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MAIN SECTION

Cultural Heritage of the Old Port of Quebec Sacrificed on the Altar of a *Market Polity*

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ABSTRACT

Far from relying solely on scientific expertise, the construction of cultural heritage mobilizes elected officials, citizens, representatives of associations who have divergent points of view and interests. Connecting the main features of the participatory and deliberative paradigm with theories of cultural heritage this study aims to demonstrate with a pragmatic approach that the river and port front of Quebec City is given modest importance in cultural heritage characterization studies and conservation plans of the Commission des biens culturels du Québec and this penalizes its preservation.

KEYWORDS

Deliberative; Cultural; Heritage; Port; Quebec

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Introduction

The old city of Quebec has been a meeting point for several millennia and has been permanently inhabited for more than four centuries. It plays a prominent role in collective memory and identity in Quebec. Among several archaeological sites, the fortifications, the citadel, the New Barracks and other defensive works prove of the military importance of the city since its origins and the Château Saint-Louis and the Intendant's Palace bear witness of the importance of the civil administration of the colony. Numerous other buildings serve as examples of the architectural richness of the site, such as Place Royale, the Citadel, the Basilica of Notre-Dame-de-Quebec, the Holy Trinity Cathedral, the Ramparts, the Dufferin Terrace, etc.; the Château Frontenac which sits atop Cap Diamant is the very emblem of the city. The old city of Quebec counts with some of the oldest and most prestigious health care institutions in the country too; some of them were founded by the Augustines de la Miséricorde de Jésus and the Ursulines, as an example the Hôtel-Dieu. As one among the oldest preserved fortified colonial citadel in North America, the site is officially declared a historic district of national importance in 1963. It receives international recognition in 1985 for its archaeological, parceling, architectural and landscape characteristics and is included on the list of the World Heritage Sites of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Surrounded by the Saint-Charles River and the St. Lawrence River, the old city of Quebec is also a port and maritime space that, from a military vocation under the French regime, experiences a more commercial turn in the 19th century. Thanks to its facilities it becomes one among the most important ports in the country and in North America besides New York and New Orleans. Contrasting with its contribution to the development of the Quebec agglomeration, the maritime and port infrastructure of Quebec is given modest importance in the cultural heritage characterization studies of the Commission des biens culturels du Québec; furthermore most of the old port space is excluded from the perimeter of the heritage district of the old city of Quebec which was delimited by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications upon the advice of the Conseil du Patrimoine Culturel and this prevents it from any adequate protective measures as deplored by several associative organizations, representatives of international organizations but also by actors from civil society.

Theoretical framework: the cultural heritage construction

The notion of cultural heritage questions a certain relation to history, to memory, to identities, etc. At the turn of the 1970s and 1980s it underwent a definitional inflation in the West that was perfectly described by Pierre Nora: "Suddenly, whole sections of obsolete categories of objects,

aesthetic or cultural fields that the industrial transformation and the development of space threatened to disappear, entered the cultural heritage domain”.¹ Cultural heritage thus gathers tangible elements whose typologies embrace more and more elastic criteria. Religious edifices and roadside crosses, commercial buildings and store decorations, industrial buildings, military and harbour works, peasant houses and washhouses, road networks and railway installations, bridges and canals, etc., stand among the list of immovable goods. Movable property includes pieces of furniture, relics, paintings, archives, etc. Collections, archaeological sites or working-class neighbourhoods rank also among cultural heritage which furthermore includes intangible elements such as tales and legends, skills and abilities, customs, etc. If its apprehension is likely to “potentially embrace any human production, material as well as symbolic”,² it also considers ecological and biological processes, habitats and ecosystems, etc.

To summarize, the notion of cultural heritage does not refer to a substantially existing object, fact or place; it results from a process at the end of which elements acquire a certain status, usually with the aim to be preserved, possibly restored, rehabilitated, or even exhibited and valorized. Associated with the idea of “common good”, of “doing things together”, “to make something collective”,³ this process is however rarely consensual. From an institutional point of view, it generally follows a centralized technocratic-administrative procedure regulated by principles, rules and laws. Experts and specialists contribute at different levels, updating what is seen and known at the end of a process of desemantization and resemantization.⁴ From this point of view, patrimonialization emerges as a performative act by which certain actors in a position of authority manage to make choices, to establish priorities, to make certain elements more visible than others, and thus orient in a certain way the question of the past and its interpretations. In contrast to a qualification procedure that prioritizes the tasks of identification and nomination to experts and specialized institutions that consecrate “institutional heritages”⁵ based on predetermined taxonomic classes, the construction of cultural heritage can also be considered from a social experience perspective by which plural actors intend through their actions and commitments to confer on certain objects, spaces (architectural, urban or landscape), social practices

1 Pierre Nora, ed., *De l'archive à l'emblèmes*, vol. Les Lieux de mémoire, Bibliothèque des Histoires 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 4708.

2 Jean-Louis Jeannelle, “Le Kamtchatka patrimonial,” *Critique* 805–806, no. 6 (2014): 499, <https://doi.org/10.3917/criti.805.0494>.

3 Vincent Veschambre, “Patrimoine : un objet révélateur des évolutions de la géographie et de sa place dans les sciences sociales,” *Annales de géographie* 656, no. 4 (2007): 3, <https://doi.org/10.3917/ag.656.0361>.

