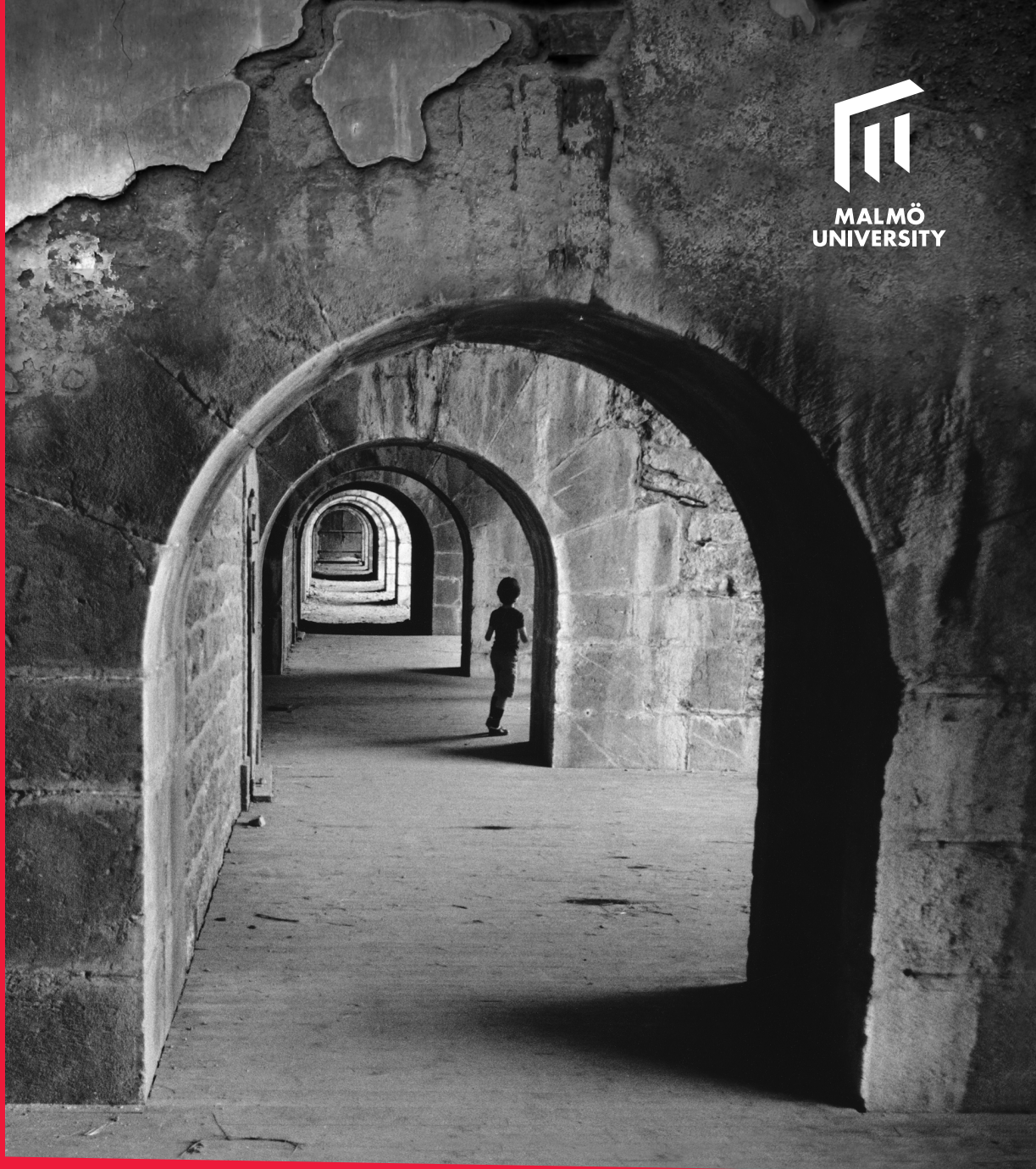
MALMÖ UNIVERSITY SKRIFTER MED HISTORISKA PERSPEKTIV 33



MALMÖ UNIVERSITY

Cecilia Axelsson Yngvéus, Malin Thor Tureby & Cecilia Trenter (eds.)

(Un)contested Heritage

Archives, Museums and Public Spaces

(UN)CONTESTED HERITAGE. ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND PUBLIC SPACES

Malmö University Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 33

Cover layout: Frida Nilsson

Cover photo: Peter Claesson / pixgallery.com

ISBN 978-91-7877-385-5 (print)

ISBN 978-91-7877-386-2 (pdf)

DOI 10.24834/isbn.9789178773862

Print: Media-Tryck, Lund university, 2023

Media-Tryck is a Nordic Swan Ecolabel certified provider of printed material. Read more about our environmental work at www.mediatryck.lu.se

MADE IN SWEDEN

Editors: CECILIA AXELSSON YNGVÉUS,
MALIN THOR TUREBY & CECILIA TRENTER

(UN)CONTESTED HERITAGE. ARCHIVES, MUSEUMS AND PUBLIC SPACES

Malmö university, 2023

Table of contents

What is Remembered? A Foreword

LIV NILSSON STUTZ

A few weeks ago, I was standing next to what is arguably one of the more contested monuments in Europe today: the Equestrian Statue of Leopold II (1835-1909), at la Place du Trône in Brussels. The bronze statue is banal in its familiar form, yet masterfully sculpted by Thomas Vinçotte in 1914. The king holds his head high, his gaze is directed forward and up to the left, and he sits with both commanding and relaxed posture on a muscular horse that bends its neck elegantly, signaling submission to its rider. This is power and control embodied. When the sculpture was erected in 1926, the king had been dead for 17 years, and the country had emerged from the horrors of World War I with the iconic Western Front trenches cutting across its territories. The German occupation forced many Belgians to become refugees, while others were conscripted into forced labor, or killed for suspected resistance and sabotage or simply as the outcome of collective punishment. Germany viewed the Flemish as an oppressed people and made efforts to support their cause, which risked undermining the cohesion of the young nation. The project to raise the statue had been in the making since the death of the king in 1909, and even included a successful public fundraising effort, but had been put on hold during the war. When it finally was erected in 1926 it commemorated the king as builder and colonizer, but probably also as a national hero and a unifying symbol of a Belgian past – happy, prosperous, and united.

The day I visited the monument, in March of 2023, the skies over Brussels were grey, and the bleak light that played across the bronze surface brought out the beautiful shades of green and gray, gently contouring the shapes of the sculpture. And then, suddenly in that grey light I caught it – a glimpse of bright red shining from the inside of the King's right-hand palm and his fingers. A stain. A reminder that this is the hand of a murderer – at least by proxy. In addition to being King of Belgium, Leopold II was also infamously the personal owner of the Congo Free State from 1885 to 1908, a colony which he governed as private property without ever setting his foot. From there he extracted rubber, ivory, wood, and minerals under horrendous conditions that included terror, forced labor, torture, murder, and extreme violence persecuted against the local people

to enrich himself, and in extension, the Belgian crown. Today, the heritage of the Belgian colonization of the Congo and King Leopold II, is contested and has become a topic for ongoing debates about decolonization and a target for anti-racist protests. The statue may have been erected almost 100 years ago as an uncontested monument of Belgian national pride and deference to the king and the monarchy, but today it has become something else. Today it increasingly embodies violence and shame. As contested heritage the monument has become a focal point for negotiations and actions to call attention to a shameful past and its lasting legacies in the present. The red color, still on his hand, is a lasting trace of a recent protest action.

The monument is placed in an open park space selected for its size, light and vegetation. During his life, the king used to hold public speeches here, but today the position of the statue is entangled with local and geopolitical geographies. The king turns his back on the grounds of the royal palace, as if emerging from this center of historic national power, and faces the contemporary urban city blocks dominated by the administrative buildings of the European Union and its auxiliary institutions. Off to his right-hand side is Matonge, a neighborhood named after a marketplace in the DRC, and home to migrants from different parts of Africa. This king – or perhaps ghost – of the past is thus positioned in a geographical web of lived experience and political power, past and present, with a historic legacy in colonial extraction and exploitation, and entangled with political initiatives and administrative practices regulating trade, mobility, and global politics today.

Heritage, in its tangible and intangible forms - be it monuments, archives, artifacts, art, traditions, etc., is a complex cultural product that draws from the past to affect people in the present. Heritage, like myths in traditional societies, are the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves in order to make sense of the world and connect to the past and to community. While constantly referencing the past, heritage is not history, but rather selected fragments of the past that we curate as memories, through processes of selection and simplification. This process of selection and simplification carves out a story that resonates with other values and central concerns within a culture. By anchoring them in the past, they seem timeless, legitimate, perhaps even "natural" or essential. What we claim as heritage tends to be the things that we value as positive (e.g. democracy, equality, freedom, heroic acts, skill, excellence) while the darker aspects of our past are blended in with the much messier concept of history, not as readily claimed by

our culture, but rather viewed as exceptions or perversions (genocide, oppression, violence, racism, slavery, etc.). This process of simplification makes heritage effective as anchors for social and cultural values, but it also makes it vulnerable. When social values and concerns change, the simplified narrative – for example of a benevolent king bringing civilization to Africa – can easily be challenged – and when it is, heritage must be renegotiated to remain relevant.

The statue of King Leopold II has been the object of such negotiations since at least 2008 when activist Théophile de Giraud poured red paint on it as a symbol of the blood of the millions of innocents killed or mutilated in the Congo Free State. In 2015, 150 years after the king ascended to the throne, a protest was organized on the square to draw attention to the crimes of the Belgian colonial project. In the years that followed intellectuals and activists continued a debate the legacy of King Leopold II and the history of Belgian colonialism. This escalated further as the American anti-racist movement *Black Lives Matter* became an international phenomenon in 2020. During this tumultuous year several other statues and busts of Leopold II were removed or defaced across Belgium as part of this moment of reckoning with the heritage of Belgian colonialism. I google images of the statue at la Place du Trône, and see it covered in red paint, tagged with words like "pardon," "fuck," "assassin," and "BLM," and with something burning at its base. Clearly, this monument is no longer perceived as unproblematic.

Material remains of the past, like monuments, transcend time and thus constitute a form of connection point to the past. They last even as people and ideas around them change. Because of their silent materiality, they can be invested with different and sometimes conflicting values and meanings. Both these characteristics make them important loci for this process of renegotiation. In the case of the statue at la Place du Trône, it is very likely that it has been read and understood in very different ways by different people ever since it was erected in 1926. For some it may have inspired awe, pride, and admiration, while others have felt fear and humiliation, perhaps even rage when seeing it. Some may have felt nothing at all. For a long time, a majority did not question its legitimacy. But as cultures undergo change – as is the case with the reevaluation of colonial history – the materiality of its heritage, like this statute, must be reassessed. Here we find an interesting point of contact between history and heritage. The ongoing contestation of this heritage does not seek to affect what happened in the past. What happened, happened. With a few fringe exceptions, nobody today seriously

denies the atrocities of the violence committed in the Congo during colonialism. The ongoing contestation is about what happens now – how the king and colonialism are remembered and how this remembrance is articulated with values in the present. With the changed view of Belgian colonialism, the statue of Leopold II can no longer play the same role as it was intended to at the time of its conception. Can it serve some other function?

The chapters in this book all demonstrate the importance of paying attention to how heritage is created, recreated, and renegotiated through complex processes that oscillate between the affirmative and the question of "*what is remembered (?)*." These ongoing processes can be traced both in institutions like museums and archives, and in public spaces, and they constantly engage with other processes that affirm and challenge hegemonic structures, practices, and discourses in the surrounding culture and society.

Museums and archives – as keepers of heritage and institutions of heritage making – are spaces of power. Through accession, curation, and deaccession, they define what is remembered. They also shape and negotiate the memory though legitimization, historization, and heritagization. Several of the chapters in this book discuss how marginalization and vulnerability interconnect with the administration of curation and heritagization and raise questions about representation. As an example, the heritage of sports, arguably important to many, has long been overlooked and marginalized by the Swedish heritage sector. Berg's examination of the efforts to establish a national museum of sports raises questions around the role of the museum as authority to sanction what is and what is not considered heritage, and how that articulates with the authority given by this type of institution. Håkansson and Jonsson critically examine how the focus on women and women's history, previously marginalized, currently is commodified in Swedish museums, often at the expense of consideration for intersectionality and actual analysis of power, which may result in other forms of exclusion and marginalization. As a counterpoint, Axelsson Yngvéus shows how museums can be open and inclusive in their relationships with people who contribute to the collections through donations, often of personal belongings and everyday things, and thus add more voices to the collective narratives and heritage as "matter in the making". A similarly positive reading of the potential of museums to not only be inclusive and multivocal in their heritage work, but also constitute a force for good in building sustainable societies is discussed by Johnsson Malm. New technology, like digitalization, poses new challenges for

archives and museums. The significance of the interconnectedness between power and marginalization, and spatiality and digitization, is discussed by Sjöholm, Thor Tureby and Wagrell in their analysis of the Polish Research Institute at the Lund University Library. They draw our attention to how both the making of archives and their continued curation always is vulnerable to marginalization and silencing. Another critical analysis on the creation of digital cultural heritage is presented by Bauer who discusses how to balance the need for public access to records as heritage on the one hand, with respect for individual privacy on the other. In all these cases, the analysis returns to the responsibility of museums and archives in recognizing both their power and vulnerability as keepers of heritage.

Public spaces are central for contested and uncontested heritage, and the mechanisms that surround them are both similar and different to what happens in the museum and archive space. Like in the case of King Leopold II, many discourses around contested heritage revolve around existing monuments and sites of commemoration that require renegotiation in the face of social and cultural change. In her chapter on memorials to World War II heritage in Lapland and Finland, Koskinen-Koivisto highlights how the engagement with contested cultural heritage, and a critical analysis of valorization, selection, and sometimes silencing, allows us to analyze conflicts in the present as well as the past from new and productive perspectives that in addition to the political dimension also considers identity, affect, and emotion. Similarly, in her analysis of murals in Northern Ireland commemorating "The Troubles," Larsson discusses how these murals affect people by transforming mundane and everyday spaces into heritage geographies of conflict. Nilsson Mohammadi shares his experiences as part of the movement for creating an anti-racist monument in Malmö to commemorate the victims and survivors of a racist serial killer in 2003-2010. Here the analysis is not about how to renegotiate existing materialities of heritage, but about how to create them. Nilsson Mohammadi discusses the role of public art, history, and community in processes of memory making. As a different dimension of public space, Grufstedt and Trenter analyze game design as a new arena for heritage, and examine the relationships between the industry, heritage content, and perceptions and values around authenticity. They show how game design enters the cultural heritage sector though its relationship with museums and education and discuss how gaming can be an actor in valuing vulnerable heritage and as a framing device for heritage work. Again, we see how *what is remembered* can

serve both progressive and reactionary interest, can be both coopted and commodified for economic gain and deployed to support the marginalized and build community.

Let us return to King Leopold II. The statue at Place du Trône in Brussels actually has a twin, an identical copy, in Kinshasa. It was raised in 1928 in front of the palais de la Nation. This statue has had a more adventurous life than its counterpart in Belgium, as it has been contested, removed, re-erected, and redefined, in a chain of events that reflects the processes of the redefinition of heritage in changing cultural and political contexts. In 1967 it was removed by Mobuto Sese Seko as part of his politics of "return to African and national authenticity," only to be reinstated in 2005 by Joseph Kabila who placed it along a central boulevard in the city. Christophe Muzungo, the cultural minister at the time, stated: "it is part of our heritage. I decided to rehabilitate it." His position was not generally shared, and within 24 hours it had once again been removed. After five years out of the public eye it was moved to a Ngaliema park in 2010, where it currently is placed next to the statues of King Albert I, and Henry Morton Stanley. The park also contains a national ethnographic museum. When asked in 2020 about the statues, the director of the museum stated that they are *viewed as part of history*. At the same time, historian Isidore Ndaywel referred to the protests surrounding the statue in Brussels as a strictly Belgian affair, and that the DRC had more pressing problems to deal with. He viewed the current display as a form of outdoor museum. The fate of the second statue of king Leopold II illustrates how not only political movement and sentiment, but also the context of display signals to us not just what is remembered, but also how it is remembered. The relocation of the statue from the public space in the city center to a museum context, appears to have changed its content. It has become redefined – no longer an actor in the present it has become historicized and can now be approached as history – complicated, messy, and even dark. While museums in the past were intimately connected to presenting grand heritage narratives, they are increasingly finding a new role as places of education and inclusion. They have always also been historicizing. Like archives, museums have the power to preserve or silence, but they can also curate problematic things without necessarily sanctioning them. The public space on the other hand, seems to be held to another standard. In some cases, the mere presence of these manifestations, be they murals or statues can be felt as acts of violence – or as manifestations of solidarity. It is as if the removal from the public space and the

relocation to a museum is somehow disarming. Their appearance may still hurt people, but the wounds are not as deep. Their presence there also safeguards these memories, including those of the oppressed, victimized, and marginalized, from being erased.

While pretending to be fixed, removed, and eternal, heritage must also have the capacity to be changing, flexible, and contested, in order to remain relevant. Its relevance and power lie in that balance between being uncontested and contested. That is probably why the glimpse of red paint, on King Leopold's hand that morning, made the monument truly meaningful to me – it showed that the monument still matters, even in a problematic way. As heritage professionals our role is not to silence the present or the past, but to support an intellectual space for their relationship to be examined and interrogated. This important book does just that.

Introduction to (Un)contested Heritage. Archives, Museums and Public Spaces

CECILIA AXELSSON YNGVÉUS, MALIN THOR TUREBY & CECILIA TRENTER

Contested heritage, sometimes also referred to as "dissonant heritage" or "difficult heritage" has been discussed, explored and studied by cultural heritage scholars from various disciplines over the last two decades.[1] However, there is still limited knowledge about what contested or dissonant heritage is. How, when and by whom heritage can be contested and how it is related to or understood in relation to *un*contested heritage are also unresolved questions.[2] As pointed out by Yang Liu, Karine Dupre & Xin Jin (2021) in their systematic review of 112 articles on contested heritage, there are several different definitions of contested heritage, and a general lack of theoretically grounded research and theoretical contributions, as scholars tend to apply theories from different research fields.[3] In this anthology, most of the contributors are historians. Historical research is distinguished by empirical and inductive work in which the status of the source material is linked to the epistemological understanding of complex causal relationships with many governing actors. The source material becomes a peephole into a complex (bygone) reality. In recent decades, debates have persisted over the power within and over heritage institutions, as well as what

[1] See for example Sharon MacDonald, *Difficult heritage. Negotiating the Nazi past in Nuremberg and beyond* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York 2009); Helaine Silverman (ed.), *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World* (New York 2011); J. E. Tunbridge & G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester 1996). Theopisti Stylianou-Lambert, Alexandra Bounia and Antigone Heraclidou, *Emerging technologies and museums. Mediating difficult heritage* (New York 2022).

[2] This anthology is the result of an international workshop with the aim to initiate new discussions and new research on cultural heritage – contested as well as uncontested – that was held at the Department of Society, Culture and Identity at Malmö University, in October 2022. The editors wish to acknowledge that the workshop was funded by means for internationalization from the Faculty of Education and Society at Malmö University. A particular thank you is extended to the keynote-speakers at this workshop, Professor Liv Nilsson Stutz from Linnæus University and Docent Eerika Koskinen Koivisto from the University of Jyväskylä.

[3] Yang Liu, Karine Dupre & Xin Jin, "A Systematic Review of Literature on Contested Heritage", *Current Issues in Tourism*, 24:4 (2021) pp. 442–465, DOI: 10.1080/13683500.2020.1774516

kind of materials are or are not preserved in archives, museums and other memory institutions. In these discussions, often referred to as the archival turn, heritage institutions are situated as subjects of study (among other subjects), rather than places of study and providers of source materials.[4] The majority of the contributors to this volume are trained historians at different stages of their careers, which leaves a particular mark on the anthology. Further, the initiation, discussion, and development of this volume as a whole, as well as of the individual chapters, has taken place at the department for Society, Culture and Identity at Malmö University, which in turn has affected the content of the anthology, where historical studies revolve around historical change, history from below, learning and history, and oral history. The chapters are all influenced by the fact that the authors are trained historians and by this specific research and academic context. For example, none of the contributions present a case study in terms of a theoretically applied example of (un)contested heritage. Instead, they probe and test out empirical examples in relation to theoretical concepts.

The contributors do not present theories about cultural heritage but instead take a starting point in empirically investigated contexts to discuss and problematize theoretical approaches to cultural heritage. Further, as social and cultural history is at the center of the Department for Society, Culture and Identity — with a special interest in history from a "bottom-up perspective" and to write and explore the history and heritage of previously marginalized groups — the research at the department as well as in this volume is characterized by interest in issues of ethnicity, generation, gender, class and transnationality. The result is research inspired by oral history and educational history research with a focus on the use of history and how history is produced, conveyed and received.[5]

The title *(Un)contested Heritage: Archives, Museums and Public Spaces* also points to different spaces where cultural heritage is produced, conveyed, received and contested. A premise in the broad research field of critical heritage studies is to abandon the idea of essentialism. Instead, cultural heritage is seen as a set of social processes within historical cultures, in which actors shape collective

[4] Francis X. Blouin, Jr and William R. Rosenberg, *Processing the past. Contesting authorities in history and the archives*, (New York, Oxford 2011); Terry Cook, "The Archive(s) Is a Foreign Country: Historians, Archivists, and the Changing Archival Landscape", *The American Archivist*, 74: 2 (2011) pp. 600–632; Ann Öhrberg, Tim Berndtsson, Otto Fischer, Annie Mattsson (eds), *From dust to dawn. Archival studies after the archival turn*, (Uppsala, 2022).

[5] History: <https://mau.se/en/research/research-subjects/history/> (April 5, 2023).

memories into cultural heritage.[6] The temporal focus is the contemporary "doing". The ambiguous concept "(un)contested heritage" refers to the inherent contradiction within the idea of cultural heritage. By virtue of being defined as cultural heritage — something important to preserve for future generations — cultural heritage claims to be a common and public good. However, the public good in a society consists of a diversity of people and groups and cannot consist of *one* common heritage. Cultural heritage furthermore can appear to be deliberated, agreed and self-evident. The portal concept of this anthology — "(un)contested heritage"— therefore serves to underline the fact that cultural heritage and its value is always negotiated in an ongoing process. Aspects of this performative negotiation and the agency that drives these processes can certainly be problematized. They are therefore described, challenged, and explained from different aspects in the different chapters of the anthology.

The contribution of the anthology thus falls at an intersection between the process-perspectives of critical heritage studies of cultural heritage, the empirical-historical studies of power and agency in social and cultural history (after the archival turn), and the conceptual fields that examine the use of history and history mediation. It rests firmly on the collective expertise drawn from historians at different stages of their careers, from researchers with theoretical proficiency as well as practical experience from cultural heritage work, both within and outside of traditional cultural heritage institutions. The result, if not a comprehensive rendering, is a range of multifaceted insights into research on why and how cultural heritage can be both contested and (un)contested.

The chapters of the anthology are either articles based on empirical studies, or shorter discussion posts, and are divided into two parts: "Museums and Archives" and "Public Spaces". In the Museums and Archives section, **Peter Bauer** in "Handle with Care: Post-secrecy Archival Records as Cultural Heritage" examines the challenges for archives in dealing with legislation on individuals' privacy and right to private life, while providing a legal framework for cultural heritage, which is the same archival material, and guaranteeing accessibility to the public**. Jenny Sjöholm**, **Malin Thor Tureby** and **Kristin Wagrell** describe the processes of archive creation in "An Archive on the Move: Tracing Contested and Vulnerable Archival Spaces of the Polish Research Institute". It concerns the spatio-temporal

[6] See for example Sharon MacDonald, *Memorylands. Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon 2013); Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York 2006).

life of a Holocaust survivor archive in the collection, creation, and housing of the Polish Research Institute (PIZ) at Lund University Library. In **Julia Håkansson's** and **Malin Jonsson's** critical reflection "Do Women have to be Extraordinary to get Exhibited in Swedish Museums? Cultural Heritage Sites, Museum Exhibitions and the Commercialization of Women from the Past", they ask (and answer) the question of whether normative signs are required for women to be represented in historical exhibitions in contemporary Sweden. **Carolina Jonsson Malm's** contribution "Pathways towards a Critical and Anti-Racist Heritage Education" also touches on the content of contemporary identity politics, for example in museums, by arguing for an inclusive cultural heritage pedagogy. She presents concrete tools for how this can be done. In "Making Cultural Heritage from Below: Confirming or Contesting by Donating Objects", **Cecilia Axelsson Yngvéus** shows the relevance of studying donors' gifts and donations to museums to catch agency and motifs formulated from a perspective other than that of professionals. **John Berg**, in his contribution "Uniting a Scattered Heritage: Historical Perspectives on the Heritagization of Swedish Sports 1900 — Today", describes how the actors in the sports movement over the course of the 1900s created a Swedish sports heritage in a process characterized by conflict and power struggles when Swedish sports were institutionalized into museums.

In the second part of the anthology, the focus is on public space. **Robert Nilsson Mohammadi**, in "Remembering Racism: Prospections of an Antiracist Monument and Memory-Site in Malmö", charts the making of a monumental site into a space for memory-work, through a process of social mobilization. In "Troubling heritage(s) — The republican and loyalist communication of the place of the Troubles in Irish and British Heritage", **Fredrika Larsson** highlights the balance between cultural violence and heritage when treating "The Troubles" in murals in Northern Ireland. In the chapter "Contested and Ambivalent Heritage: Revisiting the Responses to Second World War Heritage of Finnish Lapland from the Perspective of Affects", **Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto** deals with the difficult and dark heritage of WWII German presence in Finnish Lapland. **Ylva Grufstedt** and **Cecilia Trenter** argue the importance of highlighting the game industry and game design as influential actors when cultural heritage is created and used in the closing chapter "Cultural Heritage and the Game Design: A Discussion of Natural Friends".

Alternative Ways to Subdivide the Anthology's Contributions

The division of the anthology into two parts based on spaces and places; institutions (museums and archives) and the public space, is not self-evident. The separation of institutions and professionals from the public (as in activists, amateurs and commercial actors) can be justified by Laurajane Smith's credo about a hegemonic professional heritage discourse, the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD), which steers and dominates among professionals at museums and heritages sites.[7] But the anthology's contribution shows that hegemonic discourse can just as well be found outside the institutions, for example, through private donors who do not have a professional connection to cultural heritage and donate objects to confirm and become part of the traditional cultural heritage discourse. Another example is the gaming industry that institutionalizes games in traditional museums with national themes. Nor is it possible to separate professionals from activists; there are activists in the cultural heritage sector just as there are actors in the public sphere who maintain the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) in their struggle for identity-political goals, as shown by the chapters on the study of the anti-racist memorial in Malmö, World War II cultural heritage in Finnish Lapland and the conflict in Northern Ireland. Conflicting cultural heritage does not always appear in the form of explicit and agency-driven conflicts, but may at first sight even appear, for example, to be equal (re)presentations of women and inclusive presentations of national identity in museum exhibitions, but which, through closer examination, resemble conflict with precisely these values. The conflicts can consist of structural and unintentional purposes, as exemplified by the chapter on the handling of archive records and may appear contradictory in the legislation governing the archives. An anticipation and intention of the authors of this anthology is therefore that the different chapters can speak to each other and reverberate across whatever sections and divisions that organize the texts.

In closing, the processes of doing cultural heritage are governed by a multitude of actions, aims and goals that are sometimes contradictory and disputed, and only understandable in their historical context. Intentions and plans that can be interpreted in retrospect as logical developments in how collections become archives, achievements and memories become museum exhibitions, and emotions are concretized into monuments, turn out to consist of both conscious choices, conflicts, and coincidences. It is our hope that the examples studied

[7] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of heritage* (New York 2006).

empirically and discussed analytically in this anthology show just that and serve as both inspiration and a point of departure for further studies of (un)contested heritage from many perspectives, not least that of the historian's.

ARCHIVES AND MUSEUMS

Handle with Care: Post-Secrecy Archival Records as Cultural Heritage

PETER BAUER

Introduction

This chapter problematizes the ongoing digitization of the public sectors archives in Sweden from the perspective of personal integrity. The analysis of this chapter discusses which archival records were seen as integrity sensitive from 1927 until 2010. The conclusion is that what information that was viewed as private was depending on the zeitgeist at the time of its creation and that the archivist should be aware of this when digitizing the material as a way to protect to the right to privacy.

Archives as a Problematic Cultural Heritage

In the Swedish archival law from 1990 it is stated that the archives of public authorities, regardless of the uniqueness or importance of the records, are part of the national cultural heritage.[1] In recent years this has meant that these archives have become the subject of a discourse about how increased public access to the cultural heritage is to be achieved by online publication of archival records.[2] In terms of general archival theory, this development is complicated since public archives are not neutral bearers of knowledge but rather contain the views of social elites,[3] or they were created when citizens needed to share information in order to gain support from the general welfare state. Thereby the archives can portray people in ways they would not consent to or leak private information when accessed by the public. This is further complicated by the changing nature

[1] SFS 1990:82. *Arkivlag* 3§.

[2] Malin Thor Tureby & Kristin Wagrell, "Crisis Documentation and Oral History: Problematizing Collecting and Preserving Practices in a Digital World", *The Oral History Review* 49:2 (2022) p. 347.

[3] Tim Berndtsson, Otto Fischer, Annie Mattson & Annie Öhrberg. "From Dust to Dawn – Archival Studies after the Archival Turn", in Tim Berndtsson, Otto Fischer, Annie Mattson & Annie Öhrberg (eds.), *From Dust to Dawn – Archival Studies after the Archival Turn* (Uppsala 2022) p. 39.

of social norms, which makes it hard to determine which information has been offensive or private in the past.[4]

With regard to the theme of this book this means that there is a tension between the role of the archives as cultural heritage, where the records are seen as part of a *collective* memory, and the ethical standards of the archival sector which aims to protect the *individual's* right to privacy.[5] In this chapter I therefore want to discuss how certain records at the time of their creation were viewed as potentially problematic regarding the right to privacy. By doing this I hope to demonstrate how some archival records can challenge the idea of digitization as a form of democratization since this digitization also comes at the cost of certain individuals' right to privacy.[6] This is done by the following set of questions:

- Which of the public archives' records were regarded as invasive of privacy?
- What reasons were stated for these views and what can the reasons say about the decision makers' views of privacy?
- How can the answers to the first two questions be utilized in further discussions about digital cultural heritage?

By examining this set of questions, I hope to shed light on what the archivist Paul Dalgleish calls the thorniest area of digitization, namely, records that violate privacy but yet meet the legal criteria for being accessible to the public.[7] This is an area that archival science has paid little attention too while it has become of increasing importance in our contemporary discourse about increased access as part of a democratization process.[8]

What is Privacy?

In the previous section the word privacy was used. This concept goes back to ancient Greece, where the philosopher Aristotle divided society into two separate

[4] David Mindel, "Ethics and Digital Collections: A Selective Overview of Evolving Complexities", *Journal of Documentation* 78:3 (2022) p. 552.

[5] Björn Lindh, "Ny internationell etikkod för arkivarier", *Arkiv samhälle och forskning,* 1:1 (1998) p. 59.

[6] In archival tradition archives have been seen as neutral portrayers of the past. This has however been challenged in recent years; for further reading see Ciaran B. Trace, "What is Recorded is Never Simply 'What Happened': Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture", *Archival Science* 2 (2002) pp. 137–159.

[7] Paul Daeglesh, "The Thorniest Area: Making Collections Accessible Online while Respecting Individual and Community Sensitivities", *Archives and Manuscripts*, 39:1 (2011) pp. 71–73.

[8] It should be noted that Daeglesh's article is from 2011 and that since then there have been a few publications about privacy in the archives. Yet the ethical dimension of this is a small part of the larger debate surrounding digitized archival material.

spheres: the private and the public. However, Aristotle did not view privacy as the right to have a separate area where people could do as they pleased, but rather as a place where one could develop the virtues that were necessary in the political public sphere.[9] In contemporary society, research about privacy has advanced quite a different understanding of privacy, where one of the best-known philosophers is the legal scholar Alan Westin, whose theory of privacy has affected the current data regulations of many countries. The key part of Westin's philosophy is that privacy can be understood as "the claim of individuals, groups, or institutions to determine for themselves when, how, and to what extent information about them is communicated to others".[10] In Westin's philosophy several modes of privacy are noted, but for the purpose of this chapter the three most important ones are *solitude, emotional release* and *reservation*. In this case solitude means the freedom from being observed by others. Emotional release means the ability to let go of social norms and be able to be oneself, while reservation means limiting what is disclosed to others.[11] In this chapter Westin's understanding of privacy will be operationalized as the definition of privacy, while the three modes mentioned will be utilized to create an understanding of which part of the private sphere the government wanted to protect.

Material and Method – Studying Archives as Socially Constructed Cultural Heritage

The archival law from the 1990s it is stated that public records are part of the national heritage meant a change in what is viewed as cultural heritage, were heritage goes beyond cultural goods such as museum artefacts or building.[12] Cultural heritage can thereby be seen as the result of a social construction where certain traditions and artefacts are given this label,[13] a view that is the basis for this chapter. This socially constructed nature of cultural heritage becomes clear

[9] Examples often mentioned with an interconnection between the two spheres are, for instance, caring for a family which was a virtue that could develop how to care for society at large. For further reading see Judith A. Swanson, *The Public and the Private in Aristotle's Political Philosophy* (Ithaca & London:, 1992) pp. 202–208.

[10] Luisa Rollenhagen, "Alan Westin is the Father of Modern Data Privacy Law", *Osano* November 8, 2020. Available at <https://www.osano.com/articles/alan-westin>.

[11] Stephen Margulis, "Three Theories of Privacy: An Overview", in S. Treptke & L. Reinecke (eds.). *Privacy Online* (Berlin 2011) p. 11.

[12] Hugh Taylor, "The Collective Memory: Archives and Libraries As Heritage", *Archivaria* 15 (1982) pp. 118–119.

[13] Samuel Edquist, "Archival Divides: Archives as Contested Realities and Metaphors", in Tim Berndtsson, Otto Fischer, Annie Mattson & Annie Öhrberg (eds.), *From Dust to Dawn: Archival Studies after the Archival Turn* (Uppsala, 2017) pp. 33–34.

with the case of public authorities' archives since they are governed through legislation, a field sometimes referred to as archival politics.[14] In Sweden archival politics often have the principle of public access to official documents as a basic premise which has been in effect since 1766. This principle, however, was challenged in the early twentieth century with the emergence of the welfare state, when public archives became flooded with records containing detailed information about the citizens' private sphere. As a result, Swedish public officials started to discuss how some records could be kept out of the public eye without being destroyed, which led to the development of secrecy laws.[15]

In the Swedish legal system, however, such legislation needs to be examined by a committee before being presented to parliament. These committees contain both experts and politicians, who set up public inquiries into propositions for new laws.[16] It is these public inquiries that preceded secrecy legislation between 1926 and 2010 that constitute the empirical material for this chapter, since they provide insight into which documents the committees viewed as potentially harmful.

Another important aspect regarding these inquiries is that once a law is passed by parliament, the inquiries function as a source of law.[17] The inquiries are thereby central to interpreting the law since they express the reasoning behind the legislation.[18] The inquiries therefore play a part in constructing the public authorities' archives as cultural heritage since they control which records are accessible to the public. It should also be stated that the maximum time that a record can be put under secrecy is 70 years from its creation, but many records are subject to shorter periods such as five or twenty years.[19] From this perspective some of the records mentioned in this chapter do not yet meet the legal criteria for publication online, while others do.

Some final remarks may also be appropriate regarding the timespan of the investigation and the method operationalized. The reason for choosing the time

[14] Agnes Gheezy, "Filing the World: Archives as Cultural Heritage and the Power of Remembering", *ICON* 19:5 (2021) pp. 1738–39; Edquist (2019) pp. 44–45, Edquist (2019) p. 44.
[15] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Offentlighet och sekretess: Offentlighetskommitténs betänkande lagförslag med motiv*, 1966:60, pp. 64–67.
[16] Lars Trägårdh, "Democratic Governance and the Creation of Social Capital in Sweden: The Discreet Charm of Governmental Commissions", in Lars Trägårdh (ed), *State and Civil Society in Northern Europe: The Swedish Model Reconsidered* (New York, 2007) p. 237.
[17] Presentation of the Swedish legislation process at Hauser Global Law School Programme < https://wsww.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Sweden1.html#_Preparatory_Legislative_Materials > (October 11, 2022).
[18] Presentation of the Swedish legislation process <https://lagen.nu/om/rattskallor> (November 22, 2022).
[19] SFS 2009:400. *Offentlighets- och sekretesslag*. 15 kap. 1§, 19 kap. 1–3§.

period 1927–2010 is that 1927 was the first time secrecy was addressed in a Swedish public inquiry, while the last revision was made in 2010. It should be noted that not all secrecy legislation has been subject to a public inquiry since it is only major revisions that have created a need for this type of investigations. However, the aim of this chapter is not to present every record that was viewed as potentially harmful, but rather to provide a few examples of such records. Lastly, the method applied in this chapter has primarily been thematic readings of the inquiries with special attention to phrases such as "shielding the right to privacy" in order to locate which records have been viewed as potentially harmful for the individual.[20] It should also be noted that I do not discuss the archival laws which have existed since 1906. This is because this legislation, according to the historian Anna Rosengren, did not deal explicitly with ethical dimensions before 1987. This lack of awareness is linked by Rosengren to a specific Swedish discourse where democracy and the "public good" outweigh individual interests.[21]

The Right to Privacy in Public Authorities' Archives

In previous sections I have discussed how certain public records have been perceived as potentially harmful. The political discussion about this have previously been studied by the historian Samuel Edquist who shows in an article from 2017 that a debate arose in the 1970s about the preservation of social services records. In this debate it was stated that the records should be subject to "ethical destruction" when no longer relevant for the social services since they contained data that violated the individual's privacy. This idea was challenged by proponents of preservation, who stated that preservation was necessary in order to hold social services decision makers accountable. Furthermore, it was argued that the records were part of the nation's cultural heritage and that destroying them would make future research impossible. In the end a practice of ethical destruction was established except that records were to be kept for research purposes for persons born on the 5th, 15th or 25th of a month. The fact that society favoured ethical destruction was, according to Edquist, the result of a stance where the individual is granted privacy from the state which is a position

[20] This chapter is a reworking of my M.A. thesis in archival science in which I operationalized Laclau & Mouffe's discourse analysis. In this chapter I have re-used the source material but put more emphasis on cultural heritage.

[21] Anna Rosengren, *Openness, Privacy and the Archive: Arguments on Openness and Privacy in Swedish Archival Regulation 1987–2004* (Stockholm, 2016) pp. 36–38.

with a nearly hegemonical stance in Sweden.[22] In a later article Edquist discusses how archives can be viewed as both emancipatory and repressive. From an emancipatory standpoint, archives can be regarded as showing how people in power historically viewed marginalized persons, which can be used as evidence of maltreatment. On the other hand, archives can also give information about people that can be potentially dangerous if it comes into the wrong hands. According to Edquist, this illustrates the question of whether or not a person should have the right to be forgotten.[23]

Another text by Edquist is *To Preserve or Not Preserve*, which investigates archival policies regarding destruction of records as well as other themes such as who was thought to be the archive user and the transformation of the archives into cultural heritage in politics.[24] According to Edquist, the labelling of archives as cultural heritage was the result of a changed discourse about archives. Whereas archives during the 1960s and 1970s had been viewed as an arena where marginalized voices were silenced, in the 1980s this view changed and archives came to be viewed as a cultural heritage that could provide a sense of national identity and belonging. However, the archival practice remained unchanged since the term "cultural heritage" was mostly used in the sense that a record was "important". Another aspect during this period was that the future need for archival material did not relate to cultural heritage but rather to academic researchers. Lastly, Edquist suggests that it was unlikely that the archival sector would destroy any records with regard to personal integrity but instead used secrecy in order to keep the documents away from public view.[25] An interesting aspect is that neither Rosengren's nor Edquist's paper mentions any idea that the archives' role as cultural heritage could be unethical if accessibility increased.

Ethical Problems with Digitalized Archival Cultural Heritage

The tension between the discourse of digitization and the right to privacy has previously been discussed by the folklorist Fredrik Skott. Skott's text is based on his work at a semi-public folklore archive where parts of the material were collected under the promise of secrecy in order to encourage people to participate

[22] Samuel Edquist, "Ethical Destruction? Privacy Concerns regarding Swedish Social Services Records", in *The Right to Access of Information and the Right to Privacy – A Democratic Balancing Act* (Huddinge 2017) pp. 11–18, 26, 30.
[23] Edquist (2017) p. 39.
[24] This is my own translation of Edquist's title, which in Swedish reads "Att spara eller inte spara".
[25] Edquist (2019) pp. 133, 152.

in the collection, which means that the archive cannot publish the records online. This is problematized by Skott, since much of the information in the records – such as a person's belief in hobgoblins in the nineteenth century – today can be viewed as harmless even though it was potentially harmful to the informant at the time of collection. Meanwhile, other information such as substance abuse by priests could still be damaging for the informant's descendants. However, there is also a danger in *not* making such records publicly accessible since they tell us about the darker sides of society. Thus, by not making this material accessible there is a risk that the archives will produce a picture of a harmonious past that never existed.[26]

Another problem with the digitization of cultural heritage is, according to the legal scholar Lucas Lixinski, the lack of legislation regarding the practice of digitization, which leaves the cultural heritage institutions with little guidance in how to handle sensitive material.[27] This is also problematized by the communication scholar Zinaida Manžuch, who claims that even though some legislation exists, such as GDPR, there still are ethical dilemmas associated with digitization. One example is the question of digital access to materials such as medical records, newspaper articles and ethnographic material produced before the Internet, meaning that persons in the records could not grasp how their information would be used in the future. Furthermore, the digitization of cultural heritage also causes a problem since it is the owner of the website and not the people in the material that provide the means of interpreting the records.[28]

Another aspect of accessibility regarding digitization is the fact that digitization has changed the informal access criteria. Previously researchers had to physically visit an archive and request to see a specific record. This meant that even though the records were accessible to the public, the main audience for the archives was not the general public but rather researchers or journalists. With digitization this has changed, which also affects the ethics of public access, since there is a difference, for instance, between one researcher reading a private letter and millions of people accessing it online.[29] Furthermore, archival records can be

[26] Fredrik Skott, "Finns den på nätet? Nätpublicering som kulturarvsproduktion", *Tidskrift for kulturforskning* 13:3 (2014) pp. 51–61.
[27] Lucas Lixinski, "Digital Heritage Surrogates, Decolonization, and International Law: Restitution, Control, and the Creation of Value as Reparations and Emancipation", *Santander Art and Culture Law Review* 2:6 (2022) pp. 66–67.
[28] Zinaida Manžuch, "Ethical Issues in Digitization of Cultural Heritage" *Journal of Contemporary Archival Studies* 4:2 (2017) pp. 7–12.
[29] Daeglesh (2011) pp. 69–71.

combined with each other to gain a deep insight into an individual's private sphere. One example of such combinations has been discussed by the historian Jenny Bangham who describes a medical archive that contained biological and qualitative data that were not sensitive to integrity when they occurred separately. When combined, however, these records could reveal the blood group of an entire human pedigree, which was viewed as an invasion of privacy by the archive.[30] In this perspective the digitization and web publication of archival records could lead to unexpected but dire consequences for the individual.

The purpose of this section has been twofold. First and foremost I have aimed to highlight the complexity of Sweden's tradition of openness and the right to privacy within archival policy. From this perspective the labelling of archives as cultural heritage furthers this challenge since it comes with a discourse about increased access and digitization. In the following section I will therefore present some examples of records that has been viewed within the field of archival politics as potentially harmful, a perspective that is currently lacking in archival research. The point here is not to develop an "ethical standard" regarding these records but rather to open up for discussion about how these records were viewed and potential dangers in increasing accessibility to them, thus contributing to the theme of (un)contested heritage.

Early Secrecy Legislation – from Drunkards to Mental Health Issues

As mentioned in previous sections, the content of archives – and thus what they contribute to the cultural heritage – is governed by legislation, part of which concerns secrecy. The first public inquiry regarding secrecy was published in 1927, which means that none of the records described in the inquiry are subject any longer to secrecy since the maximum amount of time that records can be kept under secrecy is 70 years. Therefore the records mentioned in this inquiry, as well as the inquiry of 1935 that is discussed later in this section, are not limited by legislation as is common with cultural heritage material.[31]

The inquiry of 1927 did not contain many explicit discussions of privacy; instead it mostly dealt with protecting some records in the public administration of the state. In one case, however, privacy is explicitly mentioned and that is

[30] Jenny Bangham, "New Meanings in the Archive: Privacy, Technological Change and the Status of Sources", *Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte* 45:3 (2022) pp. 500–501.
[31] Lixinsky (2020) pp. 66–67.

regarding the treatment of alcoholics at the state rehabilitation institutions. Here the lawmakers wanted to make medical records of the treatment subject to secrecy for up to 50 years after the patient's death:

> [The records] touch upon the individuals' most intimate relationships, their health status, lifestyles, family relationships, economic conditions etc. If made public these records could bring great harm and discomfort for the nearly 150 individuals affected. But not only these but also other persons mentioned in the documents, such as next of kin, persons who have provided information, etc., would be at risk of exposure to severe discomfort.[32]

This quotation illustrates that in the first inquiry there was already a notion of privacy, and data stated as belonging to this sphere concerned health and economic conditions. It should be noted, however, that the lawmakers later on also mentioned that, apart from protecting the private sphere, the need for secrecy also existed in order to re-assimilate the individual to the labour market and to protect a person reporting information from potential revenge. An important aspect is however that the lawmakers wanted the list of patients at rehab institutions to remain public.[33] This is interesting since the 1920s was a period when alcoholism was broadly debated in Swedish society.[34] Furthermore, it seems that it is not primarily that a person has *been subject* to treatment that is the focal point but rather *what* the person could report about their circumstances during the treatment that is the subject of legislation. This can also be seen in relation to Westin's idea of emotional release, where the knowledge that your information will be protected is necessary to create a situation where an individual can feel safe from society's judgement. It would be fair here to argue that such a notion would be important in order to ensure efficient treatment.

In 1935 a new inquiry about secrecy laws took shape. This inquiry had an explicit connection to the right to privacy since one of the committee's objectives, was to ascertain how the state could shield the right to privacy, an objective justified by "the state's growing concern about social issues". As a result of this

---

[32] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Utredning med förslag till ändrade bestämmelser rörande allmänna handlingars offentlighet*, Stockholm, 1927:2, p. 149.

[33] SOU 1927:2, pp. 149–151.

[34] In 1922 Sweden had a referendum regarding the prohibition of alcohol where a slim majority (51 per cent) voted against the prohibition (result retrieved from Henrik Oscarsson & Sören Holmberg, *Ett klart NEJ till EURON: Redogörelse för 2003 års folkomröstning genomförd i samarbete mellan statistiska centralbyrån och Statsvetenskapliga institutionen* (Stockholm 2004) p. 73.

justification the investigators looked closely at the two main places where sensitive private information could exist, namely, in church records (back then the church was the authority responsible for population registration) and the social services boards. In the case of church records, it concerned "records that could be viewed as derogatory" for a person, and the church explicitly mentions four different areas in which a person had a right to privacy: mental health issues, paternity investigations, criminality and the curation of the soul. From the social services board the dimension of privacy is furthermore expanded into notifications to the social board as well as restrictions on the right to buy alcohol. Furthermore it is also stated that records about sexually transmitted diseases and the social services should be protected and that especially when the matter concerned paternity or childcare. In the inquiry it is also mentioned that in the case of records containing private information it is just not data on the informant himself that should be protected but also third parties mentioned in the records. This is expressed through a statement in which it is not only the individual that must consent to the release of the record but also any third parties mentioned in it. [35]

In the inquiry of 1935, there is also an obvious tension between privacy and the need for transparency. This is revealed explicitly by the fact that some experts – such as the Uppsala division of the national archives – wrote to the committee requesting secrecy for an infinite period in order to protect "the memory of the deceased". The committee found this request worthy of serious consideration but also stated that this was not possible since it would endanger the possibility of future research in the archives. Instead, the committee stated that the period of secrecy regarding the most intimate details of a person is sixty years, after which the subject of the record and their next of kin would no longer be alive.[36] An interesting aspect here is that both Edquist and Rosengren identify different conclusions in the same line of thought. This is because the need for privacy seems self-evident and worth shielding even beyond the death of an individual, but also that this is challenged by the aspect of public access to official records and hence the "common good" outweighs the need for the individual.

