Article 31.1 de la Déclaration des Nations sur les droits des peuples autochtones :**

Les peuples autochtones ont le droit de préserver, de contrôler, de protéger et de développer leur patrimoine culturel, leur savoir traditionnel et leurs expressions culturelles traditionnelles ainsi que les manifestations de leurs sciences, techniques et culture, y compris leurs ressources humaines et génétiques, leurs semences, leur pharmacopée, leur connaissance des propriétés de la faune et de la flore, leurs traditions orales, leur littérature, leur esthétique, leurs sports et leurs jeux traditionnels et leurs arts visuels et du spectacle. Ils ont également le droit de préserver, de contrôler, de protéger et de développer leur propriété intellectuelle collective de ce patrimoine culturel, de ce savoir traditionnel et de ces expressions culturelles traditionnelles.

Question de discussion :
Comment les musées peuvent-ils appliquer cet appel à l'action 47, d'après vous?

Suggestions de l'équipe # 3:

Inclure des autochtones dans un comité consultatif pour la mise en place des expositions (corroboration des informations et mise en valeur des autochtones)

Avoir des programmes scolaires où les autochtones iraient faire des présentations dans les milieux scolaires (en lien avec les musées)

Mettre à jour les « données » pour représenter les communautés autochtones aujourd'hui (pas seulement des maisons longues, etc.)

Favoriser l'employabilité des autochtones dans les musées

Favoriser le fait que les musées soient près ou dans les réserves, pas seulement les musées sur les autochtones. Ça pourrait amener une « visibilité » aux communautés. Dans le même sens, amener les musées autochtones en ville, loin des réserves, pour sensibiliser plus de population

Partenariat entre un musée autochtone et un musée non-autochtone pour permettre des échanges. Par exemple, leurs expositions changent de place une fois par année

APPENDIX J: Answer Sheet for

“Being in the Museologists’ Shoes” (Team 1)

ATELIER DE LA VISITE MUSÉALE

1

Dans les souliers des muséologues:

Équipe #

Première question :

A) Si vous deviez renouveler cette exposition et retenir un objet pour inviter les visiteurs à visiter celle-ci (promotion), lequel choisiriez-vous et pourquoi? Répondez en fonction : a) de l'objectif et des thèmes de l'exposition; b) des perspectives autochtones; c) de l'histoire canadienne; d) de vos préférences personnelles.

- a) La coiffe à plumes d'aigles permet de déconstruire plusieurs stéréotypes et d'aborder certaines nuances sur le fait que les peuples autochtones sont diversifiés. Que ce n'est pas un costume et que seulement certaines personnes de certains peuples qui peuvent la porter.
- b) Tel que dit dans la question a, ils peuvent ramener leurs points de vue et se réapproprier leurs cultures.
- c) Le amauti, car on pense souvent au Canada on associe ça aux eskimos et c'est inuit comme objet.
- d) Le amauti car nous avons trouvé fort intéressant son histoire dans le temps.

B) Si vous deviez approfondir une thématique de cette exposition, l'une n'ayant pas été suffisamment abordée selon vous, quelle question formuleriez-vous et pourquoi?

Par rapport aux vêtements peut-être glisser un mot sur les habits des enfants des pensionnats, autant à leurs arrivés quand ils se faisaient enlever leurs vêtements que ceux qui mettaient par la suite.

APPENDIX K: Answer Sheet for

“What Lenses for Historians in the 21st Century” (Team 1)

ACTIVITÉ DE DISCUSSION POST-VISITE

1

Quelles lunettes pour l'historien au XXI^e siècle?

Equipe # 1

Première question :

Pensez-vous que le programme du musée vous a aidé à mieux comprendre l'histoire des peuples autochtones ? Pourquoi/comment ?

Nous trouvons que oui, mais non. Oui pour la pluralité et la mise en image, pour mettre des images sur ce qu'on connaissait déjà. Nous pensons que c'était une exposition très large, nous n'avons pas appris sur une communauté en particulier. C'est selon nous du savoir procédural. Donc non, nous n'avons rien appris de vraiment nouveau.

Deuxième question :

L'exposition vous-a-t-elle aidé à comprendre comment les historiens et les muséologues écrivent et présentent l'histoire? Y a-t-il des similitudes/distinctions entre l'écriture et la présentation de l'histoire entre les historiens et les muséologues?

Oui, il y a des différences. Nous pensons que c'est des rôles complémentaires. Un muséologue se doit d'avoir des notions d'histoire tout comme un historien se doit d'avoir des notions de muséologie.

Nous avons ne pas avoir penser aux muséologues durant notre visite. On pense plus aux objets en eux-mêmes, mais pas forcément à la personne derrière. Le travail de l'historien ne nous a pas vraiment frappé, appart de rassembler les faits. On n'a pas vraiment parlé du métier de muséologue avant la visite non plus, alors on n'avait pas vraiment de base sur laquelle se fier.