4 Nathalie Heinich, “La construction d'un regard collectif : le cas de l'inventaire du patrimoine*,” *Gradhiva*, no. 11 (2010): 162–80, <https://doi.org/10.4000/gradhiva.1707>.

5 Jean-Louis Tornatore, ed., *Le patrimoine comme expérience: Implications anthropologiques* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2019), 17, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editionsmsmh.19033>.

(languages, rites, myths, etc.), as well as the relations (or lack of them) between them and the relations (or transactions) that they signify and organize, a set of properties or “values” that are recognized and shared (a form of cultural heritage), because they have appropriated them, recognize themselves in them, care about them and proclaim their existence. This form of appropriation can be objectified by territorial delimitation, through restoration and protection measures, through legal control and economic valuation, etc. It can also result from a symbolic transfer of value from cultural heritage to individuals or groups of individuals who recognize it and claim it as their own.

Not necessarily converging, institutional designation and collective appropriation go through phases of tension that reveal at least of the heterogeneity of scientific traditions or the absence of scientific-methodical consensus on the modalities or effects of cultural heritage, reveal of a plurality of perceptions and interests in qualifying cultural heritage. The hierarchy and the complementarity of the rationalities underlying these processes often remain unresolved and, in the end, it is often a form of collective validation backed by institutional mechanisms whose implementation and development are generally ensured by state authorities that determines what constitutes cultural heritage. Allowing to account for the panopticon of visions and divisions which serve to support criticism or common understanding, this qualifying process presents affinity with the participative and deliberative paradigm in that it engages within hybrid arenas or forums elected officials who deliberate, experts who confronts their operational competences and technical knowledge, scientists who expose fundamental knowledge, representatives of associative bodies, activists or non-expert citizens who resort to other cognitive or expressive resources in order to characterize what cultural heritage is.

Thus, this study postulates that the construction of cultural heritage far from relying on the sole scientific and institutionalized expertise mobilizes numerous elected officials, committed citizens, representatives of associative bodies who confront divergent points of view and interests in defining what cultural heritage is. It also postulates that the river and port front which is inseparable from the origin and development of the agglomeration of Quebec City is given a modest importance in the cultural heritage characterization studies of the Commission des biens culturels du Québec and this penalizes its preservation.

Epistemological positioning and methodology

a. Epistemological positioning

From a relativist and constructivist hypothesis according to which reality proceeds from the meanings, the representations that the actors construct from their own experience of reality; “knowledge cannot be conceived as predetermined, either in the internal structures of the subject, since they

result from an effective and continuous construction, or in the pre-existing characteristics of the object, since they are known only thanks to the necessary mediation of these structures”;⁶ the epistemological posture is close to the interpretivist paradigm which also recognize interdependence between reality and subjectivity but distances itself from empathetic and psychologizing understanding in elucidating representations, mental constructions, motivations and reasons for acting in order to favor a production of theoretical-empirical diagnoses of the situations which are dissociated from the phenomenological experience (individual and collective). The epistemological posture also refutes this form of social constructivism according to which everything would be under construction, in the process of being done, but recognizes certain reality stability that is always likely to be challenged and this generally takes the form of criticism, a denunciation and possibly a trial. It is then a question of paying particular attention to the conditions of realization or non-realization of these regularities. This epistemological positioning seems consistent with the chosen theoretical framework which is characterized by a form of empiricism, non-essentialism, continuism (continuity between knowledge and action) and pragmatism (knowledge proceeds from the analysis of practical effects). The epistemological position seeks to objectify and categorize the nature of various practices and to conceptualize their relations with institutions and the environment; the truth emerges in a context, a situation, at a given moment in response to concrete problems.

b. Methodology

The investigation follows several steps. At the beginning the collection of data tends to gather clues that make it possible to grasp what makes the situation ambiguous, indeterminate in its attributes. It then aims at gathering further materials, elements, data, significant facts to define more precisely the nature of the problem at the origin of the disorder and to facilitate, as the situation is reorganized, a better understanding of the purposes of the conversion of the problem into a satisfactory experience. The collection embraces multiple sources, policy documents, framework documents, data related to the cultural heritage process, etc. Whether in geography, architecture, archaeology, sociology or economics, the Historic District of Old Québec has been a topic for countless studies, research, inventories and publications; it would be tedious to draw up an exhaustive list of the sources used, so it is more appropriate to indicate that only recent writings directly related to the cultural heritage issue in Quebec have been short-listed. Furthermore, discourses of actors were only considered if they were sufficiently publicized: “a thing is only fully known when it is published, shared and socially accessible (...) knowledge

6 Jean Piaget, *L'épistémologie génétique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2011), 5.

of social phenomena depends especially on its dissemination, for it is only by being distributed that such knowledge can be obtained or tested".⁷