With regards to privacy it is clear that the early secrecy commissions can be understood as viewing privacy as related to what Westin would call *emotional*

[35] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Förslag till ändrade bestämmelser rörande allmänna handlingars offentlighet*, 1935:15, pp. 13–14, 25, 57–65, 61–63.
[36] SOU 1935:5, p. 30.

release and *reservation*. The first is noteworthy as regard to the treatment of alcoholics, where it was argued that they needed to be protected by secrecy during the treatment in order to create a zone where the patient could let go of their fear of being judged and monitored by others. It is also clear, however, that many of the subjects mentioned in the commission of 1935 were based on ideas of reservation. In this case a person should be given the right to limit who has access to knowledge about their physical and psychological health since this could lead to a person being stigmatized. The ethical handling of such records has previously been briefly mentioned by Manžuch as problematic when it comes to digitization since they were created at a time when people were not aware of the risk of them becoming available online.[37] From this perspective it would be unethical to publish, while on the other hand not publishing them creates a risk of silencing the darker parts of the cultural heritage regarding psychological trauma.

Secrecy During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

The next large revision of the secrecy legislation came in 1966 when a public inquiry into secrecy was presented to the Swedish parliament. The introduction to the inquiry mentions that Sweden has a long tradition of public access to official records and that public access will still be the main rule and secrecy the exception. However, the committee also wrote that during recent years a need had arisen for the state to be discreet in certain areas, one of which is identified as *a person's private circumstances*. The information sorted under this category was, according to the committee, information that could damage the individual if it got out:

> The committee would recommend that "violence" be equated with other harmful measures. This refers to such matters as dismissal from employment, exclusion from a trade union, or blockade of a business by customers. The term "disrespect" in the 1964 memorandum referred to such attacks on a person's honour as can lead to exclusion from groups of various kinds.[38]

This quotation shows that there are some forms of information that could lead to social sanctions if made public. This is furthermore discussed in separate parts of the investigation, where one of the main issues is secrecy surrounding criminal

[37] Manžuch (2017) pp. 7–12.
[38] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Offentlighet och sekretess: Offentlighetskommitténs betänkande: lagförslag med motiv,* 1966:60, p. 164.

cases brought to court. Here it is stated that the information that someone has been convicted of crime or been involved in a police investigation could lead to social sanctions. However, the investigators also declared that it is a key part of democracy that the public can gain access to court rulings as well as their basis and hence it was decided that court rulings would not be subject to secrecy.

In the case above the committee reasoned in line with Rosenquist's study, which shows that the idea of "the common good" could outweigh the need for privacy. One interesting aspect is however that sometimes it seems that "the common good" could also be the same as the best interest of the state. One example of this is the records from the psychological evaluation before enrolment in military service. Here it is stated these records needed to be put under lock and key because if they were made public they could affect the recruit's answers to the psychologist. Secrecy can thus be seen here as a way to create what Westin calls an *emotional release* in order to elicit adequate responses from the recruit. From this perspective the aim in labelling some things as secret is not explicitly to protect the private sphere of a person but is rather a means to serve the defence forces' own interests. This aspect becomes even clearer later on in the inquiry when we see that lists of persons who had received social welfare were not subject to secrecy, nor were the names of people forbidden to buy alcohol.[39]

From Westin's perspective privacy is a personal or organizational right. In the case of SOU 1966:60, however, it is clear that this personal right clashed with the rule of law according to which transparency is seen as a way to safeguard the authorities' power over the individual. It is furthermore advocated that the rule of law would be more efficient if not only the parties concerned but also the general public gained knowledge of which information the state based its decisions on.[40] This might have a connection to the spirit of the time since the 1960s was a period in Swedish history when several miscarriages of justice were perpetrated by the Swedish courts. In many of these cases, such as the so called Haijby affair, the Swedish state had used closed institutions such as mental asylums in order to purge people deemed as "enemies of the state" or the church.[41] In this case the increasing transparency within the Swedish state might not have

[39] SOU 1966:60, p. 160.
[40] SOU 1966:60, p. 58.
[41] The 1940s and 1950s as the heyday of miscarriages of justice is referred to, for instance, in Rolf Nygren, "Tvångsvård och rättsröta eller historien om riksdagens anstaltsombudsman", *Process och exekution*, Skrifter från Juridiska fakulteten i Uppsala (Uppsala, 1990) p. 317.

its roots in sudden changes in attitude concerning which information should be kept private, but rather is rooted in a fear of the increasingly powerful state itself.

In relation to cultural heritage, it is rather clear that the archives mentioned in this discussion were not primarily viewed as sources of history, which according to Edquist was the case throughout the state in the 1960s and 1970s. An important aspect is however that archival policy, according to Edquist, at that time viewed the public as potentially the third group (with the authority itself and possibly historians constituting groups one and two) that would be interested in the archives in the long run. In the case of SOU 1966:60, however, this was not the case since the aim of the archival sector was to provide transparency to the citizens.[42] From this perspective the records mentioned could be seen as problematic if they re-occurred around 60 years after their creation, since the main justification for keeping them was the contemporary needs of the public.

The conclusions of SOU 1966:60 were met with criticism and many debaters argued that it gave the public too much insight into the personal sphere. This was one of the reasons why the Swedish parliament in April 1969 summoned a new committee to review the question of secrecy, and in 1975 a new inquiry, SOU 1975:22, saw the light of day. In this inquiry fifteen paragraphs were presented as relating to the individual's interests in terms of protecting private economy and "shielding the right to privacy". One of the main themes in this case was the question of criminal records, which were sorted under the right to privacy, and not even the person that the records concerned should have the right to access them. This was justified by a growing tendency of employers to request job seekers to attach a transcript of their criminal record to their application, a practice which the committee was critical of:[43]

> It is far too easy, it has been believed, to draw the wrong conclusions from a transcript that contains a couple of notes that are close to the time limit when they would have been removed and therefore are out of date. […] The secrecy has been justified by the right to privacy and this justification should – albeit with some hesitation – be applicable.[44]

[42] Edquist (2019) pp. 123–125.
[43] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Lag om allmänna handlingar: Betänkande* 1975:22, pp. 64, 246–247.
[44] SOU 1966:60, p. 247.

From this perspective, criminal records needed to be put under secrecy to avoid misuse by future employers. One interesting thing in relation to crime is that the question of police investigations was once again brought up for discussion. Here the committee stated that preliminary investigations still should be kept public and that if the investigations contained information clearing an individual of criminal charges it was also in the "individual's best interest" to keep them public.[45] With regard to Westin's concepts of privacy, it is rather clear here that the commission wanted to ensure a situation where an individual's past would not be subject to observation by others, thus limiting the risk of social stigma.

As in previous years, the committee worked from the premise that records created as part of a treatment in the correction system or forced rehabilitation centres should be kept secret, even though they could be accessible to the public if an institution found it in the best interest of the individual incarcerated. In the discussion, however, there was a tension between keeping the institutionalization of an individual secret and cases where individual freedoms (such as buying alcohol) were restricted by the state. In this discussion the committee stated that it was necessary for legal security to keep the first kind of government decisions public and the second kind secret. It should also be stated that this rule was also to be applicable to social services, where decisions to put children under the custody of the state should be made public while supporting measurements such as parental training could be kept under secrecy.[46]

In many cases SOU 1975:22 highlights that secrecy primarily should be used if it is in the best interest of the individual and in cases where the state for some reason had to intervene in citizens' lives. The inquiry asserted that when new documents were put under secrecy it was primarily in order to guarantee that the citizens could be reincorporated into mainstream society after the intervention. This is an idea that already existed in the legislation from 1927 but that made its final breakthrough in 1975, a development which can be understood from the contemporary discourse that has previously been discussed by the historian Roddy Nilsson. According to Nilsson the social democratic values during the twentieth century revolved around rehabilitation rather than punishment in the penal system. This was an idea that had its roots in the early years of the welfare

[45] SOU 1975:22, p. 253.
[46] SOU 1975:22, p. 262–263.

state but reached its peak in the 1970s.[47] With regard to Westin, it could be stated here that the concept of privacy to a large extent was based on the notion that a person should not be kept under observation from society after completing rehabilitation. Thereby the modes of privacy were not the main reasons for the secrecy legislation but rather were aligned to the welfare state's goals of rehabilitation. It should also be noted that this tendency to protect the individual from social stigma was somewhat subordinated to the need for transparency in order to protect the public interest. One interesting aspect of this is that the openness of these records was not part of a discussion about making research possible, but rather to give the public transparency and ensure legal security. From this perspective, records constitute an interesting ethical challenge since they were produced under circumstances similar to those mentioned by Manžuch, where the intent was never to make them broadly available.[48] Yet many public archives today have worked with mass digitization of such material without highlighting this difficulty. Hence there is an ethical problem with regard to the records mentioned, since increased accessibility to this part of the cultural heritage goes against the aims of the legislation in making them open.

Modern-Day Secrecy

Four years after the publication of SOU 1975:22 parliament passed a secrecy law that would apply until 2010. The legislation of 2010 was the result of a public inquiry that commenced in 1998 when parliament saw the need for legislation. This public inquiry went under the name The Public and Secrecy Committee, which released a series of reports, of which *The Rule of Public Access to Official Documents and the New Technology* (SOU 2001:3) and *New Secrecy Law* (SOU 2003:3) are of concern to this chapter.[49] The records mentioned in both these inquiries may seem odd from a perspective of cultural heritage, since the inquiries are rather contemporary. One important aspect is however that in the USA in recent years there has been debate about the publication of material produced between 1984 and 2004 on the websites of cultural heritage archives.[50] From this this perspective, and given the definition that all records within the authorities'

[47] Roddy Nilsson, "The Swedish Prison System in a Historical Perspective: A Story of Successful Failure", *Journal of Scandinavian Studies of Criminology and Crime Prevention* 4:1 (2003), pp. 3–4.
[48] Manžuch (2017) pp. 7–11.
[49] Regeringens Proposition, *Offentlighets- och sekretesslag*, 2008/09:150, p. 271.
[50] Manžuch (2017) pp. 8–9.

archives are part of the cultural heritage, a discussion of these inquiries is warranted in this essay.[51] With regard to the inquiries themselves, it should also be stated that the committee no longer spoke about the need to "shield the right to privacy" but rather about the protection of an individual's integrity.

In SOU 2001:3 the concept of integrity seems to change from the individual record to the fact that records now could be digitally combined to create new records. According to the inquiry, this had led to a development whereby information could be retrieved from non-integrity-sensitive records and be combined into an integrity-sensitive register. This development had increasingly become a problem since the authorities also had an obligation to create such registers if requested by a member of the public. The inquiry does not clearly mention which kind of documents could be accessed in this process, apart from medical records, but it seems that the main problem is that the individual lacked control over how their information would be handled in the future. According to the inquiry this problem could not be rectified by decreasing the right of the public to access the data collected. However, the inquiry presented an alternative in which the collection of personal data by the authorities would be seriously limited in terms of the information they gathered.[52] This discussion can be connected to Westin's concept of reservation, which states that one of the key parts of privacy is to be able to control which information is shared with others. From this perspective the new digital records created a challenge since they could be combined in ways that could not be foreseen, thus making reservation impossible.

The discussion of how information could be reused is also interesting in regard to previous research as well as how later legislation tackled the problem. Firstly, the limitation of which information the authorities would be allowed to collect can be seen as an alternative to the ethical destruction of records that has previously been discussed by Edquist. The arguments put forward are quite similar since the need to carry out tasks within the welfare system created records that are integrity-sensitive and thus challenged the individual's right to privacy. Here, however, the lawmakers did not discuss the consequences for the cultural heritage or future research at all, but rather put the individual's interest first by not collecting the data at all. This is a procedure that was later suggested by

[51] Edquist (2019) pp. 134–137.
[52] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Offentlighetsprincipen och den nya tekniken,* 2001:3, pp. 136–145.

Hentonnen, who argued that one of the best ways to protect sensitive personal records is by not creating them in the first place. In the development of recent European legislation such as the *General Data Protection Regulation* (GDPR) this has also been put forward as one of the main strategies. An important difference between the later debate about GDPR in relation to SOU 2001:3 is however that the European legislation allows some collection of personal data with regard to the needs of future research and the cultural heritage.[53]

In the second report, SOU 2003:99, several different aspects of secrecy legislation are discussed. The report says that the legislation from 1975 had been amended by parliament several times in order to protect the individual's privacy, a development which had been criticized by the journalists' association for limiting the freedom of the press. The committee acknowledged that this might be the case but also asserted that the legislation had been somewhat liberalized in recent years in order to grant individuals more transparency in records concerning themselves in order to protect them, for instance, from legal abuse by the state. The inquiry also declared that there was a major problem with secrecy in that some information would be classified in one government context (for instance social work) but unprotected in another (such as court rulings etc.). Thus, it was a problem that a record created with the promise of secrecy could potentially lose its classified secrecy if it was transferred from one authority to another.[54] It can be stated here that this discussion yet again relates to Westin's discussion of reservation, since some of the data could have been created in order to provide a sphere of emotional release but later on be reused in ways that violated the notion of reservation.

According to the committee, it was very hard to create legislation which could close the gap without risking the legal definition becoming too wide and thus catch more information than necessary, which would violate the law of public access to official documents. However, the committee also stated that they could create a legal framework where certain types of information could be put under

[53] Edquist (2017) pp. 26–30; Pekka Hentonnen, "Privacy as an Archival Problem and Solution", *Archival Science* 17:3 (2017) pp. 286–288; Description of the Swedish data regulation on the Swedish Board of Integrity Protection < https://www.imy.se/verksamhet/dataskydd/det-har-galler-enligt-gdpr/introduktion-till-gdpr/dataskyddsforordningen-i-fulltext/beaktandesatser/ > (July 13, 2022).

[54] Statens offentliga utredningar, *Ny sekretesslag*, 2003:99, pp. 163–165.

secrecy regardless of which authority it ended up in.[55] This is discussed in the following quotation:

> The term personal circumstances is very far-reaching and includes records that in our opinion should fall outside regulation, such as certain information about the individual's economic situation, work circumstances and family relationships. The examples we have listed previously that have not been protected by secrecy have primarily concerned the individual's health and sex life [….] Certain forms of substance abuse should also be included in information concerning the individual's health. Also, information about hereditary diseases should be regarded as concerning health. A record about a person having undergone a sex change should also be sorted under health or sexual life. In our opinion, a record that a person has been a victim of sexual abuse should also be considered part of that person's sexual life.[56]

All in all, when it came to privacy SOU 2003:99 only discusses diseases, sex changes or matters related to sexual health. One key aspect here is that questions regarding sexuality to a larger degree became protected by secrecy, which can be understood in the context of the changes in sexual politics that took place in the previous decades, for instance that LBTQIA rights have become an increasingly important issue in Swedish society. As examples of "progressive" politics the declassification of homosexuality as a mental illness in 1979 could be mentioned as well as the increased rights concerning LBTQIA legal partnerships in the 1990s and increased rights to adoption and protection from persecution.[57]

Conclusions – Records to Handle with Care

In this concluding section two issues will be discussed. The first is the reasons why some records in the past have been viewed as needing secrecy legislation. Secondly, I discuss how such records can be handled in today's landscape of increased digitization.

When it comes to secrecy an overall conclusion is that secrecy legislation was often inspired by the morals of the time in which the inquiries were created. This is highlighted by the fact that the inquiries from 1927 and 1935 discussed records

[55] SOU 2003:99, p. 165.
[56] SOU 2003:99, p. 168.
[57] For a description of important years in Swedish sexual politics at the National Association for Sexual Education, see <https://www.rfsu.se/om-rfsu/om-oss/rfsus-historia/viktiga-artal-och-reformer/> (August 10, 2022).

containing substance abuse and children born out of wedlock, which at the time were viewed as serious social transgressions. In the period between 1966–1975 there is an emphasis on privacy as a possible way to achieve the goal of the rehabilitation ideology, where persons should not be judged for past transgressions such as criminality, substance abuse or mental illness. From this perspective privacy did not constitute an ethical standard but rather filled an instrumental role in achieving larger political goals. In the early 2000s, however, the right to privacy is justified by a moral standpoint were persons had a right to determine how their information could be handled in the future rather than that certain records are problematic, a notion that was challenged by the rise of new technologies.

From the section above it is clear that the committees worked from an understanding of privacy similar to that of Westin, where the individuals in the records for different reasons did not want their information to become public. This however created a tension between the need for transparency and the right to privacy, and thus the records were put under secrecy but not destroyed. Hence one can ask how these records should be handled in today's digital society, where digital access to cultural heritage somewhat collides with the circumstances in which the records were produced, when the individual was promised to not be put under scrutiny by society.

From previous research used in this chapter it can be argued that integrity-sensitive records still need to be used in online collections since there are risks (such as silencing the voices of marginalized groups) in not including them. This practice, however, risks colliding with the right to privacy and one question is thus how handle this tension. Drawing inspiration from Westin's view of privacy, one possible solution to this problem is contextualization. Since Westin proposes that one of the main functions of privacy is to shield persons from the judgement of others, contextualization of the nature of the records (such as that they were created with the promise of secrecy) as well as the time spirit (such as the outlook on substance abuse) could provide some shelter from the ethical issues surrounding online publications. This is a tendency that has previously been discussed by the historians Malin Thor Thureby and Kristin Wagrell, who point out that online collections come with the possibility of presenting records in ways that allow certain interpretations.[58] This requires close collaboration with

[58] Thor Thureby & Wagrell (2022) pp. 362–363.

archivists, who are specialists in record keeping, and historians, who can provide important context to the records, but it might also be the only way to handle what otherwise would be a contestable form of cultural heritage.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank the seminar at the ALM programme of 2018 at Lund University as well as my supervisor for the original thesis, Associate Professor Charlotte Hagström. Lastly I'd like to thank the editors of this volume and especially Professor Malin Thor Tureby for giving valuable feedback on this article.

An Archive on the Move: Tracing Contested and Vulnerable Archival Spaces of the Polish Research Institute Archive

JENNY SJÖHOLM, MALIN THOR TUREBY & KRISTIN WAGRELL[1]

Introduction

In this chapter we focus on the spatio-temporal life of a Holocaust archive and suggest that we need to understand the journeys an archive has made in time and space if we are to fully understand its value. We argue that the collection, creation, and housing of the Polish Research Institute (PIZ) at Lund University Library has created a history of contested spaces and this journey has involved the production and maintenance of different vulnerabilities. By taking an explicitly geographic approach to the history of an archive, we underline the importance of not only what it is, but where it has been. Whilst archival research sometimes focuses on unpacking the box, a geographic approach helps us to understand its contextualities, its surrounding geographies, and how these geographies partly shape and form our perceptions of what the archive and its contents represent. The idea of elaborating on a collections' movement is derived from Hill's argument on how collections — as well as practices of collecting —are essentially geographical.[2] Hill argues that tracing or following a collection's movements and geographies opens opportunities to include not only more conventional archival sites, but also more hidden ones; as well as geographies and practices of vulnerability, as we will show here. We suggest the spaces of the archive and the geographies it has been placed within are far from passive and neutral. By

[1] The authors are listed in an alphabetical order to acknowledge that this chapter was written in close collaboration of all three contributing authors. The authors would like to acknowledge that the chapter was written within the research project entitled "Ethical dilemmas of digitization: Vulnerability and Holocaust collections" (funded by the Swedish Research Council grant number 2021-01428).

[2] Jude Hill, "Travelling objects: the Wellcome collection in Los Angeles, London and beyond", *Cultural Geographies* (2006) pp. 340–366.

studying this archival journey, we specifically aim to explore the vulnerabilities embedded in the PIZ archive history and geography.

As emphasized by critical archival researchers, archives are always contested spaces of power and we should be aware of the many marginalized practices, voices, and communities in our archives.[3] Such perspectives remind us that archives are far from passive vessels but can instead disempower as well as empower those they deal with. For vulnerable groups, the ways in which their histories and memories are archived may be especially important. Vulnerability is a complex concept that has been defined and perceived in multiple ways[4] but here we view it as a silencing, marginalization and inaccessibility that is "politically produced, unequally distributed through and by different operations of power".[5]

Empirically this chapter deals with the archive of the Polish Research Institute (PIZ) at Lund University Library which contains material from Polish Roman Catholic and Jewish concentration camp survivors who arrived in Sweden during the spring and summer of 1945. Initiated in 1945 by Lund University lecturer Zygmunt Lakocinski, it includes transcribed interviews (so-called witness protocols) with camp survivors, objects brought from the camps, as well as letters, diaries, and poems of survivors. Parts of the archive have been digitized and can be found via the library's website and the Alvin platform for digital collections and digitalized cultural heritage.[6]

In this chapter, we discuss the movements of the PIZ archive, from the making of the archive at Lund University Library, to its deposition at the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University, its return to Lund University, its digitization in the early 1990s, and the creation of the platform 'Witnessing

[3] Daniela Agostinho, Catherine D'Ignazio, Annie Ring, Nanna Bonde Thylstrup & Kristin Veel "Uncertain Archives: Approaching the Unknowns, Errors, and Vulnerabilities of Big Data through Cultural Theories of the Archive", *Theories of the Archive, Surveillance and Society*, (2019) pp. 422–441; Eric Ketelaar,"Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives", *Archival Science* 1 (2001) pp. 131–141.

[4] Anu Koivunen, Katarina Kyröä, & Ingrid Ryberg, *The power of Vulnerability. Mobilising affect in feminist, queer and anti-racist media cultures.* (Manchester 2018); Dearbhail, Bracken-Roche, Emily Bell, Mary Ellen Macdonald & Eric Racine, "The concept of 'vulnerability' in research ethics: an in-depth analysis of policies and guidelines" *Health Research Policy and Systems*, 5:8 (2017) https://doi.org/10.1186/s12961-016-0164-6s.; Judith Butler, "Rethinking Vulnerability and Resistance", in Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti & Leticia Sabsay (eds.), *Vulnerability in Resistance,* (Durham 2016) pp. 12–27; Carl H. Coleman, "Vulnerability as a Regulatory Category in Human Subject Research" *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*, 37:1 (2009) pp. 12–18.

[5] Butler et al., (eds) (2016) p. 5.

[6] Witnessing Genocide. <https://www.ub.lu.se/en/witnessing-genocide> (January 20, 2023).

genocide' at the Lund University Library. A critical and geographical approach helps us hone in on the operations of power and contextualities of vulnerability, as well as on questions such as who is seen as vulnerable. We also ask how, where, why and who created, maintained, and contested the vulnerabilities of the PIZ archive. The PIZ archive is portrayed as far from an abstract, neutral, and isolated place but as a lived, practiced, and relational space. How vulnerability—those inaccessible, marginal and silenced voices—can be both understood and approached is a crucial issue for archival studies; not least as archives are renewed and transformed through digitization.

The Making of the PIZ Archive — Subjectivity as Vulnerability

The narrative of how the PIZ archive was initiated has been told many times by many people, but never by its initiators and makers.[7] They never crafted a narrative or metatext to explain how and why they were creating the archive/collection, known today as the PIZ archive. At the end of the 1990s, the Gothenburg-based historian Paul Rudny was hired to organize the collection. Around this time Rudny also wrote, the oft-cited text: "Polski Instytut Źródłowy w Lund (PIZ) (The Polish Research Institute in Lund), a presentation of the archives" that is still available via the Lund University Library website.[8] In the text Paul Rudny writes about the story of how Zygmunt Lakocinski, a lecturer in Polish at Lund University, left behind two collections to the University Library: The first being his personal papers and the second a collection of material called The Polish Research Institute in Lund (the PIZ collection). The PIZ collection also consists of two parts: the archive (manuscripts and documents) and printed material. According to Rudny, the archive is significant in terms of its *unique documentation* and for the fact that the material is *in Sweden.*[9]

[7] See for example Paul Rudny, "Polski Instytut Źródłowy w Lund (PIZ) (The Polish Research Institute in Lund). A presentation of the archives" Lund: Universitetsbiblioteket, Lunds universitet (2005); Izabela A. Dahl, "…this is material arousing interest in common history": Zygmunt Łakociński and Polish Survivors' Protocols", *Jewish History Quarterly*, (2007) pp. 319–338; Victoria Van Orden Martínez, "Witnessing against a divide? An analysis of early Holocaust testimonies constructed in interviews between Jewish and non-Jewish Poles", *Holocaust Studies*, DOI: 10.1080/17504902.2021.1981627 See also Victoria Van Orden Martínez forthcoming dissertation, *Afterlives. Histories of Survivors of Nazi Persecution in Sweden (.*prel.title*).*

[8] Witnessing Genocide <https://www.ub.lu.se/en/witnessing-genocide> (January 20, 2023).

[9] Paul Rudny, "Polski Instytut Źródłowy w Lund (PIZ) (The Polish Research Institute in Lund). A presentation of the archives" (Lund 2005).

> The interviews (over 500) were made with Polish citizens that were ex-prisoners, irrespective of their religious or ethnic groups, with the purpose of informing coming generations of what had taken place. The interviews were made within 18 months of their arrival in Sweden. What makes these interviews significant is partly that the documentation was made shortly after the respondents were released and partly that the methods of conducting the interviews were reliable. This makes Lakocinski's work *relatively rare* from an *international perspective* (…)[10]

However, as we have pointed out elsewhere, the PIZ archive is not as rare and unique from an international perspective, but should rather be understood in relation to similar initiatives that were instigated by the persecuted, refugees and survivors during and immediately after the Second World War and the Holocaust.[11] By way of example, Israeli historian Laura Jockusch has demonstrated how historical commissions and documentation centers were founded all over Europe immediately after the war in her seminal book *Collect and Record! Jewish Holocaust documentation in early postwar Europe*. In the first postwar decade, these initiatives collected thousands of Nazi documents along with testimonies, memories, stories, diaries, songs, poetries, and objects, both from and about those who were murdered and those who survived. We contend that the making of the PIZ archive should be understood in such a contemporaneous and international context. Of course, one could argue that all archives contain unique documentation and are the results of a range of unique cultural heritage practices in their creation, collection, archivization, and curation.

However, what we instead set out as particularly unique in relation to the PIZ archive is that it was created by funding from the Swedish state, in contrast to similar initiatives elsewhere. Furthermore, although the interviews were conducted by survivors, a Swedish Professor of History, Sture Bolin, was assigned to design the methodological guidelines for the work. In November 1945 Professor Bolin held a lecture for the working group on how to go about collecting

[10] Rudny, (2005) p. 1.

[11] Malin Thor Tureby, "Memories, testimonies and oral history: on collections and research about and with Holocaust survivors in Sweden", *SOU 2020:21, Utredningen om ett museum om Förintelsen: Sveriges museum om Förintelsen*. Del 2 pp. 67–92; Malin Thor Tureby & Kristin Wagrell, "Vittnesmål från Förintelsen och de överlevandes berättelser: definitioner, insamlingar och användningar, 1939–2020", (Stockholm 2020) pp. 17–20.

the materials.[12] In the lecture Bolin emphasized that historical facts change easily and remove themselves from the truth unless they are immediately investigated or presented in subjective way. Therefore, the researcher must completely disavow subjectivity and take the position of an impartial (objective) observer and collector of materials. According to Professor Bolin:

> The history of the last war, which is written according to known working methods, has certain areas — prisons and concentration camps — which require processing based on completely new methods. These methods would consist of collecting historical material from people rescued from concentration camps in the form of accounts, minutes and testimonies. Historical facts, witnessed by thousands of witnesses, will have a value as historical documents, establishing the historical truth and providing an overall picture of life in the prisons and concentration camps. All this will constitute a rich material for scientific investigations. [13]

To establish "the historical truth" it was viewed as important to carefully distinguish between personal testimonies about self-perceived events and those narrated by other witnesses. Sture Bolin also underlined the importance of the witnesses indicating as accurately as possible the geographical location of the scene of the crime and that the testimony was told in a correct chronological order.[14]

> An ideal way to collect such testimonies would be to include the witnesses' statements on gramophone records. Since this is impossible for material reasons, the members of the working group should, as far as possible, act as such gramophone records by reproducing as faithfully as possible in writing the testimonies of the witnesses. One should give the witnesses complete freedom in their particulars, carefully and in detail record all the facts, carefully maintaining the language and expression of the witnesses. In this way, without affecting the witnesses in any way, their immediate, unadulterated impressions

[12] Minutes from meeting, Sture Bolin´s lecture about Polish Historical (Research) Institute´s activity and regulations (in Swedish and Polish), November 22, 1945. Polish Research Institute Archive (PIZ). Lunds universitetsbibliotek (LUB): <https://www.ub.lu.se/hitta/digitala-samlingar/witnessing-genocide>

[13] Minutes from meeting, Sture Bolin´s lecture about Polish Historical (Research) Institute´s activity and regulations (in Swedish and Polish), November 22, 1945. PIZ, LUB: <https://www.ub.lu.se/hitta/digitala-samlingar/witnessing-genocide> Authors' own translation from Swedish to English.

[14] Ibid.

> and observations are achieved, which also provides valuable material for psychological investigations. [15]

The idea that it was possible to establish "the historical truth" by collecting the interviews/testimonies according to a strict methodological guideline — where the interviewer interacted with the witness as little as possible — and rather recorded and reproduced the words of the interviewees demonstrates how vulnerable (read easy to contaminate) these kinds of materials and methods were considered to be in the middle of the 1940s in Sweden. However, the ideas about the objective interviewer and the subjective interviewee also provide the witnesses with a certain status and agency. It was argued that if they were given complete freedom to express themselves, they would contribute with invaluable materials for future scientific investigations.

After the interview, a transcript of the witness testimony (called a witness protocol) was signed by both interviewee and interviewer. Each "witness protocol" also included comments from the person making the record of the person being interviewed:

> The testifier is a simple, emotional woman. Her camp recollections arouse strong feelings in her, and she cries at certain points during her testimony. She is not prone to flights of fancy. Though her memory is poor, she endeavours to speak only the truth.[16]

Hence, the vulnerability of the interviewees and the subjectivity of the materials were considered simultaneously as a strength and weakness in the making of the archive in the middle of the 1940s.

The Deposition of the PIZ Archive at the Hoover Institute and Library: Accessibility as Vulnerability

Negotiations and decisions related to the future protection of the collection were made parallel to the collection of testimonies and at an early stage in the life of the PIZ archive. In 1946 plans were initiated by Lakocinski to guarantee the security of the archive — in particular the archive's witness records — by moving it — from Europe to the USA. A plan was drawn up to create and move copies of

[15] Ibid.

[16] Record of Witness Testimony 1 [Anna Danowska's testimony received by Helena Miklaszewska], PIZ. LUB, <https://www.ub.lu.se/hitta/digitala-samlingar/witnessing-genocide/witness-testimonies>

the records, as well as to move portions of the original archival material from Lund's University Library and deposit them for 25 years at Stanford University's Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace. Financial reasons lay behind the proposed move, as well as political uncertainties surrounding the collection. In the immediate post-War period, it is perhaps no surprise that the archive's relocation and deposition was planned with an intention to use the geography and distance from post-war Europe and the politics surrounding Holocaust survivors and Poland's status as a nation in an effort to furnish safety. In 1948 it was evident that "the most important issue to solve for PIZ was the security of the material".[17] Even from the archive's inception and early stages, the material was viewed, deemed, and labelled as vulnerable by Lakocinski himself: a status that is derived from context and one which had spatial implications and consequences.

At the end of 1946 Lakocinski started the process of securing the collection, a process that took some time before it could be finalized. Lakocinski initiated a dialogue about moving the archive outside Europe by activating his European and American networks and contacts. For example, contact was made with the Hoover Library representatives: one representative on Polish matters in London and another representative in Sweden. On initial contact with the Swedish representative of the Hoover Library in January 1947, Lakocinski explained his intention of future collaboration and financial support. In this correspondence he explains how the PIZ archive working group — consisting of the 9 archival workers and himself as the archival manager — had been financed until December 1946 by the Swedish "Arbetsmarknadskommissionen" Swedish Labour Market Commission — which was a state body that was concerned with labor market questions and the recruitment of foreign labor. Lakocinski explained further in the correspondence how his work had been increasingly directed towards ensuring financial means through contact with several organizations, including the Hoover archive.[18] However, it is not until Lakocinski, almost one year later in December 1947 in a letter directed directly to the Hoover archive where he raises political uncertainties and the collection's position in the developing Cold War and the wish to deposit the collection that contact is

[17] Paul Rodny Polski Instytut Źródłowy Lund (PIZ) (The Polish Research Institute in Lund). A presentation of the archives. (2005) p. 12.

[18] Letter to Ebba Dahlin Hoover Library's representative in Sweden from Zygmunt Lakocinski, January 2, 1947, Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972, vol. 47:14, PIZ, LUB.

established.[19] There was fear at the institute in Lund that the collection would be made available to or somehow vulnerable to the attentions of the Soviet bloc, not least stemming from the interest shown in it by the communist government in Poland.[20] Hoover had already begun to take a more active position in relation to Polish archive material after the end of the Second World War. For example, much of the Polish London government material was deposited or sold to the Hoover Institution. A choice was made that involved financing, but crucially the decision rested upon geography, spatial context and the positionality of actors. The Hoover archives were well-funded and a safe distance from Europe, but it should be noted that the Hoover Library and Institute is more than just a library and neutral space for storage and deposit, despite what the external image of the Hoover tower may suggest (fig. Illustration of the Hoover tower). Hoover has its roots in the archival work of Hebert Hoover who, before his inauguration as the 30th President of the USA, was a prolific collector of European war documentation and accounts. The library and associated institute that bears his name is dedicated to the preservation of peace, free enterprise and democracy and existed in a Western space in a concerted opposition to the Soviet bloc. That the PIZ finds its way to Hoover, positions the archive within a wider narrative framing of the Cold War, freedom, and the USA's role in European politics.

In the letter from December 1947 Lakoncinski writes to the Hoover Institute and Library on War, Revolution and Peace: "As we appreciate the importance of the position of the Hoover Library in the States and as we would like American politicians and historians to be well informed about everything connected with Polish affairs, we should like to transfer a complete set (over 500 copies) of our documentation to the Hoover Library in the form of an open deposit under the usual conditions of such cases". The financial uncertainties of the archive were made clear in the letter. Lakocinski described the "primitive conditions" they were working under and asked for help financing the 3000 copies that made up the collection of documents.[21] In the beginning of 1948 Lakoncinski received a reply from Hoover Library stating their interest in the proposal of the collection,

[19] Letter from Z. Lakocinski to Hoover Institute and Library and Professor H.H Fisher, December 15, 1947. Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972. vol. 47:14, PIZ LUB.

[20] Rudny (2005) p. 12.

[21] Letter from Z. Lakocinski to Hoover Institute and Library and Professor H.H Fisher, December 15, 1947, Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972, vol. 47:14, PIZ LUB.

including files, reports, and statements of former inmates of German concentration camps. "We have a large collection of Polish materials on World Wars I and II and would appreciate receiving copies of the entire files of your institute". Hoover Library also agreed to cover the suggested cost of preparing the copies for the Library.[22]

However, because Lakocinski wanted to send copies and not the originals to the Hoover Library they had to deny the transfer as an open deposit and suggested instead that the materials would instead be viewed as a gift from Lund University Library to the Hoover Library. "As your materials would not be originals but only copies, and as we are contributing to the cost of their preparation, we would prefer not to consider these materials as a mere deposit. I would suggest that your collection be considered as a gift from your institute and we should catalogue it as such. The material would be accessible to all scholars and writers who consult the files of the library."[23]

In March 1948 Lakocinski reaches out to the national antiquairian "Riksantikvarien" Professor Martin Olsson to explore the option of sending the originals as a "secret deposition" to a Swedish institution.[24] Realizing such route is closed, Lakocinski ends up sending a reply to the letter received earlier that year from Hoover Library, writing that he would like to proceed by dispatching the copies as quickly as possible, "because of the unsettled state of the world". Lakocinski adds that he also wishes to put the original files in security at the Hoover institution as an open deposit. However, he asks if it would be possible to send a small collection of documents as a closed deposit, "not to be used by the general public but only available to a very limited number of officials of the Hoover Library. It is important that the contents should not be divulged to any persons other than those connected with the Polish Research Institute". Lakoncinski also adds nine conditions to the deposit originals. One condition stipulated that "the deposit as a whole should remain the property of the depositors". Another condition stated that "the deposit may be made available to those Government institutions and American authorities, as well as to those institutions and persons whom you supply with documentation on Polish

[22] Letter from Easton Rothwell, Vice Chairman at T,he Hoover Institute and Library to Z. Lakocinski, January 15, 1948. Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972, vol. 47:14, PIZ, LUB.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Letter to Riksantikvarie Martin Olsson, March 3, 1948. Zygmunt Łakociński's Archive. vol. 3, LUB.

affairs/except representatives of the Polish Communistic Government or any person maintaining friendly relations with this Government. Lakocinski also states how "Names and places of birth of the witnesses shall be kept secret until the year of 1995, provided the depositors/or the successors do not change this clause at an earlier date".[25] He also asks if it is possible to send a smaller deposit, which in later correspondence he explains contains, a small collection of documents including a section on Russian-Polish relations in occupied Poland and relations to Soviet Russia generally as well as a collection of original documents, letters, identification papers and plans. Relations with Russia were taken to mean that "it is important to preserve great secrecy for the sake of our witnesses' safety, a condition laid down by the witnesses before giving us their evidence".[26] These conditions further underline how the mobility of the archive was not merely a question of finance or general safety but grounded in specific Cold War geographic imaginations and how academic institutions and archives held specific and important positions in this context. Indeed, the PIZ is seen as vulnerable to misuse and the testimonies were made silent and inaccessible to a larger public, but at the same time the archive itself has agency and could be seen as occupying the position of a potential agent in the Cold War conflict.

The Early Organization and Digitization of the PIZ Archive: Swedish Memory Politics as Vulnerability

In 1972 the archive returned to Sweden, after the request of Lakocinski by way of Lakocinski's son and representatives for the Hoover institute. After two years in Sweden, the archive was given to Lund University Library and remained unopened until 1995, as had been stipulated by Lakocinski, before the material was handed over to the Hoover Library.

At the time, Lund University Library did not have any personnel with the competencies, linguistic or otherwise, needed to organize the material. Nor did they have funding to hire any staff that could organize and catalog the material. The person who would later be hired to manage the collection after its reopening, Paul Rudny, placed much emphasis on the relative role of Zygmunt Lakocinski

[25] Letter from Z. Lakocinski to Easton Rothwell Vice Chairman at The Hoover Institute and Library, April 21, 1948. Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972, vol. 47:14. PIZ, LUB.

[26] Letter from Z. Lakocinski to Easton Rothwell Vice Chairman at The Hoover Institute and Library. May 29, 1948. Brev/handlingar till/från The Hoover Institute and Library, Stanford Univ, USA 1946–1972, vol. 47:14, PIZ, LUB.

in the archive's significance. In his oft-cited text from 2005, he expounds on what he deems the greatest injustice of the long-forgotten archive: that Lakocinski had not been supported by Swedish academia or his projects funded by the Swedish state.[27] Indeed, he concludes his historical presentation of Lakocinski and the archive with an epilogue in which he, with a sigh of relief, ascertains that the PIZ archive had finally received the recognition from the Swedish state that it deserves. In 2000 he states the Committee for Living History (preparing for the institution of the Living History Forum) granted funding for the organization and partial translation and digitization of the archive. Rather than discuss the fact that Lakocinski feared that the participants interviewed for the archive could be persecuted by the Soviet Union, Rudny laments that the archive was not used until after the "fall of the Berlin Wall".[28] In Rudny's narrative, therefore, the participants are not the vulnerable parties, but rather, it is Lakocinski's reputation and work — his legacy in Sweden — that constitutes the main vulnerability of the archive at this point.

Lacking in Rudny's narrative is reflection on the impact that the Committee for Living History — working on the mandate of the Department of Culture — had on the organization and digitization of the archive. The Committee, consisting of bureaucrats, academics, Holocaust survivors and museum officials, was formed in the aftermath of Prime Minister Göran Persson's *Living History* campaign which was launched in the autumn of 1997. The campaign came about after a government survey showed that Swedish school youth had little to no knowledge about the Holocaust. Given the social climate of the late 1990s with discussions revolving around Holocaust denial, xenophobic and racist violence and the perceived growth of Neo-Nazi parties and organizations in Sweden, the informational campaign soon morphed into plans for something more permanent.[29] In preparation for this permanent initiative, a committee was appointed whose main task was to produce a proposition for a new institution for Living History. The directives given to the committee were vague and heated debates soon commenced with regard to the focus of the future institution. Should it only concern the history and memory of the Holocaust, or should it have a broader approach and include perspectives on contemporary forms of

[27] Paul Rudny "Zygmunt Lakocinski och polska källinstitutets arkiv i Lund 1939–87" *Slavica Lundensia* 23, (2007) pp. 177–201.
[28] Rudny, (2007).
[29] Kristin Wagrell, *"Chorus of the saved". Constructing the Holocaust survivor in Swedish discourse, 1943–1966*, (Linköping 2020).

racism, xenophobia and anti-democratic movements and ideas? Should it have its own holdings and collections and how should these be acquired? These were all pressing questions for the committee in the early 2000s as the eyes of the world turned toward Sweden and its new, leading role in Holocaust remembrance.

In the autumn of 1999 one of the committee members — the director of the museum *Kulturen in Lund*, Margaretha Ahlin — submitted a funding application to the Swedish Department of Culture. The application concerned the organization, cataloging and preservation (through digitization) of what was then referred to as the "Lakocinski archive".[30] At first, this application received no feedback and it wasn't until a revised, less ambitious application was submitted a year later that the project received an endowment of 500,000 SEK from the Department of Culture. At this point, the management of the archive had become intertwined with the committee's greater initiative to collect and acquire material relating to the Holocaust. It was thus stipulated in the contract signed by the Department of Culture and Lund University Library that 25 of the 500 interviews in the archive should be translated and that these should represent the "diversity" of the archive.[31] Even though there was a wide consensus within the committee that the PIZ archive was important and needed to be made accessible to both researchers and the public, there did not seem to be a sense of urgency with regards to the translation and digitization of all materials; only a handful were needed to exemplify life in a concentration camp. The agreement also stated that "If possible, the interviews should have a connection to the material that Kulturen in Lund holds as part of their collection".[32] This second stipulation related to an initiative that was partially funded by the Department of Culture, to create an online exhibition around and about some of the objects that Lakocinski had donated to Kulturen in 1966.

In addition, the PIZ archive was to serve as a complement to a new collection of Holocaust testimonies conducted under the auspices of the committee and both collections would serve as the archival basis for the Living History Forum established in 2003. The fact that the PIZ archive was selected alongside several other Swedish Holocaust collections as part of the new government agency had to do with underlying ideas of what constitutes a reliable source for knowledge

[30] "Röster från Ravensbrück", vol. 23, Kommittén Forum för Levande historia med Projekt Levande Historia, Ku 1999:9, Riksarkivet (RA).
[31] "Konsultavtal: Bilaga 1", vol. 23, Kommittén Forum för Levande historia med Projekt Levande Historia, Ku 1999:9, RA.
[32] Ibid.

about the Holocaust. In all of the committee documents in which the "Lakocinski-archive" is mentioned, it is consistently presented as a "unique" and "scientific" collection. When summarizing the University Library's holdings pertaining to the Holocaust, the library also contended that "international scholars" had evaluated the archive and deemed it unique, not only in a Swedish context but also internationally. What made it unique compared to other early initiatives to document the Holocaust was said to be the scientific methods with which it was collected and the promptness with which the interviews were conducted after the liberation of the camps.[33]

The arguments of uniqueness and scientific rigor must be understood in the context of Swedish memory politics in the 1990s and early 2000s. While many lauded the efforts of Holocaust survivors to communicate their memories, some — trained historians in particular — questioned whether the memories of survivors could be trusted and whether more recent interviews with survivors should even be part of institutional initiatives to educate young people about the Holocaust.[34] One of the reasons why the PIZ archive was so readily adopted as *the* Holocaust archive that needed prompt organization, translation and digitization thus rested on the notion that survivor accounts of the past were only interesting and useful if they had been collected using traditional source critical methods (i.e. had been verified by other sources) and came from individuals whose memories had not deteriorated with time.

Because the Living History campaign rested on a problem complex that emphasized young people's lack of historical knowledge of the Holocaust, the political solutions presented by the committee also became characterized by a focus on the creation of solid, historical evidence that demonstrated *what had happened,* rather than how the event itself had been remembered and treated in a post-Holocaust world. This, in turn, meant that little consideration was paid to the voices and lives that contributed knowledge, which were deemed 'unhelpful' to the democratic education of Swedish youth. In short, there was little interest in the survivors themselves; how they remembered, how they lived with their memories and how they viewed the accessibility and use of the narratives and objects they contributed to different documentation projects.

---

[33] "Arkivmaterial m.m. med information rörande Förintelsen, förvarat i Lunds universitetsbibliotek", vol. 20, Ku 1999:9, RA.

[34] Malin Thor Tureby & Kristin Wagrell, "De överlevande" i det svenska samhället" [prel. title], *Sverige och Förintelsen: En lärobok* (Stockholm 2023 forthcoming).

There is only one mention of ethical considerations of the interviewees in the committee's documentation about their funding of the PIZ archive. This can be found in the revised application that was submitted by Lund University Library within which it is stated that some of the material cannot be made available to the future Living History Forum due to "explicit provisions" given by Lakocinski that some "sensitive material" should not be distributed externally of the managing institution.[35] However, what this sensitive material consists of or how it is to be protected is never explained.

In these early digitization efforts, little care was shown for the survivor voices of the PIZ archive. In Rudny's view, justice had been done when the organization of the archive was funded by the committee for Living History, thereby recognizing Lakocinski's achievements. Yet, the working group that had labored to interview the 500 camp survivors and the people that worked *with* Lakocinski to make sure that the archive was kept intact did not receive any recognition or attention in the early 2000s. Their stories — the relentless activism of Lakocinski's right-hand woman, Ludwika Broel-Plater, the agency and professionalism exhibited by the survivors of the working group and their ultimate precarity as subject to the financial aid of the Swedish Labour Market Commission — are not exposed in these early efforts. Their vulnerability lies in their inability to speak through the archive, to make themselves heard in a context where survivor victimization and the ability of survivors to prove the existence of the Holocaust is all that matters. Even though they have been returned from their "tower of silence" at the Hoover Library and been scrutinized and evaluated by national and international experts alike, their vulnerability as silenced subjects of the archive remain.

Concluding Discussion: Locating the Vulnerabilities of the PIZ Archive

We understand that archives involve a range of cultural heritage practices and spaces in their creation, collection, maintenance, and performance. Archival epistemologies and the practices of cultural heritage institutions and management involve multiple vulnerabilities, and perhaps nowhere is this truer than in the cases of archives that concern vulnerable groups. Holocaust archives

[35] "Röster från Ravensbrück", vol. 23, Kommittén Forum för Levande historia med Projekt Levande Historia, Ku 1999:9, RA.

are historical resources just as they are living actants centrally positioned in the politics and identity of communities. In this chapter we have argued that by tracing the spatio-temporal life of the PIZ archive, we get to address the layers of complex and changing narratives of vulnerabilities enacted, contested and re-created in the organization, management and early digitalization of the archive. In our brief presentation of the case it can be seen that there are several narratives of vulnerabilities being enacted simultaneously and that these have changed as the archive has changed hands and place.

It is the silenced, marginalized and hidden voices of the camp survivors and victims that define the vulnerability of this archive. Nonetheless, along its journeys a series of other voices, claims, narratives, and positionalities came into play. Some of those that have been raised up or have fallen down: methodological claims to establishing historical truth; the role of working groups and others; competing narratives on origins and Lakocinski's legacy; the geopolitics of memory and institutional positions during the Cold War; and the Swedish politics of living history. Geographic mobility, different spatial settings, and later spaces of digitalization have worked to change the conditions of access and context and have had important roles in the voices and silences the archive builds upon. To paraphrase Butler et al. (2016), this case amply illustrates the operation of power by actors and institutions through memory and vulnerability that are politically produced and unevenly distributed through time and space.[36]

[36] Judith Butler, Zeynep Gambetti & Leticia Sabsay (eds.), *Vulnerability in Resistance,* (Durham 2016).

Do Women Have to Be Extraordinary to get Exhibited in Swedish Museums?[1] Cultural Heritage Sites, Museum Exhibitions and the Commercialization of Women from the Past

JULIA HÅKANSSON & MALIN JONSSON

Introduction

> "I have been thinking about how my life would have been if I had been a man instead."[2]

This quote is collected from the exhibition *Rebel girls* at Christinehof castle, in southern Sweden. *Rebel girls* claims to show the rebellious lives of women related to the castle's original owner, Christina Piper. As such, it features more of these startling quotes, written in the style of memoirs of the women portrayed in the exhibition. Exhibiting thoughts and feelings give visitors an insight in to lives of women from the past. However, there is no way for the museum visitor to know if the above, and other similar sentences, were ever thought, said, or written down by any of the women shown in the exhibition. The chosen style can be called over-narrativization, and it is characterized by blurring the lines between fact and fiction without considering the consequences for the museum practice. And more importantly—the consequences for maintaining the integrity of the historical women portrayed. We claim that this, alongside other issues found in *Rebel girls,* is a result of women's history evolution into a unique selling point, a USP, in Swedish exhibitions in recent years. Exhibitions on the topic of "women" have become commonplace and there are cultural heritage sites in Sweden which are fully committed to showing the lives of women of the past. Or at least, so they claim.

[1] Paraphrased: Guerrilla girls, Do women have to be naked to get in to the Met?, lithography, 1989.

[2] Authors' translation. Original:"Jag har funderat på hur mitt liv hade blivit om jag istället varit en man", Exhibition sign: "Magdalena Rudenschöld: Krossad till själ och hjärta", Christinehof Castle 2022.

Elisabeth Callihan and Kaywin Feldman call for more intersectional perspectives in regard to women in museums and curating. Callihan and Feldman see a risk of museums reproducing injustices found in society and ask for an intersectional perspective. As they state: "Paradoxically, excluding marginalized groups only serves to reproduce inequality and reinforce the very patriarchy that feminism is purportedly fighting against."[3] An important critique Callihan and Feldman raise is that feminism is not inherently inclusive. They claim that historically feminism has mostly served white, cis, straight and able-bodied women.[4] Instead of equality, where women would receive the same as men, the writers call for equity, which implies that each identity is different and has different needs. In a review of the exhibition *Feminine Power* at the British Museum, writer Anna Souter discusses issues regarding the conceptualization of exhibitions claiming to showcase women and power.[5] Many of the problems stem from the thought that men are the norm and women the "other". Souter claims that there an absence of the complexities of gendered experiences and objects. She writes:

> Where the works are by (or assumed to be by) male artists, *Feminine Power* suggests what such images might have meant to male worshippers or what they might say about a patriarchal belief system — but it generally fails to consider what such images might have meant to women. The realities of women's lives are conspicuously absent from this show about the feminine.[6]

In her review of the exhibitions, Souter hits the nail on the head regarding the unsatisfactory way exhibitions about women often turn out. The reality of everyday life with its trials and tribulations are often forgotten or ignored for more "interesting" takes on the past lives of women. Often the view of women's lives is still conceptualized through a lens shaped by the male gaze. This critique from Souter shows that the execution of exhibitions with aims of telling the history or experiences of women do not always hit the mark. This is similar to the critique Angela Dimitrakaki and Lara Perry raise in *Politics in a Glass Case:*

---

[3] Elisabeth Callihan & Kaywin Feldman Presence and Power: Beyond Feminism in Museums, *Journal of Museum Education*, 43:3 (2018) p. 181.

[4] Callihan & Feldman, (2018) p. 181.

[5] Anna Souter, The British Museum Takes the Feminism Out of *Feminine Power, Hyperallergic (* 2022), collected December 21, 2022, <https://hyperallergic.com/752644/the-british-museum-takes-the-feminism-out-of-feminine-power/>.

[6] Souter (2022).

Feminism, Exhibition Cultures and Curatorial Transgressions, wherein they note that feminism has become more included in the institutions but has created little sustainable change as it has "lost its bite".[7]

Missing the mark in exhibitions regarding women is something that also unfortunately happens in public history in Sweden.[8] Our perspective stems from our experience of working both as creators of museum exhibitions and as museum educators, as well as being avid visitors to museums. We argue that there are two major trends in terms of the conceptualization of women's history in Swedish exhibitions. The first concept could be considered *women as add-on history,* where women are included separate from the main narrative of the exhibition with little or no context. The women found in this concept could be considered add-ons. The other concept, *a skewed claim to diversity by including women,* we see as part of a larger change towards commercialization in the cultural heritage sector. In this chapter, we will exemplify trends of exhibiting women with cases from exhibitions, publications, as well as educational and curational practices from the Historical Museum at Lund University, Svaneholm Castle Museum, The Vasa Museum, Nationalmuseum, and Skokloster Castle, Christinehof Castle and Skarhult Castle.

In 2022 two new exhibitions, *Lovely to be a Sculptor!* at Nationalmuseum and *Chatelains and Convent Sisters* at Skokloster Castle, both focused on women's history, opened their doors in cultural heritage institutions run by the Swedish government. They were marketed as fresh perspectives on a stale, male dominated history. However, in this chapter we argue that the new exhibitions should be understood in relation to a general development within the Swedish Museum sector. It can be argued that it started with Skarhult Castle and the exhibition *Power in Disguise* (or with a translation closer to the original Swedish title: *The Hidden Power of Women*) that was launched and presented as providing a previously untold history and unique insight into the lives of women

[7] Angela Dimitraka & Lara Perry (red.), *Politics in a glass case: feminism, exhibition cultures and curatorial transgressions*, (Liverpool 2013) p. 8.

[8] Public history is a concept that encompasses the history that is being mediated outside of academia, at arenas such as museums and within re-enactment groups. Faye Sayer states that all forms of public history are unified by the urge to communicate with and increase the public's engagement in what history is being written. In this context, museums hold a high level of credibility. Faye Sayer, *Public History: A Practical Guide* (London & New York 2019) pp. 3–4, 13. See also Julia Håkansson, "*Mød Vikingerne* – I gränslandet mellan fakta och fiktion på Nationalmuseet", in Irene Andersson, Erik Alvstad & Ingmarie Danielsson Malmros, *Identitet i en föränderlig värld: Sju nya historieskrivingar* (Malmö: 2021) p. 181–183.

with power.[9] This exhibition has been very popular, and we see it as the possible precursor to the other exhibitions mentioned in this chapter. Women finally getting a place in public history could be seen as something positive. However, we have observed a couple of troubling concerns regarding representation, critical reflection, and intersectionality. Drawing on our years of professional experience in the museum sector, we aim to highlight what we argue to be a skewed selection of women being portrayed in Swedish museum exhibitions. By showcasing these malpractices, we claim to have pinpointed some of the problems caused by claiming diversity. The majority of the women represented are exotified, glorified, and simplified — with possible complexity surrounding them and their context being ignored. It is no longer possible to depict them as human; they are women representing the *outstanding woman.*

Androcentrism and Ambivalent Sexism Theory

That the exhibited women are mostly of so-called noble birth represents another issue, giving a skewed social representation of the history of Swedish women. The women are always gendered, with androcentric history still the supporting pillar of the narrative. The term androcentrism refers to the prioritization of men as the standard and women as being gender-specific and othered.[10] April Baily claims that women are more often given gender-specific labels (such as *woman*) and that men are generally thought to represent examples of *humanity* in Implicit Association Tests.[11] Men have represented humanity in museums up until recently and, despite an increase in the visibility of women, men are still considered the norm.[12]

Regarding male and female representation, it is important not only to "count heads", but to instead take a qualitative look at what the exhibitions tell or show the visitors about the gendered experience. This is especially important when the aim is to show new perspectives and put forgotten groups in the limelight. When producing exhibitions, the museums or cultural heritage sites are at risk of reproducing gender norms and stereotypes both in the past and present. Kerstin Kowarik and Jutta Leskowar have studied how women are portrayed in pre-

[9] The original Swedish title is *Den dolda kvinnomakten.*
[10] Sandra Lipsitz Bem, *The lenses of gender: Transforming the debate on sexual inequality* (New Haven, 1993) p. 41.
[11] April H. Bailey, Marianne LaFrance & John F. Dovidio, "Implicit androcentrism: Men are human, women are gendered", *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 89 (2020) p. 1.
[12] Elisabeth Callihan & Kaywin Feldman (2018) p 179.

historic archeological exhibitions in Austria. Their findings show that women are often depicted as passive and non-productive to society.[13]

Two useful concepts for analyzing this effect are *hostile sexism* and *benevolent sexism*. Originating from social-psychologists Peter Glick and Susan T. Fiske's Ambivalent Sexism Theory, the concepts aim to show how sexism, often only defined as the *hostile* kind, has more than one expression. Glick and Fiske write:

> Benevolent sexism encompasses subjectively positive (for the sexist) attitudes towards women in traditional roles: protective paternalism, idealization of women, and the desire for intimate relations. Hostile sexism encompasses the negative equivalents on each dimension: dominative paternalism, derogatory beliefs, and heterosexual hostility. Both forms of sexism serve to justify and maintain patriarchy and traditional gender roles.[14]

The Ambivalent Sexism Theory uses these two concepts to measure sexist attitudes towards women and is intended for use in psychological studies. Instead, we borrow the concepts as they summarize tendencies we see in the cases presented. Rethinking the concept of sexism to also include the benevolent definition provides the concepts for analyzing the phenomena of the increase in exhibitions about women in Swedish museums in our intended qualitative manner.

Museums, Exhibitions and Commercialization of Cultural Heritage

Museums are important cultural heritage institutions. According to The International Council of Museums, ICOM, the definition of a museum reads:

> A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.[15]

---

[13] Kerstin Kowarik & Jutta Leskovar, "Women without History? History without women? Studies on the representations of prehistoric gender roles in Austrian exhibitions", *Les Nouvelles de l'archeologie [En ligne]*, 40 (2015). DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/nda.3029 (January 23, 2023).

[14] Peter Glick & Susan T. Fiske, "The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 70:3 (1996) p. 119.

[15] International Council of Museums (ICOM), <https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/> (August 5, 2022).

This definition from August 2022 marks a shift in the mission of museums towards contributing to conversations about important current topics such as diversity. In this chapter we will examine the difficulties Swedish museums and other cultural heritage institutions face when making women the focus of exhibitions. Previous studies of Swedish museum exhibitions have shown that the gender representation of those depicted does not strike a balance between men and women, with some studies reporting the number of women depicted as low as 30%.[16] This poses the question: If museums are cultural heritage institutions, whose heritage are they reflecting?

Many of the sites referred to in this chapter could not be defined as museums, nor do they claim to be. Instead, they could be considered cultural heritage sites. But they do claim to show an important part of cultural heritage: the stories and lives of women. Some of them claim to reveal a "hidden", "forgotten" or "untold" part of history through their exhibitions. Women are not a single category but a heterogenous group of individuals. However, in these exhibitions they are commonly depicted as the former.

Cultural Heritage as Industry

Following historian Robert F. Berkhofer Jr, what was formerly known as the heritage sector has now turned into an industry. This means that (some) actors within the sector are driven primarily by the prospect of turning a profit.[17] LAM-researchers Nanna Kann-Rasmussen and Casper Hvenegaard Rasmussen have studied recent changes within the LAM-sector (Libraries-Archives-Museums). Their findings show that museums have focused on why the public fail to visit them, and subsequently tried to find solutions to remedy this. One such solution is the production of so-called blockbuster exhibitions with popular themes, which are subjected to heavy marketing. The level of success of a museum is often measured against how many tickets they sell.[18] As Kann-Rassmussen and Hvenegaard Rasmussen state: "…the commercial logic has made its breakthrough as an imperative for increased use" in museums.[19] We argue that

[16] Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius & Fredrik Svanberg, *Älskade museum: svenska kulturhistoriska museer som kulturproducenter och samhällsbyggare* (Lund, 2016) p. 154.
[17] Robert F. Jr. Berkhofer, *Fashioning History: Current Practices and Principles* (London 2012) p. 140.
[18] Nanna Kann-Rasmussen & Casper Hvenegaard Rasmussen, "Autonomiparadokset i ABM: En analyse af ABM-institutionernes ændrede omverdensrelationer og deres implikationer", *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift* 22:2 (2019) pp. 220, 223.
[19] Kann-Rasmussen & Hvenegaard Rasmussen (2019), p. 222. Authors' translation. Orignal: "…den kommercielle logic har slået igennem som et imperativ om øget brug".

this process of commercialization of the museum sector (or industry) has led to museums striving to find a unique selling point (USP) in the market, and that women's history has become one such USP in a Swedish context. As museums has moved their practice beyond exhibiting objects encased by mahogany and glass —accompanied by minimal information — towards an increased number of ready-made interpretations presented to the public, the importance of stories and conceptualization of history in museum exhibitions has increased.[20]

Working with Exhibiting Women as Add-on History

In the following section we will discuss our own experiences from working with exhibitions where the inclusion of women's history has resulted in being part of the trend of *women as add-on history*. In exhibitions of this kind women are included, but as separate histories served as side dishes to the main course: history with a male-dominated perspective. This male perspective could be seen as a type of hostile sexism, as women are consequently excluded. The examples given in this chapter all consist of exhibitions where women's history is separated from the main exhibitions of the museums. Therefore, it can be considered as an add-on to these main exhibitions. We claim that women's history cannot be viewed simply as an add-on history, such as it was treated decades ago by the discipline of history.[21] Rather, women's history should be integrated into the main practices of these museums and cultural heritage sites, otherwise it risks reinforcing rather than challenging hostile sexism.

When one of the authors of this text, Malin Jonsson, worked at the Historical Museum at Lund University, it became apparent that visitors had a great interest in guided tours regarding women. Although most permanent exhibitions in the museum relate to the large archeological collection of the museum, some of them could be used as a springboard to discuss gender and intersectionality with a guide. Temporary exhibitions were most often developed with regard to recent research in archeology, with one exception: The last bishop of Denmark and the

[20] Berkhofer (2012) pp. 143–154.

[21] As historians we see parallels with how women and their history made their way into academia. In the 1960s and 1970s inclusion of women as topics for different kind of research began to take form in academia. In broad strokes, the background to the research tradition of women started around 60 years ago. From the inclusion of women, the research began to focus on the social aspects of gender during the 1980s and 1990s, including intersectional questions such as socioeconomic factors and ethnicity. Parallel to the history of gender and intersectionality the history of sexuality and queer history began to take form. Helena Bergman & Emma Severinsson, "Kvinnohistorier: Kvinnor i svensk historisk forskning", *Historisk tidskrift* 141:3 (2021) p. 398–399. In short — the research of women's history is complex and not one where a few women highlighted here and there is enough to interpret the past.

first of Sweden — Peder Winstrup (1679), was found mummified in the cathedral in Lund when his tomb was opened, and the mummy of the bishop was exhibited on a lit de parade for visitors to see. This was later followed up with a temporary exhibition regarding the bishop's life. In this exhibition visitors got to meet the bishop both as "a man and a mummy."[22] The biographical approach did not include discussions regarding gender or intersectionality, although some discussions about class could be read in between the lines.

The exhibition also included his second wife, Dorothea, through a label retelling the story of her smuggling goods through the city tolls of Lund into the Bishops House. The exhibition provided little other information about her. Her life as the wife of a bishop was in no way like that of other women. It became clear that less research was done by the museum about her than the bishop. Instead of discussing the society of 17th century Sweden, the life and mummified remains of the bishop were communicated to the public. An opportunity to discuss the lives of people other than the bishop was found in the bishop's casket. Wrapped in cloth and placed by the bishop's feet was a fetus. This highly fascinating find could have provided an insight into reproductive conditions affecting women throughout history, especially since the bishop's first wife had died while giving birth. This is an example of one of many ways to write the history of women in a more general way, by conceptualizing through larger questions rather than "adding" a named woman to the main narrative. It does not necessarily have to be tied to individuals. Even so, in this case there was evidence of women close to the bishop.

This text's other author, Julia Håkansson, has similar experiences as Jonsson from working at Svaneholm Castle Museum, albeit with projects focused primarily on women's history. Svaneholm Castle Museum was founded in 1934. Since then, it has largely kept the characteristics of an old homestead museum, dominated by objects with few narratives and little contextualisation. From 2019, however, the museum received substantial financial funding as a participant in the EU-funded project *South Baltic Manors* (SBM), and thus received the opportunity to modernize its exhibitions. Two of the sub-projects within SBM in which Håkansson was involved were the book *Women at Svaneholm*[23] and the

[22] Per Karsten & Andreas Manhag, *Peder Winstrup: historier kring en 1600-tals mumie* (Lund, 2017).
[23] Margareta Andreasson, Julia Håkansson & John Wickman (eds.), *Kvinnor på Svaneholm*, (Malmö 2021).

exhibition *The Fates of the People of Svaneholm*, both aimed at bringing to the fore previously neglected stories related to the castle.

Following our categorization, even the title of the exhibition, *Women at Svaneholm,* suggests that it falls within the category of women as add-on history. Considering that a book about the castle's "general" history was released the same year, *Women at Svaneholm* can be perceived as an appendix, or even afterthought.[24] This interpretation of the different statuses assigned to the books is strengthened simply by the fact that there is no book titled *Men at Svaneholm*. Instead, men over-populate the main narrative of the castle as presented in the "main" book. Women, who with some minor archival work could have been touched upon more than briefly, have been neglected in this book.

Examples of the women previously unknown in the history of Svaneholm Castle are the many servants that have lived and worked there. The exhibition, *The Fates of the People* of Svaneholm, remedies this by centering around the lives of ten servants working at the castle during the period 1780–1920. The exhibition highlights the lives of five women. A housekeeper, a cook, a malt maker's daughter, a chamber maid, and a governess. These women also have their own chapter in *Women at Svaneholm*, titled "Women in the coulisses at Svaneholm".[25] Including women other than those of nobility is certainly a first step in the right direction in regard to museum practices.[26] However, it would have raised greater intersectional awareness if they had been included in the "main book" about Svaneholm.

Observations of Exhibitions Treating Women as Add-on History

Through observations of exhibitions and by studying accompanying publications and marketing materials, we have found that the first trend in the conceptualization of women's history in Swedish museum and heritage site exhibitions can be termed *women as add-on history*. The practice of inclusion by writing a separate history is recurrent in several of the exhibitions analyzed in this

[24] Carin Bergström, Håkan Cerne & John Wickman, *Svaneholm: Människor, minnen, myter* (Malmö 2021).

[25] Karin Andersson & Lena Axelsson, "Kvinnor i kulisserna på Svaneholm" in Andreasson, Håkansson & Wickman (eds.) (2021) pp. 74–82.

[26] Another recent publication highlights a very illustrative example of that the relationship between the nobility and other people in the village of Skurup has not always been friction free. Emma Severinsson, *Skräddat för herrskap: En kulturskatt på Svaneholms slott*, (Malmö 2022) p. 26.

chapter. This is benevolent sexism, since it aims at positive results for inclusion, but functions as a means of exclusion, as the assumed differences between men and women are reinforced by means of categorization.

The exhibition *Vasa's Women: always present – often invisible* opened in the spring of 2017. The Vasa Museum is part of The Swedish National Maritime and Transport Museums. With nearly one and a half million visitors in both 2017 and 2018 (pre-pandemic figures) it is the most popular museum in Sweden.[27] The museum's press release for *Vasa's Women* stated that "...the exhibition shows that women in the 17th century had more power and influence and more room for maneuver than, for example, legal texts and other legal documents suggest."[28] The exhibition centers around four women, of which two are known from historical sources. The other two were on board the ship when it sank on its maiden voyage in 1628. The exhibition *Vasa's women* is located away from the main exhibition. Just as the women in *Women at Svaneholm* are separated from the main history of Svaneholm, the women of Vasa are kept separate from the ship with which their memories are associated.

A recurring feature in *Vasa's women* is blaming "History with a big H" for the lack of women's history concerning the ship. In the introductory label, it is stated that "The lack of focus on women's history has been a greater problem than the lack of sources."[29] The exhibition texts also put emphasis on the fact that new research has been conducted for the purpose of *Vasa's women*. An exhibition text with the title "Researchers" reads: "The image of women in history is strongly marked by the historical vision of the 19th and 20th centuries. That is why research on women less commonly reaches the public. Popular history, the media and textbooks have traditionally seen women's history as something to one side of 'real' history."[30] Here, the Vasa Museum problematizes the androcentric practices of history writing that still characterize public representations of the past.

---

[27] A list of the most visited museums in Sweden during the year 2017 on Sveriges museers webpage. <https://sverigesmuseer.se/nyheter/svenska-museibesok-i-topp/> (August 20, 2022); Carl Peterson Moberg, "Här är Sveriges mest populära museer", *Göteborgs-Posten (GP)*, (July 11, 2019) <https://www.gp.se/kultur/kultur/h%C3%A4r-%C3%A4r-sveriges-mest-popul%C3%A4ra-museer-1.16179257> (August 17, 2022).

[28] Authors' translation. Original: "…visar utställningen att kvinnor under 1600-talet hade mer makt och inflytande och större handlingsutrymme än vad till exempel lagtexter och andra rättsdokument antyder." <https://www.vasamuseet.se/om-vasamuseet/pressrum/kvinnorna---alltid-narvarande-sallan-sedda>.

[29] Introductory exhibition text, "Vasa's women: Always Present – Often Invisible", Vasa Museum, Stockholm.

[30] Exhibition label, "Researchers", Vasa Museum, Stockholm.

However, the Vasa Museum have themselves decided to make a separate exhibition about women physically located to one side of the main exhibition about the ship. Also, the claim presented in the first sentence from the exhibition label is simplified and doesn't ring entirely true with today's historical research.

However, the Vasa Museum clearly harnesses an ambition to incorporate this new history writing in their main exhibitions. The "In the future" label further develops this ambition: "From our own collections and sources we will look for new narratives and perspectives which give a more comprehensive picture of Vasa and her time."[31] Although it has been five years since *Vasa's Women* was opened, not much seems to have changed for us as visitors. The ambition for a more comprehensive history writing is shared by Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.

During a visit to the exhibition *Lovely to be a sculptor!* Malin Jonsson overhead a man asking "So… Who was the best?".[32] This quote, from a visitor who appeared to have read all the information presented may seem silly, but the fact that the question is posed is telling. The focus of this temporary exhibition, on female sculptors from 1880-1920, was to show female artistry from a time in Swedish art history where female artists often were hidden or opposed. After paying entrance to the exhibition, not included in the free admission, the visitor can learn about the lives of a group of female sculptors active during the late 1800s and early 1900s. The information provided is limited and little is told about their techniques, creative processes, or skills.[33]

The exhibition gives some context about the societal norms for women of the time. However, it lacks discussion on how norms and possibilities differ between women from different economic backgrounds. The context given in this case relates to the unsuitability of women as sculptors due to it being dirty work and the requirement to often work with nude models. The conditions of female sculptors, their day-to-day work and the how their artistry differed from the male sculptors of the time – or even difference amongst the women depicted are difficult to understand. Instead, the visitor can read some misogynistic quotes from reviews of the artists' exhibitions plastered on the wall. This paints a picture that all exhibited women were faced with the same critique and had similar

[31] Exhibition sign, "In the future", Vasa Museum, Stockholm.
[32] The visit took place August 23, 2022. The Swedish title of the exhibition: "Härligt att vara skulptör!".
[33] This is something that artist and writer Marianne Lindberg De Geer also has critizied the exhibition for: Lindberg De Geer, "Därför var kvinnorna så usla konstnärer", *Expressen*, March 21, 2022.

experiences. The quote mentioned in the beginning of this chapter touches on the same problem. When these female artists are depicted as coming from similar social backgrounds, faced with the same critique and with little interest in their actual artistic expression, it is hard to differentiate between them. They are exhibited because they were female, not because they were artists and sculptors. The fact that they actually exhibited their work in a undoubtedly sexist art world is less problematized. The women are portrayed simultaneously as forgotten, extraordinary and living under gender norms affecting all men and women of their time. The absence of a clear discussion about class or economic standing during the time makes the exhibition rather limited. These women came from wealthy backgrounds. Showing the lives of these extraordinary women is not in itself problematic, but with little societal context it in fact excludes the majority of women. These women may have been forgotten in the Swedish art canon and that is both interesting and important to exhibit – wiser would be to exhibit them as artists, whose artistic careers were made possible by their social backgrounds, not merely as women.

The neglect shown to a discussion of the women's social and economic backgrounds has consequences for the visitors' understanding of the possibilities these women had in their specific historical contexts. The remaining exhibitions that we will discuss in this chapter are all placed in castles and center mainly around women from the Swedish nobility. In these circumstances it is noteworthy that the importance of class is more or less not at all discussed.

Towards a Skewed Claim to Diversity by Including Women

Skokloster Castle was a private palace until it was sold to the Swedish state in 1967, which turned it into a museum. The exhibition *Chatelains and Convent Sisters* centers mainly on the female owners of the castle. To access it one needs to buy an admission ticket additional to the ordinary guided tour of the castle, just as with *Lovely to be a Sculptor!* at Nationalmuseum. From what we gather, the research and work behind the exhibition *Chatelains and Convent Sisters* have not led to any changes in the ordinary guided tour, where women are still mostly only mentioned in relation to their husbands. Since *Chatelains and Convent Sisters* is only planned to run for three years (2022–2024), one may wonder what will happen to women's history at Skokloster thereafter. Perhaps all that will remain is the book of the same name as the exhibition, at least until it runs out of

print.[34] Just as in the case with Svaneholm Castle, the "main history" is told in another, more extensive, book.[35] Thus, once again, women's history is seen and sold as an appendix to "proper" history.

Both in the book and exhibition, the blame for women's shunned role in the history of Skokloster falls on History, but not on those who run the museum. This premise — that "History with a big H" has hidden the history of the women of Skokloster — seems to be accepted by many writers in the anthology *Chatelains and Convent Sisters*.[36] Thus, it is evident from most of the cases that we have presented in this category of exhibitions that a preconceived notion exists that history writing "in general" is to blame, although it is not clear who is supposed to bear responsibility for the lack of inclusion of women. Ironically, this accusation of hostile sexism within history is perpetuated by practices that express benevolent sexism.

A Skewed Claim to Diversity by Including Women

In this section we will analyze a different trend from the *Women as add-on history*. The differences between the cases presented in the two categories *women as add-on history* and *women as a skewed claim to diversity* is not always crystal clear. What constitutes an issue with the latter category of exhibitions is that women are brought to the fore and even celebrated because of their power. This risks missing the mark to an even greater extent in regard to equal representation of men and women in exhibitions. Often there is little or no discussion of intersectional perspectives of the portrayed women, especially in regard to class. Skokloster Castle does, at least in part, illustrate the relationship between the nobility and their servants, which is done at neither Christinehof nor Skarhult. This leads to a lack of important contextuality and understanding of how women of different social and economic backgrounds have co-existed in these places of cultural heritage. This practice provides a simplified interpretation of the past where "the history of women" is represented by women from the nobility in a biographical manner. Just as Kowarik and Leskowar concluded that women in Austrian museums were portrayed as passive and non-productive, so do these

[34] Annika Williams, *Slottsfruar & klostersystrar: Kvinnors inflytande och ansvar på Skokloster genom århundraden* (Skokloster 2022).
[35] Carin Bergström et al. (eds.), *Skokloster slott under 350 år*, (Karlstad, Göteborg & Örebro 2017).
[36] Jessica Söderqvist, "Förord", in Williams (2022) p. 6; Jonas Häggblom & Rothlind, Ann-Cathrin, "Slottet och porträttsamlingen", in Williams (2022) p. 10.

exhibitions give a skewed view of society, since women who did not belong to the nobility are disregarded entirely.[37]

The main problem is that the focus of these exhibitions often revolves around women with similar backgrounds, thereby skewing the claim of telling a more diverse history. The visitors are promised something they haven't seen before; history served as novel food. It is important to note the aim of museums or cultural heritage sites when creating exhibitions about women. To exhibit the lives of women by creating specifically dedicated spaces and spheres is one clear way of challenging a lack of women in exhibitions. The current norm of depiction is however problematic. The main way of communicating the history of women is influenced by profit-making heritage sites, such as Christinehof and Skarhult. We have visited Christinehof castle and Skarhult castle multiple times in recent years. Additionally, Håkansson has worked as a museum educator at Skarhult.

Christinehof is a castle museum devoted to the life and works of its founder, Christina Piper. The narrative about Christina mainly centers on her position as a powerful woman of her time, as well as (what is anachronistically called) her entrepreneurial skills. Christinehof Castle Museum has a clear focus on women's history, and as such most exhibitions, both permanent and temporary, are conceptualized around the theme of women's room for maneuver during different time periods. However, the focus on power means that the women represented are exclusively part of the nobility. What Christinehof fails to do is problematize the power wielded by the women in their exhibitions. One might even claim that by not talking about the less powerful women, Christinehof contributes to silence around the exclusion of the history of lower- and working-class women.

Since the exhibitions at Christinehof are conceptualized around a female perspective on history, their USP has become women's history. This is problematic not only in the skewed claim to diversity it entails, but also because the lives of historical women are squeezed into narratives that fit that USP. In order to be exhibited at Christinehof, women must be exceptional, like Christina Piper herself.[38] A narrative trope about the self-made woman has made an impact in exhibitions that use women's history as their USP. Buzzwords such as "powerful", "influential", and "entrepreneurial" are sprinkled throughout texts in

[37] Kowarik & Leskovar (2015).
[38] Svante Norrhem, "Förord", in Mia Gröndahl, & Helena Rietz, (eds.), *Makt och skaparkraft: en antologi om den makalösa Christina Piper*, Gröndahl & Rietz, (Borrby 2021) p. 11.

marketing campaigns, exhibition labels, museum publications and guide manuscripts. Such vocabulary has spread from cultural heritage sites to government-run museums, which can be seen in the fact that Skokloster Castle also makes use of these specific epithets to describe the women depicted.

The exhibition *Rebel Girls* at Christinehof is problematic in a number of ways. First of all, it stretches the meaning of the word rebel. We assume that the exhibition is named after the book *Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls*[39] which has gained a lot of attention in the contemporary world. The book highlights the lives of women who have somehow stepped out of societal standards and gone their own ways. However, *Rebel Girls* at Christinehof is about four women from the nobility who experienced dramatic events in their lives. The only real selection criterium was that they were related to Christina Piper. As such, what made them rebellious is not evident in the exhibition.

Christinehof uses women's history as a USP and this leads to an over-narrativization in their exhibition practice. This is evident in the manner in which they present information about the women portrayed in *Rebel Girls*. The exhibition texts are mainly written from a first-person perspective, in which there is no telling what is fact and what is fiction. The women are attributed thoughts and feelings in a way in which the museum visitor has no way of knowing whether they were actually thought or felt. Topics such as mental health, which should be treated with seriousness, are trivialized and dealt with in a rather tasteless manner. By way of example, one of the texts about one of the women says: "How often have I wished I was dead", and "I have been thinking about how my life would have been if I were a man instead".[40] We claim that this is overstepping of ethical boundaries that results from the commercialization of the fates of people from the past. Here, we would like to argue that it is important to consider the following words from Dominick La Capra: "it must actively be recognized that the past has its own 'voices' that must be respected especially when they resist or

[39] Elena Favilli, *Good Night Stories for Rebel Girls: 100 Tales of Extraordinary Women*, (Los Angeles 2016).

[40] Authors' translation. Original: "Hur ofta har jag inte önskat att jag vore död" and "Jag har funderat på hur mitt liv hade blivit om jag istället varit en man", Exhibition label: "Magdalena Rudenschöld: Krossad till själ och hjärta", Christinehof Castle 2022. Another, arguably more problematic part of an exhibition text, reads: "I can also be depressed, but that is probably mostly due to the darkness of the winter. Then I take some opium, and everything becomes much brighter!" Authors' translation. Original: "Jag kan också vara deprimerad, men det beror nog mest på vinterns mörker. Då tar jag lite opium och så blir allt mycket ljusare!" Exhibition label, "Aurora Taube: Jag njuter av allt som livet har att bjuda på", Christinehof Castle 2022.

qualify the interpretations we would like to place on them".[41] The narrativization of the lives of women is in stark contrast to the respect and recognition that La Capra calls for. The intention might be to bring voice to previously voiceless women, but the result is in fact the opposite. It is a way not of giving but rather of claiming power over these historical women. The visitor does not know if these "quotes" are taken from letters, diaries or other sources left behind by these women, which they may not have wanted to be publicly displayed or known, or if they are mere fictional constructs.

As we see and understand it, the increase in exhibitions about women in Swedish museums and cultural heritage sites started at Skarhult Castle, which opened its doors to the public in 2013. Their first exhibition, "Power in Disguise", claimed to challenge traditional male-oriented history. As such, the initiative is worthy of praise. However, the exhibition was problematic, primarily due to its focus on power. The women in the exhibition—one per century from the 16th to the 20th century — were acknowledged as important due to the privileged position they held during their lifetime. More specifically, they were praised because they had possessed and wielded power. This is an exemplary form of history writing that can be traced back to a period between 1850-1950. In the middle of the 20th century, however, historians started to question why those with power should stand in the foreground within history writing. Thus, social history (that later gave way to cultural history) emerged. Skarhult Castle returned women's history to an outdated form where some people were considered to be superior, and thus worthy of more attention, than others. In no case were people recognised who these women held power *over* — half of whom would have been women.[42] In this way Skarhult started a trend in which women of parts of the population other than the nobility were made invisible.

[41] Dominick La Capra, *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts, Language* (Ithaca 1983) p. 64.

[42] The author of the chapter on Mette Rosenkrantz, historian Peter Ullgren, gives a very clear example of her power over other women: "Sometime before her death, she got it in her head that a witch in Malmö had made her sick, that is the reason why she had her imprisoned at Skarhult." Peter Ullgren, "Härskarinnan med riddarhjärtat", in Alexandra von Schwerin (red.), *Den dolda kvinnomakten: 500 år på Skarhults slott* (Stockholm 2014) s. 45. Authors' translation. Original: "Någon tid före sin död fick hon för sig att en trollkona i Malmö gjort henne sjuk, varför hon lät fängsla henne på Skarhult." This is but one example that would have made for a very interesting discussion of the way in which Rosenkrantz wielded her power. It was so great that she, without further trial, could confine someone to the dungeon in her own castle.

Another issue with the presentation of women's history at Skarhult Castle was the fact that it was repeatedly proclaimed as covering unchartered territories in the field of history. This was part of Skarhult's marketing strategy, with the aim of establishing a USP for their exhibition. From the examples given in the previous section of this chapter, it is evident that this strategy has been adopted by other purveyors of exhibitions focusing on women's history. This is troubling since it is simply untrue. Women's history has been integrated in the field of history for decades. To exclude the work done by historians interested in questions regarding gender obscures research carried out in academia.

The fact that Skarhult had made a name for themselves as a cultural heritage site focusing on women's history seemed to arouse problems for them. In 2018 a new exhibition titled *You go boy!* was opened. The exhibition focused on "benevolent" manliness, and the purpose behind it was declared on their website:

> Since time immemorial, women and men have sat together on the same branch. Like a pack of monkeys in a tree on the African savannah, we play, tease, and pick each other's lice. Each attack on the other gender becomes an attack on the branch we are all sitting on. Men and women need each other.[43]

This excerpt is problematic in a lot of ways, not all of which will be unpacked here. The quote is, above all else, exceedingly heteronormative. What can be said, in keeping with the purpose of this chapter, is that the commercialization of women's history within the cultural heritage sector has created the perception of a continued requirement to provoke and arouse the interest of the audience. This is the clearest case of benevolent sexism gone awry from its claimed intentions. This is a dangerous path to tread due to the risks of reinforcing rather than challenging gender norms, belittling the struggles of and further silencing women from the past.

Concluding Thoughts

Museum exhibitions with a focus on women's history have increased in number in Sweden during the last decade. This change could be seen as a step towards a more inclusive public history with museums such as Museum of Women's History in Umeå, and the digital museum Stockholm Museum of Women's

[43] Skarhult, *You go boy!*, <http://skarhult.se/en/57/the-exhibitions/you-go-boy> (September 25, 2022).

History. However, other exhibitions that promote themselves for their focus on women's history, display problems related to how the exhibitions and the women portrayed in them are conceptualized. Women are regarded either as a (temporary) addition to "ordinary" history, or as an archetype of an extraordinary woman. This type of history writing often lacks further context and nuance and has responded to contemporary demands for commercially viable cultural heritage rather than attempt to increase the presence of women in history writing. Through this process, women as historical subjects are turned into objects. This cynical approach instead has the effect of cementing a sexist division between women and the grand narrative of history.

Swedish sites for cultural heritage have entered a kind of "female boom" in which the history of women has become an important USP and a way to attract visitors. This should be considered a major step forward regarding representation of different groups of people. Museums no longer deal strictly in histories of kings and wars. Instead they risk retelling a dangerous interpretation of the past — where only the extraordinary women are shown. There is a risk of misinforming visitors that all women could break social norms, have lovers and wield power with little risk. Little is said about power structures between women from different (or even the same) socioeconomic backgrounds. In the absence of a wider context and by cherry picking who and what is interesting to exhibit for financial reasons, "the untold history" of women becomes the history of only a few women. By not showing the lives of ordinary women, a cheerful and shallow history is being told. Financial incentives are prioritized, rather than preserving and managing cultural heritage for the common good. In the creation of new cultural heritage sites and exhibitions solely about women who could be considered extraordinary, *benevolent sexism* becomes apparent as the women become idealized. In existing exhibitions women are treated as an "add-on" to show "inclusion" and the benevolent sexism instead amplifies the former invisibility of women in permanent exhibitions.

The commercial element of Swedish cultural heritage sites heavily effects the conceptualization and merging of women to tell the same story and excluding those who are not as interesting from a commercial standpoint. The exhibitions do not contribute to the inclusion of women, but instead they turn women of the past into essentially the same woman. It is not wrong to tell the history of noble or extraordinary women — but the exhibitions become limited without socioeconomic context. The claim of telling the "history of women" also becomes

skewed. The history being told is that of a few women — most of whom lived lives with privileges more similar to those of the men rather than the women of their time. When stories are told from a first-person perspective, by speculating about feelings and relationships or not problematizing a person in power, exhibitions are at risk of skewing, belittling, glorifying, or even demonizing women. When women's history is turned into easily digestible narratives, served as either side-dishes or novel food, complexity is sacrificed at the altar of commercial success.

This does not help to fill the gaps of a forgotten or untold history. Instead, it poses the risk of widening the gap between different groups of women. Many of the cultural heritage institutions discussed in this chapter are completely dependent on visitors. This means that they must come up with interesting temporary exhibitions with USPs. To tell a very ordinary life story of women in historical Sweden, with hard times, poverty and illnesses, may not cause visitors to flock. But telling the extraordinary stories in contrast — and emphasizing that contrast — would be a more honest way of showcasing history. These institutions do not tell the history of women as they claim; they tell stories of a few women.

The heritage sites' focus on biographical depictions of extraordinary women has spread to government-run museums. The focus on the extraordinary woman becomes problematic as it sets the tone when making exhibitions regarding women. Thus, the change we highlight in exhibitions depicting the lives of women in the heritage sector and the hunt for the same successful USP waters down the initial aim: to include more women. One quote regarding the history of women often reads: "Well behaved women seldom make history". This is part of the problem. We are not claiming that the women depicted in these exhibitions were ill-behaved. Instead, it is the focus on normative deviations such as power, money and other privileges that becomes a problem. Throughout history most women have not had the privileges to be rebellious, wealthy or extraordinary. These women deserve to have their history written about and exhibited too. The women presented in the exhibitions discussed are not naked, as in Guerilla Girls' lithography. But they are still exploited as objects of history through benevolent sexism with the aim of financial gain.

Pathways towards a Critical and Anti-Racist Heritage Education

CAROLINA JONSSON MALM

Introduction

Cultural heritage organisations[1] in general, and museums in particular, have great potential to contribute to a more democratic, just and sustainable society. In these times—now that we see a rise in prominence of racial violence, racist and hateful rhetoric, and harmful politics in Sweden and all over the Western World—museums must be better prepared to fully exploit this potential. Although most museums in Sweden today hold as their core values concepts like diversity, equity, accessibility, inclusion, wellbeing, awareness and critical thinking[2], there is still a need for more knowledge and better practices, especially when it comes to addressing issues related to race and racism. In this position paper, I argue that a more comprehensive and radical cultural heritage education is the most impactful way for museums (and other heritage organizations) to achieve social change.

The first part of the chapter offers a general introduction to the political background and the potential of heritage education in this context. The second part briefly discusses the central concepts and theoretical perspectives underpinning my argument, concepts I wish museums would engage with more systematically and proficiently. In the third part, the key issues are debated, and the most pressing issues facing well-intentioned but ill-equipped museums with anti-racist agendas. Finally, the fourth part presents a number of measures that needs to be undertaken to move beyond the status quo.

[1] In this chapter, I define cultural heritage organisations as museums, archives, galleries, government agencies, university departments, contract archaeology firms, businesses within the cultural and creative sector, and other actors devoted to preserving, managing, examining and/or exploiting cultural heritage. Throughout the paper, I will use the museum sector as an example, even though most of the argument is applicable to other cultural heritage organisations as well.

[2] See ICOM:s museum definition: https://icom.museum/en/resources/standards-guidelines/museum-definition/

Setting the Scene: Heritage Education, Anti-Racism and Democratic Ideals

Inarguably, there has been a shift to more negative attitudes towards immigrants and non-whites over the last couple of years. Research shows that Sweden has gone from a welcoming society to a more unfriendly, even hostile, environment for racialized groups.[3] The most recent evidence of this changing landscape being the rapid and concerning success of the Sweden Democrats (SD), a populist party with neo-Nazi roots, who came in second in the national elections 2022 and will have a powerful influence on priorities and politics in the coming years. In their rhetoric on how to "protect" the Swedish people and culture, it is evident that history and cultural heritage are being used as ideological weapons.[4]

In times of social and political crisis—expressed in economic inequalities, segregation and social exclusion, growing xenophobia and intolerance, the declining trust in democracy and governments, increasing political polarization and extremist perspectives, and the public's questioning of the multicultural national project—there is a need to explore and promote a different view on cultural and national belonging. This understanding must be based on democratic ideals, convivial collectivism, plural identities, active citizenship, and an inclusive approach to the concept of "Swedishness".

The present crisis, sometimes depicted as a cultural war of values and beliefs, has a significant negative impact on vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, especially of those at risk of being excluded from the Swedish narrative and identity, such as refugees, migrants, minorities, and other religious, ethnic and/or racialized groups. This calls for a concerted effort to bridge the economic, social and cultural divisions by engaging with ideas and behaviors that create inclusive cultures of belonging, in which everyone can learn, live and thrive. Cultural

[3] See for example: Carl-Ulrik Schierup & Alexandra Ålund, "The End of Swedish Exceptionalism? Citizenship, Neoliberalism and the Politics of Exclusion", *Race & Class* 53:1 (2011) pp. 45–64; Diana Mulinari & Anders Neergaard, "From Racial to Racist State? The Sweden Democrats Reimagining the Nation", in Aleksandra Ålund et al. (eds.) *Reimagineering the Nation: Essays on Twenty-First-Century Sweden* (Frankfurt am Main 2017) pp. 258–284; Tobias Hübinette & Andréaz Wasniowski (eds.), *Studier om rasism: Tvärvetenskapliga perspektiv på ras, vithet och diskriminering* (Malmö 2018); Peter Hervik, "Racialization in the Nordic Countries: An Introduction", in P. Hervik (ed.), *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries: Approaches to Social Inequality and Difference* (Cham 2019) pp. 3–37.

[4] Bo Nilsson, "An Ideology-critical Examination of the Cultural Heritage Policies of the Sweden Democrats", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 28:5 (2022); Elisabeth Niklasson & Herdis Hølleland, "The Scandinavian Far-right and the New Politicisation of Heritage", *Journal of Social Archaeology* 18:2 (2018) pp. 121–148.

heritage[5] is of particular significance in this regard, as its inherent potential for identity and community building can operate as a catalyst for cultural integration and regeneration. In these collective efforts, heritage education and pedagogy can play an important role in contributing to a greater knowledge of how to use the past to make sense of the present and prepare for the future.

Museums have recognized their educational mission since the early part of the twentieth century and should be understood as educational institutions.[6] Education is the process of sharing and gaining knowledge, facilitating learning and development, and bringing positive change in human life and behavior. In this view, education is a much broader concept than just the formal education that takes place in schools and similar institutions, typically some kind of training guided by a teacher. It is a way of thinking and doing that permeates all practices and policies aimed at promoting transformative knowledge transfer.[7]

Heritage education draws on historical and cultural resources. In recent decades, it has become increasingly common for museums to perceive heritage as a valuable resource to learn not just *about* the past but also *through* the past. The education that takes place within the museum is used to promote key competences, basic skills, democratic values, and lifelong learning.[8] For example, when learning about historical traumas and injustices, we can better understand similar problems today, which hopefully leads to empathy and solidarity with vulnerable and disadvantaged groups.[9]

Heritage education is a process that can occur in many different ways across a variety of settings. At museums, knowledge transfer might be achieved through curated collections, exhibitions, public events, program activities, workshops,

---

[5] I understand heritage as a meaning-making process continuously renegotiated in the present and aimed towards the future. See for example, Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York 2006); Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (Abingdon 2013); Cornelius Holtorf & Anders Högberg, "Contemporary Heritage and the Future", in E. Waterton & S. Watson (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research* (Basingstoke 2015) pp. 509–523; Rodney Harrison et al. *Heritage Futures: Comparative Approaches to Natural and Cultural Heritage Practices* (London 2020).

[6] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance* (London 2007); Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius & Fredrik Svanberg, *Älskade museum: Svenska kulturhistoriska museer som kulturproducenter och samhällsbyggare* (Lund 2016).

[7] David Matheson, "What is education?" in David Matheson (ed.) *An Introduction to the Study of Education* (London 2014*).*

[8] Henrik Zipsane, "Heritage Learning: Not So Much a Question about the Past as about the Present, Here and Now!" *Journal for Adult Education and Development*, no. 68 (2007).

[9] Carolina Jonsson Malm & Bodil Petersson, "Tillämpade, experimentella och forskningsanknutna arbetssätt i kulturarvsutbildningen" in Katja Lindqvist (ed.) *Kompetens i museisektorn: Politik, praktik och relationen till högre utbildning* (Lund 2019) pp. 207–219.

community outreach, antiquarian consulting, collaborative projects, storytelling, lectures, publications, websites, and digital media. Whenever knowledge produced by or with the museum is transferred, received and processed, it can be said that some kind of educational situation or learning experience has transpired, whether it is when a user finds historical information about an object in the museum's database, or when the municipality receives the museum's advice on the safeguarding of local heritage, or when a visitor is told a fascinating story during a guided tour.