The analysis of the speeches is organized around three chronological phases: the pre-analysis, the exploitation of the material as well as the processing of the results, the inference and the interpretation. A first reading of the materials allows to further delimit the object of the research. It is then a matter of reading and reading again the documents and the discourses in order to organize and systematize the ideas and themes, to specify the analysis plan and possibly to reformulate the hypotheses and the objectives. Without attempting to hierarchize the tripartition of semiotics into semantics, syntax and pragmatics, the analysis progressively organizes a second axial coding that consists of grouping, ordering and arranging the data, highlighting more precisely the themes of representations, beliefs and ideological references conveyed by the speeches that guide the construction of reality and on which the justifications for action are based and renewed over time. This classification of elements by differentiation and then grouping (analogy) makes it possible, by condensation, to arrive at a representation of the raw data; this remains, however, too simplified. The coding must be assessed not only in terms of the relative and absolute positioning of the syntagms in the corpus, but also with regard to the entities in context to which they refer; this makes it possible not to isolate the semantic-thematic markers from their corresponding universe of production, enunciation and reception, and to preserve the coherence of the sequences, the trace of the thematic and semantic connections operated between the units of the analysis. Following a principle of inference and generalization, techniques of induction, interpretation and abstraction (from empirical studies to the generation of theories), the lexical worlds, the discursive formations and concepts identified are then refined (description and contextualization of the situation, exploration and statement of possibilities, revelation of certain mechanisms, certain regularities, presentation of ideal types, etc.), sometimes by taking "interpretative risks" as Bernard Lahire⁸ acknowledges, grouped and linked to the theoretical dimensions of the sociology of justification⁹ to which this study resorts. Developed in France in the 1980s under the impetus of Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, this pragmatic approach is envisioned as a project of grammatical investigation of forms of denunciation, vindication, and justification during disputes or conflicts in evaluating problematic situations. Proposing tools for describing and interpreting operations of appreciation and judgment, this approach tends to objectify and categorize the moto of action according to an analytical grid, a typology of

7 John Dewey, *Le public et ses problèmes*, trans. Joëlle Zask (Paris: Gallimard, 2010), 275.

8 Bernard Lahire, "Risquer l'interprétation: pertinences interprétatives et surinterprétations en sciences" *Enquête*, no. 3 (1996): 61–87, <https://doi.org/10.4000/enquete.373>.

9 Luc Boltanski and Laurent Thévenot, *De la justification : les économies de la grandeur* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).

polities; first the *domestic, civic, fame, market, industrial, inspired polities*,¹⁰ then the *projects polity*¹¹ and finally the *eco polity*;¹² each finding their roots in a moral and political philosophical theory. Following a gradual succession of verifications, the analysis ceases when the object is sufficiently corroborated not only to satisfactorily inform the situation with regard to the experience of the respondents (who have themselves conducted their experience of the problematic situation) and of the investigator (with regard to the investigation of the respondents), but also to test the stated hypotheses with interpretative consistency.

Context of the research: the old city of Quebec

From Cap Diamant to the St. Lawrence River, the historic heart of Quebec City became a privileged place for trade; the native tribes living upstream and downstream have met there for thousands of years as evidenced by nearly 480 archaeological sites. Around 1535, the navigator Jacques Cartier took possession of this small village; in Algonquin “Kébec” means “where the river narrows”; in the name François I, King of France, who mandated him to establish a permanent colony at the mouth of the Cap Rouge River, a few kilometers west of the present cultural heritage site. Although this first colonial project was definitively abandoned in 1543 when the Franco-Spanish war broke out, the idea of establishing a permanent colony was revived at the beginning of the 17th century under the impetus of Henri IV, King of France, who wished to set up there a trading post. Samuel de Champlain built there a trading post in 1608, Quebec City was founded as the first permanent French settlement in America. It became the capital of New France in 1663. The lower town sector was developed, defensive works were erected, the Saint-Louis fort was built in 1620 on the heights of the escarpment, the city was equipped with a fortified enclosure in 1690, two cannon platforms were placed in 1660 and 1690 on the Pointe aux Roches, the Royal batteries (1691), Dauphine (1709) and Pointe-à-Carcy batteries were built, and trading posts and garrisons were established along the St. Lawrence Valley, also to benefit from the fishing activity of the coastal fishery (lobster, salmon, for example), the deep-sea fishery and the forestry and mining activities inland. Constituting a key link between the New World and the Old World, the port was developed, initially in wood, gradually consolidated, taking on a rectilinear appearance with a small cove to the west, that of the Cul-de-Sac, where the first shipyard was developed between 1746 and 1748. The arrival and installation of the first religious communities was not only part of an

10 Ibid.

11 Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello, *Le nouvel esprit du capitalisme* (Paris: Gallimard, 1999).

12 Claudette Lafaye and Laurent Thévenot, “Une justification écologique? Conflits dans l’aménagement de la Nature,” *Revue Française de Sociologie* 34, no. 4 (1993): 495–524, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3321928>.