The approaches to learning and the methods used in heritage education are sometimes called heritage pedagogy. These are the actual tools that allow learning to happen. If education is what we do and what we hope to achieve, pedagogy is how we do it and why we are doing it in a certain way. Heritage pedagogy is an umbrella term that encompasses the learning activities and traditions from museum pedagogy (using collections and exhibitions as the basis for learning), archival pedagogy (using archival materials), heritage site pedagogy (using cultural and historical environments), and art pedagogy (using arts and crafts). This broader term highlights the difficulty of separating the different disciplines from each other, and emphasizes similarities over differences.[10]

Many museums engage with all four of the above mentioned ways of using the past for educational purposes, and even though different pedagogical methods might be appropriate for different types of heritage assets, what they have in common is their focus on knowledge and understanding, but also on creativity, enjoyment, imagination and exploration, and not at least, critical thinking, historical empathy, and social activism. Changing attitudes and behaviors is a key component of the learning process, and with that transforming knowledge into action.[11] When creating an exhibition on, for example, democracy and social justice, the ambition is not just to disseminate knowledge about these topics, but also to make visitors think, feel and act in a certain way after seeing it. This is why heritage education and pedagogy are such important tools for museums. But what does a critical and anti-racist pedagogical approach look like and what would it mean for heritage management and practices?

[10] Henrik Zipsane, "Lifelong Learning through Heritage and Art" in Peter Jarvis (ed.) *The Routledge International Handbook of Lifelong Learning* (London 2008).
[11] Dimitra Christidou (ed.), *Implementing Heritage Learning Outcomes* (Östersund 2014).

Unpacking the Concepts: A Guide to an Anti-Racism Vocabulary

Sweden is often depicted as the most anti-racist country in the world.[12] Despite this, conversations around race and racism are unusual, uninformed and often awkward. Although many Swedes—regardless of occupation and sector—claim to be anti-racist, they are mostly unaware of how to perform professional and practical anti-racist work. The cultural heritage sector is no exception. In my work at Swedish museums, I have noticed that the knowledge about how racism operates and how to do critical anti-racist work is limited, which is problematic considering the fundamental civic and democratic mission of museums. There is also a lack of the most basic understanding of key concepts and theoretical perspectives, making it hard to start an initiated conversation about the problem. My belief is that if we do not share a common ground, we are running the risk of misunderstanding and talking past each other, which will only preserve the status quo. Racial literacy is having the knowledge, skills, and awareness needed to understand and talk about race and racism, but also the ability to counter or cope with racism and racist expressions. This is why I include here a brief overview of some of the most essential concepts that are necessary to understand to be able to fully engage with this paper and its ideas.

Let us start with the sometimes controversial and criticized concept of *race*. It is important to understand that race in anti-racist research and thinking is a theoretical concept and has nothing to do with biological essentialist views on peoples and cultures. Race is a sociocultural concept used to describe and categorize people into various social groups based on characteristics like skin colour, physical features, and genetic heredity.[13] In the humanities and social sciences, sociocultural concepts signify imagined and socially constructed realities. Although race is not real in the biological sense, it is a real social construction, meaning that it has real consequences on people's life. Whether you have a light or dark complexion will affect how you are perceived and treated in society, regardless of your view of the term race.[14] By the same logic, the concept of *racialization* refers to the sociocultural processes by which non-whites are designated as being part of a particular race and on that basis are subjected to unequal treatment. Although white people are also racialized, this process is often

[12] Tobias Hübinette, Catrin Lundström & Peter Wikström, *Race in Sweden: Racism and Antiracism in the World's First 'Colourblind' Nation* (Oxfordshire 2023).
[13] Alana Lentin, *Why Race Still Matters* (Hoboken, New Jersey 2020).
[14] Alberto G. Urquidez, *(Re-)Defining Racism: A Philosophical Analysis* (New York 2020).

rendered invisible or normative, and *whiteness* is often accompanied by power and privileges.[15]

The concept of *racism* describes the process by which actions, attitudes, policies and systems create inequitable opportunities and outcomes for people based on race. At its core, racism is a system in which a dominant race benefits off the oppression of others, whether they want to or not.[16] Racism can operate on both an individual and institutional level. Individual racism refers to an individual's racist assumptions, beliefs or behaviours, and is probably what most people think of when using the term racism or racist. Usually, a distinction is made between *cultural* and *biological* racism. It is argued that biological racism is less common in modern society, but there are also signs indicating the return of bio-racism. In any case, when examined closer, beliefs in cultural superiority and cultural concerns are strongly associated with traditional bio-racism and it is not always possible or relevant to distinguish what kind of racism we are observing.[17]

While cultural and biological racism nowadays seems to be fairly easy to uncover and are mostly condemned, other forms of racism might be harder to detect and counteract. *Systemic racism* (also called structural or institutional racism) refers to how bias and prejudice are built into systems, policies, and practices, and permeate almost all aspects of social life (the criminal justice system, the labor market, school, housing, health care, etc.).[18] For the larger part, the systemic reproduction of the racialized order depends on behavior and actions that are normative, habituated, and often unconscious, and thereby is much more difficult to confront and dismantle.[19] That means that we are all participating involuntarily in systemic racism, but some people gain from that system and others lose. That also means there is no society, community or organization free of racism, including museums. It is therefore important to understand how museums unintentionally contribute to racism and a racist societal structure, even if all people working there claim to be anti-racist.

---

[15] H. J. Gans, "Racialization and Racialization Research" in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40:3 (2017) 341–352.
[16] Ali Rattansi, *Racism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford 2020).
[17] Étienne Balibar, "Racism Revisited: Sources, Relevance, and Aporias of a Modern Concept", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 5:123 (2008) pp 1630–1639.
[18] Joe Feagin, *Systemic Racism: A Theory of Oppression* (New York 2013).
[19] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "What Makes Systemic Racism Systemic?" *Sociological Inquiry*, 91:3 (2021) pp. 513–533.

Color-blind racism is another interesting concept related to this discussion. Color-blindness means voicing opinions like "I don't see color" or "race doesn't matter" without acknowledging one's own participation in systemic racism or the negative impact of (systemic) racism on non-whites. Neoliberalism often functions as a source for color-blind ideology, resting on the classical notion that people are responsible for their own life situation and cannot blame "the system". From this point of view, racism is no longer a problem because everyone is given equal opportunities regardless of their skin-color.[20]

Even if most Swedish anti-racists do not fully subscribe to the neoliberal color-blind logic, color-blindness and the unwillingness to talk about race are rather unique characteristics of (mainly white) Swedes' anti-racism.[21] In contrast, a critical anti-racist approach is not color-blind, but promotes color-consciousness and race-sensitivity. This anti-racist approach recognizes the multiple forms of oppression and is determined to better understand and combat racism. Here, it is important to understand that anti-racism is not just about taking a stand against racism, but actively working to achieve social change.[22] How could a critical anti-racist heritage pedagogy contribute to this important work? To discuss this, we must look at how museums work today. What are the prevailing methods and perspectives, which of them can be further developed and which must be abandoned?

Doing Anti-Racism "Wrong"

I want to start by saying that there are of course some museums and museum workers in Sweden that are doing solid and important anti-racist work. There are even a few museum workers specialized in issues related to race and racism. However, they are a minority and make up only a small fraction of the sector. Most museum workers producing heritage knowledge are not sufficiently qualified or trained on how to do serious anti-racist work, not even those actively working with questions about inclusion, social justice, and democracy. I will present here a few examples of common mistakes that I have seen and experienced when observing how museums approach race and racism. However,

[20] Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, *Racism without Racists: Colour-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America* (Lanham, Maryland 2021).
[21] Catrin Lundström & Tobias Hübinette, *Vit melankoli: En analys av en nation i kris* (Göteborg 2020).
[22] Jehonathan Ben et al. "Contemporary Anti-racism: A Review of Effective Practice" in John Solomos (ed.) *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racisms* (Abingdon 2020).

I am not interested in naming, blaming and shaming, which I see as counterproductive, and which could undermine learning and lead to an unwillingness to keep working with these issues. Thus, the examples are described in rather general terms, illustrating various issues that I think many people working in the sector are familiar with.

The first common mistake I want to talk about is the lack of awareness due to *racial illiteracy*. As I mentioned earlier, I have noticed that the knowledge about race and racism is limited and superficial among museum workers. Not just the knowledge of the concepts and theoretical perspectives, but also the understanding of how everyday museum practices and management can affect racialized groups in a negative way. Even well-intended activities can lead to undesired and harmful consequences. For example, I have participated in historical re-enactments and role-plays where learners dress up in period clothes and are asked to "pretend to be themselves" but 100 or 200 years ago. As a person of color, that is always difficult, especially if the event takes place within a European and predominantly white context. To make this interpretation of the past work I have to pretend to be white, otherwise, what would my role actually look like? This situation, where the existence and physicality of race is never addressed or problematized, can be very uncomfortable and stressful for non-white participants. The problem here is the color-blind approach, which refuses to recognize that living conditions and life opportunities have been historically very different for white people and people of color.

I have also witnessed at close approximation *denials and trivialization* of racism and racist expressions. This occurs when racism is seen as rare or even as an insignificant problem. The same way (white) people find it difficult to talk about race, they are generally bad at identifying and tackling for example everyday racism and micro-aggressions toward non-whites. Things that are characterized as racist by non-whites might not be taken seriously by white people, often dismissing these acts and utterings as harmless jokes, misunderstandings, or accidental ignorance. For example, I recall one incident when a colleague pinched my cheek and said that I was "such a cute little black bean", and when I told other people at the museum about this, their response was to downplay what happened, blaming it on her being "old" or "dumb", but that she "meant well".

Comments like these are not uncommon, but are not always considered racist, or even degrading. People seem to make a distinction between so called "real

racism" and other, presumably more benign, forms of racial prejudice. Real racism is something violent and hateful, and should always be combated, but if there is no malicious intent, a little casual racism is expected to be tolerated.[23] Furthermore, real racism is often believed to take place somewhere else, not within one's own organization and maybe not even in one's community, city or country. The widespread belief that Sweden is the most anti-racist country in the world is so strong that many are under the impression that real racism does not even exist here, not even now, when a racist party like the Sweden Democrats and their followers are spreading aggressive propaganda. There are many examples of SD being treated like any other political party, despite its roots in nationalism, fascism and neo-nazism. Cases when party representatives have been invited to meetings organized by the museum, events and tours—against the wishes of the (racialized) staff, who feel uncomfortable and even unsafe around white supremacists.

There is also a problem when racism is seen as just one oppression among others, and is lumped together with, for example ageism and fatphobia. These are of course also prejudices that can have serious consequences on the individual level, and I do not really wish to pit one form of oppression against another, but I still want to argue that racism operates in a much more violent and systematic way. When creating, for example, exhibitions or educational programs on issues like human rights and everyone's equal value, this equalization of oppressions diminishes this problem.

Related to this is the presumption of *exceptionalism*. These ideas are based on the notion that racism is something that disrupts the status quo rather than upholding it. Maybe the best example of this is the exceptionalism of the Holocaust. This terrible event is often depicted as a dark chapter in human history and an example of unimaginable cruelty. In a way that is true, but at the same time it is also a continuation of former racisms, persecutions, colonialisms, slaveries, and genocides. And it is by no means the last in the line of racist violations. By focusing too much on the exceptional, we risk losing sight of the underlying structures and mentalities that are the basis of it all.

[23] Kjetil Rødje & Tess Sophie Skadegård Thorsen, "(Re)Framing Racialization: Djurs Sommerland as a Battleground of (Anti-)Racism", in P. Hervik (ed.), *Racialization, Racism, and Anti-Racism in the Nordic Countries: Approaches to Social Inequality and Difference* (Cham 2019) pp. 263–281.

Next, I want to bring up the problems with *exotification*. Exotifying is seeing a racialized group as exotic or unusual, and with that, romanticizing different stereotypes that are connected to that group. A typical way of doing this is focusing on traditions and cultural expressions such as music, food, and clothing when describing the group and individuals ascribed to this group, or when involving them in the museum's activities, maybe with the explicit aim of broadening representation. These practices are often seen as harmless and fun, but become problematic if you never move beyond the stereotypes and the exotic surface.

The opposite of exotification might be *stigmatization*, where focus is not on entertainment and fun, but on negative and difficult heritage. Here, the group is always connected with problems, hardships and trauma, and never with anything positive or even neutral or mundane. Jews are only represented in relation to WWII and the Holocaust, Blacks only to violations such as the slave trade and apartheid, Indigenous people only to colonization and racial biology, etc. Even if the intention is good, providing solely negative and victimizing stereotypes of a group can have serious consequences for the group in question and result in feelings of anxiety, inadequacy, and inferiority.

The last issue I want to raise is *tokenism*. Tokenism is when marginalized people basically serve an alibi function and have no real agency. The line between representation and tokenism is not always easy to define, but I will give some examples that I have observed in the museum sector to make it clearer. The problem of underrepresentation of non-whites has been extensively discussed within the sector for many years now. To overcome underrepresentation, museums try to actively work with inclusion and diversity measures. However, without the right tools and expertise, there is a risk of resorting to tokenism and thereby creating new problems. A common mistake is to take the liberal and multicultural diversity approach, where you just add the histories of people of color to the existing white narrative without really challenging, changing or dismantling anything. This is a false inclusion, which only serves to preserve the status quo.

Another approach that I have seen on multiple occasions is when the museum portrays (for example, in an exhibition) or invites (for example, to a lecture or a seminar) a representative from the racialized group they want to highlight and let them define what it is like to be a part of that group. Here, an individual is used as a token to represent a whole group, which is of course an impossible task. There

is also the risk that the one-sided focus on the individual experiences of the oppressed leads to the invisibilization of how oppressive systems and institutions work and how everyone is a part of them. Moreover, it sets up a strange dynamic when a person from an oppressed group has to explain to the oppressive group how oppression feels, and implicitly ask them for empathy and compassion. This approach, called tolerance pedagogy[24], has been widely used by Swedish museums, but when examined closer, the term tolerance is in itself problematic. Tolerance indicates that the marginalized groups and their histories have to be negotiated and made relatable by the white majority before being tolerated and accepted. The consequence of this is that inclusion based on tolerance is never really on equal terms.

It is also common to solve the issue of underrepresentation by recruiting a non-white person to be the museum's "face of diversity" and to work with these issues, usually with little resources or mandate. A repeated pattern is that these token people are young, short-term, and low-paid in relation to their responsibilities. In the same manner, activities for marginalized groups are often underfinanced and fragmented, instead of being incorporated into the ordinary activities and budget. Even though the intention is to give visibility to marginalized individuals, the discriminating structures within the organization remain the same.

In this section, I discussed how and why racial blindness, trivialization, exceptionalism, exotification, stigmatization and tokenism are some of the common mistakes that museums make when trying to implement their anti-racist agendas without sufficient knowledge of race and racism. Next, I will turn my attention to how heritage education could move beyond inadequate pedagogical practices to achieve real change.

Moving Beyond: Steps Towards Real Anti-Racist Work

In this section, I wish to move beyond the status quo of heritage education in Sweden and present some of the challenges that need to be addressed and suggest new approaches that could change the way we think about heritage knowledge production and education. I am not, however, presenting any quick fixes or

[24] Rahima Wad, "Beyond Tolerance" *Rethinking Schools* 8:1 (1993); Wendy Brown, "Tolerance as Museum Object The Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance" in Wendy Brown (ed.) *Regulating Aversion: Tolerance in the Age of Identity and Empire* (Princeton 2006) pp 107–148.

ready-made solutions. My intention is, rather, to initiate a conversation on how to take the necessary steps forward. The goal is to engage heritage actors (educators, professionals, managers, researchers, decision-makers, and other stakeholders) in a self-reflective discussion that can lay the foundation for practical work for change.

Heritage educators[25] are not systematically trained to conduct anti-oppressive analysis, incorporate anti-racist learning into everyday practices or design anti-racist interventions. A grounding in a critical and anti-racist pedagogy equips practitioners with tools to recognize the impact of present and historical contexts, foster critical self-reflection, and address systems of oppression. This calls for a collective effort and broad mobilization within the sector with the objective of competence development and collaborative learning.

In my vision for how the cultural heritage sector could contribute to create an inclusive society, community cohesion and social justice, museums need to, among other things, undertake the following actions:

- Develop the organization's racial literacy to better understand the mechanisms of racism, racialization and white privilege, and how racial hierarchies are produced and maintained throughout history and into present day.
- Make visible and address both unconscious and institutionalized racism within one's own organization and sector. Engage in a critical examination of the hidden systemic influences of power, oppression, dominance, inequity, and injustice on all aspects of heritage management, from everyday practices to institutional strategies and policies.
- Involve everyone (both the organization and the audiences) in the conversations around race and be prepared for potentially uncomfortable, triggering, and mentally exhausting conversations.
- Take a zero-tolerance approach to casual and everyday racism. Build cultures of trust and safe spaces within the organization where everyone can talk about sensitive issues. Acknowledge how racism and discrimination are experienced by those affected and take their experiences seriously.

[25] I define cultural heritage educators as everyone involved in the learning process of the users through the production and dissemination of knowledge, such as guides, curators, registrars, archivists, conservators, researchers, storytellers, performers, interpreters, administrators, marketers, technicians, and managers.

- Develop and implement anti-oppressive and anti-racist heritage practices and strategies based on research and proven methods.
- Conduct research and education in collaboration with experts and other relevant actors, including citizens and civil society.
- Produce and disseminate educational materials and encourage personal responsibility for developing knowledge and racial literacy.
- Reject the color-blind ideology and alleged neutrality. Instead, advocate a color-conscious and race-sensitive approach that recognizes racial injustices.
- Admit that some people benefit from unjust privileges based on race and be willing to relinquish power to less privileged individuals and groups. This includes widening recruitment practices and widening participation.
- Avoid tokenism. Be less fixated on individual experiences of racism and more focused on underlying structures and systems of oppression, as well as the causes of social vulnerability and the sources of power and privilege.
- Abandon tolerance pedagogy in favor of a pedagogy influenced by Critical Race Theory[26], Anti-Oppressive Education[27], and Norm Critical Pedagogies[28]. Aim for an inclusiveness built on empathy, affinity and appreciation.
- Resist historical representations and reconstructions that inadvertently risk reproducing stereotypes and negative images of racialized groups. Explore difficult and marginalized historical narratives in ways that do not lead to stigmatization and cause further harm. Celebrate cultural and ethnic differences without exotification.
- When organizing activities based on inclusion and social cohesion, do not talk about integration as a one-way adaptation or assimilation of immigrants. Realize that it is a joint effort and a matter of equal rights and opportunities. Create activities targeting the whole society to

[26] Marvin Lynn & Adrienne D. Dixson (eds.) *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education* (New York 2021).
[27] Kevin Kumashiro, *Against Common Sense: Teaching and Learning toward Social Justice* (London 2015).
[28] Janne Bromseth & Frida Darj (eds.) *Normkritisk pedagogik: Makt, lärande och strategier för förändring* (Uppsala 2010).

promote intercultural learning, social interaction and community building.

- Adopt a future-oriented approach to heritage that empathizes co-understanding, co-learning, co-creation, and co-existence.[29]

[29] Jonsson Malm, Carolina, ”Från vårt förflutna till allas framtid? Kulturarv och nation i omförhandling inom den svenska museisektorn” i Ulrika Holgersson & Helena Tolvhed (ed.) *Plats för makt: En vänbok till Monika Edgren* (Göteborg 2018) pp 143–161.

Making Cultural Heritage from Below: Confirming or Contesting by Donating Objects

CECILIA AXELSSON YNGVÉUS

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to draw attention to an intriguing area for researching cultural heritage from below, by relating and discussing several poignant examples of cultural heritage-making involving agency, objects and cultural heritage-institutions. Examples from different contexts and parts of the world are used to illustrate how, regardless of geographical or cultural contexts, practices from below of donating, making meaning by either confirming or contesting, and of adjoining the personal narrative to the collective or dominating ones seem to share many similarities. These findings open up a research-area that can further our understanding of how people engage to make sense of their heritage, their history, and their lives.

My Mother´s Wedding shoes; a Cookie Cutter for Making Gingerbread Snaps

Three entries from the documentation records of a local farmworkers' history museum introduce this chapter and exemplify the donations of objects from different people to the museum:[1]

> Husqvarna treadle sewing machine, complete with user manual (1931), box with attachments.
>
> Donated by a woman, born 1946.
>
> Note: The donator´s mother worked in Mab and My's sewing factories in the village of Furulund as a young woman. The mother bought the machine from

[1] Statarmuseet in Bara, Sweden.

the company where she worked. It has been in the family since 1935.

Bookmarks. A blue notebook – a "bookmarkautomat".

Donated by a woman, born 1949.

Note: Description of how the automat worked, and note that two girls, now in their 80s, used to play with the bookmarks

Clothes, for example children´s clothes; aprons, bodices or body pieces, knitted clothes, "my mother´s wedding shoes", woolen socks, blouse, dress, etc. A cookie cutter for making gingerbread snaps.

Donated by a woman, born 1946.

Reason: cleaning out parental home. Would like museum staff to call: "It would have been nice to go through this with you [name of museum employee]. "

In an archive folder, records are kept of donations of objects to the museum from 2005 to 2021. The records list 107 donations in total during this period. 55 of them were made by women, 30 by men, 16 by married couples, four donors are unknown, one is from an association, and one is from a deceased person's estate. When leafing through these records several questions demand attention: why were these seemingly mundane and personal objects donated to a museum? Why were they kept in the families and saved for some later time? What were the circumstances that prompted the donations, and what made people part with the objects at this particular moment? According to the records, many of the donations were made by women in their 70s. This is an interesting aspect for study, that could reveal to us how gender and generation work together in the meaning-making of people's lives. What value and meaning do people ascribe to the donated objects that single them out from the rest of their belongings? A cookie cutter? A pair of wedding shoes? And what does the woman who requested a conversation with the museum employee want to convey, and pass on as a legacy?

Using these donations as a steppingstone, questions also arise of a more theoretical sort, concerning memory, history and cultural heritage: *What makes people donate their belongings to museums?* What do these objects represent for the donors to feel that they are so important that others should be able to enjoy

them as well? What do the donated objects reveal about the donors' sense of history and heritage? Do they want to establish or confirm something? Or perhaps problematize or contest previous views and collective narratives?

Initiatives and Power-Relations

The initiative to donate the objects discussed above was solely that of the donors. This is not an uncommon occurrence for cultural heritage institutions; they receive donations of objects continuously. When asked in a probing survey of the issue of object donations to museums and cultural heritage sites in Skåne, Sweden in 2022, institutions accounted for handling anything between 5 to 2,000 donated objects per year, depending on the size and orientation of the institution.[2] The overwhelming majority of the objects come with stories that the institutions take notes of. Oftentimes, it is even a requirement for taking on the donation that there is a story and a provenance attached. These are then duly recorded, and the donation can also be regulated by a letter of agreement. This transaction is particularly true for those institutions that operate under state regulations. In other not so formal cases, the museum staff might simply find a box of old tablecloths and houseware on the doorstep when they arrive to work in the morning! The institutions stated in the survey that some of the more challenging aspects of handling donations have to do with administrative issues, such as finding space for the donated objects, having time to collect and register them properly, or that people often tend to donate similar or even identical things. Other problematic issues for the institutions to handle that speak more to the topic of uncontested or contested cultural heritage, include rejecting donations, determining the cultural heritage value of the object, or concluding that they don´t fit into the collections (or orientation) of the institution. Here, aspects come into play of what cultural heritage is, can be, has been in the past, and who gets to determine value and meaning. One institution also brings up the example of problems involved with culling their collections, which speaks to both administrative issues (culling might have to be done because of the poor state of objects or lack of storage space), but also very much to issues of selection, rejection, and representation.

Members of the general public are sometimes officially invited to become co-creators of the exhibition in the museum to bring a new perspective to the table

[2] On-line survey conducted by the author in 2022. Records of survey in the author's possession.

and donate objects under certain themes or for certain reasons.[3] On the one hand this can be seen as an opportunity to challenge the interpretive priority, as well as the grand narratives that research has shown are often upheld in museums and institutions of cultural heritage. This exhibition strategy of letting visitors contribute to the exhibitions has, however, been questioned by researchers as "an illusory form of participation".[4] It has been pointed out that the visitors, despite their contribution, still don't have any real authority over the form, direction, message or purpose of the exhibition.

There are several interesting examples of how museums and cultural institutions try to rethink their collections, gain new access to previously subordinated perspectives and voices, reevaluate objects, and make great efforts to cooperate with the public in new ways. In an article that explains a museum exhibition in Serbia — *Your Stories* — where visitors were called upon to contribute with stories and donate artifacts, the author Paulina Rajkowska concludes that the project and collaboration between museum and visitor was a success.[5] This was because the project allowed the museum to access stories and objects that they didn´t have access to before. This new content could now be incorporated into the exhibitions. It gave the museum access to personal belongings and individual stories. Although in the museum's experience, it took considerable work to research, incorporate and display this new content, it was considered well worth the effort. The representatives interviewed for the article spoke about how visitors were activated and how the exhibition helped "people to relate to historical content in new meaningful ways." But the views of the visitors were interpreted by the museum officials. What does "relate to", "new meaningful ways" and "activated visitors" really mean in this context? How was this manifested? These questions stir our curiosity of how the visitors and contributing donors would *themselves* express how they experienced the matter. The article does not address this. It primarily relates the perspective of the professionals and the museum, for whom the project was successful and gave

[3] A current example of this is the call for "testimonies, donations, artefacts and documents within its collecting area" from the Swedish Holocaust Museum, that is under construction. <https://museumforintelsen.se/pa-gang/kalender/sveriges-museum-om-forintelsen-besoker-malmo-museer/> (December 10, 2022)

[4] Sherry R. Arnstein. A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 35(4), (1969) pp. 216–224.

[5] Paulina Rajkowska. (2022) 5. Your Stories–A Life Cycle Analysis. In *Hybrid Museum Experiences. Theory and design*, eds Waern, Annika and Anders Sundnes Løvlie (Amsterdam 2022).

meaning. The exhibition and the museum no doubt gained a lot from the project. Did the donors as well? What did they feel they contributed to? Did their intentions come through? These aspects have been identified and discussed in previous research of life stories and oral history, but have become reinforced and are of high importance in this context as well.[6] Rajkowska writes: "the raw content provided needed to be handled by the developers and the museum and rendered more legible to a general audience, and for this purpose the professional curatorial expertise was critical."[7] It is thus not a given that efforts to cooperate and invite people to participate in mediating history really level the playing field in terms of power of interpretation or challenging a grand narrative. The power to select and discard, display and explain thus lies still with the professionals of the institution and power structures seem difficult to renegotiate. The selection process in a cultural institution is described by author and debater Qaisar Mahmood as taking place "in a black box". [8] It does not readily lend itself to the review or influence from others. It is still curators or museum staff who choose the objects to be on display, and who create a meaningful context around them.

Bearing firmly in mind that the process of donations of objects to museums thus certainly involves both the donor and a multitude of professionals — people who represent the institutional aspect — the interest of this chapter is, however, firmly focused on the initiatives, agency and motives of the individual donors in a very conscious effort to apply a perspective from below. Exploring these issues would, however, mean describing and discussing the institutional aspects of the process as well, to a degree. What is interesting, then, are the dialectical relations between the individual persons, with their motives and reasonings on the one hand and the institutions, representing the collective, the established, and perhaps normative on the other. Concretely, this might mean a personal memory in agreement or conflict with a public, or cultural, memory.

[6] See for instance Malin Thor Tureby & Johansson, Jesper. Migrant Life Stories as Digital Heritage. Culture Unbound. *Journal of Current Cultural Research*. (14:2, 2022) pp. 202-224.
[7] Rajkowska (2022).
[8] Qaisar Mahmood. *DN 2022-01-03.* < https://www.dn.se/kultur/qaisar-mahmood-att-kulturarv-utses-i-en-svart-box-ar-ett-demokratiskt-problem/> (January 3, 2022)

What Do People Do When They Make Cultural Heritage from Below?

The fact that cultural heritage is a process, a practice, or a performance, is a central understanding of the theoretical tradition of critical cultural heritage studies.[9] Cultural heritage can be understood as a use of history where memories, immaterial or materialized in objects, are used to understand and make meaning of the present. From a critical perspective it is the practice itself that is of interest to study — the doing — according to cultural heritage researcher Laurajane Smith.[10]

Looking at what the doing or making involves, how it is performed, and above all by whom it is performed, is suggested to be an almost paradigmatic shift in focus from a (so described) previous hegemonical focus on the objects in cultural heritage mediation and research.[11] According to Smith, it is of crucial importance that the actor — the person in the process — and the action that constitutes the cultural heritage-making is not overshadowed by the material aspects. With a theoretical starting point in critical realism there is, however, scope to bind the two factors in the process together: the actors or performers and the objects with which they perform. It is the connections between the two that are of central interest. [12] Smith refers to Margaret Archer when she argues that "it is our interactions with the natural world, including material culture, which shape our individual sense of self and identity."[13] From such a stance the object (again) becomes interesting as a sort of cultural tool for cultural heritage-making, or use of history.[14]

As related below by three examples of heritage-making and engaging with heritage and heritage institutions, this text suggests that this making of cultural heritage has some very common features, regardless of by whom or where it is performed. These features include (but are not limited to): the manifestation or concretization of memory and meaning in tangible objects; the infusion and

[9] Rodney Harrison. *Heritage: critical approaches.* (Milton Park, Abingdon 2013); Anders Högberg. *Mångfaldsfrågor i kulturmiljövården : tankar, kunskaper och processer 2002-2012.* (Lund 2013); Laurajane Smith, Laurajane. *Emotional heritage. Visitor engagement at Museums and Heritage Sites* (Abingdon 2021).
[10] Smith (2021).
[11] Smith, (2021) p. 20.
[12] Smith (2021) pp. 21-22.
[13] Smith (2021) p. 22.
[14] James Wertsch. *Voices of collective remembering.* (Cambridge 2002). Rafael Samuel. *Theatres of memory* (London 1994-98).

layering of different types of value into objects that make them meaningful in new ways; and the attributing of objects to people, emancipating their life stories in an effort to legitimize their worth and right to be heard and accounted for within realms of time that span both the past, the present and the future. What seems to connect these different aspects is the making of meaning, perhaps as an act of making sense of life, and to orientate in time by connecting the past, present and future to a meaningful whole.

The Pajama Pillowcase — Manifesting Memory in an Object

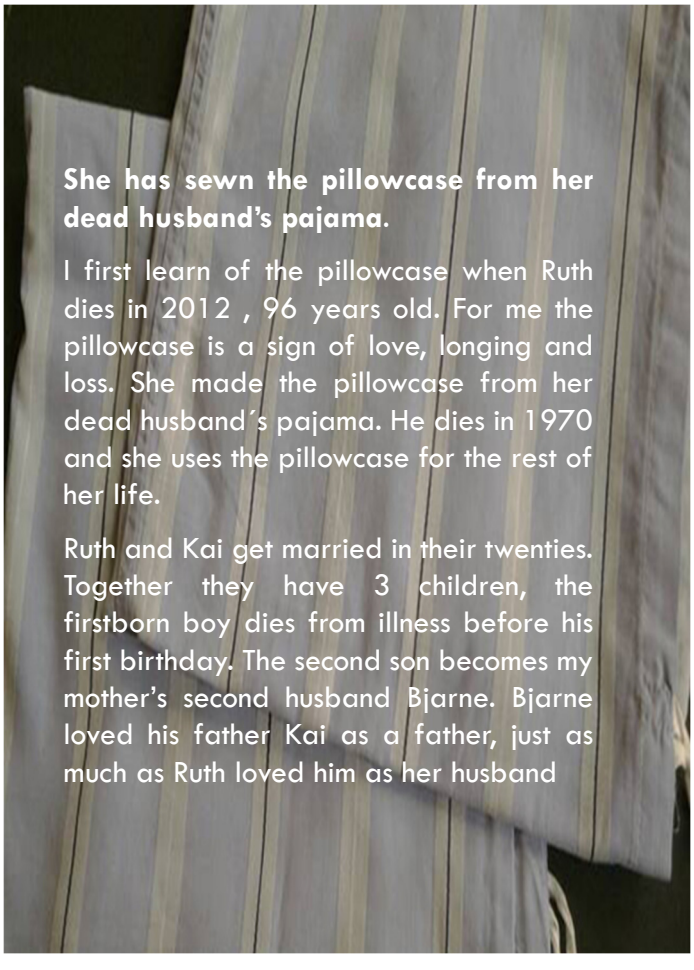


Image 1: From the exhibition Søren Kierkegaard: Kærlighedens gerninger og genstande, Köpenhamns stadsmuseum (2013). Translation and photo/text collage: Cecilia Axelsson Yngvéus.

In an exhibition at The Museum of Copenhagen in 2013, a pillowcase made from the cloth of someone´s pajama was donated and displayed in the exhibition *Søren Kierkegaard: Kærlighedens gerninger og genstande*. This exhibition centered on the many different expressions of love in Kierkegaard´s texts, but of particular interest to the issue at hand — cultural heritage making through donations of objects — was that presented on the outside of the exhibition screens were a few objects that visitors to the museum, citizens of Copenhagen, had contributed to the exhibition themselves, to show more aspects of the concept of love. In this case the object and its history actually spoke profoundly about universal and time-transcending themes of love, dedication and sorrow. The daughter of a daughter-in-law to Ruth had contributed the story of Ruth´s faithful love for her deceased husband, expressed in the object: the pillowcase she had sewn from his pajama. The pillowcase can be viewed as a manifest memory, a way to uphold the connection and love that once was between a husband and wife, throughout the rest of her life. In the context of the museum the object furthermore becomes a tool for transcending the boundaries between generations, between fleeting memory and lasting narrative, between personal and cultural memory.[15]

A Lighter, Nail Scissors, and a Bunch of Keys — the Infusion and Layering of Values into Objects of Cultural Heritage

Image 2: Display from the Mahmoud Darwish Museum, Ramallah. Photo by Cecilia Axelsson Yngvéus 2019.

[15] Aleida Assman. "Memory, Individual and Collective". I Goodin, R.E. & Tilly, C. (eds.) (2011[2006]). *The Oxford handbook of contextual political analysis.* (Oxford 2006) pp. 212-13.

In order to be selected for either safe keeping in an archive, or put to use in a display or exhibition, an object must be determined to have some type of meaning or value. How objects — the inanimate and material — can be charged with value and meaning can be illustrated with an example of a cigarette lighter, nail scissors and a bunch of keys, all exhibited together in The Museum of Mahmoud Darwish in the city of Ramallah. Mahmoud Darwish (1941-2008) is a symbolic figure in Palestinian historiography. He is seen by Palestinians as a freedom fighter, national poet, and was the person who penned the Palestinian declaration of independence in 1988. The museum itself can be understood as a political effort to manifest legitimacy by creating an equivalent of the longer-standing national museums that can be found around Europe and in other parts of the world. The monumental architecture, the location, and the setting with the Palestinian flag fluttering relentlessly above the complex, all speak to this. Inside, however, the museum is a bit more modest. There are not many display cases, nor artefacts. In most of the glass cases different editions and prints of the authors books and texts are shown. The hand-written document of independence takes a central position, as can be expected. A few of the other displays show something else, however, something interesting; an airline ticket, a bit of raw clay from the birth village of the poet.

On a glass shelf a rosary is arranged together with nail scissors, a comb, a cigarette lighter and a bunch of keys. Everyday objects. Personal belongings. Worldly things; worthless. But, highlighted by a spotlight in the semi darkness of the museum hall, and in the context that is woven around them in this place — the narrative they are written into — they are charged with layers of value that transcend their apparent ordinariness.[16] They are the belongings of a national hero. They are, perhaps, the only available manifest memories in a narrative of diaspora, struggle and perseverance — personal as well as communal. This charges the objects with meaning and transforms them from mundane to exhibitable and symbolic artifacts, significant elements in a narrative of a man's life, and at the same time fundamental parts of a Palestinian cultural heritage. What transforms them is an act, a decision, a selection. It is a taking of stand to charge them with this value and meaning: a significant part of the process of cultural heritage making. Not everything is, but everything has the potential to become, cultural heritage. In this example, the objects in question might not have

[16] Svante Beckman. "Om kulturarvens väsen och värde." i red. Anshelm, Jonas. *Modernisering och kulturarv*. (Stockholm 1993). Svante Beckman. "Kulturarvens framtider" i *Agenda kulturarv – Inspiration & Diskussion*. nr. 1, p. 52-65. (Stockholm 2002); Harrison (2013) p. 145.

been donated by an individual museum visitor, but rather purposefully selected by a curator. As such they might not be examples of "making cultural heritage from below" but are rather a part of an official historiography. In the context of this chapter the purpose of the example is, however, to highlight the relationship between a narrative or cultural memory and a manifest object and how this object in a particular context is infused with particular meaning. In that respect the official initiative from above, and the making — confirming or contesting — from below, share similar characteristics.

Objects as Belongings — Emancipating Voices from Below

> Many times people are buried with things that are important to them or to the family that is putting away their loved ones. For that person to be in the other world, in the spiritual world, they need their belongings in order to use them. Those things belonged to somebody; they didn't just appear in some pile of dirt. They belonged to someone, and that's how it was always explained to us.[17]
>
> sʔəyəɬəq (Larry Grant), 2014[18]

The Museum of Vancouver (MOV) is situated, just like the campus of University of British Columbia, on land that formally belongs to the xʷməθkwəy̓əm (Musqueam), Skwxwú7mesh (Squamish), and Səl̓ílwətaɬ (Tsleil-Waututh) Nations.[19] This land was never formally ceded. This fact is acknowledged by these major institutions, as well as in other areas of public life in Canada. It has concrete consequences for the work with and approach to both historical and present issues. It means that in all its endeavors the museum must take into consideration aspects of representation, rights, colonial violence, present discrimination, and so on. It is stated in their mission that their work should engage people, facilitate the strengthening of identities, and promote a sense of belonging and community. This includes a close cooperation with and consultation of representatives of several First Nations. Different cultural perspectives must be processed in all

[17] Project page online: <"Belongings" in cesnam: the city before the city | Intellectual Property Issues in Cultural Heritage (sfu.ca)> (April 27, 2022)

[18] Project page online: <https://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/outputs/blog/citybeforecitybelongings/> (April 27, 2022)

[19] Aynur Kadir, Hennessy, Kate, Carter, Beth, Fortney, Sharon, Gosselin, Viviane and Jones, Kwiaahwah. "Visualizing Collaboration: Video Production and Decolonial Curation between the Museum and the University." *MW21: MW 2021.* Published January 26, 2021. <https://mw21.museweb.net/paper/visualizing-collaboration-video-production-and-decolonial-curation-between-the-museum-and-the-university/> (February 28, 2022)

aspects of the museum work. One example of this is how objects, artefacts and remains are viewed and handled. For people of the First Nations, as related above, an artefact is never just an object, but someone's belonging. This has vast implications. The object is not just an object that can be put to use in any context, to illustrate just anything. It still belongs to someone. Attributing an object to a person means acknowledging that person's life. It means reanimating the story of that person; it can mean emancipating a voice from below. It is also a way to safeguard and respect the memory of the individual that, together with other people's stories, is what makes up the collective or cultural.

Manifest Memories

This text has previously concluded that objects connected to museums and cultural heritage can be seen as manifestations of memory. The pillowcase was described as a manifestation — a tool — for transcending boundaries between the personal and private on the one hand, and the public and communal on the other, as it made its way into the exhibitions of the museum. Memory, as cultural anthropologist Aleida Assman states, is a tricky thing. It is "not designed for accurate representations of past experiences but is notoriously distorting and unreliable."[20] It is however necessary for constructing an identity and a sense of self, she concludes, referring to John Locke. She discusses further that "those memories that are tied into narratives and are often rehearsed are best preserved, but even they are limited in time: they are dissolved with the death of the person who owned and inhabited them."[21] One way of overcoming this problem of elusiveness is thus to let the memory adhere to an object and take a manifest form. The object and the narrative together stand as guarantors of the memory being preserved and transmitted through time. This also illustrates the process of when a memory transcends from what Assman labels the individual format to the social, political and/or cultural memory: "With the support of symbolic forms of commemoration, be they material such as monuments or museums, or procedural such as rites of commemoration, the limited temporal range of personal and generational memories can be infinitely extended in time."[22]

The basic assumption that the object can work as a cultural tool, or a manifest memory also renders the possibility to explore how it can be used to tie the individual, personal memory — or, as Aleida Assman puts it, the episodic,

[20] Assman (2006) p. 212.
[21] Assman (2006) p. 213.
[22] Assman (2006) p. 215.

autobiographical memory — to the collective memory formats (social, political, cultural) that are represented in the context of the museum or cultural institution.[23] Through interviews and a perspective from below, it should thus be possible to illustrate if and how the fragmentary memory, symbolized by the object, is woven into a narrative form, which in turn is inserted into a grander narrative of cultural heritage. Assman writes: "As we pass the shadow-line from short-term to long-term durability, an embodied, implicit, heterogeneous and fuzzy bottom-up memory is transformed into an explicit, homogeneous and institutionalized top-down memory."[24] Assman does not mean that this transcending from one format to another is something easily done. The political, social or cultural memories are not easily placed or stored. They rely on institutions for their preservations: institutions who make or construct an identity or a narrative. This is a process "based on selection and exclusion, neatly separating useful from not useful, and relevant from irrelevant memories."[25] They are mediated memories. In this thus lies a paradox: the individual and personal must perhaps be absorbed by the impersonal and communal to "survive". In this transformation it can be said to lose at least some of its legitimacy, that lies in the immediate connection to a personal, individual memory — a lived experience.

Assman also points out that the cultural memory in particular is different from other formats of memory in that it is "neither actively remembered nor totally forgotten".[26] What she means is that cultural memory is stowed away in archives and museum collections and not always used in the displayed or mediated narrative, but it is, however, possible to retrieve and put to use when wanted. It is in a state in between remembering and forgetting. It can be argued that this state is only possible in the form of objects charged with meaning and narrative — physical manifestations of otherwise fleeting and passing memory. And quite possibly objects from life that people keep and store in their attics and basements may also be in a state of "in between". Perhaps they too can be retrieved at certain times — as the examples at the beginning of this text seem to imply that many women in their 70s want to donate belongings of their own and of their ancestors to museums — and be reinfused with meaning and value to make sense of lived pasts.

[23] Assman (2006) pp. 212-13.
[24] Assman (2006) p. 215.
[25] Assman (2006) p. 216.
[26] Assman (2006) p. 220.

Value and Significance

Determining the value of historical or cultural heritage is a difficult task. In the platform Kulturhistorisk värdering och urval: grundläggande förhållningssätt för arbete med att definiera, värdera, prioritera och utveckla kulturarvet from the Swedish National Heritage Board, the shifting nature of value in objects and sites is discussed. Framing the complexity of this issue are questions such as: "Is there intrinsic value or are values always attributed by someone? Are values absolute or do they shift depending on context and situation? Can valuations be considered objective or are they always subjective?"[27] In the platform referred to, the authors identify five different aspects of value that may come into consideration when the value of an object is to be determined: social, esthetic, economical and ecological aspects of cultural heritage. In part overlapping, these aspects are of course mostly interesting for professionals and institutions, rather than individuals. Other examples of such values to consider include architectural, authentic, utility, historical, artistic and knowledge based value, as well as the value of experience and uniqueness.[28] Museum representatives in the 2022 survey pointed out that one of the more problematic issues they deal with is the determining of cultural historical value of donated objects. It is clear that the concept of value can take many different forms.

It seems also that this task of attributing or rejecting value, and dealing with the problems adhering to it, is conducted by many different people in the cultural heritage sector, people from different backgrounds and with potentially very different agendas. The survey of museums and institutions in Skåne was directed to institutions who then chose themselves a member of staff who would be best suited to answer. Those people were asked to state their role at the museum or institution. Some answers were: treasurer, head of department, museum educator, collection manager, owner, antiquarian. It seems that many different people, with different backgrounds, perhaps education, as well as areas of responsibility within the different institutions, are involved in the process of deciding the value and meaning of donated objects. It can be assumed that these different roles, backgrounds, and areas of expertise influence their work with the donations in different ways. Docent Ola Wolfhechel Jensen from the Swedish National Heritage Board defines a number of different stances that a museum

[27] Cissela Génetay & Ulf Lindberg. *Plattform Kulturhistorisk värdering och urval: grundläggande förhållningssätt för arbete med att definiera, värdera, prioritera och utveckla kulturarvet.* (Stockholm 2015) p. 16.
[28] Génetay & Lindberg (2015) pp. 65-83.

official could take in their professional roles that would affect their work in determining or attributing value to an object, from patriotic antiquarian to scientific and nationalistic antiquarian, to marketwise and democratic cultural heritage expert, to critically reflective and emancipatory cultural heritage expert, and so on. [29] It can be concluded that heritage-making in the forms of both donating and determining what may become cultural heritage can take many forms and involve many different opinions. As they point out in the Plattform Kulturhistorisk värdering och urval from the Swedish National Heritage Board; what is related here is not done so to accuse anyone of arbitrariness, but merely to show how very complex and intricate these issues of cultural heritage-making really are.[30]

It may be that the issues of determining value and significance, and the challenges that come with them, can primarily be seen as the problems of the professional institutions handling objects and donations. Examples of such problems were highlighted by institutions in the survey related above. However, aspects of value and meaning are important to consider also for the individual person contemplating to donate something to a museum. Partly, they must consider the value ascribed to the object in monetary form. Is it valuable? Could it be worth money? In that case, should it really be donated, or could a museum be approached to acquire it instead? Should it rather be kept in the family? Partly, they must consider who owns or has other claims to the object? Are there family members to consider, who might also have a stake in the matter? An object can be valued by someone for reasons other than simply monetary, such as esthetic or sentimental. What is it worth in the sense of symbolizing identity and sense of belonging together as a family? Is the value of the object perhaps connected to its significance as a family heirloom passed through generations? An example of how problematic these issues can be is related by a museum in the survey on donations: the museum received a tip from someone about a truckload of objects on its way to the city dump — would they be interested in any of it? On the truck were stowed a bunch of woven and embroidered wedding-sheets. The museum retrieved them happily. Five years later they had a call from a grandchild who tearfully explained that they had nothing left of their grandparents and wished

[29] Ola Wolfhechel Jensen. "Kulturarv och värden – expertis och demokrati." in Fredengren, Christina. edt, Jensen, Ola. W. edt, & Wall, Åsa. edt. *I valet och kvalet: grundläggande frågor kring värdering och urval av kulturarv* (Stockholm 2012).
[30] Génetay & Lindberg (2015) p. 16.

for the wedding sheets back. Behind this story, we can guess, is perhaps one person who saw no value in the objects and didn't consult (perhaps because of their young age) other family members before throwing the objects out. Years later another family member instead saw immense value in the objects and wished they had never left the family. Another example from the same museum was a small display cabinet for haberdashery that was returned to the donors because of disagreements between heirs. These examples highlight both how value is attributed to objects differently by different people (perhaps also by the same people at different stages of their life) and also, in a small sense, how all types of heritage — cultural as well as personal — can be the subject of questioning, disagreement, and contestation.

Agency from Below in Contesting or Confirming Cultural Heritage: A Concluding Discussion

The concept of agency is interwoven in all the examples related above and needs to be probed a little further. As a theoretical concept it refers to a capacity to act and the presumption that a person's actions can make some sort of impact — that a person has the possibility to affect or influence something. It also implies that a person can contribute to a course of events or a situation. Agency, or the ability to function as an agent, an actor, is framed by the scope for action that is either perceived by a person or a stark reality. The frameworks that either restrict or enable action have to do with one's position in relations of power depending on gender, class, ethnicity, generation, education, etcetera.

In the context of cultural heritage-making from below the concept of agency is of interest in that it rests on motives and intentions. The act of donating an object to an institution of cultural heritage involves the intention of contributing to or contesting a narrative. It can be understood as a seized opportunity to leave a trace or small legacy of a valued persons' life. The pillowcase, for instance, can on the one hand be seen as an example of how a little story about an unpretentious object can remind us of what is perhaps the greatest thing of all in life: everlasting love between two people. The wife prolonging the memory of her husband. It can also on the other hand be understood as a small battering ram of perspectives or voices from below working their way into a grand narrative, in an effort to make an impact on how others should understand history and heritage and thus, by extension, influence how they perceive both the past, present and the future. As such it can be seen as a case of agency from people who are usually excluded from

what cultural heritage researcher Laurajane Smith calls the authorized and hegemonic discourse of history and cultural heritage, which is conducted and upheld by those who claim priority of interpretation.[31] The perspective from below is thus of central interest in this respect — what do ordinary people want to contribute with their donations and what are their motives for acting? And are they really challenging something or are they simply looking for recognition?

Cultural heritage researcher Iain Robertson acknowledges the urgency of researching heritage from below in writing:

> […T]oo often the context within which we investigate [the idea that heritage can be conflictual and contested] remains firmly that of the dominant (heritage) discourse. The argument here is that there is a layer of heritage contestation that takes place in the face [of] (and outside the material manifestations of) that dominance and as a challenge to the hegemony of that discourse. This is a layer of contestation that has too often passed unnoticed in the academic literature […].[32]

What becomes clear from the above related examples, both from the institutional point of view and from the personal one from below, of contributing one's personal belongings is that cultural heritage is a process, a "matter in the making". It is a process of negotiating and determining value and meaning, as well as reproducing or contesting existing perceptions of what cultural heritage is and should be. This making of cultural heritage involves different performers, or actors, who have more or less power and influence over the process. It also involves agency, as in choosing (or not!) to take an active role in this making.[33] This agency could potentially be driven by a desire to influence or direct what is preserved, mediated and presented as cultural heritage. It might be about adding to or contributing to the reproduction of a collective or cultural memory. It may, however, just as well be about opposing such narratives by adding new voices or perspectives. This chapter has discussed examples and theoretical aspects that in their sum may constitute a framework to be put to further use when exploring the issue of making meaning of cultural heritage from below. And if we want to know how people act, why they act and how they make meaning — it may be that we

[31] Smith (2021) p. 19.
[32] Robertson, I. J. M. edt. *Heritage from below*. (Farnham 2016) p. 11.
[33] Smith (2021) p. 22.

need to ask them about it![34] What is it that makes people donate their belongings to museums and cultural heritage institutions? Are they contesting or confirming cultural heritage?

[34] In a forthcoming research project, "The acts and meanings of making cultural heritage from below – donors and their donations of objects to museums", I intend to do just so, by further exploring the questions of what makes people donate their belongings to museums. Are they contesting or confirming cultural heritage?

Uniting a Scattered Heritage: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Heritagization of Swedish Sports

JOHN BERG

Introduction

This article examines the struggles of uniting and exhibit the Swedish sports heritage from the early 1900s up until today. The analysis shows that Swedish sports heritage, although its rich scope, can be seen as marginalised since it has not been recognised by heritage authorities in any extent. Instead, the heritagisation process has been conducted by private initiatives, smaller associations, and by the Swedish sport's governing organisation, making its heritage scattered and difficult to collect.

A "Marginalized" Heritage

The characteristics Swedish sports heritage resemble to some extent of other types of difficult or marginalized heritages, as the heritage is mostly managed by volunteers and enthusiasts with great passion for sports history rather than by heritage experts or museologists. However, what makes sports heritage quite unique in this sense is the fact that the Swedish sports movement is one of the biggest movements in the country, engaging millions of people in associations, clubs and on an individual basis.[1] With that in mind, it is fairly remarkable that Swedish sport heritage has not really been picked up on by heritage institutions such as, for instance, official museums. One answer to this can be found in the relative autonomy of the Swedish sports movement, making it on one hand an integrated part of Swedish society, but on the other hand an entity that takes care of its own business without too much external involvement.[2] Another answer can be found in the nature of sports itself, where its status as a recognized cultural phenomenon has not been completely self-evident. In this article, the heritage of

[1] In 2021, The Swedish Sports Movement engaged around 3,2 million people. See "Medlemmar", S*vensk idrottsstatistik*, <https://idrottsstatistik.se/foreningsidrott/medlemmar/> (15/8 2022).
[2] John Berg, *Den utställda idrotten: Idrott som kulturarv på idrottsmuseer i Sverige* (Malmö 2022).

Swedish sports is examined both historically and contemporarily, focusing on shifting relations between actors on different levels. Furthermore, the aim is to analyze what the near future may hold for Swedish sport heritage based on current museological trends.

An Overview of the Field of Sports Heritage

The field of sports heritage can be divided into two parts that sometimes overlap. Sports heritage is on one hand related to identity and deeply rooted traditions, making it a natural part of cultural life. In this sense, sports are mentioned in the same context as music, theatre and art, and are widely recognized as both culture and cultural heritage.[3] On the other hand, sports heritage is strongly connected to issues associated with commercialization and tourism. This is a development in line with an increasing conception of sports as commercial products, alongside a movement of heritage towards an "industry".[4] Thus, in this sense, sports heritage is about experiences, interactive engagement, souvenirs and memorabilia, with the overall goal of inducing strong emotions – such as joy and nostalgia – and to make profit for heritage creators.[5] Research on sports heritage is mostly conducted by researchers in fields such as tourism studies, sociology or sports science and almost never in heritage studies – which might be a reason for the "marginalization" of sports heritage within the heritage field.

Sports museums – or sites where sports heritage is presented – vary in design, size and modes of operation. A quick way of sorting sports museums into categories would be to use a typology created by sports historian Murray Phillips, who states that sports museums or sports heritage sites can be seen as *academic*, *community*, *corporate* or *vernacular*. On the academic level, we find institutions such as *National Football Museum* in Manchester – originally founded in Preston in 2001 – and *The Hockey Hall of Fame* in Toronto. These are often state founded, nationally focused and widely recognized as decent museums or heritage sites. On the community level, we find regional sports museums, often run by semi professionalized foundations or associations, and focused on regional sports history. Lastly, and probably most common, are corporate or vernacular sports museums, run for instance by sports clubs – as their "own"

[3] Gregory Ramshaw, "Introduction: The Relationship Between Heritage and Sports", Gregory Ramshaw (ed.), *Heritage and Sports: An Introduction* (Bristol 2020) p. 8.
[4] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London 1987).
[5] Ramshaw (2020) p. 8.

museums – or as museums combined with other activities.[6] Moreover, corporate or vernacular sports museums can also be recognized as *micro museums*, a term coined by museologist Fiona Candlin which refers to museums that are relatively small, narrowly focused, and run by either private persons, companies or groups of interests.[7]

To Link Sports to Theories of Heritage

Recent research shows that the occurrence of sports museums, in Sweden as well as in other countries, can be linked to a historical movement in the heritage field called *the heritage boom*. The term refers to as a movement to describe a growing interest in heritage in a wide sense. As archaeologist Rodney Harrison puts it, the heritage boom started in the late 1970s as a result of growing criticism of established heritage institutions in the Western world. These institutions, referred to by Laurajane Smith as representative of the *authorized heritage discourse*, had lacked an ability to listen to ordinary people and their opinions of heritage, according to Harrison.[8] Additionally, the heritage boom grew alongside with globalization, which increased communication capabilities between people and countries, and thus provided new opportunities for marginalized people and organizations to make their voices heard. This eventually led to smaller, independent heritage initiatives being recognized. More specifically, the heritage boom led to a huge increase of smaller museums, heritage sites and theme parks, focusing on local history and/or specialized topics, and ran by enthusiasts, volunteers, companies and organizations. The heritage boom made heritage somewhat democratized, and the Swedish sports movement was one organization of many that benefitted from the boom. As of today, there are over a hundred sports museums in Sweden, and almost all of them were founded during the heritage boom. What they all have in common is the fact that they are examples of heritage "from below" rather than "from above", although a large number of them now engage with experts, making the heritage sector a hybrid between amateurs and experts.[9]

---

[6] See for instance Murray Phillips, "Historians in Sports Museums", Murray Phillips (ed.), *Representing the Sporting Past in Museums and Halls of Fame* (London 2012) p. 7.

[7] Fiona Candlin, *Micromuseology: An Analysis of Small Independent Museums* (London 2015) p. 2–4; p. 12.

[8] Rodney Harrison, *Heritage: Critical Approaches* (London 2013) p. 225; Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York 2006) p. 29.

[9] Harrison talks about "hybrid-forums" as one way of benefit from knowledge by heritage experts as well as from amateurs or "ordinary people". See Harrison (2013) p. 225.

With the purpose of this article in mind, it is clear that the heritage boom plays a huge role in shaping Swedish sport heritage, and this perspective is key when analyzing the growth of sports museums in Sweden. Therefore, it will be used as a theoretical notion along with Laurajane Smith's ideas of authorized heritage discourses. However, the aim is to also present an historical overview of Swedish sports heritage that stretches back as far as the early 1900s. A longer-term historical perspective enables the contextualization of the heritagization process of Swedish sports on different levels, while also pointing out presumable directions for the future.

The Making of a National Sports Museum in Sweden

On October 15th, 1992, The Swedish National Sports Museum – officially named *Sveriges Riksidrottsmuseum* – opened up in Stockholm, Sweden. Behind the creation stood the Swedish Sports Confederation – *Riksidrottsförbundet* – who had spent more than a decade planning the museum in terms of finding the right location, creating a financing solution, collecting artefacts and building exhibitions. The museum was located behind the conspicuous, golf ball-shaped Globe Arena in the newly built district of Globen in south Stockholm. The arena had been inaugurated in 1989, just in time for the Ice Hockey World Championships, and had instantly become a natural part of Stockholm's skyline. By locating the museum at this spot, the idea was to attract visitors who would be there to watch sports anyway. However, despite being a sports museum intending to cover the entire Swedish sports history, the Swedish National Sports Museum was more first and foremost a creation by a certain group of people based in Stockholm, and not a huge amount of Swedish sports heritage from around the country was to be found inside the museum. This had its reasons, beginning with how Swedish sports were – and still are – organized.

Organized sports in Sweden are often referred to as the Swedish Sports Movement. This includes amateur as well as professional sports and has been administered by the Swedish Sports Confederation since the 1930s. The confederation was formed in 1903, but during the early decades of the 20th century they were not the only organization claiming leadership of Swedish sports. The task was shared with another organization; the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics – *Sveriges Centralförening för Idrottens Främjande* – which was founded in 1897. What is relevant in this case is that its hegemonic position over the administration of Swedish sports had also put both leading

organizations in charge of Swedish sport heritage, albeit, not at the same time and not with the same stakes, but with the common goal of exhibiting "the national sports history". This hegemonic position was for instance made clear in 1984 when *Svensk idrott*, a magazine distributed by the Swedish Sports Confederation, published an article that addressed the heritage issue. The author of the article, historian Jan Lindroth, started with a statement.

> Interest in Swedish sports history is growing around the country. Local initiatives are being taken to start sports history associations and sports museums. Now we need a national sports museum, and it should be located in Stockholm.[10]

Lindroth further argued that a national sports museum in Stockholm could function as a recognition of sports as a cultural phenomenon. In the piece, Lindroth goes on to subtly criticize people he perceives as opponents of this recognition. What is interesting with the article is that on one hand, it put Swedish sport heritage in a position of power, but on the other hand placed it in an underdog position in relation to the heritage field as a whole. In a way, this framed the situation of Swedish sport heritage and was to a certain extent nothing new, since this was clearly not the first attempt to create a Swedish national sports museum.

In fact, Sweden saw its first national sports museum as early as 1947. The museum was named the Gymnastic and Sports Museum – *Gymnastik- och idrottsmuseet* – and was located inside the building of The Swedish School for Sport and Health Sciences – *Gymnastik- och Idrottshögskolan*. Although at first glance, the museum could be seen as quite low key and anonymous, it was a result of work that had been ongoing for almost 50 years. The idea of making a museum started as early as 1897, when the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics addressed the need to collect and preserve the reminisces of Swedish sports. By that time, occasional exhibitions of Swedish sports had already taken place, such as at the World Exhibitions in Chicago 1893 and Stockholm 1897. However, the goals for the Gymnastic and Sports Museum were set much higher than that, and a museum committee was installed to investigate how it could be implemented permanently. That indeed took its time, but it opened its doors in May 1947 offering a two-floor exhibition over 400 square meters including

[10] Jan Lindroth, "Behöver vi ett riksidrottsmuseum?" *Svensk idrott* 5 (1984) pp. 18–21.

artefacts donated by sports associations from all over Sweden. The inauguration was guested by parts of the Royal family, and expectations were high.

However, only a few years after opening, the Gymnastic and Sports Museum faced serious problems. The visiting numbers remained low and consisted mostly of "school children who were forced there by their teachers", according to a testimonial signed by one of the board members of the museum committee.[11] The museum's financial flow was therefore interrupted, which, however, was likely more of a symptom of a much bigger problem. What becomes clear when reading about the making of the museum and its permanent exhibition is that the focus was predominantly on individual sports, whose participants were largely made up of the elite of the society. This included sports such as fencing, sailing and tennis, while team sports such as football and ice-hockey were almost absent, despite their rapid growth in popularity in Sweden. Furthermore, no female athletes were represented, even though at that time 15% of the members in the Swedish Sports Movement were women and the numbers were increasing.[12] In summary, the Gymnastics and Sports Museum was obsolete right from the beginning, which, in retrospect, was of no surprise since it was built on an almost 50 year old idea of presenting Swedish sports history.

A Rising Conflict

The fate of the Gymnastic and Sports Museum was not often mentioned when the plans for creating a "new" national sports museum took form in the 1980s. Instead, there were optimistic vibes from the Swedish Sports Confederation, who now had taken over both the administration and the heritage project of Swedish sports. As was the case for the preparations of the Gymnastic and Sports Museum, a museum committee was put in place for the planning phase. The committee consisted not only of people from within the sports movement, but also from the university sector.[13] As we already know, the museum was to be located in the district of Globen. It was thought of on one hand as an ordinary museum with exhibitions and a library, and on the other as a "meeting point" where current

[11] Sven Sandstedt, "Malpåsen med många hål", *Blå boken* (1962) pp. 56–57.
[12] Jens Ljunggren, *Den svenska idrottens historia* (Stockholm 2020) p. 185. In 1977, the numbers had increased to 35 percent.
[13] Among the members of the museum committee were, for instance, the principal of The Swedish School of Sport and Health Science and a professor from Konstfack, an art academy in Stockholm. See Berg (2022) pp. 80–81.

issues and debates within the sports movement could be discussed.[14] All decisions regarding the museum had been made by the board of the Swedish Sports Confederation, which eventually led to a conflict that took place both in newspapers and internal correspondence.

Alongside the plans of building a national sports museum in Stockholm, other parts of Sweden saw a large number of sports museums open up during the 1980s. Many of them were run by volunteers connected to sports history associations, even though modes of operation could vary. In Sweden's second largest city, Gothenburg, a local sports museum had opened up in 1984. Olof Johansson, the leader of Gothenburg Sports Museum, stated in an interview with local newspaper *Göteborgs-Posten* that a national sports museum could just as easily be integrated into their business rather than be housed in a brand-new building.

> Make our museum the national sports museum instead. We have loads of objects here! [15]

In Norrköping, Sweden's eleventh largest city, there was another local sports museum in the making. Lennart Petersohn, the project leader, reacted calmly – albeit slightly laconically – to the message about the national sports museum in Stockholm.

> As far as I am concerned, Stockholm already hosts 44 museums. Maybe they could share the spoils a little. [16]

Perhaps the strongest reaction, however, came from Malmö. Here, in Sweden's third largest city, a yearly conference with the regional sports confederation was held in the fall of 1988. In front of the audience, President Bertil Göransson addressed the issue of the national sports museum in Stockholm and announced his position.

> It is a wrong decision. Sweden does not revolve around a few islands around Stockholm, as a few people might think.[17]

[14] Slutrapport från arbetsgruppen för ett Riksidrottsmuseum, Handlingar rörande bildandet av Riksidrottsmuseet, Sveriges Riksidrottsförbund SE/RA/730356/4/F/F/1/1, Riksarkivet (RA).
[15] "Göteborg vill ha Riksidrottsmuseum", *Göteborgs-Posten* 8/1 1988.
[16] "Norrköping missar museum – Globen lockar", *Norrköpings Tidningar* 11/9 1987.
[17] "Rör inte vårt museum! – SDF-konferensen 1988", *Skåne-Idrott* 1(1988).

The reason for this reaction was likely due to the fact that the "original" Swedish national sports museum – the Gymnastic and Sports Museum – after being stored in Stockholm, was partly transported to Malmö. It had eventually re-opened as Malmö Sports Museum in the early 1970s, but since it consisted of artefacts from all over Sweden, it had more the character of a national sport museum. The willingness to return artefacts to a "new" national sports museum in the same city as the previous one was low, to say the least.

In Stockholm, the board of the Swedish Sports Confederation seemed to have been quite surprised by the criticism. However, their attitude was unchanged, and the positive mood remained intact. In the newspaper *Arbetet*, President Bengt Sevelius continued to argue that a national sports museum in Stockholm would be a success.

> The Globen area will be a national sports center where lots of sports enthusiasts will pass every day. What could be more natural than it becoming a center for the documentation of the past, present and future of the sports? [18]

What becomes clear is that a national sports museum was a prestige project for the Swedish Sports Confederation. The project was permeated with optimism, and therefore, the critique did not really affect the desire to fulfil the plans. However, with almost no support from other parts of the country, the actual realization of the museum became a massive challenge. Director Karl Örsan, who served as a project leader, testified that he had to do most of the work on his own.[19] Funding was another issue. Calculations showed that the museum would need 100,000 paying visitors annually to manage its finances decently, although that would still not cover all the costs for the museum's first six years. Therefore, in addition to visitor numbers, hopes were therefore largely placed upon incomes from the museum shop, rental activities and grants from the Swedish Sports Confederation.[20]

[18] "Inget mygel med museet", *Arbetet* 3/2 1988.
[19] Berg (2022) p. 89.
[20] Kalkyl över driftskostnader under uppbyggnadsperioden, Handlingar rörande bildandet av Riksidrottsmuseet (RA); Beräknade intäkter 1992-12-03, Handlingar rörande bildandet av Riksidrottsmuseet (RA); Beslut om bidrag för Stiftelsen Sveriges Riksidrottsmuseum 1992-02-05, Handlingar rörande bildandet av Riksidrottsmuseet (RA).

Analyzing the Heritage Conflict within the Swedish Sports Movement

As mentioned, the new national sports museum was planned at the same time as preparations for many other sports museums, and the decision from the board of the Swedish Sports Confederation to locate the museum in Stockholm was perceived as overbearing and arrogant. It seems clear that Swedish sport heritage was both vibrant and solid throughout the country, perhaps far more than the Swedish Sports Confederation had expected. This says something not only about the relations between the Swedish Sports Confederation and the associations around the country, but also something about a shift within the heritage sector as a whole. In fact, there was almost no resistance to a national sports museum per se, and not everyone was against the placement of the museum in Stockholm either. What was most upsetting was how the decision had been made by the board of the Swedish Sports Confederation – with almost no transparency from their members. This created a sort of urban-rural conflict, where the Swedish Sports Confederation appeared arrogant towards the entire sports movement. Furthermore, the opposition had also gained energy from being a part of a strong movement such as Swedish sports, which had made local associations less dependent on their leading organization and strong enough to criticize it. But if we look at it from a wider heritage perspective, we can also explain the development by linking it to *the heritage boom*.

It is likely that the Swedish Sports Confederation knew little about the heritage boom and its impact on Swedish sport heritage, however, the confederation played a sort of role of representing the authorized heritage discourse for Swedish sport heritage. According to the authorized heritage discourse, the assessments of the heritage expertise were considered more important and correct than those of the general public in matters regarding, for instance, preservation and heritage politics. If we look back at 1947, when the first national sports museum was inaugurated, the originators – the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics – also occupied that role. However, this was the way before the start of the heritage boom and the eventual deconstruction of the authorized heritage discourse. According to archive materials from the making of the Gymnastic and Sports Museum, almost no resistance or dissatisfaction was expressed by associations around the country, although there was hardly applause either. The overall impression when reading about the plans for the first museum is that sports associations around the country barely had time to create their own

heritage, since many of them were still in the beginning of their ordinary activities as sports associations. Therefore, there was no particular reason to be negative about the building of a national sports museum. This also meant that only a few associations could contribute with artefacts. Some of those did, however, which was enough to build the museum.[21] When comparing the Gymnastics and Sports Museums and the National Sports Museum, both can be seen as representatives of the authorized heritage discourse of Swedish sport heritage. The difference between them, since they operated in different times, was that the latter could not stand unchallenged.

Different Times, Different Heritage

When looking at the two leading organizations of Swedish sports, the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics and the Swedish Sports Confederation, there are both similarities and differences that can help to explain how they aimed to treat Swedish sport heritage. It is also important to see the contexts in which they both operated in order to understand the different "waves" of sports heritage interest throughout the past 100 years.

The Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics, founded in 1897, was the first organization to administrate Swedish sports. Their mission as an organization was to *promote* organized sports, which, in Sweden, was a fairly unknown phenomenon at that time.[22] The Swedish Sports Confederation was the second organization, founded in 1903, but unlike their predecessor, their mission was not to promote but to *coordinate* the actual practice of sports by gathering athletes and associations.[23] As mentioned earlier, both organizations co-administrated the Swedish sports movement up until the 1930s, after which point the Swedish Sports Confederation took over the task completely. The reason for the Swedish Sports Confederation taking over the administration was mainly because Swedish sports found itself in a time of change.

As a promotor of Swedish sports, the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics was striving towards spreading the word about sport. The board consisted of people from the upperclass, for instance the Swedish Crown

[21] Berg (2022) pp. 70–71.
[22] Of course, sports existed, although it was not a big movement that engaged all parts of the society.
[23] Johan R. Norberg, *Idrottens väg till folkhemmet: Studier i statlig idrottspolitik 1913–1970*, (Stockholm 2004) pp. 251–253.

Prince, and as an association, it was clearly linked to the bourgeois ideals of the 1800s.[24] In the 1930s, these ideals had become obsolete, since the Swedish Sports movement had transformed itself to be more democratic, inclusive and member driven. The number of sports associations around the country was rising sharply, which resulted in new demands on administration and accessibility. For that, the Swedish Sports Confederation was better suited since its primary task from the beginning was to gather athletes and associations and focus on the actual *practice* of sports.[25]

The differences between the two leading organizations reveal something about their attitude towards Swedish sport heritage. The Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics, who valued sports in terms of national identity, nature romance and traditions, aimed for a sports heritage characterized by just that. The Swedish Sports Confederation, who valued sports in terms of democracy, competing and performance, wanted the heritage to be characterized by these ideals.

A Big Fish in a Small Pond

Despite operating the authorized heritage discourses of Swedish sport heritage, neither the Swedish Central Association for the Promotion of Athletics or the Swedish Sports Confederation could be seen as heritage experts by any means. Taking care of Swedish sport heritage represented only a tiny part of the two organization's workloads, whose main tasks of course was to promote and administrate the growing sports movement. A bigger picture is revealed when one zooms out from the heritage making within the sports movement, which shows both organizations actively reaching out to the professional heritage sector.

The bigger picture makes clear what we already know – that the leaders of the sports movement were big players also in its heritage project – but it also reveals that Swedish sport heritage was far from being recognized by established heritage institutions. One goal of the establishment of national sports museums was, of course, to collect and exhibit a Swedish national sports history, but another equally important goal was to incorporate sports as a natural part of the heritage sector. In his article in *Svensk idrott* about the need for a national sports museum, Lindroth stated the following:

[24] Norberg (2004) p. 251.
[25] Norberg (2004) p. 260.

> The creation of a national sports museum would show "fine culturals" and other sports doubters that the sports movement is serious about its characteristics as a cultural phenomenon. [26]

This statement, just one among a range of similar ones, not only reveals that the leaders of Swedish sports wanted the movement to be recognized as a cultural phenomenon. It also reveals an assumption of "fine-cultured" people who did not think it was. Hence, representatives of Swedish sport heritage in a way position themselves as underdogs in the heritage sector, which may have increased the rift between Swedish sports and the heritage sector. Stemming from an assumption that sports heritage was not qualified enough for inclusion in the official heritage, a decision was reached that that the sports movement needed to create its own national museum.

The underdog image in heritage contexts gave the Swedish sports movement an interesting position. The sports movement, although being in control of sports heritage, considered themselves as underdogs in the broader heritage landscape. In other words, it controlled an authorized heritage discourse on one hand, while criticizing another.

Another Failure Added to the Books

As mentioned, the national sports museum of Swedish sports, officially named *Riksidrottsmuseet* eventually opened on the 15th of October 1992. On its opening night, celebrities such as Prince Bertil of Sweden attended, giving the event an air of extravagance. The museum was divided in two floors and located right behind the Globe Arena, and on top of that, it had to a great extent been created in consultation with professional historians and at least one experienced museum worker. However, just like its predecessor the Gymnastic and Sports Museum in the 1940s, the national sports museum faced problems almost immediately after opening.

The plan to create synergies between watching sports and visiting a sports museum simply did not work. Director Karl Örsan, who was in charge of collecting artefacts for the museum, admits that the location was wrong.

[26] Lindroth (1984).

> When people go and watch sports, they do only that, they do not visit a sports museum at the same time.[27]

The consequences were clear. Fewer visitors meant less money, and less money meant that the museum could not market itself in the best possible way. In 1997, the national sports museum behind the Globe Arena closed permanently due to financial reasons. Running a national sports museum in Sweden once again proved impossible and the reasons for the financial problems were as simple as they were difficult – there were not enough paying visitors to the museum. The objects were once again put into storage in anticipation of better times.

Tensions seemed to have dissolved with regard to the struggle of power between the Swedish Sports Confederation and the sports movement which had been ongoing since the 1980s, possibly a consequence of the problems that followed the opening of the National Sports Museum. Perhaps the only way forward was to start cooperating with each other which, among other things, led to the formation of a sports heritage network in Sweden. For several years in the 1990s, the network hosted meetings around the country, which probably contributed to a less conflict-filled atmosphere.[28]

Despite the repeated failure to create a national sports museum, Swedish sport heritage saw good times in the 1980s and 1990s. A great number of sports museums were already up and running, and there were more to come as the new millennium approached. The problem seemed not to be sports heritage in itself – the problem was to gather the sports heritage into one single museum with the aim of exhibiting one national sports history. However, the story does not end just there, and I will soon return to the final fate of the national sports museum in Sweden. First, let us take a look at some other sports heritage initiatives that took form during the 1990s.

Different Types of Sports Museums

On broad level, sports museums in Sweden tend to be managed in a number of certain ways – either by foundations, sports history associations, clubs, as parts of larger institutions such as larger museums, or as a mix of the above. For instance, Dalarna Sports Museum is run by a foundation, Helsingborg Sports Museum is run by a sports history association and the Malmö FF Museum is run by the

[27] Interview with Karl Örsan 25/7 2019.
[28] Interview with Karl Örsan 25/7 2019.

football club Malmö FF. There is one museum, however, that stands out somewhat: The Nordic Trotting Museum.

In the summer of 1998, the Nordic Trotting Museum opened in the small Swedish town Årjäng, just a few kilometres from the border with Norway. Of all sports museums that popped up in Sweden at the time, the Nordic Trotting Museum was slightly different. It was not run on a voluntary basis and not connected to any type of sports history association. Instead, it was a result of a political decision made five years earlier in 1994, when local politician Bo Danielsson "got an idea to put Årjäng on the map".[29] Since equestrian sports, especially trotting, has a long history in Årjäng, the idea he had was to create a trotting museum next to the racecourse. With only four years from idea to a final product, the Nordic Trotting Museum can be seen as unique in a Swedish context, since it was rooted in politics from the beginning, which enabled short decision times made by people with power.

The purpose of the museum, from a political point of view, was to benefit the tourist industry of Årjäng, and therefore, the museum focused strongly on joy and relied on interactive exhibitions to entertain its visitors. Being the only trotting museum in the Nordic countries, it also became sort of a meeting point for equestrian enthusiasts. In 2007, the museum introduced a hall of fame into which both horse riders and their horses were inducted every year. Today, the Nordic Trotting Museum is an institution for trotting history, a natural extension of the racecourse area, a meeting point for Årjäng and its inhabitants, while also playing an important role in the local tourist industry. According to previous research on sports heritage, mostly from the U.S., the tourism aspect of heritage projects is becoming evermore important. This goes together with the more widespread idea of sports as entertainment and a part of the experience industry which, in turn, is closely linked to commercialization and commodification of sports.[30]

---

[29] "Travmuseet i centrum i Årjäng", *Sveriges Radio P4 Värmland* 16/7 2010. <https://sverigesradio.se/sida/artikel.aspx?programid=93&artikel=3860060> (3/11 2020).

[30] See for instance Sean Gammon, "Heroes as heritage: the commoditization of sporting achievement", *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 9:3 (2014) p. 256; Sean Gammon, "'Sporting' new attractions? The commodification of the sleeping stadium"; Richard Sharpley & Philip R. Stone (ed.), *Tourist Experience: Contemporary perspectives* (London 2010) p. 117; Gregory Ramshaw, "Living Heritage and The Sports Museum: Athletes, Legacy and the Olympic Hall of Fame and Museum, Canada Olympic Park", *Journal of Sports and Tourism* 15:1 (2010).

Towards Commercialization and Specialization

The development that can be seen at the Nordic Trotting Museum is to a great extent also visible at Dalarna Sports Museum, a museum founded in 1994 in a traditional way of setting up a sports museum at that time – an object-focused museum with a broad representation run by a local sports history association in cooperation with a foundation. This was a collaboration that seemed solid that would stay sustainable for years. However, the museum closed in 2020 due to financial issues and low visitor numbers. The objects were put into storage and the staff, consisting of ageing men with backgrounds in the sports movement, became irresolute, not knowing how to handle the situation.

A few kilometers away from central Falun, where Dalarna Sports Museum has been in recent years, we find Lugnet Ski Stadium where the Ski World Championship was held in 1954, 1974, 1993 and 2015. Standing on the lowest point of Lugnet, one can look up to the ski jumping venue that towers over the area. Since the easiest way of getting up there is by car, a guide and I took a trip to admire the view during my visit – and to look at the new ski museum built *inside* of the actual ski jumping venue.

The Lugnet Ski Museum is a spectacular attraction. Located several meters up in the air (and starting on the top of the hill), at the same level as the ski jumpers when they begin their descent, it provides a stunning view over the entire city of Falun. The museum is reached by elevator and has windows in all directions. Inside, everything revolves around memories of hosting the Ski World Championship, with exhibits of ski dresses which were previously worn by famous athletes alongside other types of gear, medals and photos. However, the museum is not particularly focused on objects. Instead, the visitor is provided with an experience, partly by the stunning view in all directions, partly through interactive elements. A simulator, in which the visitor can experience the feeling of ski jumping, is the clear main attraction of the museum. There is also a flyer for the museum translated into three different languages, saying that this is "A museum with a view" followed by a list of all its features.

Dalarna Sports Museum has been outcompeted, frankly speaking, by Lugnet Ski Museum. Just like the Nordic Trotting Museum, commercialization and specialization have also made their way into the sports heritage of Dalarna. What we see is partially a result of how sports *and* its heritage has been incorporated into the experience industry. It is, however, also an expression of the new

direction museum creation has taken more broadly go beyond only sports museums.

The New Museology and its Implications for the Heritage of Sports

In 1989, museologist Peter Vergo released the book New Museology, in which he suggested some new perspectives with which we can view museums.[31] Vergo insisted that museums should be viewed as societal and context-bound, rather than static, independent institutions. This has been an important perspective, since it enables to analyze the heritagization of sports in relation to both the development of sports and the development of museums and heritage in a wider sense.

The new museology also has had implications on museum practices, specifically how museum exhibitions are created. Historically, museums were large institutions formed by the elites, where "the truth" was simply served to the visitors. According to historian Tony Bennett, museums were places where the bourgeoisie could educate the working class, while keeping them away from the pub and other forms of unhealthy living.[32] The exhibitions were arranged with objects and texts with the purpose of "telling it like it was", leaving little or no space for the visitors to make their own interpretations.[33] Combined with the heritage boom, the democratization of heritage and the globalization of the world, museums have started to change their exhibition practices in recent decades, which can also be seen as an effect of the new museology. Today, visitor interaction is crucial, not only through entertainment and joy, but also by leaving space and room for alternative interpretations and critical thinking. Viewing museums as an integral part of the society also means that they are sometimes regarded as meeting points where debates and workshops are held.

Both the Nordic Trotting Museum and the Lugnet Ski Museum can be seen as modern museums. These museums tend to be quite sparse in terms of physical artefacts but are richer when it comes to touch screens and other "hands-on"

---

[31] Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London 1989) p. 3. One can question whether these perspectives were "new", since the heritage boom already had made impacts on how museums could be viewed. However, the book might have been the first to announce it from a museological point of view.

[32] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London 1995) p. 91.

[33] See for instance Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Education: Purpose, Pedagogy, Performance* (London 2007) p. 190; Jennifer Harris, "Affect-based Exhibition", Ann Davis & Kerstin Smeds (ed.), *Visiting the Visitor: An Enquiry Into the Visitor Business in Museums* (Bielefeld 2016) p. 16.

activities. Compared to Dalarna Sports Museum, a traditional artefact-based museum which mainly appeals to those already familiar with the sports history of Dalarna, the Lugnet Ski Museum has lower thresholds, which attracts a broader audience, not least people who do not usually go to sports museums, such as women and children.

The National Sports Museum – How Did It Go?

So, let us return to the National Sports Museum, since the mission of collecting and exhibiting the entire history of Swedish sports never really came to a conclusion. The National Sports Museum which had been placed in storage in 1997, re-opened in new facilities in 2007. Its new address was the Museum Park, a venue in Stockholm hosting a number of other museums such as the Police Museum, Museum of Technics and the Museum of Ethnography. This remains the museum's address in 2022. Being surrounded by more established institutions has probably had positive effects on visitor numbers and the recognition of the museum. Furthermore, the museum has come a long way in its attempts to attract different types of visitors and works with sports heritage in new ways, not least by relating it to arts and music. To date, the National Sports Museum remains open and has about 40,000 visitors every year.[34]

Summary: How to Move Forward?

Today, the map of sports heritage has been redrawn somewhat. Historically speaking, sports museums were created by male persons, for male persons, both groups who were deeply involved with the sports movement. This resulted in artefact-based museums relying heavily on nostalgia and hard facts where visitors came, if they came at all, in order to educate themselves or to simply experience nostalgia. This type of sports museum seems to be fading out in favour of affect-based, interactive institutions that address a wider, but not necessarily more knowledgeable, audience. The trend is visible in the museum sector as a whole. However, sports museums may have certain advantages in this development given the fact that sports in general are fairly "hands-on" and therefore well suited to interactive elements.

The Swedish Sports Movement is always changing and is, for now at least, somewhat in decline. Member levels are decreasing, especially among youths, and

[34] Interview with Karl Örsan 25/7 2019.

people tend to seek out other forms of exercise and sports. What this will mean for the forthcoming heritagizations of Swedish sports remains to be investigated, but with that being said, we do know that the significance of heritage tends to increase in times of change.

PUBLIC SPACES

Remembering Racism: Prospections of an Anti-Racist Monument and Memory-Site in Malmö

ROBERT NILSSON MOHAMMADI[1]

> [T]rauma has three phases. In the first phase, the child is dependent on the adult and is in a primarily trustful relationship. In the second phase, the adult, either once and suddenly, or repeatedly, does something highly exciting, frightening, or painful. The trauma is only completed in the third phase, when the adult acts towards the child as if nothing distressing or painful had happened, thus depriving the event that took place of its reality. Since what happened has not been acknowledged, not recognized, it continues to exert influence in the present.[2]

> It is often said that history is written by the victors. It might also be said that history is forgotten by the victors. They can afford to forget, while the losers are unable to accept what happened and are condemned to brood over it, relive it, and reflect how different it might have been.[3]

> Remembering is never a quiet act of introspection. It is a painful re-membering, a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present.[4]

Calling for Recognition, Reparation, and Atonement in the Aftermath of Racist Attacks

The city of Malmö is anticipating a new site of memory centred around an antiracist monument to be inaugurated in a few years. Called for by a victim and

[1] With gratitude for comments from the editors and authors of this volume, and with special thanks to Rebecka Katz Thor and Andrés Brink Pinto for highly valued readings.

[2] Lene Austed, "Introduction", in Lene Austed (ed.) *Shared Traumas, Silent Loss, Public and Private Mourning*, (London 2017) pp. xix–xx.

[3] Peter Burke, "History and Social Memory", in Thomas Butler (ed.) *Memory, History, Culture and the Mind*, (Oxford 1989) p. 106.

[4] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London 2004 [1994]) p. 90.

survivor initiative in 2019, the monument and memory-site will remind of how the city was targeted by a racist serial killer who was able to operate undetected for seven years, and of the victim-blaming, lack of care and denied reparations that occurred in the wake of his deeds.[5]

Public representations of Malmö are often made in the urban noir genre.[6] Representations of the city have frequently been used to drive far-right ideology, often through political discourses and sometimes performative acts.[7] Between 2003 and 2010, Malmö was terrorized by a son of the city turned racist serial killer. Inspired by white power ideologue William Pierce and the (so-called) lone wolf terrorism of Joseph Paul Franklin, he shot elderly in their homes and kids on their way to afterschool activities.[8] He shot at people working out in the gym, waiting for the bus, clubbing, or preparing dinner with their families. He shot at Jewish homes expecting that the city's Muslim population would be blamed, and he shot at signposts both to confuse the police and to contribute to the crime image of the city.[9] Each attack led police and journalists to search for suspects in proximity to the victims.[10] After his capture, official Government statements condemned the deeds, but in ways that problematized immigrant integration rather than racism (implying that the victims would have escaped being targeted if they had managed to be more "Swedish"). The judicial system also failed to recognize the racist content of the serial-killer's operations, as he was never tried for hate crimes despite the availability of evidence.[11] The bleak pattern of attack followed by victim-blaming made those communities racialized as non-white fear further random attacks and led other parts of the population to affirm their whiteness

[5] Manal Masri, Daniel Diaz, Nicolas Lunabba, Robert Nilsson Mohammadi & Showan Shattak, "Ett antirasistiskt minnesmärke skulle visa att vi aldrig glömmer dem som Peter Mangs mördade", *Sydsvenskan* 1/5 2019.

[6] Gyan Prakash, "Introduction: Imagining the City, Darkly", in Gyan Prakash (ed.) *Noir Urbanisms: Dystopic Images of the Modern City* (Princeton 2010) pp. 1–14.

[7] Leandro Schlarek Mulinari, "Contesting Sweden's Chicago: Why Journalists Dispute the Crime Image of Malmö", *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 34:3 (2017) p. 206; Peter Herkel, Erik Magnusson & Oskar Ahlqvist, "Rasmus Paludan avvisad vid gränsen – har fått ett tvåårigt inreseförbud", *Sydsvenskan* 28/8 2022.

[8] Working on this topic has made me aware of how much more prominent the name and portrait of the assailant are than those of his victims and I will therefore not use his name unless necessary.

[9] Peter Mangs has been found guilty for two murders, eight attempted murders and several cases of unlawful threats. Mattias Gardell, *Raskrigaren: Seriemördaren Peter Mangs* (Stockholm 2015).

[10] Mattias Gardell, "Urban Terror: The Case of Lone Wolf Peter Mangs", *Terrorism and Political Violence* 30: 5 (2018) pp. 793–811.

[11] Gardell (2015) pp. 301–322.

(either through fear of the racialized Other seemingly always surrounded by violence or through melancholia over an imagined loss of innocence).[12]

In 2019, seven years after the serial killer had been sentenced to a lifetime in prison, I helped author a call for an antiracist monument intended to replace the fractions, fear, and self-doubt first instilled by the killer and then augmented by institutional responses.[13] When starting a Facebook page, the initiative chose the name Antiracist Monument. Our call focused on the need for communities exposed to racism to be able to speak openly about this experience, confirm and validate each other, and in this way heighten their resilience and ability to resist:

> No minute of silence has been held for the victims. Not nationally and not even In Malmö. No processing of the collective trauma has taken place. This is a clear example of how racism is allowed to continue to operate in the hidden. [---] An antiracist monument would give those of us living in Malmö a public place to share our experiences of racism. We could heal ourselves by challenging what oppresses us. For this reason, this call should not only be read as a demand for the construction of an antiracist monument, but also as a call for discussions about racist violence [across its full spectrum]. Together, those of us who live in Malmö know a lot about racism and its consequences, and we can learn from each other. [---] Where the monument should stand and how it should be made are examples of discussions to which many people living in Malmö will be invited. We want the political leadership in the city [to] guarantee that an antiracist monument is created.[14]

This quote articulates the city as both a liability and a defence-system – ascribing a position close to what Michael Rothberg has called an implicated subject: "neither a victim nor a perpetrator, but rather a participant in histories and social formations that generate the positions of victim and perpetrator." [15] The city of Malmö's Municipal Executive Committee nevertheless received the call well, and the inauguration of the monument, expected to happen 2025, is being prepared

---

[12] Mattias Gardell (2018). About whiteness as a melancholic formation, see Anne Anlin Cheng, *The Melancholy of Race: Psychoanalysis, Assimilation, and Hidden Grief* (Oxford 2001) pp. 7–14.

[13] Masri et al. (2019). I co-wrote the call with documentary filmmaker Manal Masri (whose brother is a surviving victim), community leaders and children's rights activists Nicolas Lunabba and Daniel Diaz, and popular educator Showan Shattak (himself a survivor of a near-fatal racist attack).

[14] Masri (2019). Author's transl.

[15] Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Stanford: 2019) p. 1.

by the city's Culture Department.[16] The process has been thoroughly driven by municipal project managers Anna Wahlstedt and Rena Baledi and organized through the municipal project Antiracist Monument.[17]

I was among the initiators of the process towards an antiracist monument, and I have continued to be active in it, but the process has grown to involve so many actors and agencies that no one can assert full control of what is happening or where it is going. This text is a sequel to earlier contributions in which I have prepared the work, documented it, and reflected on the meanings established in the process.[18] The text is an attempt to make the process comprehensible (and available for posterity) by compiling sources from what I consider to be the third stage of the formation of racism's memory in Malmö, by which I mean the period between 2019 and 2022 when the monument was investigated and prepared by Malmö's Culture Department.[19] As the process offers a rare chance to learn about memory and public memory-work, the text at the same time is an essayistic engagement with what is unfolding around me. As a memory studies scholar, my experience from the process is that it is very hard (for scholars, agencies, and people) to get into contact with memory, and engage in memory-work. My impression from the process in Malmö is that remembering mostly has been avoided or pushed into the future. Simultaneously looking at what has happened, how it has happened, and which publicly available meanings those actions has produced is therefore necessary for learning about how memory-work can be facilitated in the future (be it in Malmö or in some other place). Analysing the process and the meanings it outputs leads to a concluding reflection on a possible public role for the scholar, making the text into a contribution to the discussion

[16] The initiative was first questioned by Malmö's Deputy Major for Democracy and Human Rights, Ewa Bertz of the Liberals, but later welcomed by the majority of the Municipal Executive Committee. Ewa Bertz, "Replik: Främlingsfientlighet bemöter vi inte med monument", *Sydsvenskan* 7/5 2019; Elin Fjellman, "Stjernfeldt Jammeh bjuder in till dialog om antirastiskt monument", *Sydsvenskan* 30/5 2019.

[17] "Antirasistiskt monument," Malmö stad, <https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Kultur---projekt-och-satsningar/Malmo-konst/Antirasistiskt-monument.html> (15/6 2022).

[18] Robert Nilsson Mohammadi, "Engaging with Memories and Representations of Racist Violence in Malmö", Unpubl. paper presented at the conference *Creating the City: Identity, Memory and Participation*, Malmö University, 9/2–10/2 2017; Robert Nilsson Mohammadi, "Reflections on the call for an anti-racist monument in Malmö", in Annika Enqvist, Rebecka Katz Thor, Karolina Modig och Joanna Zawieja (eds.) *Public Memory, Public Art: Reflections on Monuments and Memorial Art Today* (Stockholm 2022).

[19] Importantly, this text has not been discussed with either the victims' and survivors' initiative or the municipal project managers, and hence only represents my own interpretation of available sources. For another overview of this period, see Filip Yifter-Svensson, "Kan ett minnesmärke ge skräddaren Naser ro?", *Sydsvenskan* 23/10 2022.

of engaged historiography by starting an exploration of (public) curation as part of the historian's professional repertoire.[20]

The Project Antiracist Monument: A Third Stage of the Formation of Racism's Memory in Malmö

James E. Young suggest that memory emerges dynamically in stages, as stakeholders are differently mobilized and affirmed.[21] I consider the municipality's project Antiracist Monument, and especially the exhibition The Whole City is a Monument, to be a third stage of the formation of the memory of racism (especially racist attacks) in Malmö.[22] The first stage of this memory-formation contains representations that express a fascination for the perpetrator and that are focalized around him. This has led to the killer's name being remembered rather than those he hurt and killed. It has also served to make him into a "good enemy", onto which society's problem can be projected and seemingly dealt with the capture of a single offender. The second stage of this memory-formation instead conveys the message that it is too early to forget the serial killer. These representations invite the audience to reflect on their own participation in a society and culture that also produced the killer. The representations in this second stage – including Mattias Gardell's book *The Race Warrior*, Manal Masri's movie *Letters to a Serial Killer* (2017) – contain voices from people who lived in Malmö when the killer was active. In doing so, they relativize the killer's voice and marginalize him as narrator, while claiming something universally human for his victims. These are examples of works that set up a diegetic world in which subjects otherwise split by racialization can speak congruently.[23] This was also the mode of representation that the call for an antiracist monument prescribed, by stipulating that it be constructed through a socially mobilizing process. My impression is that the project Antiracist Monument has taken the formation of memory in a new direction, one that is no less antiracist but political in its own ways. I will explore this new orientation by

[20] Stefan Berger (ed.), *The Engaged Historian: Perspectives on the Intersections of Politics, Activism and the Historical Profession* (Oxford 2019); David Ludvigsson & Martin Åberg (eds.) *Historikern i samhället: Roller och förändringsmönster* (Möklinta, 2021); David Sjögren, "Tema historiker i försoning", *Historisk tidskrift* 136:3 (2016), pp. 377–382.

[21] James E. Young, *The Stages of Memory: Reflections on Memorial Art, Loss, and the Spaces Between* (Boston 2016) pp. 1–17.

[22] For an in-depth analysis of the first and second stages, see Nilsson Mohammadi (2022).

[23] Susan Lanser, *Fictions of Authority: Women Writers and Narrative Voice* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Lynn Layton, "What Divides the Subject? Psychoanalytic Reflections on Subjectivity, Subjection and Resistance", *Subjectivity* 22 (2008) pp. 60–72.

analysing the exhibition The Whole City is a Monument, which is the largest producer of meanings since the debate caused by the call in 2019. Those meanings are however conditioned by being produced in the institutional setting of Malmö's Culture Department.