intense evangelization activity but also lead to the erection of numerous religious buildings. The Jesuits established themselves in the upper town in 1633 and built a college (1725), the Ursulines began constructing their monastery west of the Jesuit property in 1639 and built a chapel there in 1711. The Augustinian nuns established themselves on a vast plot of land away from Fort Saint-Louis and founded the Hôtel-Dieu, the first hospital in America built north of Mexico. After the assault of Quebec in 1759 and the English occupation, the Seven Years' War, a brief American siege that lasted until the spring of 1776, the city of Quebec rebuilt itself and began an important period of prosperity thanks to the continental blockade that Napoleon exercised on the British Isles as from 1806, which allowed the port of Quebec to serve not only as a base for exporting forest resources to England but also as a center for transit and redistribution of English products to the British colonies. From Anse-au-Foulon in the west to the Burnett and Olivier piers in the north, the port system formed a huge floating warehouse for wood drifting from the Ottawa River. The development of the St-Roch district until the 1840s launched the construction of new piers at the mouth of the St-Charles River under the impetus of importers and exporters who had their own wharves built. In a hurry to benefit from this boom, 30,000 British and Irish people disembarked each year at the immigration shed. Shipyards also proliferated; from 1760 to 1825 38% of the ships built in Lower Canada came from the twenty Quebec shipyards that employed up to 5,000 people. At the turn of the 19th century, the port of Québec became one of the most important ports in North America, hosting coastal vessels that travelled to and from the Great Lakes and ocean-going ships. Just instituted, the Maison de la Trinité de Québec (renamed since then Commission du Havre de Québec) took charge of guaranteeing the security of the port installations, the installation and removal of buoys and beacons, the anchoring and mooring of ships, the erection of lighthouses and wharves, the clearing of sands, rocks or other obstructions to navigation, while ensuring the regulation and the emission of pilots' licenses and sitting as an independent court in these matters. The lower and upper town of Quebec City also developed considerably ; some of the most significant pieces of architecture were then built up : the Hôtel-Dieu Chapel (1800), St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (1809-1810), the Parlors and Seminary Congregation wings (1822-1823), St. Patrick's Irish Catholic Church (1831-1833), the former Wesleyan Church (1848), the Free Church of Scotland (1851-1853), the former Baptist Church building (1853) and the institutional complex of the Sisters of Charity of Quebec. Several fires, epidemics of cholera and typhus. which is called "ship's fever", as well as the fall of preferential tariffs for wood caused however a clear slowdown in economic activities. The construction of the pier and the Louise Basin, followed by the construction of deep-water wharves at Anse au Foulon, made it possible to accommodate larger ships and to transship merchandise more easily ; this boosted the export of mining, grain and forestry products and the import of iron, steel and

textile products, etc. This new dynamism was accompanied by a certain enthusiasm for commemoration; many monuments were erected and public squares were built, including Place D'Youville, the Quebec Young Men's Christian Association building (1878-1879) and the Capitol Theatre (1902-1903). Other buildings popped up such as the Grand Séminaire (1879), the Aiguillon Pavilion of the Hôtel Dieu (1892), the new chapel of the Ursuline monastery (1901-1902) and the new chapel of the Sisters of Charity of Quebec (1914).

Historic district of Old Québec

The process of protecting the old city of Quebec began in the second half of the 19th century and continued in the following century through a series of actions taken by municipal, provincial and federal authorities. The increase in population, the modernization of transportation and industrialization impacted on the old city of Quebec; in order to preserve its unique character, the Quebec government ratified in 1922 the *Loi relative à la conservation des monuments et des objets d'art historique ou artistique d'intérêt national* which established the Commission des monuments historiques, the forerunner of the Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec, which carried out the first inventories of Quebec's cultural heritage; these included "Les monuments commémoratifs de la province de Québec" (1923), "Les vieilles églises de la province de Québec" (1925) and "Les vieux manoirs, vieilles maisons" (1927) ; and the first classifications of historic monuments, notably the Maison des Jésuites de Sillery and the Church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Quebec City (1929). Amended in 1952, the law empowered the Commission des monuments historiques to acquire buildings of cultural heritage interest that were often subsequently restored to their original style. With the coming into force in 1963 of the *Loi sur les monuments historiques*, the old city of Quebec was officially declared a historic district of national importance. Comprising an urban area of approximately 135 hectares, numerous archaeological sites and close to 1400 buildings constructed as from the 17th century onwards, the Historic District of Old Québec is the first territory to benefit from this protection in Quebec. Beyond its archaeological value, the Historic District of Old Québec presents a strong architectural interest; many edifices in Palladian style are characterized by the symmetry of the facades, masonries bearing cut stone, elevations of three or four floors, roofs of average slope with straight slopes or hips pierced by dormers, regularly ordered windows with casements or sashes. The Historic District of Old Québec counts although with colonial residences, some monumental buildings, commemorative monuments, numerous religious edifices; the Ursulines-de-Québec monastery, the Augustines de-l'Hôtel-Dieu-de-Québec monastery, the Notre-Dame-de-Québec basilica-cathedral, Holy Trinity Cathedral, the exterior chapel of the Séminaire de Québec, the chapel of the Sœurs de la Charité de Québec, etc.; fortifications and port constructions. The