The project Antiracist Monument represents a huge investment of municipal resources in antiracist culture and involves three consecutive activities: (1) A series of public talks under the title Malmö Art in Change that let artists, architects, authors, popular educators, and scholars give their view on the visibility of different histories in the city's physical environment, and future ways to do public art in the city; (2) the public open air exhibition The Whole City is a Monument; and (3) the announcement of an artistic competition for a permanent work of art planned to launch in the spring of 2023.[24] The launch of the project Antiracist Monument decontextualized the issue from its civil society basis and recontextualized it as politico-administrative governance. This break might not be obvious since the municipal project bears the same name as the initiative and also consists of a close collaboration with the initiative. Unpacking this discontinuity is however not easily done, since only general decisions have been taken at the recorded meetings of the Culture Committee, while the finer details of the project have been decided upon within the administrative body of the Culture Department and are much harder to uncover in sources.[25] The project has also been shaped by the exchanges between the initiative and the project managers, but many of those meetings have been held unrecorded.[26]

Based on my reading of those sources I suggest that the project Antiracist Monument is the product of an intersection between the initiative's aim and three politico-administrative aims. The issue was prioritized while the city's political leadership started projecting a city-identity that is not only multicultural but also antiracist. This orientation is evident in cultural responses to Afrophobia and Islamophobia, and in the program Open Malmö.[27] This city-identity was brought up during a talk by Deputy Major for Culture Frida Trollmyr at the inauguration of The Whole City is a Monument. Furthermore, the issue entered the

[24] "Antirasistiskt monument," Malmö stad, <https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Kultur---projekt-och-satsningar/Malmo-konst/Antirasistiskt-monument.html> (15/6 2022).
[25] At least in sources that I have accessed.
[26] Notes from meeting 29/9 2021; Notes from meeting 26/11 2021; Notes from meeting 28/1 2022; Notes from meeting 25/2 2022; Notes from meeting 25/3 2022; Notes from meeting 10/11 2022. To fill in the blanks I have had to rely on my own notes and personal communications with the other initiators and with the project managers.
[27] "Öppna Malmö", Malmö stad, <https://malmo.se/Oppna-Malmo.html> (21/11 2022).

administration amid a reorganization of the responsibility for public art. Before the call was published, debates about public art and city identity had been intensified in relation firstly to the private donation of the sculpture *Points of View* (Tony Cragg, 2017), installed in a space originally conceived for unprogrammed community activities, and secondly to the desecration of the statue of Zlatan Ibrahimovic (Peter Linde, 2017).[28] Lastly, and in accordance with John Bingham-Hall's consideration of public art as a function of urban planning, the location deemed fitting by the municipality for the monument is in a neighbourhood where rents are rising, and small businesses and community spaces are giving way to gaming industries and architectural firms.[29] This area is also subject to plans for redevelopment, densification, and is connected a planned area for culture consumption in the city.

The first meeting between the initiative and the municipality of Malmö was held in the early summer of 2019. In the following months children were born to three of the five initiators, alongside their existing work responsibilities. The expectation within the initiative was that much needed support could be given from the Cultural Department, understood by the initiative to be a facilitator of the work. Perhaps owing to the resignation of the first project manager assigned to the project, it took well into 2020 before exchanges between the initiative and the Culture Department began to formalize.[30] In September 2020, the Culture Committee commissioned an exploration of the installation of an antiracist monument in close collaboration with the initiative. The decision for this, which had been discussed with the initiative before being presented to the Culture Committee, states that the collaboration is important to establish "a contemporary artistic creation that is simultaneously connected to Malmö as a place and history."[31] The same letter of service states that "the title 'Antiracist Monument' should be considered a working title."

---

[28] Linda Fagerström, "Malmös hantering av offentlig konst är löjeväckande", *Sydsvenskan* 20/2 2022; Roger Johansson, Per-Markku Ristilammi & Helena Tolvhed, "Zlatan som monument och tidsspegel", in Stefan Nyzell & Susan Lindholm (eds.) *Människor, makt och motstånd: En vänbok till professor Mats Greiff* (Malmö 2020).

[29] John Bingham-Hall, "Public Art as a Function of Urbanism", in Cameron Cartiere & Martin Zebracki (eds.) *The Everyday Practice of Public Art: Art, Space and Social Inclusion* (London 2016) p. 174; Jonas Gillberg, "Kreativa näringar ställs mot kultur – så förändras ett Möllankvarter", *Sydsvenskan* 22/9 2022; Jonas Gillberg, "Jesusparken blir platsen för Malmös antirasistiska monument", *Sydsvenskan* 12/3 2023.

[30] Rena Baledi joined the process in 2021.

[31] Malmö stad, Kulturförvaltningen, 23/9 2020, "Förslag om antirasistiskt monument"; "Arbetet kring antirasistiskt monument tar form i höst", Malmö stad,

A recurrent issue in the meeting notes is the creation of a timeline aligning three types of activities: public events, dialog meetings and making the process participatory. Together, those types of activities were meant to meet the initiative's demand for a socially inclusive process while also providing information for the investigation requested by the Cultural Committee (together with an exploration of a suitable location for the monument). From personal communications at the outset of the collaboration, many ideas for public events were shared and some made it into the timeline. Due to the prevailing Covid 19-pandemic, those events were mostly planned for an uncertain future and subsequently cancelled. It also seems that project managers found it difficult to designate money for some of the proposed activities. Dialog meetings were discussed as a strategy of finding out what different groups in the city wanted from a monument. Members of the initiative volunteered to plan and choose invitees for the meetings, but a plan could not be delivered until into 2022 and has not been implemented.[32] According to the sources, there has been no consensus in the group about the meaning of broad participation. Interpretations follow a descending scale from finding a way to decide the future artistic competition by means of a participatory process, through collecting the contemporary experience of the city and using it to influence the artist, to guaranteeing accessibility.[33] Based on the sources available to me, I do not know how the project was named or who decided to incorporate the series of public talks at Malmö City Library.

In 2021, the Culture Committee declared its fidelity to the 2019 call in face of a competing initiative.[34] Meanwhile, the date for the Culture Committees' decision about the installation of a permanent work of art has been delayed.[35]

<https://malmo.se/Aktuellt/Artiklar-Malmo-stad/2021-06-21-Arbetet-kring-antirasistiskt-monument-tar-form-i-host.html> (26/10 2022).

[32] I was given the task of planning and conducting another set of dialog meetings in the shape of a research project. This project has recently passed ethical review and is planned to happen in 2023.

[33] The timeline for this publication has allowed me to analyze meeting notes up to the decision to pause the collaboration in March 2022. Meetings between the initiative and Culture Department restarted in the fall of that year after the Culture Committee decided to fund the monument, focusing on working out a call for an artistic competition.

[34] Malmö stad, Kulturförvaltningen, 23/2 2022, "Malmöinitiativet – förslag till antirasistiskt monument i Malmö"; Mikael Wiehe, "Ge Malmö en antirasistisk staty – och kalla den 'Din mamma'", *Sydsvenskan* 6/1 2021; Carolina Söderholm, "Ett antirasistiskt monument behöver en öppen process", *Sydsvenskan* 20/1 2021; Jonas Gillberg, "Wiehes idé om ett antirasistiskt monument blir verklighet redan i år", *Sydsvenskan* 25/1 2022.

[35] Jonas Gillberg, "Malmö vill leta plats för ett antirasistiskt monument för att minnas Mangs offer", *Sydsvenskan*, 30/8 2020; Jonas Gillberg, "Konstnär till antirasistiskt monument i Malmö

Meeting notes from March 2022 contain the report that the Cultural Committee's decision will be pushed back until after the election of that year, information that forced the initiative to pause the collaboration until a final decision has been made.[36] The Culture Department however still had to go ahead with the exhibition The Whole City is a Monument since contracts were signed with the artists.

The Antiracist Monument project can be compared to the analysis by historian of ideas Edda Manga of a collaborative art project involving among others Rådet av enade kreoler/The Council of United Creoles and Statens konstråd/Public Art Agency Sweden. According to Manga, the different ideas about what democracy means amongst institutional and community-based actors, as well as the structural conditions as they move in different temporalities, make it likely that artists (and not grassroots initiatives) are empowered by a power dynamic they may or may not endorse.[37] The Antiracist Monument project has also been shaped by unsynchronized temporalities, including the failure to reconcile professional and voluntary labour, and the Culture Department's need to follow the election cycle. The initiators continued to work for free (not that demands for compensation were raised) and during office hours meaning that work and life duties often got in the way.[38] The fact that the project managers did not have a budget of their own, meaning that decisions had to be made by an unspecified member of the Cultural Department, also seems to have been a structural barrier for the collaboration. The outcome of the process – and, importantly, also what is projected in the Culture Committee's basis for decision – is a municipally led public art project.

The Whole City is a Monument: From Community to Movement Memory

The exhibition The Whole City is a Monument featured five works of art by artists with antiracist profiles on public display in Malmö during the summer and fall of

ska avgöras i höst", *Sydsvenskan*, 17/2 2021; Patricia Torvalds, "Tidtabellen för det antirasistiska monumentet dröjer till förmån för dialog," *Sydsvenskan*, 29/6 2021.

[36] The initiative later decided to participate in the inauguration of The Whole City is a Monument even though the Culture Committee had then not yet dealt with the matter.

[37] Edda Manga, *Konst och demokrati – representationsmakt* (Stockholm 2019) pp. 13–16.

[38] I contributed to the discontinuity of the process by being on sick leave during the spring of 2021.

2022.[39] Ikram Abdulkadir's *Yaan Cuskanaa/ Whom to Lean On* (2022) is a work of photography and sound, based on conversations she held with people close to her to understand the presence and impact of racism onto her life growing up in Malmö. The exhibition's webpage describes it as a type of care work, and as a resistance against oblivion; at the inauguration of the exhibition the artist described the work as a new kind of archive for keeping certain kinds of experiences. Salad Hilowle's work *Den vita staden och tornet som föll/ The White City and the Tower that Fell* (2022) was a performative city walk following in the footsteps of the 1914 Baltic exhibition, which based on archival research exposed the longevity of the gaze that views Malmö as Sweden's Other.[40] With the work *På våra gator/ In our Streets* (2022), Simon Ferner (Arkiv S) marks places where racist attacks have happened, but without providing further explanation, thereby engaging passers-by in thoughts on what the plaque means. Hanni Kamaly's work *UPROOT/ DISPLACE* (2022) is a performative engagement with the Afrophobic iconography of Stig Blomberg's *Torgbrunn/ Town Well* (1964), posing poignant questions about the works of art bearing racist symbolism which the City of Malmö continues to maintain even after having inaugurated an antiracist monument.[41] The free professional group Amfi surveyed some commemorative activities of Malmö's migrant and minority communities' and used that documentation for a work in three acts: a publicly read poem, a people's tribunal, and a performance by the choir of Malmö Opera.[42]

When viewed holistically at its aggregated level, a perspective that overlooks how each of the works work in their own ways, the temporal orientation offered by the exhibition belongs to the category of history rather than memory.[43] The exhibition prioritizes a professional intermediation of the past and its meaning by making it available through the categories "contemporary" and "archive" – two concepts that firmly situate the past as distant from the present in which it is revered (or despised). This echoes the claim upon which historians have

[39] "Hela staden är ett monument", Malmö stad, <https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Kultur---projekt-och-satsningar/Malmo-konst/Antirasistiskt-monument/Hela-staden-ar-ett-monument.html> (21/11 2022).

[40] For a review of this work, see Christine Antaya, "Malmös antirasistiska minnesmärke fortsätter sväva som en hägring", *Sydsvenskan* 21/6 2022.

[41] Hanni Kamaly has previously worked on the city's memoryscape, see Hanni Kamaly, *Markings* (Malmö 2020).

[42] The poem read in the first act has been published in *Sydsvenskan*: Felicia Mulinari & Athena Farrokhzad, "Glömskans arkiv – ett år av antirasistiskt minne i Malmö," *Sydsvenskan* June 17/6, 2022; The second act was reviewed: Ida Ölmedal, "Är det verkligen sant att man bryr sig mer om brottsoffren i dag?", *Sydsvenskan* (23/10 2022). The third act is planned for the spring of 2023.

[43] Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester 2007).

traditionally based their prerogative to interpret the past, namely that a valid recall is dependent on an intellectual endeavor belonging to the trained that need to mediate the past to the present public.[44]

The archive has been thought of as the technology upon which this professional control of the past is based; it has also been considered as a basis for state or even imperial power.[45] On the contrary, archival art is often concerned with power-critique and counter-memories.[46] Even while celebrating its emancipatory potential, Hal Foster however describes archival art as more legislative than transgressive.[47] Likewise, Stuart Hall reminds that constituting an archive means the loss of innocence, since it is a powerful claim on the definition of subaltern identities even if carried out by subjugated communities.[48] Insights from the antiracist community archives movement suggest that the difference between the archive's controlling and liberatory modes has to do with which temporality it promotes. According to Michelle Caswell, "white time" can be noticed in the motivation to safekeep the past (as it really was) as well as in (messianically) readying future movements, while "white time" is transcended by focusing on the needs of a community in the here and now, discerned from and catered to by collective and democratic ways of archiving.[49]

The third temporal category active in the exhibition as a joint discourse is "oblivion". The risk of someone or something being suppressed from public representations of the past invites the mediator of history to assume different roles, among them the spokesperson or voice-giver. Historian Michael Frisch has observed that the combination of oral history and history from below often has been appreciated because it seemingly provides both something-else-than-history (direct experience) and more-history (the past as it truly was). This paradox excludes from view the inventive act of authorship and justifies the exclusion of the represented community from the work of representation.[50] Literary scholar Annika Olsson puts it concisely: "To be able to speak as a subject,

---

[44] Berger (2019).
[45] Marlene Manoff, "Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines", *portal: Libraries and the Academy* 4:1 (2004) pp. 9–25.
[46] Sara Callahan, *Art + Archive: Understanding the Archival Turn in Contemporary Art* (Manchester 2022).
[47] Hal Foster, "An Archival Impulse", *October* 110 (2004) pp. 3–22.
[48] Stuart Hall, "Constituting an Archive", *Third Text* (2001) pp. 89–92.
[49] Michelle Caswell, *Urgent Archives: Enacting Liberatory Memory Work* (New York 2022).
[50] Michael Frisch, *A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History* (Albany 1990) p. 9.

the 'voiceless' must agree to be represented as an object."[51] Reflecting on the antithesis to artist Esther Shalev-Gertz' ways of working with Holocaust memories, Jacques Ránciére writes:

> Those people speak. But they never speak simply or of what they experienced "over there", elsewhere, in a different time. For validation of the word of a witness, especially of someone who has witnessed suffering, always means assigning to "the other" a properly defined place, the place of a person whose only use is to transmit the uniqueness of the information and its sensitive and immediate import to those who have the prerogative of judgement and the universal.[52]

While the second stage of memory-formation involved the emergence of a subjectivity that was neither colour-blind nor confined by predefined understandings of racialized experiences, the third stage primarily offers political contestations from an antiracist standpoint. Since the public art exhibition hosted by the municipality is easily categorized as history-writing, the historiographical concepts of social mode and spatial referent could be used to pinpoint how the meaning-making changes in this third stage.[53] The texts in memory's second stage were performed in a communal mode and with the city as spatial referent, while the exhibition offers a historiography in a political mode and with references to larger spatial categories. Instead of understanding the universal through the particularity of the city, happenings in the city have been transformed into examples of histories taking place anywhere, and instead of a site for local communities' explorations of their memories, the anticipation of an antiracist monument has become the site of an antiracist movement's contestations.[54]

Highlighting the difference between community-based and artistic/movement-based memory-work suggests that the monument and its site necessarily will have multiple meanings. Analysing the progression through Rothberg's concept "multidirectional memory" would be one way to understand

---

[51] Annika Olsson, *Att ge den andra sidan röst* (Stockholm: , 2004) p. 237. Author's transl.

[52] Jacques Rancière, "The Work of the Image", in Esther Shalev-Gertz (ed.), *The Contemporary Art of Trusting Uncertainties and Unfolding Dialogues* (Stockholm 2013) p. 29.

[53] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (Albany 1991 [1981; 1979]) p. 72.

[54] The separate works conform to and diverge from this pattern in unique ways. Abdulkadir's *Yaan Cuskanaa* is least congruent and is interestingly also a work that has received very little attention (perhaps because it is shows us something new that needs more reflection before being understood).

the development without resorting to either pluralism or competition.[55] The idea of memory's multidirectionality is inspired by the Freudian notion of the screen memory, which is a recollection easily made because it is more comfortable than another memory which we wish to avoid, but to which it is still thematically linked. A screen memory is not false, nor does it replace the suppressed memory, but it contains it in a comfortable setting. The visions of the past provided by the Whole City is a Monument exhibition show pain and exclusion, but they are comfortable in the sense that they show a past that is already established in antiracist critique, which is therefore not as taxing cognitively or emotionally to take in by the general spectator. It is also easily embedded into the anti-racist city identity currently promoted by the municipality. In that sense, commissioning professional memory-workers, while suspending a community-based memory-work, might be interpreted as seeking a screen: a surface upon which memory can move within limitations.

There is a strong impression then that the process between 2019 and 2022 has been engaging in avoidance of memory: artists (and not communities) have been empowered to do memory-work, and art has also been as a stand-in for the municipality's work on its institutional memory. Doing art has been a way to discharge memory; to put it in motion without having to come into contact with its content. This is recognizable as a typical pattern for how local communities' and governance structures' deals with memories of racist violence.[56]

In October 2022, the Culture Committee decided to install an antiracist monument. The politico-administrative aims of projecting an antiracist city identity and of doing public art in better ways are explicitly addressed in the basis for decision.[57] Public attention as well as putting "Malmö on the map as a city that works with art in the public space in a new and interesting way" are emphasized. Meanwhile, the artwork is ascribed extra-artistic possibilities, such as "the function to recognize and remind" (what it should recognize and remind of is not stated). Assessed as memory-work, the viewing begets Ann Rigney's "thorny

[55] Michael Rothberg, *The Implicated Subject: Beyond Victims and Perpetrators* (Stanford 2019) pp. 1–29.
[56] James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today", *Critical Inquiry* 18:2 (1992) pp. 267–296.
[57] Malmö stad, Kulturförvaltningen, 10/10 2022, "Permanent verk inom projektet antirasistiskt monument". The Sweden Democrats, a far-right party, cast their votes with the motivation that they thought it unwise to proceed without some degree of political control of the artistic representation.

question… whether the instrumentalization of memory (for better or for worse) is not an inherent feature of its public production."[58]

Making Space for Memory-work

The basis for the Culture Committee's decision however offers a route out of this instrumentalizing logic. The committee has not only decided to inaugurate a piece of art, but also to create "a gathering place connecting different parts of the city and provide space for learning and telling."

Quentin Stevens and Karen A. Franck have described memory-sites as over time becoming less authorial and more places where differing readings find connection.[59] Meanwhile, previous scholarship on public art has shown that the paradigm of place making has an instrumentalizing tendency that might reinforce the tension between community management and community development (tendencies that lies unresolved in the municipal project Antiracist Monument).[60] Elaine Speight argues that regenerative urban planning transforms artists into "place making professionals," which cuts their ties to local communities and those communities' ties to the place they inhabit. Comparably, Carl Grodach reasons that to become community or "third" spaces, art spaces need to fulfil more functions than just displaying art.[61] Speight proposes a "place-listening approach," by which she means "an attitude to public art and curatorial practice that is founded upon a situated and long-term commitment to place."[62]

Scholars within heritage studies, memory studies, and public history have developed ways to use public space as a stage to mediate history or alternatively engage with varied publics. One example is Toby Butler's appraisal of the sound

---

[58] Ann Rigney, "Reconciliation and Remembering: (How) Does It Work?" *Memory Studies* 5: 3 (2012) p. 252.

[59] Quentin Stevens & Karen A. Franck, *Memorials as Spaces of Engagement: Design, Use and Meaning* (London 2016) pp. 11–85.

[60] Malcolm Miles, "Critical Spaces: Monuments and Changes", in Cameron Cartiere & Shelly Willis (eds.), *The Practice of Public Art* (London 2008); Joni Palmer, "Why Public Art: Urban Parks and Public Art in the Twenty-First Century", in Cameron Cartiere & Martin Zebracki (eds.), *The Everyday Practice of Public Art: Art, Space and Social Inclusion* (London & New York: Routledge, 2016); Jane Rendell, "Space, Place, and Site in Critical Spatial Arts Practice", in Cameron Cartiere & Shelly Willis (eds.), *The Practice of Public Art* (London 2008).

[61] Carl Grodach, "Art Spaces, Public Space, and the Link to Community Development", *Community Development Journal* 45:4 (2010) p. 475.

[62] Elaine Speight, "Listening in Certain Places: Public Art for the Post-Regenerate Age", in Cameron Cartiere & Martin Zebracki (eds.), *The Everyday Practice of Public Art: Art, Space and Social Inclusion* (London 2016) p. 178.

work *Linked* (Graeme Miller 2003), and his own audio walks.[63] Another example is knowledge of how to break down and arrange historical narratives for display in urban environments.[64] Dolores Hayden's classical work *Power of Place* represents a third approach that involves emphasizing the histories inscribed in the physical environment to enable the mobilization of subaltern experiences in the present.[65] Steven High proposes that such public historical work can aid communities through urban restructuring, thus preventing them from being negatively impacted by forces of governance and marketization, and that it might be informed by the theory and practice of the working-class ecomuseum movement. This movement promoted outdoor museums, created through grassroots engagement, and was meant not only to express a community's identity but also contribute attachment and identity by constituting the physical environment.[66]

What is interesting with the ecomusuem as a model for the antiracist memory-site, is that it is both community-based and experimental. It could be applied through a process in which different communities are asked, and helped, to appropriate the place for their own commemorative activities as well as for other needs and interests. "For public artists, curators and commissioners, rather than advancing predetermined futures, this implies an engagement with cities as they exist in the here and now."[67] Transposing from Steven Hoelscher's work on photography, the work at hand is to find out how space can be made into a technique, rather than a medium, for memory.[68] How do we create a space that activates people as memory-workers while giving them power over their work?

The next stage involves engaging in and learning from what Martin Zebracki has called "the aftercare for public art," which means to reload a work with significance, by ensuring that it stands as the host for social engagement that is influenced by the work's aesthetics (and design) while it supplies the work with

---

[63] Toby Butler, "Linked: A Landmark in Sound, a Public Walk of Art", *Cultural Geographies* 12:1 (2005); Toby Butler, "A Walk of Art: The Potential of the Sound Walk as Practice in Cultural Geography"m *Social & Cultural Geography* 7:6 (2006).

[64] Maoz Azarhahu & Kenneth E. Foote, "Historical Space as Narrative Medium: On the Configuration of Spatial Narratives of Time at Historical Sites", *GeoJournal* 73 (2008).

[65] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes and Public History* (Cambridge 1997).

[66] Steven High, "Brownfield Public History: Arts and Heritage in the Aftermath of Deindustrialization", in Paula Hamilton & James B. Gardner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public History* (Oxford 2017).

[67] Speight (2016) p. 194.

[68] Steven Hoelscher, "Angels of Memory: Photography and Haunting in Guatemala City", *GeoJournal* 73 (2008) p. 197.

additional meaning. According to Zebracki, aftercare happens in the maintenance of the agonistic qualities of social space made overt and intensified by an artwork's presence.[69] Following from this, caring for the antiracist monument means ensuring that it is perceived to be meaningful and relevant by the different communities for which it is potentially useful, but also making it into an inter-communal site where shared insights can be made and identities can be recrafted. Aftercare thus means maintaining the productive tensions already seen in the anticipation of a monument, not least the one between what the site might mean for ongoing community building in Malmö and its significance for ongoing struggles elsewhere, or for a less localized antiracist movement. It also means continuing to critically situate the monument in a position of ongoing memory formation that is in no way concluded by its inauguration.

The Historian as Public Curator

One conclusion has been that an alliance between scholarship and community building would be helpful in creating a place capable of transgressing its intentions through an open exploration of memory's content, form, and function in a society (still) shaped by racism and other structures of power. This therefore avoids the instrumentalization sometimes brought along by place making that in this case could lead to the creation of a location for the storage of memories causing troubling movements. Making history tangible in space and the social production of space is however different from laying it out and putting it to rest in text (which is the activity and medium around which the historian's professionality usually is conceived). The work at hand therefore necessitates a reconsideration of a "history-writing which involves becoming 'historians of the present too'" in the light of our time and place.[70]

Such a development could be a learning outcome from the experiment of co-creating the space with different communities, but it could also be informed by theory, practice, and ethics based on mutual learning already elaborated in the fields of community art, public humanities, and oral history. Community artist François Matarasso characterizes participatory practices as the democratization

[69] Martin Zebracki, "The Everyday Agonistic Life After the Unveiling", in Cameron Cartiere & Martin Zebracki (eds.), *The Everyday Practice of Public Art: Art, Space and Social Inclusion* (London 2016).

[70] Popular Memory Group, "Popular Memory: Theory, Politics, Method", in Richard Johnson, Gregor McLennan, Bill Schwarz & David Sutton (eds.), *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2007 [1982]) p. 205.

of the production of knowledge and meaning through involvement of communities in professional lines of work or institutions, which is usually justified through its benefit for the communities. He contrasts this to community art, which precludes that culture is already in the hands of communities and that professionals need to explore how their skills can best contribute to the community process.[71] Similarly, public humanities have been described as the endeavour to move humanist reflection into civic matters in order for the humanities to learn something in return.[72] One way to do this would be to scale up oral historian's method of engaging historical experiences in interviews to encompass much larger collaborations.

It has become common to explain oral history interviewing as moments in which interviewer and interviewee learn together and from each other about the interviewee's experiences (including the experience of being someone who carries those experiences).[73] In order for learning to occur on both sides of the cooperation, interviewer and interviewee must assume different roles and responsibilities. Among the interviewer's responsibilities is to safeguard a certain kind of conversation, in which the interviewee is allowed to get their story (or the memories behind it) across in their own way: "the attitude is one of relaxed expectancy – not having the slightest idea what may happen next, along with the conviction that, whatever does happen, it may have a significance barely conceivable until more of the 'whole story' is revealed."[74]

Scaled up to a larger collaborative process, the starting point for the historian's professional involvement in the ongoing formation of memory should be to care for a certain way of sharing and learning from memories, that is being on the side of memory-formation rather than on any one community – or taking on the public curation of memory.[75] This approach should also be informed by the insight of oral historians that we do not just capture memories that are out there,

---

[71] François Matarasso, *A Restless Art: How Participation Won, and Why it Matters* (Lisbon & London, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, (2019) pp. 45–59. Comp. with Susan Smulyan, "What Can Public Art Teach Public Humanities?" in Susan Smulyan (ed.) *Doing Public Humanities* (London 2021) pp. 28–38.

[72] Robyn Schroeder, "The Rise of the Public Humanists," in ed. Susan Smulyan (ed.) *Doing Public Humanities* (London 2021), pp. 5–27.

[73] Henry Greenspan, *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Beyond Testimony*. 2nd ed. (St. Paul 2010 [1998]) pp. xi–xii.

[74] Henry Greenspan & Sidney Bolkolsky, "When Is an Interview an Interview? Notes from Listening to Holocaust Survivors," *Poetics Today* 27:2 (2006) p. 446.

[75] Steven High, *Oral History at the Crossroads: Sharing Life Stories of Survival and Displacement* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014) p. 24.

but participate in their making, hence in the recognition of our work's partiality: "'Partiality' here stands for both 'unfinishedness' and for 'taking sides'".[76] The historian has a role to play in facilitating memory-work – making it easy and meaningful for individuals and communities to share and explore experiences, be a witness to the remembering, observe memory's processes, reflect and help remove its fixations, affirm the learnings happening on different sides within the process, and make sure that those learnings also add to general insights. There are several examples that prove the effectiveness of such work. The Montreal Life Stories Project, made in partnership between some of Montreal's diasporic communities and scholars at Concordia University, showed how doing history in a public and collaborative way can simultaneously strengthen communities, and produce high impact historical research.[77] Joseph Plaster's opening up of John Hopkins University's Peabody Library to be interpreted in vogue dancing by Baltimore's Ballroom community is another inspiring example of a work that mobilized a community and its historical culture, a site and its collection, and historical meanings.[78]

The historian's work could also be informed by the artist Michael Rakowitz' creation of spaces in which an audience encounters history's absent presence, and in which all that is aroused by such encounters can be recognized and perhaps worked through. I consider Rakowitz' work as history-writing by way of art (and space production) because it combines (a) the positioning of the spectator as on drift in time away from a moment of intense meaning, in the here-and-now only available in fragments or substitutions, with (b) a strong reliance on provenance (an activation of the factual register) as well as with (c) a built-in reflection on material, method, and temporal-spatial point of view. In Rakowitz' work *The Invisible Enemy should not Exist (Northwest Palace of Nimrud)* relief sculptures from the Assyrian palace of Nimrud, either looted by colonial powers or destroyed by Daesh, reappear through a piecing together of scraps from food packaging exported from Iraq and displayed in a room of the same proportions as the one the reliefs originally decorated.[79] The work reflects the dispersion and exploitation of a culture and a people in a certain geopolitical moment, as well as

[76] Portelli (1991) pp. 57–58.
[77] High (2016) pp. 1–29.
[78] Joseph Plaster, "The Category Is … Opulence! Performing Black Queer History in Baltimore's 'Cathedral of Books'", *Kalfou* 7:1 (2020) pp. 179–205.
[79] Michael Rakowitz, "The Invisible Enemy Should not Exist (Northwest Palace of Nimrud)," *michaelrakowitz.com*, http://www.michaelrakowitz.com/nimrud (20/9 2022).

the impossibility of reaching this destroyed history, while the collecting involved in the production is reminiscent of how a mourned object comes to mind in pieces and fragments; but also of the interrelationship between story and history.[80] The artist has told me that he wants his work to function as a transitional object, which in psychoanalytic theory is an object which aids the relocation of emotional investment after a loss. Slowly letting go, or rather, renegotiating the relationship with loves that have passed while entering new relationships is also a part of *Dar Al Suhl (Domain of Conciliation)*. These works are made of a group of people jointly cooking and sharing a meal prepared from the Iraqi Jewish recipes of Rakowitz' grandmother and served on silver plates brought from Iraq by fleeing Jews. The guests are invited to "eating a dying language from the plate of a ghost."[81] The dinner is an inter-communal space, that also evokes memories of persons and places that have shaped the participants, hence absolving the imagined choice between being true to who we were (with) and who we are becoming; as such, it is a practice in being with and within history. There is something in Rakowitz' work that historians can emulate to engage memory professionally, especially when inventing a space that lets people emerge as a remembering community. Such an approach has multiple relevancies, but it is especially useful for the case at hand since the question of what reparation would consist of in Malmö has not yet been asked. Perhaps the local meaning and content of reparation is unclear to most people living in the city, including those who struggle with racism in their everyday lives. Conceived in that context, redress and reconciliation is not primarily something owed to us by powerful institutions (not to forget that they do owe us something), but something we need (to be let) to seek from, and grant to, each other in communion. This is another reason that it is so important that the antiracist monument – or at least its site – is widely felt to be both a representation and an achievement of the city. By doing so, we might prevent a perception of it as a substitution for community – which would be yet another un-signified and unrecognized loss.

[80] Lene Austed, "Public Memory and Figures of Fragmentation", in ed. Lene Austed, *Shared Traumas, Silent Loss, Public and Private Mourning* (London 2017) p. 26

[81] Michael Rakowitz, "Dar Al Sulh (House of Conciliation)," *michaelrakowitz.com*, <http://www.michaelrakowitz.com/dar-al-sulh> (20/9 2022).

Troubling Heritage(s): The Republican and Loyalist Communication of the Place of the Troubles in Irish and British Heritage

FREDRIKA LARSSON

Introduction

This chapter discusses how the stories preserved in heritages can be used as weapons in conflicts by studying how republican and loyalists have placed their involvement during the Northern Irish conflict in the established heritages, the Irish rebellion and the British actions during the First World War. These stories are told through murals, which present the Northern Irish conflict as a continuation of either the Irish history of continuous rebellions against the British or as a part of the First World War. The outside world has reciprocated these stories differently, thus producing unequal heritages that has had severe ramifications for the peace process and the future of Northern Ireland.

Heritage is not an archive of history. It is an archive of selected stories of the past that a community chooses to tell about itself with the aim of preserving them for the future.[1] These stories are founded in the collective memory, thereby serving a social and political function shaped by contemporary needs.[2] The stories give insight into how a collective identity perceives itself. Thus, allowing us to ask: *which* stories does the community want to tell and *how* are they told. Additionally, what do these stories *do,* or what is their social and political function in the present.[3] These questions are heightened in conflict situations as

[1] Hamzah Muzaini & Claudio Minca, "Rethinking heritage – from below" in Hamzah Muzaini & Claudio Minca, (eds.), *After heritage: Critical perspectives on heritage from below*, (Cheltenham 2018) p. 3.

[2] David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the past: The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*, (New York, 1996).

[3] Daniel Bar-Tal, "Collective Memory of Physical Violence: its Contribution to the Culture of Violence", in ED. Carius & MD Roe (eds.), *The role of memory in ethnic conflict* (New York 2003); Gegner & Ziino (2012); Sara McDowell, "Selling conflict heritage through tourism in peacetime Northern Ireland: transforming conflict or exacerbating difference?", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 14:5, (2008) pp. 405–421; Anett Árvay & Kenneth Foote, "The spatiality of memoryscapes, public memory, and commemoration" in S.H. De Nardi

the production of heritage shapes and sustains identities, provides legitimacy to political systems and underscores territorial claims[4]. Just as all unhappy families are unhappy in their own way, conflicts and their heritage are unique due to their sociocultural and political contexts. However, the stories in the heritage manifest heroes and victims, thereby mobilising identities, mentalities and emotions, subsequently producing and maintaining trauma. The conflict produces, and is reflected in, heritage. This chapter will discuss this by looking upon how republicans (Irish-Catholic working class) and loyalists (British-Protestant working class) underscore their territorial claims by placing themselves, and their activities during the Northern Irish conflict, at the center of the British and Irish collective memory.[5]

In Northern Ireland, the tradition of murals reflects and is a heritage of the conflict (the Troubles).[6] Murals make sense of and explain the present through the past and are painted on walls and on residential housing. Traditionally, the residents have very little say over the placement of murals and their content, since the murals are painted by republican and loyalist paramilitary groups. They should not be conflated with graffiti or street art. There is an absence of graffiti in Northern Ireland due to the paramilitary groups' ownership of the walls of their areas. Murals are not, however, sectarian propaganda.[7] They are visual representations of the republican and loyalist collective identities, exemplifying how localized territorial struggles over meaning reflect larger disputes over who has authority over the past. They transform mundane everyday spaces into spaces

Orange, S. High & E. Koskinen-Koivisto, (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place* (Abingdon 2020).

[4] Martin Gegner & Bart Ziino, "Introduction" in Martin Gegner & Bart Ziino, (eds.), *The heritage of war*, (Abingdon, 2012).

[5] Roy Cashman, "Visions of Irish Nationalism". *Journal of folklore research*, 45:3, (2008), pp. 361–381; Bill Rolston, "Trying to reach the Future Through the Past: Murals and Memory in Northern Ireland" *Crime Media Culture* 6:3 (2010), pp. 285–308.

[6] Lee A. Smithey, *Unionists, loyalists, and conflict transformation in Northern Ireland*, (New York, 2011); Neil Jarman, *Material conflicts: Parades and visual displays in Northern Ireland*, (Oxford 1997); Roy Cashman, *Folklore, politics, and place-making in Northern Ireland* in H. De Nardi, S., Orange, S. High & E. Koskinen-Koivisto (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place* (Abingdon 2020).

[7] Bree T. Hocking, *The great reimagining: Public art, urban space, and the symbolic landscapes of a 'new' Northern Ireland* (Berghahn 2015), Kenneth Bush, "The politics of post-conflict space: the mysterious case of missing graffiti in 'post-troubles' Northern Ireland", *Contemporary Politics*, 19:2, (2013), pp. 167–189; Jarman (1997).

of conflict heritage by taking on a heightened symbolic meaning, sectarianizing space and transforming it into republican and loyalist areas.[8]

The Northern Irish Context

The Troubles were fought over Northern Ireland being British or Irish. Loyalists understand themselves as the last line of defense against the Irish other, in which the loyalists have continuously sacrificed themselves for Britain. The story starts with in the Jacobite wars of the 17th century and ends with the Troubles. The most significant event is the First World War and the Western Front. Guy Beiner writes that the modern Irish independence movement began before, and developed during, the First World War, while loyalists understand it as a part of the loyalist sacrifice for Britain.[9] The 36th Ulster Division, which loyalists claim descendance from, was initially formed to protect the signing of Ulster Covenant, which protested the creation of a Dublin parliament. The division later reformed and fought at the Somme. They were celebrated for their sacrifice; making it a crowning glory in the loyalist collective memory.[10]

The loyalist place and visibility in the British heritage of the First World War has changed. Today the First World War heritage emphasizes pan-Empire participation in the war, and loyalists feel excluded from the new form of heritage writes Jonathan Evershed.[11] This story is tied to the British perception of loyalists, as well as the loyalist's own perceptions. Loyalists have been labelled as thugs, criminals and bigots. In many cases, loyalist identity and their place in Britain has been disregarded by Britain and unionists (Protestant middle class). The loyalists share a Protestant identity with the unionists but differ regarding the use of violence.[12]

---

[8] Sara McDowell, "Heritage, memory and identity", in B Graham & P Howard (eds.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity,* (Aldershot 2008), pp. 37–54; Bill Rolston, "Changing the Political Landscape: Murals and Transition in Northern Ireland", *Irish Studies Review*, 11:1, (2003), p. 3; Jack Santino, *Signs of war and peace: Social conflict and the use of public symbols in Northern Ireland*, (Basingstoke, 2001); Jarman (1997) p. 235.

[9] Brian Graham & Peter Shirlow, (2002) "The Battle of the Somme in Ulster memory and identity". *Political Geography* 21:7 (2002), pp. 881–904; James W. McAuley, *Very British Rebels? The Culture and Politics of Ulster Loyalism*, (New York, 2016).

[10] Guy Beiner, *Forgetful remembrance, social forgetting and vernacular historiography of a rebellion in Ulster*. (Oxford 2018); Guy Beiner, "Between Trauma and Triumphalism: The Easter Rising, the Somme and the Crux of Deep Memory in Modern Ireland", *Journal of British Studies,* 46:2 (2007), pp. 366–389.

[11] Jonathan Evershed, *Ghosts of the Somme: Commemoration and culture war in Northern Ireland*, (Notre Dame, 2018).

[12] Graham & Shirlow (2002); McAuley (2016).

After independence, Ireland did not participate in any pan-European commemoration of the First World War since in Ireland it was viewed as colonial war forced upon them by their British colonial overlords. In the years leading up to the centennial of the First World War, the Irish government began to participate in First World War commemoration. It was a form of a conciliatory step towards the British Protestants in Northern Ireland. [13] Loyalists view the inclusion and participation of Ireland in this commemoration as adding insult to injury, adds Jim Smyth, since to them, the First World War was fought in order to keep Ireland, and later Northern Ireland, British. [14]

Like the loyalists, republicans try to place their story within an established heritage. Republicans understand the Troubles as a form of rebellion. Often the Irish collective memory of rebellion is overlooked in favor of a Celtic dimension, but the rebellion and the Celtic intersect. The Celtic hero is a rebel. Celtic symbolism and imagery have been utilized to highlight the differences between Ireland and Britain. Ireland is a Celtic nation: rural, magical and romantic. Britain is the opposite: industrialized, cold and modern. The rural, magical and romantic has colored the view of Irish violence, as Neil Jarman and Anne Dolan mention how the Irish are described by others as wild men of nature and Ireland as a place of vendettas, knives and gangsters.[15]

Republicans interpret the Irish independence movement as a rebellion, making the Troubles a rebellion as well. Past rebellions had all failed, but Beiner mentions that in the republican story each failed rebellion is a lightning rod that will lead to Ireland's unification.[16] The key rebellion in this story is the Easter Rising of 1916, which sparked the modern Irish independence movement.[17] The Easter Rising leaders are viewed as the founding fathers of the Irish republic, which has had repercussions for how welcome the Troubles have been in the established story of the Easter Rising.[18] The Troubles and Northern Irish republicans have been unwelcome for many due to their use of violence. In the

[13] Graham & Shirlow (2002); Evershed (2018); McAuley (2016).
[14] Jim Smyth, (ed.), *Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the recent past in Northern Ireland*, (Notre Dame 2017).
[15] Neil Jarman, "Violent Men, Violent Land", *Journal of Material Culture*, 1:1 (1996); Anne Dolan, "Killing in 'the good old Irish fashion?' Irish revolutionary violence in context". *Irish Historical Studies,* 44:165 (2020), pp. 11–24; Richard English, *Armed struggle: The history of IRA*, (London, 2003); Richard English, *Irish freedom: The history of nationalism in Ireland*, (London 2007).
[16] Beiner (2006).
[17] English (2007).
[18] English (2007).

heritage of the rebellion, the Irish are blameless victims fighting back. They are not active agents of violence like the Northern Irish republicans. Diarmaid Ferriter writes that the border allowed Irish nationalists to portray sectarianism as belonging to Northern Ireland (Ulster),thus giving security and stability to the Irish Free State.[19] However, the Northern Irish republicans have persisted in the story since as, Marianne Elliott writes, it has been hard to rewrite the Irish history free of violence and revolution, thus keeping Northern Irish republicans in the Irish heritage of rebellion.[20]

Throughout the Troubles and peace process, the heritages of the First World War and the republican rebellions have been utilized to legitimate republican or loyalist interpretations of the conflict. This has been achieved in part through different visual strategies in their murals. During the Troubles, both loyalists and republicans depicted themselves through an armed, masked volunteer, now known as the hooded man. Today he symbolizes the sectarian violence of the Troubles. After the ceasefire in 1994, republicans began to restyle themselves and depict unmasked, smiling armed men surrounded by Celtic symbolism. In the republicans' view, the armed phase of the Troubles had ceased, and the fight now centered on winning political capital, transforming themselves from terrorists to freedom fighters.

This emphasis on politics over violence has been a contentious issue in republicanism, causing multiple splits. After the signing of the peace agreement, republicanism split into mainstream and dissident factions.[21] Mainstream republicans are supporters of the peace process and often linked to Sinn Fein. Sinn Fein is the alleged political wing of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA). The dissident republicans are those who oppose the peace agreement and process. Both parties view themselves as representative of the legitimate government of Ireland. [22] Dissident republicans view the new visual language as not "republican enough". In this change in visual depiction, the story of the raison d'être behind the Troubles changed from uniting and creating a socialist Ireland to affirming the right to nationhood as a Celtic nation, to now dressing the

[19] Diarmaid Ferriter, *The border: The legacy of a century of Anglo-Irish politics*, (London 2019).
[20] Marianne Elliott, *The Catholics of Ulster: A history*, (London 2000), pp. 442–444.
[21] English (2007).
[22] English (2007); Elisabetta Viggiani, *Talking stones: The politics of memorialization in post-conflict Northern Ireland*, (Oxford, 2016).

violence as means to receive equality and human rights and narrating it as a part of the civil rights movement.[23]

This change in story was an active choice in order to win the battle of narratives; the battle of who is the victim of whom. After the signing of the peace agreement in 1998, murals have been a pivotal instrument in the battle of narratives in outlining who is the victim of whom, writes Sarah McDowell.[24] The role of the tourist in this battle is a site of contention in the research. Murtagh et al. argue that it is wrong to assume that cultural practices and expressions lead to the international legitimization of sectarianism.[25] However, Debbie Lisle mentions that the influx of tourists has meant that the parties now participate in complex international discourses of power.[26] The tourist has often little to no prior knowledge of the conflict, and as a result the murals allow communities to project the righteousness of their violence onto the tourist, since heritage is also reception.[27] The removal of the hooded men is a part of this strategy, as the murals now portray the PIRA as a part of the community. By painting the PIRA as members of the community, their violence is downplayed. The PIRA thereby remove their violence of the Troubles and project an image of republicans fought through protests and non-violent actions, such as marches, rather than gunbattles and bombs. In conflict heritage, the stories include what; why, how and when the victimization occurred in the past and how it continued during the conflict and into the here and now.[28]

Loyalists did not change their story and kept their hooded man, now becoming the sole perpetrators of violence.[29] They are now attempting to respond to the changes in story by outlining their view of the Troubles and displaying their Scottish background and experiences of republican violence. Nisbett & Rapson have found that tourists cannot recognize the loyalist stories embedded in their

[23] Ian McBride, "The Truth About the Troubles" in Jim Smyth (ed). *Remembering the Troubles: Contesting the Recent Past in Northern Ireland,* (Notre Dame 2017).
[24] McDowell (2008) p. 406.
[25] Brendan Murtagh, Philip Boland & Peter Shirlow, "Contested heritages and cultural tourism", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 23:6, (2017) pp. 506–520.
[26] Debbie Lisle, "Local Symbols, "Global Networks: Rereading the Murals of Belfast" in *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 31:1 (2006) pp. 27–52.
[27] Gegner (2012); Larsson (2021), M. Simone-Charteris, "State intervention in re-imaging Northern Ireland's political murals: implications for tourism and the communities" J Skinner & L Jolliffe (eds.), *Murals and tourism: Heritage, politics and identity,* (Oxon, 2017) pp. 217–235.
[28] Fredrika Larsson, *Conflict in colours: A comparative study of republican and loyalist murals in Belfast*, (Lund, 2021).
[29] Larsson (2021).

heritage, thus revealing that the types of stories and how they are told are interlinked with reception.[30] The lack of acceptance of their victimhood has meant that loyalists feel they have been victimized twice over; firstly, during the Troubles and secondly during the peace process, since their victimization is not heard.[31]

As heritage is closely intertwined with identities, the position, access to and visibility of collective identities are sites of contestation in today's Northern Ireland. In the peace agreement both parties have a right to express their cultural identities. Before the 19th century, the Irish identity was accessible to all, regardless of religious creed. Many in the early Irish independence movement were Protestant. The Catholic Church's involvement in the Gaelic revival in the 19th century meant that it became synonymous to be Irish and Catholic. This outcome has resulted in many Protestants rejecting the Celtic heritage, despite living on the Island of Ireland. Some Protestants emphasize a Scottish identity.[32] This identity is called Ulster-Scots, and it is a controversial one in Northern Ireland. Republicans and nationalists view Ulster-Scots as an example of how Protestants have "no real culture or language" since they should be Irish, or as a planter identity. It was made up by unionists and loyalists to legitimize their identity and claim to Northern Ireland.[33] Peter Gardner shows how the Ulster-Scots identity and heritage exemplify a once-dominant identity trying to rehabilitate this identity by projecting itself. Yet, it is also an identity, and he pointedly says that many argue that the Ulster-Scots identity is a constructed identity, making some identities more constructed than others.[34] An outcome of the peace process is that republicans may rest upon their pre-existing national character and nationalism (Ireland). In this treatment, the Irish identity becomes the yardstick which to compare the Ulster-Scots identity, meaning that the Ulster identity must continually measure up to the Irish identity.[35] The Ulster-Scots identity is equal in status to the Celtic identity despite the protests. Marc Mulholland writes that due to republicans having incorporated most of the

[30] M. Nisbett & J. Rapson, "The role of ex-paramilitaries and former prisoners in political tourism" *Political Geography* vol 80 (2020).
[31] Larsson (2021).
[32] English (2003; 2007).
[33] Thomas Burgess, "Preface" in T. Burgess & G. Mulvenna (eds.), *The Contested Identities of Ulster Protestants*. (London 2015).
[34] Peter Gardner, *Ethnic Dignity and the Ulster-Scots Movement in Northern Ireland*, Springer International Publishing, (2020).
[35] Gardner (2020) pp. 14-28; Larsson (2021).

Celtic/Gaelic cultural identity into their imagery, the peace agreement could not "disproportionately legitimize militant Irish culture", making Ulster-Scots identity an attempt to address the dynamics of power relations in the context of post-conflict identity politics.[36] The lack of acknowledgement has amplified the loyalist feeling of losing out in the peace agreement since they are labelled as wrong by the outside world, regardless of the story projected onto the walls.

Heritage and Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland does not fit neatly into most established views of heritage after conflicts. The dominant group's heritage is not privileged after a conflict.[37] Before 1998, the middle-class Protestants (unionists) were the privileged party. The Irish Catholics were historically the discriminated party in Northern Ireland, but after the signing of the peace agreement, they have gained political, social and economic power. For example, archaeologist Laura McAtackney shows how the republican interpretations of the Maze and the H-block prisons, which are now museums, have become the official interpretations. This is due to the close links between prisoners, community activists and Sinn Fein politicians, who now take part in power-sharing agreement.[38] As incarceration is a form of sacrifice, the republicans have been able to attach these meanings to the site. The Maze has become a symbol of republican defiance to the British government, thus revealing how the stories told within a heritage are sites of power dynamics and tools for legitimizing positions[39][40]. The loyalists, who benefited previously from being Protestant in a Protestant state, interpret contemporary Northern Ireland as a place where they are not welcome because their interpretation is not welcome.[41] Northern Ireland and its heritages should also not be read from below. Muzaini & Mica write that the perspective from below allows the researcher to unlock the

[36] Marc Mulholland, *The longest war: Northern Ireland's troubled history*, (Oxford, 2002), p. 178.
[37] Michael Leach, "Difficult memories: The independence struggle as cultural heritage in East Timor'", W. Logan & K. Reeves (eds). *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with 'Difficult Heritage'.* (London 2008) pp. 144–161.
[38] Laura McAtackney, *An Archaeology of the Troubles: The dark heritage of Long Kesh/Maze prison* (Oxford, 2014).
[39] M.K. Flynn, "Decision-making and contested heritage in Northern Ireland: The former maze prison/long kesh", *Irish Political Studies*, 26:3 (2011), pp. 383–401; B. Graham, B & S. McDowell, "Meaning in the Maze: the heritage of Long Kesh", *Cultural Geographies*, 14:3 (2007), pp. 343–368; S. McDowell, "Negotiating places of pain in post-conflict Northern Ireland: Debating the future of the Maze prison/Long Kesh. in W Logan & K Reeves (eds.), *Places of pain and shame: Dealing with difficult heritage (2009),* pp. 215–230.
[40] Graham & McDowell (2007); McDowell (2009), pp. 215–230.
[41] David Mitchell, *Politics and peace in Northern Ireland: political parties and the implementation of the 1998 Agreement*, (Manchester, 2015).

power relations embedded in heritage discourses.[42] The power relations in Northern Ireland are horizontal and vertical since the paramilitary interpretations are hegemonic, but they also reflect republican and loyalist identities, how they relate to each other and to their overarching Irish/British identity. Furthermore, there is a state-sponsored silence of what happened during the Troubles and why. In the public sphere, "safe" symbolism has been favored, which is symbolism that does not have affiliation with either party.[43] Reading the heritage from below would disregard these power relations.

Methodology

This chapter will investigate how the republicans and loyalists place the Troubles into the existing Irish heritage of rebellion and British heritage of the First World War by analyzing four contemporary republican and loyalist murals. There are many different factions, and thus stories, represented on the walls in Northern Ireland. The differences are often attributed to paramilitary groups and how violence is viewed. As I have mentioned, mainstream republicans are supporters of the peace process and Sinn Fein. The term dissident republican includes both those who oppose Sinn Fein and support the peace process and those who support a continuation of violence.[44] In the loyalist collective memory, the oldest and smallest paramilitary group Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) has almost had complete ownership over the use of the 36th Ulster Division imagery. Today, the younger and larger organization, Ulster Defence Association (UDA) has begun to use this symbolism as well.[45] The selection of murals has been designed to incorporate all these stories in the analysis. Furthermore, the selection has been based on their incorporation of the Troubles into the heritages of the First World War and the Easter Rising, as the main events in the heritages of loyalism and republicanism respectively.

In order to study which stories are told, how they are told, and what they do, the analysis rests upon denotation and connotation. Denotation is the literal understanding of the surface, whereas connotation refers to placing what is depicted into a broader cultural framework. For example, a phoenix represents how republicans are reborn through their sacrifices and symbolizes the Easter Rising. By placing a phoenix next to a hunger striker, the 1981 hunger strike is

[42] Muzaini & Mica (2008).
[43] Viggiani (2016).
[44] Rolstan (2003); (Viggiani 2016).
[45] Smithey (2011).

placed into a part of the continuous story of Irish rebellions.[46] The ability to read visual material connotatively and denotatively to locate the preferred reading lies in placing and deciphering symbols in a cultural code.[47] Symbols and objects are given meaning through representation and interpretations, thus creating systems of representations visually expressed as symbols. There is a preferred reading of the visual material, which is provided by anchoring messages: particular words and concepts which guide the viewer's interpretation. Cultural narratives always mediate individual experiences, but individuals have agency in their response to these representations. [48] Choices of color and visual techniques are forms of shaping these responses. Color choices allow me to analyze how these stories are told and how the republicans and loyalists communicate their claims in Irish and British heritage.

I distinguish myself from other researchers on murals by treating the traditions as relational. Other researchers emphasize that the shared socioeconomic background of the communities has generated likeness and similarity.[49] My position is that identities are relational, meaning that republicans and loyalists have a relationship and share a past, but they define it in antagonistic terms. Their cultural expressions reflect this relationship, meaning that the traditions are relational.[50]

[46] Beiner (2007).
[47] Roland Barthes, *Bildens retorik*, (Stockholm, 2016).
[48] Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: cultural representations and signifying practices*, (London, 1997).
[49] Rolston (2003); Viggiani (2016).
[50] Larsson (2021); Santino (2001) pp. 40–44.

Mural 1, Andersonstown March 2019. Copyright Fredrika Larsson.

Murals 1 and 2 are in Andersonstown, west Belfast. I have labeled these murals as mainstream republican. They exemplify how the Troubles are placed in the story of rebellions, by including the symbols of the main rebellions: the 1798 rebellion and the Easter Rising. The General Post Office (GPO) in Dublin was the headquarters of the Rising, and its burning ended it. The rising phoenix from the burning GPO represents how sacrifices will propel the Irish unification; an interpretation given by the headline "unbowed—unbroken 1916-2016". The mural's composition constructs the Troubles and the Easter Rising as a continuous successful event, unfolding through ages thanks to mainstream republicans. The unmasked volunteer standing behind a blanket man represent this. The blanket men were imprisoned republican volunteers participating in the "dirty protest", which later developed into the first and second hunger strikes. The only aspect that distinguishes the Rising leaders and the present republicans is their clothes. By presenting this story of the Troubles as a part of a continuous rebellion, the republicans portray the Irish Free State government as an unworthy heir of the Easter Rising, since mainstream republicans will unite Ireland. Symbolism is often used to consolidate national identity and to legitimize power, and on some occasions, groups utilize this symbolism to undermine or manipulate the memorial site, writes McDowell.[51]

The choice of color does, however, reveal how the mainstream republicans view themselves in relation to the Easter Rising leaders. On mural 2, the Easter Rising leaders are depicted in black and white, thus placing them in the past. The hunger strikers, Joe McDonnell and Bobby Sands on mural 1 are in color. The choices of color could also mean that Bobby Sands and Joe McDonnell were born out of the fires of the GPO. They are the worthy heirs of the Easter Rising leaders.

[51] McDowell (2008).

Mural 2, Andersonstown March 2019. Copyright Fredrika Larsson.

These murals portray the Troubles as the end of the Irish rebellion. A story that is also painted on Falls Road's international wall, a tourist site shown in mural 3. The mural's composition differs as it presents Irish history linearly. It begins with the Irish famine, moves through the burning of the GPO and ends with the hunger strikers as the grand finale of Irish rebellion. Like the Andersonstown mural, the burning sky connects the two snapshots of the GPO and the hunger strikers. These men are resurrected by their sacrifice, and they are rising from the prison of Long Kesh (the Maze). By placing them at the end and with the Irish tricolor extending into their part, the mural portrays how their sacrifice has given Ireland its future.

On all these three murals, the volunteers have been "humanized" into ordinary men and women. By doing so, the mainstream republican story removes the republican violence of the Troubles. Hence, the republican volunteers are portrayed as different to the loyalists across the peace wall and this removal of violence should be read as a part of the battle of narratives. The mainstream republicans can refashion themselves and reject the label of terrorism by showing

that their volunteers were everyday protectors.[52] Production of heritage is a political process malleable to the needs of power, and it reflects power struggles within collective memories. Heritage is therefore not given but made.[53] It is of importance to have in mind which version of the past is selected, remembered and commemorated and when. This humanization of volunteers is a part of Sinn Fein's foray into Irish politics.[54] The two main Irish political parties, Fine Gael and Fianna Fail, are descendants from the Irish War of Independence and the subsequent Civil War. Sinn Fein are today challenging these parties and have had electoral success. Sinn Fein's utilization of the past and display of mainstream republicans as the true heirs of the Easter Rising have played an important role in this success.[55] The success lies in murals such as these: their narrative challenges the viewer to try and explain the difference between the Troubles and the Easter Rising.[56] If these volunteers were hooded men, it would be easier for the viewer to argue for the difference since the hooded men represent sectarian violence. Now the mainstream republicans can claim that there was no difference, and the men were everyday protectors.

[52] T. Crowley, "Reading Republican Murals in Northern Ireland: Archiving and Meaning-Making", *Studi irlandesi. A Journal of Irish Studies*, 12:12 (2022), pp. 87–117.
[53] McDowell (2008).
[54] Eóin Flannery & Eugene O'Brien, "Introduction: Critiquing crisis and commemoration", *Irish Studies Review* (2022); Paul Gill & John Horgan, "Who Were the Volunteers? The Shifting Sociological and Operational Profile of 1240 Provisional Irish Republican Army Members", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 25:3 (2022) pp. 435–456; Lowenthal (1996).
[55] Larsson (2021).
[56] Viggiani (2016) pp. 198–199.

Mural 3, International Wall, Falls Road, March 2019. Copyright Fredrika Larsson.

Mural 4, International Wall, Falls Road, March 2019. Copyright Fredrika Larsson.

Heritage services the needs of the present and reflects power struggles of the past, thus the murals reflect the dissident contestation to the mainstream republican success story. Mural 4, found next to mural 3, portrays that the rebellion is unfinished, as Ireland is not united. It is an example of one story countering another within a heritage. In both stories, the Troubles are a rebellion. The difference lies in whether the rebellion has ended. In the dissident story, power-sharing is not the goal, only a united Ireland. The Easter lily, which represents the Easter Rising, in front of a united Ireland without a border reveals this reading. Heritage is bound up in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of memory and identity.[57] The dissidents are countering the mainstream republican power in the republican narrative constellations, by focusing on how they embody the real rebel, through men like Bobby Sands and Brendan Hughes, a well-known dissident.

These murals exemplify how heritage is a site of power: who controls the stories has the power. But those in control can be unseated if they do not conform to the story. Mainstream republicans have been successful in politics, partly due to how they have been able to capitalize on their previous involvement in violence. They have been able to project themselves as freedom fighters, who brought their enemies to the negotiation table. Through this process, they have been able to present to the world that they have left violence behind and now are working with their adversaries like graceful winners.[58] The mainstream republicans are not reformed terrorists, since the violence was justifiable in their stories. The success has given them power, but also opened them up for dissident critique. Dissidents across the country have juxtaposed present-day Northern Ireland with the situation before and during the Troubles. In this narration, the mainstream republicans have become the enemy since they have come into power. Like the nationalists before them, mainstream republicans are not able to distance or distinguish themselves from dissident republicans without trampling on the foundation of their story.

[57] Niamh Moore & Yvonne Whelan (eds.), *Heritage, memory and the politics of identity: New perspectives on the cultural landscape*, (Burlington 2007); McDowell (2008).
[58] Larsson (2021).

Loyalist murals

Mural 5, Carlingford Street, Belfast. Copyright Fredrika Larsson

Mural 6, Carlingford Street, Belfast. Copyright Fredrika Larsson

Mural 5 and 6, Carlingford Street, Belfast. Copyright Fredrika Larsson

Home Rule, the First World War, the Irish War of Independence and Ireland's partition all occurred during the period of 1912-1922. The Ulster Covenant was drafted to protect the potential establishment of a parliament in Dublin. It also expressed the Protestants wishes to remain British, along with the formation of the UVF to protect this wish. The UVF later served in the First World War, thus interweaving the First World War into the story of the Protestant sacrifice to keep Britain intact.[59] These two murals in east Belfast represent this story. Mural 5 places Sir Edward Carson, who led the protests against Home Rule, in the center, surrounded by symbolism of the First World War. The quote next to the mural praises the bravery of the 36th Ulster Division. As the symbolism swirls around Carson, it creates a reading of everything being connected with Carson at the core of the story: the Protestants staying true to Britain.

The story of loyalist loyalty appears in mural 6, which is devoted to the UVF of the Troubles. The headline of the mural is "East Belfast—Years of Sacrifice", connecting to a story of how the loyalists continue to sacrifice themselves. At the bottom, there are two military barracks with the UVF-emblem in the center. On

[59] Beiner (2006); Evershed (2018); McAuley (2016).

the right of the emblem, two soldiers in uniform and the names of UVF volunteers are mentioned. The anchoring messages are "lest we forget" and how past and future generations have "fought against republican enemies sacrificing their tomorrow for our today." This message is conveyed in black and white, despite the Red Hand of Ulster and red poppies, connecting the paramilitary activity to Remembrance Sunday. The story is of the loyalists remaining a part of Britain forever, writing themselves and their fight against the republicans into Britain's heritage.

The mural's background reminds me of how republicans depict Long Kesh in their murals, with the high walls and watch tower. Usually, loyalists do not refer to incarceration in their murals, but this depiction allows me to find a second message of how the incarceration of loyalists is understood as a betrayal.[60] The UVF had to protect their community against the republicans since the British failed to protect them, and the British responded by incarcerating them. This accusation of a lack of protection follows in mural 7 created by the UDA. The use of symbolism of the First World War is a new development, previously the symbolic frameworks of their murals ranged from military-styled symbolism to historic symbols such as Ulster-Scots.[61] The Shankill is a loyalist enclave in west Belfast, surrounded by republican areas. It was a target for republican activity and violence throughout the Troubles. Loyalist vigilante groups were formed to protect the Protestant community, one of which was the Woodvale Defence Association, which later became UDA.[62] The mural tells that indiscriminate, unprovoked, unwarranted and coldblooded sectarian republican violence forced the loyalists to organize to protect themselves. The headline "DEFENDERS OF OUR COMMUNITY SINCE 1969" adds to this meaning, framing the depicted men as protectors. The men are dressed in paramilitary clothing, creating a reading that this is how they appeared when they protected the community. They are also giving the impression that they are soldiers: the snapshot reminds me of the processions of soldiers walking to the battle fields of the First and Second World War. Mural 8, the mural next to the snapshot, underlines this meaning with its symbolic framework that speaks of British war heroism. There are three

[60] McAuley (2016).
[61] Jarman (1997); Carolyn Gallaher, *After the peace: Loyalist paramilitaries in post-accord Northern Ireland*, (Ithaca, N.Y., 2007).
[62] Reed, Richard, *Paramilitary loyalism: Identity and change*, (Manchester, 2015); Neil Southern, "Territoriality, Alienation, and Loyalist Decommissioning: The Case of the Shankill in Protestant West Belfast", *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 20:1 (2007).

smaller photos of different stages of a remembrance service for fallen UDA men in mural 8. The commemorative language is of the First World War; a poem for the fallen and the mention of "we will remember them." The combination of these murals places the activities of the UDA within the heritage of the First World War by stressing their similarities, like the men of the 36th Ulster Division, the men of UDA stepped up when needed.

Mural 7 and 8 Enfield Street, Copyright Fredrika Larsson.

The UDA and the UVF murals convey a story of the place of the Troubles as a continuation of the First World War, but they tell it differently. The UDA murals directly refer to the Troubles, whereas the UVF murals implicitly refer to the Troubles in text. In the UDA story, their role as protectors of the loyalist estates is at the forefront. The Troubles is a greater event than the sacrifices of the First World War. In the UVF story, the Troubles is not on the same commemorative or emotional level as the First World War. In the UVF story, the First World War is the epitome of sacrifice, whereas in the UDA story the Troubles and their role in it are portrayed as the greatest sacrifice yet of loyalists. This difference in stories must be read through the lens of how the local may reflect broader disputes over the authority of heritage in extension memory. These murals represent the

internal dispute over who is the legitimate heir of the 36th Ulster Division. The UDA murals project themselves as protectors of the communities, stressing that the UVF did not. If the UVF had protected the loyalists, then the UDA would not have been forced to form, since the UVF is the older organization.[63] Murals 7 and 8 thereby represent the UDA inserting themselves into the loyalist heritage of the First World War, thus gaining power in the loyalist collective memory.[64]

The UVF and UDA stories ask who has the right to exclude the loyalists from the heritage of the First World War. By reading the murals left to right, the First World War provides a lens to understand the Troubles as a follow-up to the First World War. Martin Gegner writes that memorials and sites are re-interpreted throughout time, meaning that certain meanings are silenced, and others forgotten.[65] The First World War today in Britain is a story of the start of the decline of the British Empire. Many new sources and investigations are made to reflect, uphold and show how the First World War was a multiracial affair, of which the Irish were a part. Niamh Gallagher shows that the Irish were involved in the war regardless of religious creed.[66] Due to the opposing character of these identities, including the Irish in First World War heritage means that the loyalists feel *replaced*. The tower on mural 5, exemplifies this feeling. It symbolizes the battle of Thiepval and the tower was later re-erected as a memorial to the 36th Division. It was one of the first built memorials of the First World War. By invoking this symbol, the loyalists are asking why they are no longer celebrated and remembered. The loyalists feel humiliated by their feeling of being replaced. Qian Fengqi writes of the role of humiliation in Chinese nationalism. In her analysis of a memorial of the Nanjing Massacre, she shows how there is a story of a humiliation that must never occur again.[67] Like in China, the loyalist murals share a story of humiliation, which must be reversed. Painting the Troubles is a form of putting their story across and asking why they have been replaced, and thus fighting back.

[63] McAuley (2016).
[64] Larsson (2021).
[65] Martin Gegner, "War Monuments in west and east Berlin" in Martin Gegner & Bart Ziino, (eds.), *The heritage of war*, (Abingdon, 2012).
[66] Niamh Gallagher, *Ireland and the Great War: A social and political history*, (London 2020).
[67] Qian Fenqi "Let the dead be remembered: interpretation of the Nanjing Massacre Memorial" in William Stewart Logan & Keir Reeves, (eds.), *Places of pain and shame: Dealing with "difficult heritage"*, (Abingdon 2009).

Concluding Remarks

In this section, I will compare and conclude my findings. The murals have illustrated different forms of placing the Troubles into an existing heritage, revealing republicans' and loyalists' perceptions of themselves. They have tried to insert the Troubles into these heritages by emphasising the similarities of the characteristics of each side in the Troubles with the core of the heritages: the Irish rebellious nature and the loyalist steadfastness. Yet, the communication of these messages has had different consequences. Republicans have been able to control heritage to a greater extent, whereas loyalists feel replaced. The outcome of this power struggle is unequal heritages, linked to the power struggles within the identities and in Northern Ireland.

Due to the difficulty of writing a story of Irish history not dominated by violence and revolution, the Northern Irish republicans have been able to take over and control the story of rebellions. Those who do not favor the republican version of Irish history have had a hard time creating a distance between the republicans and the Easter Rising leaders, without delegitimizing the Easter Rising leaders.[68] This takeover has given them political credence and legitimacy, but it has also opened them up to a dissident republican critique. Through visual presentation and narrative strategies, the dissidents have been able to ask the question of why there is no need for violence now. The mainstream republicans now have the same problem as the nationalists before them: how can they distinguish their story from those who propose the use of violence. There is a similar attempt to co-opt the story in loyalism. The UDA portray their men marching like soldiers to the battlefield, linking themselves to the First World War. They project themselves as the worthy heirs of the men of the Somme. The UVF does not portray the Troubles as the crowning event of the loyalist story. The discrepancy might be due in part to how the UVF owns the story of the First World War, while the UDA try to establish a foothold in this imagery. The question of why the power relations within the heritage differ between republicans and loyalists is a question worthy of exploration in further research.

The unequal nature between the loyalists and republicans lies in how the loyalists are no longer visible in the heritage of the First World War, whereas republicans are visible. Republicans and loyalists have travelled different paths. Republicans were initially rejected and are now visible and loyalists were initially

[68] Elliott (2001); Flannery & O'Brien (2022).

visible and now rejected.[69] The question of visibility is related to the form of the stories. Loyalists could be interpreted as a part of the story of British participation; where England, Wales, Scotland and now Ireland are understood as one actor. This entails that the stories of the First World War heritage have been streamlined, reducing the complexity associated with the actors from the British Isles, in order to be able to include the stories of the colonies. The streamlining of stories has meant that the stories within the First World War heritages have been reduced in number. Often the inclusion of the stories of the colonies has been presented as broadening the heritage; experiences other than British ones are welcomed.[70] The examples of this chapter show that this is not the case. The streamlining of stories has meant that the loyalists and their experience have been excluded from the First World War heritage. Moreover, Protestants in Northern Ireland are not visible in British or Irish historical culture.[71] The inclusion of Ireland in that heritage does not highlight their participation. Instead, loyalists feel that their participation is reduced since they perceive that they are British. By categorizing their story as Irish, the loyalist identity is delegitimized.

Heritage is linked to identities, the stories selected for inclusion are often stories of violence, victimization and pain. They are often oppositional; what is the core of one party's identity is deemed to be offensive for the other. Lowenthal writes that martyrdom unifies a nation, but misery forges lasting bonds.[72] In the case of Northern Ireland, these bonds of misery are entrenched in the histories that the party claims kinship to, and the story of victimization is transmitted and saved for the future. The clash of the rebellion and the First World War reveals how they are rooted in protecting themselves from the other. The difference between the stories lies not only in whether Northern Ireland should be Irish or not, but the form of the stories is also different. The loyalists want to keep and preserve, thereby keeping the status quo. The republicans want to destroy the status quo, as they are the rebels, creating the world anew. By tearing down the old world, the new world can rise through the ashes. However, like in all rebellions, those who are against it perish in the fire. Those who do not want to stay in a united Ireland may leave, which has been vocalized by republicans.[73]

---

[69] Viggiani (2016).
[70] Gallagher (2022).
[71] Graham Dawson, *"Northern Ireland Troubles in Britain : Impacts, engagements, legacies and memories"*, Manchester 2017); Larsson (2021)
[72] Lowenthal (1996) pp. 59–74.
[73] English (2003; 2006).

This view of British Protestants as being unwelcome in a future united Ireland has been amplified since Brexit. In his Nobel laurate speech, David Trimble acknowledged that unionists alienated Irish Catholics after the partition. He likened it with building a house. The Catholics had a roof over their heads as they were taken care of via the British welfare state, but it was a cold house since their identity was unwelcome.[74] This is what Northern Irish Protestants fear in united Ireland. In an interview with Tommy Tiernan, a talk show host in the South, the Northern Irish Catholic comedian Patrick Kielty pointed out that perhaps Ireland should concede to the Protestants in a united Ireland. When Tiernan asked what Protestants would protest to in a united Ireland, Kielty responded singing "Up the Ra", a lyric from a traditional rebel song and pro-republican chant which represents republican sectarian violence to the Protestants, is offensive to Protestants.[75] He referred to an incident when the Irish Women's Football team chanted Up the Ra after a victory. The chant was met with protests and the team apologized. However, there were those, like Tiernan, who saw the chant as "harmless." Kielty, whose father was murdered by loyalist paramilitaries, responded that it was not, in fact, harmless. He asked Tiernan to think that if Ireland was asked to join the commonwealth, he would not be particularly interested in joining if the Protestants sang "the Sash", a loyalist sectarian song, to celebrate a sports victory. Kielty said that it was a lot easier to sing a republican chant to unite Ireland, than to **not** sing a republican chant to unite Ireland.[76] The difference here is that by not singing the republican chant, the republicans understand what it means for the other party.[77]

This chapter has shown the problems and discomfort that arise when placing the Troubles within existing heritages. By situating their activity during the Troubles, republican and loyalist sectarian violence is legitimized by the heritages. This is perhaps an aspect that compels other groups of these heritages to fight against the inclusion of the Troubles. To those outside Northern Ireland, the sectarian nature of the violence taints or cheapens the memory of rebellions and the First World War, as they do not consider these stories as worthy of

[74] <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1998/trimble/lecture/>.

[75] *Belfast Telegraph* 16/1 2023 <https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/entertainment/news/patrick-kielty-says-singing-ooh-ah-up-the-ra-wouldnt-make-unionists-feel-welcome-in-a-united-ireland/42289235.html>

[76] *The Newsletter* 16/1 2023 <https://www.newsletter.co.uk/news/people/outpouring-of-support-for-patrick-kielty-following-up-the-ra-comments-on-rte-3988398>

[77] Margo Shea, "Whatever you say, say something: Remembering for the future in Northern Ireland", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (2010), pp. 289–304.

preservation for the future. The example of Kielty reveals how what might be regarded as harmless in one area might be an expression of sectarian hatred in another, despite it being essentially the same story. The example also shows how there have been realizations from both parties that they need to welcome each other. However, the Northern Irish peace process has never been a stable affair. Shirlow & Coulter has likened it with a roundabout, where problems are never solved.[78] Often the problems stem from a failure to deal with the Troubles head on. As Viggiani mentions, the failure to with the past has made the paramilitary interpretation hegemonic in Northern Ireland. The question ahead is: how may a heritage of the Troubles be formed which is not troubling?

[78] Colin Coulter & Peter Shirlow, "From the 'Long War' to the 'Long Peace': An introduction to the special edition. *Capital & Class*, 43:1 (2019), pp. 3–21.

Contested and Ambivalent Heritage: Revisiting Responses to the Second World War Heritage of Finnish Lapland from the Perspective of Affects

EERIKA KOSKINEN-KOVISTO

Introduction: Multivocal, Affective, and Emotional Heritage

Cultural heritage comprises sites, things, and practices that a society regards as old, important, and worthy of conservation. To recognize something as cultural heritage is a product of a complex process of valuing and selecting. In the process of valuing and selecting cultural heritage, the meanings adhering to it are continuously created, recreated, and validated for the present situation.[1] Therefore, heritage values are dynamic and apt to change. In addition, they are also political and *emotional,* and connected to such issues as cultural, national, and local identity which materialize through embodied engagement with both intangible and tangible cultural heritage.[2]

Considering the emphasis of contemporary heritage studies on political and emotional aspects of heritage, it is important to ask why do we want to treat something as cultural heritage, and what do we then cherish, celebrate, and remember? And following this, when doing so, what falls outside of this category? What do we want to neglect, ignore, and forget? In this paper, I will introduce examples of heritage sites that relate to Second World War history of Finland (henceforth WWII) which are somehow problematic and can thus be considered as *contested*, *difficult,* or *ambivalent heritage.* The sites that I have studied and visited as part of multidisciplinary research on WWII material heritage are both contradictory and *evocative.* In this article, I ponder upon different

[1] Sharon MacDonald, *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today* (Abingdon 2013); Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (New York 2006).

[2] Divia Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton & Steve Watson, "Introduction: Heritage, Affect and Emotion", in Divia Tolia-Kelly, Emma Waterton & Steve Watson (eds.), *Heritage, Affect and Emotion: Politics, Practices and Infrastructures* (London 2017), pp. 1–11; Margaret Wetherell, Laurajane Smith & Gary Campbell, "Introduction: Affective Heritage Practices", in Laurajane. Smith, Margaret Wetherell & Gary Campbell (eds.), *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present: Key Issues in Cultural Heritage* (London 2018), pp. 1–21.

interpretations and reactions to engaging with and representing this contested heritage, asking what makes this heritage evocative, and *affective:* How do different people react to it and why? These questions also relate to both methodological and ethical questions related to cultural heritage: how can we gain knowledge about the affective relationships with heritage and be sensitive to differing views and interpretations of heritage without defying altering views?

The cases that I introduce here derive from the research project *Lapland's Dark Heritage – Understanding the Cultural Legacy of Northern Finland's WWII German Materialities* (Academy of Finland, 2015–2018) in which I, as a part of multidisciplinary research groups of archaeologists, museum and cultural heritage scholars, studied the engagements with the WWII material heritage in Finnish Lapland. The research material I use is conducted via ethnographic fieldwork (field visits to WWII heritage sites and museums of Finnish Lapland in 2015–2016) and includes fieldnotes, photographs, and interviews. In this article I revisit this research material and my former analysis of the values and meanings adhered to WWII heritage sites, applying methodological and theoretical underpinnings stemming from my current research projects *Sensory and Material Memories* (SENSOMEMO, Academy of Finland 2020–2024),[3] in which we explore affective materiality and human-objects relationships and are especially interested in the ways in which affects, senses, materiality, and memory intertwine as well as the project Smokestack Memories (Kone Foundation 2021–2023), studying industrial heritage sites and the ongoing negotiations of their future. The majority of these sites we study have not received an official heritage status but are either somehow reused or in a state of neglect and decay. In the project we scrutinize the ways in which local people and visitors experience the sites and their material environment. Both projects emphasize the emotional and affective responses to materiality and cultural heritage, dimensions that are also characterized as more-than-textual embodied approaches heritage research.[4] According to Margaret Wetherell, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell these approaches allow us to "deepen our understanding of how people develop attachments and commitments to the past, things, beliefs, places, traditions and institutions."[5] Furthermore, focusing on emotion can also reveal tensions that are both emotionally and discursively constructed as people explain and thus

[3] SENSOMEMO project decision number: 334247.
[4] Tolia-Kelly, Waterton & Watson (2017).
[5] Wetherell, Smith & Campbell (2018) p. 2.

reconsider their attachments to things and sites regarded as heritage. In my analysis of attachment and encounters with WWII heritage I pay attention to both discursive and experiential dimensions of people's responses to cultural heritage.

What is Contested Heritage? Is There Such a Thing as Uncontested Heritage?

Uses of heritage and G. J. Ashworth stated that dissonance is intrinsic to the nature of heritage, because heritage processes always entail questions of ownership, interpretation, and multiple uses.[6] According to Helaine Silverman, who has analysed the historiography of the concept of contested history, acknowledging differing interpretations of heritage can be considered as a shift in the heritage paradigm which recognizes the role of power in the construction of history and the production of identity.[7] These questions are especially emergent in former colonial states and societies, as recognized by critical cultural heritage scholars.

Power differences already exist between the authorized heritage professionals and heritage activists of local communities. This is because the authorized heritage discourse often excludes local understandings of nature and history.[8] Sensitivity to listen to the interpretations of local communities is of the utmost importance in documenting and managing of cultural heritage. Local communities can be involved in these processes, e.g. through public archaeology projects[9] and/or collecting of public oral history[10] which aim at democratic and multidisciplinary approaches.

In many cases, local heritage sites are of interest to small or larger-scale heritage tourism or other businesses. The process of commercialization of heritage can be twofold: it has been noted that heritage status and heritage management can stimulate local economies, help to conserve built heritage, and

---

[6] J. E. Tunbridge & G. J. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict* (Chichester 1996).

[7] Helaine Silverman, "Contested Cultural Heritage: A Selective Historiography", in Helaine Silverman (ed.), *Contested Cultural Heritage: Religion, Nationalism, Erasure, and Exclusion in a Global World* (New York 2011) pp. 1–49.

[8] Smith (2006).

[9] E.g. Iain Banks, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto & Oula Seitsonen, "Public Engagements with Lapland's Dark Heritage: Community Archaeology in Finnish Lapland", *Journal of Community Archaeology and Heritage* 5:2 (2018) pp. 128–137.

[10] E.g. Linda Shopes, "Oral History and the Study of Communities. Problems, Paradoxes, and Possibilities", *The Journal of American History* 89:2 (2002) pp. 588–598.

strengthen local identities, but in some cases the use of heritage in tourism business may lead to situations in which the host communities and their history become alienated from the process as their traditions and places turn into stages of economic exchange.[11] On the other hand, in some cases the tourism sector agents may also ignore and refuse to engage with heritage that is somehow difficult or problematic.[12] When it comes to the role of difficult and dark heritage in heritage tourism, it is interesting to consider the perspective of tourists and visitors by analysing the experiential dimensions of heritage.[13] What kind of experiences are expected when visiting cultural heritage sites? What do visitors expect to encounter and how are they affected by the contradictions embedded in difficult and dark heritage?

I will illustrate some affective and emotional responses to WWII material heritage and heritage sites in Finnish Lapland and discuss the varying interests of people who engage with this heritage such as local communities and groups of history hobbyists, and visitors/tourists who encounter the sites when visiting them. I will also reflect upon the questions of curating and representing the WWII history of Finnish Lapland, and in so doing I discuss different conceptualizations of contested heritage such as difficult, dark heritage and ambivalent considering their limitations and analytical potential in studying contested heritage.

Difficult and Dark Heritage of WWII German Presence in Finnish Lapland

The concept of *difficult heritage* emphasizes that some groups may perceive certain heritage troublesome in today's perspective. According to Sharon McDonald, difficult heritage is "concerned with histories and pasts that do not easily fit with self-identities of the groups of whose pasts or histories they are

[11] See Brian Graham, "Heritage as Knowledge: Capital or Culture?", *Urban Studies* 39 (2002) pp. 1003–17.

[12] See e.g. Vesa-Pekka Herva, "Haunting Heritage in an Enchanted Land: Magic, Materiality and Second World War German Material Heritage in Finnish Lapland*", Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1:2 (2014), pp. 297–321. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/jca.v1i2.95>; Mullins, Paul. "Consuming Dark Histories in Santa Claus Village." Archaeology and Material Culture (blog), September 22, 2014. Accessed June 30, 2016. <https://paulmullins.wordpress.com/2014/09/22/consuming-dark-histories-in-santaclaus-village>

[13] See e.g. Shanti Sumartojo, "Sensory Impact: Memory, Affect and Sensory Ethnography at Official Memory Sites", in Danielle Drozdzewski & Carolyn Birdsall (eds.), *Doing Memory Research: New Methods and Approaches* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), pp. 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-13-1411-7_2>

part".[14] The notion of "difficult heritage" raises important questions regarding the dis/continuity of national, collective, and individual identities. MacDonald, who has studied the perceived agency of Nazi architecture, warns that Nazi heritage should not be treated as "normal" heritage because it risks revitalizing its agency. On the other hand, it should not be eradicated either.[15]

One of the darker chapters in Finnish history is the alliance with Nazi Germany during the World War II. After the Finnish-Soviet "Winter War" (1939–40), Finland, believing that a new conflict with the Soviet Union would arise, allied with Germany. As a result, about 200 000 German troops arrived in Finland, mostly in Finnish Lapland. During their time in Finnish Lapland, German troops established several military bases and military airports, the largest of them in the city of Rovaniemi, built thousands of kilometres of new roads with the help of prisoners of war that they brought with them from Central Europe. The German presence in Finnish Lapland from the end of 1940 lasted until 1944 when, as part of the conditions of peace with the Soviet Union, Finland had to take up arms and fight against their former German brothers-in-arms. Withdrawing to Norway, the German army destroyed not only their own settlements but also 90 per cent of local infrastructure and dwellings.

The WWII German material heritage in Finnish Lapland is not a typical case of material heritage since there are very few actual heritage sites or fine artefacts but merely ruins and remnants of structures destroyed in the 1944–45 Lapland War, war junk, and small artefacts from soldiers that people have kept or found.[16] The material remains, however, are plentiful, and they are part of local landscape.

---

[14] Sharon MacDonald, "Difficult Heritage: Unsettling History", in Marie-Paule Jungblut & Rosemarie Beier-de Haan (eds.), *Museums and Universal Heritage: History in the Area of Conflict between Interpretation and Manipulation* (International Committee for Museums and Collections of Archaeology and History 2008) pp. 8–15.

[15] Sharon MacDonald. *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond* (London 2009).

[16] We have analysed the engagements with material objects in several articles, e.g. Vesa-Pekka Herva, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Oula Seitsonen & Suzie Thomas, "'I Have Better Stuff at Home': Treasure Hunters and Serious Collectors of World War II Artefacts in Finnish Lapland", *World Archaeology* 48: 2 (2016) pp. 267–281. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00438243.2016.1184586>; Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto & Suzie Thomas, "Lapland's Dark Heritage: Responses to the Legacy of World War II", in Helaine Silverman, Emma Waterton, and Steve Watson (eds.), *Heritage in Action: Making of Past in the Present* (Cham 2017) pp. 121–133; Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto & Suzie Thomas, "Remembering and Forgetting, Discovering and Cherishing – Engagements with Material Culture of War in Finnish Lapland", *Ethnologia Fennica* 36 (2018) pp. 28–54. <https://doi.org/10.23991/ef.v45i0.60647>

After the war and up until today, Finns have generally tried to distance themselves from the German war efforts, and thus Finnish people have been reluctant to engage too closely with this aspect of national history. Therefore, the national narratives of WWII in Finland have not paid much attention to the final chapter of WWII events, the Lapland War, and its traumatizing effects on the local residents. The way of representing WWII in Finland in two phases, as the Winter and the Continuation Wars, place the Lapland War as an epilogue of the latter, a scene that happened far in the north after the peace was already set.[17] In recent years, researchers have paid attention to this discrepancy, and analysed the silences and taboos related to the war experiences of the residents of Finnish Lapland and the narratives about them.[18]

In the research project *Lapland's Dark Heritage,* we studied the engagements with remnants of military structures and small artefacts connected to German soldiers, prisoners of war, and civilians. We interviewed official heritage agents and museum professionals, various history-hobbyists and hobbyist groups who study, document, or collect WWII material heritage or guide and manage WWII heritage sites, as well as local people who live next to WWII German material remains. We were interested in finding out how different communities relate to aspects about the past that may be difficult or painful to reconcile, and why people are attracted to objects and places of conflict, pain, suffering and death and why they want to engage with this heritage that can be considered *dark heritage*.[19] We found out that this attraction bears links not only to specialized activities like

[17] Marja Tuominen, "Lapin ajanlasku: Menneisyys, tulevaisuus ja jälleenrakennus historian reunalla", in Ville Kivimäki & Kirsi-Maria Hytönen (eds.), *Rauhaton rauha: Suomalaiset ja sodan päättyminen* 1944–1950 (Vastapaino, 2015) pp. 39–70.

[18] E.g. Nina Sääskilahti, "Ruptures and Returns: From Loss of Memory to the Memory of a Loss", *Ethnologia Fennica* 40 (2013): 40–53; Nina Sääskilahti, "Konfliktinjälkeiset kulttuuriympäristöt, muisti ja materiaalisuus" (Post-conflict cultural environments, memory and materiality), *Tahiti: taidehistoria tieteenä* (2016/1). <http://tahiti.fi/01-2016/tieteelliset-artikkelit/konfliktinjalkeiset-kulttuuriymparistot-muisti-ja-materiaalisuus/>; Lehtola, Veli-Pekka, "Second World War as a Trigger for Transcultural Changes among Sámi People in Finland." *Acta Borealia* 32: 2 (2015), pp. 125–147. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08003831.2015.1089673>; Kaisa Hiltunen & Nina Sääskilahti, "Post Memory and Cinematic Affect in *The Midwife*", *Journal of Aesthetics and Culture* 9:1 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1080/20004214.2016.1273594>; Marja Tuominen & Mervi Löfgren. *Lappi palaa sodasta* (Vastapaino, 2018).

[19] The concept refers to the potential dark force of heritage, to the interest in and fascination with death, war, and other atrocities, and to a motivation to engage with it. E.g. Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, "Reminder of Dark Heritage of Humankind – Experiences of Finnish Cemetery Tourists of Visiting the Norvajärvi German Cemetery", *Thanatos* 5:1 (2016), pp. 23–41. The term is also related to the phenomenon of "dark tourism", an interest in graves, battlefields, and other macabre scenes or burial sites. See Philip Stone, "A Dark Tourism Spectrum: Towards a Typology of Death and Macabre Related Tourist Sites, Attractions and Exhibitions", *Tourism: An Interdisciplinary International Journal* 54: 2 (2006) pp. 145–160.

"dark tourism" (exploring and visiting dark places), but also to other activities of treasure hunting, looting, and collecting of war memorabilia.[20] There are, however, varying motivations driving tourists and visitors, local history hobbyists, and heritage activists.[21]

Difficult and Dark to Whom?

In our research, we noticed that not all local people see WWII heritage as difficult or especially traumatic. For many of our interviewees, it is a chapter of their own history that their family has witnessed and that younger generations have learned through stories and childhood play. The motivations to engage with it as a hobby lie in safeguarding local heritage, raising awareness of its existence, and also in making it part of the national WWII narrative.[22] Some of the people we have interviewed in different parts of Lapland have even reacted to the title of our research, namely, the very use of the term "dark heritage". Those who have expressed concern to us about the concept have assumed that it suggests a negative attitude towards the war and military historical hobbies, demonizing the Germans and criticizing the Finno-German alliance.

Among our interviewees there were also first-hand witnesses to the German period in Lapland and the Lapland War. These include elderly people of the Southernmost Sámi Village and reindeer herding community, Vuotso located in Sodankylä, where German had a large military complex. The community wanted us to interview elders who shared with us very touching stories about their war experiences, evacuation, the complete destruction of their home village, and the aftermath of war. We learned that the stories of difficult and painful periods also included stories of hope. Indeed, the interviewees also expressed that their motivation for sharing the stories is to provide their version of this chapter of history so that it would not happen anywhere again.[23]

During our research we discovered several individuals and communities in different parts of Lapland who see a potential in making the war heritage sites, even the darkest ones, accessible to visitors, at least by putting up signs to WWII sites. We discovered an interesting example of this in the tiny village of

[20] See Herva et al. (2016).
[21] See Koskinen-Koivisto & Thomas (2017).
[22] Herva et al. 2016; Koskinen-Koivisto & Thomas (2017).
[23] See Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto & Oula Seitsonen, "Landscapes of Loss and Destruction. Sámi Elders' Childhood Memories of the Second World War", *Ethnologia Europaea* 49:1 (2019) pp. 24–40. <https://doi.org/10.16995/ee.816>

Purnumukka next to Vuotso. The local village society erected an information board about the history of the location close to the area that was a German prisoner of war camp during WII. Along with other narratives of the history of the area, the board depicts a dark history of the presence of a "hanging" pine where Germans hanged several prisoners. According to our interviewees, this place has been acknowledged and remembered in a ritualistic manner in the post-war decades: people who passed the tree used to stop at that spot, and honour with silence what it symbolizes. Some local people still do this even though the hanging tree fell years ago.[24]

Image 1: The information sign in the Purnumukka village, Vuotso. Photo by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto 2015.

The people that we interviewed believe that information and signs make the local history – including its dark and painful chapters – visible and acknowledged. Another example we found was that a local entrepreneur (reindeer herder) had set up geocaches in the WWII sites of his locality in Inari. Despite some local efforts, there is still silence around the existence of WWII dark heritage sites such

[24] For more about the interviews with local Vuotso people see e.g. Oula Seitsonen & Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, "Where the F… is Vuotso?" Material Memories of Second World War Forced Movement and Destruction in a Sámi Reindeer Herding Community in Finnish Lapland", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24:4 (2018) pp. 421–441. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527258.2017.1378903>; Koskinen-Koivisto & Seitsonen (2019).

as prisoner of war camps. Next, I will analyse the silence and neglect around German WWII heritage occurring in tourist destinations and museums.

Silence and Oblivion in the Tourism and Museum Scene

During our fieldwork in Lapland, we discovered sites that have been deliberately avoided and thus collectively forgotten These kinds of places have been seen as sites of forgetting or oblivion (lieux d'oubli) that are avoided because of "the disturbing affect that their invocation is still capable of arousing".[25] Some of these sites are located in the plain wilderness far away from human settlements, but interestingly enough, there are also those located right next to tourist attractions. One of them is Santa's Village, the most popular tourist attraction of Rovaniemi, built right on the site of a former German Military base.[26] This information is not indicated anywhere in the area and the former military history of the area is not used in any way in the tourism business. WWII history is clearly problematic when it comes to international tourism, and this is understandable.

Image 2: WWII remains near Santa Claus Village, Rovaniemi. Photo by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, 2015.

[25] Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Post-war Europe* (Oxford 1999).
[26] See Herva (2014); Mullins (2014).

Image 3: The archaeologist Oula Seitsonen scrutinizing war junk near Santa Claus Village, Rovaniemi. Photo by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, 2015.

Another example is from the National Museum of the Finnish Sámi in Inari, Siida. During our research we also visited local and national museums that are either responsible for documenting and safeguarding WWII history or are located in areas where central events of WWII battles occurred.[27] When visiting Siida and interviewing the staff members there, we discovered that the Siida Museum is located next to a former German prisoner of war camp. This fact is not mentioned anywhere. There are some trenches in the outdoor museum area of Siida, which are rather invisible and hidden. They are part of the museum tour but the information about them can only be obtained through a mobile application. WWII is also almost invisible in the main exhibition of Siida. German presence in Finnish Lapland is not mentioned at all; not even in the case of major road building projects in the Sámi areas or destruction caused by the retreating German army. The only time the consequences of WWII are mentioned is in relation to the Skolt Sámi who lived in the Pechanga (Petsamo) area that the Soviet Union annexed in 1944. The texts explain about the process of resettlement that resulted in the erosion of Skolt culture and the loss of traditional livelihood that depended on their nomadic way of life and reindeer herding.

The silence about German-Sámi relations extends to research: there is a lack of research about war operations and trade between Sámi and Germans, even if it has been noted by the Sámi historian Veli-Pekka Lehtola that WWII brought a monetary economy even to the most remote Sámi areas.[28]

[27] See Suzie Thomas & Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, "'Ghosts in the Background' and the 'Price of the War': Representations of the Lapland War in Finnish Museums", *Nordisk Museologi* 2016 (2) pp. 60–77. <http://dx.doi.org/10.5617/nm.4411>

[28] Veli-Pekka Lehtola. *Saamelaiset Suomalaiset: Kohtaamisia 1896–1953* (Finnish Literature Society, 2012).

Images 4 and 5: Trench and information signs with QR codes at the Outdoor Museum of Siida. Photos by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, 2015.

In theorizing the politics of commemoration, Jay Winter has divided the silences around war into three categories: (1) Liturgic silence motivated by loss and grief; (2) strategic and political silence that aims at balancing the contradictory ideologies and views of the past, and (3) essentializing silence that indicates who

is entitled to speak about the memories of war.[29] In the case of Siida, the silence might be interpreted as strategic silence. One of the reasons may be that discussing the Nazi ideology and its hierarchies of races, setting the Sámi lower than Finns, would have been too sensitive a topic. But it is interesting that the material destruction during the Lapland War and its effects on Sámi livelihoods are also downplayed. Perhaps at time in the 1990s when the museum's permanent exhibition was created, local communities were not yet ready to discuss the drastic effects of the WWII on Sámi cultures. Furthermore, the experiences of the Sámi differ noticeably from the hegemonic "national story" and relate to the area's complex colonial past and emergent postcolonial themes which were long neglected and are still sensitive issues.[30]

Experiencing Dark Heritage Sites

Recently, researchers interested in affective dimensions of heritage have developed approaches to study the experiential side of cultural heritage, being interested in how visitors themselves define heritage sites, on their own terms, and consider their meanings as contextualized by their own thoughts and feelings (Sumartojo 2019). Ben Anderson (2014, 12) has suggested that we should study memory sites as complex "specific types of relational configurations" in which historical narratives are folded into the memories and sensory experiences of individuals who encounter them.