site is characterized by a contrasting rhythm and physiognomy parcelling, with square or rectangular small or medium-sized units of residential houses, medium- and large-sized parcels of variable shapes on which institutional, religious, military, public and commercial buildings are erected. The circulation network is composed of stairways built between the 19th and 20th centuries, notably the Lépine and Charles-Baillairgé stairways, pedestrian and bicycle paths, roads, streets, avenues, boulevards and old squares, including Place d'Armes, Place de Paris, Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville and Place d'Youville, organized according to an initial radio-concentric plan in the upper town and an orthogonal plan in the lower part of the city. Connecting public places, including Place d'Armes, church squares, religious properties with the initial nuclei of the colony built in Lower Town, the master plan of the Historic District of Old Québec leads to the shores of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence rivers. From the promontory of the upper town, structured by its fortifications erected on the highest point of Cap Diamant, to the residential, commercial and harbour lower town enclosed between a pronounced escarpment, the river terrace (or riparian strip) and the plain formed by the old banks, the Historic District of Old Québec is also a landscape of interest. The fortifications, the Dufferin Terrace, Place Royale, Place d'Armes, Place de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, Montmorency Park, Cavalier-du-Moulin Park, La Cetière Park and Notre-Dame-de-la-Garde Park all offer beautiful vantage points; the road network, the hills and the stairs of the old city of Quebec offer a multitude of visual perspectives and the côte de la Montagne offers unique views of the old city of Quebec, both from the upper and lower town. The visual qualities of the Historic District of Old Québec also interact with natural elements that undoubtedly contribute to the cultural heritage value of the whole. The geological elements of the site appear in the very structure of the buildings; the limestone extracted from the Quebec promontory as early as the 17th century is widely used, notably for the construction of the Saint-Louis fort, the Hôtel-Dieu, the Ursuline convent and the Notre-Dame-de-Quebec Cathedral Basilica, while the sandstone is found as early as the 19th century mainly in the construction of prestigious residences, institutional buildings and fortification walls. The vegetation cover is made up of a few conifers, including pines and cedars, but is mainly composed of deciduous trees, beech, maple, birch, oak, poplar, ash and a few specimens of American elm of great value. Further preservation, rehabilitation and enhancement measures entered into force, including a plan for redeveloping the old city of Quebec (1970), which is similar to the first development plan with a cultural heritage connotation. With the coming into force of the *Loi sur les biens culturels* in 1972, it became impossible without authorization to divide a lot, to modify the layout or appearance of a building, to excavate the ground even inside a building, to replace or demolish a sign or a panel, etc. Some buildings located in the historic district were also classified by the Minister whose heritage department published several guides: "Guide pour la conservation et la mise en valeur

de l'architecture du Vieux-Québec" (1982), "Regards sur l'architecture du Vieux-Québec" (1986), "Conserver et mettre en valeur le Vieux-Québec : guide d'intervention" (1998); and commissioned various studies aiming at better understanding, inventorying and protecting the characteristics of the Historic District of Old Québec; "Québec de roc et de pierres: la capitale en architecture" by Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset,¹³ "Québec, World Heritage City: Forgotten Images of Daily Life, 1858-1914" by Michel Lessard or "Old Québec: Its Interior Architecture" by Christina Cameron and Monique Trépanier.¹⁴

Patrimonialization of the old port?

By adopting la *Loi sur le patrimoine culturel* in 2012, the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications intends to curb further the transformation of the Historic District of Old Québec; according to this law conservation plans have to drawn up to (re)evaluate the features of interest of the site, to identify issues (both positive and negative) that might influence the site, to set clear objectives for the conservation, to set out appropriate strategies/management actions to achieve its preservation and rehabilitation. In order to legitimize the measures to be taken, the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications undertakes various operations to publicize its intentions and those emphasized the role of the media (circulation of press releases, press conferences, etc.) in producing a space for discussion and debate. Relying on new information and communication technologies to stimulate the political engagement of citizens (several briefs denounce in this regard a placing under tutelage of citizens: "ensure an effective sharing of decision-making powers";¹⁵ "Place the citizen in the center of collective cultural heritage concerns. He must be a partner", "include a major absentee: the citizen/civil society for whom this cultural heritage is preserved and enhanced", "no citizen involvement"¹⁶). As *civic greatness* requires access to information, sharing and acknowledging the opinion of each and everyone, a public hearing is also set for 17 April 2019. Taking the materiality of these arenas into account helps analyzing the logics of problematization of public issues and the involvement stakes which derive from them; "this debating process is seen as necessary for

13 Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset, *Québec de roc et de pierres: la capitale en architecture* (Montréal: Editions MultiMondes, 1998).

14 Christina Cameron and Monique Trépanier, *Vieux Québec: son architecture intérieure* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1986), <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt22zmcc1>.

15 Dominique Albernhe, "Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l'avenir," Consultation publique du CPCQ pour le Vieux-Québec Commentaires écrits, 2019, <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/06/DominiqueAlbernhe-memoire.pdf>.

16 Coalition pour l'arrondissement historique de Sillery, a Web-based Surveys gets circulated online from 21 March to 22 April 2019. Opening up to different audiences and social groups, a public information session is set for 21 March 2019 to enrich public debate. "Contribution à la préparation du Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec" (Coalition pour l'arrondissement historique de Sillery, 2019), <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/06/CoalitionpourlarrondissementhistoriquedeSillery-PierreVagneuxmemoire.pdf>.

citizens to be able to make choices upon which public policies can be developed which will influence collective destinies".¹⁷ Beforehand, actors are given the opportunity to send the Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec their comments in a written form. Ranging from a few lines to several pages, fourteen papers are then submitted (8 individual papers, 9 collective papers) in accordance with the form and content requirements as set by the law. Paginated and dated, they have to clearly identify their author (no anonymity), aim to satisfy collective (not private) interests, detail the very concerns raised by the conservation plan and conclude with concrete suggestions or proposals for improvement. Unless the author expressly states otherwise, the written submissions are made public and posted on the Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec's Web site. During the public hearing, citizens have five minutes to introduce their communication to the audience and the hearing committee composed by a historian, an ethnologist, an associate professor of architecture and an expert in public affairs management. In its stage-like dimension, public debate complies with ceremonial rules which are "neither recorded, nor quoted, nor available to informants"¹⁸ but nonetheless made manifest every time there is a breach of the standard of "good conduct" (avoidance, distancing, etc.).¹⁹ These communicational constraints certainly influence the dynamic of debates even though it is not easy to quantify it.²⁰ Through shared attentional demands, intersubjective mechanisms of co-presence, empathic inter-comprehension²¹ and acts of communication, some speakers prove in that respect to master the required behavioral and cognitive skills²². Playing to an audience of spectators whose collective judgement about the relevance and authority of the arguments exchanged produces public opinion²³ also require overcoming further constraints related to public justification.²⁴ Questioning their skills in making clear and solid arguments alongside experts, several citizens tend to opt between

17 Romain Badouard, Clément Mabi, and Laurence Monnoyer-Smith, "Arenas of Public Debate. On the Materiality of Discussion Spaces," *Questions de Communication*, no. 30 (December 31, 2016): 1, <http://journals.openedition.org/questionsdecommunication/11000>.

18 Erving Goffman, *Façons de parler, Les sens communs* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1987), 96.

19 Erving Goffman, *Les moments et leurs hommes* (Paris: Editions Seuil - Minuit, 1988).

20 Iris Marion Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford Political Theory (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

21 Axel Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995).

22 Daniel Gaxie, "Appréhensions du politique et mobilisations des expériences sociales," *Revue française de science politique* 52, no. 2-3 (2002): 145-78, <https://doi.org/10.3406/rfsp.2002.403705>.

23 Louis Quéré, "Perception du sens et action située," in *La logique des situations*, ed. Michel De Fornel and Louis Quéré (Paris: Éditions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000), 301-38, <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.editionsehess.10705>.

24 Yves Sintomer, "Délibération et participation : affinité élective ou concepts en tension ?," *Participations* 1, no. 1 (2011): 239-76, <https://doi.org/10.3917/parti.001.0239>.

logos, ethos and pathos²⁵ for ordinary rationality, rhetoric,²⁶ negotiation²⁷ and transactions tactics²⁸ or even less structured forms of enunciation such as invective and display of affects.²⁹ Far from illustrating the virtues of a “boundless hospitable democracy”³⁰ this open gathering of officials and citizens ideally aiming to enhance public debate³¹ could oppose in that respect a theoretical voice in the chapter and the effective capacity to have an impact on deliberations and their outcome. Nevertheless, forming a specific narrative, rhetorical and dramatic configuration³² the next stage of the process confronted in the debate individuals or a group with diverging representations, rationalities, points of view (e.g. aesthetic, scientific, environmental, architectural, urbanistic, economic, etc.), values (individual or collective) and stakes (way of considering cultural heritage, mass tourism, etc.). These discussions are not abstract exchanges but concrete social activities showing people either modifying or conversely supporting their initial positions, forging enlightened opinions on questions of general interest. Some arguments denounce political arrangements whose greatness do not comply with *civic greatness*. Under the *Loi sur le patrimoine culturel*, the City of Quebec, subrogating to the powers of the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, is responsible for determining what work (construction, modification of a building, excavation, etc.) may be carried out within the perimeter of the Historic District of Old Québec. However, the City of Québec has delegated its powers to the Commission d’urbanisme et de conservation de Québec whose 10 members, three elected officials and members appointed by the municipal council, are not identified as a cultural heritage specialist. This transfer of responsibility is considered detrimental to cultural heritage protection (“base their decision on political rather than cultural heritage considerations”, “This shift of the authorization process from administrative to political spheres could lead to situations that are not optimal for cultural

25 Marc Breviglieri and Danny Trom, “Troubles et tensions en milieu urbain. Les épreuves citadines et habitantes de la ville,” in *Les sens du public : publics politiques, publics médiatiques*, ed. Daniel Cefai and Dominique Pasquier (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2003), 399–416.

26 Simone Chambers, “Rhétorique et espace public : La démocratie délibérative a-t-elle abandonné la démocratie de masse à son sort ?,” *Raisons politiques* 42, no. 2 (2011): 15–45, <https://doi.org/10.3917/rai.042.0015>.

27 Frans H. van Eemeren and Houtlosser Peter, “Dialectic and Rhetoric: The Warp and Woof of Argumentation Analysis,” *Argumentation* 18, no. 4 (2002): 483–88, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10503-004-1076-0>.

28 Maurice Blanc, ed., *Pour une sociologie de la transaction sociale*, Logiques sociales (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1992).

29 Young, *Inclusion and Democracy*.

30 Stavo-Debaugé, 2012, cited by Mathieu Berger and Julien Charles, “Persona non grata. Au seuil de la participation,” *Participations* 9, no. 2 (2014): 18, <https://doi.org/10.3917/parti.009.0005>.

31 Michael X. Delli Carpini, Fay Lomax Cook, and Lawrence R. Jacobs, “Public Deliberation, Discursive Participation, and Citizen Engagement: A Review of the Empirical Literature,” *Annual Review of Political Science* 7, no. 1 (2004): 315–44, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.polisci.7.121003.091630>.