One possibility to familiarize oneself with WWII history in Finnish Lapland is to visit the only official memorial of WWII German presence in Finnish Lapland, The Norvajärvi German Military Cemetery close to Rovaniemi. The cemetery is located in a scenic spot by a lake on a pine forest cape about 18 kilometres from the centre of Rovaniemi. It is close enough to the city to be reached by driving or biking. The distant location and peace it offered were a wish on the part of German Association who wanted the cemetery to be located close

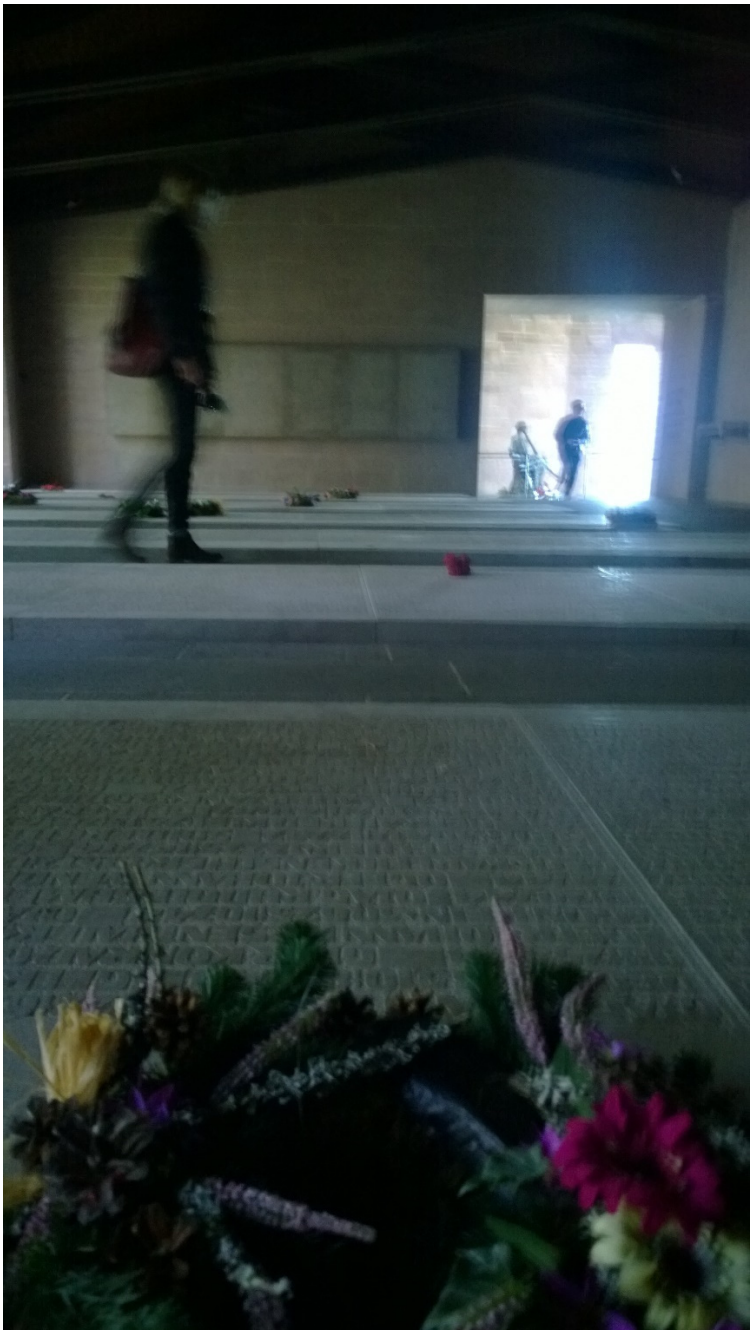
[29] Jay Winter, "Thinking about Silence", in Ezran Ben-Ze'ev, Ruth Ginio & Jay Winter (eds.), *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge 2010) pp. 3–31.

[30] See Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin, "Introduction: Situating Scandinavian Colonialism", in Magdalena Naum & Jonas M. Nordin (eds.), *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small-Time Agents in a Global Arena* (New York 2013) pp. 3–16.
Jukka Nyyssönen, "Sami Counter-narratives of Colonial Finland: Articulation, Reception and the Boundaries of the Politically Possible", *Acta Borealia* 30:1 (2013) pp. 101–121. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08003831.2013.776738>; Lehtola (2015).

to nature.[31] There are no individual graves at the cemetery, but a granite mausoleum under which the remains of approximately 2,700 fallen German soldiers are buried and where all their names, military ranks, and time and place of death appear carved in the stone. There is also a memorial consisting of stone and a large cross made of iron, standing to commemorate the lives of unknown and disappeared soldiers.

Although the Norvajärvi cemetery has received many German visitors over the 50 years of its existence, the main visitor group consists of Finns. Every year, the site receives about 10,000 visitors. Approximately 20 per cent of them are foreign and only half of these German.

[31] Since the First World War, fallen German soldiers have been buried to large hero cemeteries located at the battlefield. These cemeteries were meant to be as simple as possible, symbolizing wartime in the new German nation. They were placed in natural environments as part of the forest landscape. The use of natural materials such as carved stone was also advocated. See George L. Mosse, "National Cemeteries and National Revival: The Cult of the Fallen Soldiers in Germany." *Journal of Contemporary History* 14 (1/1979) pp. 1–20.



Images 6 and 7. The Mausoleum of the Norvajärvi German Cemetery. Photo 6 by Suzie Thomas, photo 7 by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, 2015.

When I studied visitor responses to the German WWII military cemetery in Finnish Lapland, I learned that for the Finnish visitors who ended up writing about their visitor experience in their personal blogs or travelogues, engagements with dark heritage enforced critical reflection over the universal consequences of war in the history of mankind.[32] The mausoleum at the cemetery embodies death, but also grief and commemoration. Encountering these brings the abstract and distant war close and concrete. As Lindsey Freeman, Benjamin Nienass, and Rachel Daniell note, "we rarely remember through ideas only, but rather through our encounters with things and through embodiments and disembodiments collected in material traces and objects".[33]

Another way of grasping the experiential side would be to analyse the visitor experience by applying sensory ethnography, an approach that puts the emphasis on the researcher's own sensory participation and imagination.[34] As mentioned before, we visited a number of the WWII sites located in the wilderness Lapland. The experience of accessing the sites, being there and sensing the atmosphere, is important and indeed affective, and adds a significant embodied layer of knowledge to the analysis of encounters with contested heritage. There are, however, many limitations to this approach, one being the difficulty of becoming aware and verbalizing the multisensory experiences.[35]

Conclusions

It is important that we do not erase and forget history that is somehow negative or difficult. Cangbai Wang uses the term *ambivalent heritage* to describe heritage that is "unsettled" and confusing.[36] According to him, *ambivalent* is a better term than *contested* when people do not know how they should interpret and represent the physical remains of the past. "Ambivalent heritage" confuses people more than it pains them. Recent research on affects and emotional engagements with

[32] See Koskinen-Koivisto (2016).

[33] Lindsay A. Freeman, Benjamin Nienass & Rachel Daniell, "Memory, Materiality, Sensuality", *Memory Studies* 9:1 (2016) pp. 3–12.

[34] Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Sage, 2009); Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto & Tytti Lehtovaara, "Embodied Adventures: An Experiment on Doing and Writing Multisensory Ethnography", in Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto, Viktorija L.A. Čeginskas & Aino-Kaisa Koistinen (eds.) *Challenges and Solutions in Ethnographic Research: Ethnography with a Twist* (Routledge, 2020) pp. 21–35.

[35] Koskinen-Koivisto & Lehtovaara (2020).

[36] Cangbai Wang, "Ambivalent Heritage: The Im/Possibility of Museumifying the Overseas Chinese in South China." *Modern China* 46:6 (2020) pp. 559–584. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0097700419878801>

cultural heritage has emphasized that materiality and object can help us to make sense of the painful and difficult issues of the past.[37]

The embodiment of history and understanding of abstract issues of the past is also one of the motivations driving visitors to physical sites related to war heritage. Much of the physical traces of the past are still visible in the landscape, and difficult experiences live in the stories of communities, as among the Sámi villages of Finnish Lapland. Both local people and visitors (tourists) wish to engage with these traces and narratives. It seems that especially the local communities wish to reach beyond the silences around the WWII German presence and the traumatic destruction of the area caused by the Lapland War between Finland and Germany. Many museums have also long neglected the WWII history of the area. There are also very few monuments embodying and bearing witness to the past. However, some individuals and communities are seeking ways in which they could make their history visible, e.g. by setting information signs at historical war sites. These concrete physical renderings of the dissonant and ambivalent history are important if we wish to expand the national narratives of WWII to include experiences in peripheral areas, and find nuances, including hope to overcome simplifying and denoting historical narratives. I believe that people of different generations and backgrounds visiting Lapland are ready to encounter and experience sites embodying the contested and difficult heritage of WWII. Unfortunately, contested heritage and reuse of WWII history is a hot topic in today's Europe. When considering all this, we can agree that it is of the utmost importance that scholars studying the uses of the past should continue to engage especially with difficult and ambivalent issues when discussing the varied interpretations and understandings of the past, and the ways in which the past experiences continue to affect communities throughout the world.

[37] See e.g. Sarah De Nardi, *The Poetics of Conflict Experience: Materiality and Embodiment in Second World War Italy* (Abingdon 2016); Koskinen-Koivisto & Seitsonen (2019).

Cultural Heritage and Game Design: A Discussion of Natural Friends

YLVA GRUFSTEDT & CECILIA TRENTER

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce cultural heritage through the lens of game design. The game industry should be studied within cultural heritage studies on similar terms that museums, archives and other cultural heritage actors are studied, namely as creators and mediators of cultural heritage.

The primary critical examination of video games as a source of cultural heritage has focused on credibility and authenticity.[1] Understanding game design as a practice generally is an under-studied aspect in historical game studies.[2] In the following chapter we will provide examples of the intricate relationship between the game industry, game design and cultural heritage. Our argument for paying more attention to the game industry from this perspective relies on two things. Firstly, game industry professionals have a documented vested interest in creating historically adequate depictions, as well as a general notion of authenticity.[3] Many commercially successful games use cultural heritage imagery or settings in which to immerse their players. Secondly, the cultural heritage sector uses game design to frame and shape cultural heritage, which has a significant impact on its interpretation.

[1] Conversely, some, including for example Michał Mochocki, argue that heritage is in fact not history but rather a signifier of our relationship to the present and the future. Regardless of where one falls on this theoretical scale, the implications for the interplay of cultural heritage (or history) and game design are the same. Michał Mochocki, *Role-Play as a Heritage Practice – Historical LARP, Tabletop RPG, and Reenactment* (New York 2021) p. 8.

[2] Adam Chapman, Anna, Foka & Jonathan Westin, "Introduction: What is Historical Game Studies" *Rethinking History*, 21:3 (2021) pp. 358-371. For hopeful steps towards remedying this, see: Ylva Grufstedt, *Shaping the Past – Counterfactual history and game design practice in digital strategy games* (Berlin 2022).

[3] Grufstedt (2022); Esther Wright, *Rockstar Games and American History: Promotional Materials and the Construction of Authenticity* (Berlin 2022).

The Complicated Relationship between Games and Preservation: The Example of Notre-Dame

To illustrate (the not straight-forward) relationship between cultural heritage preservation discourse and game industry agency, we will use the fire of Notre-Dame on April 15th, 2019. The Parisian cathedral was in large part damaged, and voices were immediately raised in support of it being restored. Being one of the most well-documented cathedrals in Europe, conservators of Notre-Dame have access to a wealth of historical evidence and other sources to help achieve this, including a digital laser scan conducted in the 1990s.[4]

Early in the process, it was suggested that Ubisoft—global game developer and publisher, and the makers of *Assassin's Creed*, a hugely popular third-person adventure game series set in various historical eras—would be able to assist. Their then-recently released entry into the series called *Unity* depicts Paris around the time of the French Revolution and includes an elaborate digital model of Notre-Dame, the exterior and interior of which players can traverse and explore in the game.

Like many other game studios that make games about the past, Ubisoft partly market their games as well-researched and, if not accurate, then plausible or adequate representations of the historical record.[5] The call for Ubisoft to aid in the reconstruction of the cathedral after the Notre-Dame fire of 2019 could be seen as a consequence of this narrative of accuracy, and evidence of the constant negotiation between the historical method and designer freedom that happens in games.

As noted by game journalist Simone de Rochefort, the idea that Ubisoft would be able to aid in the reconstruction by offering French officials access to their digital models of the cathedral persisted for quite a while, possibly because of the dissonance in messaging from Ubisoft. The designers' goals had been to convey a believable model of Notre-Dame in the game. Rochefort suggests that: "For many players, that emotional truth is translated as historical accuracy."[6]

---

[4] Dany Sandron & Andrew Tallon, *Notre Dame Cathedral: Nine Centuries of History*, (Pennsylvania 2020).

[5] Chris Kempshall, "War Collaborators: documentary and historical sources in First World War computer games. *First World War Studies*, *10*(2-3) (2020) pp. 225-244.

[6] Simone de Rochefort, "Assassin's Creed Unity can't help rebuild Notre-Dame, and that's OK," *Polygon* 24 November 2021. <https://www.polygon.com/features/22790314/assassins-creed-unity-notre-dame-restoration-accuracy> (4/19 2023).

The primary concern for most game-makers is gameplay—that is, the players' ability to interact with the environment in a way that is consistent and facilitates an enjoyable time. The environment with which the player interacts is by design supposed to be conducive of player agency and in-game goals. In the case of *Assassin's Creed: Unity*, the cathedral must therefore be designed and function in accordance with gameplay centered on mechanics such as stealth, exploration and assassination. In other words, the player must be able to access and traverse parts of the cathedral that were historically inaccessible or non-existent. To ensure this, beams and balconies, for example, were added to the interior which did not exist in Notre-Dame, historically or contemporaneously.[7]

Ultimately, the accuracy and usefulness of the in-game model of Notre-Dame was limited. Due to common game design practices, including the accommodation of gameplay values and artistic freedom (not to mention that the game takes place in the 1790s, before the last major reconstruction of Notre-Dame in the 19th century), the model had undergone many changes in comparison to the actual building.

The initial confusion and ultimate understanding of the usability of the *Unity* Notre-Dame model is helpful as a case to find and specify nuances in limitations and affordances of game design work for cultural heritage more broadly. It connects very tangibly to the question of materiality of cultural heritage and the epistemological and ontological tension between digital and physical representations, for example, of heritage buildings or cultural heritage sites. It very clearly negotiates the role of game development in the preservation of heritage, intentionally or unintentionally.

As such, it also points to some important implications of game production for the interpretation of cultural heritage as discourse and as historical sources. Firstly, the multi-layered position of game developers as interpreters of contemporaneous heritage discourse (whose heritage, when, why, and how to engage with it?). Secondly, the position of the player as recipient and interpreter of represented heritage and its real-life counterpart. Thirdly, it highlights the possibilities of a relationship between game work and heritage work on an institutional level.

[7] de Rochefort (2021).

Games as Remediation of Heritage

Perhaps the most obvious use of cultural heritage in games are instances where the game takes place in a heritage-centered setting. These are often indistinguishable from historical and archaeological games and from historical settings created to make authentic imitations or depictions of environments, buildings and landscapes.[8] The remediation of heritage is not a didactic or pedagogical approach to teach about heritage. Rather, it is part of designing a playable game; the playful "heritaging" must somehow connect with audiences' pre-understanding of culture, history, and heritage to make sense. One such example is *The Witcher* game series (2007–), based on the fantasy books by Andrzej Sapkowski.[9] The games use folklore from actual human culture as a vehicle for the mediaevalesque adventure and employs a deadpan understanding of magical spells and creatures as natural parts of the world. By allowing the player to utilize magic runes, potions, and to fell griffins, trolls and similar magical creatures when playing, the game reframes such superstitious understandings as real and tangible through gameplay and agency, putting intangible heritage and folk beliefs at the very forefront of engagement.

BioWare's *Dragon Age* (2009-), a single-player, third-person, role-playing game series within the fantasy-medieval context uses heritages from British medievalism as well as references from other historical epochs to create believable and playable games. The ancient in-game civilization Tevinter, which left traces in ruins and myths, reminds the player of what Rome means to the Western World today. Ferelden is shaped as a popular cultural representation of British Middle Ages with primitive technology; cozy inns made of timber with thatched roofs, castles and markets have a feudal touch. Orlais, which is the center of culture and technological progress, is more reminiscent of the French Renaissance. Heritage such as medieval architecture and narratives of historical diasporas are remediated with folkloric heritage and fantasy, through for instance elves and dwarfs.

Fiction in terms of fantasy and the use of the past make up the story world of *Dragon Age*.[10] This technique—the unveiling of cultural heritage through

[8] See for example Jane Drycott (ed.), *Women in Historical and Archaeological Video Games* (Berlin 2022) Mol et al (eds.) *The Interactive Past: Archaeology, Heritage and Video Games* (Leiden 2017).

[9] *The Witcher* (2007–). Video game series. CD Project Red.

[10] Cecilia Trenter,"Remediation of Cultural Memory in the Dragon Age Videogame Series" in Anna Höglund & Cecilia Trenter (eds.) *The Enduring Fantastic: Essays on Imagination and Western Culture* (Jefferson 2021) pp. 188-202.

gameplay—is employed broadly. Of course, it is not only a gateway to intangible heritage, but also to (tangible) heritage lost. Games such as *Assassin's Creed: Valhalla*, set in 9th century Britain, make a point out of creating virtual historical worlds that place the player at the intersection of multiple temporal horizons, some lost to us, by recreating certain recognizable sites. For example, *Valhalla* contains sets of Roman ruins to (anachronistically) point to the overlap of Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Viking cultures in the area—few of which remain but are still part of cultural heritage discourse.

Documentations in Museums and Archives: The making of New Heritage in Traditional Shapes

We incorporate the act of preserving the games themselves in the making of museums. More and more commonly, museum exhibits display the history of games as well as technological innovations linked to games and game making. The exhibitions are typically interactive and invite the visitor to play their favorite games and get to know new ones.[11]

Furthermore, there are museums dedicated to the history of video games in a national context, thereby including them in the museological history of national museums.[12] The national tune in the video game history is furthermore highlighted through documentaries about national game industry histories, for example *Det svenska spelundret*, which describes game history from the introduction of *Dungeons and Dragons* in the 1980s to an international, blooming Swedish games industry today.[13] In addition to this, there is a plethora of documentaries about video games and producers of video games that highlight the history of video games[14] and designers.[15] These documentaries not only tell the history of game development, but define game culture and the importance the actors involved in it. The documentaries are writing heroic "drum and trumpet"

[11] See for example "Play Beyond Play – enter the world of computer games" at Tekniska Museet in Stockholm, or the permanent exhibition at the Finnish Museum of Games at Vapriikki, Tampere, Finland.
[12] Computer Games Museum, Berlin; National Videogame Museum in Zoetermeer; Museum of Soviet Arcade Games in Moskow; VIGAMUS - The Video Game Museum of Rome; The National Videogame Museum, Sheffield, England, National Videogame Museum, Frisco Texas, Spelmuseet i Stockholm; The Finnish Museum of Games, Tampere Finland.
[13] *Det svenska spelundret: En serie om hur Sverige tog spelvärlden med storm*, SVT 2021.
[14] *High Score*; *Atari: Game Over*; *Console Wars*, Netflix, 2020.
[15] See for example *Indie Game: The Movie*, Steam, 2023.

history about designers, game-cultures and companies' ways to success with a focus on social, cultural, and economic progress.

Digital archives collect and exhibit games[16], but there are also analog archives because of an extensive market for the sale, trade, and purchase of game collections of the size of a museum.[17] Some collectors have institutionalized collections into archives. One example is the Swedish analog *Embracer Games Archive* in which archivists organize physical video games, consoles and accessories, claiming on the website: "At Embracer Games Archive, we believe that games carry a heritage worth celebrating and safeguarding for the future."[18]

We are thus seeing a development of the game industry's historiography and cultural heritage preservation through archives, museums and documentaries that not only document the progress but charge the history of gaming in a national context through the initiatives of profit-making companies. We believe that this heritage process is important to study in order to learn more about the values and possible identities that are connected to the new phenomenon on the heritage market.

On the Significance of the Games Industry as Creators and Mediators of Cultural Heritage

Commonly in discussions within game studies, the—uninspired (in our opinion)—argument is made that researching games matters on account of the money involved and their pervasiveness.[19] We would like to offer the hopefully not too controversial additional notion that the significance of games lies somewhere beyond the number of copies sold, or the yearly industry turnover.

Rather, the significance of a "large" game sector should not be its cohesion as an industry (as it is not cohesive)—but the multiplicity that it possesses and that this inherent multiplicity and diversity is growing and will continue to grow. Players indeed get their fill of new games each year, but the player bases constantly seek out different kinds of games and revenue is split across a more

[16] See for example, Software Library: MS-DOS Games <https://archive.org/details/softwarelibrary_msdos_games> (4/21 2023).
[17] See for example "Köp ditt eget museum (Buy your own gaming museum) Aftonbladet. <https://www.aftonbladet.se/nojesbladet/spela/a/OnW0gA/kop-ditt-eget-spelmuseum> (2/13 2023).
[18] Embracer Games Archive <https://embracer.com/about/gamesarchive/See also Computer and Video Game Archive at Michigan University> (2/13 2023).
[19] Marco Mereu et al, "Digital Distribution and Games as a Service" in *Science and Technology Law Review* (16):1 (2013) pp. 1-35.

diverse set of releases than ever before. New kinds of games will continue to be made, adding to an ever-growing pile of ways to play.

The implication of this development is that scholarship and research may look to the games industry not only for success stories of entrepreneurship wherein cultural heritage functions as a vehicle, even a casualty or a mere backdrop. Instead, we may look for the specific intersections where a versatile and designedly powerful medium such as games—digital, analogue or hybrid, if you will—add significant value to heritage ventures on their own merits, and vice versa.

This can be further understood by contextualizing it through games beyond what we call the mainstream furrow. Whilst there is little to be gained from functionally adhering to the dichotomy of "entertainment games" versus "serious games", there is a helpful intersection between the games-as-home-entertainment sector and game-making that has grown out of rather more utility-oriented fields. These include games for teaching and learning settings, games for health, and of course—given our focus here—games in the cultural heritage sector including museums, augmented heritage sites, varying kinds of reenactment, recreation, and more.

In fact, the latter category often, and naturally, overlaps with the former. *De facto* game companies are regularly employed to assist cultural heritage actors develop their offerings, and vice versa.[20] In other words, "the games industry" is in part an unhelpful category to theoretically explain the goings-on with cultural heritage beyond the profit-driven entertainment industry. However, we argue, if framed as an important actor in the market to use cultural heritage work to make games, on the one hand, and use game design to reframe cultural heritage on the other, the games industry is indeed a significant, impactful and multitudinous actor.

[20] Lisa Traynor & Jonathan Ferguson, "Shooting for Accuracy: Historicity and Video Gaming" in Von Lünen et.al. (eds.) *Historia Ludens – The Playing Historian* (London 2020); Cook Inlet Tribal Council, "Storytelling for the next generation: How a non-profit in Alaska harnessed the power of video games to share and celebrate cultures" in *The Interactive Past: Archaeology, heritage and video games* Angus Mol, et al. (Leiden 2017).

Arguments for Including Game Design and the Game Industry as Part of Critical Heritage Studies

Trends in both academic research and cultural politics on heritage and society set the stage for game industries as relevant arenas for productions and reproductions of heritage. The wide and purposeful research-field of critical heritage-studies includes aspects of heritage that focus on the making and meaning-making of heritage. The shift from defining heritage in terms of collections and objects to rather viewing it as social practices and human agency implies both an epistemological and ideological change of view. An important standpoint in critical heritage studies is to show what heritage does in and to the society.[21]

The focus on the visitor and the status of heritages in society appear both in the academy and in recent politics. The pursuit of a democratic cultural heritage has its starting point in the emerging cultural heritage politics of the 90s, in Sweden, which was institutionalized in the 2001 project "Agenda Kulturarv" (*Operation Heritage*) with the following policy statement: "Putting people first". A crucial goal was to create new forms for cooperation within the wider society and increase citizens' understanding of and participation in cultural heritage.[22] Gaming *per se* is an interactive activity in which the individual player, the collectives of gamers and the developers articulate, negotiate and reflect on heritage within the games in ways that match theories on "heritaging" and a performative understanding of people and heritage.[23] Playing and developing games furthermore fulfil the political goals on cooperation and availability.

Academic research on critical heritage studies draws attention to hegemonic ideas and discourses on heritage production. Laurajane Smith's interpretations of the hegemonic and professional dominant discourse—The Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD)—have guided the discussions within the research field of cultural heritage. Smith states that cultural heritage does not exist outside that discourse but has lately modified that statement by explaining that there is not one single discourse, or even one certain heritage discourse, that decides the ways

[21] Laurajane Smith, *Emotional Heritage. Visitor Engagement at Museums and Heritage Sites* (New York 2021).
[22] Agenda Kulturarv 2004 <http://www.diva-portal.se/smash/get/diva2:1298721/FULLTEXT01.pdf> (2/23 2023).
[23] David Crouch, 'The Perpetual Performance and Emergence of Heritage', Emma Waterson and Steve Watson (eds.), Culture, Heritage and Representation: Perspectives on Visuality and the Past, (London 2010) p. 69.

heritages are used in societies. The AHD should be regarded as one of multiple discourses.[24] Smith furthermore argues that research about heritage can contribute to the creation of a deeper understanding of cultural heritage which can both include alternative cultural heritage discourses and contribute to an analytical framework for such in-depth analysis of heritage use as an alternative to the hegemonic cultural heritage discourse.[25]

We argue that such complementary discourses could be found in the game industry due to the impact both designers and gamers have on the interpretations and remediations of heritages. There is an explicit and outspoken awareness of the impact of societal issues—heritage included—but these aspects are obviously secondary to the purpose of the game. The lead writer of Canadian company BioWare, David Gaider, admitted that politically loaded societal issues did influence the creation of *Dragon Age II* (2014). According to Gaider the game-industry must take societal issues seriously to create games as serious forms of art, like film and visual arts before them and thus, the game industry must take responsibility for what they produce. However, he goes on to note, societal responsibility is always subordinated to the playability of the game.[26]

Similar results are found in studies that focus on the values of game developers through and in the context of games. For instance, Paradox Development Studio, Swedish makers of grand strategy games since 1999, argue that values of gameplay, entertainment and engagement always take precedence in design issues, regardless of what it might mean in terms of content and representation, making game design convention a factor in game developer discourse.[27]

Closing Words

We argue here for focusing on the complex relationship between game design and cultural heritage. The fact that traditional cultural heritage actors use digital tools, such as serious games, is only one aspect of this relation. The game industry's interest in history and the use of canonized cultural heritage to create playable products is of as much importance for contemporary cultural heritage as

[24] Laurajane Smith, *Uses of heritage (*New York 2006).
[25] Smith (2021).
[26] Cecilia Trenter, "Interview with Mike Laidlaw and David Gaider at BioWare", *Gamevironments* David Fewster & Ylva Grufstedt (eds.) Special Issue „Gamevironments of the Past"(Bremen 2016) pp. 264-284.
[27] Grufstedt (2022).

the institutions governed by cultural policy. The creation of traditional museums with a focus on games, often in national contexts, is proof that games are considered conservation-worthy cultural heritage in themselves. Instead of looking at game design as something polarized between its role as a digital aid for museums in contrast to the game industry's commercial use of history and cultural heritage, we want to problematize game design and cultural heritage from a methodically motivated research perspective. The fact that games and cultural heritage also correspond to methodological exhortations from critical heritage studies through a focus on agency, processes and performativity further reinforces the motives for researching game design and cultural heritage in contemporary society.

Authors

Cecilia Axelsson Yngvéus, Ph.D., is a senior lecturer in history with didactics at Malmö University. Her research interests concern the didactics of history, including aspects of teaching and learning history, subject literacy, and cultural heritage processes, such as meaning-making from below through donations to museums. Axelsson Yngvéus' thesis *A Meaningful History? Educational Perspectives on Historical Museum exhibitions about Migration and Cultural Encounters* (2009) explored the museum exhibition as a public arena for negotiating and learning history. Recent publications mainly concern methods for teaching history: "Upptäck historien genom källorna" with Patrik Johansson in *Historiedidaktik i praktiken: För lärare 4-6* | [ed] Martin Stolare, Joakim Wendell, Gleerups Utbildning AB (2018, rev forthcoming 2023), and support material for teachers published by the Swedish National Agency for Education.

Peter Bauer is a graduate of Lund University's ALM master with specialization in archival science and is currently working as a Ph.D. candidate at Malmö University. In his ongoing thesis project, set to be published in June 2023, Bauer investigates how the social category of immigrants were conceived by state and municipal decisionmakers during 1967-2000. Apart from his research Bauer also have extensive experience as a teacher of general history and archival science at Malmö University.

John Berg, Ph.D., works as a lecturer in history and history didactics at Malmö University. His research is focused on sports history and sports heritage. In 2022, his doctoral dissertation *Den utställda idrotten: Idrott som kulturarv på idrottsmuseer i Sverige* [The Exhibited Sport: Sport as Cultural Heritage in Sports Museums in Sweden] (Idrottsforum, 2022) was published. The dissertation was followed by an article about the making of a hockey museum in Örnsköldsvik, Sweden, see *När kulturarvet fick rädda balansräkningen: Striden om hockeymuseet I Örnsköldsvik* [When Cultural Heritage had to Save the Balance Sheet: The Battle for The Hockey Museum in Örnsköldsvik] (Idrott, historia & samhälle, 2023). Berg is currently working on a project about French ice hockey.

Ylva Grufstedt, Ph.D., is a lecturer in history at Malmö University, Sweden. Her disciplinary interests are history, game history and history in games, digital humanities, and cultural heritage studies. Her research focus are epistemological questions of what kinds of history and historical representation games tend to afford, game development regarding the design and making of historical games, and digital tools for historical re-enactment in scholarly and non-scholarly contexts. Recent works include *Shaping the Past – Counterfactual History in Game Design Practice and Digital Strategy Games* at De Gruyter Oldenburg (2022).

Julia Håkansson is a Ph.D. candidate in history and history didactics at Malmö University. Her research focuses on how people relate to history in different ways. Her thesis analyses the historical narratives presented by the Sweden Democrats and the Danish People's Party, thus exploring the relationship between history and nationalism in their ideologies. In other publications, she has studied key symbols within historical cultures in museum exhibitions, on film and within politics. She has also written about exhibition production from a didactical perspective. Håkansson has experience as a museum educator, exhibition producer and scenographer.

Malin Jonsson is a Ph.D. candidate in History and History didactics at Malmö university. She works within the field of migration history and oral history. She has previously worked within the public heritage sector as a museum educator and exhibition producer.

Carolina Jonsson Malm holds a Ph.D. in History from Lund University (2011) and is currently working as a teacher and research advisor at Malmö University. Her research interests focus on the history of knowledge, power and social inequalities within global, trans/national, and (post)colonial contexts. Before taking up her current position, she worked several years within the Swedish heritage sector as a research coordinator of both national and international projects. In these projects, she studied how museums and other heritage organisations can contribute to a positive and sustainable development through history and heritage education. The outcomes from this research have led to a theoretical model on heritage-based social innovations, see Jonsson Malm "Social Innovations in Museum and Heritage Management" (Springer 2021).

Dr. **Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto**, is a Senior Researcher of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research interests include the intertwining of material culture affects, and memory. Currently, she works as the PI of the research project *Sensory and Material Memories (SENSOMEMO) – Explorations on autobiographical materiality* (Academy of Finland 2022-2024). Her publications include journal articles (e.g. in Narrative Cultures, Ethnologia Europaea, International Journal of Heritage Studies), a monograph *Her Own Worth: Negotiations of Subjectivity in the Life Narrative of a Female Laborer* (Finnish Literature Society, 2014) and the co-edited volumes *Challenges and Solutions in Ethnographic Research: Ethnography with a Twist* (Routledge 2020), *Routledge Handbook of Memory and Place* (2019), and *Transnational Death* (Finnish Literature Society, 2019). She is the vice editor-in-chief of *Studia Fennica Ethnologica* (open access research series of the Finnish Literature Society).

Fredrika Larsson, Ph.D., is a senior associate lecturer in Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg. She works within the research fields of memory studies, conflict transformation, visual warfare and violence. Her dissertation, *Conflict in Colours* (2021), was the first study to analyze and follow the development of Northern Irish murals through time and space. In it, she explored how historical narratives have maintained and legitimized the Northern Irish conflict and how these narratives have travelled into the peace process. She showed how the parties' understanding of Northern Ireland's ideal future is incomparable. Through the lens of cultural violence, she visualized the second dimension of conflict: who is the victim of whom. She showed how the outside world's perception of legitimate violence is determined by historical and symbolic practices, which in turn create seductive and persuasive victimhood.

Robert Nilsson Mohammadi, Ph.D., currently works as an associate senior lecturer for the Didactics of the Social Sciences and the Humanities at Malmö University. He defended his doctoral dissertation *The Great Miners' Strike in the Norrbotten Ore Fields: An Oral History* at Stockholm University in 2018. Informed by oral history and public humanities he researches collaborative history-writing and its connections to community building and social movement organising. He also researches on community archives. Nilsson Mohammadi is the chair for Memory Studies Association's Nordic regional group.

Liv Nilsson Stutz is a professor of Archaeology at Linnaeus University in Sweden. Her background in burial archaeology has led her to develop an interest in research ethics, and she has published extensively on the debates about repatriation and reburial, claims to culture and decolonization. She is a member of the *Linnaeus University Center for Concurrences in Colonial and Postcolonial Studies*, currently leads the research project *Ethical Entanglements. The Care for Human Remains in Museums and Research* and is a member of *On collecting memories of the Holocaust in Sweden, a network for transdisciplinary practices and perspectives on collecting/collections and ethics*.

Jenny Sjöholm is an associate professor at the Department of Thematic studies, Technology and Social Change, Linköping University. Previously she has worked at Uppsala University, Royal Holloway University of London, and held a residency at the Royal Society British Sculptors. She is a cultural geographer with an interest in the emerging and interdisciplinary field of Geohumanities. Her research has focused primarily on the intersections of geography, art, and cultural heritage. Sjöholm is currently working in the project *The Ethical Dilemmas of Digitalization.*

Malin Thor Tureby is a Professor of History at Malmö University. Her research is situated in the intersections of Holocaust studies, oral history, cultural heritage studies, migration and minority studies. Thor Tureby's currently research interests lie in the history of Holocaust survivors' memory work and memory activism, the use of oral history and personal memories in public history settings and the archival and digital practices of cultural heritage institutions. She is presently PI at the projects: *The Ethical Dilemmas of Digitalization* and *Jewish and Woman* and is a member of *On collecting memories of the Holocaust in Sweden, a network for transdisciplinary practices and perspectives on collecting/collections and ethics*, all three funded by the Swedish Research Council. Thor Tureby was the guest editor of the SI "Digital Heritage in Cultural Conflicts" of *Culture Unbound. Journal of Current Cultural Research*, Vol. 14, No 2, 2022 and the SI "Cultural Heritage and Technology" of *Santander Art and Culture Law Review* Vol. 6, No 2, 2020 together with Ewa Manikowska and Gil Pasternak. In 2020 she published the monograph *Migration och Kulturarv* (Nordic Academic Press) with Jesper Johansson. Among her more recent publications is the chapter "Monuments cast shadows. Remembering and

Forgetting the 'Dead Survivors' of Nazi Persecution in Swedish Cemeteries" in Juilee Decker (ed), *Fallen monuments and contested memorials*, (Routledge 2023) with Victoria Van Orden Martínez.

Cecilia Trenter is a Professor of History and History Education at Malmö University. She works within the research field of memory studies and public history, including heritage adaptions and remediation in fiction, for instance epic films and computer-games, and is additionally studying heritage sites with educational approaches, see Ludvigsson, Stolare, Trenter *People relate to Heritage sites* (forthcoming 2023 Cambridge Elements) Trenter is co-editor, with Anna Höglund, of *The Enduring Fantastic: Essays on Imagination and Western Culture* (McFarland, 2021) and, with Björn Horgby, of *I Folkets namn. Högerpopulism på film* [*In the name of the People: Right-wing Populism on Film*] (Carlssons förlag, 2021) and is member of the editorial board of the series Global Historical Fictions (Brills).

Kristin Wagrell is a postdoctoral scholar at Malmö University, Sweden. In 2020, Wagrell received her Ph.D. in cultural studies from Linköping University with her doctoral dissertation *"Chorus of the Saved": Constructing the Holocaust Survivor in Swedish Public Discourse, 1943-1966*. Wagrell's research interests lie in the history of survivor activism and the archival practices of cultural heritage institutions. She is currently undertaking research within the project *The Ethical Dilemmas of Digitalization* funded by the Swedish Research Council as well as within postdoctoral project funded by the Craafordska foundation.

Previous titles in the book series

Skrifter med historiska perspektiv

Håkansson, Julia, *Historia och Nationalism: Sverigedemokraternas och Dansk Folkepartis historiska berättelser*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2023 (320 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 32)

Bauer, Peter, *När slutar invandrarna att vandra? – Integrationsfrågan i statlig, kommunal och skolpolitisk diskurs 1967–2000*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2023 (243 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 31)

Hall, Emma, *Mellan rörelse och stillhet. Minne och flykt i unga människors berättande 2009–2021*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2023 (279 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 30)

Frölich, Emilia, *Från Kingston till Göinge – autenticitet, identitet och representationer av det förflutna i svensk reggaekultur*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2022 (259 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 29)

Glaser, Joakim, Håkansson, Julia, Lund, Martin & Lundin, Emma (red.), *Cross-Sections: Historical Perspectives from Malmö University/Tvärsnitt: Historiska perspektiv från Malmö universitet*, Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2022, (261 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 28)

Gunnemyr, Per, *Den fjärde kvadrantens dilemma. Kunskapsbedömning i en föränderlig historiekultur*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2021 (251 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 27)

Alvstad, Erik, Andersson, Irene & Danielsson Malmros, Ingmarie (red.), *Identitet i en föränderlig värld. Sju nya historieskrivningar,* Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Malmö, 2021, (210 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 26)

Bergman, Magnus, *Att höra det förflutna till: Adlig minneskultur och kollektiv identitet efter ståndssamhällets upplösning 1869–1976*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2021 (334 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 25) http://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1523727/FULLTEXT02.pdf

Lindholm, Susan & Nyzell, Stefan (red.), *Människor, mening och motstånd. En vänbok till professor Mats Greiff,* Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2020 (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 24)

Jarhall, Jessica, *Historia från kursplan till klassrum: perspektiv på lärares historieundervisning från Lpo 94 till Lgr 11*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2020 (458 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 23)

Blennow, Katarina, Brunnström, Pål och Örbring, David (red.), *En historiker korsar sitt spår. En vänbok till Roger Johansson om att lära sig av historien och lära ut historia*, Malmö universitet, Malmö 2019 (271 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 22) http://mau.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1405435/FULLTEXT01.pdf

Rudnert, Joel, *Bland stenyxor och Tv-spel: om barn, historisk tid och när unga blir delaktiga i historiekulturen*, Malmö universitet, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö universitet, Malmö, 2019 (358 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 21) https://muep.mau.se/handle/2043/27507

Lilja, Fredrik, *Whip of the wine: labour relations and the role of alcohol in Western Cape wine farming from 1940s to the 2010s*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Malmö universitet, Malmö 2019 (214 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 20) https://muep.mau.se/handle/2043/29744

Ammert, Niklas & Eliasson, Per, *Externa historieprov: en studie av validitetsfrågor*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Malmö universitet, Malmö 2019 (87 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 19) https://muep.mau.se/handle/2043/28602

Dahlqvist, Hans, *Vem äger tiden?: ett idéhistoriskt perspektiv på arbetstidsfrågan i Sverige 1880-1925*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2018 (456 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 18) https://muep.mau.se/handle/2043/24373

Alvén, Fredrik, *Tänka rätt och tycka lämpligt: historieämnet i skärningspunkten mellan att fostra kulturbärare och förbereda kulturbyggare*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2017 (483 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 17) https://dspace.mah.se/handle/2043/2244

Lindholm, Susan, *Remembering Chile: an entangled history of Hip-hop in-between Sweden and Chile*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss., Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2016 (168 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 16) https://dspace.mah.se/handle/2043/21101

Andersson, Nils & Greiff, Mats (red.), *Från Göteborg till Malmö via Königsberg: en resa i idéhistoria, idrott, kultur och utbildning: till Lennart Olausson en festskrift*, Malmö Högskola, Malmö, 2015 (255 s)(Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 15).

Lindh, Anders, *"Unity pervades all activity as water every wave" [Elektronisk resurs] : principal teachings and philosophy of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi*, Fakulteten för lärande och samhälle, Diss. Malmö högskola, Malmö 2014 (442 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 14) http://hdl.handle.net/2043/17095

Karlegärd, Christer, Eliasson, Per & Karlsson, Klas-Göran, *Vad gjorde du under kriget, morfar?*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2013 (194 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 13)

Olofsson, Sten Sture & Greiff, Mats (red.), *Hembygdshistorik om Männikkö-Vaenvaara: byar i Pajala kommun, Tornedalen, Norrbotten, Sverige*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2010 (255 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 12) http://hdl.handle.net/2043/10828

Lozic, Vanja, *I historiekanons skugga: historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets mångkulturella samhälle*, Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, Diss. Lund: Lunds universitet, 2010,Malmö, 2010 (249 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 11) http://hdl.handle.net/2043/10478

Nyzell, Stefan, *"Striden ägde rum i Malmö": Möllevångskravallerna 1926 : en studie av politiskt våld i mellankrigstidens Sverige*, [Malmö University Press], Diss. Lund : Lunds universitet, 2010, Malmö, 2009 (427 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 10) http://hdl.handle.net/2043/10845

Björk, Fredrik, Eliasson, Per & Poulsen, Bo (red.), *Transcending boundaries: [environmental histories from the Øresund region]*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2009 (141 s) (Skrifter med historiska skrifter nr 9)

Berggren, Lars, Horgby, Björn & Greiff, Mats (red.), *Populärmusik, uppror och samhälle*, [Malmö University Press], Malmö högskola], Malmö, 2009 (310 s) (Skrifter med historiska skrifter nr 8)

Ottosson, Mikael & Sörensen, Thomas (red.), *Borgerlighet i vapen: en antologi om 1800-talets milisrörelse*, [Malmö University Press], Malmö, 2008 (347 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 7)

Hellstenius, Mats, *Skjutande borgerliga revolutionärer: skarpskytterörelsen och 1800-talets liberala moderniseringsprojekt*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2008 (159 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 6)

Vall, Natasha, *Cities in decline?: a comparative history of Malmö and Newcastle after 1945*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2007 (242 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 5)

Renander, Carina, *Förförande fiktion eller historieförmedling?: Arn-serien, historiemedvetande och historiedidaktik*, Malmö högskola, Licentiatavhandling Malmö: Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2007 (329 s)(Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 4)

Björk, Fredrik, Eliasson, Per & Fritzbøger, Bo (red.), *Miljöhistoria över gränser*, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2006 (263 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 3)

Andersson, Nils, Berggren, Lars & Greiff, Mats (red.), *Sociala konflikter och kulturella processer: historia med människor i centrum*, Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2004 (304 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 2)

Greiff, Mats, *"Vi bodde, bad och blev utbildade som om vi vore på skilda kontinenter": katolska och protestantiska arbetare i Belfast 1850–1914*, Lärarutbildningen, Malmö högskola, Malmö, 2004 (213 s) (Skrifter med historiska perspektiv nr 1)

Malmö Studies in history (doctoral dissertations)

Svensson, Matilda, *När något blir annorlunda. Skötsamhet och funktionsförmåga i berättelser om poliosjukdom*, 2012

Kjellgren, Martin, *Taming Prophets, Astrology, and the World of God in the Early Moderns Sweden*, 2011

Jonsson Malm, Carolina, *Att plantera ett barn*, 2011

Lozic, Vanja, *I historiekanons skugga. Historieämne och identifikationsformering i 2000-talets Sverige*, 2010

Nyzell, Stefan, *"Striden ägde rum i Malmö". Möllevångskravallerna 1926. En studie av politiskt våld i mellankrigstidens Sverige*, 2010

Tolvhed, Helena, *Nationen på spel. Kropp, kön, svenskhet i populärpressens representation av olympiska spel 1948–1972*, 2008

Avhandlingar i historia och historiedidaktik vid Malmö universitet

Håkansson, Julia, *Historia och Nationalism: Sverigedemokraternas och Dansk Folkepartis historiska berättelser*, 2023

Bauer, Peter, *När slutar invandrarna att vandra? – Integrationsfrågan i statlig, kommunal och skolpolitisk diskurs 1967–2000*, 2023

Hall, Emma, *Mellan rörelse och stillhet. Minne och flykt i unga människors berättande 2009–2021*, 2023

Frölich, Emilia, *Från Kingston till Göinge – autenticitet, identitet och representationer av det förflutna i svensk reggaekultur*, 2022

Berg, John, *Den utställda idrotten: idrott som kulturarv på idrottsmuseer i Sverige*, 2022

Gunnemyr, Per, *Den fjärde kvadrantens dilemma: Kunskapsbedömning i en föränderlig historiekultur*, 2021

Bergman, Magnus, *Att höra det förflutna till. Adlig minneskultur och kollektiv identitet efter ståndssamhällets upplösning, 1869–1976*, 2021

Jarhall, Jessica, *Historia från kursplan till klassrum. Perspektiv på lärares historieundervisning från Lpo 94 till Lgr 11*, 2020

Rudnert, Joel, *Bland stenyxor och tv-spel. Om barn, historisk tid och när unga blir delaktiga i historiekulturen*, 2019

Ekelund, Robin, *Retrospektiva modernister. Om historiens betydelse för nutida mods*, 2017

Alvén, Fredrik, *Tänka rätt och tycka lämpligt. Historieämnet i skärningspunkten mellan att fostra kulturbärare och förbereda kulturbyggare*, 2017

Rosenlund, David, *History Education as Content, Methods or Orientation?,* 2016

Lindholm, Susan, *Remembering Chile. An entangled History of Hip-hop inbetween Sweden and Chile*, 2016

Glaser, Joakim, *Fotboll från Mielke till Merkel. Kontinuitet, brott och förändring i supporterkultur i östra Tyskland*, 2015

Lindh, Anders, *"Unity Pervades All Activity As water Every Wave". Principal Teachings and Philosophy of Maharishi Yogi*, 2014

This anthology is the result of an international workshop with the aim to initiate new discussions and new research on cultural heritage – contested as well as uncontested. The workshop was held at the Department of Society, Culture and Identity at Malmö University, in October 2022. Contested heritage, sometimes also referred to as "dissonant heritage" or "difficult heritage" has been discussed, explored and studied by cultural heritage scholars from various disciplines over the last two decades. However, there is still limited knowledge about what contested or dissonant heritage is. How, when and by whom heritage can be contested and how it is related to or understood in relation to uncontested heritage are also unresolved questions. The contribution of this anthology thus falls at an intersection between the process-perspectives of critical heritage studies of cultural heritage, the empirical-historical studies of power and agency in social and cultural history (after the archival turn), and the conceptual fields that examine the use of history and history mediation. It rests firmly on the collective expertise drawn from historians and other scholars, at different stages of their careers, from researchers with theoretical proficiency as well as practical experience from cultural heritage work, both within and outside of traditional cultural heritage institutions. The result, if not a comprehensive rendering, is a range of multifaceted insights into research on why and how cultural heritage can be both contested and (un)contested.

isbn 978-91-7877-385-5

Printed by Media-Tryck, Lund 2023 NORDIC SWAN ECOLABEL 3041 0903