32 Daniel Cefai, “La construction des problèmes publics. Définitions de situations dans des arènes publiques,” *Réseaux* 14, no. 75 (1996): 43–66, <https://doi.org/10.3406/reso.1996.3684>.

heritage protection”, “Just think of the citizen and political pressures related to the conservation plan implemented for the Historic District of Île d’Orléans”, “The lack of supervision of this political body whose primary mission is not, unlike the Direction générale du patrimoine, to protect cultural heritage is disturbing”;³³ “these mechanisms seem designed to facilitate abuses of discretionary power”, “It can be said that the facilitation of these abuses is not only intended, it is planned and set up as a system by the government bodies responsible for preserving cultural heritage”³⁴). As a consequence, numerous comments refer to the authorization given to punctual modifications that cumulated altered the overall harmony of the district and the visual qualities or the historical character of the buildings. Several comments focused on the materials used for the renovation that do not reflect the period of construction of the building (“The use of materials that correspond to those of the environment of Historic District of Old Québec must be considered as an imperative”³⁵), while other criticisms relate to the insertion of contemporary elements or to poorly executed interventions carried out on architectural components such as doors and windows, roofs and their components (“The integrity of materials, structures and heights often seems to vary at the whim of real estate promoters”, “The architectural integrity, often left to the care of owners and promoters, seem insufficient”³⁶). Several comments criticized façadism, a common practice that consists of preserving the façade while authorizing an interior restructuring of the building (“It seems to me that in all cases, the Plan will have to take a position on façadism, which seems to be the imposed norm in Old city of Quebec”³⁷). Several actors were willing to protect not only the built environmental characteristics but also the landscape and elements of nature by maintaining a sufficient vegetation cover, whether it is on the facade of the buildings, along the streets or in the squares. Another problem addressed concerns the museification of historic sites for the main benefit of tourist industry (“Transforming the area into a museum where everything remains static is an aberration”, “risk of transforming it into a museum district where everything is driven by tourism”³⁸; “In its least glowing version, mass tourism, is defined by critics as a form of insensitive, indifferent and unconscious appropriation of a community’s local assets by transient visitors”, “Increasingly unlivable is the

33 “Mémoire concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec présenté au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec” (Fédération Histoire Québec, April 2019), http://www.histoirequebec.qc.ca/uploads/Memoire_Vieux-Quebec-FHQ.pdf,

34 Pierre Larochelle, “L’abus de pouvoir discrétionnaire systématisé. Le patrimoine bâti au Québec : quand l’ignorance fait loi,” Mémoire sur le Projet de plan de conservation du site patrimonial Vieux-Québec, 2019, <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/06/PierreLarochelle-memoire.pdf>.

35 “Mémoire concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec présenté au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec.”

36 Ibid.

37 Alberne, “Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l’avenir.”

38 “Mémoire concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec présenté au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec.”

best word that describes our situation as permanent residents in recent years”³⁹). As a matter of facts, six cruise ships carrying no less than 5,000 people dock each week at the Port of Quebec, not to mention the 400 daily 50-passenger buses, visitors and other conventioners arriving by car, train, or plane that affect so badly the quality of life of many residents that they prefer to go into exile; between 2006 and 2011, the cultural heritage site lost more than 9% of its permanent residents. Several citizens stressed that preserving the cultural heritage character of the site should also involve the development of infrastructures that allow for the stabilization of permanent population (“We don’t create a setting, we perpetuate a living environment”, “Permanent housing is an essential condition for the vitality, conviviality and security of these neighborhoods. The resident must be at the heart of the action”;⁴⁰ “Several pages on the history of the district and the state of architecture and topography. Not a word about the residents”;⁴¹ “Should we remind you that one among the others reasons for the classification of the Historic District of Old Québec as a UNESCO World Heritage Site was the presence of a permanent population that gives life to the district? “If tourism is a manna for the merchants of the sector and for the hoteliers, it is otherwise for the residents of the sector”, “The old city of Quebec is a living environment, and a living environment includes people who live there”;⁴² “let us remind you that the first beneficiaries and guardians of our cultural heritage are the inhabitants of the old city of Quebec, the permanent residents”⁴³). Emphasizing the relationship between inhabitants who, knowing each other for a long time, claim a community of destiny, many *domestic* discourses stress the importance of patrimonializing without dispossessing the inhabitants of their living space, without corrupting their sense of belonging. Insisting on preserving centuries-old forms of sharing that cement community relationships, many citizens are furthermore willing to protect not only isolated units but naturel and build ensembles and their intangible characteristics that help their understanding, developing and transmitting to future generations (“Cultural heritage is more than the built environment, there is notably the intangible and the landscape”;⁴⁴ “The inability to have a global vision of the site, accepted by all stakeholders, puts the whole at risk”⁴⁵). In this regard,

39 “Mémoire au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec sur le « Projet de plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec »” (Le conseil d’administration des Maisons de Beaujours, 2019), <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/06/LeconseildadministrationdesMaisonsdeBeaujours-LucienMorin-memoire.pdf>.

40 “Mémoire soumis au conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec” (Coopérative La GrandVoile de Québec, April 8, 2019), <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/04/Cooperative-la-GrandVoile-de-Quebec.pdf>.

41 Albernhe, “Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l’avenir.”

42 “Mémoire concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec présenté au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec.”

43 “Mémoire au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec sur le « Projet de plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec ».”

44 “Contribution à la préparation du Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec.”

45 “Mémoire concernant le Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec présenté au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec.”

they questioned the strict boundaries of the historic district of Quebec as delineated by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications. They point out that the three facades of the promontory of Quebec are from a hydrographic point of view surrounded by the St. Charles River and the St. Lawrence River. However, the importance of this port and maritime space, which is intrinsically connected with the origin and development of the city of Québec, contrasts with the modest place it is given in the cultural heritage characterization studies of the Commission des biens culturels du Québec. Nonetheless, the diverse expressions of this cultural heritage deserve the most sustained attention. The historic cradle of the city, the old port of the 17th century built in the lower part of the city between the Royal Battery and Saint-Paul Street counts for example with the Royal Battery, the Finlay Market, the Hunt Islet, the Museum of Civilization, the Bell Islet and the Dalhousie Square (Place des Canotiers). At the Saint-Nicolas harbour, located near the Islet of the Palaces at the mouth of the Saint-Charles River, archaeologists have unearthed the remains of the Roy's shipyard (1739-1747): wharves, ship launching ramp, etc. Until the middle of the 18th century, the Cul-de-Sac harbour was used for repairing and wintering ships; it has not yet been excavated but could reveal next some interesting treasures. Notwithstanding a multiplication of associative and citizen initiatives aiming at protecting these sites since the 1960's, several observers deplore that in less than half a century the old port of Quebec City has been emptied of most of its historic elements and transformed into a meaningless front of recent "international style" buildings ("historic riverfront had been transformed over the past half century into a meaningless pastiche of typical U.S. East Coast waterfronts", "our history is left without evidence of its past existence",⁴⁶ "Similar behavior in Dubrovnik would not have elicited bold warnings from those who are responsible for the preservation of World Heritage sites"⁴⁷). Excluded from the perimeter of the Historic District of Old Québec which was delimited by the Ministère ministre de la Culture et des Communications on the advice of the Conseil du patrimoine culturel, it has indeed been exempted from the application of adequate measures of preservation ("you make one of the most controversial decisions in judiciously authorizing the demolition of a building because of obsolescence",⁴⁸ "should prohibit in the future any cruise ship to enter the Old Port in winter", "cancel the project of a second terminal for cruise ships in the Old Port",⁴⁹ "Let's hope that one day the historic riverfront of Quebec City will regain some of its "old Europe" character"⁵⁰). Despite intense lobbying from the Coalition pour la

46 Alberne, "Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l'avenir."

47 Léonce Naud, "Détérioration du front fluvial historique de Québec," 2018, <https://cpcq.gouv.qc.ca/app/uploads/2020/06/LeonceNaud-memoire.pdf>.

48 Alberne, "Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l'avenir."

49 "Mémoire au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec sur le « Projet de plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec »."

50 Naud, "Détérioration du front fluvial historique de Québec."

sauvegarde du Vieux-Port de Québec (1988-1994) to defeat private real estate projects that threaten Quebec City's riverfront ("It is up to the citizens to watch out or collective cultural heritage will quickly become private and lost forever"⁵¹), notwithstanding the efforts of the Coalition pour l'aménagement du front fluvial du Québec founded in 2000 to preserve the old port from the effects of a large and very expensive rehabilitation, the City of Quebec and the Canadian government provide the Société immobilière du Canada–Vieux-Port de Québec with a \$100 million envelope which is immediately invested in regenerating the infrastructure of the Old Port of Quebec into a land-water and river-sea platform and recreational marina. Welcoming coastal vessels that shuttle to the Great Lakes as well as ocean-going vessels that connect Quebec to the rest of the world, Quebec City's port infrastructures now play an even more significant role in terms of tonnage handled (ranked third in Canada with 26.8 million tons) and passenger traffic (238,000 cruise passengers in 2018). Driven by these imperatives of productivity and profitability, the rehabilitation of the old port seems to be detrimental to *the greatness of a domestic polity* to prioritize the extension of the *industrial and market worlds* ("one of the main challenges in preserving historic districts remains the creation of a cultural heritage policy capable of reaching a consensus on what cultural heritage is about and, and above all, on the purpose of its preservation";⁵² "mass tourism or trade disguised as cultural heritage"⁵³) as deplored among others by ICOMOS in its evaluation report addressed to the World Heritage Centre (the Historic District of Old Québec is on the World Heritage List).

Conclusion

Paying attention to history, attachment to the territory, respect for places of memory as well as to the secular channels that irrigate relationships of proximity, dependence and protection between beings, patrimonialization is elaborated from a *domestic* perspective to preserve, possibly to rehabilitate or even to valorize cultural heritage for the sake of the past, present and future generations. As a socio-cultural and political process by which tangible and intangible goods acquire a certain status, a certain recognition, patrimonialization proceeds from a *civic* co-construction that mobilizes citizens, a community of affected people, experts, scientists who confront representations, memories, values in defining cultural heritage while elaborating and implementing modes of access, use and management of these cultural elements that are considered essential because they are common to a given community. The validation of a compromise

51 "Contribution à la préparation du Plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec."

52 Alberne, "Le passé conditionne le présent, et le présent contient l'avenir."

53 "Mémoire au Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec sur le « Projet de plan de conservation du site patrimonial du Vieux-Québec »."

between the *civic* and *domestic polities* is however by no means consensual; *engagement in justification* reveals indeed divergent points of view and interests. The too modest importance given to the old port in the cultural heritage characterization studies and the conservation plans of the Commission des biens culturels du Québec needs for *reality checks* as it penalizes its preservation. It has cut the historical characteristics out of the old port which has been transformed into a front of international style buildings. Rehabilitation operations that further extend the *industrial* and *market world* need *reality checks* too; dissociated from the *greatness of a domestic polity*, the valorization of the old port meets almost all expectations in terms of productivity and profitability (increase in the price of land, development of commercial exchanges, increase in tourist inflows, etc.). In this respect, the maritime and port activities in the Quebec City region represent nowadays an added value of 489.8 million dollars (2007 figures) and this seems to legitimize the choices made by the government.

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